

Rebirth of a Lineage: *The Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master* and  
Celestial Masters Daoism at Dragon and Tiger Mountain

by

Paul Amato

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved April 2016 by the  
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Stephen Bokenkamp, Chair  
Huaiyu Chen  
Anne Feldhaus  
Stephen West

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2016

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study and translation of the *Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master* (*Han tianshi shijia* 漢天師世家), a hagiographical account of successive generations of the Zhang family patriarchs of Celestial Masters Daoism (*Tianshi dao* 天師道) at Dragon and Tiger Mountain (*Longhu shan* 龍虎山) in Jiangxi province that was compiled in stages between the late fourteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Zhang family emerged in the late Tang or early Five dynasties period and rose to great prominence and power through the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties on the basis of the claim of direct and unbroken lineal descent from Zhang Daoling 張道陵 the ancestral Celestial Master whose covenant with the deified Laozi in 142 C.E. is a founding event of the Daoist religion. In this study I trace the lineal history of the Zhang family as presented in the *Hereditary Household* in chronological parallel to contrasting narratives found in official histories, epigraphy, and the literary record. This approach affords insight into the polemical nature of the text as an assertion of legitimacy and allows for a demonstration of how the work represents an attempt to create in writing an idealized past in order to win prestige in the present. It also affords the opportunity to scour the historical record in an attempt to ascertain a plausible timeframe for the origin of the movement and to explore the relationship of the *Hereditary Household* to earlier hagiographic works that may have informed it. This study also contextualizes the *Hereditary Household* in the post-Tang religious climate of China. In that period the establishment of lineal authenticity and institutional charisma through narratives of

descent became a widespread tool of legitimation employed by Buddhists, Daoists, and Confucians in hopes of obtaining imperial recognition and patronage.

This work is dedicated to Sarah and Henry

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to a great many scholars who cultivated, encouraged, and shaped my interests and without whom this dissertation would never have come into being. I would like to thank Prof. Tracy Pintchman who first introduced me to the study of Asian religious traditions at Loyola University Chicago. I would like to thank Prof. Donald Harper at the University of Chicago who encouraged me to undertake graduate studies in Chinese religion. I am also grateful to Profs. Robert Ford Campany, Robert Eno, John McRae, and Jan Nattier for their instruction and support during my time at Indiana University Bloomington. I would also like to offer my gratitude for the guidance and mentorship provided by the members of my committee at Arizona State University, Profs. Anne Feldhaus, Chen Huaiyu, and Stephen H. West. Finally, I would like to thank Prof. Stephen R. Bokenkamp for overseeing my graduate training with unflagging patience, kindness, support, and good humor.

Seth Clippard, Geoffrey Goble, Erik Hammerstrom, Clarke Hudson, Paul Jackson, Stephan Kory, Lanlan Kuang, Lee Wei-Ping, Jonathan Pettit, Gil Raz, Michael Stanley-Baker, and Tang Qiaomei are all deserving of thanks for their friendship and for their fellowship in the study of Chinese religion. Profs. Chang Chao-jan and Hsieh Hsu-wei were both more than generous with their time and expertise during my stay in Taiwan for research as was Prof. Chen Lili in offering his assistance during my time in Jiangxi.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife Sarah Pedersen who has been a constant source of support over the course of my long tenure as a graduate student and throughout the process of completing this dissertation.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	Page
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1 THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE <i>HEREDITARY HOUSEHOLD OF THE HAN CELESTIAL MASTER</i> .....	11
1.1 Dating the Text: The Earliest Recensions.....	11
1.2 General Conclusions on the Recensions of the <i>Hereditary Household</i> .....	25
1.3 Contributors to the <i>Hereditary Household</i> : Zhang Zhengchang.....	26
1.4 Contributors to the <i>Hereditary Household</i> : Song Lian.....	33
1.5 Zhang Yuchu and his Literary Legacy.....	38
1.6 The Biography of Zhang Yuchu.....	50
1.7 Contributors to the <i>Hereditary Household</i> : Su Boheng.....	56
1.8 Contributors to the <i>Hereditary Household</i> : Zhang Guoxiang.....	58
1.9 Contributors to the <i>Hereditary Household</i> : Wang Dexin.....	63
1.10 Contributors to the <i>Hereditary Household</i> : Yu Wenwei.....	64
1.11 Contributors to the <i>Hereditary Household</i> : Zhou Tianqiu.....	65
1.12 Precedents for the <i>Hereditary Household</i> .....	68
2 THE THREE MASTERS: ZHANG DAOLING, ZHANG HENG, AND ZHANG LU IN HISTORY AND HAGIOGRAPHY.....	78
2.1 Zhang Daoling.....	82
2.2 The Inheriting Master: Zhang Heng.....	108

CHAPTER	Page
2.3	Zhang Lu, Zhang Heng, Zhang Xiu, and the Way of Ghosts.....113
2.4	Zhang Lu in the <i>Hereditary Household</i> .....122
2.5	Zhang Lu and the Dissolution of the Celestial Masters Community.....132
3	THE CELESTIAL MASTERS IN DIASPORA.....139
3.1	The Fourth Celestial Master.....142
3.2	The Zhang Family Lineage in Texts of the Six Dynasties Period.....148
3.3	Zhang Family Descendants in the Six Dynasties, Sui, and Tang.....158
3.4	Zhang Yu: Descendant in the Twelfth Generation.....164
3.5	Zhang Bian: Descendant in the Thirteenth Generation.....171
3.6	Descendants in the Tang: Zhang Tanxuan and Zhang Gao.....173
3.7	Alternate Lines of Transmission: Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng.....177
3.8	The Celestial Master Chen Rui.....183
3.9	The Cheng-Han Kingdom.....185
3.10	Kou Qianzhi.....187
3.11	The Way of Clear Water and the Way of Banners and Flowers..193



CHAPTER	Page
4	THE EMERGENCE OF THE LINEAGE AT DRAGON AND TIGER MOUNTAIN.....196
4.1	Scholarly Opinion on the Time of Emergence of the Zhang Family Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain.....197
4.2	Dragon and Tiger Mountain as a Site of Religious Significance.206
4.3	Early References to Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Literature...214
4.4	Stele Inscriptions Pertaining to Dragon and Tiger Mountain.....225
4.5	Canonical Sources on the Emergence of the Zhang Family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain.....231
4.6	Corroborating Evidence of Individual Zhang Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain.....237
4.7	Hagiographical Works and the Time of Emergence.....246
4.8	The Celestial Masters in Post-Emergence Literature.....250
5	CRITICISM AND DEFENSE OF LINEAL AUTHENTICITY.....263
5.1	Precursors to the Hereditary Household in Buddhist and Daoist Texts.....264
5.2	Affirmation of the Lineage in the Hereditary Household.....272
5.3	Buddhist Polemics.....282
5.4	Confucian Polemics: Attacks from Scholars and Officials.....301
	CONCLUSION.....327
	REFERENCES.....339

APPENDIX

Page

A	TRANSLATION OF FASCILES ONE TO THREE OF THE HEREDITARY HOUSEHOLD OF THE HAN CELESTIAL MASTER.....	358
B	TRANSLATION OF ZHANG YUCHU'S COLOPHON TO THE HEREDITARY HOUSEHOLD OF THE HAN CELESTIAL MASTER.....	543

## INTRODUCTION

The Way of the Celestial Masters (*Tianshi dao* 天師道) or Upright Unity Daoism (*Zhengyi dao* 正一道), the movement which marks the beginning of the social history of the Daoist religion, is grounded in a covenant between Zhang Daoling 張道陵, the inaugural Celestial Master, and the deified Laozi made on Heming shan 鶴鳴山 in the year 142 C.E. The original Celestial Masters community was organized into twenty-four parishes (*zhi* 治) located in and around the Sichuan basin, each of which was administered by an official of the church with the exception of the first among them, Yangping Parish (*Yangping zhi* 陽平治) which was overseen by the Celestial Master himself.

Tradition holds that leadership of the sect proceeded lineally from Zhang Daoling to his son Zhang Heng 張衡 and grandson Zhang Lu 張魯. Early historical sources report that in 215 C.E. Zhang Lu was compelled to surrender to the warlord Cao Cao 曹操, marking the end of Celestial Masters Daoism as an independent, self-governing theocracy under the leadership of a Zhang family patriarch. Cao Cao demonstrated the cunning for which he is known in history and fiction alike, heaping titles and honors on Zhang Lu and his five sons while sending masses of the faithful into exile. Following Zhang Lu's hasty exit from the historical stage the teachings that originated in the Shu-Han community carried on somewhat unsteadily under uncertain leadership.<sup>1</sup> They also

---

<sup>1</sup> Several among the earliest extant sources composed by self-identified Celestial Masters Daoists such as the *Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Way Dao* (*Da dao jialing jie* 大道家令戒)

filtered into the religious culture of post-Han China both as a tradition in its own right and as the foundation for the Upper Clarity (*Shangqing* 上清) and Numinous Gem (*Lingbao* 靈寶) traditions.

The fate of the Zhang family itself is unclear. References to the Zhang family Celestial Masters are few and far between from the time of Zhang Lu's surrender until a nebulous point between the Late Tang dynasty and early Five Dynasties period when the first hints of a lineage claiming descent in an unbroken line from Zhang Daoling headquartered at Dragon and Tiger Mountain (*Longhu shan* 龍虎山) in Jiangxi province appear in the historical record. Representatives of the renewed or, more accurately, reinvented lineage contended that Dragon and Tiger Mountain was the site of Zhang Daoling's alchemical experiments and that the Zhang family had established themselves on the site in the time of the fourth Celestial Master, Zhang Sheng 張盛, the first lineage holder to take up permanent residence there. The movement gained prestige, power, and patronage through the Song and Yuan dynasties and arguably reached its apex of influence in the early Ming dynasty when the forty-third lineal Celestial Master Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (d. 1410 C.E.) was charged with the compilation of a new canon and given command over Daoist affairs throughout the empire.

The claim of illustrious ancestry which served as the basis of the institutional charisma of the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain required a narrative of

---

dated to 255 C.E. lament the “heterodox” practices and general lack of discipline into which the community has descended. *Commands and Admonitions* is found in the *Scripture on Precepts and Codes Taught by the Celestial Master, from the Texts of the Law of Orthodox Unity* (*Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiao jieke jing* 正一法文天師教戒科經 HY 788 ZHDZ 8.321-323).

stable and uninterrupted succession. It is somewhat surprising then that a comprehensive generation by generation hagiographical account of the family line was only produced under the auspice of the lineage several hundred years after the first indications of their emergence on the historical stage. That work, the *Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master* (*Han Tianshi shijia* 漢天師世家), was first undertaken at the behest of the forty-second Celestial Master Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 (d. 1378 C.E.) and was brought to initial completion under the direction of his son Zhang Yuchu. The enlarged and revised edition of the text that is presently extant was produced in the time of the fiftieth Celestial Master Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥 (d. 1611).<sup>2</sup>

The *Hereditary Household* is a pedigree. It is intended to serve as documentary proof that the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain were the direct descendants of Zhang Daoling and to silence any contention over the matter. In Zhang Yuchu's own words, "this, what is called the *Hereditary Household*, is the basis of all discussion regarding lineal history."<sup>3</sup> The text also serves as an assertion of the ongoing benefit granted by the Zhang family Celestial Masters to the empire throughout history. The biographical entries in the text read as a catalogue of disasters averted by means of the ritual prowess of lineage holders and as a chronicle of the grateful recognition the family received from a succession of imperial households as a consequence of the Zhang family's tireless service to the empire. As such it is both a statement of legitimacy and an

---

<sup>2</sup> *The Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master* (*Han tianshi shijia* 漢天師世家 HY 1451 ZHDZ 46.340-370).

<sup>3</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.370).

advertisement of sorts to those rulers and high officials who might hope to benefit from patronage of the Celestial Masters as their predecessors are said to have done.

This dissertation consists of a translation and study of the *Hereditary Household* that encompasses the creation of the text itself, the circumstances that brought about its composition, and the history of the Zhang family lineage as it may be traced through sources other than those produced by the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. The first chapter, (“The Textual History of the *Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master*”) is an attempt to distinguish the various strata of the text and to weigh the contributions of those who had a hand in the work’s creation. The chapter opens with a discussion of earlier judgments of scholars on the text’s provenance. From there I delve into the complex and contradictory evidence regarding the work’s authorship on the basis of information internal and external to the text itself.

While it is certain that the *Hereditary Household* was initiated by the forty-second Celestial Master Zhang Zhengchang and that the current edition was produced at the direction of the fiftieth Celestial Master Zhang Guoxiang the exact nature of the contributions made by those two men as well as those of the forty-third Celestial Master Zhang Yuchu, the historian Song Lian 宋濂, and the editor Zhang Yue 張鉞 is not easy to parse on the basis of available evidence and, as such, is given considerable scrutiny in this study. For the sake of context and in order to provide an insight into the social circumstances of the composition of the *Hereditary Household* the first chapter is also inclusive of biographical sketches and, where relevant, discussions of the literary output

of each of the figures who contributed to the text either by authoring entries, editing the work, or providing a preface.

The first chapter concludes with a consideration of those hagiographical works that precede and potentially inform the content of the *Hereditary Household*. Although the text was intended to serve as the final and definitive word on the lineage it was not the first chronicle of generations of the Zhang family. I consider the possible influence of earlier texts such as Bai Yuchan's 白玉蟾 early thirteenth century collection of poetic eulogies for Celestial Masters of the first through twentieth generation, "In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters," (*Zan lidai tianshi* 贊歷代天師) and Zhao Daoyi's 趙道一 late thirteenth or early fourteenth century hagiographical collection *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages* (*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑).<sup>4</sup> I close the chapter with a consideration of hagiographical works that predate the *Hereditary Household* but are now either lost save for fragments preserved in other texts or citations in catalogues.

Chapters two through four run in a chronological parallel to the *Hereditary Household* and use the biographical entries in the text as a point of comparison and orientation for an exploration of the imagined history of the lineage found therein as

---

<sup>4</sup> "In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters," is found in *Collected Works Written on Mount Wuyi* (*Wuyi ji* 武夷集) which itself is preserved in the compilation *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 HY 263 ZHDZ 19.964-965). *The Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages* (*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 HY 296 ZHDZ 47.213-579).

distinguished from the actual historical circumstances of the Zhang family between the fall of Zhang Lu's theocracy in 215 C.E. and the appearance of the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Here, as is also the case in the *Hereditary Household*, I begin with the inaugural Celestial Master and follow the trail of his descendants down through history and across southern China from the Ba and Shu region in which the lineage originated to the Danxia sandstone cliffs of Dragon and Tiger Mountain in what is presently Jiangxi province.

The second chapter, ("The Three Masters: Zhang Daoling, Zhang Heng, and Zhang Lu in History and Hagiography") consists of a comparison of the biographical details of the "three masters," (*sanshi* 三師) as found in the *Hereditary Household* and other Daoist Sources with early historical works such as *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi* 三國志) of the third century C.E., *Record of Huayang* (*Huayang guo zhi* 華陽國志) of the fourth century C.E., and *History of the Latter Han* (*Hou Han shu* 後漢書) of the fifth century C.E. The degree to which the narrative set forth in these early (and almost uniformly hostile) histories may be shown to be subverted in the *Hereditary Household* and other hagiographical works offers great insight into the process whereby the lineage reimagined itself. Through the careful excision of incidents which depict the lineage in a negative light (e.g. Zhang Lu's acceptance of titles from the warlord Cao Cao, the claim that Zhang Daoling fabricated scriptures to deceive the people) and the insertion of elements that present the three masters as upright, loyal, and ritually efficacious history was reshaped to fit the rhetorical needs of the movement.



The third chapter, (“The Celestial Masters in Diaspora”) is concerned with evidence regarding the fate of the Zhang family lineage following Zhang Lu’s death, particularly where questions of lineal inheritance are concerned, as well as the matter of alternate lines of transmission outside of the Zhang family. The chapter opens with an overview of hagiographical sources on the fourth Celestial Master. Though absent from the historical record and from those scriptures composed by the Celestial Masters faithful in diaspora the figure of the fourth Celestial Master provides a needed point of connection between the “three masters” and the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. I accordingly consider the development and content of his biography as seen in the *Hereditary Household* and other sources.

I next survey the state of the Way of the Celestial Masters as it is knowable to us on the basis of the content of texts produced by the movement in the Six Dynasties period. Works such as the *Scripture of the Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (*Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經) and *Master Lu’s Abridged Codes for the Daoist Community* (*Luxiansheng daomen kelue* 陸先生道門科略), both datable to the fifth century C.E., paint a picture of a community in disarray and lacking leadership. None of these sources make mention of a contemporary inheritor of the mantle of Celestial Master. There were, however, members of the Zhang family who appear in scattered sources of Daoist and Buddhist origin as well as in the epigraphic record. Although there is little agreement between these sources and the *Hereditary Household* on the status of the Zhang family from the Three Kingdoms through the end of the Tang they indicate that members of the household enjoyed some degree of elevated status on account of their ancestry.

The chapter closes with a consideration of alternate lines of transmission. This includes a discussion of the possibility of a tradition that has Zhang Daoling's prized disciples Wang Chang 王長 and Zhao Sheng 趙昇 as the inheritors of his Way. I also consider how the vacuum left by the absence of a Zhang family lineage holder allowed for others such as Li family rulers of the third century Cheng Han Kingdom 成漢 and Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 of the Northern Wei 北魏 to either establish their own religiously informed Daoist kingdoms in imitation of the Celestial Masters parishes or claim the mantle of Celestial Master.

In the fourth chapter, ("The Emergence of the Lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain") I grapple with the issue of when the Zhang family Celestial Masters headquartered in Jiangxi first established themselves. The chapter opens with a survey of earlier scholarship on the movement's origins. From there I proceed to consider the earliest references to the mountain in a religious context and then move on to literary and epigraphic evidence of the family's presence on the mountain dating to the Tang dynasty or earlier. The chapter closes with an overview of sources dating to the Five Dynasties and later that offer evidence of the hagiographical tradition that would reach its endpoint with the *Hereditary Household*. I also give a brief overview of those "post-emergence" literary works and canonical texts in which the presence of the Zhang family on Dragon and Tiger Mountain is taken for granted.

The fifth and final chapter, ("Criticism and Defense of Lineal Authenticity") follows two lines of inquiry. In the opening portion of the chapter I posit that the

*Hereditary Household* may be understood as a slightly late addition to a genre of texts composed by Buddhists, Daoists, and Confucians beginning in the Tang dynasty and continuing through the Yuan in which an ancient and enduring lineage is posited as a means of laying claim to institutional legitimacy in hopes of securing power, prestige, and imperial favor. The structure and rhetorical thrust of the *Hereditary Household* is in keeping with the template set down by these earlier works. In the latter portion of the chapter I review those Buddhist and Confucian works in which pointed attacks on the lineage of the Zhang family Celestial Masters are made and contend that the *Hereditary Household* was partially composed as a bulwark against the doubts and aspersions cast on lineal authenticity in those texts.

The first appendix consists of an annotated translation of the first three fascicles of the *Hereditary Household*. That portion of the text is inclusive of five prefaces, an introit, and the hagiographies of the Celestial Masters of the first through forty-fourth generation. This is followed by an annotated translation of a colophon to the *Hereditary Household* attributed to Zhang Yuchu.

The field of Daoist studies is relatively young and as such our map of the religion is yet riddled with patches of *terra incognita*. This dissertation represents an initial foray into the lineal history of the Zhang family Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain, a topic that has been given relatively little scholarly attention despite the movement's prominence as one of the major post-Tang expressions of the religion. It also serves as a historical overview of the Zhang family from their initial rise to prominence in the Ba and Shu region in the late Han dynasty through centuries of powerless obscurity

in the Six Dynasties into the Tang which culminates in the emergence of the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. More broadly, this dissertation is a contribution to the growing sub-field of studies that illustrate the centrality of lineal continuity and inherited prestige (whether through transmission or birthright) to authority in Chinese religion in the mid to late imperial period.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE *HEREDITARY HOUSEHOLD OF THE HAN* *CELESTIAL MASTER*

#### (1.1) *Dating the Text: The Earliest Recensions*

Zhang Yuchu's colophon to the *Hereditary Household* closes with an exhortation to his disciples and successors. "Those of later generations must urge themselves on to maintain order and transmit the teachings and not allow them to fall into ruin. This, what is called *Hereditary Household*, is the basis of all discussion regarding lineal history."<sup>1</sup> The rhetorical aim of the text is clear enough but the history of its composition is muddled. Existing evidence allows for reasoned speculation but little certainty with regards to the work's various strata and the specific input of individual editors and composers. In this chapter I review previous scholarly appraisals of the text's provenance. I then consider the biographies of those who contributed to the text. Finally, I consider those earlier or nearly contemporary works that anticipate or echo the narrative of the *Hereditary Household*.

The origin and content of the *Hereditary Household* has been the subject of relatively little attention from researchers. More broadly, the Celestial Masters lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain as a whole has been greatly understudied considering the enduring impact of the movement on the history of China's indigenous religion. The

---

<sup>1</sup> *Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master* (*Han tianshi shijia* 漢天師世家 HY 1451 ZHDZ 46.370).

dearth of scholarly inquiry into the <sup>2</sup>movement's origins and development is particularly notable when compared to the impressive number of recent works published on the teachings, practices, and, in particular, the lineage of that other great post-Tang Daoist movement, the Complete Perfection sect (*Quanzhen dao* 全真道) of the Yuan. Those scholars who have written on the Upright Unity Daoism of Dragon and Tiger Mountain are by and large more focused on the question of the lineage's time of emergence. The content and context of the *Hereditary Household* itself has not been the subject of any in-depth inquiry. To the extent that the text has been studied the matter has been left to rest with the conclusion that the work is accretionary in nature. There is a consensus that the text was initially compiled by the forty-second Celestial Master Zhang Zhengchang 張正常, whose son Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 carried on his work. A later edition, that which is currently extant, was produced under the auspices of the fiftieth Celestial Master Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥. Evidence internal to the text suggests that all three men, along with the historian Song Lian 宋濂 and the editor Zhang Yue 張鉞, played some role in shaping the extant version of the work.

An entry on the *Hereditary Household* written by Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling in *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, and an entry by Judith Boltz in *The Encyclopedia of Daoism* both emphasize that the present four fascicle version of the text first published in the *Supplementary Daoist Canon of the Wanli Reign*

---

*Era* (*Wanli xu daoze* 萬曆續道藏) of 1607 is an expanded version of an earlier text.<sup>3</sup>

Schipper and Binlang acknowledge that the work was first undertaken by Zhang Zhengchang and revised by Zhang Yuchu. They note that while “the present enlarged version” that was published under the supervision of the fiftieth Celestial Master Zhang Guoxiang “includes as its last entry the life of the Forty-ninth Heavenly Master,” and that it also includes “many traces of earlier editions.”<sup>4</sup>

Boltz, whose book *A Survey of Taoist Literature, Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*, set the gold standard for English language research on post-Tang Daoism offers a well-reasoned and cautious appraisal of the text in the *Encyclopedia of Taoism* and elsewhere. Her entry on the *Hereditary Household* in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* contains the following introductory synopsis:

Three Prominent Celestial Master patriarchs of the Ming are responsible for the compilation of this biographical account of the Zhengyi lineage centered on Mount Longhu (Longhu shan, Jiangxi). The forty-second Celestial Master Zhang Zhengchang (1335-78) initiated the work. His son, the forty-third Celestial Master, Zhang Yuchu (1361-1410) prepared it for publication and the fiftieth Celestial Master Zhang Guoxiang (?-1611) enlarged the text, adding biographies for patriarchs of the forty-second to forty-ninth generations to the original collection of forty-one accounts.<sup>5</sup>

Her entry on Zhang Guoxiang in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* also indicates that she understands the bulk of the text to originate with Zhang Yuchu. The entry includes the observation that “the 1607 supplement to the Taoist Canon includes a copy of the

---

<sup>3</sup> Kristofer Schipper and Yuan Bingling, “*Han tianshi shijia*,” in *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, eds., Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) 2:898-899. Judith M. Boltz, “Lineage of the Han Celestial Master,” *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 1:470-471.

<sup>4</sup> Schipper and Bingling, “*Han tianshi shijia*,” 2: 898.

<sup>5</sup> Boltz, “Lineage of the Han Celestial Master,” 1: 470.

*Han Tianshi shijia* (Lineage of the Han Celestial Master) by Zhang Zhengchang with eight additional biographies supplied by Zhang Guoxiang.”<sup>6</sup> Finally, in *A Survey of Taoist Literature, Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* she is less specific regarding the layers of the text’s composition in writing that the *Hereditary Household* is “the product of editorial work spanning only the period from the fourteenth to sixteenth century.”<sup>7</sup>

This understanding of the text as having passed through the hands of the forty-second and forty-third Celestial Masters before reaching its final form under the supervision of Zhang Guoxiang is largely echoed in other reference sources and encyclopedia entries including Ren Jiyu’s 任繼愈 *Encyclopedia of Religion* and Qing Xitai’s *Chinese Daoism*.<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere, the text’s authorship is attributed to one or another of those historical Celestial Masters who had a hand in its compilation. In a brief article on the question of the historicity of Zhang Gao 張高, the fifteenth Celestial Master, Russell Kirkland describes the *Hereditary Household* as an “early Ming compilation by Chang Cheng-ch’ang.”<sup>9</sup> Liu Ts’un-yan concurs in writing that the text was, “compiled by Zhang Zhengchang, the forty-second Celestial Master.”<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Boltz, “Zhang Guoxiang,” *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 2:1227.

<sup>7</sup> Judith M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature, Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California, 1987), 62.

<sup>8</sup> *Zongjiao da cidian* 宗教大辭典, ed. Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, (Shanghai: Cishu chubanshe, 1998), 302. *Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教, ed. Qing Xitai 卿希泰, (Shanghai: Zhishi chubanshe, 1994), 2:203-204.

<sup>9</sup> Russell Kirkland, “Chang Kao: Noteworthy T’ang Taoist?” *T’ang Studies* 2 (1984): 31.

<sup>10</sup> Liu Ts’un-yan, “Was Celestial Master Zhang a Historical Figure?” in *Daoism in History: Essays in Honor of Liu Ts’un-yan*, ed. Benjamin Penny, (New York: Routledge, 2006): 190.



One scholar whose opinion on the text would be a welcome addition to the conversation is Wang Jianchuan 王見川. Wang has written extensively on the Celestial Masters of Dragon and Tiger Mountain and while his more recent work is focused on the movement in contemporary Taiwan his dissertation and several early articles trace the history of the movement.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, he does not take up the *Hereditary Household* as an object of inquiry but rather simply notes that the work was compiled in the Ming.

The attribution to the forty-second Celestial Master is partially accurate in that the project that resulted in the *Hereditary Household* was initially undertaken by Zhang Zhengchang. Whether he himself composed the work is unclear as the various colophons appended to the work contradict one another on the matter of authorship. The unsigned and undated general introduction to the *Hereditary Household* informs us that “the forty-second generation descendent of the Perfected of the Zhang family composed this, a record of his hereditary household in one fascicle.”<sup>12</sup> The introduction continues in describing his delegation of authority to a disciple: “the Celestial Master charged Fu Tongxu, a Daoist of the Upper Clarity Belvedere, with the task of recruiting Song Lian to compose a preface to the present work.”<sup>13</sup> This tallies with the first preface to the *Hereditary Household*, attributed to Song Lian and dated to 1376 C.E. which includes a

---

<sup>11</sup> Wang Jianchuan’s dissertation offers a focused and highly informative overview of the history of the Celestial Masters movement with a particular emphasis on the Song dynasty emergence of the movement at Dragon and Tiger Mountain as a religious and political force. Wang Jianchuan 王見川, “Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu yi longhu shan yixi wei kaocha zhongxin” 張天師之研究:以龍虎山一系為考察中心, (Ph.D. diss., National Chung Cheng University, 2003).

<sup>12</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.340).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

brief biography of the forty-second Celestial Master that begins with the following note, “When Zhang Zhengyan passed on he was succeeded by Zhengchang who was the son of the Master of Grand Mystery. Zhengchang’s style name is Zhongji and he is the current Celestial Master.”<sup>14</sup>

It is also apparent that revisions were undertaken in the time of the forty-third Celestial Master. The nature or extent of changes to the text as it stood in the time of Zhang Zhengchang and Song Lian is unclear. The second preface, composed by Song Lian’s protégé Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 and dated to 1390 C.E., offers some small amount of insight into the process of revision undertaken by the forty-third Celestial Master. Su acknowledges that the hagiographical collection was first set down by Zhang Zhengchang in writing that “this, the Hereditary Household in one fascicle, was established by the Celestial Master of the forty-second generation, the Great Perfected of Broad Virtue Who Venerates the Way and Expounds on the Ancestral Way with Penetrating Earnestness, the Protector of the Nation and Inheritor of the Orthodox Unity Teachings.”<sup>15</sup> He closes the preface with the following appreciation of Zhang Yuchu’s contribution to the work:

The current Celestial Master, the Sage of Effortless action, has said “Actions that long endure arise from words that are elegant.” This work has been refined and adorned so that it may be replicated and transmitted into the world. And how could I, the vulgar Boheng, not be compelled to compose this supplementary preface? I have observed the caution that the Sage of Effortless Action has taken in editing this work to the end of

---

<sup>14</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.342)

<sup>15</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.343).

carrying forth the merit of his predecessors so that the present age of the household may reflect their enduring power.<sup>16</sup>

An undated colophon composed by Zhang Yuchu and appended to the fourth fascicle includes words of praise for his father but makes no mention of Zhengchang's contributions to the compilation of the *Hereditary Household*. Nor, for that matter, does he offer any insight into his own editorial contributions. Rather, he appears to credit Song Lian with the compilation of the *Hereditary Household* on the basis of earlier sources:

Fu Tongxu paid his respects to the grand scribe Lian who prefaced this work and hastily set to the task of putting it into order. The old compositions had been scattered and their purport corrupted. The responsibility of editing and collating those works had been usurped and additions were made causing the printing blocks to be expanded. It is by drawing on these numerous works that the annals of the predecessors may be brought to completion.<sup>17</sup>

The history of the early recensions of the text is further complicated by an attribution which precedes the hagiography of Zhang Daoling 張道陵 at the opening of the second fascicle. There, a certain Zhang Yue 張鉞 of Anren 安仁, located in the vicinity of Dragon and Tiger Mountain, is named as the text's compiler.<sup>18</sup> The attribution is followed by a brief "Introit to the Hereditary Generations of Celestial Masters," (*Tianshi shizhuan yin* 天師世傳引) in which it is said that "the lineage has been transmitted from age to age and presently we are in the forty-eighth generation."<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.370).

<sup>18</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.346).

<sup>19</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.346).

Schipper and Bingling attribute the introit to Zhang Yue and further attest that he “was a personal friend of the Forty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yanpian 張彥頤 (d.1537).”<sup>20</sup>

Judith Boltz is more cautious in her entry in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, stating simply and factually that Zhang Yue is listed as collator and that “internal evidence reveals that the introductory tribute was authored by a contemporary of the forty-eighth Celestial Master Zhang Yanpian 張彥頤(d.1550).”<sup>21</sup>

Schipper and Bingling do not cite any sources in support of their claims and extant evidence is not supportive of the attribution of the introit to Zhang Yue nor does it indicate a personal relationship with the forty-eighth Celestial Master. The introit is unsigned and no mention is made of Zhang Yue in the biographical entries on Zhang Yanpian in either the *Hereditary Household* or the Qing dynasty edition of the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu shan zhi 龍虎山志)*. Zhang Yue is likewise absent from the sole extant biographical entry on Zhang Yanpian in a non-Daoist source, that found in the Qing dynasty *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi (Jiangxi tongzhi 江西通志)*.<sup>22</sup>

On the basis of what may be gleaned from reading the *Hereditary Household* it is not entirely implausible to suppose that Zhang Yue may well have written the introit. It

---

<sup>20</sup> Schipper and Bingling, “Han tianshi shijia,” 2:898.

<sup>21</sup> Boltz, “Lineage of the Han Celestial Master,” 1:471. The date of death which Boltz gives in her entry (1550 C.E.) corresponds to that found in the *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.368). I am not aware of any biographical sources that correspond to the date given by Schipper and Bingling.

<sup>22</sup> *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi (Jiangxi tongzhi 江西通志 SKQS 90.16-17)*.

appears in the text immediately following his attribution as collator and the date of the collation indicates that he was a contemporary of the forty-eighth Celestial Master.<sup>23</sup> The attribution to Zhang Yue is, however, rendered highly unlikely by the presence of a preface which serves as the introduction to the biographical section of Zhou Zhao's 周召 mid-fifteenth century revised edition of the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*, a work originally compiled by Yuan Mingshan 元明善 in 1314 C.E. The introit in the *Hereditary Household* is largely identical to a preface to an unnamed work found in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. One key distinction between the two versions of the preface/introit is that the reference to the forty-eighth generation found in the *Hereditary Household* is replaced with reference to the thirty-seventh generation in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. The thirty-seventh generation Celestial Master Zhang Yudi 張與棣 was active in the final decade of the thirteenth century suggesting that the preface is contemporary to Yuan Mingshan's compilation of the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*.<sup>24</sup> In all likelihood then the introit was simply recopied and repurposed from the earlier source and edited to appear contemporary to readers of the then newly re-collated edition of the *Hereditary Household*.

The present version of the *Hereditary Household* consists of four fascicles whereas internal evidence makes it evident that the version compiled under Zhang

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. The biography reiterates the details of his career given in the *Hereditary Household* and also states that he passed the *jinshi* exam at the outset of the Zhengde 正德 reign era of Ming Wuzong 明武宗 (1505-1521 C.E.).

<sup>24</sup> *Sandong shiyi* 三洞拾遺 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005) 13:12. Citations of the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* will be made in reference to the pagination of the *Sandong shiyi* edition, the most legible of the commercially available scans of the hand written text.

Zhengchang consisted of a single fascicle. In the present edition the first fascicle consists of a general introduction followed by the prefaces of Song Lian and Su Boheng. These are followed by three additional introductions written at the request of Zhang Guoxiang. Of these three new prefaces one is undated, another is dated to 1593 C.E., and a third to 1597 C.E. The second fascicle begins with Zhang Yue's attribution followed by the introit, a lengthy biography of Zhang Daoling, and biographical entries for the second through twenty-eighth Celestial Masters. Fascicle three contains biographies of the twenty-ninth through forty-fourth Celestial Masters. Fascicle four contains biographies of Celestial Masters of the forty-fifth through forty-ninth generations and closes with Zhang Yuchu's postface.

Zhang Guoxiang's signature is appended to Yuchu's postface and is dated to the upper prime (*shangyuan* 上元) day of the thirty-fifth year of the Wanli reign era, a date which corresponds to Feb 11, 1607 C.E.<sup>25</sup> There is reason to believe this date was chosen for its symbolic significance and is not an actual indication time of the text's completion. The day of the upper prime (the fifteenth day of the first lunar month) is the date of the first of the three annual gatherings of the Celestial Masters community. Tradition holds that these are the dates when the assembled deities of the three bureaus tally the celestial records of life and death with those of the terrestrial realm. The year 1607 C.E. is that in which the Supplementary Daoist Canon of the Wanli Reign Era, a project overseen by Zhang Guoxiang, was completed.

---

<sup>25</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.370).

Zhang Guoxiang did not compose a colophon on the *Hereditary Household* but three prefaces composed at his request suggest that the expanded edition was completed, if not necessarily in circulation, prior to 1607 C.E. The undated third preface, composed by Wang Dexin 王德新 (*jinshi* 1573 C.E.), tells of Zhang Guoxiang providing a copy of the work for his perusal:

Beneath Mount Lu my sails were drained of wind when suddenly the boat of Zhang, the perfected one, drew near. In the evening we moored and bowed cheerfully to one another like old friends with longstanding ties. He produced a satchel containing the *Hereditary Household* of the Han Celestial Master for my perusal and said, “It is my hope that you will provide a word in order to burnish the memory of my ancestors.” Struck dumb, I received the work so that I might read it. With a sigh I said, “The brush strokes of Grand Scribe Song have not been expunged. What benefit is there to be gained from my participation?”<sup>26</sup>

The fourth preface, composed by Yu Wenwei 喻文偉, the Investigating Censor of the Yunnan Circuit (*Yunnan dao jiancha yu* 雲南道監察御), and dated to the spring of 1597 C.E. also indicates a familiarity with the finished work:

It is not sufficient that the completion of the *Hereditary Household* be called an extraordinary accomplishment. I’ve made this extraordinary journey to these exquisite environs and obtained this, the *Hereditary Household* of the Celestial Master. How could it not be honored? I have accordingly provided a preface in order to praise the greatness of this work!<sup>27</sup>

The fifth and final preface was composed by the painter and calligrapher Zhou Tianqiu 周天球 (d. 1595 C.E.) and is dated to 1593 C.E. He makes it abundantly clear

---

<sup>26</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.344).

<sup>27</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.345).

that Zhang Guoxiang sought his contribution and he likens himself to Song Lian whose services were courted by the forty-second Celestial Master:

In the midst of the Hongwu reign era the forty-second Celestial Master requested a preface to the Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master from the academician Song Lian of Jinyao. This is widely known. A span of more than two hundred years has passed and now I am greatly pleased that the fiftieth Celestial Master has contacted me at my residence in the capital. On the way to court on the road at Wumen he encountered me. How is it that this refined and courteous Ruist scholar should possess the Way? A letter arrived by rapid post from a distance of one thousand li requesting that I compose a preface to this volume.<sup>28</sup>

If Zhang Guoxiang was seeking out contributions to the expanded edition of the *Hereditary Household* as early as 1593 C.E. then it is reasonable to presume that the text was complete at that time. Yu Wenwei's preface suggests that a copy was in circulation as early as 1597 C.E., ten years prior to the date of publication given by Guoxiang himself.

Zhang Guoxiang's actual contribution to the *Hereditary Household* is as difficult to pin down as the date of the text's completion. It is generally assumed that Zhang Guoxiang composed or at least edited the biographies of the Celestial Masters of the forty-second to forty-ninth generations.<sup>29</sup> No such claim is made anywhere in the text itself. The three prefaces that were composed at Guoxiang's request simply indicate that he sought out those eminent personalities who provided colophons but there is nothing to suggest what, if any, role he played in the compilation of the work. It is entirely possible that biographies of the Celestial Masters of the forty-second through forty-seventh or

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> See, Boltz, "Zhang Guoxiang," *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 2:1227. Schipper and Bingling, "Han tianshi shijia," 2: 898.



forty-eighth generations were added by Zhang Yue when he recompiled the text in the early to mid-sixteenth century. If this were the case then Zhang Guoxiang's edition may differ from that compiled by Zhang Yue only through the inclusion of the three additional prefaces and one or two additional biographies.

In a recent dissertation Neil E. McGee both acknowledges that the *Hereditary Household* passed through the hands of several editors and appears to dismiss the possibility that those earlier iterations of the work had any bearing on the text in its current form or, for that matter, any impact on the perception of the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain prior to 1607 C.E. He repeatedly implies that as the current version of the *Hereditary Household* dates to 1607 C.E. the work is to be understood as a product of the early seventeenth century. He does acknowledge that some form of the work predated Zhang Zhengchang in writing that the “genealogy appears to be accretionary, having been begun at the end of the Song, updated in the Yuan, and amended later in the Ming.”<sup>30</sup> Yet, he contends that, “the genealogy in its current form dates precisely to 1607 and this places it firmly within the context of the late Ming compilation of the Supplement to the Zhengtong Daozang.”<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Neil E. McGee, *Questioning Convergence: Daoism in South China During the Yuan Dynasty* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2014): 188. This claim is partially correct though there is no evidence for a late Song version of the text. It may be that he is suggesting that the biographies contained within the *Hereditary Household* have roots in works such as the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected and Transcendents who Embodied the Dao throughout the Ages* but he does not directly suggest that this is the case.

<sup>31</sup> McGee, *Questioning Convergence*, 188.

McGee repeatedly emphasizes the 1607 date of Zhang Guoxiang's recension as a moment of particular importance for the lineage.<sup>32</sup> His conclusion on the matter is as follows: "after *Hereditary House* was completed in 1607, for all intents and purposes the patriarchs of the Zhang family of Mount Longhu became the Celestial Masters, the embodiment of the late-Han dynasty Daoist tradition and the spiritual authorities over Daoism since time immemorial."<sup>33</sup> I am unable to find evidence in support of the claim that the publication of the 1607 C.E. edition of the *Hereditary Household* was a watershed moment that finally established the influence and pedigree of the Han Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

There is, on the contrary, ample reason to believe that the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain were well established and in receipt of a good deal of imperial patronage long before the publication of the *Wanli Supplement*. Zhang Guoxiang had already been appointed editor of the Daoist Canon prior to 1607 just as his ancestor Zhang Yuchu was appointed editor of the Ming canon some two hundred years earlier. There is strong evidence in the historical record to suggest that imperial titles and honors were accorded to Celestial Masters of the Zhang family lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain as far back as the early eleventh century and that the movement had a

---

<sup>32</sup> At no point does he invoke the text without referencing the date of 1607. See, McGee, *Questioning Convergence*, 122, 124, 170, 188.

<sup>33</sup> McGee, *Questioning Convergence*, 124.

significant impact on the history of Daoism as early as the charismatic thirtieth Celestial Master Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (d.1297).<sup>34</sup>

Likewise, there is no reason to presume that various recensions of the text weren't in circulation between Zhang Yuchu's initial publication and Zhang Guoxiang's expanded edition. It is difficult to reconcile the contention that the text was the work of several editors across three dynasties with the notion that its publication in 1607 C.E. transformed the general understanding of the Zhang family lineage. Further evidence is needed to bolster the argument that the publication of the expanded version of the *Hereditary Household* in 1607 C.E. was the moment that the lineage Dragon and Tiger Mountain "became" the Celestial Masters. Also, there is evidence to the contrary that must be accounted for before the argument may be considered tenable.

### (1.2) *General Conclusions on the Recensions of the Hereditary Household*

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, perhaps in the form of a new Dunhuang containing a cache of scripts inclusive of earlier iterations of the *Hereditary Household*, it is impossible to trace with certainty the changes the text underwent from the time of Zhang Zhengchang to the edition included in the canonical supplement of 1607 C.E. Based on evidence internal to the text itself, however, certain observations may be made with certainty. It is clear that the *Hereditary Household* was initiated by Zhang Zhengchang, that Song Lian's preface was composed under the auspices of the

---

<sup>34</sup> This is a topic that will be considered and revisited throughout the course of the present study. A succinct and thoroughly researched source for information on the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the Song dynasty is Wang Jianchuan 王見川, "Longhu shan Zhang tianshi de xingqi yu qi zai Songdai de fazhan" 龍虎山張天師的興起與其在宋代的發展, *Guangwu tongshi xuebao* 光武通識學報 1 (2005): 243-284.

forty-second Celestial Master, and that the original text consisted of a single fascicle. Zhang Zhengchang's exact role in the composition of the *Hereditary Household* is unclear. The unsigned and undated general preface to the present edition indicates that he wrote the text himself. Su Boheng's preface of 1390 C.E. somewhat ambiguously states that the text was "established" (*zhi* 制) by Zhengchang who ordered his disciples to "draft" the work (*chuangzao* 創造).<sup>35</sup> The uncertainty over Zhang Zhengchang's role is compounded by Zhang Yuchu's postface which seems to indicate that Song Lian both composed a preface and also served as editor of the work.

Su Boheng's preface indicates that Zhang Yuchu revised the text and prepared it for publication. Unfortunately, Yuchu does not specify the nature of his contributions in his own colophon. The text apparently remained untouched for four generations and a century until it was recompiled by Zhang Yue and the introit was added at some point in the first half of the sixteenth century. Though we know that Zhang Yue recompiled the work in the time of the forty-eighth Celestial Master there is no indication as to who charged him with the task or whether the work was expanded or simply edited at the time. The present version of the text was compiled under the supervision of Zhang Guoxiang, the fiftieth Celestial Master, at which point three prefaces and an uncertain number of biographies were added.

### (1.3) *Contributors to the Hereditary Household: Zhang Zhengchang*

---

<sup>35</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.343).

As we have seen Zhang Zhengchang's role in the compilation or composition of the *Hereditary Household* is not entirely clear. As he did not leave a colophon or commentary to that work and as no other texts in the Daoist Canon are attributed to him our knowledge of the forty-second Celestial Master is essentially limited to a trio of sources; a memorial inscription by Song Lian, the biographical entry in the *Hereditary Household* that draws heavily upon it, and brief entries in the *History of the Ming* (*Ming shi* 明史).<sup>36</sup> The lack of a written legacy and the great praise that he received from individuals in positions of great power indicate that Zhengchang's contribution to the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain is to be found not in his literary efforts but in his personal charisma and relationship with Song Lian and, through him, the Hongwu Emperor 洪武.

In the *History of the Ming* an early meeting between Zhang Zhengchang and the Hongwu Emperor is recorded as follows:

Zhang Zhengchang's honorific was Chongji. He was the forty-second generation descendant of Zhang Daoling of the Han and resided at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Guixi. In the Yuan dynasty his lineage was awarded the title Celestial Master. When Ming Taizu took Nanchang Zhengchang dispatched an emissary to pay his respects to the court on two occasions. In the inaugural year of the Hongwu reign (1368 C.E.) Zhengchang paid a congratulatory visit to the Emperor on his ascent. Taizu asked, "Heaven has a master?" He altered Zhang's title and bestowed the honor Perfected

---

<sup>36</sup> Song Lian's cumbersomely titled "Spirit Way Inscription for the Forty-Second Generation Celestial Master, Inheritor of the Upright Unity Teachings, Duke Zhang the Great Perfected of the Vast Virtue who Venerates the Way with Complete Sincerity, Elucidates the Ancestral Teachings and Safeguards the Nation," (*Sishi er dai tianshi zhengyi sijiao huguo chanzu tongcheng chongdao hongde dazhenren Zhang gong shendao beaming* 四十二代天師正一嗣教護國闡祖通城崇道弘德大真人張公神道碑銘,) is found in the *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 [Collected Daoist Epigraphy], eds. Chen Zhichao 陳智超 and Zeng Qingying 曾慶瑛, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988): 1240-1242. It is also preserved in the collected works of Song Lian, (*Wenxian ji* 文憲集 SKQS 18. 19-26).

Inheritor of the Upright Unity Teachings and granted him a silver seal and a second grade rank.<sup>37</sup>

The incident is also mentioned in a passage in the treatises (*zhi* 志) section of the *History of the Ming* in which the fluctuation between bestowal and denial of imperial favor to the Zhang family is synopsized:

The Upright Unity Perfected of Dragon and Tiger Mountain is a title holder of the second grade. In the inaugural year of the Hongwu reign era Zhang Zhengchang was granted an audience. He lost the honorific of Celestial Master and was enfeoffed as a Perfected. In the time of the Emperor Longqing the title of Perfected was altered to Superintendent. At the outset of the Wanli reign era the titles were reverted.<sup>38</sup>

The revocation of the title of Celestial Master by Ming Taizu is not found in sources produced within the movement nor does it appear in those composed by Song Lian. In both the *Hereditary Household* and Song Lian's memorial inscription a relationship between the Celestial Master and the emperor is established through several encounters prior to Taizu's ascent to the throne. In the *Hereditary Household* it is even said that "in the initial or *dingmo* year of the Wu reign era (1367 C.E.) the Celestial Master made a petition to Zhu Yuanzhang urging him to ascend the throne."<sup>39</sup>

The language of the account of the Celestial Master's congratulatory visit found in the *Hereditary Household* closely mirrors that of the *History of the Ming* with the key exclusion of the revocation of the title and the telling inclusion of a banquet held in Zhengchang's honor as well as additional honors and privileges granted to him at the

---

<sup>37</sup>*History of the Ming* (*Mingshi* 明史 SKQS 299.26).

<sup>38</sup> *History of the Ming* (SKQS 74.28).

<sup>39</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.361).

time. These include a salaried post and exemption from taxation and corvee labor for members of his household and staff.<sup>40</sup> Following the banquet the emperor heaped even greater honors on Zhengcheng including the bestowal of a title explicitly acknowledging him as Celestial Master of the forty-second generation:

After the banquet the emperor issued a writ of direct order from the inner palace bestowing upon the Zhengchang command over the teachings of Upright Unity and granting him the title Descendant of the Han Celestial Master in the Forty-Second Generation, the Great Perfected of the Vast Virtue who Venerates the Way with Complete Sincerity, Elucidates the Ancestral Teachings and Safeguard's the Nation.<sup>41</sup>

The title given in the above passage is also said to have been granted to Zhengchang in the inaugural year of the Hongwu reign in Song Lian's memorial, the "Spirit Way Inscription," and in his preface to the *Hereditary Household*.<sup>42</sup> It is also found in *Chronological Register of the Gracious Ordinances of the Illustrious Ming* (*Huangming enming shilu* 皇明恩命世錄). The honorific is found in a document titled "Proclamation of Bestowals to the Great Perfected the Forty-Second Celestial Master," (*Shou sishi er dai tianshi da zhenren gao* 授四十二代天師大真人誥) which purports to be a pronouncement made by Ming Taizu in the year 1370 C.E.<sup>43</sup> That work, which consists in the main of honors and proclamations made by Ming dynasty emperors to the Celestial Masters of the forty-second to forty-ninth generations, has yet to receive thorough study. It was composed at a relatively late date and included in the supplement

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 1241. *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.342).

<sup>43</sup> *Chronological Register of the Gracious Ordinances of the Illustrious Ming* (*Huangming enming shilu* 皇明恩命世錄 HY 1450 ZHDZ 46.315).

of 1607 C.E. Given the time of the text's initial appearance and the absence of many of the documents found within from corroborating official sources, the validity of the *Chronological Register* as a historical document should perhaps be approached with a healthy dose of skepticism.

Another biographical matter of import that is treated inconsistently across sources is that of Zhang Zhengchang's position in the Daoist hierarchy of his day. The *Hereditary Household* tells us that when he was feted by the newly installed Hongwu Emperor Zhengchang "was given command over Daoist affairs and granted a silver seal and ceremonial position of the second rank and the emperor established the posts of Assistant Teacher and Chief Secretary among others whose duty was to assist the Celestial Master."<sup>44</sup> The *Chronological Register* includes a corroborating document, the "Declaration on the Addition of the Bestowal of Command over Daoist Affairs in Perpetuity," (*Jia shou yongchang daojiao shi gao* 加授永掌道教事誥) dated to the twelfth month of the fifth year of the Hongwu reign era (December 26, 1372 to January 23, 1372 C.E.).<sup>45</sup> It should be noted that the document is not found in compilations of Ming Taizu's writings or other extant imperial sources.

The proclamation is immediately preceded in the *Chronological Register* by an entry dated to the sixth month of the third year of the Hongwu reign era (June 24, 1370 to July 27, 1370 C.E.) in which the emperor bestows titles upon Zhang Zhengchang's father

---

<sup>44</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.361).

<sup>45</sup> *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.315).



and mother, inquires after the nature of ghosts and spirits, and grants the Celestial Master a silver seal of command over all Daoist affairs throughout the empire.<sup>46</sup> This differs slightly from the telling of events in the *Hereditary Household*. There, the honorifics are granted to his parents in the summer of 1370 C.E. and the seal of command in the autumn of that year.<sup>47</sup>

In Song Lian's preface to the *Hereditary Household* it is held that "Zhengchang was given command over Daoist affairs, gifted a pair of silver seals, and granted a ritual garment embroidered with silver and gold."<sup>48</sup> No year is given for the bestowal. In Song Lian's "Spirit Way Inscription" no such claim is made. The narrative of the inscription follows that of the *Hereditary Household* and that implied in the *Chronological Register* but with two key points of divergence. The "Spirit Way Inscription" includes an entry for an audience between Zhengchang and the Hongwu Emperor in 1372 C.E. but there it is simply said that the Celestial Master received imperial favor. Also, nothing is said in that source about the Celestial Master being charged with command over Daoist affairs.<sup>49</sup>

While the emperor may or may not have granted Zhengchang command over Daoist affairs it is evident that the Celestial Master died while in the good graces of the ruling house of the Ming. According to the *Hereditary Household* the Minister of Rites

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.361).

<sup>48</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.342).

<sup>49</sup> *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 1241.

Zhang Chou 張籌 was charged with composing a memorial for the Celestial Master.<sup>50</sup>

The *Chronological Register* records that the emperor himself ordered Zhang Chou to compose an obituary for Zhang Zhengchang in the eleventh year of the Hongwu reign era (1378 C.E.).<sup>51</sup> This is corroborated in Song Lian's *Wenxian ji* in a passage that gives Zhengchang's date of death as the fifth day of the twelfth month of the *dingsi* year of the Hongwu reign era (January 4, 1378 C.E.).<sup>52</sup>

Zhang Zhengchang's biography in the *Hereditary Household* closes with the emperor grieving over his death before drafting a memorial of his own:

The Emperor gave a heart rending sigh of grief and was silent for some time. Finally, he said, "I had hoped to command him to perform supplications at the Five Marchmounts. We have presently arrived at Mount Song. How could fate have brought him to such an end?" With this he produced a memorial to the Celestial Master and commanded An Qing, the Assistant Administrator of the Branch Secretariat of Zhejiang to pronounce the eulogy.<sup>53</sup>

This same proclamation of grief is found in the opening passage of the "Spirit Way Inscription," and while the verbatim transcription of Taizu's lamentation is quite possibly apocryphal it appears that he did actually compose a memorial to Zhang Zhengchang.<sup>54</sup> In the *Collected Compositions of Ming Taizu* (*Ming Taizu wenji* 明太祖文集) the elegy appears under the title "Memorial Writ for the Perfected Zhang

---

<sup>50</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.362).

<sup>51</sup> *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.316).

<sup>52</sup> *Wenxian ji* 文憲集 (SKQS 18.20).

<sup>53</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.362).

<sup>54</sup> *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 1240.

Zhengchang” (*Ji zhenren Zhang Zhengchang wen* 祭真人張正常文).<sup>55</sup> In the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* it is appended to Zhang Zhengchang’s biography.<sup>56</sup> In the *Chronological Register* it concludes the section on honors bestowed on the forty-second Celestial Master.<sup>57</sup>

(1.4) *Contributors to the Hereditary Household: Song Lian*

Song Lian’s contributions to the promotion of the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain both in his capacity as a writer and historian and through his personal relationship with Zhang Zhengchang cannot be underestimated. Song Lian served as an advisor to Ming Taizu and as tutor to the heir apparent. He was editor of the *History of the Yuan* in his capacity as head of the Bureau of History, and served as Hanlin Academician among other posts. His status and reputation were such that his participation in the drafting of the *Hereditary Household* must have granted considerable prestige to the undertaking and imbued the content of the work with a degree of authority. As has been shown, Song Lian’s “Spirit Way Inscription” served as the basis of the biography of the forty-second Celestial Master in the *Hereditary Household* and it is possible that the work as a whole bears his editorial stamp.

His major and indisputable contribution to the work is the lengthy preface that accounts for the majority of first fascicle in the present edition of the *Hereditary*

---

<sup>55</sup> *The Collected Writs of Ming Emperor Taizu* (*Ming Taizu wenji* 明太祖文集 SKQS 18.14).

<sup>56</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.24).

<sup>57</sup> *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.316).

*Household*.<sup>58</sup> In the main, his preface runs parallel to the main text, offering biographies of the first through forty-second Celestial Masters. These vary greatly in terms of length and detail. With the exception of eminent figures such as Zhang Daoling and Zhang Lu 張魯 early generations are largely glossed over. This tendency is exemplified by his account of the sixth through ninth generations:

Zhang Zhaocheng fathered Shu. Emperor An of the Jin summoned Shu to court but he did not answer the call. Zhang Shu fathered Hui. Zhang Hui fathered Jiong. Zhang Jiong fathered Fu.<sup>59</sup>

Song Lian's preface diverges from the structure of the biographies found in the *Hereditary Household* in that he begins not with Zhang Daoling but with a series of eminent cultural heroes who share the surname Zhang and who may be traced back to the Yellow Emperor himself or, at any rate, the grandson of the mythic thearch:

The name Zhang derives from the Hui clan. The fifth son of Xuan Yuan's son of the Qingyang clan wielded a bow and arrow. He created the bow and arrow, spread nets to capture birds and beasts, and offered sacrifices to the bow star. He took command of these duties and so was granted the surname Zhang.<sup>60</sup>

Other putative ancestors include Zhang Zhong 張仲 who is known to literary history as "the filial and friendly" of the *Shijing* poem "Sixth Month," (*Liu yue* 六月) and Zhang Liang 張良 Marquis Wencheng of Liu 留文成侯. Zhang Liang 張良 is known to history for his attempted assassination of the tyrannical Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 and

---

<sup>58</sup> Song Lian's preface is also found in *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 1238-1240. It is included in his collected works, *Wenxian ji* (SKQS 7.42-48). Both versions are identical to that found in the *Hereditary Household*.

<sup>59</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.341).

<sup>60</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.340).

for his loyal service as an advisor to the founding emperor of the Han dynasty. Song Lian is not the first to identify Marquis Wencheng as one among Zhang Daoling's ancestor's but his presence in the preface and his repeated invocation throughout the *Hereditary Household* serves to reinforce the pedigree of the Zhang Celestial Masters as descendants in a line renowned for loyal service to righteous rulers.<sup>61</sup>

The lineage continues through a number of lesser known officials and eminences who preceded the ancestral Celestial Master. Song Lian bridges the genealogy of Zhang Daoling's predecessors and descendants with assurances on the validity of the claimed line of descent and an assertion that the Celestial Masters are of even greater worth than those who preceded them:

The thread of his transmission is long and profound, flourishing beyond the esteemed family that preceded him. There are those who enter into discourse without examining the matter who believe that Marquis Liu's descendants vanished from the nation and that he was without heirs. Truly, they are ignorant of the fact that his descendants are presently flourishing in the north and south alike.<sup>62</sup>

Song Lian's Daoist proclivities are little attested to in official biographies or memorials but ample evidence of his connection to the religion in general and to the Zhang family in particular, albeit much of it fragmentary or circumstantial, is found in the historical record. In *Collected Daoist Epigraphy* alone there are several inscriptions attributed to Song Lian, six of which pertain directly to the Celestial Masters of Dragon

---

<sup>61</sup> The earliest reference to Zhang Liang as an ancestor of the Zhang Celestial Master appears to be that found in the fifth century *Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (*Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經 HY 1196 ZHDZ 8.546) wherein Zhang Daoling is said to be his great-great-grandson.

<sup>62</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.340).

and Tiger Mountain. In addition to his preface to the *Hereditary Household* and the “Spirit Way Inscription” for Zhang Zhengchang the collection includes a pair of inscriptions dedicated to Fu Tongxu, the acolyte of the forty-second Celestial Master, an inscription for the Upper Clarity Palace at Dragon and Tiger Mountain, and a “Spirit Valley Stele for Deng, the Master of Refinement,” (*Deng lianshi shenggu bei* 鄧鍊師神谷碑) in which Song Lian is dispatched by Emperor Taizu to request Zhengchang’s services in performing rituals to ameliorate natural disasters.<sup>63</sup> The last of these is of particular interest as it includes incidents not found in extant biographies of the forty-second Celestial Master.

Fragmentary evidence exists elsewhere suggesting that Song Lian’s work on behalf of the Zhang family may have extended beyond the aforementioned materials. Most intriguing is the listing of a lost work attributed to Song Lian, *Traditions of the Household of the Zhang Celestial Master* (*Zhang tianshi jiachuan* 張天師家傳) in the mid sixteenth century *Catalogue of Qianqing Hall* (*Qianqingtang Shumu* 千頃堂書目).<sup>64</sup> An example of Song Lian’s hagiographic output is found in the Qing dynasty *Comprehensive Record of Jiangnan* (*Jiangnan tongzhi* 江南通志). There we find a

---

<sup>63</sup> The inscriptions for Fu Tongxu are “Record of Tongxu in Alpine Residence,” (*Tongxu shanfang ji* 同虛山房記) and “Preface to Tongxu’s Poem of Lamentation,” (*Zhuan tongxu ganyu shi xu* 傳同虛感遇詩序) *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 1245-45; “Inscribed Preface to the Zhang Family Superintending Abbot of Great Upper Clarity Upright Unity Myriad Longevity Palace,” (*Tai shangqing zhengyi wanshou gong zhichi tidian Zhang gong beiming xu* 太上清正一萬壽宮住持提點張公碑銘序) *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 1234-34; “Spirit Valley Stele for Deng, the Master of Refinement,” (*Deng lianshi shenggu bei* 鄧鍊師神谷碑) *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 1242.

<sup>64</sup> *Catalogue of Qianqing Hall* (*Qianqingtang Shumu* 千頃堂書目 SKQS 15.18).

miracle tale pertaining to Zhang Daoyu 張道裕, a twelfth generation descendant of the Han Celestial Master, that is cited as deriving from a “Prefatory Inscription of Song Lian” (*Song lian ming xu* 宋濂銘序). The story concerns a cinnabar well that was dug by Daoyu on the spot of the Beckoning Perfection Belvedere (*Zhaozhen guan* 招真觀) in the vicinity of Yushan 虞山 in Jiangsu at the onset of the Tianjin 天監 reign era of the Southern Liang Emperor Wu 武帝 (502-519 C.E.). In the Chunxi 淳熙 reign era (1174-1189 C.E.) of the Song Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 a Daoist dredged up the well and discovered a cinnabar stone on the spot which transformed into a pair of red doves.<sup>65</sup>

If the fragment is authentic it demonstrates a certain amount of flexibility on Song Lian’s part where the lineal history of the Zhang Celestial Masters is concerned. In his preface to the *Hereditary Household* as in the body of the text itself the twelfth Celestial Master is named Zhang Heng 張恆 rather than Daoyu and his biographical entry consists of a brief sermon on governance through effortless action delivered to Tang Gaozong. The story attributed to Song Lian in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangnan* does echo an extant tradition, however. A pair of fragments from *Traditions of Those who Studied the Way* (*Daoxue zhuan* 道學傳) pertaining to a Zhang Celestial Master of the twelfth generation by the name of Yu 裕 who established a Beckoning Perfection Belvedere are preserved in the *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽) and

---

<sup>65</sup> *Comprehensive Record of Jiangnan* (*Jiangnan tongzhi* 江南通志 SKQS 37. 46).

*True Appearances of Categories Pertaining to the Way of Highest Purity (Shangqing dao leishi xiang 上清道類事相)*.<sup>66</sup>

(1.5) *Zhang Yuchu and his Literary Legacy*

In keeping with the precedent set by his predecessor Zhang Yuchu courted imperial patronage and was rewarded for his efforts. In contrast to the forty-second Celestial Master Yuchu also left behind a substantial literary legacy. Most notably the Yongle Emperor 永樂 charged him with revising and editing Daoist Works in 1406 C.E. The intended scope of the original project is not clear though the undertaking eventually resulted in the Daoist Canon of the Ming. The *Hereditary Household* simply reports that “in the *bingxu* year he was ordered to revise and edit Daoist works.”<sup>67</sup> The *Chronological Register* includes a vaguely worded proclamation charging Yuchu with the compilation of Daoist works that is dated to the eleventh month of the fourth year of the Yongle reign era (December 29, 1406 C.E.).<sup>68</sup> The order is also mentioned in the

---

<sup>66</sup> *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era (Taiping yulan 太平御覽 SKQS 666.5-6). True Appearances of Categories Pertaining to the Way of Highest Purity (Shangqing dao leishi xiang 上清道類事相 HY 1124 ZHDZ 28.381-404). Traditions of Those who Studied the Way* was a hagiographic compendium compiled by Ma Shu in the mid-Sixth century. Originally consisting of twenty fascicles the work was lost at some point prior to the compilation of the Ming dynasty canon as it is numbered among the texts in the *Catalogue of Scriptures Missing from the Daoist Canon (Daozang quejing mulu 道藏闕經目錄 HY 1419 ZHDZ 49)*. A great number of Fragments of *Traditions of Those who Studied the Way* are found in a wide range of sources including *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns*, *Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns*, and *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*. For a study and translation of the now fragmentary text see Stephan Peter Bumbacher, *Fragments of the Daoxue Zhuan*, (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000).

<sup>67</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.362).

<sup>68</sup> *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.317).



introduction to Yuchu's reference work *Ten Guidelines of the Gate of the Way* (*Daomen shigui* 道門十規).<sup>69</sup>

The compilation was unfinished at the time of Yuchu's death in 1410 C.E. The project apparently went dormant for a time and was revived on the order of the Zhengtong Emperor 正統. Final revisions to the Canon were completed under the supervision of the court Daoist Shao Yizheng 召以正 in 1444 C.E.

Zhang Yuchu composed the *Ten Guidelines* in the wake of the Yongle Emperor's order to compile and revise Daoist texts in 1406 C.E. and the content of that work suggests that it was composed to serve as a sort of encapsulation of the project.<sup>70</sup> As such, it is an interesting patchwork that provides an insight into those matters that Yuchu must have believed to be of primary importance. It contains sections on the history of Daoism, scriptures and registers, and the proper practice of retreat rituals. It is also inclusive of more prosaic matters less often discussed in such compendia such as the funding and management of temple complexes.

Yuchu's self-composed preface and the first section, "Origins and Sects of Daoism," offer insight into his understanding of the religion's history and of those movements he considered to be of import in his own time. His history of Daoism begins with the initial manifestation of the Way to the world of men by recounting Laozi's descent, in the guise of The Master of Broad Accomplishment (*Guangcheng zi* 廣成子),

---

<sup>69</sup>*Ten Regulations of the Gate of Daoism* (*Daomen shigui* 道門十規 HY 1222 ZHDZ 42.369).

<sup>70</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 26.369).

to the Yellow Emperor. From there he proceeds to an account of Daoist philosophers of sagely rule such as Zhuangzi 莊子 and Liezi 列子 before ultimately arriving at his own illustrious predecessor:

My ancestor, the Celestial Master established the teachings in the Eastern Han. Transcendent Duke Ge and Xu Jingyang established their sects under the Wu and Jin. When we speak of the teachings they are divided into Upright Unity and Complete Perfection. When we speak of the methods there are Pure Tenuity, Numinous Gem, and Leiting.<sup>71</sup>

This is a somewhat idiosyncratic grouping considered in light of the broad sweep of Daoism's history but one that is understandable given Yuchu's cultural context of southern China in the early Ming dynasty. Transcendent Duke Ge (*Ge xiangong* 葛仙公) is Ge Xuan 葛玄 who is traditionally held to be the first earthly recipient of the Numinous Gem scriptures. Xu Jingyang 許旌陽 is Xu Xun 許遜, an upright official and dragon slayer of the Eastern Jin around whom a movement called the Way of Filiality (*Xiaodao* 孝道) originated in the Tang at Western Mountain (*Xishan* 西山) to the northwest of Nanchang. A revived and revised form of the cult of Xu Xun known as the Way of Purity and Brightness (*Jingming dao* 淨明道) that blended elements of Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism rose to prominence in the Song, attracting the patronage of Emperor Huizong, and continued to flourish in the Yuan. Most of the scriptures produced by the movement are datable to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While the movement may have been past its peak of influence, the Myriad Longevity Palace

---

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

(*Wanshou gong* 萬壽宮) complex at Western Mountain would have remained an active locus of movement in Zhang Yuchu's time.

The division of the teachings into Upright Unity and Complete Perfection is an evident reflection of the two major institutional forms of Daoism in the early Ming. The division of methods into Pure Tenuity, Numinous Gem, and Leiting also likely reflects Yuchu's own place of residence in southern China. The Pure Tenuity (*Qingwei* 清微) ritual methods which blended thunder rites with esoteric Buddhism came into being in Fujian in the late Southern Song and had spread throughout Jiangxi by the turn of the fourteenth century. Thunderclap rites (*Leiting* 雷霆) are a variety of thunder magic promulgated by the Divine Empyrean (*Shenxiao* 神霄) ritual master Wang Wenqing 王文卿 in the first half of the twelfth century that also spread throughout south China shortly after their creation.

Certain post-Tang compendia of Numinous Gem rites bear some connection to the Upright Unity tradition at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Among other factors this is perhaps due to the close proximity of Dragon and Tiger Mountain to the Numinous Gem ordination center at Mount Gezao (*Gezao shan* 閣皂山). Accordingly, Zhang Yuchu himself took considerable interest in and participated in Numinous Gem rites. He composed a colophon to the *Inner Methods of the Grand Ultimate for Sacrificing to and Sublimating*, (*Taiji jilian neifa* 太極祭鍊內法) a rite of deliverance (*pudu* 普度) found

among the Numinous Gem ritual texts in the canon.<sup>72</sup> His collected works includes a “Discussion on Numinous Gem Salvation [Rite] of Refinement and Crossing Over” (*Lingbao liandu pu shuo* 靈寶鍊度普說).<sup>73</sup> The *Hereditary Household* records that Zhang Yuchu performed the Great Retreat of the Jade Register (*Yulu dazhai* 玉籙大齋) a Numinous Gem rite, for Emperor Taizu in 1383 C.E and for the Yongle Emperor in 1407 C.E.<sup>74</sup>

The undated ritual manual *Jade Mirror of Numinous Treasure* (*Lingbao yujian* 靈寶玉鑑) contains rites that derive from the Upright Unity school.<sup>75</sup> The early thirteenth century *Standard Rituals of the Limitless Yellow Register Great Retreat* (*Wushang huanglu dazhai lichen yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀) was compiled by a disciple of Liu Yongguang 留用光 and is based on his teachings.<sup>76</sup> Yongguang was an Upright Unity and thunder rites ritual master who lived at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the latter half

---

<sup>72</sup> *Inner Methods of the Grand Ultimate for Sacrificing to and Sublimating* (*Taiji jilian neifa* 太極祭鍊內法 HY 548 ZHDZ 32.67).

<sup>73</sup> *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* (*Xianquan ji* 峴泉集 HY 1300 ZHDZ 26.222-224).

<sup>74</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.362).

<sup>75</sup> *Jade Mirror of Numinous Treasure* (*Lingbao yujian* 靈寶玉鑑 HY 547 ZHDZ 35.440-739) contains rites that derive from Upright Unity Daoism. See John Lagerwey, “Jade Mirror of the Numinous Treasure,” *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, eds. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 2:1020.

<sup>76</sup> *Standard Rituals of the Limitless Yellow Register Great Retreat* (*Wushang huanglu dazhai lichen yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 HY 508 ZHDZ 43.28). See Boltz, *Survey of Taoist Literature*, 41.

of the twelfth century whose biography appears in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*.<sup>77</sup>

In his colophon to the *Hereditary Household* Yuchu writes that “the only thing to be feared is disgracing the good name of the family.”<sup>78</sup> In keeping with that concern, a common thread running throughout his writing is the promotion and preservation of his lineage. As we have seen Yuchu lists Zhang Daoling as one among those to receive a manifestation of the deified Laozi in his introduction to *Ten Guidelines*. In that same source he highlights Zhang Daoling’s lineage and activities at Dragon and Tiger Mountain:

In speaking of the establishment of Daoism, it is from antiquity. The Yellow Emperor encountered The Master of Broad Accomplishment at Mount Kongtong. The ancestral Celestial Master refined cinnabar at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. He subdued and commanded ghosts and spirits ameliorating disaster and warding off calamity. The historical generations (of the lineage) have not been swept away. Their supplications are met with response and are invariably thorough and complete.<sup>79</sup>

Yuchu’s concern with bolstering the image of his illustrious ancestors is particularly evident in his compilation of *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master, the Perfected Sovereign of Void Tranquility* (*Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* 三十代天師虛靖真君語錄), a collection consisting of one fascicle of prose and six

---

<sup>77</sup> Liu Yongguang’s biography is found in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.31). He is said to have received ritual methods from Zhang Fuyuan 張輔元. Context suggests that this is Zhang Daoling who is referred to by a similar title, Ancestral Master Assisting Instructor of the Three Heavens who Aids the Primordial, the Great Methods Master and Perfected Sovereign (*Zushi santian fujiao fuyuan da fashi zhenjun* 祖師三天扶教輔元大法師真君), in *the History of the Ming* (*Ming shi* 明史 50.212).

<sup>78</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.371).

<sup>79</sup> *Ten Guidelines* (ZHDZ 42.639).

of poetry attributed to his famous ancestor.<sup>80</sup> Zhang Jixian lived during the reign of Song Huizong 徽宗 (r.1100-1126 C.E.) and the *History of the Song* (*Songshi* 宋史) records that the emperor granted him the title Prior Born of Void Tranquility (*Xujing xiansheng* 虛靖先生).<sup>81</sup> Due in no small part to his role in the opening chapter of *The Water Margin* (*Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳) and his appearance in countless “records of the uncanny” (*zhiguai* 志怪) and popular plays to say nothing of his posthumous career as a patron of thunder magic rites, the thirtieth Celestial Master is arguably second only to Zhang Daoling in terms of eminence.<sup>82</sup>

Yuchu’s preface to *Recorded Sayings*, dated to 1395 C.E., tells of the efforts he went to in recompiling the collected works of his ancestor which had been scattered throughout the libraries of various Daoist institutions. An appraisal of the relationship between the compilation and the actual literary output of Zhang Jixian is not easily arrived at.<sup>83</sup> While many of the works in the collection are not corroborated elsewhere

---

<sup>80</sup> *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master, the Perfected Sovereign of Void Tranquility* (*Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* 三十代天師虛靖真君語錄 HY 1239 ZHDZ 26.131-154).

<sup>81</sup> *History of the Song* (*Songshi* 宋史 SKQS 20.2).

<sup>82</sup> See Florian C. Reiter, “The Discourse on the Thunders by the Taoist Wang Wen-ch’ing,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 14.3 (2004): 207-229.

<sup>83</sup> A comprehensive examination of *Recorded Sayings* has yet to be undertaken. In his entry on the text in *The Daoist Canon* Vincent Goossaert writes that “some of these works might well be later fabrications.” See Vincent Goossaert, “Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu,” *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, eds., Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 2:932. Judith Boltz similarly opines that, “Chang Chi-hsien’s short and illustrious career under Sung Hui-tsung seems to have been amplified to almost legendary proportions in both hagiographic and narrative works. Thus, many of the literary and ritual texts linked to him may ultimately prove to be later fabrications.” Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature*, 194.

certain among them are indisputably authentic. For instance, *The Hereditary Household* includes the following episode:

The emperor dispatched an envoy to ask after the essentials of the Way. He inquired as to what might be learned of spirit transcendence and to surmise if deathlessness is attainable. In response the Celestial Master composed the “Song of the Great Way”, and entrusted it to the envoy.<sup>84</sup>

The “Song of the Great Way” (*Dadao ge* 大道歌) is found in *Recorded Sayings* of the Thirtieth Celestial Master.<sup>85</sup> It is also preserved in the late Yuan or early Ming dynasty compilation *Collected Essential Sayings of the Gathered Immortals* and the early Yuan compilation *Esoteric Record on Nourishing Life*.<sup>86</sup>

Another poem, the “Water Melody Lyric,” (*Shuitiao getou* 水調歌頭) is not reproduced in any earlier sources and was likely composed to provide supporting evidence to a widely circulated legend. It is preceded in the *Recorded Sayings* by a note claiming that it was previously bestowed upon Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 the possibly legendary practitioner of thunder magic with who Zhang Jixian is often associated.<sup>87</sup> In the *Hereditary Household* it is said that Sa Shoujian was travelling at Verdant Citadel Mountain (*Qingcheng shan* 青城山) sixteen years after Zhang Xujing’s death:

---

<sup>84</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.354).

<sup>85</sup> *Recorded Sayings* (ZHDZ 26.136).

<sup>86</sup> *Collected Essential Sayings of the Gathered Immortals* (*Qunxian yaoyu zuanji* 群仙要語纂集 HY 1247 ZHDZ 27.370-371). *Esoteric Record on Nourishing Life* (*Yangsheng bilu* 養生祕錄 HY 579 ZHDZ 19.642).

<sup>87</sup> *Recorded Sayings* (ZHDZ 26.151).

He reached the mouth of a ravine when he encountered an individual who handed him a work containing instructions on the talismanic arts, the “Water Melody Lyric”, a sealed writ, and a single shoe. It then dawned upon Sa Shoujian that his companion was the inheriting Celestial Master.<sup>88</sup>

The bulk of Zhang Yuchu’s written legacy is contained in his collected works, the *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* (*Xianquan ji* 峴泉集).<sup>89</sup> The history of the various editions of that work is yet another matter that requires further study. According to the *Hereditary Household* a twenty fascicle edition of the *Anthology* titled *Literary Anthology of the Alpine Spring* (*Xianquan wenji* 峴泉文集) was ordered to print by the Prince of Liao.<sup>90</sup> The work underwent some revision after that time. The *Anthology* as it appears in the present Daoist Canon is divided into twelve fascicles whereas an alternate edition found in the *Siku Quanshu* is four fascicles in length. The content of both versions is largely the same with the curious exception of a preface attributed to the Prince of Liao in the *Siku Quanshu* that is reproduced but unsigned in the Daoist Canon edition.<sup>91</sup>

Of particular interest with regards to the history of the lineage is the section of the *Anthology* dedicated to Zhang Yuchu’s collected prefaces. This portion of the work includes his colophon to the *Hereditary Household*, a preface to the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*, a preface to the *Recorded Sayings*, and a postface to the lost but

---

<sup>88</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.354).

<sup>89</sup> *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* (*Xianquan ji* 峴泉集 HY 1300 ZHDZ 26.155-258).

<sup>90</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.363). The Prince of Liao (*Liao wang* 遼王) was Zhu Zhi 朱植, a son of Emperor Taizu.

<sup>91</sup> *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* (*Xianquan ji* 峴泉集 SKQS 1.3-4).



intriguingly titled *Pedigree of the Zhang Family Ancestral Lineage* (*Zhang shi zongxi hou xu* 張氏宗系後序).<sup>92</sup> The section on records and that on inscriptions offer great insight into the temples and sacred sites on and around Dragon and Tiger Mountain and the lore that surrounds them. The information found in these sections largely echoes that found in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. Somewhat surprisingly, the sections on biographies, eulogies, and encomia contain little in the way of material pertaining to the Zhang family itself. This may be accounted for by Yuchu's belief that the *Hereditary Household* was to be considered the final word on the lineage of the Zhang family. As such, the inclusion of such material in the *Anthology* would have been redundant.

The depiction of Daoism's history found in Yuchu's preface to the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* is quite similar to that found in the opening sections of the *Ten Guidelines*. He proceeds from the deified Laozi's initial appearance in the human world as instructor to the Yellow Emperor and arrives, eventually, at his own ancestor as one in a line of recipients of the Way. In this telling, Zhang Daoling's audience with Lord Lao is preceded by that of the Sovereigns Mao (*Mao jun* 茅君) and followed by Xu (Xun) and Ge.<sup>93</sup> The latter must refer here to the Duke Transcendent Ge Xuan 葛玄 rather than one of his notable descendants, Ge Hong 葛洪 and Ge Chaofu 葛巢甫.

A brief biography of Zhang Daoling follows which culminates in his arrival at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in order to refine cinnabar. It includes a somewhat lengthy

---

<sup>92</sup> The colophon to the *Hereditary Household* as it appears here is identical to that found in the work itself though is titled as a preface here rather than a postface. The *Pedigree of the Zhang Family* is not extant.

<sup>93</sup> *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* (ZHDZ 26.180).

description of the mountain itself: “the mountain is renowned throughout the world. It is among the blessed plots, and is spoken of as one of as a triumvirate together with Mount Mao and Mount Gezao.”<sup>94</sup> The reader is then reminded that the Zhang family lineage has proceeded from Zhang Liang, the Marquis of Liu, for forty-eight generations. The remainder of the preface alternates between talk of the numinous character of the mountain with an emphasis on its abundant traces of transcendence and reminders of the unflagging service its resident family rendered unto the empire.

The *Pedigree of the Zhang Family* appears to be entirely lost. I have been unable to track down even fragmentary quotations or references to the work in other sources. As such, the content may only be guessed at on the basis of the title and the content of the preface. Much as the preface to the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* replicates the understanding of Daoist history and the place of the Zhang family within it as found in the *Ten Guidelines*, the preface to the *Pedigree of the Zhang Family* echoes the lineal history presented in Song Lian’s preface to the *Hereditary Household*. Yuchu first tells of his surname’s mythic origin in the person of the Yellow Emperor’s bow wielding grandson and proceeds through a number of renowned personages of the Zhou and Han dynasties before reaching Marquis Liu and then Zhang Daoling whose time engaged in alchemical experimentation at Dragon and Tiger Mountain is given particular emphasis.<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* (ZHDZ 26.182).

One curious piece of information found in the preface to the *Pedigree* that is absent from family histories found in the *Hereditary Household* and *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* is the statement that each descendant from the tenth generation on has resided at the mountain.<sup>96</sup> The issue of residence is not broached directly in the *Hereditary Household* though it is worth noting that many biographies, particularly those of early generations, do not make explicit reference to the mountain. The fourth generation Celestial Master is said to have returned to the mountain and distributed talismans there. Nothing is said of his son's activities. The biography of the sixth generation Celestial Master centers on an encounter with a mythic being at Lake Poyang which, at the least, places him in the general region of the mountain. The seventh generation Celestial Master is said to have wandered to Verdant Citadel Mountain in Shu. It is only at the end of the biography of Zhang Zixiang 張子祥, the tenth Celestial Master, that Dragon and Tiger Mountain is again invoked:

The Celestial Master returned to Dragon and Tiger Mountain. He sent his disciples to all corners of the world in order to proclaim the teachings and accumulate abstruse merit. He made his transformation at the advanced age of one hundred twenty years.<sup>97</sup>

The absence of the fifth through ninth generations from the mountain is not readily explained but the placement of the tenth generation Celestial Master at his ancestral home looks to be grounded in the story of his corpse liberation in multiple sources predating the *Hereditary Household* and the *Anthology of the Alpine Spring*. A

---

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.350).

fragment of the *Inner Traditions of the Celestial Masters* (*Tianshi neizhuan* 天師內傳) which is cited in the 1161 C.E. *Comprehensive Records* (*Tongzhi* 通志) preserved in *Record of the Gathered Immortals of the Three Caverns* records that he quit office and returned to the mountain. After he passed away at more than one hundred years of age his gravesite was exhumed and his coffin was found to be empty.<sup>98</sup> Bai Yuchan's 白玉蟾 early thirteenth century *Collected Works Written on Mount Wuyi* (*Wuyi ji* 武夷集) invokes the tradition in a poetic rendering of the tenth Celestial Master's life which closes with the image of a jade coffin containing only his variegated robes (*Nichang* 霓裳).<sup>99</sup>

(1.6) *The Biography of Zhang Yuchu*

The biography of Zhang Yuchu in the *Hereditary Household* opens with a description of his youthful precociousness which segues into a discussion of his scholarly tendencies:

As he grew to maturity his talents were broad and profound and his scholarship ceaselessly progressed. He had a thorough syncretic knowledge of the three clans which he melded into a single path. He took up the teachings of the various masters and the works of the hundred schools of thought and did not cast any away but gathered them together.<sup>100</sup>

The wide ranging learning and evident ecumenicalism of the forty-third Celestial Master is singled out for praise by the Prince of Liao in the preface to the *Anthology of*

---

<sup>98</sup> *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄 HY 1238 ZHDZ 45.371).

<sup>99</sup> *Collected Works Written on Mount Wuyi* (*Wuyi ji* 武夷集) preserved in *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 HY 263 ZHDZ 19.964).

<sup>100</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.362).

*the Alpine Spring*. There he writes that Yuchu, “mastered the three teachings which he melded into one.”<sup>101</sup> This tendency, at least as it is applicable to various forms of Daoism, is borne out by the content of the *Anthology* which includes hagiographies of the Upper Clarity (*Shangqing* 上清) matriarch Wei Huacun 魏華存 and Zhao Yizhen 趙宜真, codifier of Pure Tenuity ritual, a statement of praise on an image of the Complete Perfection patriarch Wang Chongyang 王重陽, a preface to a Xu family record that was likely produced under the auspices of the Way of Purity and Brightness to honor Xu Xun, and several poems on Mount Mao (*Mao shan* 茅山), the sacred mountain of the Upper Clarity sect.

His interest in Neo-Confucian philosophy is evident in the inclusion of essays on the “Anterior Heaven Diagram” (*Xiantian tu* 先天圖), the “Chart of the Supreme Ultimate” (*Taiji tu* 太極圖) and a “Study of the Traditions of Dong Zhongshu” (*Du dongzhong shu zhuan* 讀董仲舒傳) in the first fascicle of the *Anthology*. An appreciation of post-Tang Confucian thought is also evident in the content of the *Zhengtong daoang* which includes a large number of cosmological works written by eminent *Lixue* scholars, the complete works of the eleventh century Neo-Confucian thinker Shao Yong 邵雍, and Zhu Xi’s 朱熹 commentary on the *Seal of the Unity of the Three* (*Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契). Evidence, of a sort, of a wish to synthesize Daoist and Buddhist concepts is found in Yuchu’s writings on ritual, such as the “Discussion on Numinous Gem Salvation [Rite] of Refinement and Crossing Over.” The question of whether such efforts, which

---

<sup>101</sup> *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* (ZHDZ 26.156).

Yuchu was hardly alone in pursuing, are more accurately viewed as attempts at harmonization or cooption is not something to be explored here.

Biographies in the *Hereditary Household* tend to emphasize miracle stories and tales of imperial patronage. The entry on Zhang Yuchu is no exception, reading as it does as a chronology of audiences with and the bestowals of titles and honors from Ming Taizu and the Yongle Emperor. The earliest of these encounters and endorsements to be corroborated in sources outside of the Daoist Canon is Ming Taizu's presentation of the title Great Perfected, the Shining Standard Bearer who Elucidates the Ancestral Teachings, whose Dao is in Union with Effortless Inaction, Inheritor of the Upright Unity Teachings, (*Zhengyi cijiao daohe wuwei chanzu guangfan zhenren* 正一嗣教道合無為闡祖光範真人) to Zhang Yuchu in either 1379 or 1380 C.E.<sup>102</sup>

In 1381 C.E. the Celestial Master's mother was honored as Mysterious Sovereign of Wondrous Virtue, Humble Simplicity, and Pure Vacuity (*Qingxu chongsu miaoshan xuanjun* 清虛冲素妙善玄君).<sup>103</sup> This is corroborated by the *Veritable Records of the Ming* and the *Chronological Register* both of which include a "Declaration on the Enfeoffment of the Transcendent Sovereign of the Bao Clan," (*Feng Baoshi xuanjun gao*

---

<sup>102</sup> The *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.362) dates the proclamation to the twelfth year of the Hongwu reign era or 1379 C.E. A proclamation in fascicle one hundred thirty of the *Veritable Records of the Ming* (*Ming shilu* 明實錄) that is reproduced in *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 26.316) places the proclamation in the spring of the thirteenth year of the Hongwu reign era (1380 C.E.). An undated copy of the proclamation is found in *The Collected Writs of Ming Emperor Taizu* (*Ming Taizu wenji* 明太祖文集 SKQS 3.14).

<sup>103</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.362).

封包氏玄君誥) that is dated to the twentieth day of the first month of the fourteenth year of the Hongwu reign era.<sup>104</sup>

Many of the imperial summonses found in Zhang Yuchu's biography in the *Hereditary Household* are not referenced outside of Daoist sources. While this should not be taken as proof positive that they were fabricated it is possible in some cases to surmise an underlying narrative or propagandistic purpose. Retreats held to secure the health and longevity of the ruling household or to secure rain in times of drought serve to illustrate the benefits patronage of the Celestial Master held for the realm. Other incidents in which particular favor, power, or protection is granted to the Zhang family might be read as the aspirational precedent setting:

On the first day of the sixth month of the *xinwei* year, the emperor made a declaration to the Ministry of Rites forbidding the production of counterfeit talismans and registers. He also granted the Celestial Master a Seal of the Mysterious Altar of Upright Unity so that he might enforce the prohibition on the unauthorized production of talismans and registers. He was additionally granted guardianship in perpetuity over the renowned mountains.<sup>105</sup>

The text of the emperor's declaration is preserved in the *Chronological Register* under the title "Decree Prohibiting the Spurious Production of Talismans and Registers," (*Jin sichu fulu zhi* 禁私出符籙旨). There, the unauthorized production of tallies and registers is forbidden and the Celestial Master is granted a seal of office and command

---

<sup>104</sup> The date corresponds to February 14, 1381 C.E. The text of the proclamation as it appears in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.317) is identical to that found in fascicle one hundred thirty-four of the *Veritable Records*.

<sup>105</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.362). This date corresponds to July 2, 1391 C.E.

over the renowned mountains (*Ming shan* 名山).<sup>106</sup> The authenticity of the declaration is open to question as an entry in fascicle two hundred of the *Veritable Records of the Ming* records that the Celestial Master was granted seals of office in that year but does not reference any prohibition on counterfeit talismans.

Yuchu appears to have fallen out of favor with Ming Taizu's ill-fated successor. No record of any audience with the Jianwen Emperor 建文 is found in the *Hereditary Household* or, for that matter, any other sources of Daoist origin. His reign is accounted for in the *Hereditary Household* with a brief and possibly euphemistic elision which has Yuchu return to Dragon and Tiger Mountain in order to live in reclusion.

The *Hereditary Household* notes a number of occasions on which Yuchu was called to the court of the Yongle Emperor to be granted honors or charged with undertaking rites on behalf of the nation. For the most part these official summonses are corroborated by proclamations found in the *Chronological Register* though they are rarely found in official Ming sources. For instance, the *Hereditary Household* and *Chronological Register* both attest that Yuchu visited court to wish the Yongle Emperor well soon after his ascension to the throne in 1402 C.E. It is further said that a grant of cash was drawn from the imperial coffers at that time to be used for the repair and refurbishment of Upper Clarity Belvedere. Neither the offering of congratulations nor the disbursement of cash for the restoration of the belvedere is recorded outside of Daoist sources.

---

<sup>106</sup> *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.317).



The initiation of the compilation of what was to become the *Zhengtong daoze* is arguably Zhang Yuchu's most important contribution to the history of Daoism but it receives scant attention in his biography. The *Hereditary Household* simply states that he was called upon to revise and edit Daoist works in the *bingxu* year of the Yongle reign era.<sup>107</sup> According to his biographical entry in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* Yuchu was called to court in that year but the account is silent on the matter of editorial endeavors.<sup>108</sup> A brief proclamation charging Yuchu with the compilation of Daoist texts is found in the *Chronological Register*. The decree urges him to produce a complete set of printing blocks with great haste but gives no sense of the scale of the project or the nature of the works to be included.<sup>109</sup> As noted above, other biographical sources or works attributed to Yuchu, including the *Anthology of the Alpine Spring*, do little to clarify matters regarding what was to become the *Zhengtong Daoze*.

Yuchu's final years were spent in search of the legendary Zhang Sanfeng 張三丰. According to the *Hereditary Household* the Yongle Emperor tasked him with locating the elusive transcendent in 1408 C.E. and, when that effort proved unsuccessful, again in 1409 C.E.<sup>110</sup> An imperial decree cordially inviting Zhang Sanfeng to the imperial court that is dated to the sixth year of the Yongle reign era (October 25, 1408 C.E.) is found in

---

<sup>107</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.362).

<sup>108</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.25). The date corresponds to 1406 C.E.

<sup>109</sup> *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.317).

<sup>110</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.362).

the *Chronological Register*.<sup>111</sup> That same source includes a dispatch addressed to the Celestial Master and dated to the following year in which deep disappointment is expressed over his failure to locate Zhang Sanfeng and ordering a continued search.<sup>112</sup> The *History of the Ming* records that both Ming Taizu and the Yongle Emperor dispatched search parties in hopes of delivering a summons to Zhang Sanfeng. Zhang Yuchu's participation in these imperially sanctioned snipe hunts is not recorded.<sup>113</sup>

The *Hereditary Household* records that Zhang Yuchu's death in 1410 C.E. was met with memorials of condolence from both the crown prince and the Yongle Emperor himself.<sup>114</sup> The texts of these memorials are preserved in the *Chronological Register*.<sup>115</sup> An entry in fascicle one hundred two of the *Veritable Records of the Ming* notes that the crown prince dispatched a message of condolence on the twenty-fifth day of the third month of the eighth year of the Yongle reign era.<sup>116</sup> The *History of the Ming* records that Zhang Yuchu died in 1410 C.E. but does not mention any memorials. The proclamations found in the *Chronological Register* are not reproduced in any official sources.<sup>117</sup>

(1.7) *Contributors to the Hereditary Household: Su Boheng*

---

<sup>111</sup> *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.318).

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> See, Martina Darga, "Zhang Sanfeng," in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 2:1233-1235.

<sup>114</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.363).

<sup>115</sup> *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.318).

<sup>116</sup> April 28, 1410 C.E.

<sup>117</sup> *History of the Ming* (SKQS 299.26).

The only preface to the *Hereditary Household* commissioned by Zhang Yuchu is that of Su Boheng. Dated to 1390 C.E., Boheng's preface follows Song Lian's lengthy introduction in the present edition of the text. He may well have been chosen for the task as a consequence of his association with Song Lian. Originally a person of Jinhua 金華 in what is contemporary Zhejiang, Su passed the *juren* examination in 1362 C.E. and was appointed to a variety of posts including Hanlin Academician and Compiler in the Office of History.<sup>118</sup> Shortly after passing the imperial examinations Boheng encountered Song Lian when they served together at the Lodge of Courteous Virtue (*Lixian guan* 禮賢館) at the behest of Ming Taizu. Song Lian must have thought quite highly of his young colleague. In 1377 C.E. when Song Lian retired he recommended Su as his successor.<sup>119</sup> The following year Song Lian composed the tomb inscription for Su's father.

Boheng's preface departs from the path set by his mentor. Rather than focusing on a generation by generation account of the Zhang family's history he chooses to place them within the context of other great historical lineages noting that while many eminent families from the Zhou and Han onwards have fallen into obscurity the Zhang family has endured. He specifically compares the descendants of the Han Celestial Master to those of Confucius emphasizing that while the methods and teachings of the Zhang and Kong families may superficially differ both lineages have served successive dynasties in order to benefit the nation. This comparison includes an interesting passage composed as an

---

<sup>118</sup> See, "Su Boheng," *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644*, eds. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 2:1214-1216.

<sup>119</sup> *History of the Ming* (SKQS 285.5). Su Boheng declined the position citing illness.

apparent pre-emptive rhetorical defense against those who would raise doubts regarding the antiquity of the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain:

The noble progeny of spirit brightness extend forward in an unbroken line. Are not the Zhang and Kong clans comparable? Could it be that word of the Zhang lineages extinction would fail to reach a mass of auditors? In fact they have endured and flourished down to the present generation. How can it be that there are those who are ignorant of their enduring existence?<sup>120</sup>

While Boheng was confident enough of his own contribution to the *Hereditary Household* to strike off in a different thematic direction from Song Lian he was nevertheless either openly apprehensive of comparisons to the work of his predecessor or simply courteous to a point bordering on the obsequious. He closes his preface with the following note: “I, Boheng, sincerely dare not append this preface to that of Song the elder. To my old acquaintance the Sage of Effortless Action I declare that not a single day passed in which I was not aware that I have overstepped my proper bounds in composing this preface.”<sup>121</sup>

(1.8) *Contributors to the Hereditary Household: Zhang Guoxiang*

As the final recension of the text was edited under his direction there is no biography for Zhang Guoxiang in the *Hereditary Household*. The Qing dynasty edition of the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* includes a brief entry on his life in which it is recorded that he was appointed successor to his uncle Zhang Yongxu 張永緒 when the

---

<sup>120</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.343).

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

intended heir died while still in his minority.<sup>122</sup> His tenure as Celestial Master got off to a rocky start; the *History of the Ming* states that he was stripped of his title, demoted to the fifth grade rank of Supervisor of Upper Clarity Belvedere, and granted a bronze seal of office under the Longqing Emperor 隆慶 (r. 1567-72 C.E.).<sup>123</sup> He petitioned to have his honors reinstated when the Wanli Emperor 萬曆 (r. 1572-1620 C.E.) ascended the throne. The request was granted and he was presented with a gold seal in the fifth year of that ruler's reign.<sup>124</sup> Naturally enough this temporary reversal of fortune does not find its way into his biography in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*.

His biography in that source does tell of him being tasked with the revision of the Daoist Canon in 1585 C.E. This endeavor resulted in the publication of the *Supplementary Daoist Canon of the Wanli Reign Era* of 1607 C.E.<sup>125</sup> He is also credited with the supplement to the *Hereditary Household* and the compilation of a revised *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* in three fascicles.<sup>126</sup>

The final major event of Guoxiang's life to be chronicled concerns a great flood which swept through Guixi in 1609 C.E. leaving the Upper Clarity Palace and its side halls in a state of ruin. The emperor provided funds for its restoration but Guoxiang did not live to see the project through to completion. Upon his death the emperor honored

---

<sup>122</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.154).

<sup>123</sup> *History of the Ming* (SKQS 219.4-5 and 299.217-18).

<sup>124</sup> 1577 C.E. *History of the Ming* (SKQS 299.217-18).

<sup>125</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.154).

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

him with the construction of the Bright Yang Belvedere (*Mingyang guan* 明陽觀) which was built at the site of his internment on Dragon and Tiger Mountain.<sup>127</sup>

There are no texts in the Daoist Canon attributed to Guoxiang. No compendium of his writing analogous to the *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* exists. He left his mark through the compilation of the supplement to the canon and editorial work on the *Hereditary Household and Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* and his editorial stamp is found on a number of other revisions of texts found in the supplement.

The supplement itself remains something of an understudied puzzle. The final compilation was delivered in 1607C.E. some twenty-two years after Guoxiang was charged with its compilation, and consists of a mere fifty-six works. A large number of these are devoted to popular local sects, while others are of a Buddho-Daoist syncretic nature, and a fair number are of a Neo-Confucian bent.

Much as the texts he chose for the supplement to the Daoist Canon are a diverse lot (to say the least), there is no obvious through line to the works he chose to edit. It is accordingly difficult to make generalizations regarding what he felt to be deserving of preservation. Rather, the revisions and compilations credited to him consist of hagiographical, philosophical, and oracular texts.

Guoxiang is credited with a revision of the *Chronicle of the Vast Way* (*Hongdao lu* 弘道錄) a work of Neo-Confucian ethics composed by Shao Jingbang 邵經邦 (d. 1565

---

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

C.E.).<sup>128</sup> On the other end of the spectrum of the “three teachings” he also edited the 1607 C.E. edition of the *Scripture of the Empress of Precious Moonlight, Heavenly Worthy Holy Mother and Radiant Peacock Queen, Pronounced by The Most High Celestial Worthy of Primordial Origin (Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo Bao yueguang huangzhou shengmu tianzun kongque mingwang jing* 太上元始天尊說寶月光皇后聖母天尊孔雀明王經). The work is a Ming dynasty Buddho-Daoist liturgical text which honors a figure modeled after the Buddha’s mother. It is alleged to have been discovered under miraculous circumstances in a cavern on Mount Wudang.<sup>129</sup>

Guoxiang also provided an editorial note to the 1607 C.E. canonical edition of *Record of the Search for Spirits (Soushen ji* 搜神記), a revised edition of a work originally compiled in 1593 C.E. and intended as a spiritual successor to Gan Bao’s 干寶 famous fourth century work of the same name.<sup>130</sup> His signature is appended as editor to the first, third, and fifth fascicles of the *Collected Commentaries to the August Scripture (Huangjing jizhu* 皇經集註) an annotated edition of *Combined Scriptures of the Founding Acts of the Lofty Jade Emperor (Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經註), and a text that is of uncertain provenance but may be at least in part a

---

<sup>128</sup> *Chronicle of the Vast Way (Hongdao lu* 弘道錄 HY 1452 ZHDZ 25.10).

<sup>129</sup> *Scripture of the Empress of Precious Moonlight, Heavenly Worthy Holy Mother and Radiant Peacock Queen, Pronounced by The Most High Celestial Worthy of Primordial Origin (Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo Bao yueguang huangzhou shengmu tianzun kongque mingwang jing* 太上元始天尊說寶月光皇后聖母天尊孔雀明王經 HY 1423 ZHDZ 30.42). See, Ursula-Angelika Cedzich, “Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo Bao yueguang huangzhou shengmu tianzun kongque mingwang jing,” in *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, eds. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 2:1233-34.

<sup>130</sup> *Record of the Search for Spirits (Soushen ji* 搜神記 HY 1476 ZHDZ 45.15).

reconstruction of the *Numinous Gem Miraculous Scripture of Original Action, the Perfected Writ for the Salvation of Humankind* (*Lingbao zhenwen duren benxing miaojing* 靈寶真文度人本行妙經).<sup>131</sup> Finally, Guoxiang is listed as editor of a 1607 C.E. edition of *Sagely Appellation in One Hundred Characters of the Thearch of Dark Heaven* (*Xuantian shangdi baizi shengha* 玄天上帝百字聖號), a text of uncertain origin which contains a paean to the deity attributed to Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022-1063 C.E.) of the Song dynasty and a collection of forty-nine oracle slips.<sup>132</sup>

As Zhang Guoxiang did not himself contribute a preface to the *Hereditary Household* it is tempting to read his own editorial voice in the three additional prefaces that were composed at his request. All three take the antiquity, validity, and loyal service rendered by the Zhang family as their theme. The fourth preface explicitly draws lines of comparison between the Zhang and Kong families in a tone reminiscent of that of Su Boheng albeit slightly harsher and more defensive in tone. The fifth preface is explicit in denouncing the “slander” of Buddhist and Confucians sources that are critical of the Zhang Celestial Masters. As the Celestial Master surely approved of the content of the prefaces prior to their inclusion it may be that he encouraged the placement of his own line on a pedestal of equal height to that of the Kong family. The barbed rejoinders of the

---

<sup>131</sup>*Collected Commentaries to the August Scripture* (*Huangjing jizhu* 皇經集註 HY 1428 ZHDZ 6.92); *Combined Scriptures of the Founding Acts of the Lofty Jade Emperor* (*Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經註 HY 10 ZHDZ 6.88). On the *Numinous Gem Miraculous Scripture of Original Action, the Perfected Writ for the Salvation of Humankind* (*Lingbao zhenwen duren benxing miaojing* 靈寶真文度人本行妙經) see John Lagerwey, *Wu-Shang Pi-Yao* (Paris: Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1981): 265.

<sup>132</sup> *Sagely Appellation in One Hundred Characters of the Thearch of Dark Heaven* (*Xuantian shangdi baizi shengha* 玄天上帝百字聖號 HY 1471 ZHDZ 30.43).



fifth preface may serve as a tardy response to the indignities he suffered under the Longqing Emperor.

(1.9) *Contributors to the Hereditary Household: Wang Dexin*

The first of the three prefaces composed at Zhang Guoxiang's direction was written by Wang Dexin who identifies himself as a regular metropolitan graduate (*jinshi chushen* 進士出身), Minister of the Three Bureaus (*Sanbu shangshu lang* 三部尚書郎) twice summoned to court and Headman of Luodong in Qingyuan (*Qingyuan luodong zhuren* 青原駱洞主人).<sup>133</sup> The degree of Wang Dexin's involvement with Daoism is unclear. Qingyuan is located in the vicinity of Ji'an in contemporary Jiangxi which places him near Dragon and Tiger Mountain for a time at least. A brief biography in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* places his natal home in Anfu 安福, which is in western Jiangxi, and lists a number of additional posts that he held but offers no insight into Daoist proclivities.<sup>134</sup> He is otherwise absent from the historical record save for a single poem in the Qing dynasty *Compendium of Ming Poetry* (*Ming shi zong* 明詩綜).<sup>135</sup>

Guoxiang's preface is the briefest of the five and also the only that is undated. It opens with a first person account of his own yearning for a life in which he could discourse on the Way and indulge in free and easy wandering with Master Redpine and continues in describing an encounter with Zhang Guoxiang. From there the tone shifts

---

<sup>133</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.344).

<sup>134</sup> *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 79.33).

<sup>135</sup> *Compendium of Ming Poetry* (*Ming shi zong* 明詩綜 SKQS 58.32).

and a brief discussion of the pedigree of the lineage and the efficacy of the Zhang Celestial Masters in quelling disasters is taken up.

(1.10) *Contributors to the Hereditary Household: Yu Wenwei*

The fourth preface was composed by Yu Wenwei. Dated to 1597 C.E., the preface identifies him as a person of Yuzhang 豫章, in the Nanchang metropolitan area, a regular metropolitan graduate, Attendant to the Classics Colloquium (*Shi jingyan* 侍經筵), and Investigating Censor of the Yunnan circuit (*Yunnan dao* 雲南道監察御史).<sup>136</sup>

A biographical note in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* states that he was a person of Nanchang who passed the provincial exams (*xianshi* 鄉試) in the fortieth year of the Jiajing reign era 嘉靖 of Ming Shizong 世宗 and corroborates the *Hereditary Household* by recording that he was later made an imperial censor.<sup>137</sup>

His preface opens with a direct comparison of the Zhang family line to that of Confucius:

When those of the present age speak of hereditary households, none are mentioned as frequently as the Kong family. How does one approximate the Han Celestial Masters to the Kong family? The Han Celestial Master Daoling was a descendent of Marquis Wencheng of Liu. Marquis Wencheng received writs from Duke Yellow Stone, took up grain avoidance, and accompanied Red Pine on his journeys. The origins of the profound teachings of the Way arise from him.<sup>138</sup>

---

<sup>136</sup>*Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.345).

<sup>137</sup>*Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 54.55).

<sup>138</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.344).

From there he continues, enumerating the merits of Zhang Daoling and contending that the household has endured in an unbroken line down to the fiftieth generation. He then revisits the topic of the Kong family, accusing the heirs of Confucius of wrongly infringing upon the territory of the Zhang Celestial Masters:

And what of the great and lofty Kong family, some of whom circulate talismans and registers and serve the ghosts and spirits? They are always raised up and flocked to heedlessly. Bah! Is this not petty?<sup>139</sup>

The matter of counterfeit talismans was apparently an issue of real concern for the Celestial Masters. It figures explicitly into the narrative of the Zhang Yuchu's biography. A number of other biographies within the *Hereditary Household* and elsewhere make a point of emphasizing the monopoly of the heirs of the Han Celestial Master on the production and disbursement of the talismans of the three mountains. Generally speaking, the counterfeit production of talismans is pinned upon itinerant Daoists or local cults. I am unaware of any other sources in which the Kong family are said to have been involved in the production of talismans.

Wenwei proceeds from that curious aside to a brief description of cosmogenesis. This is a topic usually broached at the outset of Daoist texts to set a fitting tone of awe and reverence. It is perhaps nowhere else abruptly entered into on the heels of an accusation of copyright infringement. At any rate, he concludes by praising the *Hereditary Household* in general terms and noting that its magnificence compelled him to take up his brush and draft a preface.

(1.11) *Contributors to the Hereditary Household: Zhou Tianqiu*

---

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

The fifth and final preface is dated to 1593 C.E. and signed by Zhou Tianqiu who simply identifies himself as a person of Wu Commandery 吳郡 in what is present day Suzhou.<sup>140</sup> A brief biography in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangnan* identifies him as a person of Chang Zhou 長洲 in what is contemporary Suzhou and describes him as a calligrapher notable for his mastery over a variety of scripts. It records that he attended court during the reign of the Longqing Emperor.<sup>141</sup> The *History of the Ming* tells of a collaboration in which Tianqiu provided the calligraphy for a painting by the renowned landscape artist Qian Gu 錢穀.<sup>142</sup> He was an accomplished painter as well; the Ming dynasty *Essentials of the History of Painting* (*Huashi huiyao* 畫史會要) praises the realism of his lifelike paintings of flowers and birds.<sup>143</sup>

None of the available biographical sources give any sense of Daoist leanings. His own preface suggests that it was only as a result of a chance encounter with Guoxiang in Suzhou that he took on the task of contributing to the *Hereditary Household*. An interest in Daoism that developed in his later years apparently inclined him favorably towards the task of composing a preface to the *Hereditary Household*:

On the way to court on the road at Wumen he encountered me. How is it that this refined and courteous Ruist scholar should possess the Way? A letter arrived by rapid post from a distance of one thousand li requesting that I compose a preface to this volume. Now, from the Hongwu reign era to the Jiajing reign era, eight generations of Celestial

---

<sup>140</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.345).

<sup>141</sup> *Comprehensive Record of Jiangnan* (SKQS 165.49).

<sup>142</sup> *History of the Ming* (SKQS 287.4).

<sup>143</sup> *Essentials of the History of Painting* (*Huashi huiyao* 畫史會要 SKQS 4.65).

Masters have left their traces. As I have grown older I have become a student of the Way. Still, sincerely, I do not dare to exhibit partisanship and denounce Buddhism. As for the three teachings, how could they not all lead to the same end?<sup>144</sup>

The final conciliatory statement towards Buddhism and Tianqiu's self-identification as a Ruist scholar strike a discordant note with the fiery rhetoric which precedes them. The bulk of his preface is given over to a spirited defense of the validity of the Zhang family lineage coupled with a harsh attack on Buddhist and Confucian sources critical of the Way of the Celestial Master. The equivalence of the Zhang family to the heirs of Confucius, a theme central to the prefaces of Su Boheng and Yu Wenwei, is reiterated here. Yet, whereas those prefaces do not go so far as to direct the reader's attention to the source of any misconceptions regarding the august and enduring nature of the Zhang family lineage, Tianqiu singles out specific slanderous works and, with the zeal of the newly converted, praises the oft banned anti-Buddhist polemic *Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians*:

The Celestial Masters have flourished for fifty generations. They are without limit. Their great Way is profound and enduring and proceeds from a place of dwelling within the unknown. Is it not the case that Han Gaozu and Tang Wenzong possessed great merit? And yet are any of their descendants to be found in the present day to which they may be compared? The preposterous slander found in Xuan Guang's Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity and that of Li Ying's *Record of Shu* is insufficient to the task of marring Fu Han. The *Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians* is insufficient to the task of praising Boyang. This is entirely preposterous. I earnestly take the continued flourishing of this lineage as comparable to that of the descendants of Chong Ni. Are they not a matched pair?<sup>145</sup>

Were it the case that Zhang Guoxiang chose to allow the prefaces he commissioned to vent frustrations that he himself was uncomfortable in making plain he

---

<sup>144</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.345).

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

could scarcely have chosen a more willing attack dog than the eminent calligrapher and painter of birds and flowers from Suzhou.

(1.12) *Precedents for the Hereditary Household*

That the *Hereditary Household* was intended to serve as the “final word” regarding the history of the Zhang family lineage is stated explicitly by Zhang Yuchu in the closing statement of his postface: “This, what is called the *Hereditary Household*, is the basis of all discussion regarding lineal history.”<sup>146</sup> The biographical narratives of the *Hereditary Household* do not arise *ex nihilo*, however, but rather were fleshed out on the basis of a lineal tradition that had been circulating in some fashion from the mid-Song dynasty at the latest. Setting aside earlier and relatively well established traditions regarding the first three generations of Zhang Celestial Masters we are left with a small number of sources, some oblique in content and others fragmentary, that may have informed the content of the *Hereditary Household*.

The earliest generation by generation account of Zhang family Celestial Masters is found in Bai Yuchan’s “In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters,” (*Zan lidai tianshi* 贊歷代天師). The early thirteenth century work consists of a series of brief poetic eulogies for Celestial Masters of the first through thirty-second generations.<sup>147</sup> The entries allude to events in the lives of each of the Celestial Masters in

---

<sup>146</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.370).

<sup>147</sup> “In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters,” is preserved in *The Collected Works Written on Mount Wuyi* (*Wuyi ji* 武夷集) which, in turn, is found in the compilation *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 HY 263 ZHDZ 19.964-965).

a clipped and cryptic fashion that nonetheless tallies with traditions fleshed out more fully in narrative form in later hagiographic compendia, including the *Hereditary Household*. The condensed and abstract format of Bai Yuchan's poems of praise suggests that he was drawing on an already established biographical tradition and that he assumed his readers would possess a high enough degree of familiarity with the biographical narratives of individual Celestial Masters that he could gesture obliquely towards events both historical and mythic in his verse and still be understood by his intended audience.

For instance, Bai Yuchan's poem on the fourth Celestial Master opens with following couplet: "In Poyang he took up his staff and set out for the peaks and summits, where formerly a cinnabar stove concealed dusky smoke."<sup>148</sup> To a reader familiar with the lore surrounding the fourth Celestial Master Zhang Sheng this is clearly a poetic retelling of the episode found in later biographical sources wherein Zhang Daoling's cinnabar stove was discovered at Dragon and Tiger Mountain by Sheng, an incident which provides "evidence" of the ancestral Celestial Master's presence on the mountain in former times. While it is not certain that the *Hereditary Household* owes a direct debt to Bai Yuchan's paeans to the Celestial Masters, "In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters" is nonetheless an important work as it gives credence to the notion that an established lineal narrative was established and in circulation within Daoist circles as early as the mid-Southern Song dynasty.

---

<sup>148</sup> *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (ZHDZ 19.964).

A second source that predates the composition of the *Hereditary Household* is found in the encyclopedia *Extensive Record of the Forest of Matters* (*Shilin guangji* 事林廣記). Initially compiled in the Southern Song dynasty by the historian Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 (1200-1266 C.E.) the *Extensive Record* was revised and expanded several times throughout the Yuan dynasty. The earliest extant current edition dates to 1478 C.E. and is based on an expanded edition from 1332 C.E.<sup>149</sup>

The first fascicle of the section on Daoism in the present edition contains a series of brief entries on the first through thirty-eighth generation Zhang family Celestial Masters titled “Pedigree of the Celestial Masters” (*Tianshi shixi* 天師世系). The individual entries are very brief for the most part and in lieu of a biographical narrative they simply give the name, honorific, relationship to predecessor, and age at death of each master. Here, again, it appears that the work in question draws upon an already existing biographical tradition that is represented in bare bones outline. As the work appears to be of a single piece it is unlikely that it is an expansion of an earlier version included in the original *Extensive Record* as compiled by Chen Yuanjing. Given that the final entry is for the thirty-eighth Celestial Master who, according to the *Hereditary Household*, achieved transcendence in 1316 C.E. it is possible that the “Pedigree of the

---

<sup>149</sup> A brief synopsis of the history of the text is found in Lowell Skar, “Charting a New Itinerary of Perfection in Medieval China: The Formation and Uses of the Diagram on Cultivating Perfection (*Xiuzhen tu*),” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (San Diego, Ca, March 9-12, 2000).



Celestial Masters” was composed shortly after his death and was included in the 1332 C.E. edition of the *Extensive Record*.<sup>150</sup>

The content of the biographies found in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* largely tally with those found in the *Hereditary Household* though in comparison to the latter work they are largely distilled to the essentials of parentage, honors and accolades received, and heir. Any attempt to draw lines of influence between the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* and the *Hereditary Household* is frustrated by the fact that the compositional history of the former work is even more convoluted than that of the latter; the first edition the *Record*, that compiled by the Hanlin scholar Yuan Mingshan 元明善 (1269-1332 C.E.), predates the *Hereditary Household* by roughly a century. It has, unfortunately, been lost to history. That edition contained biographies of the first through thirty-seventh generations of Celestial Masters and was compiled prior to the death of the thirty-eighth generation master in 1316 C.E. The earliest extant edition was revised and expanded by Zhou Zhao 周召 at some point after the death of the forty-fifth Celestial Master Zhang Maocheng 張懋丞 in 1445 C.E. This places its time of completion between the revision of the *Hereditary Household* overseen by Zhang Yuchu and the recompilation undertaken by Zhang Yue in the time of the forty-eighth Celestial Master.

As with the “Pedigree of the Celestial Masters,” biographical entries in the *Record* tend to be lacking in narrative detail. With the exception of a small number of

---

<sup>150</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.358).

discrepancies on the names of Celestial Masters of early generations the *Record* is by and large in agreement with the *Hereditary Household*.<sup>151</sup> All the same, the question of influence is complicated by the differing literary styles of the *Record* and the *Hereditary Household*; the authors of the former are, for the most part, content to use the biographical entries as a means to assert the ongoing imperial support of the lineage whereas the biographies found in the latter work are also rich in anecdotes meant to establish the charisma and efficacy of individual Celestial Masters. So, once again, while the work in question arises from the same tradition as the *Hereditary Household*, it is not possible to state with certainty that it was a direct influence on that work.

The most immediate predecessor to the biographies in the *Hereditary Household* is Zhao Daoyi's 趙道一 late thirteenth or early fourteenth century *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages* (*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑).<sup>152</sup> An encyclopedic work in fifty-three fascicles, the title of the text as well as the nature of its content indicate that its compiler was inspired to create a Daoist analogue to the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒) or the Song dynasty *Comprehensive Mirror of Buddhism* (*Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑒).

---

<sup>151</sup> For instance, the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* lists the seventh Celestial Master as Zhang Zhongmian 仲面 rather than Zhang Hui 張回 and gives the name of the fourteenth generation master as Zhang Ci 張慈 rather than Zhang Cizheng 張慈正 (SDSY 13.15).

<sup>152</sup> *The Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages* (*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 HY 296 ZHDZ 47.213-579).

Relatively little is known of the author; at the close of his preface he identifies himself as a Daoist of Myriad Years Palace of Sagely Longevity (*Shengshou wannian gong* 聖壽萬年宮) at Mount Fuyun 浮雲山.<sup>153</sup> In their entry on the *Comprehensive Mirror* in *The Taoist Canon* Schipper and Verellen suggest that this may refer to Floating Cloud Belvedere (*Fuyun guan* 浮雲觀) in the vicinity of Nanchang, an institution that was renamed Mount Fuyun (*Fuyun shan* 浮雲山) under the Song.<sup>154</sup> The possibility that the *Comprehensive Mirror* originates in Jiangxi is bolstered by the fact that the two colophons appended to the text were composed by Liu Chenweng 劉辰翁 (1232-1297 C.E.) and Deng Guangjian 鄧光薦 (1232-1303 C.E. ) both of whom hailed from Luling 廬陵 in what is contemporary Ji'an, Jiangxi.

No direct links exist between Zhao Daoyi and the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. All the same the connection of the author to Jiangxi and the more certain placement of the composers of the colophons in the relative vicinity of Dragon and Tiger Mountain when considered in tandem with the prominence of the Zhang Celestial Masters in the text itself render some association highly plausible. The special treatment granted the Celestial Masters is most obvious in the lengthy and detailed biography of Zhang Daoling which is accorded an entire fascicle in the *Comprehensive*

---

<sup>153</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.220).

<sup>154</sup> Jean Levi, “Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian,” *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, eds. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 2:888. Zhao Daoyi’s one other appearance in the Daoist Canon does little to clarify his identity. In *The Martial Prince’s Esoteric Method of the Loyal and Filial Five Thunders for Traversing the Stars of the Dipper* (*Guandou zhongxiao wulei wuhou mifa* 貫斗忠孝五雷武侯秘法 HY 585 ZHDZ 32.835-840). Zhao is credited with the reconstruction of a series of Thunder Magic seals of practice that were, curiously enough, said to have been initially revealed by the Three Kingdoms strategist Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮.

*Mirror*, a distinction shared only with the Yellow Emperor. The fascicle on Zhang Daoling is followed by one given over to biographical entries for his eminent disciples and for Celestial Masters of the first through thirty-fifth generations. According to the *Hereditary Household*, the thirty-fifth Celestial Master died in 1263 C.E. and his successor passed away in 1291 C.E.<sup>155</sup> Liu Chenweng's preface is dated to 1294 C.E. which suggests that the section on the Celestial Masters was completed during the lifetime of the thirty-sixth Celestial Master and well before the final compilation of the *Comprehensive Mirror*.<sup>156</sup>

As with the other sources under review the biographies of Celestial Masters found in the *Comprehensive Mirror* are, for the most part, highly abbreviated in comparison to those of the *Hereditary Household*. They also occasionally differ from the *Hereditary Household* with regards to biographical details and even on the names of certain Celestial Masters. This is particularly true of those generations between the Zhang Lu's surrender to Cao Cao 曹操 and the Song dynasty.

A number of sources that are either now lost save for bibliographical entries or fragments preserved in compendia hint at the existence of a tradition of lore surrounding the Celestial Masters that postdates the fall of the original twenty-four parishes. The bibliography section of the Song dynasty historian Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 *Comprehensive Treatises (Tongzhi 通志)* of 1161 C.E. includes separate listings for an *Inner Traditions*

---

<sup>155</sup>*Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.356-357).

<sup>156</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.221).

of the *Han Celestial Master* (*Han tianshi nei zhuan* 漢天師內傳) and an *Outer Traditions of the Han Celestial Master* (*Han tianshi wai zhuan* 漢天師外傳). Both works are undated and unattributed.<sup>157</sup> The titles are ambiguous and may refer to the Han Celestial Master in the singular (i.e. Zhang Daoling) or the Han Celestial Masters as a collective term for the ancestral master and his heirs.

The *Inner Traditions* found in Zheng Qiao's catalogue may be identical to a similarly titled work, the aforementioned *Inner Traditions of the Celestial Masters*, fragments of which pertaining to Celestial Masters of the tenth and twelfth generations are found in the *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄) compiled by Chen Baoguang 陳葆光 in the Southern Song.<sup>158</sup> The *Record of the Gathered Transcendents* is something of a treasure trove of scattered fragments of lost texts containing biographical information on the Celestial Masters. It also includes three fragments from a work entitled *Traditions of the Celestial Masters* (*Tianshi zhuan* 天師傳) each of which consists of an anecdote pertaining to a descendent of Zhang Daoling.<sup>159</sup> In addition, it contains a number of passages from broader hagiographical compendia, also now lost, pertaining to the Celestial Masters.<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>157</sup> *Comprehensive Treatises* (*Tongzhi* 通志 SKQS 67.10-11).

<sup>158</sup> *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄 HY 1238 ZHDZ 45.268-408).

<sup>159</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 45.349,369,386).

<sup>160</sup> The *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* includes a fragment of a biography of Zhang Daoling from the late eleventh or early twelfth century *Traditions of the Great Way* and an account of his former hermitage at Mount Crane Call from that same source (*Gao dao zhuan* 高道傳 ZHDZ 45.366,

Another title listed in the *Comprehensive Treatises*, the *Inner Traditions of Sovereign Zhang, the Master of the Methods of the Three Heavens and Perfected of Upright Unity* (*Zhengyi zhenren santian fashi Zhang jun neizhuan* 正一真人三天法師張君內傳) was, on the basis of its title, likely a hagiographical treatment of Zhang Daoling rather than a more comprehensive text on the Zhang family lineage.<sup>161</sup> The *Inner Traditions of Sovereign Zhang* is also listed in a bibliographical section of the *History of the Sui* (*Suishu* 隋書) which indicates that it predates the establishment of the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain.<sup>162</sup> In both cases the *Inner Traditions of Sovereign Zhang* is listed as a work in one fascicle and attributed to Wang Chang 王萇, presumably an alternate rendering of Wang Chang 王長, one of the ancestral Celestial Masters prized disciples.

The content of a final text listed in the *Comprehensive Treatises*, the *Original Traditions of the Zhang Celestial Masters, [Composed by] the Prior Born of Florid Peak* (*Huading xiansheng Zhang tianshi benzhuang* 華頂先生張天師本傳) is less certain.<sup>163</sup> As is the case with the *Inner Traditions* and *Outer Traditions* also catalogued in the *Comprehensive Treatises*, the title may refer to the ancestral Celestial Master or to the lineage as a whole. The “Prior Born of Florid Peak” is not an honorific associated with

---

343). It also includes an entry on a certain Zhang Yulan 張玉蘭 who is said to be a descendent of the Celestial Master that is taken from a *Collected Record of Transcendents* (*Ji xian lu* 集仙錄).

<sup>161</sup> *Comprehensive Treatises* (SKQS 67.9).

<sup>162</sup> *History of the Sui* (*Suishu* 隋書 SKQS 33.24).

<sup>163</sup> *Comprehensive Treatises* (SKQS 67.11).

Zhang Daoling but may refer to Du Guangting who is elsewhere acknowledged as the “Feathered Person of Florid Peak” (*Huading yuren* 華頂羽人).<sup>164</sup> If this is the case it may be a lost hagiography or lineal text composed by Du Guangting himself.

---

<sup>164</sup> See, for instance, Du Guangting’s signature to his 901 C.E. preface to the *Record of Cavern Heavens, Blessed Plots, Marchmounts, Marshes, and Famous Mountains* (*Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記 HY 599 ZHDZ 48.80).

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE THREE MASTERS: ZHANG DAOLING, ZHANG HENG, AND ZHANG LU IN HISTORY AND HAGIOGRAPHY

The legitimacy, power, and prestige of the Han Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain is predicated on a single, simple claim; the office of Celestial Master is a hereditary one that has descended in an unbroken line and largely by means of primogeniture, from the initial or ancestral Celestial Master (*Zu tianshi* 祖天師) Zhang Daoling. The authority of Zhang Daoling is derived from the bestowal of revealed texts along with the title Celestial Master by the deified Laozi in 142 C.E. Tradition holds that the sword and seal of office wielded by Zhang Daoling were passed on to his son Zhang Heng, his grandson Zhang Lu, and so forth down to the present day wherein the inheritance of the mantle is a source of contention between factions on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.<sup>1</sup>

This is the primary contention of the *Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Masters* and the *raison d'être* of the work. It is a message that is repeated time and again in the various prefaces appended to the text, in the course of the hagiographies themselves, and in the imperial commendations which are generally reproduced in full

---

<sup>1</sup> The mantle of the sixty-fifth generation Celestial Master has been the subject of contentious wrangling and legal maneuvering. An article on the most recent developments as of the time of this writing was recently published in *Liberty Times* (*Ziyou shibao* 自由時報). Bao Jianxin 鮑建信, “Zhang tianshi nao shuangbao qiuchang ershen da nizhuan,” 張天師鬧雙包求償 二審大逆轉, *Ziyou shibao* 自由時報, July 1, 2015. <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/society/breakingnews/1365527>



within the body of the text. It is a mission statement that is expressed succinctly by

Zhang Yuchu in his postface to the *Hereditary Household*:

Our ancestor, the Celestial Master, received the inherited grace of Marquis Liu. Our family has received the Way from the Most High. On account of this, transcendent scriptures, cavern registers, and esoteric ledgers are not to be transmitted as all have been handed down to this generation. We continue, passing down methods for the subjugation of evil spirits and oddities, and engaging in self-cultivation spirit cinnabar refinement. When the work is complete, we ascend to transcendence. The sword and seal of office are then passed on to the Celestial Master of the succeeding generation. At present, they have been handed down for fifteen hundred years.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter consists of a survey of biographical material on Zhang Daoling, Zhang Heng 張衡, and Zhang Lu, the “three masters” with whom the lineage of the Han Celestial Masters is said to originate and through whom the tradition of patrilineal descent is traditionally established. A comparison of Daoist sources and material drawn from official histories with the biographies of these founding figures in the *Hereditary Household* will be undertaken to the end of highlighting the particular ways in which narratives surrounding these figures are either upheld or subverted in the writings of their putative descendants at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. In the case of each of the “three masters” a distinct challenge is presented to the drafters of the *Hereditary Household*; their intended audience would likely be familiar with earlier works in which biographical details are set forth.

With the ancestral master, Zhang Daoling, there is the difficulty of accounting for the profusion of lore, much of it contradictory, which accrued around him over the centuries. He has been depicted variously as an alchemist in search of the elixir of

---

<sup>2</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.369).

transcendence, a fearsome exorcist wielding a pair of demon quelling swords while astride a prowling tiger, and as a sage whose advice was sought out by emperors. In some sources he passes the seal of office down to his son, instructing him to continue in his work whereas in others his disciples Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng appear to be his lineal heirs.<sup>3</sup>

The profusion of biographical sources and the lack of a stable narrative surrounding the first Celestial Master in the early centuries of the religion are matters that have received some scholarly attention. Liu Ts'un-yan's extensive study "Was Celestial Master Zhang a Historical Figure?" does not offer a definitive answer to the titular question though it does provide a thorough survey of the varied and often contradictory sources on the ancestral master's life.<sup>4</sup> Liu Yi's, "Myth and History: The Contribution of Six Dynasties Daoism to the Formation of the Image of Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling," is a similarly insightful summation of early sources.<sup>5</sup> The chapter "Popular Sects and the Early Daoist Tradition," in H.M. Seiwert's *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History* contains a thorough and logically argued account of the

---

<sup>3</sup> The issue of alternate lines of transmission and the possibility that the title of Celestial Master was not initially understood to be hereditary is considered in chapter three.

<sup>4</sup> Liu Ts'un-yan. "Was Celestial Master Zhang a Historical Figure?" in *Daoism in History: Essays in Honor of Liu Ts'un-yan*, ed. Benjamin Penny, (New York: Routledge, 2006): 189-247.

<sup>5</sup> Liu Yi 劉屹 "Myth and History: The Contribution of Six Dynasties Daoism to the Formation of the Image of the Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling," in *Purposes, Means, and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium*, ed. Florian C. Reiter, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007): 57-82.

discrepancies between accounts of the Celestial Masters church in early historical sources.<sup>6</sup>

With the biography of the second Celestial Master an entirely different issue is faced. He is almost completely absent not only from the historical record but from Daoist sources as well. In the *Hereditary Household*, as elsewhere, Zhang Heng is not so much a figure around whom a tradition has developed as he is the necessary connective tissue between his possibly mythic father and his relatively well documented heir. His comparative lack of impact on the history of the movement is attributed to a proclivity for reclusion in the *Hereditary Household*. As his chief role is that of transmitter the bulk of his entry in the *Hereditary Household* consists of a speech given on the occasion of handing the implements of office over to his son.

Zhang Lu is the most well documented of the three masters in historical sources but accounts of him tend to be less than flattering. Entries in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi* 三國志) of the third century C.E., *Record of Huayang* (*Huayang guo zhi* 華陽國志) of the fourth century C.E., and *History of the Latter Han* (*Hou Han shu* 後漢書) of the fifth century C.E. reflect varying degrees of hostility towards the movement. These sources, in particular those passages that associate the Celestial Masters with the Yellow Turban Uprising (*Huangjin qi yi* 黃巾起義) that hastened the fall of the Han, and those that describe the leadership of the movement as charlatans who

---

<sup>6</sup> H.W. Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

preyed on the common people provided fodder for critics of the movement for centuries to come.

(2.1) *Zhang Daoling*

Whereas the official histories evidence no interest in Zhang Daoling's pedigree, referring to him simply as a "guest" (*ke* 客) in Shu his ancestral line is given considerable attention in the *Hereditary Household*. His biography opens by briefly establishing his descent from Zhang Liang, Marquis Liu, whose purported place in the Zhang family lineage is underscored and emphasized in Song Lian's preface. There, the reader is informed that Zhang Daoling is a ninth generation descendent of Liang who is identified as a servant of Han Wudi and a student of the mysterious figure known as Duke Yellowstone (*Huangshi gong* 黃石公).<sup>7</sup>

The claim of descent from Zhang Liang has a long history. It is first made in the fifth century *Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (*Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經).<sup>8</sup> There, Marquis Liu is said to be the great-great-grandfather of Zhang Daoling. In the *Uncollected Biographies of Immortals* (*Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺) by the late Tang and

---

<sup>7</sup> Three Han dynasty sources, *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記), *Arguments Weighed* (*Lunheng* 論衡), and *Discourses of the Recluse* (*Qianfu lun* 潛夫論) contain versions of a story about Zhang Liang's encounter with Duke Yellowstone. The Duke is said to have granted Liang a text that is identified in each source as *Three Strategies of Duke Yellow Stone* (*Huangshi gong sanlüe* 黃石公三略). A text by that title is found in the *Seven Military Classics* (*Wujing qishu* 武經七書) of the Song dynasty but is most certainly apocryphal. A discussion of the work is found in Wu Rusong 吳如嵩, "Wujing qishu 武經七書," in *Zhongguo da baike quanshu* 中國大百科全書, (Beijing/Shanghai: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1989): 1078-1079.

<sup>8</sup> *Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (*Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經 HY 1196 ZHDZ 8.546).

early Five Dynasties Daoist Du Guangting 杜光庭, portions of which are preserved in *Record of the Gathered Immortals of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄), Zhang Liang is said to have attained transcendence and is identified as Zhang Ling's grandfather.<sup>9</sup> From Du Guangting onward the inclusion of reference to Zhang Liang as one among Zhang Daoling's illustrious ancestors became standard practice in hagiographical texts. For the authors of the *Hereditary Household* the inclusion of Zhang Liang in the lineal tradition serves two purposes. His service to the nascent Han dynasty reinforces the oft-made proclamations of the Zhang family's enduring loyal service to the good of the nation over the vast sweep of history. From a Daoist perspective, descent from Zhang Liang provides the lineage with an ancestor whose *bona fides* as a demon queller are above reproach.

From this eminent ancestor the *Hereditary Household* biography of Zhang Daoling proceeds down a series of "begats" that ends with the Celestial Master's father Zhang Dashun 張大順 the Perfected of the Cypress Tree (*Tongbo zhenren* 桐柏真人).<sup>10</sup> Zhang Daoling's father does not figure prominently into the majority of hagiographical material on the ancestral master. While is named in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* and the *Comprehensive Mirror* it is only in the *Hereditary Household* that he is identified as the Perfected of the Cypress Tree. The intent behind the title is something of a mystery. In Tao Hongjing's 陶弘景 (456-536 C.E.) *Declarations of the Perfected*

---

<sup>9</sup> *Record of the Gathered Immortals of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄 HY 1248 ZHDZ 45.268-409).

<sup>10</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.12), *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.336).

(Zhengao 真誥) and a great number of later works the Perfected of the Cypress Tree is the title of Wangzi Qiao 王子喬 a famed transcendent first documented in poems of sauntering in sylphdom preserved in the *Chuci* 楚辭.<sup>11</sup> It is highly improbable that the authors of the *Hereditary Household* were unaware of this fact though the connection that they were attempting to draw is not clear.

The hagiography continues with an account of a miraculous event that portended Daoling's birth; one night the future Celestial Master's mother dreamt of a spirit-like being that descended to her from the stars of the Northern Dipper with a gift of wild ginger (*Hengwei* 蘅薇). The Celestial Master's birth at Heaven's Eye Mountain (*Tianmu shan* 天目山) on the highly auspicious fifteenth day of the first month was greeted with a palpable return of the fragrance of wild ginger and a purplish gold cloud overhanging the birthing room.<sup>12</sup> The numinous signs foretelling and attending to the Celestial Masters birth appear to be a relatively late addition to his legend. The majority of early sources on Zhang Daoling's life tend to give little information on his birth and youth but rather simply note his place of birth and state that he later took up residence in Shu.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> *Declarations of the Perfected* (Zhengao 真誥 HY 1010 ZHDZ 2.113).

<sup>12</sup> The fifteenth day of the first month is the first of the "Three Primes," (*Sanyuan* 三元) the fifteenth day of the first, seventh, and tenth month. In the early Celestial Masters community these were the dates of assemblies when the records of the Celestial offices were tallied with those of the human realm. Heaven's Eye Mountain is located in what is presently Lin'an County, Zhejiang. This differs from the majority of early sources that list Peiguo 沛國, in contemporary Feng County, Jiangsu as his natal home. The account of the Celestial Master's birth is retold in identical terms in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.12). A slightly variant version is found in the *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.335).

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, the *Record of Huayang* (*Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志 SKQS 2.4).

The uncanny circumstances surrounding Zhang Daoling's birth and the passages on his unusual appearance appear to be novel to post-Tang accounts. They follow the standard hagiographical tropes of a birth preceded by an unusual dream and auspicious signs which may be derived from miracle stories surrounding the birth of the Buddha. At any rate they were well established by the time the *Hereditary Household* was composed. They were also frequently employed in the *Hereditary Household*; the births of the twenty-first, forty-second, forty-fourth, forty-sixth, forty-eighth and forty-ninth generation Celestial Masters are presaged by nocturnal visitations from spirit like beings.

Zhang Daoling's youth is documented in a passage which remarks on his grasp of the principles of the *Laozi* at seven years of age and his thorough understanding of Ruist works shortly thereafter. This startling precociousness seems to have run in the family. The seventh Celestial Master is said to have been able to converse from birth and made sophisticated inquiries into the nature of the way. His successor is said to have memorized the entire canon of scriptures at a single sitting while still a toddler. The twenty-seventh Celestial Master was able to walk when three months old and speak at five months. The thirtieth Celestial Master is said to have composed a rhapsody at the age of five.

Daoling's erudition apparently opened the way for what promised to be an illustrious career in officialdom. The *Hereditary Household* reports that the Celestial Master was appointed magistrate of Jiang Prefecture 江州 in 59 C.E. as a result of an

examination for those able to speak directly and offer the utmost admonition.<sup>14</sup> He quit office after an unspecified period of time and went into reclusion. He was summoned by Han Zhangdi 章帝 in 80 C.E. and was offered the post of Grand Mentor (*Tai fu* 太傅) by Han Hedi 和帝 in 89 C.E. but refused these and other summonses. This differs slightly from the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* which merely relates that he refused a summons from Han Hedi and differs as well from the *Comprehensive Mirror* in which Daoling had an audience with Hedi who granted him seals of office.

Flirtations with official life and a familiarity with Ruist works are not entirely absent from accounts of the Celestial Masters. Ge Hong's *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents* (*Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳) depicts Zhang Daoling as a former student of the imperial academy who became disenchanted with his studies as they offered no benefit to the pursuit of longevity. Certain scholars have expressed doubts over whether the hagiography belongs among the earliest recensions of the *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents* given the absence of other references to Celestial Masters Daoism in the work. In his exhaustive study of the text Robert Ford Campany concludes that the biography of Zhang Daoling is quite likely the work of Ge Hong, rejecting suggestions of a later date for the entry based in an *argumentum ex silentio* as insufficient and

---

<sup>14</sup> This is anachronistic as the practice of examinations for those able to speak directly and offer the utmost admonition," (*Zhiyan jijian ke* 直言極諫科) does not predate the Tang dynasty. There are several places historically known as Jiang Prefecture. The site in question may refer to the region of northern Jiangxi which went by that name between the sixth and fourteenth centuries or the region which encompassed parts of Jiangxi, Zhejiang, and Fujian in the Western Jin.



suggesting that it is unlikely that Ge would have been entirely unfamiliar with talk of the Celestial Masters movement.<sup>15</sup>

The *Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning* (*Hunyuan shengji* 混元聖紀) of 1191 C.E. contains a similar passage which clearly owes a debt to the *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents* but also contains details later incorporated into the *Hereditary Household*.<sup>16</sup> In that source Zhang Daoling is said to have mastered the *Laozi* at the age of seven and embarked on a program of Ruist study, mastering the subtleties of the Five Classics (*Wu jing* 五經), the *Yellow River Chart* (*Hetu* 河圖), *Inscription on the Luo River* (*Luoshu* 洛書) and various weft texts. When summoned to office by Han Hedi he refused to answer the call, realizing that Ruism held no answers to the mystery of prolonging life.

As is illustrated by Zhang Daoling's biography, Ruism and the duties of the officeholder are treated with occasional ambiguity but are never rejected outright throughout the *Hereditary Household*. While numerous Celestial Masters are said to have rejected official appointments the majority of biographies in the text are nonetheless centered on audiences with and accolades bestowed by a procession of emperors as well

---

<sup>15</sup> See, Robert Ford Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong's Traditions of Divine Transcendents*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002): 349-356. An expanded version of the hagiography is preserved in the eleventh century compendium *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (*Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 HY 1032 ZHDZ 29.847-848).

<sup>16</sup> *Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning* (*Hunyuan shengji* 混元聖紀 HY 769 ZHDZ 46.83). The *Annals of the Sage* was compiled by Xie Shouhao 謝守灝 (1134-1212 C.E.), a Daoist of the Palace of Myriad Longevity of Jade Beneficence (*Yulong wanshou gong* 玉隆萬壽宮) in western Jiangxi, the main temple of the Way of Clarity and Brightness (*Jingming dao* 淨明道). The nine fascicle work is a lengthy hagiography of the deified Laozi that spans the period from the origin of the universe to the reign of Song Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1085-1100 C.E.).

as miracles rendered on behalf of the empire. There is a palpable tension throughout the work between the role of the Daoist as lofty recluse from the mire of the temporal world best exemplified by Zhuangzi's story of the sacred turtle and the Zhang family's self-presentation as tireless servants of the nation.

With regards to Ruist thought, there is little in the biographical section of the *Hereditary Household* to suggest that it was viewed as anything less than a necessary component of the education of a young Celestial Master. They were, after all, highly sophisticated and literate gentleman who bent the ear of the emperor and not mere country conjurers. The biographies of the sixth and forty-fourth Celestial Masters make specific reference to the possession of a thorough understanding of Confucian works. In conversation with Song Emperor Renzong the twenty-fifth Celestial Master is reported to have replied to an inquiry regarding his sons by saying, "My eldest son propagates the Way and my second son is steeped in Ruism."<sup>17</sup> Given the practice of primogeniture it is perhaps not surprising that the eldest son did not follow his younger brother's path. Even so, a certain ambiguity towards the younger man's vocation is hinted at in the passage that follows:

The Celestial Master's second son Jiansu was made Recorder of the Directorate for Palace Buildings. Though Jiansu acted as a civil servant his will was set on the pursuit of the Way. He held the post of Aide to the Chamberlain for the Palace Garrison at the time of his retirement. Jiansu went into reclusion on Poyang's Eastern Lake where his descendants reside to this day.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.352).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

A similar message is found in an anecdote regarding the young seventh generation Celestial Master's impatience with Ruist learning:

At the age of five Zhang Hui wished to have the scriptures and talismans transmitted to him. His father said "You are first to study Ruist works." Zhang Hui replied, "What sense is there in studying the works of others but not those of my own ancestor?" At the age of ten he finally inherited the teachings.<sup>19</sup>

The *Hereditary Household* follows its synopsis of Zhang Daoling's brief official career with a series of vignettes in which he wanders through a number of mountains known to Daoist history establishing altars and engaging in alchemical practices along the way. His travels eventually took him to Dragon and Tiger Mountain:

The Celestial Master followed the river to Cloud Brocade Mountain. There, he refined the Spirit Cinnabar of the Nine Heavens. When the process of alchemical transformation was complete a dragon and a tiger appeared. The mountain's present name is derived from this incident. He was over sixty years of age at the time but he retained his vigor.<sup>20</sup>

The *Comprehensive Mirror* has Zhang Daoling ascend Cloud Brocade Mountain (*Yunjin shan* 雲錦山) in the company of his disciple Wang Chang in order to refine the Great Dragon and Tiger Cinnabar (*Longhu da dan* 龍虎大丹).<sup>21</sup> Although it takes three years to reach completion, the efforts bear results; year by year numinous signs accrue including the appearance of a dragon and tiger. When the Celestial Master ingests the refined elixir his appearance becomes youthful. A less detailed account of the experiment is found in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. There, the Celestial

---

<sup>19</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.350).

<sup>20</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.346).

<sup>21</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 29.336).

Master is simply said to have refined the Great Dragon and Tiger Cinnabar at Cloud Brocade Mountain with his disciple Wang Chang.<sup>22</sup> Neither source equates Cloud Brocade Mountain with Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

The *Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning* was amended at some point in order to reflect the notion that the two mountains are one and the same. There, Zhang Daoling ventures to Cloud Brocade Mountain in the second year of the Yuanhe reign era of Han Zhangdi (85 C.E.) in order to engage in alchemical pursuits. A parenthetical note relates that the location under discussion refers to the place presently known as Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Xinzhou.<sup>23</sup>

The *Corpus of Daoist Ritual (Daofa huiyuan 道法會元)*, a collection of Song and Yuan texts of uncertain provenance, includes a *Preface to the Great Methods of the Mysterious Dragon and Tiger Altar of Upright Unity*, (*Zhengyi longhu xuantan dafa xu 正一龍虎玄壇大法序*). The text follows the narrative line of Zhang Daoling's alchemical experiments as given in the aforementioned sources but makes no mention of Cloud Brocade Mountain.<sup>24</sup> There, the Celestial Master refines cinnabar on Mount Poyang 鄱陽山 in northern Jiangxi but it is stolen by a mountain spirit which he later subdues. He then travels to Guixi in Xinzhou, the location of Dragon and Tiger

---

<sup>22</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.12).

<sup>23</sup> *Annals of the Sage* (ZHDZ 46.84).

<sup>24</sup> *Corpus of Daoist Ritual (Daofa huiyuan 道法會元 HY 1210 ZHDZ 38.338)*.

Mountain, in the company of Wang Chang. There, his alchemical experiments are completed.

There is evidence elsewhere to suggest that the two mountains were not originally understood to be the same location. Bai Yuchan's poetic biography of Zhang Daoling in the *Collected Works Written on Mount Wuyi* leaves the location of the mountain ambiguous. It opens with the following couplet: "He refined the great cinnabar before Cloud Brocade Mountain, the hide and bones of the demons of the Six Heavens were set to trembling."<sup>25</sup> A passage in Du Guangting's *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* (*Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記) entitled *Efficacy of the Celestial Master's Sword* (*Tianshi jian yan* 天師劍驗) takes place on Cloud Brocade Mountain but does not give a location for the peak and does not equate it with Dragon and Tiger Mountain.<sup>26</sup> The account is reprinted, without attribution, in Cao Xuequan's 曹學佺 late Ming *Broad Records of Shu* (*Shuzhong guangji* 蜀中廣記) indicating that the compiler of that work understood the story to take place in Sichuan.<sup>27</sup> The placement of the Mountain in Shu is supported by an entry in the Qing dynasty *Comprehensive Record of Sichuan* (*Sichuan tongzhi* 四川通志) which places Cloud Brocade Mountain in the northeast of the

---

<sup>25</sup> *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (ZHDZ 19.964).

<sup>26</sup> *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* (*Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記 HY 590 ZHDZ 45.122). For an overview of that source see Franciscus Verellen "Evidential Miracles in Support of Taoism: The Inversion of a Buddhist Apologetic Tradition in Late Tang China," *T'oung Pao* 78.4/5 (1992): 217-263.

<sup>27</sup> *Broad Records of Shu* (*Shuzhong guangji* 蜀中廣記 SKQS 69.9).

province and states that an altar for prayers of longevity was erected there in the Yuan dynasty.<sup>28</sup>

Du Guangting's *Record of Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City* (*Yongcheng jixian lu* 壩城集仙錄), has the Celestial Master refine the Yellow Emperor's Dragon and Tiger Middle Cinnabar (*Huangdi longhu zhongdan* 黃帝龍虎中丹) at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. It does not equate the site with Cloud Brocade Mountain.<sup>29</sup> The location of the refinement is given as Dragon and Tiger Mountain with no reference to Cloud Brocade Mountain in a work that is nearly contemporary to the earliest recension of the *Hereditary Household. The Most Pure and Precious Books on the Supreme Way of August Heaven* (*Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* 天皇至道太清玉冊), an encyclopedic work compiled by Prince Zhu Quan 朱權 the seventeenth son of Ming Taizu, contains a brief biography of Zhang Daoling.<sup>30</sup> It largely consists of a pedigree that accords with that found in Song Lian's preface to the *Hereditary Household*. The entry gives Zhang Daoling's place of birth as Heaven's Eye Mountain and ends by stating that he journeyed to Dragon and Tiger Mountain where he refined the Spirit Cinnabar of the Nine Heavens (*Jiutian shendan* 九天神丹). It further holds that Lord Lao descended

---

<sup>28</sup> *Comprehensive Record of Sichuan* (*Sichuan tongzhi* 四川通志 SKQS 25.43).

<sup>29</sup> *Record of Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City* (*Yongcheng jixian lu* 壩城集仙錄 HY 782 ZHDZ 45.225). For a translation and study of that hagiographical compendium see, Suzanne Cahill, *Divine Traces of the Daoist Sisterhood: Records of the Assembled Transcendents of the Fortified Walled City by Du Guangting*, (Magdalena, NM: Three Pines Press, 2006).

<sup>30</sup> *The Most Pure and Precious Books on the Supreme Way of August Heaven* (*Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* 天皇至道太清玉冊 HY 1472 ZHDZ 28.666-762).

to that place to grant him scriptures, talismans, and mysterious writs, and to charge him as master of the mysterious teachings.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, the *Record of the Search for Spirits* included in the 1607 C.E. supplement to the Daoist Canon includes a retelling of the story in which cinnabar refinement is undertaken in Cloud Brocade Grotto (*Yunjin dong* 雲錦洞). There the Celestial Master is not accompanied by his disciple as is the case in the *Comprehensive Record* and the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. The appearance of a dragon and tiger at the completion of the refinement is noted though the location of the grotto is not specifically noted.<sup>32</sup>

It should be noted that there are no references to laboratory alchemy in the earliest surviving literature originating from the Way of the Celestial Masters. The association likely originates with the *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents*, in which Zhang Daoling obtains a *Scripture of the Nine Cauldron Cinnabar of the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangdi jiuding dan jing* 黃帝九鼎丹經) and engages in refinement on Mount Fanyang 繁陽山 in the vicinity of Chengdu. Robert Campany concludes that the passage is not likely reflective of actual Celestial Masters practice contemporary to the time of the work's composition but is rather an instance of Ge Hong drawing Zhang Daoling into line with his own practices.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> *The Most Pure and Precious Books on the Supreme Way of August Heaven* (ZHDZ 28.679).

<sup>32</sup> *Record of the Search for Spirits* (*Sou shen ji* 搜神記 HY 1466 ZHDZ 45.533).

<sup>33</sup> Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 356.

Returning to the narrative of the *Hereditary Household*, the Celestial Master is next said to have departed Dragon and Tiger Mountain and set off to the region of Ba and Shu in the vicinity of modern Chongqing and the Chengdu plain of Sichuan. There, he is granted liturgical and talismanic methods from the deified Laozi at Mount Yangping (*Yangping shan* 陽平山) after which he enters into a series of adventures worthy of a Jin Yong *wuxia* novel; he exorcises serpent spirits, banishes white tiger demons, and makes a peregrination of the sites of several of the original twenty-four parishes into which the Celestial Masters organized their theocracy.<sup>34</sup> Later, in 142 C.E., he ascends Mount Crane Call (*Heming shan* 鶴鳴山) where Lord Lao declares the establishment of the twenty-four parishes, charges Zhang Daoling with banishing the stale pneuma of the Six Heavens, and grants talismans, registers, a pair of evil quelling swords, and other accoutrements.<sup>35</sup> This meeting is followed one thousand days later by a further appointment with Lord Lao in the mythical realm of Langyuan 閻苑.<sup>36</sup>

These encounters with Lord Lao do not serve as the climax of the biography in the *Hereditary Household*. Daoling next visits Verdant Citadel Mountain (*Qingcheng shan* 青城山) to the west of Chengdu where he subdues a troop of martial spirits. The story is told in greater detail in the *Comprehensive Mirror*. That source cites Du

---

<sup>34</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.346).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.347). The *Comprehensive Mirror* gives a full account of the scriptures, emblems of office, and ritual implements bestowed on the occasion (ZHDZ 47.338).



Guangting's *Record of Verdant Citadel Mountain* (*Qingcheng shan ji* 青城山記) which may be the original source of the tale.<sup>37</sup>

The Celestial Master then establishes the twenty-four parishes after which he exorcises a water dragon and imprisons a group of twelve malevolent female spirits to a well at Mount Yang. Following a series of further exorcistic escapades he arrives at Cloud Terrace Parish (*Yuntai zhi* 雲台治). There, he tests his most worthy disciples Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng. The two make a literal leap of faith into a steep chasm in order to gather some peaches from a tree growing out of a crag at the Celestial Master's request.<sup>38</sup> The Celestial Master's disciples do not play as prominent a role in the *Hereditary Household* as they do in certain other sources focused on the founding generations of the tradition. This may be out of concern that any emphasis placed on prominent disciples who are not lineage holders diminishes the importance of bloodline as the conduit through which the teachings flow. This particular episode is likely included due to its long established place in Celestial Masters lore; the story first appears in Zhang Daoling's hagiography in *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents* and is also the subject of a study by the famous fourth century painter Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 titled "Record on Painting Cloud Terrace Mountain," (*Hua yuntai shan ji* 畫雲台山記).

---

<sup>37</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.339-340).

<sup>38</sup> On the *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents* see Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 349-356. On Gu Kaizhi's study see, Stephen Bokenkamp, "Into the Clouds: Mount Yuntai Parish and Early Celestial Masters Daoism," unpublished manuscript.

Lord Lao reappears to the Celestial Master at Chengdu in the guise of the “Inspecting Master” (*Kaozi* 考子). Upon his descent a jade throne rises from the earth to accommodate him which he sits upon while pronouncing scriptures.<sup>39</sup> A more detailed version of the legend which provides the name of Jade Throne Parish (*Yuju zhi* 玉局治) is found in the *Comprehensive Mirror*.<sup>40</sup>

Du Guangting’s *Record of Cavern Heavens, Blessed Plots, Marchmounts, Marshes, and Famous Mountains* recounts the legend of Lord Lao descending to a jade throne at the site in the inaugural year of the Yongshou 永壽 reign era but states that the site is alternately known as Jade Maiden Parish (*Yunu hua* 玉女化) suggesting the possibility of an alternative founding legend.<sup>41</sup> This notion is supported by the *Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning* in which the place of the jade throne’s appearance is described as the site where the Most Lofty Jade Maiden (*Taihao yunu* 太昊玉女) refined cinnabar.<sup>42</sup> The entry on Jade Throne Parish in *Twenty Eight Parishes* (*Er shi ba zhi* 二十八治), a text preserved in the *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* gives a slightly variant account of the legend. There it is said that the name derives from the miraculous descent of Lord Lao on a white deer and Zhang Daoling on a white crane to the site of the

---

<sup>39</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.347).

<sup>40</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.343).

<sup>41</sup> *Record of Cavern Heavens, Blessed Plots, Marchmounts, Marshes, and Famous Mountains* (ZHDZ 48.85). The inaugural year of the Yongshou 永壽 reign era of Han Huandi 桓帝 corresponds to 155 C.E.

<sup>42</sup> *Annals of the Sage* (ZHDZ 46.84).

parish on the seventh day of the first month of the inaugural year of the Yongshou reign era.<sup>43</sup> As in other accounts, a jade throne erupts from the earth to greet Lord Lao.

Finally, the legend is central to a pair of Song dynasty liturgical scriptures pertaining to the cult of the Dipper stars, *The Northern Dipper Perfected Scripture for Extending Original Lifespan of the Most High Mysterious and Numinous* (*Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* 太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經) and *Miraculous Scripture on Salvation and Extending Longevity of the Six Offices of the Southern Dipper Spoken by the Most High* (*Taishang shuo nandou liu* 太上說南斗六司延壽度人妙經).<sup>44</sup> Both texts are presented as having been delivered to Zhang Daoling by Lord Lao on the occasion of the latter's descent to a jade throne in Chengdu in the inaugural year of the Yongshou reign era.

As the texts are unattributed and undated it is not clear whether they were composed under the auspices of the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. At the least, they were not considered worthy of mention by the compilers of the *Hereditary Household* who do not specify the revelations at Jade Throne Parish beyond the generalized bestowal of a discourse on the essentials of the scriptures (*Shuo zhu jing yao*

---

<sup>43</sup> *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.246).

<sup>44</sup> *The Northern Dipper Perfected Scripture for Extending Original Lifespan of the Most High Mysterious and Numinous* (*Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* 太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經 HY 623 ZHDZ 6.640-642); *Miraculous Scripture on Salvation and Extending Longevity of the Six Offices of the Southern Dipper Spoken by the Most High* (*Taishang shuo nandou liu* 太上說南斗六司延壽度人妙經 HY 624 ZHDZ 6.645-646).

說諸經要).<sup>45</sup> This contrasts with the *Comprehensive Mirror* in which it is explicitly stated that a *Northern Dipper Scripture on Extending Life* (*Beidou yansheng jing* 北斗延生經) and a *Southern Dipper Scripture* (*Nandou jing* 南斗經) were recited on the occasion.<sup>46</sup> This tradition is also attested to in the *Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning* where Lord Lao intones methods of the Northern and Southern Dippers.<sup>47</sup>

The story of Jade Throne Parish as told in the *Hereditary Household* is followed by a final audience with Lord Lao said to have taken place the following year, 156 C.E.:

In the second year of the Yongshou reign era the Celestial Master travelled to Mount Quting where he received a jade scroll from the Most High Lord Lao that contained a decree granting him the title Limitless Six Directions Grand Thearch of Lofty Brightness and honoring him as a Descendent of the Way in the Sixth Generation. Moreover, the Sovereign Lad of the Eastern Sea was titled Master of Protection and Supervision, the Most High was made Master of Ordination, and Zhang Daoling was empowered as Celestial Master. Out of three hundred recipients of his teachings only three people were of distinguished ability. They were Zhang Shen, Wang Sheng, and Li Zhong.<sup>48</sup>

This passage introduces a number of elements requiring further explanation not found in the *Hereditary Household* account. The first puzzling element of the passage is Zhang Daoling's honorific "Descendent of the Way in the Sixth Generation." He is, after all, the inaugural Celestial Master and, according to the *Hereditary Household*, a ninth generation descendent of Zhang Liang. A second curious element is the introduction of

---

<sup>45</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.347).

<sup>46</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.343).

<sup>47</sup> *Annals of the Sage* (ZHDZ 46.84).

<sup>48</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.347).

three figures who are not introduced at an earlier point in the biography; Zhang Shen 張申 Wang Sheng 王昇 and Li Zhong 李忠. These awkwardly inserted narrative novelties are accounted for by the fact that the passage in the *Hereditary Household* is a largely verbatim interpolation of a passage from the *Sequential Record of Those who Upheld the Way*, (*Daojiao xiangcheng cidi lu* 道教相承次第錄) which is found in the *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel*.<sup>49</sup>

The account found there is at least partially based on the lost *Inner Record of Cloud Terrace, the Central Parish* (*Yuntai zhi zhong neilu* 雲台治中內錄) where the story takes place at that location rather than on Mount Quting.<sup>50</sup> As the title indicates the work is a chronological account of those who obtained the Way from the deified Laozi. There, the Celestial Master is the sixth figure to whom the Way is bestowed. The text recounts that a special revelation was granted to him by Lord Lao in which he was given a variety of scriptures and methods, named Celestial Master, and given domain over Cloud Terrace Parish.<sup>51</sup> It is further said that out of his three hundred disciples only Zhang Shen 張申, Wang Sheng 王昇, and Li Zhong 李忠 proved worthy of inheriting the teachings. Zhang Shen is listed as the succeeding master of the seventh generation.

---

<sup>49</sup> *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.52-54).

<sup>50</sup> Mount Quting (*Quting shan* 渠亭山) is not one of the original dioceses but is located within the immediate vicinity of and was under the jurisdiction of Mount Crane Call according to early sources. See, Franciscus Verellen, "The Twenty-four Dioceses and Zhang Daoling: Spatio-Liturgical Organization in Early Heavenly Master Taoism," in *Pilgrims and Place: Localizing Sanctity in Asian Religions*, eds. Ph. Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003): 30.

<sup>51</sup> *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.53).

The rationale behind the choice of these three as chief among the Celestial Masters disciples is difficult to ascertain. Wang Sheng is not attested to elsewhere but his name suggests the possibility that he is an amalgam of the disciples Wang Chang 王長 and Zhao Sheng 趙昇, the aforementioned disciples of the Celestial Master. A hagiography of Zhang Shen found elsewhere in the *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* depicts him as a miracle worker and master of transformation who lived inside a magic gourd.<sup>52</sup> A post-Tang Celestial Masters text, *Marshal Zhao's Esoteric Methods for the Mysterious Altar of Upright Unity* (*Zhengyi xuantan yuanshuai bifa* 正一玄壇趙元帥祕法) identifies Li Zhong as one of twenty-eight directionally oriented spirit generals.<sup>53</sup>

As opposed to most early sources, in which the deified Laozi makes a single descent to earth in order to establish a covenant with the ancestral master, he makes a grand total of five appearances to Zhang Daoling in the *Hereditary Household*. This is likely a consequence of the text's compilers intent to create a comprehensive and definitive account of the Celestial Master's life. Accordingly, the significance of Lord Lao's descent to Mount Crane Call in 142 C.E. which is presented in early sources as the defining moment of the Celestial Master's career is lost in the shuffle as the work must also accommodate the legend regarding Jade Throne Parish and the tale of bestowal given in the *Sequential Record of Those who Upheld the Way*, both of which would have been in circulation at the time of the *Hereditary Household's* composition. Even so, the

---

<sup>52</sup> *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.245).

<sup>53</sup> *Marshal Zhao's Esoteric Methods for the Mysterious Altar of Upright Unity* is found in *Corpus of Daoist Rituals* (ZHDZ 38.313).

authors of the *Hereditary Household* were compelled to a degree of selectivity given the sheer amount of often contradictory accounts regarding Lord Lao's manifestation(s) to Zhang Daoling.

Mount Crane Call was a place of significance to the legend of Zhang Daoling from very early on. In the biography of Zhang Lu found in the third century *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi* 三國志) it is said that Zhang Lu's grandfather studied the Way at Mount Crane Call. No direct reference to Lord Lao is made in that work but it is said that Daoling "fabricated Daoist books" (*Zaozuo daoshu* 造作道書) in order to deceive the people, an authorial interjection of doubt regarding the supposed divine provenance of his teachings.<sup>54</sup> The same claim is found in the *Record of Huayang* in a passage identical to that found in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* save for the interjection of the assertion that Daoling styled himself Mysterious Prime of Great Clarity (*Taiqing xuanyuan* 太清玄元). As the title is not elsewhere associated with the Celestial Master but rather is a ritual term the claim is apparently the result of an authorial misunderstanding.<sup>55</sup>

The third century *Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Way* (*Dadao jialing jie* 大道家令成), one of the earliest surviving sources produced by the Celestial Masters movement, places Lord Lao's bestowal of his covenant with Zhang Daoling on Mount Quting, which is in the immediate vicinity of Mount Crane Call, in the

---

<sup>54</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi* 三國志 SKQS 8.27).

<sup>55</sup> *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 2.4).

year 142 C.E.<sup>56</sup> This is echoed in the fifth century Celestial Masters text, *Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens*.<sup>57</sup> Another fifth century work that originates from the Celestial Masters community, *Master Lu's Abridged Codes for the Daoist Community* (*Lu xiansheng daomen kelue* 陸先生道門科略), gives a synopsis of the bestowal of the covenant and its purpose but gives no date or place.<sup>58</sup>

A strange variant on the tradition of Laozi's descent is found in the *Yellow Book of Cavern Perfection* (*Dongzhen Huangshu* 洞真黃書). Presently fragmentary and possibly dating to the third century C.E., the *Yellow Book* concerns the much maligned rite of merging pneumae.<sup>59</sup> There, Lord Lao appears to Zhang Daoling in the second year of the Han'an reign era (143 C.E.) and bestows upon him a Yellow Scripture in eight fascicles and esoteric talismans on red pneuma and the three pneumae.<sup>60</sup> These are transmitted to his disciples Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng the following year.

---

<sup>56</sup> *Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Way* is found in the *Scripture on Precepts and Codes Taught by the Celestial Master, from the Texts of the Law of Orthodox Unity* (*Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiao jieke jing* 正一法文天師教戒科經 HY 788 ZHDZ 8.321-323). A translation and study is found in Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997): 149-185.

<sup>57</sup> *Scripture on Precepts and Codes* (ZHDZ 8.545). A full study and translation is found in Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 186-229.

<sup>58</sup> *Master Lu's Abridged Codes for the Daoist Community* (*Lu xiansheng daomen kelue* 陸先生道門科略 HY 1119 ZHDZ 8.556-559). A brief introduction and full translation is found in Peter Nickerson, "Abridged Codes of Master Lu for the Daoist Community," in *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): 347-359.

<sup>59</sup> *Yellow Book of Cavern Perfection* (*Dongzhen Huangshu* 洞真黃書 HY 1343 ZHDZ 8.518-523). On the practice of merging pneumae see chapter four of Gil Raz, *The Emergence of Daoism: Creation of Tradition*, (New York: Routledge, 2012).

<sup>60</sup> *Yellow Book of Cavern Perfection* (ZHDZ 8.518).



The late sixth century *Supreme Esoteric Essentials* (*wushang biyao* 無上秘要), the oldest surviving compendium of Daoist literature, includes a text titled *Articles of those who Grasped the Way of Great Clarity* (*De taiqing dao renming pin* 得太清道人名品).<sup>61</sup> There, a Transcendent Officer (*Xian guan* 仙官) descends to Mount Crane Call in the first year of the Han'an reign era to present the teachings of the Upright Unity covenant to the Celestial Master and to charge him with methods for transforming the people.<sup>62</sup> The work is undated and unattributed. The passage is something of a curiosity in that it is the only instance that I am aware of in which a figure other Lord Lao is said to have made a covenant with Zhang Daoling. The authorial rationale for substituting a generic spirit officer for the deified Laozi may be explained by the historical context in which *Supreme Esoteric Essentials* was compiled. The Daoist Canon of the Kaiyuan Era (*Kaiyuan daoze* 開元道藏) compiled between 713 and 743 C.E. was classified into three "grottoes" (*Sanding* 三洞) inclusive of Upper Clarity, Numinous Gem, and Three Sovereigns scriptures. The Celestial Masters corpus of texts was excluded from this version of the canon and so it may be that Zhang Daoling was accordingly subtly demoted in *Supreme Esoteric Essentials* through his receipt of the covenant by a stock transcendent rather than Laozi himself.

---

<sup>61</sup> *Supreme Esoteric Essentials* (*Wushang biyao* 無上秘要 HY 1130 ZHDZ 28.1-317). For an overview of the history of the compendium and its contents see Charles D. Benn, "Supreme Esoteric Essentials," in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 2:1062-1065.

<sup>62</sup> *Supreme Esoteric Essentials* (ZHDZ 28.251).

A brief biography of Zhang Daoling preserved in a later compendium, *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel*, quotes a variant form of the legend found in a text titled *Jade Weft* (*Yu wei* 玉緯). According to that work the Most High Lord Lao appeared to Zhang Daoling in the inaugural year of the Han'an reign era at his hermitage on Western Mountain in order to bestow the Upright Methods of the Three Heavens (*Santian zhengfa* 三天正法) and to empower him as Celestial Master.<sup>63</sup> On the seventh day of the seventh month Lord Lao again descended to make his covenant with the inaugural Celestial Master and to grant the further title of Perfected of Upright Unity Master of the Methods of the Three Heavens (*Santian fashi zhengyi zhenren* 三天法師正一真人).<sup>64</sup> The source is of uncertain provenance but the placement of the covenant at Western Hills rather than Mount Crane Call suggests an origin with the Way of Filiality, the Ruist- Daoist hybrid movement that originated in the Tang dynasty and was headquartered at Western Hills, and, accordingly, an attempt to lend the prestige of the founding legend of the Celestial Masters to that site.

The *Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning* is the oldest surviving work in which Lord Lao makes several appearances to Zhang Daoling at a variety of locations that figure prominently into the mythology of the sect. Given the text's origin with at Western Hills it may be that the disbursement of encounters represents an attempt to placate various Daoist factions associated with particular sites, one that is less nakedly self-serving than that of *Jade Weft*. Lord Lao's first appearance to Zhang Daoling

---

<sup>63</sup> *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.69).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

follows tradition; in the inaugural year of the Han'an reign era the covenant is said to have been established at Mount Crane Call.<sup>65</sup> He next appears on Verdant Citadel Mountain where a library's worth of scriptures totaling nine hundred thirty fascicles of text and seventy of talismans are granted for the Celestial Master's edification. This is followed by a journey to the mythic Mount Kunlun where the seals of office and a pair of swords, the Celestial Masters emblems, are granted. Then, in the inaugural year of the Jiankang 建康 reign era (144 C.E.), the Most High descends to Cloud Terrace Mountain in order to grant a *Scripture of the Upright Unity Covenant* (*Zhengyi mengwei jing* 正一盟威經) and, anachronistically, the *Five Tablets of Numinous Treasure* (*Lingbao wupian* 靈寶五篇).<sup>66</sup> Following the story of Jade Throne Parish the deified Laozi is said to descend a final time to Cloud Terrace Mountain on the ninth day of the ninth month of the third year of the Yongshou reign era.<sup>67</sup> He grants the Celestial Master the title Perfected of Upright Unity (*Zhengyi zhenren* 正一真人) and Zhang Daoling ascends to the heavens in broad daylight shortly thereafter.<sup>68</sup>

The *Comprehensive Mirror* has the Celestial Master visit a greater number of renowned mountains and his biography in that source is of even greater length than that in the *Hereditary Household*. The *Comprehensive Mirror* account of Zhang Daoling's life contains comparatively fewer interactions with the deified Laozi, however. In

---

<sup>65</sup> *Annals of the Sage* (ZHDZ 46.83).

<sup>66</sup> *Annals of the Sage* (ZHDZ 46.84).

<sup>67</sup> This date corresponds to October 29, 157 C.E.

<sup>68</sup> *Annals of the Sage* (ZHDZ 46.84).

contrast to the *Hereditary Household*, the Celestial Master's period of reclusion on Mount Yangping and his initial sojourn to Mount Crane Call are not met with divine response in the *Comprehensive Mirror*.<sup>69</sup> A later visit to Mount Crane Call in the inaugural year of the Han'an reign era is met with the bestowal of the covenant as is in keeping with tradition.<sup>70</sup>

The relatively brief biography in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* contains three visitations from Lord Lao. The first occurs when the Celestial Master is in reclusion on Mount Crane Call. Laozi descends to grant twenty-four talismans (one for each parish), a treasure sword bearing the inscription "demon quelling sword of the most high of the three and five" (*Taishang sanwu xiezhan zhi jian* 太上三五邪斬之劍), and a seal of the chief official of Yangping Parish (*Yangping zhi dugong yin* 陽平治都功印).<sup>71</sup> He later descends at Cloud Parish Mountain with teachings and treasures including an "imprint of the mysterious ancestor" (*Xuanzu zhang* 玄祖章). His final appearance is at Jade Throne Parish.

The centrality of an unbroken lineal transmission to the narrative of the *Hereditary Household* is difficult to overstate and the passing of the mantle from Zhang Daoling to his son Zhang Heng is treated with appropriate solemnity:

The Celestial Master conferred scriptures, tallies, and the sword and seal of office on his son Zhang Heng. The Master solemnly addressed his son saying, "I have

---

<sup>69</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.337).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.13).

encountered the Most High who personally transmitted the Way to me. Those writs that were bestowed upon me contain comprehensive instructions on the method for pacing the mainstays of the three fives and the pivotal essentials of Upright Unity. In each generation a single son will succeed to the station that I currently occupy. If there are no male descendants in my direct lineage then the mantle will not be transferred.<sup>72</sup>

The speech given by the Celestial Master is repeated in a slightly abbreviated form in the *Comprehensive Mirror* and, as is true with much of the lore incorporated into the *Hereditary Household*, the tradition may well originate with Du Guangting.<sup>73</sup> In his aforementioned *Efficacy of the Celestial Master's Sword* we find the following passage:

On the day of his ascent the Celestial Master takes up his sword and seal of office and transmits them to his descendent. His oath is as follows: "In each generation there is one son to whom the seal, sword, and records of office are transmitted. Only in this manner is the transmission to be made. If there is no descendent then there is no inheritor."<sup>74</sup>

Though it is not necessarily an invention of Du Guangting, the passing of the sword and seal of office is most certainly a relatively late tradition and quite possibly one that does not predate the establishment of the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. The sword, an emblem of demon quelling as is made plain by its description in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*, figures prominently into post-Tang iconography of Zhang Daoling as a queller of demons and unruly spirits. It has no place in the earliest Celestial Masters literature.

The notion of transmission is found among the earliest historical sources regarding the Celestial Masters but is not treated in any detail. The *Record of Huayang*

---

<sup>72</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.348).

<sup>73</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.343).

<sup>74</sup> *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* (ZHDZ 45.122).

informs the reader that “When Ling died his son Heng continued on with his affairs and when Heng died his son Lu continued his work.”<sup>75</sup> Likewise, the *Record of the Latter Han* records that “Ling transmitted [the teachings] to his son Heng who transmitted them to Lu.”<sup>76</sup>

Six Dynasties sources originating from the Celestial Masters themselves tend not to dwell on the transmission of the mantle. It may be that the office of Celestial Master was not originally intended to be handed down indefinitely. Regardless, the historical circumstances of Zhang Lu’s capitulation to Cao Cao and apparent death shortly thereafter precluded the establishment of such a tradition beyond the third generation and so the practice of lineal inheritance was left dormant until such time as it was revived at Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

## (2.2) *The Inheriting Master Zhang Heng*

Although he is crucial to the establishment of the tradition of lineal descent virtually nothing is said of Zhang Heng in early sources. Biographical information on him is entirely lacking prior to a brief entry in the section on Yangping Parish in the seventh century encyclopedia *Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns* (*Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊).<sup>77</sup> The date and place of Zhang Heng’s ascent is first given in Du Guangting’s

---

<sup>75</sup> *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 2.4).

<sup>76</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.5).

<sup>77</sup> *Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns* (*Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊 HY 1131 ZHDZ 28.444). This is an important collection of excerpts from texts dating to the second through sixth centuries many of which are now lost save for fragments in other works. It was compiled in the late seventh century by the calligrapher Wang Xuanhe 王懸和.

*Record of Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City*.<sup>78</sup> Much the same information as given in those sources is found in the *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel*. Prior to that time no information pertaining to Heng beyond his acceptance of the mantle from Zhang Daoling and his conferral of the teachings to Zhang Lu is found.

Here, I will begin with Zhang Heng's biography as it exists in the *Hereditary Household* with an eye towards those sources that it likely draws upon. I will then discuss the possibility that Zhang Heng is not a historical figure at all but rather a necessary creation of lineage makers.

Hagiographies of Zhang Heng are uniformly brief and unanimous in their lack of detail regarding events of his life beyond the claims that he was summoned by the emperor and that he ascended in broad daylight. Song Lian's preface to the *Hereditary Household* tells us that an unnamed emperor summoned Heng to serve as Attendant Gentleman of the Palace Gate (*Huangmen shilang* 黃門侍郎) a post that he apparently accepted for a time before returning to Mount Yangping to live in reclusion.<sup>79</sup> This account contrasts with his actual hagiography in the *Hereditary Household* in which he refuses the honor in order to remain in reclusion on Mount Yangping.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> Du Guangting's account is reprinted without attribution in *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 SKQS 60.5, 11). The *Extensive Records* is a collection of tales and anecdotes many of which fall under the category of "records of the uncanny" (*zhiguai* 志怪) that was compiled by members of the National University (*Taixue* 太學) and submitted to the throne in 981 C.E.

<sup>79</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.340).

<sup>80</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.348).

The account of Zhang Heng's life found in the *Bag of Pearls* describes him as high minded and wise. He was called to office by Emperor Xiaoling 孝靈 of the Han (r. 167-188 C.E.) but did not respond, preferring instead to live in reclusion on Mount Yangping in order to further his studies of transcendence.<sup>81</sup> The account further states that stelae were erected at the gates of Mount Yangping after his ascent inscribed with the words “parish of the inheriting master” (*sishi zhi* 嗣師治).<sup>82</sup> This account is repeated nearly verbatim in an account of Yangping Parish found in the *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel*.<sup>83</sup>

Du Guangting's biography of Zhang Daoling's wife in the *Record of Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City* includes a brief aside on Zhang Heng. Known as the Inheriting Master, he is said to have cut himself off from the world to practice refinement (*xiulian* 修鍊) and was.<sup>84</sup> The date of his ascent as given in that account is repeated in a hagiography of his daughter Zhang Yulan 張玉蘭 that is found in the section on transcendent women (*xiannu* 仙女) in the *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era*.<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> *Bag of Pearls* (ZHDZ 28.444).

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.245).

<sup>84</sup> *Record of Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City* (ZHDZ 45.226).

<sup>85</sup> *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (SKQS 60.10-11).



The strange hagiography tells of Zhang Yulan becoming pregnant after she observes a red ray of light entering her bedchamber. She tries to conceal her condition but is soon found out and she passes away shortly thereafter. When her body is examined a lotus-like beam of light emits from her stomach which transforms into the *Scripture of the Original Bound* (*Benji jing* 本際經). One hundred days later her death her tomb is exhumed and her coffin is found to be empty, a sure indication that she has attained transcendence. The account concludes with the construction of a Temple of the Maiden (*Nulang guan* 女郎觀) on the spot of her tomb.<sup>86</sup>

Though it is unattributed in the *Extensive Records* and not found in the existing version of the *Record of Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City* it is not implausible that the account was the work of Du Guangting. A version of the story preserved in the *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* cites as its source the *Record of Gathered Transcendents* (*Jixian lu* 集仙錄), a possible abbreviation for the *Record of Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City*.<sup>87</sup> However, that version makes no direct reference to Zhang Heng but rather describes Zhang Yulan simply as a descendent of the Celestial Master.

The *Supplement to the Comprehensive Mirror of Transcendents Who Embodied the Way Throughout the Ages* includes two versions of the story. In the former it is stated that Zhang Yulan is the daughter of Zhang Heng. In the latter, attributed to the *Record of*

---

<sup>86</sup> *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (SKQS 60.10-11).

<sup>87</sup> *Record of Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City* (ZHDZ 45.404).

*Chengdu* (*Chengdu ji* 成都記) she is identified only as a descendent of the Celestial Master. In the latter telling her unnamed father is doubtful of her story and wishes to kill her in a fit of shame and rage prior to learning the true nature of her pregnancy.<sup>88</sup> The sources which give Zhang Heng as her father do not include any mention of rash impulses towards filicide.

The vast majority of Zhang Heng's biography in the *Hereditary Household* is given over to a proclamation made by Zhang Heng to his son Zhang Lu as he invests the latter with the sword and seal of office. The proclamation refers to the exorcistic journeys undertaken by Zhang Daoling for the benefit of the people and touches time and again on themes of loyalty, filiality, and honor. Zhang Heng concludes his speech with a statement on lineal duty that is in keeping with the themes of the oath attributed to Zhang Daoling at the end of his own hagiography:

The aspirations of the ancestral master were expansive and it is because his household's teachings were established that he is due eternal reverence. Bound through the talismans of the Way and embodying the continuity of lineal methods the Celestial Master serves as a conduit to his predecessor and a source of revelation for his successors. Hence, no matter the difficulty, how could the Celestial Master not reverently engage in diligent service to the vast and mysterious transformations?<sup>89</sup>

No such speech is found in Zhang Heng's biographies in other sources. It was presumably composed for inclusion in the *Hereditary Household* as a means of underscoring the virtues that the lineage has embodied in its service to the people and the

---

<sup>88</sup> *Supplement to the Comprehensive Mirror of Transcendents Who Embodied the Way throughout the Ages* (*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 歷史真仙體道通鑑續篇 HY 297 ZHDZ 47.631). The supplement is also attributed to Zhao Daoyi and includes biographies from the Jurchen Jin and Yuan periods not found in the original work.

<sup>89</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.348).

empire throughout history and to remind the reader of the centrality of an unbroken and continued family line to the institutional charisma of the Zhang Celestial Masters. Who better to deliver this message than one who embodies the connection between the founding figure of the religion and the individual who was fated to set into motion events which spread the religion beyond its original base of influence in Ba and Shu?

Zhang Heng's hagiography in the *Hereditary Household* concludes with his ascent from Mount Yangping in the company of his wife, a woman of the Lu family. This detail is repeated in the *Bag of Pearls* which dates Zhang Heng's ascent to the second year of the Guanghe 光和 reign era of Han Lingdi 靈帝 (179 C.E.). The same date is given in the *Record of Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City*, *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era*, the *Comprehensive Mirror*, and the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*.<sup>90</sup>

(2.3) *Zhang Lu, Zhang Heng, Zhang Xiu, and the Way of Ghosts*

The transmission of the office of Celestial Master from Zhang Heng to Zhang Lu is a pivotal moment in the lineal history presented in Daoist sources, particularly those works produced by the Celestial Masters themselves, but early historical texts raise doubts as to the historicity of the event. The *Record of the Three Kingdoms*, the *Record of Huayang*, and the *Record of the Latter Han* all record that Zhang Lu inherited the teachings of Zhang Ling by way of Zhang Heng. The second Celestial Master is not,

---

<sup>90</sup>*Record of Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City* (ZHDZ 45.226); *Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns* (ZHDZ 28.444); *Extensive Record of the Taiping Era* (SKQS 60.5, 11); *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.345).

however, mentioned anywhere in narratives regarding Zhang Lu. Matters are further complicated by references to Zhang Lu and his mother as being practitioners of a tradition known as the Way of Ghosts (*Guidao* 鬼道). There is also the matter of Zhang Lu's cohort Zhang Xiu whose teachings and followers were usurped or inherited by the third Celestial Master according to the *Outline of Records* (*Dianlue* 典略), *The Record of the Latter Han*, and the *Record of the Three Kingdoms*.<sup>91</sup>

Zhang Lu may well have merged an extant family tradition with the practices and teachings of Zhang Xiu. If so, the result of this melding was the Way of the Celestial Master that was spread beyond the Sichuan basin and its environs following Zhang Lu's surrender to Cao Cao in 215 C.E. If such is the case then Zhang Heng might be a wholly invented figure conjured up in order to bridge the generation between Zhang Lu and Zhang Daoling. The ancestral Celestial Master might have already been a figure around whom legends had grown to the point that his charisma could be claimed by Zhang Lu to significant propagandistic effect. This is all, of course, speculation, as the available sources on the matter contradict one another and, occasionally, themselves. The pages that follow will be given over to an attempt at untangling the various and disparate accounts of the provenance of Zhang Lu's teachings as found in relevant early histories and gazetteers.

---

<sup>91</sup> The *Outline of Records* was compiled by the historian Yu Huan 魚豢 in the late third century and is now lost. Fragments are found in the *History of the Latter Han* and it is quoted extensively in Pei Songzhi's 裴松之 429 C.E. commentary to the *Record of the Three Kingdoms*. Hanzhong is located in the southwest of contemporary Shaanxi.

Zhang Lu's biography in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* states that his grandfather fabricated Daoist works and required a levy of five pecks of rice from his followers. He thereby earned his cult the pejorative moniker of Rice Thieves (*mi zei* 米賊).<sup>92</sup> The *Record of Huayang* both labels Zhang Lu's teachings as the Way of Ghosts and claims that he levied a tax of five pecks of rice on his followers, a practice that caused his teachings to be known as the Way of Rice (*Mi dao* 米道).<sup>93</sup> The *Record of the Latter Han* contends that Zhang Lu's mother was in possession of a tradition called the Way of Ghosts and holds that Lu usurped the followers of Zhang Xiu after murdering him.<sup>94</sup> It also, in a later passage, describes Zhang Lu as the grandson of Zhang Ling who is said to have studied the Way on Mount Crane Call, fabricated talismans and writs, and required five pecks of rice from those who followed his teachings thereby earning the familiar designation of rice thief.<sup>95</sup>

It is unclear whether the levy of a rice tax was a practice Zhang Lu inherited from his father and grandfather as these sources indicate. It may also be that the practice was derived from Zhang Xiu and continued after Lu took command of his followers. A final possibility is that the practice was held in common by both Lu and Xiu.

---

<sup>92</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.27).

<sup>93</sup> *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 2.4).

<sup>94</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.2).

<sup>95</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.5).

The earliest source to comment on such rice levies is a quote from the late second century *Record of Liu Ai* (*Liu Ai ji* 劉艾紀) found in the *Record of the Latter Han*.<sup>96</sup> There it is said that Zhang Xiu was active in the Ba region where he practiced ritual healing in return for payment of five pecks of rice and was accordingly called Master Five Pecks (*Wudou shi* 五斗師).<sup>97</sup> Another relatively early source, the *Outline of Records*, also quoted in the *Record of the Latter Han*, describes Zhang Xiu as the leader of a movement in Hanzhong 漢中 called the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice that was equivalent to the Yellow Turban commander Zhang Jue's 張角 Way of Great Peace (*Taiping dao* 太平道).<sup>98</sup> A further passage from the *Outline of Records* incorporated into the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* describes Zhang Xiu as one among the demonic bandits (*yao zei* 妖賊) who arose in the late Han. In that passage it is Zhang Xiu's Way of the Five Pecks of Rice in Hanzhong that is described as a western parallel to Zhang Jue's Way of Great Peace in the east.<sup>99</sup>

There is the possibility that both leaders levied a rice tax and were disparaged in similar terms on account of it. Designations such as the Way of Rice and most certainly that of Rice Thieves were not self-applied but rather descriptors given by outsiders in order to underscore what would have been seen as the egregious arrogation of taxation

---

<sup>96</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 8.15). The title *Record of Liu Ai* as given in the *Record of the Latter Han* as an abbreviation of the *Record of the Two Han Emperors Ling and Xian* (*Han Ling Xian erdi ji* 漢靈獻二帝紀) compiled by Liu Ai between 180 and 190 C.E. and now lost save for scattered fragments.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.6).

<sup>99</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.28).

rights by the leaders of popular religious movements. As such it is not entirely implausible that both Zhang Lu and Zhang Xiu's mutually held practice of grain taxation was seized upon and that the pejorative description was applied separately to both movements. Still, it would require a fairly astonishing coincidence for both leaders to independently levy a tax of five pecks exactly and for their movements to be described in identical terms as a consequence of the practice.

In addition to the confused origin and application of the term Way of the Five Pecks of Rice and related designations, the repeated references to the Way of Ghosts, a term not found in later Celestial Masters sources, must be accounted for. The *Record of the Latter Han* includes a curious passage on Zhang Lu's mother in which it is suggested that she held influence over Liu Yan 劉焉, the governor of Yizhou, either through her own charms, on account of her mastery of the Way of Ghosts, or due to some combination of the two factors:

Zhang Lu's mother was charming and beautiful. She had command over the Way of Ghosts. She often visited the home of Liu Yan and so it was that Zhang Lu came to be appointed as Commanding Supervisor of Propriety.<sup>100</sup>

The *Record of Huayang* records a variant on the story in which Zhang Lu wins the trust of Liu Yan by means of the Way of Ghosts. No mention is made of his mother's mastery of the spiritual arts in that source. Rather, she is described as a beautiful woman of youthful appearance who could often be observed arriving at and departing from Liu Yan's household. The reader is left to draw his or her own conclusions though the

---

<sup>100</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.2).

obvious implication is that she seduced Liu Yan in order to further her family's fortunes.<sup>101</sup> The *Record of the Latter Han* and the *Record of Huayang* are in agreement that Liu Yan died in 194 C.E. at which point his son Liu Zhang 劉璋 inherited the governorship. Zhang Lu rebelled against the Liu clan in 200 C.E. and Liu Zhang executed Lu's mother and brother in retaliation.<sup>102</sup>

In these accounts and others it is not specified whether the Way of Ghosts is to be understood as a distinct tradition from the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice. The *Record of the Three Kingdoms* states that after his mother was executed Zhang Lu established himself in Hanzhong 漢中. There, "he instructed the people by means of the Way of Ghosts and styled himself the Master Sovereign (*Shijun* 師君). Those who came forth to study his way were initially called Ghost Troops (*guibing* 鬼兵)."<sup>103</sup> The description of the movement's hierarchy continues in explaining that Ghost Troops might be promoted to Libationers (*jijiu* 祭酒) and those who were placed in charge of parishes were known as Great Libationers (*da jijiu* 大祭酒).

The *Record of Huayang* describes the organizational structure of Zhang Lu's Way of Ghosts in similar terms and also includes a description of roadside charity huts. These were stocked with meat and grain and travelers were free to take what they needed. If, however, they took advantage of the charity and greedily plundered the huts then ghosts

---

<sup>101</sup> *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 2.4).

<sup>102</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.3).

<sup>103</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.27).



would set upon them and make them ill.<sup>104</sup> Finally, the biography of Li Te 李特, founder of the millenarian Cheng Han Kingdom 成漢 in the early fourth century, also found in the *Record of Huayang*, states that at the end of the Han dynasty Zhang Lu resided in Hanzhong where he instructed people by means of the Way of Ghosts.<sup>105</sup>

Accounts found in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* and the *Record of Huayang* state that the Way of Ghosts was inclusive of the use of the title Libationer, the establishment of a system of parishes, and roadside charity huts. All of these are practices traditionally associated with the Way of the Celestial Masters. Both sources also indicate that the practice of levying a rice tax was inherited from Zhang Lu's ancestors. What, then, was inherited from Zhang Xiu and under what circumstances?

The histories are unanimous to a point in describing the events that culminated in Zhang Xiu's death and Zhang Lu's absorption of his teachings and followers. Both men were recruited by Liu Yan and tasked with attacking the forces of Su Gu 蘇固, the governor of Hanzhong appointed by the Han dynasty. The region was taken but Zhang Xiu either died in battle, as the *Record of Huayang* records and the *Outline of Records* implies, or was killed by Zhang Lu in an apparent power grab, as *The Record of the Latter Han* and the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* both record. While the actual circumstances of Zhang Xiu's death are unknown Zhang Lu established himself in Hanzhong shortly thereafter. All sources with the exception of the *Record of Huayang*

---

<sup>104</sup> *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 2.4).

<sup>105</sup> *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 9.1). The statement is repeated in the *Book of the Jin* (*Jin shu* 晉書 SKQS 120.2)

explicitly state that Zhang Lu took command of the methods, teachings, and followers of Zhang Xiu.

The practices of Zhang Xiu are described in some detail in those aforementioned passages from the *Outline of Records* found in the *Record of the Latter Han* and the *Record of the Three Kingdoms*. They are largely identical to those associated with the early Celestial Masters community. Practices enumerated include the establishment of chambers of tranquility (*jingshi* 静室), ritual petitioning to the three bureaus of heaven, earth, and water, healing through confession, the ingestion of talisman water, the appointment of individuals to the office of Libationer, and communal recitations of the *Laozi*.<sup>106</sup> In both cases Zhang Lu of Hanzhong is described as carrying on the work of his predecessors with slight alterations and embellishments after the execution of Zhang Jue and the death of Zhang Xiu.

The degree to which the practices attributed to Zhang Xiu in the *Outline of Records* tally with those elsewhere described as originating with the Zhang family Celestial Masters is so great that in his commentary to the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* Pei Songzhi follows the passage with a note indicating that the name Zhang Xiu is not original to the *Outline of Records*. Rather, he claims, it is a copyist's error and the figure in question should be identified as Zhang Heng.<sup>107</sup> As the *Outline of Records* is now lost it is impossible to compare editions in order to surmise whether Pei Songzhi is correct.

---

<sup>106</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.6); *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.28).

<sup>107</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.28).

There is ample reason to doubt the theory however. Zhang Xiu is not described as Zhang Lu's compatriot in the *Outline of Records* but neither is he described as his father. If the figure named as Zhang Xiu in the *Outline of Records* was intended to be Zhang Heng and Zhang Lu stood to receive his teachings in keeping with an established precedent of primogeniture then one would expect as much to be stated explicitly.

Furthermore, while the nature of the relationship between Zhang Lu and Zhang Xiu is not specified in the *Outline of Records*, the *Record of the Three Kingdoms*, *Record of the Latter Han*, and *Record of Huayang* are unanimous in describing Zhang Xiu as a compatriot of Zhang Lu. If Pei Songzhi's theory is correct then the authors of these sources both followed in the error of confusing Zhang Heng for Zhang Xiu as was established by a mistaken transcription in an edition of the *Outline of Records*. They were also unanimous in misidentifying the nature of the relationship between the two figures. Even if, improbably, this were the case it does not account for the *Record of Liu Ai* which both predates the *Outline of Records* and describes Zhang Xiu as the Master of the Five Pecks.

Finally, there is the matter of patricide. Accounts in both the *Record of the Latter Han* and the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* state that Zhang Lu killed Zhang Xiu in order to take command of his followers.<sup>108</sup> If there were a tradition according to which Zhang Xiu was meant to be Zhang Lu's father then certainly sources hostile to the popular

---

<sup>108</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.217); *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.2).

movements represented by the two would seize upon an instance of patricide as a means of further denigrating them.

Whatever the actual historical circumstances that brought Zhang Lu to a place of authority in Hanzhong may have been and regardless of the actual pedigree of his teachings and practices, Zhang Xiu has been entirely excised from the historical narrative in Daoist sources. He is wholly absent from the lore of the Celestial Masters and was expunged from historical accounts from a relatively early date. One relatively early example in which the complicating factor of Zhang Xiu is done away with is found in the early sixth century *Commentary on the Waterway Classic* (*Shuijing zhu* 水經注) which includes a retelling of Zhang Lu's biography that is both more sympathetic than earlier historical accounts and is in line with the hagiographical tradition that reaches its culmination in the *Hereditary Household*.<sup>109</sup>

In the *Commentary on the Waterway Classic* Zhang Lu is described as the inheritor, through his father Heng, of the teachings of Zhang Daoling, who is said to have studied the way but not to have fabricated texts or talismans. Lu is said to have worked to benefit the people, rather than to deceive them, and his teachings are described as the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice. No mention is made of grain thievery, the Way of Ghosts, his mother's seductive stratagems, or Zhang Xiu.

#### (2.4) *Zhang Lu in the Hereditary Household*

---

<sup>109</sup> *Commentary on the Waterway Classic* (*Shuijing zhu* 水經注 SKQS 217.2).

Zhang Lu's biography as found in Song Lian's preface to the *Hereditary Household* finds the historian incorporating specific details from early historical sources while tactfully altering the often hostile tone of the narrative in those works and omitting the less than flattering incidents that they dwell upon, most notably the murder of Zhang Xiu. Song Lian includes the peculiar detail that Lu titled himself Master Sovereign (*Shijun* 師君), a self-applied honorific first attested to in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms*, and tells of the establishment of charity huts, the practice of healing through confession, and the role of the office of Libationer, all of which are details first attested to in the *Outline of Records*.<sup>110</sup> In direct contradiction to those sources in which the people are said to be deceived by Zhang Lu and his predecessors Song Lian records in his preface to the *Hereditary Household* that "those disciples who were sincere were titled as Libationers and all were instructed by means of sincerity and in good faith. None were deceived."<sup>111</sup>

Song Lian further reports that Zhang Lu was granted the titles Attendant General for Constraint of the Populace (*Zhenmin zhonglan jiang* 鎮民中郎將) and Governor of Hanning (*Hanning taishou* 漢寧太守) by imperial decree.<sup>112</sup> This is in keeping with the historical record to a certain degree. The *Record of the Latter Han* records that Zhang Lu

---

<sup>110</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.340); *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.2); *Outline of Records* as quoted in *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.6); *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.28).

<sup>111</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.340).

<sup>112</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.341). Zhang Lu changed the name of Hanzhong 漢中 to Hanning 漢寧 at some point after he established his base of operations in the region and would accordingly have been honored as Governor of Hanning by the Han.

was able to bring the Yi people to order through the governance of his Libationers. The Han court, being in no position to mount a punitive campaign against him, had no other recourse than to title Zhang Lu Attendant General for Constraint of the Yi (*Zhenyi zhonglang jiang* 鎮夷中郎將) and Governor of Hanning.<sup>113</sup> The *Record of Huayang* reports much the same in noting that the enfeebled Han court honored Zhang Lu as Attendant General (*Zhonglang jiang* 中郎將) and Governor of Hanning because it was unable to mount a force against him.<sup>114</sup> Finally, the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* is in agreement with Song Lian as to the titles bestowed by the Han government though not with regards to the enthusiasm with which it did so in stating that Zhang Lu was begrudgingly made Attendant General for Constraint of the Populace (*Zhenmin zhonglang jiang* 鎮民中郎將) and Governor of Hanning.<sup>115</sup>

Early sources invariably describe the assault on the Han appointed governor Su Gu while under command of Liu Yan and the usurpation of Zhang Xiu as the means whereby Zhang Lu gained control of Hanzhong. Absent from Song Lian's account of Zhang Lu's career is any mention of Zhang Xiu, Liu Yan, his mother, or the Way of Ghosts. Zhang Lu's military pursuits are referred to by Song Lian only in the most indirect fashion possible and only when it is impossible to omit them entirely and still maintain a coherent narrative that does not entirely contradict well known historical facts. For instance, the surrender to Cao Cao in 215 C.E. is broached only as a pretext to the

---

<sup>113</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.6).

<sup>114</sup> *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 2.5).

<sup>115</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.28).

topic of Zhang Lu's enfeoffment along with his sons and the marriage of his daughter to the warlord's son Cao Yu 曹宇.

The opening passages of Zhang Lu's biography in the *Hereditary Household* record that he inherited the mantle of Celestial Master at a young age when the Han dynasty was in its twilight. As in Song Lian's preface it is said that certain individuals held the title of Libationer, that charity huts were established, talismans and registers granted, and a practice of healing illness through the confession of sins was instituted. Little sense of chronology is given and while we are told that disciples flocked to the Celestial Master it is unclear whether his base of operations was Yangping Parish or elsewhere. As with Song Lian's preface, one gets the sense throughout the biographical account of Zhang Lu in the *Hereditary Household* that the narrative has been intentionally crafted so as to avoid a direct engagement with the more problematic aspects of his life as recounted in the early histories.

Early on in the account an imperial edict is said to have been granted by an unspecified emperor making Zhang Lu Field Officer in Command of Agriculture (*Diannong xiaowei* 典農校尉), Attendant General for the Pacification of the Populace (*Anmin zhonglang jiang* 安民中郎將), and Grand Protector of Han'an (*Han'an taishou* 漢安太守).<sup>116</sup> The *Comprehensive Mirror* records that the first two of these offices were bestowed upon Zhang Lu but no further details are given in that source.<sup>117</sup> None of the

---

<sup>116</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.349).

<sup>117</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.345).

accounts in official histories list Zhang Lu as Field Officer in Command of Agriculture and the title may be anachronistically applied here as there is no record of any official being granted an identical or even similar title prior to the fall of the Han. The specific title Attendant General for the Pacification of the Populace is not found elsewhere but is clearly derived from similar titles inclusive of the rank Attendant General found in historical sources as well as Song Lian's preface albeit with the more forceful "constraint" (*zhen* 鎮) softened to the less martial and more benevolent "pacification" (*an* 安).

The title Grand Protector of Han'an (*Han'an taishou* 漢安太守) is likewise not found elsewhere. The early histories are unanimous in stating that Zhang Lu was titled Governor of Hanning. The *Hereditary Household* and *Comprehensive Mirror* are in agreement that Zhang Lu held the title *Governor of Hanzhong and Nanzheng Commanderies* (*Hanzhong Nanzheng erjun taishou* 漢中南鄭二郡太守).<sup>118</sup> Though not recorded in early sources this is not entirely improbable as it simply refers to the region of southwest Shaanxi that would have been under Zhang Lu's control until his surrender to Cao Cao.

The title Grand Protector of Han'an is not as easily explained. Generally speaking the designation of governor or grand protector (*taishou* 太守) is preceded by a location. Han'an is not a place name but rather a reign era of particular significance to Celestial Masters Daoism as the inaugural year (142 C.E.) is said to be when the deified Laozi made his covenant with Zhang Daoling. A likely explanation is that it is included

---

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.



here as a means of supplying Zhang Lu with an additional honor and suggesting imperial recognition of his descent from Zhang Daoling at the same time.

Following these designations the *Hereditary Household* biography continues with a highly abbreviated, selective, and embellished account of the circumstances which brought Zhang Lu to a position of authority over Hanzhong:

When Liu Yan was in Shu he encountered resistance from those with sedition in their hearts and accordingly requested the Celestial Master's service as Commanding Supervisor of Propriety. Zhang Lu went into reclusion in Hanzhong and gathered grain sufficient to feed ten-thousand households. An imperial edict was issued naming Zhang Lu Grand Protector of the Hanzhong and Nanzheng Commandaries. Soon thereafter soldiers from Qin and Yong stirred up chaos prompting the masses to urge the Celestial Master to take up arms and proclaim himself king of Hanzhong.<sup>119</sup>

The unnamed seditionist is apparently Su Gu. That the events described in at least certain among the official histories as a usurpation culminating in the betrayal of a compatriot are here given as a retreat into reclusion is the height of hagiographic euphemism. The account of Zhang Lu entering into reclusion and accumulating a great store of grain is also found in the *Comprehensive Mirror*.<sup>120</sup> It has no obvious analogue in the histories but may be intended to foreshadow the incident in which Zhang Lu retreats in the wake of Cao Cao's capture of Yangping but leaves the storehouses open for the conquering army.<sup>121</sup> Qin 秦 and Yong 雍 are locations in what is contemporary Shaanxi. There is no record of Zhang Lu suppressing uprisings in these regions in

---

<sup>119</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.349).

<sup>120</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.345).

<sup>121</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.7); *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.30).

traditional sources and the *Hereditary Household* is the only Daoist work to make mention of such activity.

Notably but predictably the defeat of the Celestial Master's forces by those of Cao Cao in the Battle of Yangping is excised from the *Hereditary Household*. The *Record of the Three Kingdoms* reports that when Cao Cao launched a campaign to Yangping in 215 C.E. Zhang Lu was willing to surrender while his brother Zhang Wei 張衛 insisted upon mounting a defense. Though Zhang Wei was initially successful in rebuffing the advance a nocturnal raid by Cao Cao's forces routed the army under his command. Zhang Wei's compatriot Yang Ang 楊昂 was killed in the attack and Wei fled ignominiously.<sup>122</sup> The *Record of the Latter Han* also includes an account of the battle but states that Zhang Wei was captured and executed by Cao Cao's forces.<sup>123</sup>

Zhang Wei does appear in the *Hereditary Household* though not in the context of the Battle of Yangping. Rather, a short biography of Wei and Zhang Lu's other sibling Zhang Kui 張傀 is appended to the third Celestial Master's biography:

Zhang Lu had a younger brother who was named Wei. His honorific was Gongze. He was honored as the General who Illuminates Righteousness. He retired from office in order to study the Way and ascended to the heavens in broad daylight. Zhang Lu's youngest brother was named Kui. His honorific was Gongren. He was named Grand Protector of Nan Commandery and made a Commandant of Attendant Cavalry. He also retired from office, dedicated himself to studying the Way, and ascended to the heavens in broad daylight.<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.29-30).

<sup>123</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.7).

<sup>124</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.349).

This account may follow the precedent set by the *Comprehensive Mirror*. There it is said that Zhang Lu's younger brother Wei was titled General who Illuminates Righteousness (*Yijang jun* 義將軍) and that he ascended to the heavens from Jialing 嘉陵 in Sichuan.<sup>125</sup> According to that source Kui was Grand Protector of Nan Commandery (*Nan jun taishou* 南郡太守) and ascended to the heavens from an unspecified location following his retirement from that post. Without commenting on the historical veracity of claims regarding Zhang Kui's ascent to the heavens I will note that it is unlikely he held the post of Grand Protector of Han Commandery as the region in question is in southern central Hubei, far removed from the Celestial Master's base of activities. It is also the case that while the post did exist in the late Han dynasty and in the Three Kingdoms era there is no record of anyone by the name of Zhang Kui ever holding the office.

The last major incident discussed in Zhang Lu's biography in the *Hereditary Household* is his surrender to Cao Cao. After the warlord's forces took control of Yangping they advanced to find that Zhang Lu had left fully stocked storehouses of grain behind as he fled. It is then that Cao Cao comes to the realization that his adversary is worthy of respect and honors:

Taizu generously dispatched an envoy with an edict of conciliation naming Zhang Lu to the post of Regional Administrator over the provinces of Liang and Yi and granting him the post of General who Pacifies the South. He was further made Marquis of the Lands within the Pass with a fiefdom of thirty thousand households. He firmly declined to accept the honors and said to the envoy, "I am one who cultivates the Way and it is

---

<sup>125</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.345).

presently my wish to ascend to transcendence. I have no desire for land and titles and request that you return the emblems of office to your sovereign.”<sup>126</sup>

The *Comprehensive Mirror* echoes the *Hereditary Household* account in recording that Zhang Lu was offered the post of Regional Administrator of Liang 梁 and Yi 益.<sup>127</sup> Liang Prefecture 梁州 is in the southwest of contemporary Shaanxi and Yi Prefecture 益州 is roughly coterminous with the Sichuan and Hanzhong basins. The official histories do not include administration over these regions among the honors bestowed upon Zhang Lu by Cao Cao.

The title Marquis of the Lands within the Pass (*Guan'nei hou* 關內侯) was unique to the Wei dynasty. The “lands within the pass” refers to portions of what is contemporary northern Shaanxi province. The title was the second highest out of the twenty ranks of nobility awarded by the Wei.<sup>128</sup> This title is not said to have been granted to Zhang Lu elsewhere. The *Comprehensive Mirror* and Song Lian’s preface to the *Hereditary Household* both record that Zhang Lu was made Marquis of Langzhong (*Langzhong hou* 閬中侯).<sup>129</sup> Although the title is different between the two sources, the *Comprehensive Mirror* is in agreement with the *Hereditary Household* in listing the size of Zhang Lu’s fiefdom at a substantial thirty-thousand households.

---

<sup>126</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.349).

<sup>127</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.345).

<sup>128</sup> See, Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985): 286.

<sup>129</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.345); *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.340).

The *Record of the Three Kingdoms* and the *Record of the Latter Han* both record that Zhang Lu was made Marquis of Langzhong though in contrast to Daoist sources a more modest enfeoffment of ten-thousand households is given.<sup>130</sup> The *Record of Huayang* records that Zhang Lu was made Marquis of Xiangping (*Xiangping hou* 襄平侯) but does not give any indication of the number of households Zhang Lu was to be “fed by” (*shiyi* 食邑).<sup>131</sup> The title Marquis of Xiangping is not associated with Zhang Lu elsewhere. In the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* is said to have been granted to Gongsun Kang 公孫康 in 208 C.E. and inherited by his son in 228 C.E.<sup>132</sup>

The histories are unanimous in noting that Zhang Lu’s five sons as well as his advisor Yan Pu 閻圃 were also granted the title of marquis with the *Record of the Latter Han* further stating that Zhang Lu’s daughter was married to Cao Cao’s son Pengzu 彭祖.<sup>133</sup> All of these details are repeated by Song Lian in his preface. Zhang Lu’s biography in the *Hereditary Household* contradicts both earlier historical sources and Song Lian’s preface by contending that while all were offered the title of Marquis it was uniformly refused just as Zhang Lu himself had refused honors from Cao Cao.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, while Song Lian’s preface notes the alliance by marriage between Zhang

---

<sup>130</sup> *The Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.7); *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.30).

<sup>131</sup> *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 2.5).

<sup>132</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.17).

<sup>133</sup> *The Record of Huayang* (SKQS 2.1); *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.7); *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.30). All three sources describe the enfeoffment in similar terms. Pengzu 彭祖 was the courtesy name of Cao Yu.

<sup>134</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.349).

Lu's daughter and Pengzu nothing is said of the arrangement in the *Hereditary Household* biography of the third Celestial Master.

(2.5) *Zhang Lu and the Dissolution of the Celestial Masters Community*

The disparity between Zhang Lu's high minded refusal of honors in the *Hereditary Household* and his gracious acceptance of them in historical sources is deserving of comment. The version of events in the *Hereditary Household* may be read as a means of distancing the Celestial Masters from the chaos at the end of the Han in general and from entanglements with Cao Cao in particular. By having Zhang Lu refuse a part in the government of what was to become the Wei dynasty and omitting reference to his daughter's marriage to Cao Cao's son the authors of the *Hereditary Household* account are able to avoid having to account for the aftermath of the Faustian pact in which surrender to Cao Cao brought about the dissolution of the Celestial Masters as an independent religious community. According to the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* Cao Cao not only granted titles and honors to Zhang Lu and his sons, he also dispersed thousands of households of Celestial Masters faithful to Chang'an 長安 in what is Shaanxi and to Sanfu 三輔 in what is contemporary Hunan.<sup>135</sup>

The ensuing diaspora spread the teachings beyond their place of origin in the southwest of China and allowed for the rise of the Upper Clarity and Numinous Gem schools of Daoism as a consequence of interactions between displaced Celestial Masters faithful and adherents to local religious traditions. It also put an end to the Celestial

---

<sup>135</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 15.12).

Masters as an independent entity with a regional power base. The disastrous impact of this event on the organizational structure and communal discipline of the tradition is readily evident in early texts produced by the movement such as *Master Lu's Abridged Codes for the Daoist Community* and *Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Dao*.

The *Hereditary Household* treats the diaspora in the simplest manner possible; the matter is entirely ignored. Rather than accounting for the movement as it existed in the thrall of Cao Cao, entanglements with the warlord are considered and rejected and the mantle of leadership is transmitted to Zhang Lu's successor, Zhang Sheng. The *Hereditary Household* records that after rejecting Cao Cao's proposal Zhang Lu summoned his heir and proclaimed the following:

The mysterious altar of the ancestral master is found at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. The stars in the heavens shine on that mountain and their light is reflected by it. The pneuma of that place flourishes and is concretized. It is a dwelling place for spirit like beings. The alchemical stove and the secret writs of your ancestor are hidden away in the mountain's crags and caverns. You are to go forth and proclaim my transformation. Then you are to strenuously undertake the practice of your own refinement.<sup>136</sup>

In addition to the vexing issue of how to account for the dissolution of the Celestial Masters community the authors of the *Hereditary Household* also had the stigma of association with Cao Cao to consider. He is already a complex and decidedly Machiavellian figure in the early histories but it is in later literary accounts, culminating in the fifteenth century *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, that Cao Cao's status as the unequivocal villain of the period is cemented and his rival Liu Bei 劉備 is firmly

---

<sup>136</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.349).

established as the era's hero. In response to this already percolating perception of Cao Cao, the authors of the *Hereditary Household* may have chosen to depict Zhang Lu as refusing offers of enfeoffment from him in order to distance the movement from early imperial China's answer to Richard the Third. In doing so they would be working to counter the image established in official sources of Zhang Lu as one who would "rather be a slave to Duke Cao than an honored guest to Liu Bei."<sup>137</sup>

The account in the *Comprehensive Mirror* surpasses that of the *Hereditary Household* in disavowing Zhang Lu's fealty by citing an unnamed source which gives expression to the Celestial Master's distaste for Cao Cao and places him in the unlikely role of Han patriot:

It is also said that in midst of Jian'an reign era Cao Cao usurped authority. The general did not work for the benefit of the Han household. Zhang Lu was deeply angered but was unable to best Cao, and so he raised a defensive army.<sup>138</sup>

It also includes an account of the Celestial Master engaging in geomantic defensive warfare against the warlord's troops. When the Celestial Master is in seclusion in Hanzhong Cao Cao sends troops against Zhang Lu:

His disciples informed him of the situation and he cautioned them to guard against fear. Together with the disciples he ascended to the mountain's peak to survey the scene and saw soldiers and cavalry drawing near from the four directions. With his hand he etched the ground and a river rose up causing a great deluge. The troops were unable to fathom the depth of it and so were unable to ford it. The envoy's force circled around the waters to an embankment. The master drew on the surface of the river with his hand

---

<sup>137</sup> *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 2.6).

<sup>138</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.345).



and a peak of over one thousand *zhi* in height sprung from the impression. The soldiers were unable to advance. The envoy turned back and reported these happenings.<sup>139</sup>

This story does not originate in the *Comprehensive Mirror*. Variants accounts of the incident are found in earlier sources now preserved only in fragmentary form. A biography in miniature from the *Traditions of the Celestial Masters* preserved in the mid-twelfth century *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* includes a less colorfully detailed narrative of the geomantic defense.<sup>140</sup> Bai Yuchan was also clearly familiar with the tale as his paeon to Zhang Lu in the *Collected Works Written on Mount Wuyi* closes with the couplet, “Wei troops encircled the shore in four directions. Suddenly, from the heart of the water rose a peak ten-thousand *zhi* in height.”<sup>141</sup>

The question of why some version of this tradition was not included in the *Hereditary Household* is, of course, a matter of speculation. It is worth noting that prominent among the themes pursued throughout the biographies in the work are loyalty to the ruling household and the use of wonderworking for the benefit of the realm and its people (e.g. the prevention or amelioration of plagues and natural disasters, rainmaking and flood quelling). It may be that while the authors of the *Hereditary Household* sought to distance the movement from Cao Cao as a means of asserting loyalty to the legitimate albeit foundering Han ruling house they also judged the image of the Celestial Master wielding uncanny powers in a martial context as a step too far into the territory of the Yellow Turbans and other religiously informed millenarian uprisings. Such associations

---

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* (ZHDZ 45.349).

<sup>141</sup> *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (ZHDZ 19.964).

were most certainly unwelcome as is illustrated by Buddhist and Confucian sources in which the lines of equivalence between the Yellow Turbans and Celestial Masters drawn in the early histories is seized upon as a means of tarring the reputation of the Zhang family.

As it does not contain any acknowledgment of his fealty to Cao Cao the *Hereditary Household* gives no indication of the aftermath of Zhang Lu's surrender but rather states simply that after he passed the mantle on to Zhang Sheng he "ascended in broad daylight from Northern Dipper Peak."<sup>142</sup> The *Comprehensive Mirror* is likewise vague regarding his activities after his encounter with Cao Cao's envoys commenting only that he engaged in cinnabar refinement and eventually ascended to the heavens from Northern Dipper Peak (*Beidou feng* 北斗峰).<sup>143</sup> The location of that peak is not made clear and it does not figure elsewhere into Celestial Masters lore. An unattributed parenthetical note in the *Hereditary Household* holds that Zhang Lu underwent his transformation at the southern peak of Grand White Mountain (*Taibai nanshan* 太白南山) and was interred in Baocheng County (*Baocheng xian* 褒城縣).<sup>144</sup> Both locations are in contemporary Shaanxi. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* records his enfeoffment but says nothing of his ultimate fate.<sup>145</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.349).

<sup>143</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.345)

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.13).

As for historical sources, neither the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* nor the *Record of the Latter Han* state a date of death for Lu. Both note that after his passing Zhang Lu was honored as the Originating Marquis (*Yuan hou* 原侯). The title was inherited by his son Zhang Fu 張富.<sup>146</sup>

Other Daoist sources do little to resolve the matter of Zhang Lu's ultimate fate. Tao Hongjing's 陶弘景 (456-536 C.E.) *Declarations of the Perfected* (*Zhengao* 真誥) states that "Zhang, the succeeding master was made General for Constraint of the South. He died in the twenty-first year of the Jian'an 建安 reign era (216 C.E.) and was buried to the east of Ye 鄴 in what is contemporary Linzhang, Henan.<sup>147</sup> The relevant passage continues with a bizarre tale in which Zhang Lu's coffin was prized open by floodwater forty-four years after his death. He sat up in his casket, lifted his fly whisk to cover his face, let out a great laugh and returned to death.<sup>148</sup>

A section on the twenty-four parishes of the Celestial Masters in the seventh century *Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns* states that Zhang Lu underwent corpse liberation and attained transcendence from Yangping Parish but does not give a date.<sup>149</sup> Finally, there is the *Traditions of the Draconic One* (*Youlong zhuan* 猶龍傳), a

---

<sup>146</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.30); *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.7).

<sup>147</sup> *Declarations of the Perfected* (*Zhengao* 真誥 HY 1010 ZHDZ 2.137).

<sup>148</sup> For a discussion on this passage and the possibility that it was composed to mock the efficacy of the Celestial Master's Retreat of Mud and Ashes (*Tutan zhai* 塗炭齋) see Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 161-162.

<sup>149</sup> *Bag of Pearls* (ZHDZ 28.447).

hagiographic collection centering on the deified Laozi that was compiled in the late eleventh century. A biography of Zhang Lu that is incorporated into the work has him named General for Constraint of the South and Regional Inspector (*Cishi* 刺史) of Liang and Yi by the Wei dynasty. He eventually went into reclusion to practice refinement and ascended from Yangping Parish in the eighth month of the sixth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign era, a date which corresponds to the early autumn of 245 C.E.<sup>150</sup>

---

<sup>150</sup> *Traditions of the Draconic One* (*Youlong zhuan* 猶龍傳 HY 773 ZHDZ 45.612).

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE CELESTIAL MASTERS IN DIASPORA

Following Zhang Lu's surrender to Cao Cao the historical record is mostly silent on the Zhang family descendants of the Celestial Master. This chapter contains an overview of the state of Celestial Masters Daoism following Zhang Lu's surrender to Cao Cao in 215 C.E. with a particular emphasis on the question of lineal inheritance. Over the course of the Six Dynasties period the teachings that originated in the Hanzhong community filtered into the religious culture of post-Han China and were a key element in the Upper Clarity (*Shangqing* 上清) and Numinous Gem (*Lingbao* 靈寶) schools of Daoism. At the same time the community itself faced an apparent dissolution in leadership, discipline, and practice.

I open with question of the fourth Celestial Master who is established in the tradition of the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain as Zhang Sheng, the son of Zhang Lu. I consider the biography of Zhang Sheng in the *Hereditary Household* as it compares to other post-Tang hagiographical sources. I then look to the historical record for traces of other candidates for the title of fourth Celestial Master.

From there I proceed to explore the historical situation that the Celestial Masters community in diaspora found itself in as evidenced by sources preserved in the canon such as the *Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (*Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經), *Master Lu's Abridged Codes for the Daoist Community* (*Lu xiansheng daomen kelue* 陸先生道門科略), and *Yangping Parish* (*Yangping zhi* 陽平治). These works uniformly

depict a community in disarray and either cast doubt upon or outright deny the possibility of lineal continuity beyond the third generation of the Zhang family.

Throughout the Six Dynasties, Sui, and Tang the Zhang family is largely, though not entirely, absent from the historical record. The possibility that the Zhang family retained a degree of prestige is only hinted at in a variety of scattered sources mostly of Daoist origin. A Buddhist outlier, the *Expanded Collection [of Documents relating to] Spreading the Light of Buddhism* (*Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集), is the exception to the rule. The *Summary of Important Ceremonies, Rules, and Codices to be Practiced* (*Yaoxiu keyi jielu chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔) *Monograph on Mount Mao* (*Maoshan zhi* 茅山志), *True Appearances of Categories Pertaining to the Way of Highest Purity* (*Shangqing daolei shixiang* 上清道類事相), and *Protocol of Pledges to be Granted on Receiving Registers in Hierarchical Order* (*Shoulu cidi faxin yi* 受籙次第法信儀) are all canonical works in which reference is made to the Zhang family as enduring in the author's own time or specific generational descendants are named. Epigraphic evidence of self-identified descendants of the Celestial Master is found in the sixth century *Beckoning Perfection Lodge Stele* (*Zhaozhen guan bei* 招真館碑) and the *Stele of Zhang Taoxuan* (*Zhang taoxuan bei* 張探玄碑). These sources generally indicate that certain among Zhang Daoling's reputed heirs held positions of some influence in the Daoist bureaucracy as a consequence of their ancestral pedigree. The absence of any claimants to the title of Celestial Master on the basis of that pedigree in the historical record calls into doubt the plausibility of the *Hereditary Household* narrative in which an enduring lineage, the

mantle of which was passed down from father to son, was maintained throughout the Six Dynasties.

The canonical record is inclusive of ample evidence of alternate lines of transmission in which the teachings of Zhang Daoling were inherited by those other than his lineal descendants. On this point I will consider a series of works emphasizing Zhang Daoling's investiture of his disciples Zhao Sheng and Wang Zhang as his successors. Ge Hong's early fourth century *Traditions of Divine Transcendents* is the earliest work to feature the pair and it is also the first to suggest that the mantle of Celestial Master did not pass from Zhang Daoling to his son but rather to his disciples. The emphasis on Zhang Daoling's disciples as the inheritors of his teachings found in *Traditions of Divine Transcendents* is echoed in a series of works dating from the Six Dynasties down to the Song dynasty including the *Yellow Book of the Cavern Mystery Canon* (*Dongzhen Huangshu* 洞真黃書), *Oral instructions of Upright Unity Given by the Celestial Master to Zhao Sheng* (*Zhengyi tianshi gao Zhao sheng koujue* 正一天師告趙昇口訣), *Marvelous Scripture for the Protection of the People, Spoken by the Supreme Ritual Master of the Three Heavens* (*Wushang santian fashi shuo yinyu zhongsheng miaojin* 無上三天法師說蔭有眾生妙經), and *Great Rites of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens, of the Supreme Mysterious Origin* (*Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa* 無上玄元三天玉堂大法).

The apparent retreat of the Zhang family in the Six Dynasties allowed for others, such as Chen Rui 陳瑞 (d. 277 C.E.), the Li family founders of the third century Cheng

Han Kingdom 成漢 and, most notably, Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 of the Northern Wei 北魏, to either establish variant forms of the original community or claim the mantle of Celestial Master for themselves. In this chapter I consider the lineal claims found in Kou Qianzhi's *Scripture of Admonitions and Hymns of Lord Lao* (*Laojun yinsong jiejing* 老君音誦誡經), and in later sources such as the *Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning* (*Hunyuan shengji* 混元聖紀), *Tradition of Celestial Master Kou the Ascended Perfected of the Latter Wei at Mount Song* (*Houwei songshan dengzheng Kou tianshi zhuan* 後魏嵩山登真寇天師傳), *Requisite Anthology of Taoist Teachings* (*Daomen tongjiao biyao yongji* 道門通教必用集).

### (3.1) *The Fourth Celestial Master*

As was discussed in the previous chapter the date and circumstance of Zhang Lu's death is uncertain. Nothing is said of an heir taking up the mantle of Celestial Master in the fourth generation in early historical sources or in those Daoist scriptures composed by the Celestial Masters faithful in diaspora. In order for the narrative of unbroken and continuous lineal descent promulgated by the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain as exemplified by the *Hereditary Household* to be plausible it was necessary to establish an heir to Zhang Lu who took up the mantle and established the lineage's headquarters in Jiangxi. Accordingly, a tradition was established in which the fourth Celestial Master took up residence on Dragon and Tiger Mountain at the behest of his father.



In Song Lian's preface to the *Hereditary Household* the fourth Celestial Master is identified as Zhang Sheng. According to Song Lian, Cao Cao wished to title Zhang Sheng Marquis of Metropolitan Residence (*Duting hou* 都亭侯). However, Sheng refused the honor and left Hanzhong for Dragon and Tiger Mountain where he established an altar and distributed talismans on the days of the Three Primes.<sup>1</sup>

There are discrepancies between Song Lian's account and Zhang Sheng's biography in the *Hereditary Household*. In the biography it is said that Cao Cao's son Shizu 世祖, the inaugural emperor of the Wei dynasty granted honors to Zhang Sheng.<sup>2</sup> In addition to Marquis of Metropolitan Residence Shizu is said to have bestowed upon Zhang Sheng the titles Commandant in Chief of Chariots (*Fengche duwei* 奉車都尉) and Gentleman Cavalier Attendant (*Sanqi shilang* 散騎侍郎).<sup>3</sup> As in Song Lian's telling, Zhang Sheng is said to have rejected all of the honors heaped upon him. The titles given in the *Hereditary Household* are repeated verbatim in the *Chronological Register* minus the caveat that they were rejected by Zhang Sheng.<sup>4</sup> The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* states that Zhang Sheng was made Marquis of Metropolitan Residence by Cao Cao and he eventually left Hanzhong for the ancestral mountain in the midst of the of

---

<sup>1</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.341). The title Marquis of Metropolitan Residence was an honorary rather than landholding title used in the Three Kingdoms era. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, 543.

<sup>2</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.349). Emperor Shizu (r. 220-226) was Cao Pi 曹丕, the eldest son of Cao Cao to survive into adulthood and founder of the Cao Wei dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* These titles are authentic to the Three Kingdoms era. Needless to say no record exists of Zhang Sheng having held them. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, 212, 396.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 47.246).

the Jin dynasty's Yongjia 永嘉 reign era (307-313 C.E.) by which point he would have been nearly one hundred years of age.<sup>5</sup>

As was noted previously, the *Hereditary Household* has Zhang Lu urge his son to depart for Dragon and Tiger Mountain, the site of his ancestor's alchemical experiments. Zhang Sheng's biography describes his arrival at the mountain in some detail:

He returned to the Poyang region and entered Mount Longhu. There, he came upon the mysterious altar established by the ancestral master as well as the site of his alchemical furnace. And so Zhang Sheng took up residence at that place and on the days of the three primes he ascended the altar and transmitted tallies to all quarters. Over one thousand individuals studied the Way with the master and he regularly explicated the liturgy for their benefit.<sup>6</sup>

The *Comprehensive Mirror* does not record Zhang Lu sending his son off to the site of Daoling's alchemical pursuits. In that source he was guided to the mountain by a mysterious omen:

In the midst of the Yongjia reign of the Western Jin he gazed eastwards across the Yangzi and observed an auspicious pneuma which penetrated the heavens. He addressed his wife saying, "that is a place where I may bring my cinnabar to completion." Thereupon he abandoned his office and travelled to the south. Arriving in Poyang prefecture he gazed about and said "we are near." He travelled about the mountains for five days, and reached a ridgeline the beauty of which ascended into nothingness and happily proclaimed "I have arrived." At the summit were traces of the perfected, the cinnabar cavern, well and furnace. This was the place where he [Zhang Daoling] formerly cultivated himself through cinnabar refinement. And so he went into reclusion near the spot of the well and the cavern.<sup>7</sup>

The *Comprehensive Mirror* passage continues with Zhang Sheng summoning his family from the west. They take up residence on the mountain and a son and heir is born.

---

<sup>5</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.13).

<sup>6</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.349).

<sup>7</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.246).

After a period of nine years the cinnabar that Sheng has been refining reaches completion and he undergoes corpse liberation whereupon the roars of a dragon and tiger are heard. The reader is told that many of his descendants live on the mountain to this day.

The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* gives a highly synopsisized account of Sheng's arrival at the mountain. There he is simply said to have traveled to the place of his ancestor's alchemical experiments and to have taken up residence at the site.<sup>8</sup> As in the *Hereditary Household* nothing is said of Zhang Sheng himself taking up the practice of cinnabar refinement.

Zhang Sheng's biography in the *Hereditary Household* states that he was the third son of Zhang Lu. The rule of primogeniture is brushed aside through the explanation that Zhang Sheng was made his father's successor because he set his will on refinement.<sup>9</sup> The account found in the *Comprehensive Mirror* goes to greater lengths to explain how Zhang Sheng rather than his elder brothers came to inherit the teachings. In that source Zhang Sheng's story is folded into the biography of his eldest brother, Zhang Zi 張滋.<sup>10</sup> Zi is said to have inherited the post of Grand Protector of Hanzhong (*Hanzhong taishou* 漢中太守) from Zhang Lu and to have eventually obtained the Way whereupon he underwent corpse liberation.<sup>11</sup> In comparing sources while compiling the *Comprehensive Mirror* Zhao Daoyi must have harbored some uncertainty as to the identity of Zhang Lu's

---

<sup>8</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.13).

<sup>9</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.346).

<sup>10</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.246).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

eldest son. A parenthetical note refers the reader to the *Book of the Han* (*Han shu* 漢書) in which the name of Zhang Lu's eldest son is given as Zhang Fu 張富. This must refer to the *History of the Latter Han* rather than Ban Gu's 班固 history. In both the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* and *History of the Latter Han* Zhang Fu is said to have inherited Zhang Lu's title of Marquis.<sup>12</sup> Although neither passage is explicit on the matter Zhang Fu presumably inherited the title because he was Zhang Lu's eldest son.

Zhao Daoyi does not cite any source regarding the identity of Zhang Zi. The earliest extant reference to Zhang Zi is found in Bai Yuchan's poetic appreciation of the fourth Celestial Master in his collection "In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters":

From Poyang he took up his staff which supported him over crags and summits. In former times there was a cinnabar stove that sealed dusky smoke. Past and present, a stone dragon and tiger are found. As for the Transcendent Attending Gentleman, in what year did he depart?<sup>13</sup>

According to the *Comprehensive Mirror* Zhang Lu's second eldest son Zhang Yong 張永 followed his elder brother's path and achieved his liberation at a young age. It is only then that Zhang Sheng realizes that he is fated to inherit the mantle, lets out a sigh and exclaims the following:

In the prior generations of our teachings and methods it was always the case that transmission was made to the eldest son. And yet, my elder brothers did not take wives. Can it be that at this juncture there will be no succession?<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> *History of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.7), *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.30).

<sup>13</sup> *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (ZHDZ 19.964)

<sup>14</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.246).

The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* also identifies Zhang Sheng as the third son of Zhang Lu although his elder brothers are not named and no attempt is made to account for why the rule of primogeniture was not adhered to in the fourth generation.<sup>15</sup>

Presuming that neither Sheng nor Zi are historical figures we might ask why the latter is named as the fourth generation Celestial Master who discovers Zhang Daoling's cinnabar stove at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Bai Yuchan's poetic rendering of the legend whereas the former is given the role in the *Comprehensive Mirror* and the *Hereditary Household*.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, as Zhang Fu is named as Zhang Lu's heir in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* it is somewhat puzzling that his story was not simply altered to fit the narrative needs of later hagiographical sources. The authors of the *Comprehensive Mirror* and *Hereditary Household* had no compunction about contradicting the historical record in reimagining the details of Zhang Lu's life and so it is curious that they did not do the same with Zhang Fu and simply assert that he refused earthly titles and set out for Dragon and Tiger Mountain in order to pursue the Way in reclusion.

---

<sup>15</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.13).

<sup>16</sup> A tomb record of an individual named Zhang Sheng that likely dates to the Three Kingdoms or Jin dynasty was unearthed at Luoyang in the late Qing or Republican Era. The brief inscription describes the tomb's occupant as a person of Peiguo 沛國, traditionally the home of Zhang Daoling, and as a Neighborhood Marquis (*Tinghou* 亭候), a title normally granted to the younger sons of princes. To conclude that the inscription marks the tomb of the fourth Celestial Master on the basis of this evidence is something of a stretch. All the same, the possibility has been put forth. See, Liu Zhaorui 劉昭瑞, *Kaogu faxian yu zaoqi daojiao yanjiu* 考古發現與早期道教研究 [Archeological Discoveries and the Study of Early Daoism], (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007).

The logic behind the process whereby Zhang Zi went from the heir who discovered his ancestor's alchemical stove to the elder brother of the figure who did so prior to dropping out of the story altogether in the *Hereditary Household* is not clear based on the evidence at hand. As for Zhang Fu, it may be that inheriting the post of Marquis tied him too firmly to the mundane world and, more importantly, established his fealty to the Cao Wei government. In any case, Zhang Sheng was established as the fourth Celestial Master of record by the early Ming and is designated as such not only in the *Hereditary Household* and the *Comprehensive Mirror* but in the *History of the Yuan* (*Yuan shi* 元史), the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi*, and in a laud attributed to Ming Emperor Taizu in the *Chronological Register* that is reproduced in the *Collected Compositions of Ming Taizu*.<sup>17</sup>

### (3.2) *The Zhang Family Lineage in Texts of the Six Dynasties Period*

In the alternate history of the *Hereditary Household* Zhang Lu never surrendered to Cao Cao and the hereditary lineage continued uninterrupted through his son Zhang Sheng down to the time of the text's composition. The early textual record reflects a very different reality. A small number of canonical sources reflect a rudderless community in diaspora lacking the leadership of a hereditary Celestial Master.

---

<sup>17</sup> The section on the Celestial Masters in the *History of the Yuan* states that the fourth generation master Zhang Sheng came to Xinzhou to live on Dragon and Tiger Mountain (*Yuan shi* 元史 SKQS 202.13). The account of his return to the mountain in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* is copied verbatim from the *Hereditary Household* (SKQS 104.35-36). The highly cryptic laud reads as follows: "The fourth generation master Zhang Sheng carried forth the talismans and scriptures, ascending through the celestial court. Eternally expounding the teachings as the dipper rotates and the stars move. At dawn travelling the northern seas, amidst watchet pine twilight he receives the dusk. A single ancestor's mark of the master, the deer cart ascends." *Chronological Register of the Gracious Ordinances of the Illustrious Ming* (ZHDZ 46.312); *Collected Compositions of Ming Taizu* (SKQS 16.15).

One of the earliest surviving works composed under the auspices of the Celestial Masters church, *Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Dao* (*Dadao jia lingjie* 大道家令戒) is internally dated to 255 C.E.<sup>18</sup> Written as a first-person narrative in the voice of Zhang Lu, though not likely actually composed by him, *Commands and Admonitions* is an exasperated castigation of the community that chronicles a litany of departures from the upright practices of their predecessors in Hanzhong.<sup>19</sup> The shortcomings of the community are catalogued both in terms of failings of personal morality (indulgence in earthly pleasures, thirst for status, insufficient filiality) and departures from orthodox practice (devotion to deviant texts, taking up the practice of prognostication).

As for the Zhang family lineage itself, there are clues within the text which give the strong impression that the community had never known the leadership of a fourth generation Celestial Master. First, there is the simple fact that the text is written as a harsh and likely posthumous rebuke from Zhang Lu and is not the work of a living Celestial Master struggling to keep the community in order. Furthermore, there is a passage which suggests that from the year 231 C.E. onwards the community was lacking

---

<sup>18</sup> *Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Dao* (*Dadao jia lingjie* 大道家令戒) is the first of four early works preserved in *Scripture on Precepts and Codes Taught by the Celestial Master, from the Texts of the Law of Orthodox Unity* (*Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiao jieke jing* 正一法文天師教戒科經 HY 788 ZHDZ 8.317-326). A study and translation of *Commands and Admonitions* is found in Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 149-185.

<sup>19</sup> The various dates given for Zhang Lu's death across extant sources are reviewed in chapter two. On the possibility that the text was meant to be somehow posthumously transmitted from Zhang Lu rather than actually composed by him see, Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 150-51 and 161-62 footnote 6.

a singular authority, a situation that resulted in Libationers freely claiming authority at will:

Of all male and female officeholders of the various ranks granted previously, not many are still with us. Ever since the fifth year of the Grand Harmony reign period [231], each of the holders of parish positions has been self-appointed. Their selection and promotion no longer emanates from my pneuma.<sup>20</sup>

Had the mantle of Celestial Master been passed down to one of Zhang Lu's sons it would be expected that he would have held the authority to select and promote Libationers. The self-appointment invoked in the above passage may well be a euphemism for ruthless jockeying for position in the wake of a power vacuum created by Zhang Lu's death in 231 C.E.

The above passage is nearly identical to one found in *Yangping Parish* (*Yangping zhi* 陽平治), a fragmentary work also preserved in *Scripture on Precepts and Codes Taught by the Celestial Master. As Commands and Admonitions* is an address from Zhang Lu, *Yangping Parish* is written as a dispatch from the inaugural Celestial Master. On the matter of communal governance the text states the following:

From the inaugural year of the Huangchu reign era all of the chief Libationers have, to a man, proclaimed their own teachings. Each has established his own parish in a manner that is not in keeping with the old regulations of the Way. They are not consonant with the teachings set into motion at Yangping, Lutang, and Heming Parish.<sup>21</sup>

The inaugural year of the Huangchu 黃初 reign era or 220 C.E. was the inaugural year of Cao Pi's 曹丕 reign. It may be that the sudden lack of regulation over the

---

<sup>20</sup> *Scripture on Precepts and Codes* (ZHDZ 8.322-323). Translation taken from Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 152.

<sup>21</sup> *Scripture on Precepts and Codes* (ZHDZ 8.324).



administration of parishes in that year was due to Zhang Lu's death. It might also be the case that the newly established emperor sought to curtail the spiritual authority of the Celestial Masters much as his father put an end to their temporal power in Hanzhong. If the date of 231 C.E. as given in *Commands and Admonitions* is to be taken as significant, it may be the case that Zhang Lu was allowed to maintain a degree of spiritual authority for the remainder of his years out of deference to the esteem in which he was held by Cao Cao but that Cao Rui 曹叡 (r.227-239 C.E.) was unwilling to extend such privileges to Lu's son and successor. In that case 231 C.E. would refer to the year of Zhang Lu's death.

The inheritance of the office of Celestial Master beyond the third generation is entirely absent from *Commands and Admonitions*. The only reference to succession in the text is a passage in which Zhang Lu describes the inheritance of titles granted by the Cao Wei government:

Of my seven sons, five were made lords and became the luster of the kingdom. When the father died, his son inherited the position. When a younger brother perished, his elder brother was ennobled.<sup>22</sup>

*Commands and Admonitions* was composed approximately ten years prior to the collapse of the Cao Wei dynasty. At the time Sima Yi 司馬懿 and his son Sima Shi 司馬師 were in the process of consolidating power and paving the way for the eventual establishment of the Jin dynasty. The Celestial Masters faithful must have found

---

<sup>22</sup> *Scripture on Precepts and Codes* (ZHDZ 8.323). Translation taken from Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 180. Bokenkamp notes that the pronouns of the last sentence of the passage should, logically, be reversed.

themselves in a precarious position to say the least during the long and brutal process whereby the Sima clan usurped authority from the Cao family. We know precious little of the actual situation of the Celestial Masters under the Cao Wei dynasty; Zhang Lu's date of death is an open question as is the degree of authority or autonomy that he and his sons enjoyed. Still, in *Commands and Admonitions* we find evidence of fealty to the Cao family who are described as holders of the mandate and under whom Zhang Lu is said to have been National Master (*Guoshi* 國師).<sup>23</sup>

Even if they were tolerated rather than actively supported under the Cao Wei, the rise of the Sima clan and the attendant uncertainty of what their rise to power would mean for the movement was a source of concern to the Celestial Masters. This much is borne out by a thinly veiled statement in *Commands and Admonitions* regarding those wicked ministers whose actions transgress the mandate of heaven.<sup>24</sup> It is little wonder, then, that the authors of the *Hereditary Household* chose to rewrite history so as to wash their hands of entanglements with the Cao Wei dynasty by having Zhang Lu turn down Cao Cao's offer of a title of nobility and by sending Zhang Sheng and his followers off to Dragon and Tiger Mountain, far from the intrigues of a court in the midst of a slow usurpation.

Another text to comment on the situation of the Celestial Masters in diaspora, *Scripture of the Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (*Santian neijie jing* 三天內解

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

經) was composed by a certain Xu 徐, Disciple of the Three Heavens (*Santian dizi* 三天弟子), under the Liu-Song dynasty (420-479 C.E.) and some two hundred years after *Commands and Admonitions* and *Yangping Parish*.<sup>25</sup> It is apparent that little has changed for the better in the intervening centuries. The *Scripture of the Inner Explanations* consists in large part of harsh chastisements and dire warnings. The former task is pursued by the author through a series of admonitions against deviant practices on the part of Celestial Masters faithful that are very close to those found in *Commands and Admonitions*. These include the unauthorized copying of scriptures, the mingling of orthodox and heterodox scriptures, and devotion to deviant cults.<sup>26</sup>

Of particular interest for present purposes is the depiction of lineal inheritance found in the *Scripture of the Inner Explanations*:

Zhang [Daoling] rose up in broad daylight to take up the position of Celestial Master in the heavens. The Celestial Master's son, Zhang Heng, as well as his grandson, Zhang Lu, together with their wives, achieved liberation from the corpse and ascended into heaven. Thus there are three Masters and three Ladies. After the three Masters ascended, the techniques of the Way were transmitted by the Libationers of the various parishes.<sup>27</sup>

The message is the same as that found in *Commands and Admonitions* and *Yangping Parish*; after the third generation the Libationers were no longer under the

---

<sup>25</sup> *Scripture of the Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (*Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經 HY 1196 ZHDZ 8.544-549). A study and translation of the upper fascicle is found in Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 186-229. For a Synopsis of the lower fascicle see Ursula-Angelika Cedzich, "Santian neijie jing," in *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, eds. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1:124-125.

<sup>26</sup> See, Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 217-18.

<sup>27</sup> *Scripture of the Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (ZHDZ 8.546). Translation from Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures* 217.

command of a Zhang family Celestial Master but rather transmitted traditions and practices under the auspice of their own authority. As in those earlier sources preserved in *Scripture on Precepts and Codes Taught by the Celestial Master*, this lack of oversight by a hereditary Celestial Master brought about a situation in which Libationers weakened the institution through the promotion of the unworthy and diluted the original teachings with contaminating outside influences. A slightly later passage in the *Scripture of Inner Explanations* comments on how the true way of the Three Heavens and the Covenant of Upright Unity of the Most High were granted to Zhang Daoling and inherited by his son and grandson. The author then offers a lamentation on the degraded state the community found itself in within the span of a few generations:

But not much time has passed, and already old matters of the Six Heavens have become gradually intermingled. The descendants of the Masters have faded into powerless obscurity, the populace mix up their parishes, and Libationers support one another in revering deviant ways, in each case calling it “true and correct.” What absurdity!<sup>28</sup>

*Master Lu’s Abridged Codes for the Daoist Community (Lu xiansheng daomen kelue 陸先生道門科略)* is another fifth century text that offers some insight into the Celestial Masters community at that time.<sup>29</sup> The text consists in the main of an appeal for a return to the institutions, history, and practices of the original Celestial Masters

---

<sup>28</sup> *Scripture of the Inner Explanation of the Three Heavens* (ZHDZ 8.546). Translation taken from Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 218. In the context of Celestial Masters cosmology the term “Six Heavens” (*Liutian* 六天) refers to a cosmic cycle the pneuma of which has grown stale and corrupt. Zhang Daoling is traditionally charged by Lord Lao with the task of sweeping out the remnants of the Six Heavens and ushering in the new cycle of the “Three Heavens” (*Santian* 三天). See, Amy Lynn Miller, “Santian and Liutian,” in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 2:850-851.

<sup>29</sup> *Master Lu’s Abridged Codes for the Daoist Community (Lu xiansheng daomen kelue 陸先生道門科略)* HY 1119 ZHDZ 8.556-560). For a broader summary of Lu Xiujing’s writings see, Catherine Bell, “Lu Hsiu-ching,” in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 9:2195.

community, all of which are recounted in great, if not necessarily historically accurate, detail. The halcyon days of the original community are juxtaposed with the degraded state in which it languishes at the time of the text's authorship. On this point, the improper usage and maintenance of quiet chambers, indulgence in meat and wine, poor attendance at the triannual gatherings, negligence of the revision of registers of the faithful, and a loss of the old formulae of petitioning are all matters of concern. No mention is made of Zhang Heng, Zhang Lu, or later descendants of Zhang Daoling. The author Lu Xiuqing has taken it upon himself to chastise the failings of the community much as *Commands and Admonitions* is written in the voice of Zhang Lu and *Yangping Parish* is composed in the guise of the ancestral Celestial Master.

Beyond the apparent fact that Libationers took it upon themselves to carry on the teachings these Six Dynasties works give us little sense of the leadership or organizational structure of the Celestial Masters community in diaspora. In the absence of a clear chain of command, central authority, or base of operations it is somewhat astonishing that the movement remained intact to the degree that it did. Despite the apparent lapses in orthodoxy indulged in by certain among the Libationers there were always those such as Lu Xiuqing, Xu, the Disciple of the Three Heavens, and the authors of *Commands and Admonitions* and *Yangping Parish* who felt compelled to police the boundaries and see that extraneous elements were rejected and the purity of the teachings and practices maintained.

The *Hereditary Household* paints a different picture of Zhang Daoling's descendants in the fifth century. The sixth Celestial Master, Zhang Jiao 張椒, is said to

have been summoned to court several times by Emperor An 安帝 of the Jin (r. 396-418 C.E.).<sup>30</sup> He did not respond, preferring a life of reclusion. His grandson, Zhang Jiong 張邕, is said to have been summoned to the court of Wei Taizu (r. 398-409 C.E.) so that the emperor could inquire about the Way.<sup>31</sup> Naturally, these summons and encounters are not recorded in the official histories or other imperially produced sources and it is doubtful that they ever took place as there is nothing in the way of evidence in contemporary sources, Daoist or imperial, to corroborate the assertion that these men existed at all. These biographies should accordingly be understood not as records of historical events but rather as part of a larger narrative on the enduring and stable presence of the Zhang family Celestial Masters as sages whose counsel was sought out by rulers.

These details were likely inserted into the *Hereditary Household* to contrast the depictions of the community found in fifth century texts including *Scripture of Inner Explanations* and *Master Lu's Abridged Codes*. They may also have been intended to serve as an ideological counterweight to the millenarian rebellion of Sun En 孫恩 which began in 399 C.E., early in the reign of Emperor An of the Jin and ended with the apparent suicide of the rebel leader in 402 C.E.<sup>32</sup> Sun En was initiated into the Way of

---

<sup>30</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.349).

<sup>31</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.350).

<sup>32</sup> The scholars Miyakawa Hisayuki and Werner Eichorn have written overviews on the rebellion but a more thorough and updated inquiry into the uprising would be a welcome addition to scholarship on Six Dynasties Daoism. See Miyakawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志, "Sun On, Ro Jun no ran ni tsuite," 孫恩盧循の亂について [On the Rebellion of Sun En and Lu Xun] *Toyoshi kenkyu* 東洋史研究 30 (1971): 161-90, and "Local Cults around Mount Lu at the Time of Sun En's Rebellion," in *Facets of Taoism*, eds. Holmes Welch

the Celestial Master through his uncle Sun Tai 孫泰 who was a disciple of a Libationer named Du Zigong 杜子恭 who was descended from a long line of Celestial Masters faithful and was himself the leader of a parish.<sup>33</sup>

Sun En's practices and attitudes towards co-religionists do not support the view that his actions were in keeping with mainline Celestial Master's practice. Though extant sources give little insight into his teachings we know that Sun En did not allow shared religious convictions to prevent him from murdering Wang Ningzhi 王凝之, the son of the calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之, and, like his father, a prominent follower of the Way of the Celestial Master. The persistence of the Du family parish and the continued prominence of the clan in religious circles after the rebellion suggest that the ruling house of the Jin did not judge the Way of the Celestial Master as a whole to be guilty by association. This does not mean that the uprising has not been used as a brush with which to tar the Celestial Masters by others, however. The Buddhist polemics *Laughing at the Way* (*Xiaodao lun* 笑道論) and *Disputing Deceptions* (*Bianhuo pian* 辯惑論), of the sixth and fourth centuries respectively, both associate the Zhang Celestial Masters with the chaos wrought by Sun En.<sup>34</sup>

---

and Anna Seidel, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979): 83-101. Werner Eichorn, "Description of the Rebellion of Sun En and Earlier Taoist Rebellions," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 2 (1954): 325-52.

<sup>33</sup> A hagiographical treatment of Du Zigong is found in *Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns* (ZHDZ 28.405).

<sup>34</sup> The relevant passages are preserved in fascicles nine and eight respectively of Daoxuan's 道宣 *Expanded Collection Spreading the Light of Buddhism* (*Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 T52n2013) of 644 C.E. *Laughing at the Way* is Dated to 570 and was written by Zhen Luan 甄鸞, a former Daoist who had

A number of other Six Dynasties works exhibit concern over the maintenance of traditional practices such as ritual petitioning and healing through the ingestion of talisman water without taking up the issue of Zhang Ling's descendants. For instance, *Master Redpine's Petition Almanac* (*Chi songzi zhangli* 赤松子章曆) consists of a selection of petition templates arranged by topic and dating from the original Celestial Masters community to the latter Tang.<sup>35</sup> *Statutes of the Mysterious Capital* (*Xuandu luwen* 玄都律文), also an accretional text, contains instructions on practices associated with the original community, such as petitioning, the distribution of rice levies, and the construction of quiet chambers.<sup>36</sup> The *Discussion on Upright Unity* (*Zhengyi lun* 正一論) is a brief but dense dialogue between unnamed interlocutors who represent the Way of the Celestial Master and Numinous Gem Daoism.<sup>37</sup> The protagonist of the text argues for the maintenance of Celestial Masters liturgical practices, in particular Penitential of Mud and Ash and the Retreat on Mandating the Teachings in the face of the ritual innovations made by proponents of Numinous Gem Daoism.

### (3.3) *Zhang Family Descendants in the Six Dynasties, Sui, and Tang*

---

converted to Buddhism and held his former path in great contempt. A study and translation of the text is found in Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao: Debates among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). *Disputing Deceptions* was composed around 480 C.E. by the Dharma Master Xuan Guang 釋玄光.

<sup>35</sup> *Master Redpine's Petition Almanac* (*Chisong zi zhangli* 赤松子章曆 HY 615 ZHDZ 8.620-679). A thorough study of the text is found in Franciscus Verellen, "The Heavenly Master Liturgical Agenda According to Chisong zi's Petition Almanac," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 14 (2004): 291-343.

<sup>36</sup> *Statutes of the Mysterious Capital* (*Xuandu luwen* 玄都律文 HY 188 ZHDZ 8.612-619).

<sup>37</sup> *Discussion on Upright Unity* (*Zhengyi lun* 正一論 HY 1218 ZHDZ 8.553-556).



A passage found in the aforementioned Buddhist text *Disputing Deceptions* composed by Xuan Guang and preserved in the *Expanded Collection [of Documents relating to] Spreading the Light of Buddhism* raises the possibility that Zhang family descendants were active and eminent in the late fifth century. In the midst of a discussion on the incompatibility of Buddhism and Daoism the author notes the following:

Falsehoods have yet to be rooted out. The progeny of Lao'er are found throughout the world. The descendants of Zhang [Dao] Ling have been scattered to every province. Their ancestor's work is carried forth. How dare this aberration persist?<sup>38</sup>

The interpretation of the passage requires caution and is open to a pair of equally plausible readings. It might be the case that the passage speaks of literal lineal heirs. It may also be that in speaking of the “descendants” (*yuyin* 餘胤) of Zhang Daoling Xuan Guang is simply indicating those who look to him as the founder of their teachings. Such an interpretation is rendered plausible when read in parallel to a preceding statement on the “progeny” (*zisun* 子孫) of Laozi, a figure rarely said have earthly descendants.<sup>39</sup> Likewise the term “ancestor” (*zuzong* 祖宗) may be read literally or it might simply indicate the figure in question as the ancestor of the teachings.

Another source of equally frustrating ambiguity where the descendants of the Zhang Celestial Master is concerned is the *Summary of Important Ceremonies, Rules, and Codices to be Practiced* (*Yaoxiu keyi jielu chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔), a survey of

---

<sup>38</sup> *Expanded Collection Spreading the Light of Buddhism* (*Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 T52n2013 p0134a).

<sup>39</sup> One notable exception is Kou Qianzhi's claim to have received visitation from a descendant of Lord Lao by the name of Li Puwen 李譜文 in 423 C.E. See, *Book of the Wei* (*Wei shu* 魏書 SKQS 114.35).

Daoist practice compiled by Zhu Junxu 朱君緒, a Daoist of Heaven's Pillar Mountain (*Tianzhu shan* 天柱山) in contemporary Zhejiang, in the early eighth century.<sup>40</sup> Fascicle three, which is dedicated to rules and conduct for disciples and masters, includes a relevant quote from the *Nine Punishments Discussion of Statutes* (*Jiuxing lunke* 九刑論科). The provenance of the text, which contains certain terms that are clearly derived from Buddhism, is not known though it may be a product of the early Tang. It contains a passage on the matter of the responsibilities of masters, including the descendants of the Celestial Master, where the bestowal of scriptures and ritual paraphernalia is concerned. As with Xuan Guang's passage from *Expanded Collection* the meaning of the term "progeny" or "descendants" (*zisun* 子孫) is open to interpretation:

The *Nine Punishments Discussion of Statutes* states: "To the Daoists of lofty virtue, Libationers of the great parishes, the eighty-one virtuous, and those who ascend the altar of the Pure Retreat. The altar is the place where vacuity is venerated. Those who ascend the august altar accordingly must not receive methods and registers and then distribute the registers of the parishes. There are only the twenty-four fascicles.<sup>41</sup> As for the essential oral teachings on tenuity, the treasured scriptures of the Three Caverns, the various talismans and esoteric items, they are to be received from a master. The master is the one the subordinates pay homage to and receive instruction from. Ascent to virtue is gained through the Master. As for the descendants of the Celestial Master, though they are themselves masters their ritual actions are undertaken on behalf of disciples. The descendants of the Celestial Master receive the various methods. The integrity of the methods depends upon the common people not obtaining them through illicit means. If they should obtain them through illicit means, the Three Offices will be without pity.<sup>42</sup>

Should the passage be interpreted to refer to literal descendants of the Celestial Master rather than spiritual heirs it suggests that at the time of the work's composition

---

<sup>40</sup> *Summary of Important Ceremonies, Rules, and Codices to be Practiced* (*Yaoxiu keyi jielu chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 HY 463 ZHDZ 42.159-245).

<sup>41</sup> This possibly refers to works associated with each of the twenty-four parishes.

<sup>42</sup> *Summary of Important Ceremonies* (ZHDZ 42.172).

they held a special status whereby they served as the keepers of particular ritual methods that were to be safeguarded from wider distribution. As we have seen, the *Hereditary Household* frequently mentions the problem of the unauthorized production and distribution of Celestial Masters talismans. The improper transmission of scriptures leading to the dilution of orthodox teachings or to esoteric material spreading to the public is also a point of concern in Six Dynasties texts such as the *Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens*. This passage, accordingly, addresses an issue that was of great concern to Celestial Masters of both earlier and later generations.

If the passage is intended to refer to the Zhang family bloodline it is unfortunately vague with regards to the exact status of Zhang Daoling's progeny. It should be noted that the passage twice refers to the descendants of the Celestial Master (*Tianshi zisun* 天師子孫) but at no point does it invoke the office of Celestial Master in the present tense. This may indicate that at the time and in the circumstance under which the *Nine Punishments Discussion of Statues* was composed a certain prestige was afforded to those who claimed descent from Zhang Daoling but that they did not hold the title of Celestial Master.

One ninth generation descendant of the Han Celestial Master as well as seven tenth generation descendants and two females of an unknown generation are named in the *Monograph on Mount Mao*. The preface to the monograph composed by its compiler Liu Dabin 劉大彬 is dated to 1329 C.E. Dabin was the forty-fifth lineal patriarch of Upper Clarity Daoism and the monograph, which is at least partially based on the now lost

*Record of Mount Mao (Maoshan ji 茅山記)* of 1150 C.E., represents his attempt at compiling the history of the mountain.<sup>43</sup>

The descendants of the Han Celestial Master are named in fascicle fifteen which consists of a compilation of names and, in many cases, biographies of eminent personages associated with Mount Mao. There is little in the way of detailed biographical information included in their entries. We are not given their dates of birth and death and, with the exception of two tenth generation descendants who were people of Shu, no sense of their history or place of origin. The entries read as follows:

Zhang Xuanzhen, a ninth generation descendant of the Celestial Master. His way connected the three caverns. His virtue flowed out to the four directions. Zhang Jingsu, a tenth generation descendant of the Celestial Master. He was a greatly accomplished scholar. He was exceedingly talented, surpassing the mass of people. Zhang Zhiming, a tenth generation descendant of the Celestial Master. He was a person of Shu. Zhang Qiang, a tenth generation descendant of the Celestial Master. He was a person of Shu. Zhang Yeye, a tenth generation descendant of the Celestial Master. Zhang Kai, a tenth generation descendant of the Celestial Master. Zhang Zhou, a tenth generation descendant of the Celestial Master.<sup>44</sup>

The two entries on female descendants are likewise vague. We are told that Zhang Zitai 張子臺 and Zhang Jifei 張季妃 were tenth generation female members of the Celestial Master's line of descent.<sup>45</sup> As with their male counterparts no dates are given.

These entries raise more questions than they answer. Most evident is the issue of why the Zhang family suddenly appears in the records of Mount Mao in the ninth generation, only to be followed by multiple lineage holders in the tenth generation. The

---

<sup>43</sup> *Monograph on Mount Mao (Maoshan zhi 茅山志)* HY 304 ZHDZ 48.366-528).

<sup>44</sup> *Monograph on Mount Mao (ZHDZ 48.438-439).*

<sup>45</sup> *Monograph on Mount Mao (ZHDZ 48.439).*

absence of later generations of Zhang family descendants at Mount Mao anywhere in the historical record is equally puzzling.

The nature of the familial relationship between the individuals is also not clear. There is the possibility that the tenth generation descendants were the sons and daughters of the single named ninth generation descendant, Zhang Xuanzhen 張玄真. This is doubtful though because no such indication is made in the text and also because two among them are described as hailing from Shu while the natal home of the others is not given. If they were from different branches of the Zhang family we are left with the question of what caused a sudden migration of scattered tenth generation descendants to Mount Mao.

No information is given found regarding their religious duties or offices held by any of the descendants within the hierarchy of Mount Mao. All of the figures named are described as descendants of the Celestial Master but none are said to have held the title themselves. This is perhaps not surprising as they presumably held office at Mount Mao under the leadership of the Way of Upper Clarity and, accordingly, would not have held a title that would have been of equal or greater stature to that of the Shangqing patriarch.

Needless to say, none of these figures are given as Celestial Master of the ninth or tenth generation in sources that reflect the lore of the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain including the *Hereditary Household*. There, the ninth generation Celestial Master is given as Zhang Fu 張符 and the tenth is Zhang Zixiang 張子祥. No mention of any connection to Mount Mao is made in the biography of either man.

### (3.4) Zhang Yu: Descendant in the Twelfth Generation

A twelfth generation descendant of the Celestial Master by the name of Zhang Yu 張裕 or Zhang Daoyu 張道裕 who lived in the mid-sixth century is fairly well documented in historical sources. In discussing Song Lian's writings on Daoist hagiography we briefly noted biographical entries on the twelfth Celestial Master drawn from Ma Shu's 馬樞 lost sixth century work *Traditions of Those who Studied the Way*. They are preserved in *True Appearances of Categories Pertaining to the Way of Highest Purity*, a voluminous collection of hagiographical material compiled by Xuanhe 王懸河 in the late seventh century that includes a brief entry on the twelfth generation descendant.<sup>46</sup> A slightly different entry from *Traditions of Those who Studied the Way* is found in the tenth century encyclopedia *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*.<sup>47</sup> The passage from *True Appearances of Categories* reads as follows:

Zhang Yu was a twelfth-generation descendent of the Celestial Master. He went into reclusion at a young age. In the midst of the Tianjian reign era of Liang Emperor Wudi he entered Mount Yu. There he constructed the Belvedere of Beckoning Perfection. He had a capacity for the way of transcendence.<sup>48</sup>

The Tianjian 天監 reign era of Liang Emperor Wu 梁武帝 corresponds to 502 to 519 C.E. This indicates that the eight generations between Zhang Lu and Zhang Yu were blessed with great longevity or perhaps that the Celestial Master's descendants uniformly

---

<sup>46</sup> *True Appearances of Categories Pertaining to the Way of Highest Purity* (*Shangqing dao leishi xiang* 上清道類事相 HY 1124 ZHDZ 28.381-405).

<sup>47</sup> *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (SKQS 666.5-6).

<sup>48</sup> *True Appearances of Categories* (ZHDZ 28.386).

put off fatherhood until their twilight years. Mount Yu 虞山 is located in the southeast of contemporary Jiangsu, far to the east of the ancestral home of the Celestial Masters in Hanzhong.

The passage quoted in *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* differs slightly but does not contradict the passage found in *True Appearances of Categories*:

Zhang Yu was a twelfth generation descendant of the Celestial Master. He raised the Beckoning Perfection Hall where he cultivated fruit trees. He was ultimately inclined towards roosting in seclusion in the mountains. Liang Emperor Jianwen composed a stele on his behalf.<sup>49</sup>

*A Stele for the Parish of Beckoning the Perfected on Mount Yu (Yushan Zhaozhen zhi bei 虞山招真治碑)* attributed to Xiao Gang 蕭綱, Emperor Jianwen of the Liang, is preserved in *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*.<sup>50</sup> The same inscription is found in fascicle seventy-eight of the calligrapher Ouyang Xun's 歐陽詢 encyclopedia of 624 C.E. *Collection of Literature Arranged by Category (Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚)* under the title *Stele of Emperor Jianwen of the Liang on Beckoning the Perfected Hall (Liang Jianwen di zhaozhen guan bei 梁簡文帝招真館碑)*.<sup>51</sup> The inscription reads in part as follows:

The avoidance name of Lord Zhang of Pei Commandery was Daoyu. His honorific was Hongzhen. He was the twelfth generation descendant of the Han Celestial Master, Zhang Ling. In the second year of the Tianjian reign era he came to this place and roosted in seclusion for more than ten years. One night he abruptly dreamt of his

---

<sup>49</sup> *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (SKQS 666.5-6).

<sup>50</sup> See, *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 28-29.

<sup>51</sup> *Collection of Literature Arranged by Category (Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚 SKQS 78.27-28)*.

sage ancestor descending to this spot from the cloudy peak. He instructed Daoyu that in the silence and stillness of the place he was to build a hall to serve as his residence.<sup>52</sup>

Zhang Daoyu appears in an entry on Tao Hongjing from Du Guangting's early tenth century *Biographies of Persons Who Had Contacts and Encounters with Spirits and Transcendents* (*Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 神仙感遇傳) that is preserved in the compendium of the supernatural *Extensive Records of the Taiping Reign Era* (*Taiping guangji* 太平廣記) of 981 C.E.<sup>53</sup> There he is said to have acted as an instructor to Emperor Wu of the Liang. The relevant passage reads as follows:

Initially, Emperor Wu of the Liang knew nothing of Daoism. He was instructed and cultivated by the Prior Born [Tao Hongjing]. Later, the emperor instructed the Zhang Celestial Master Daoyu to establish altars of the abstruse at three hundred locations. These were all endowed by the Prior Born.<sup>54</sup>

Another work by Du Guangting, the *Record of Cavern Heavens, Blessed Plots, Marchmounts, Marshes, and Famous Mountains* describes Zhang Daoyu's residence. In the section on thirty-six hermitages (*sanshi liu jinglu* 三十六靖廬) it is said that "Primordial Yang Hermitage in Changshu County of Suzhou was the site of Zhang Daoyu's dwelling."<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 28-29. The second year of the Tianjin reign era corresponds to 503 C.E.

<sup>53</sup> An incomplete version of *Biographies of Persons Who Had Contacts and Encounters with Spirits and Transcendents* (*Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 神仙感遇傳) in three fascicles is found in the Ming Daoist Canon (HY 592 ZHDZ 45.161-192). The bibliographical survey section (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志) of the *History of the Song* lists the text as comprising ten fascicles. A number of passages not found in the canonical version of the text are found in *Extensive Records of the Taiping Reign Era*, *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel*, *Record of the Gathered Immortals of the Three Caverns*.

<sup>54</sup> *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (SKQS 15.5).

<sup>55</sup> *Record of Cavern Heavens, Blessed Plots, Marchmounts, Marshes, and Famous Mountains* (ZHDZ 48.83).



Sources are unanimous in placing Zhang Daoyu in the region that is contemporary southeast Jiangsu where Mount Yu is located. Liang Jianwen's stele inscription was erected in Haiyu County (*Haiyu xian* 海虞县) which encompasses contemporary Changshu City. There are a number of discrepancies and details worthy of consideration in attempting to piece together Zhang Yu's story. First, *Traditions of Those who Studied the Way* and Liang Jianwen's stele designate the temple complex constructed by Daoyu as a hall (*guan* 館) rather than a Belvedere (*guan* 觀) as in the passage from Du Guangting's *Biographies of Persons Who Had Contacts and Encounters with Spirits and Transcendents*. This may simply be a result of the nomenclature specific to the eras in which the respective writings were composed, or it may be that the complex was renovated and retitled over the centuries. The stele also makes mention of Beckoning the Perfected Parish at Mount Yu (*Yushan zhaozhen zhi* 虞山招真治) and is titled to reflect that designation. This indicates that the site was an administrative center rather than simply a temple under Zhang Daoyu's care or the hermitage of the charismatic descendant of the Celestial Master.

The manner in which Zhang Daoyu is addressed also offers some insight into how his status was understood both in his own time and retroactively. In the two passages from the sixth century *Traditions of Those who Studied the Way* and in Liang Jianwen's stele inscription he is described as a twelfth generation descendant of the Celestial Master though not, himself, as the Celestial Master. In Du Guangting's *Biographies of Persons Who Had Contacts and Encounters with Spirits and Transcendents* he is described as the Zhang family Celestial Master Daoyu (*Zhang tianshi Daoyu* 張天師道裕). Though the

difference is subtle it indicates that while he held a certain status on account of his lineage in his lifetime he was later understood, by Du Guangting at least, to hold the mantle of Celestial Master.

Given his apparent eminence in his lifetime it is strange to find that Zhang Daoyu is entirely absent from later hagiographical sources on the Celestial Masters lineage including the *Hereditary Household*. An odd biographical entry on an entirely different figure by the name of Zhang Zhongchang 張仲常 drawn from the *Inner Traditions of the Celestial Masters* is preserved in the *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns*. Though not initially identified as the twelfth Celestial Master, the passage is the earliest instance of a biographical entry on the figure said to hold that position in later hagiographical material. The entry reads as follows:

The honorific of Zhang Zhongchang was Derun. He was a distant descendant of the Celestial Master. He was a frequent guest to the imperial palace. Once, he furtively returned from court and sighed, saying, “I have become perpetually sunk into the web of worldliness.” In his chambers he kept a jug. He would daily consume meat and pungent vegetables and quaff liquor in the company of his wife. That which was in the jug was not drained the following day.<sup>56</sup>

Aside from the self-replenishing liquor jug this tale of an official disillusioned with court life is not particularly unusual. The depiction of the Celestial Master’s descendant in the passage is also not particularly flattering. It was nonetheless taken up by Bai Yuchan in “In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters,” where Zhongchang rather than Daoyu is identified as the twelfth generation Celestial Master. There, Zhang Zhongchang is said to have been a frequent guest at the capital and to have

---

<sup>56</sup> *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* (ZHDZ 45.305).

been able to miraculously divide his form. He would frequently enjoy a night of drinking and then spit out the liquor. “Upon awakening would find that his vessel was replenished with crisp high quality liquor.”<sup>57</sup>

Zhang Zhongchang is also given as the name of the twelfth Celestial Master in the *Comprehensive Mirror*. The narrative given there echoes that found in the *Inner Traditions of the Celestial Masters* albeit with certain embellishments. For instance, whereas in the earlier account he is said to have been disillusioned with court life in the *Comprehensive Mirror* he is said to have been a frequent guest to the court of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 of the Tang who yearned to return to seclusion in order to study the Way.<sup>58</sup> The story of the inexhaustible cornucopia of liquor is retold in *Inner Traditions* complete with the detail of Zhongchang regurgitating the fluid into the jug, a colorful touch that may originate with Bai Yuchan. The account ends with Zhongchang’s death at the age of ninety-eight. A parenthetical note gives a largely verbatim account of Zhongchang’s life as found in the fragment of the *Inner Traditions of the Celestial Masters* though that source is not cited.

The narrative of the twelfth generation master was largely retained with slight embellishments in later sources. His name was changed from Zhang Zhongchang to Zhang Heng 張恒 in the *Hereditary Household* and those sources that draw from it. In Song Lian’s preface as well as in his biography in *Hereditary Household* he is said to

---

<sup>57</sup> *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (ZHDZ19.964).

<sup>58</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.347).

have advised Tang Gaozong to rule through effortless action (*wuwei* 無為).<sup>59</sup> The biography then follows the pattern of previous accounts, including an aside on his ability to divide his form that is first found in Bai Yuchan's paean and ending with his fondness for meat, wine, and his self-replenishing liquor jug. The account found in the *Hereditary Household* is reproduced in its entirety in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi*.<sup>60</sup> The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* offers a somewhat sanitized account. There, the story of Zhang Heng's encounter with Tang Gaozong is retained though the detail that he was able to memorize any book after a single reading is added and any mention of indulgence in meat and spirits is dispensed with.<sup>61</sup> A eulogy attributed to Ming Emperor Taizu and found in the *Chronological Register* simply emphasizes Zhang Heng's spiritual prowess but does not reference any of the familiar narrative points found elsewhere.<sup>62</sup>

In the case of sources emanating from the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain there is a fairly simple explanation as to why Zhang Daoyu was replaced with Zhang Zhongchang/Heng. Beckoning the Perfected Belvedere and its associated parish at Mount Yu have no place in the lore of the movement and, moreover, openly contradict a narrative which places the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Less easily accounted for is the retention of the story concerning the Celestial Master's taste for drink which, despite its element of the miraculous, depicts him in an ambiguous light.

---

<sup>59</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.341, 350).

<sup>60</sup> *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 105.27).

<sup>61</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.14).

<sup>62</sup> *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.312).

(3.5) *Zhang Bian: Descendant in the Thirteenth Generation*

The *Protocol of Ritual Pledges to be Granted upon Receiving the Registers, in Hierarchical Order* (*Shoulu ci dengfa xinyi* 受錄次第法信儀) contains an account of a thirteenth generation descendant of the Han Celestial Master. Dated to 552 C.E., the *Protocol of Ritual Registers* contains a list of forty-four parishes of the Celestial Master located in and around the Sichuan basin entitled *Parish Codes of the Celestial Master* (*Tianshi zhiyi* 天師治儀). It is attributed to Zhang Bian 張辯, a thirteenth generation descendent of Zhang Daoling.<sup>63</sup> The origins of the expanded list of parishes is unclear as it is not attested to elsewhere and does not tally with traditional accounts of the system of governance which originally consisted of twenty-four parishes that was later expanded to twenty-eight.<sup>64</sup>

Of particular interest with regards to the continuity of the Zhang family lineage is the fact that Zhang Bian is identified as an Adjutant (*Can jun* 參軍) in the household of the prince of Wuling of the Liang dynasty 武陵王.<sup>65</sup> The prince was Xiao ji 蕭紀, the youngest son of Emperor Wu of the Liang and governor over much of what is contemporary Sichuan and Chongqing. In the midst of a succession struggle Xiao Ji

---

<sup>63</sup> *Protocol of Ritual Pledges to be Granted upon Receiving the Registers, in Hierarchical Order* (*Shoulu ci dengfa xinyi* 受錄次第法信儀) HY 1234 ZHDZ 42.150-157)

<sup>64</sup> Kristofer Schipper states that the source gives credence to the possibility of an ongoing Celestial Masters community in the Sichuan basin throughout the Six Dynasties era. This is corroborated by other accounts under discussion in this chapter, most notably the *Monograph on Mount Mao*. The expanded system of parishes described by Bian is not corroborated elsewhere leaving its historicity an open question. See, Kristofer Schipper, “Les Maîtres Célestes à l’époque Song,” *Annuaire de l’École Pratique des Hautes Études*, Ve Section. 91 (1982): 133.

<sup>65</sup> *Protocol of Ritual Pledges* (ZHDZ 42.155).

attempted to establish his own regime and was killed in battle in 553 C.E.<sup>66</sup> Presuming that Zhang Bian remained in loyal service to the prince it is safe to assume that the consequences for his branch of the Zhang family were dire. Timothy Barrett draws much the same conclusion in a brief consideration of *Parish Codes of the Celestial Master*. Barrett regards the text as an authentic product of the Liang dynasty given that later generations of self-identified Zhang family Celestial Masters would have been unlikely to fabricate a work that associates their family line with a failed usurper.<sup>67</sup> This strikes me as very sound reasoning. Given his allegiances, it should come as no surprise that Zhang Bian is nowhere to be found in later hagiographical works pertaining to the Zhang family lineage.

In Bai Yuchan's poetic account the thirteenth generation Celestial Master is named as Zhang Guang 張光.<sup>68</sup> He is said to have practiced grain avoidance, studied the art of flight, and lived in reclusion. The *Comprehensive Mirror, Hereditary Household*, and *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* all draw on the same narrative tradition as that reflected in Bai Yuchan's poem. The brief account of his life found in the *Hereditary Household* reads as follows:

The avoidance name of the thirteenth generation Celestial Master was Guang and his honorific was Deshao. He fixed his will on the Way and undertook self-cultivation in a stone chamber for nearly thirty years. He only returned to his natal home in order to inherit the teachings. As Celestial Master he bestowed scriptures and tallies on the masses.

---

<sup>66</sup>See, *Book of the Liang (Liang shu 梁書 SKQS 55.3-8)*

<sup>67</sup> Timothy H. Barrett, "The Emergence of the Taoist Papacy in the T'ang Dynasty," *Asia Major* 7 (1994): 95.

<sup>68</sup> *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection (ZHDZ 19.964)*.

He kept a vegetarian diet and later took up the practice of grain avoidance. The Celestial Master made his transformation at one hundred four years of age.<sup>69</sup>

(3.6) *Descendants in the Tang: Zhang Tanxuan and Zhang Gao*

A funerary inscription dating to 742 C.E. offers insight into the life of an eminent Zhang family Daoist of the Tang. The “Stele of Zhang Tanxuan” (*Zhang Tanxuan bei* 張探玄碑) composed by the Daoist Cai Wei 蔡偉 describes the individual eulogized as “a descendant of the Upright Unity Perfected Sovereign Zhang Daoling.”<sup>70</sup> He does not appear to have any connection to Dragon and Tiger Mountain but rather was a person from Nanyang 南陽 in contemporary Henan.

Tanxuan was called to the western capital of Luoyang in the inaugural year of the Kaiyuan 開元 reign era (713 C.E.) of Tang Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 for the refurbishment of Jinglong Belvedere (*Jinglong guan* 景龍觀) which took its name from the reign era in which it was originally constructed (707-710 C.E.). In the fourteenth year of the Kaiyuan reign era (726 C.E.) Tanxuan was summoned, along with representatives of Mount E’Mei and Verdant Citadel Mountain among other prestigious Daoist officials, to oversee a rite of offering to the deified Laozi. In the twenty-first year (731 C.E.) he was made the Gates of the Way Ritual Commissioner (*Daomen weiyi shi* 道門威儀使) and charged with the abbacy of a pair of belvederes.

---

<sup>69</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.350).

<sup>70</sup> *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 136. In *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.907) it is recorded that Cai Wei was the author of a hagiographical work titled *Later Traditions of Transcendents* (*Houxian zhuan* 後仙傳).

Tanxuan is not mentioned in any post-Tang Daoist sources. Assuming that he was an actual historical figure, the fifteenth generation Celestial Master Zhang Gao 張高 would have been Tanxuan's contemporary, though the two are never spoken of in tandem.<sup>71</sup> As with many of the Celestial Masters who are said to have lived before there is definitive corroborating evidence for an established lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain the earliest reference to Zhang Gao is found in Bai Yuchan's *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi*.<sup>72</sup> That source says nothing about Tang Xuanzong but describes Zhang Gao as having a preternatural talent for liquor consumption, a detail that is echoed in later sources. In the *Comprehensive Mirror* it is said that Zhang Gao was capable of consuming a *dan* 石 of liquor without becoming inebriated.<sup>73</sup> Equally impressive is the claim that Tang Xuanzong summoned Zhang Gao to the capital to establish an altar for the transmission of talismans and that the emperor granted him gold brocade, an exemption from taxation, and honorary titles.<sup>74</sup> He was later ordered to perform a rite of libation by Emperor Suzong 肅宗 for which he was rewarded with incense, gold, and a piece of the emperor's calligraphy written in praise of the Celestial Master.

---

<sup>71</sup> The question of Zhang Gao's historicity is taken up by Russell Kirkland in a brief research note. See, Russell Kirkland, "Chang Kao: Noteworthy T'ang Taoist?" *Tang Studies* 2 (1984): 31-36. Kirkland concludes that Zhang Gao was most likely an undistinguished Daoist of the eighth century but his rationale is not clear given that there is no reference to any such person in extant sources prior to Bai Yuchan's Southern Song *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi*. Kirkland cites the Yuan dynasty *Comprehensive Mirror* as the earliest source on Zhang Gao. He appears to have singled Zhang Gao out from among the many alleged Tang dynasty Celestial Masters as the topic of his inquiry because the early twentieth century scholar Henri Maspero was of the opinion that Gao was the first of the Dragon and Tiger Mountain Celestial Masters whose biography was authentic. See, Henri Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, tr. Frank A. Kierman, Jr., (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981): 398.

<sup>72</sup> *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (ZHDZ 19.964).

<sup>73</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.347). A *dan* is equivalent to 26.4 gallons.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*



The *Hereditary Household* repeats the account of Zhang Gao's warm reception at the court of Tang Xuanzong as it is found in the *Comprehensive Mirror*. The telling of Suzong's interactions with the Celestial Master has the libation take place at Dragon and Tiger Mountain and states that the imperial calligraphy granted to Zhang Gao consisted of a laud written in praise of an image of the Han Celestial Master.<sup>75</sup> It also includes an anecdote regarding the power of the seal of the Celestial Master and Zhang Gao's fondness for drink:

On one occasion Zhang Gao forgot his jade seal of office at a tavern in Chang'an. A young man who happened across it exerted himself attempting to lift the seal but was unable to make it budge. The following day the Celestial Master returned to the tavern, plucked the seal up with a laugh, and went on his way.<sup>76</sup>

These various sources offer proof that individuals claiming descent from the Zhang Celestial Master were found throughout the Six Dynasties and Tang. They also demonstrate that a degree of prominence within the Daoist hierarchy was accorded to those who held such a pedigree. The most interesting aspect of these scattered references where the present study is concerned is their unanimity in referring to the individuals in question as *descendants of the Celestial Master* rather than as Celestial Masters in their own right. To the extent that such a conclusion may be drawn on the basis of extant evidence it would seem that the notion of the office of Celestial Master as an enduring and unbroken chain of descent stretching across the centuries was a novel invention of the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

---

<sup>75</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.350).

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

A secondary point of interest is the geographic distribution of this sampling of descendants. Of the eight Zhang family scions of the ninth and tenth generation active at Mount Mao two were originally from Shu. The Zhang family's presence in the Jiangsu region is attested to by the twelfth generation descendant Zhang Daoyu's presence at Mount Yu, approximately one hundred miles to the east of Mount Mao. Likewise, the continuation of a branch of the family in the Ba and Shu region into the Six Dynasties is attested to by Zhang Bian's service in the court of the Prince of Wuliang. Finally, accounts of Zhang Tanxuan place at least one prominent member of the Zhang family in Henan in the Tang dynasty.

That none of these figures are found in later accounts reflecting the view of family history endorsed by the Zhang Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain is explicable on a number of fronts. Those who are listed in the *Monograph of Mount Mao* would have been in the service of the Upper Clarity hierarchy, a fact that does not square well with the assertion of an unbroken chain of Celestial Masters in residence at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. This is particularly so given that Celestial Masters of later generations claimed a position of authority over the production and distribution of the talismans and ordinance registers of the "three mountains."<sup>77</sup> The tradition of a twelfth generation Celestial Master establishing a parish in Jiangsu likewise raises questions regarding the centrality of Dragon and Tiger Mountain to the lineage. The reasons for Zhang Bian's exclusion, given his support of a failed usurper, are self-evident. Zhang Tanxuan, though he apparently won the favor and patronage of Tang Xuanzong, would

---

<sup>77</sup> Dragon and Tiger Mountain, Mount Mao (*Mao shan* 茅山), and Mount Gezao (*Gezao shan* 閣皂山).

seem to be too closely tied to Henan to fit the narrative needs of the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. There is, finally and perhaps of the utmost importance, the fact that none of these figures are identified as holding the office of Celestial Master.

(3.7) *Alternate Lines of Transmission: Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng*

A number of sources, including some of the earliest surviving evidence of the Way of the Celestial Master, raise the possibility of an alternate line of transmission wherein Zhang Daoling hands the reigns of the teachings to his most eminent disciples. First among his followers were Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng. In the aforementioned *Sequential Record of Those who Upheld the Way* it is said that out of Zhang Daoling's three hundred disciples only Zhang Shen, Wang Sheng, and Li Zhong inherit the teachings.<sup>78</sup> It is entirely possible that Wang Sheng, who is not referenced outside of that text, is a mistaken conflation of Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng. Conversely, it is also conceivable that elements of his name were later appropriated into those of Zhang Daoling's most famous disciples.

The earliest documented evidence of the Celestial Masters is found in a stele dated to 173 C.E. titled "Inscription of Zhang Pu, Libationer and Rice Medium," (*Miwu jijiu Zhang Pu tixu* 米巫祭酒張普題序).<sup>79</sup> The following is a translation of the inscription:

---

<sup>78</sup> *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.53).

<sup>79</sup> The text of the stele is found in Hong Gua 洪适, *Lishi lixu* 隸釋隸續 [Supplement to the Analysis of Writings in Chancery Script], (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983): 3.8.

On the first day of the third month of the second year of the Xiping reign era Heaven promulgated word that the spirit troop Hu Jiu had passed into transcendence, completed the Way, and was mysteriously granted an extension of his fate. The Way originates in upright unity and is disseminated through noble pneuma. It was ordered that the Libationer Zhang Pu and his disciples Zhao Guang, Wang Sheng, Huang Chang, and Yang Feng among others were to receive the *Scripture of Tenuity* in twelve fascicles. The Libationer forged a covenant and transmitted to them the methods of the Way of the Celestial Master which were of limitless capacity.<sup>80</sup>

The scholar Liu Ts'un-yan is of the opinion that the disciples named as Zhao Guang 趙廣, Wang Sheng 王盛, and Huang Chang 黃長 were early versions of the figures who would ultimately become Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng.<sup>81</sup> As with the *Sequential Record of Those who Upheld the Way* there is no definitive proof that the names of Zhang Daoling's chief disciples were derived from these early figures. Still, the similarity between the two sets of names is undeniable. The stele does not suggest that any among these figures was granted the lofty position of Celestial Master but their receipt of the teachings and scriptures clearly placed them in a position of authority significant enough to merit an inscription commemorating their investiture.

One of the earliest appearances of Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng is found in the previously noted third century *Yellow Book of Cavern Perfection*. There, Lord Lao bestows a work on the practice of merging pnuemae as well as a series of talismans to Zhang Daoling in 143 C.E. These were transmitted to his disciples Wang Chang and

---

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Liu Ts'un-yan, "Was Celestial Master Zhang a Historical Figure," 202.

Zhao Sheng the following year.<sup>82</sup> The text is notable for the fact that the teachings and talismans were transmitted from Zhang Daoling to his disciples rather than to his heir.

Another early text in which a transmission is made from Zhang Daoling to Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng is *Demon Statutes of Lady Blue* (*Nuqing guilu* 女青鬼律).<sup>83</sup> Likely dating to the third century, though scholarly opinion varies on the matter, and classifiable as an exorcistic text, though to do so is a great simplification, *Demon Statutes* is of note to the present discussion on account of the following passage found near the end of the fifth fascicle:

The Celestial Master spoke: “The statutes have been handed down by the great Way and transmitted by the Blue Lady. Three, five, seven, and nine are the roots of longevity. They are to be raised up and enacted and transmitted from generation to generation. The minds of the disciples are divided. Those who would come forth and enter into my pneuma must naturally set their thoughts on enacting humaneness and righteousness. Throughout the world they must safeguard loyalty and with single-minded focus cultivate their nature. To take the Way as their natal place they must not turn away from it. Such are the words of the Most High Perfected, the Sovereign Venerable of Great Unity. Thus, on the seventh day of the first month of the primordial year [the statutes] were lifted up and enacted. From among my thousand disciples only Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng are capable of transforming and delivering the people by means of the Way. They have been charged with obtaining the Great Principles of Longevity.”<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup> *Yellow Book of Cavern Perfection* (ZHDZ 8.518).

<sup>83</sup> *Demon Statutes of Lady Blue* (*Nuqing guilu* 女青鬼律 HY 789 ZHDZ 8.599-611). For a translation and study of the text see Thomas H. Peterson, “The Demon Statutes of Feminine Verdure, a Preliminary Study” (Master’s thesis, Indiana University Bloomington, 1992). Significant discussion of the text is found in Terry F. Kleeman, “Daoism in the Third Century,” in *Purposes, Means and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium*, ed. Florian C. Reiter, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007): 11-28. See, also, Lai Chi-tim, “The Demon Statutes of Nu-qing and the Problem of the Bureaucratization of the Netherworld in Early Heavenly Master Daoism,” *T’oung Pao* 88 (2003): 251-281.

<sup>84</sup> *Demon Statutes of Lady Blue* (ZHDZ 8.608).

This is another instance in which the Celestial Master reserves the highest teachings of the loftiest origin for transmission only to his two most honored disciples. Here, again, nothing is said of the Celestial Master's son inheriting the teachings.

A similar narrative is found in Ge Hong's fourth century *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents*. Zhang Daoling's biography in that text contains a lengthy telling of the most famous tale surrounding Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng, the trials the pair underwent at the hands of the Celestial Master which culminated in a leap of faith at Cloud Terrace Parish. Upon completion of their final ordeal they were granted the essentials of the Way by Zhang Daoling. In an earlier passage the Celestial Master chides his many followers for their worldliness and inability to purge themselves of vulgarity. He grants methods for circulating pneuma and the art of merging pneumae to the bulk of his disciples but declares that only Wang Chang is fit to receive the alchemical methods of the Essential Teachings of the Nine Cauldrons.<sup>85</sup> Zhang Daoling later predicts that another man worthy of inheriting the teachings will come from the east, presaging the appearance of Zhao Sheng. The biography ends with the Celestial Master ascending to heaven in broad daylight in the company of his honored disciples.<sup>86</sup>

Zhao Sheng is singled out as the beneficiary of a transmission from Zhang Daoling once again in the brief *Oral Instructions of Upright Unity Spoken to Zhao Sheng by the Celestial Master* (*Zhengyi tianshi gao Zhao Sheng koujue* 正一天師告趙昇口

---

<sup>85</sup> For a translation of the biography see Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 349-354.

<sup>86</sup> Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 354.

訣).<sup>87</sup> An eschatological text which makes no reference to the Celestial Master's household, *Oral Instructions* tells of a coming disaster in the *jiazi* year in reign of golden horse (*Jinma jiazi* 金馬甲子), a veiled reference to the ruling Sima 司馬 clan of the Jin dynasty.<sup>88</sup> The Celestial Master tells of the coming appearance of Li Hong 李弘, the deified Laozi in his messianic form, at which point the elect will be saved. The revelation opens as follows:

The Celestial Master spoke to officer Zhao saying, "I wish to offer oral instructions to you that I cannot restrain myself from speaking." Sheng knocked his head on the ground in respect one thousand times. The Master was moved by pity and wished to have an audience with Zhao Sheng to bestow a word upon him. The Master spoke, "I will now stop and the following year we will speak to each other. On the seventh day of the first month of the *renwu* year they met in a small chamber at Cloud Terrace Parish. Sheng knocked his head on the ground in respect one thousand times. The Master said, "The Most High has me and I have you. As for this most important dispatch it is difficult to find one to bestow it upon. The wondrous principles of the ponderous Way must not be recklessly transmitted."<sup>89</sup>

The close tie between Zhang Daoling and his disciples extends into their posthumous careers as well. The pair appear in *Marvelous Scripture for the Protection of the People, Spoken by the Supreme Ritual Master of the Three Heavens* (*Wushang santian fashi shuo yinyu zhongsheng miaojing* 無上三天法師說蔭有眾生妙經), a Tang dynasty apocalyptic text written in the voice of Zhang Daoling which describes means of

---

<sup>87</sup> *Oral Instructions of Upright Unity Spoken to Zhao Sheng by the Celestial Master* (*Zhengyi tianshi gao Zhao Sheng koujue* 正一天師告趙昇口訣 HY 1263 ZHDZ 8.538-539)

<sup>88</sup> *Oral Instructions of Upright Unity* (ZHDZ 8.538).

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

ameliorating coming disaster.<sup>90</sup> The text is said to have been revealed at Cloud Terrace Parish to a Daoist by the name of Cheng Fadao 成法道 over the course of a pair of visitations in succeeding years. On the occasion of the latter revelation the Celestial Master was accompanied by an entourage of the ascended of whom only Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng are named.<sup>91</sup>

The Song dynasty *Great Rites of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens of the Supreme Mysterious Origin* (*Wushang xuanyuan santian Yutang dafa* 無上玄元三天玉堂大法) is a scripture consisting of Celestial Heart (*Tianxin* 天心) methods and Divine Empyrium (*Shenxiao* 神霄) rituals revealed by Zhao Sheng in the manner of the esoteric Buddhist *terma* teachings.<sup>92</sup> Though it does not, strictly speaking, identify Zhao Sheng as an heir to Zhang Daoling, it reveals that as late as the twelfth century the Celestial Master's disciple held enough charismatic clout to be chosen as the tutelary figure in a revealed text. In his colophon the recipient, Lu Shizhong 路時中 (fl. 1120-30 C.E.) tells how he came to receive the scriptures. Lu relates that on the night of the upper prime of the *gengzi* year of Song Huizong's Xuanhe 宣和 reign era (1120 C.E.) he had a nocturnal vision of Zhao Sheng who descended into his chamber in the midst of a cloud of blazing golden pneuma. Sheng told Shizong of an esoteric writ that he had secreted away

---

<sup>90</sup> *Marvelous Scripture for the Protection of the People, Spoken by the Supreme Ritual Master of the Three Heavens* (*Wushang santian fashi shuo yinyu zhongsheng miaojing* 無上三天法師說蔭有眾生妙經 HY 1188 ZHDZ 8.536-537).

<sup>91</sup> *Marvelous Scripture for the Protection of the People* (ZHDZ 8.537).

<sup>92</sup> *Great Rites of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens, of the Supreme Mysterious Origin* (*Wushang xuanyuan santian Yutang dafa* 無上玄元三天玉堂大法 HY 220 ZHDZ 30.307-506).



beneath the ground at Mount Mao. Lu was later called into service as Assistant Prefect (*Tongshou* 通守) of Jinling 金陵 and visited the mountain in the course of his duties. He excavated the text and arranged it into twenty-four sections. Lu transmitted it to the world in 1126 C.E. while staying in Piling 毗陵 in contemporary Jiangsu.

At no point in the hagiographical account, the stele inscription, and the various scriptures under discussion are Zhang Daoling's disciples said to have inherited the mantle of Celestial Master. They are, however, depicted as ascending to transcendence in the company of Zhang Daoling, of posthumously descending in his company to offer revelations, and as the sole worthy inheritors of the highest teachings. Though the matter requires further research it is possible that such accounts represent a parallel tradition to that of lineal descent from Zhang Daoling, one in which teachings were bestowed according to merit rather than bloodline. The absence of any mention of Zhang family descendants in these sources (with the possible exception of the mysterious figure of Zhang Pu) would appear to suggest as much. It is also noteworthy that two of the sources, *Oral Instructions of Upright Unity Spoken to Zhao Sheng by the Celestial Master*, and *Marvelous Scripture for the Protection of the People, Spoken by the Supreme Ritual Master of the Three Heavens* are eschatological in nature. A millenarian outlook of eager anticipation for an imminent world renewing conflagration ushered in by a messianic figure is hardly compatible with the concept of a stable and continuous lineage of descent stretching out into the limitless future.

(3.8) *The Celestial Master Chen Rui*

The earliest documented instance of an individual attempting to co-opt the title of Celestial Master is that of Chen Rui 陳瑞, who hailed from Qianwei 犍為, in what is presently south-western Sichuan province, and was put to death in the year 277 C.E. He was charged with the capital crime of unfilial behavior, presumably due to the threat his regional activities posed to local authorities, but not before he amassed thousands of followers to his own peculiar brand of Celestial Masters Daoism. The official account of the Celestial Master's Daoist community overseen by Chen Rui found in the *Record of Huayang* is both brief and lacking in reference to those practices which serve as a hallmark of the Celestial Masters.<sup>93</sup> It is noted that Chen declared himself Celestial Master, and granted officeholders in his organization the title of Libationer.

Beyond the co-option of titles, similarities between Chen's cult and the original Celestial Masters are not detectable based on the evidence available to us; notably absent is any mention of petitioning, the three annual gatherings, the merging of pneumae, or the ingestion of talismans. What little is said of the practices undertaken by Chen's followers indicates an emphasis on the avoidance of ritual pollution; those whose families had experienced a death or birth, were in mourning, or inclusive of a nursing woman were not allowed within the parishes.

We have no way of knowing exactly how closely Chen Rui was tied to the movement, or the depth and sophistication of his understanding of its history and practices. The presence of a concern for the avoidance of ritual pollution is unknown to

---

<sup>93</sup> *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 8.4). The account of Chen Rui's activities found in the *Record of the Kingdoms of Huayang* is also summarized by Lai Chi-Tim in "The Opposition of Celestial Masters Taoism to Popular Cults during the Six Dynasties," *Asia Major* 11 (1998): 8.

the original Celestial Masters. This, in combination with the absence of any mention of practices normally associated with the community, and the self-bestowed nature of the title of Celestial Master reveal that Chen conceived of himself not as heir to the Way of the three Zhangs but rather as the founding figure of a new beginning to the movement.

### (3.9) *The Cheng-Han Kingdom*

The Cheng-Han kingdom which existed as an independent state over a large portion of present-day Sichuan province between 302 and 347 C.E. was inaugurated by a certain Li Te 李特 and flourished briefly under his son, Li Xiong 李雄. According to the *Record of Huayang*, the Li family was native to eastern Sichuan and had been followers of the Way of the Celestial Masters for generations.<sup>94</sup> Li Te's ancestors had been citizens of Zhang Lu's theocracy and had been forcibly exiled to the northwest in the wake of Zhang Lu's surrender to Cao Cao. They returned to their natal land amidst a tide of refugees seeking to escape famine and warfare.

Most of our knowledge of the movement is derived from the *Record of Huayang* in which details of governmental policy undertaken by the Li family rulers are chronicled to a far greater degree than are the particulars of their religion. A second historical source, the *Book of Jin* includes lengthy biographies of Li Te and Li Xiong among other figures associated with the kingdom.<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> See, *The Record of Li Te, Xiong, Shou, and Shi (Li Te Xiong Shou Shi zhi 李特雄壽勢志)* in the *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 9.1-16).

<sup>95</sup> Li Te's biography is found in fascicle 120 of the *Book of Jin*. That of Li Xiong is found in fascicle 121. The second section of Terry Kleeman's study of the Cheng-Han Kingdom consists of translations of these

Unfortunately, there is no extant scriptural legacy of the Li family that might offer insight into the particulars of their religious practice. Still, Terry Kleeman has found in the source material some suggestion of Daoist influence on the governance of Cheng-Han which he expounds upon in his book *Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom*, the definitive study of the movement.<sup>96</sup> These include charitable undertakings and social reforms that are consonant with what is known of the Way of the Celestial Masters as it existed prior to the diaspora of 215 C.E. Most intriguing of all is the tradition that Li Xiong received aid from a certain Fan Changsheng 范長生 or "Long-lived Fan" who ruled over a community of one thousand families near Verdant Citadel Mountain in central Sichuan, a site traditionally associated with the earliest Celestial Masters, though not among the twenty-four dioceses.

Nonetheless, one would suspect that if religious concerns were a defining element of the Cheng-Han kingdom there would be greater mention, polemical or otherwise, of that fact in the historical record. Likewise, although Fan Changsheng has been described as leader of a Celestial Masters sect as a consequence of his association with Verdant Citadel Mountain, the title he is granted by the Li family, Supreme Master of Heaven and Earth, Four seasons and Eight Nodes (*Sishi bajie tiandi taishi* 四時八節天地太師) is not recognizable elsewhere in the history of the movement. Also, the specifics of his policies as Chancellor of the Cheng-Han kingdom (including the degree to which

---

biographies. See, Terry F. Kleeman, *Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998): 117-210.

<sup>96</sup> Kleeman devotes a chapter of his study to the religion of the Li family. See, Kleeman, *Great Perfection*, 61-86.

religious conviction may have informed them) are not detailed in official sources. Finally, the histories mention that Li Te's son Li Xiong took on the title of emperor in 306 C.E. but whether he or his descendants took on other, religious, titles as well is apparently lost to history.

### (3.10) *Kou Qianzhi*

Of the various figures and movements of the Six Dynasties that sought to reform the Way of the Celestial Masters in the absence of leadership from members of the Zhang family none is more notable or more radical than Kou Qianzhi.<sup>97</sup> Born in 365 C.E. into a family with connections to the Celestial Masters church, Qianzhi entered seclusion on Mount Song (*Song shan* 嵩山), the central marchmount. There he is said to have received two revelatory encounters; the first came in the form of a visitation from the deified Laozi in 415 C.E. and the second by way of a meeting with Li Puwen 李譜文, an otherwise unknown descendent of Laozi, in 423 C.E. He received new precepts for the Celestial Masters community in the first instance and a consecration as the new Celestial Master along with a newly revealed text on the second.

With the backing of his brother Kou Zanzhi 寇讚之, a powerful provincial governor, and the support of the prime minister Cui Hao 崔浩 Qianzhi established himself at the Northern Wei court. He soon captured the attention of Emperor Taiwu 太

---

<sup>97</sup> An overview of Kou Qianzhi's Daoist career is found in Richard B. Mather, "K'ou Ch'ien-chih and the Taoist Theocracy at the Northern Wei Court, 425-451," in *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, eds. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1979): 103-123. Kou Qianzhi's exploits at the Northern Wei court and his encounters with the deified Laozi and Li Puwen are found in both the *Book of the Wei* (*Wei shu* 魏書 SKQS 114.32-40) and the *Book of the Shu* (*Sui shu* 隋書 SKQS 35.37-39).

武 who took the Daoist title Perfect Sovereign of Great Peace (*Taiping zhenjun* 太平真君) in the year 439 C.E. while under Kou Qianzhi's religious tutelage. The relationship between Daoism and the Northern Wei was to be short-lived, however. Kou himself died in 448 C.E. and when emperor Taiwu was murdered by a palace eunuch in 452 C.E. his successor established Buddhism as the official state religion.

The details of Kou Qianzhi's efforts at reinventing Celestial Masters Daoism are outlined in *Laojun's Scripture for the Chanting of the Commandments* (*Laojun yinsong jiejing* 老君音誦戒經), a text which corresponds to that said in the *Book of the Wei* and the *Book of the Shu* to have been revealed by Lord Lao at Mount Song.<sup>98</sup> *Laojun's Scripture* reflects many of the concerns raised in similar reformation minded texts of the Six Dynasties such as *Inner Explanations* and *Master Lu's Abridged Codes*; the true teachings are said to have been diluted by an influx of heterodox practices and the self-promotion of Libationers is decried. Somewhat more radical is his disavowal, as voiced by Lord Lao, of the concept of twenty-four parishes, proscriptions of levies on silk and rice, and the practice of merging pneumae. Perfectly understandable, given that Kou Qianzhi was living in the shadow of the Sun En rebellion, is Lord Lao's harsh castigation of those who would take up arms in rebellion in his name.

Of particular note with regards to lineal transmission is Kou Qianzhi's confirmation that descendants of the Han Celestial Masters held office in his time:

---

<sup>98</sup> See, John Lagerwey, "The Old Lord's Scripture for the Chanting of the Commandments," *Purposes, Means and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium*, ed. Florian Reiter, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007): 29-56.

If there are descendants of the Celestial Master in the world who adhere closely to the teachings of the parishes and take command of the transformation of the people it is unnecessary to rely on the various officeholders and Libationers to uphold the statutes. But when they petition they must not simply announce themselves as holding the position of descendant of the Celestial Master. They must announce themselves by title and office held just as all others do.<sup>99</sup>

The passage reveals that lineal descendants of the Celestial Master were understood to hold a degree of authority above that of a standard official or Libationer. All the same, Qianzhi is clear in stating that this elevated position is not a simple consequence of birthright but is contingent upon those members of the Zhang family line following proper petitioning protocol and, generally speaking, holding to the traditional teachings. Lagerwey describes this passage as having a “slight whiff of the revolutionary.”<sup>100</sup> True though this may be, in that regard it pales in comparison to the claim that although the deified Laozi did indeed appoint Zhang Daoling as Celestial Master, the office was not inherited:

Zhang Ling achieved ascension into the clouds and trod the void. He rose up and entered the Celestial Palace. From the time that Ling ascended and passed over the office has been empty and the post abandoned. Much time has passed and none have succeeded to the position of Celestial Master.<sup>101</sup>

In another passage slightly further into the text the deified Laozi reveals that he has finally found a worthy successor:

---

<sup>99</sup> *Laojun's Scripture for the Chanting of the Commandments* (*Laojun yinsong jiejing* 老君音誦戒經 HY 784 ZHDZ 8.570). Translation based on Lagerwey, “The Old Lord's Scripture for the Chanting of the Commandments,” 39.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> *Laojun's Scripture* ZHDZ 8.563

I have come to the Numinous Hall of Gathered Transcendents at Mount Song, the central marchmount, so that my proclamation may be heard. The people of the world have long abandoned their offices...Presently there is Kou Qianzhi of Shanggu who has cloistered himself in a small chamber in Mount Song in order to study. He has essentialized and refined the teachings and methods. He has a grasp on the nature of men and spirits. He cultivated his character and disseminated principles. His actions are in accord with nature. How is he not equal to the position of successor to the Celestial Master?<sup>102</sup>

Kou Qianzhi's motivations are rather transparent; he framed his reform agenda as a corrective revelation from the deified Laozi. Through the mouthpiece of Lord Lao Qianzhi granted himself the position of heir to the office of Celestial Master in order to assure that he had the authority to see through his proposed renewal of the structure and practices of the religion. He removed those elements which lent themselves to the establishment of a theocracy, such as the hereditary inheritance of office and the system of parishes, as a means of making the religion palatable to the Northern Wei rulers. The condemnation of armed insurrection is not at all odd given that Kou was attempting to create a state-sanctioned Daoism within living memory of Sun En's rebellion and less than a century after the fall of the Cheng-Han kingdom, established by descendants of the rebel Li Te 李特. Both of those movements had familial connections, at the very least, to Celestial Masters Daoism.

Kou Qianzhi's story, particularly as it is revealed in *Laojun's Scripture*, offers some insight into the state of the Zhang family under the Northern Wei. While there were descendants who were accorded a certain degree of prominence owing to their

---

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.



lineage apparently none among them were in a position of influence significant enough to mount a significant challenge to Qianzhi's claim to the mantle of Celestial Master.

Surprisingly, Kou Qianzhi is referenced in the *Hereditary Household*. In Zhou Tianqiu's preface it is said that "the talismanic arts flourished under Kou Qianzhi and Du Guangting but have not risen again since."<sup>103</sup> Naturally, he is not counted among the generations of Celestial Masters and the period of the Northern Wei is more or less glossed over in the biographies. The eighth Celestial Master, Zhang Jiong 張迺, is said to have been summoned to the court of Wei Taizu 魏太祖 (r. 386-409 C.E.) who inquired after the nature of the Way.<sup>104</sup> According to his biography Jiong lived to the age of ninety and his successor Zhang Fu 張符 lived to the age of ninety-three. Nothing is said of imperial interactions in his biography and his successor, Zhang Zixiang 張子祥 is said to have served the Sui dynasty.

Kou Qianzhi's reform movement and the Northern Wei's patronage of Daoism died with him but he was not entirely forgotten, particularly in Song dynasty works associated with Jia Shanxiang 賈善翔. In the preface to his *Traditions of the Draconic One*, the late eleventh century hagiography of the deified Laozi, Kou Qianzhi is said to have been among the recipients of the seals and scriptures of the Celestial Master.<sup>105</sup> His biography, as told in that text's entry on Emperor Taiwu, goes into some detail regarding

---

<sup>103</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.345).

<sup>104</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.350).

<sup>105</sup> *Traditions of the Draconic One* (ZHDZ 45.585).

Qianzhi's visitations from the deified Laozi and Li Puwen but makes no mention of his inheritance of the mantle of Celestial Master or his efforts at reforming the organization of the Celestial Masters church.<sup>106</sup>

*Comprehensive and Requisite Manuals of Daoism* (*Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 道門通教必用集) compiled in 1201 C.E. by Lu Taigu 呂太古 includes a lengthy biography of Kou Qianzhi.<sup>107</sup> Though no attribution is made, it likely draws on Jia Shanxiang's now lost *Traditions of the Great Way* (*Gaodao zhuan* 高道傳), as much of the biographical material in the first fascicle of the text is drawn from that source.<sup>108</sup> That account, in turn, quotes extensively from *Laojun's Scripture* and reiterates the narrative of that text.

A stele titled "The Tradition of Kou the Later Wei Celestial Master of Mount Song who Ascended to Perfection," (*Hou Wei Song shan dengzhen Kou tianshi zhuan* 後魏嵩山登真寇天師傳) was erected at the Palace of Veneration and Good Fortune (*Chongfu gong* 崇福宮) at Mount Song in the year 1308 C.E.<sup>109</sup> The inscription is attributed to Jia Shanxiang and was revised by Qin Zhi'an 秦志安 (1188-1244 C.E.), a student of the Song Defang 宋德方 the eminent Complete Perfection Daoist and compiler

---

<sup>106</sup>*Traditions of the Draconic One* (ZHDZ 45.613).

<sup>107</sup> *Comprehensive and Requisite Manuals of Daoism* (*Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 道門通教必用集 HY 1216 ZHDZ 42.485).

<sup>108</sup> On the provenance of the biographical section see John Lagerwey, "Daomen tongjiao biyong ji," *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, eds. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 2:1012-1014.

<sup>109</sup> The full text is preserved in *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 716-717.

of a Song dynasty canon. The inscription follows the narrative of *Laojun's Scripture*, including the critique of the practice of merging pneumae and the contention that Kou Qianzhi was the true heir to Zhang Daoling. The latter point is underscored in a poem that ends the inscription, one couplet of which reads “Fuhan mounted a *luan* bird and went off not to return. Qianzhi came forth descending from the heavens riding a crane.”<sup>110</sup>

The late twelfth century *Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning* includes a lengthy passage drawn from the Sui dynasty *Book of the Later Wei* (*Hou Wei shu* 後魏書) and the section on Buddhism and Daoism in the *Chronicle of the Later Wei* (*Hou Wei zhi* 後魏志) to tell the story of the deified Laozi's investiture of Kou Qianzhi.<sup>111</sup> While both works are now, lost the gist of the passages quoted indicates that they follow the outline of the story given in *Laojun's Scripture*. That work is quoted extensively, though without attribution, in the *Annals of the Sage* as well.

### (3.11) *The Way of Clear Water and the Way of Banners and Flowers*

The *Inner Explanations* briefly mentions a pair of movements with somewhat hazy ties to the Way of the Celestial Masters. The first, the Way of Clear Water (*Qingshui zhi dao* 清水之道) was a healing cult whose teachings are said to have been transmitted by Zhang Daoling to an illiterate servant.<sup>112</sup> While the school is condemned

---

<sup>110</sup> *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 717. Fuhan 輔漢 is a style name of Zhang Daoling.

<sup>111</sup> *Annals of the Sage* (ZHDZ 46.88).

<sup>112</sup> Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 197, 218. *Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (ZHDZ 8.546).

to be a heterodox offshoot in the *Inner Explanations* little is known about it. The fact that it warranted mention suggests that the sect must have been active in Jiangnan during the Liu-Song Dynasty and was considered something of a threat by the authors of the *Inner Explanations*. Their concern is apparently validated by the fact that *Biographies of Buddhist Nuns* (*Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳), a work of the Liang dynasty, contends that the movement gained a following among members of the imperial household in the late fourth century.<sup>113</sup> As to whether the Way of Clear water was an indigenous Southern cult which invoked Zhang Daoling simply to lend prestige to their movement or was actually founded by displaced or disaffected followers of the Way of the Celestial Masters is unknown.

Another movement deemed heterodox in the *Inner Explanations* is dismissed as follows:

Presently there are those who lift up the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice. There are also those who lift up the Effortless Action Way of Banners and Flowers, which is simply Buddhism. This is entirely an archaic practice of the Six Heavens and should be discarded.<sup>114</sup>

These few elliptical references suggest that there may have been many more cults derived from or influenced by the Celestial Masters movement which were perhaps not successful enough to merit extensive surviving documentation and accompanying criticism. The Way of Clear water is of particular interest as it is a clear case of the enduring charisma of Zhang Daoling allowing for the rise of a movement that claimed a

---

<sup>113</sup> *Biographies of Buddhist Nuns* (*Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 T. 2063, 50.936b.15f).

<sup>114</sup> *Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (ZHDZ 8.546).

direct connection to him. This is not dissimilar to Lu Shizhong' use of Zhao Sheng as a tutelary figure; in both cases the teachings were derived from an intermediary figure who was a disciple of Zhang Daoling.

Even Kou Qianzhi, who was dismissive of certain practices and communal lapses as well as the notion of hereditary transmission of the Celestial Master's lineage did not go so far as to besmirch the ancestral Celestial Master but rather claimed to be his true inheritor. It was not until the establishment of the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain that the precedent of claiming some form of inheritance from Zhang Daoling or his disciples would be taken to the logical conclusion of claiming direct literal descent. By mending the lineage of hereditary Celestial Masters that was broken off with Zhang Lu they made themselves the living embodiment of Zhang Daoling's charisma.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE EMERGENCE OF THE LINEAGE AT DRAGON AND TIGER MOUNTAIN

In this chapter I proceed from the supposition that the story of Zhang Lu passing the sword and seal of office to Zhang Sheng thereby planting the seed for an enduring and unbroken lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain is an important institutional myth but not a cold historical fact. This leads, naturally, to the question of when it was that the lineage of the Zhang family Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain emerged onto the historical stage. Unfortunately, it is not an issue that may be settled simply or with tremendous certainty based on existing historical evidence. The earliest sources to place the Zhang family on the mountain are scarce, lacking in detail, and largely problematic in terms of dating and attribution.

As a consequence scholarly estimates for the time of the lineage's establishment range to various points between the seventh and thirteenth centuries. I begin with an overview of previous attempts at pinning down a time of origin for the movement. From there I survey the earliest references to the mountain in a religious context. I next consider literary and epigraphic sources containing possible early evidence of the movement's emergence. In the vast majority of such instances, here defined as purportedly dating to the Tang dynasty or earlier, I will cast doubt upon the authenticity of the sources for reasons of date, attribution, or both. Finally, I offer a brief and by no means comprehensive overview of sources dating to the Five Dynasties and later that

confirm the existence of nascent hagiographical traditions that would eventually culminate in the *Hereditary Household* and works both literary and canonical that presume the presence of the Zhang family on Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

(4.1) *Scholarly Opinion on the Time of Emergence of the Zhang Family Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain*

The pioneering early twentieth century scholar of Daoism and Chinese religion Henri Maspero judged that those who compiled the *Hereditary Household* “had no document covering the period which goes from the Han to the T’ang, and that their imagination alone attempted to establish relationships” between the generations of Celestial Masters following Zhang Lu’s surrender to Cao Cao and the establishment of the lineal tradition at Dragon and Tiger Mountain.<sup>1</sup> While this is likely accurate, Maspero’s contention that the movement can only be reliably traced to the fifteenth Celestial Master Zhang Gao of the mid-Tang dynasty is something of a puzzle. Russell Kirkland published a brief study consisting of an attempt to verify Maspero’s contention only to come up empty handed with regards to historical references to any prominent Daoist by the name of Zhang Gao who lived in the Tang dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

A good number of other scholarly propositions for the time of the lineage’s emergence run up against problems of corroboration and consistency. In an article on Celestial Masters Daoism and the Qing court Vincent Goossaert writes that “The

---

<sup>1</sup> Henri Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, Frank A. Kierman, jr. tr., (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981): 398.

<sup>2</sup> Russell Kirkland, “Chang Kao: A Noteworthy T’ang Taoist?” *T’ang Studies* 2 (1984): 31-53.

institution of a Zhang family, claiming descent from Zhang Daoling, transmitting a hereditary position of authority within the Taoist clergy and based on Longhu shan can be historically ascertained only beginning with the seventh century.”<sup>3</sup> The statement leads the reader to a footnote referring them to Timothy Barrett’s article “The Emergence of the Taoist Papacy in the T’ang Dynasty.” Barrett himself does not appear to vouch for the seventh century as the time of emergence but rather cites a tenth century source referring to an incident in the early ninth century as the earliest likely account of an established Celestial Master on the mountain. In one passage from his article Barrett states broadly but perhaps accurately that the Zhang family “rose to prominence in late Tang times.”<sup>4</sup> Later, he cites as possible early evidence a passage from the *Cavern Mystery Numinous Gem Record of the Three Masters* (*Dongxuan lingbao sanshi ji* 洞玄靈寶三師記) of 920 C.E. in which Du Guangting’s master is initiated by the eighteenth Celestial Master at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in 828 C.E.<sup>5</sup>

Barrett is most enthusiastic regarding the evidence provided in the form of a poem titled “Presented to the Zhang [Family] Celestial Masters of Longhu Shan,” (*Xian Longhu shan Zhang tianshi* 獻龍虎山張天師). Attributed to a certain Li Xiang 李翔, the

---

<sup>3</sup> Vincent Goossaert, "Bureaucratic charisma: The Zhang Heavenly Master Institution and Court Taoists in Late Qing China," *Asia Major* 17.2 (2004): 122.

<sup>4</sup> Timothy Barrett “The Emergence of the Taoist Papacy in the T’ang Dynasty.” *Asia Major* 3.7 (1994): 90-91

<sup>5</sup> Barrett, “Emergence,” 99-100. *Cavern Mystery Numinous Gem Record of the Three Masters* (*Dongxuan lingbao sanshi ji* 洞玄靈寶三師記 HY 444 ZHDZ 46.272-274). That source will be considered in the pages to follow.



poem was preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> Citing the work of Wu Qiyu as the basis for the poem's date, Barrett describes it as "incontrovertible late-ninth century evidence for the presence of a Taoist pope on the mountain that was to be his family home for the next millennium."<sup>7</sup>

In his dissertation "Questioning Convergence: Daoism in South China During the Yuan Dynasty," Neil McGee objects to Barrett's judgment and suggests that the poem may have been addressed not to the family line that would rise to prominence but to another Zhang Celestial Master who claimed descent from Zhang Daoling. McGee writes that "there was in fact more than one family (at least) surnamed Zhang living in the Mount Longhu region and deeply involved in Daoism in the Song and Yuan (the other was the family of Zhang Liusun, the Grand Patriarch of the Mysterious Teachings)," and that "given the Han dynasty association of the Celestial Master with the Zhang surname, any Zhang might have found it useful to adopt the title."<sup>8</sup>

Although such a circumstance is not impossible, it is unlikely to have been the case. We have no evidence of anyone by the surname of Zhang ever claiming the title of Celestial Master on the basis of descent from Zhang Daoling prior to the emergence of the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. There were certainly those who were granted or who took upon themselves the honorific of Celestial Master in the centuries between

---

<sup>6</sup> Pelliot 3866. A reprint of the collection in which the poem is found is preserved in *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 [*Daoist Books External to the Canon*], ed. Hu Daojing 胡道静, (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1992-1994), 21:540-544. I will consider the provenance of the poem elsewhere in this chapter.

<sup>7</sup> Barrett, "Emergence," 101-102.

<sup>8</sup> McGee, *Questioning Convergence*, 124.

Zhang Lu's surrender to Cao Cao and the establishment of the revived lineage in Jiangxi. However, in no case that I am aware of (save for that of Kou Qianzhi) did they understand themselves explicitly to be inheritors of the mantle of Zhang Daoling. Also, while there were descendants of the ancestral Celestial Master, in no case were they themselves described as holding the mantle. It is accordingly far more plausible that the poem refers to the lineage that rose to prominence at Dragon and Tiger Mountain rather than for there to have been two discrete families bearing the surname Zhang that happened to claim a lineal title that had been without a holder for centuries within a few generations of one another in the same location.

In his introduction to *The Taoist Canon* Kristofer Schipper suggests that the assertion of descent from Zhang Daoling by the Daoists of Dragon and Tiger Mountain was a novel claim of the Tang.<sup>9</sup> This opinion is largely consistent across his writing, the sole outlier being *The Taoist Body* in which he writes that “the association of the mountain with Celestial Masters can be securely traced to no earlier than the late Southern Song dynasty.”<sup>10</sup> The rationale behind this date is not given.

In the article “Les Maîtres Célestes à l'époque Song,” and his entry on the *Hereditary Household* in *The Taoist Canon* Schipper is slightly more specific, holding that “it was not until the mid-Tang period that the Tianshi temple on Longhu shan in

---

<sup>9</sup> Kristofer Schipper, “General Introduction,” *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, eds. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1:31.

<sup>10</sup> Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994): 15.

Jiangxi became an important pilgrimage center and that its claim to be the original cradle of the Tianshi lineage emerged.”<sup>11</sup>

Though such a timeline is not, as we will see, necessarily inaccurate, the absence of evidence posited by Schipper as for why the mid-Tang was chosen as the time of emergence diminishes the value of the judgment. I am not aware of any sources dating from the period that indicate that Dragon and Tiger Mountain was a significant pilgrimage site in the mid-Tang. Moreover, given the absence of lineal hagiographies, references to specific masters in residence, or lore regarding the activities of early generations of Zhang Celestial Masters on the mountain which irrefutably date to the period it is difficult to accept the proposition that the claim to be the “cradle of the Tianshi lineage” came into being at the time.

One of a very small number of monographs on the history of the Celestial Masters lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain, Wang Jianchuan’s 2003 dissertation offers a thorough overview of the history of the movement with a particular emphasis on the Song dynasty.<sup>12</sup> Wang does not devote himself to the question of the timeframe of the lineage’s origins at a particular point in history but notes that the first Dragon and Tiger Mountain Celestial Master to achieve great prominence was Zhang Jixian whose

---

<sup>11</sup> Schipper and Bingling, “Han tianshi shijia,” 2:898-899. Kristopher Schipper “Les Maîtres Célestes à l’époque Song,” 133.

<sup>12</sup> Wang Jianchuan 王見川, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu yi Longhu shan yixi wei kaocha zhongxin* 張天師之研究:以龍虎山一系為考察中心 [A Study of the Zhang Celestial Masters with the Dragon and Tiger Mountain Lineage as the Central Point of Inquiry], (Ph.D. diss., National Chung Cheng University 國立中正大學, 2003).

audience with Song Huizong in 1105 C.E. is recorded in the *History of the Song*.<sup>13</sup> Wang's judgment indicates a reliance on official histories above all else which may exclude other resources. It is also inaccurate as the *History of the Song* records that the twenty-fifth Celestial Master was granted imperial recognition in 1030 C.E. Wang is responsible also for a valuable article on evidence regarding the Zhang family prior to and including the Southern Song dynasty which draws largely from the second chapter of his dissertation was published in 2004.<sup>14</sup> He has since turned his attention to the research of contemporary topics in Taiwanese Daoism.

The scholar Liu Cunren 柳存仁 is of the opinion that the first verifiable Celestial Master to have taken up residence at Dragon and Tiger Mountain was the twenty-fourth lineal descendant Zhang Zhengsui 張正隨 of the early eleventh century. The rationale behind his judgment is not clear.<sup>15</sup> Matsumoto Koichi 松本浩一 contends that while we don't know when the descendants of Zhang Daoling established themselves at Dragon and Tiger Mountain they were present at the site by time of the twenty-fourth Celestial Master who was summoned to court in the eighth year of the Dazhong xiangfu 大中祥符 reign era of the Song dynasty (1015 C.E.).<sup>16</sup> As neither scholar offers a detailed rationale

---

<sup>13</sup> Wang Jianchuan, *Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu*, 30.

<sup>14</sup> Wang Jianchuan 王見川, "Longhu shan Zhang tianshi de xingqi yu qi zai Song dai de fazhan" 龍虎山張天師的興起與其在宋代的發展 [The Rise and Development of the Zhang Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the Song Dynasty], *Guang wu tongshi xuebao* 光武通識學報 1.3 (2004): 243-283.

<sup>15</sup> Liu Cunren 柳存仁, *He feng tang wenji* 和風堂文集 [Collected Writings from the Hall of Harmonious Wind], (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1991), 2:162.

<sup>16</sup> Matsumoto Koichi 松本浩一. "Zhang tianshi yu Nan Song daojiao" 張天師與南宋道教 [The Zhang Celestial Masters and Southern Song Daoism], in *Tanxun minjian zhu shen yu Xinyang wenhua* 探尋民間

for the judgment it is possible that both Liu and Matsumoto are simply following in the precedent established by the eminent scholar Qing Xitai 卿希泰 who described Zhang Zhengsui as the first major figure of the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain.<sup>17</sup> The matter of why Qing Xitai believed the twenty-fourth master to be the first who is historically verifiable is also unclear. Zhang Zhengsui is said to have been called to court in hagiographic material such as the *Hereditary Household* but his summons is not verified elsewhere. Even if Qing Xitai considered uncorroborated hagiographies to be sufficient verification, Zhang Zhengsui is far from the earliest Zhang Celestial Master said to have been called to court in the *Hereditary Household* and similar works.

A tradition that has Zhengsui receive the title Prior Born of Perfected Silence (*Zhenjing xiansheng* 真靜先生) is first attested to in Bai Yuchan's *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi*.<sup>18</sup> Yuchan does not indicate which emperor bestowed the title though he indicates that Zhengsui's successor Qianyao 乾曜 was called to court by Emperor Renzong 仁宗 of the Song (r. 1022-1063 C.E.). This timeline is consistent with the *Comprehensive Mirror* which has Zhengsui receive the honorific posthumously upon his death at the age of eighty-seven and also places his successor in the court of Song Renzong.<sup>19</sup> These sources are vague regarding Zhengsui's time of activity and so it is

---

諸神與信仰文化[Investigations into the Culture of Popular Divinities and Beliefs] ed. Gao Zhihua 高致華 (Anhui: Huangshan shushe, 2006): 69.

<sup>17</sup> Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 中國道教史 [A History of Chinese Daoism], (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1988), 1:244.

<sup>18</sup> *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (ZHDZ 19.965).

<sup>19</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.349).

unclear whether the title is to be understood as having been bestowed late in the reign of Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997-1022 C.E.) or early in that of Emperor Renzong.

The *Hereditary Household* places the bestowal of the title in the time of Emperor Zhenzong to whom it attributes a lengthy proclamation written in praise of the enduring lineage of the Han Celestial Masters:

At eighty-seven years of age the Celestial Master expired. Emperor Zhenzong made a proclamation saying, “My heirs will preserve the ancestral temple and venerate the celestial way, carry forth the auspicious resonance of heaven and earth, to explicate the precious talisman of the river chart, to join with those who have reached attainment in pondering the miraculous Way. The lineal ancestor obtained the numinous commentaries at the Golden Porte and transmitted the command to posterity. The eldest son of the first wife is charged with carrying forth the uncanny teachings and expounding upon the mysteries of the prior heavens so as to guide the students of later generations. I have observed that the ascended generations were possessed of longevity as a consequence of their virtue. So it is that I confer the honorary title on the one who embellishes and extends the great Way of prior sages and grant the title Prior Born of Perfected Silence.”<sup>20</sup>

Matsumoto Koichi cites this passage as evidence for the eminence of Zhang Zhengsui, though no record of Emperor Zhenzong bestowing the title is found in contemporary records nor is it commented on in the official histories.<sup>21</sup> It is only long after the fact, in the Qing dynasty edition of *Imperially Commented Outlines and Details to the expanded Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* (*Yupi xu tongjian gangmu* 御批續資治通鑑綱目) that we find a proclamation titled “Bestowal of the Title Prior Born of Perfected Silence to Zhang Zhengsui, a Daoist of Xinzhou,” (*Ci Xinzhou daoshi*

---

<sup>20</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.351-352).

<sup>21</sup> Matsumoto Koichi, “Zhang tianshi yu Nan Song daojiang,” 69.

*Zhang Zhengsui hao zhenjing xiansheng* 賜信州道士張正隨號真靜先生).<sup>22</sup> Though attributed to Emperor Zhenzong the text is entirely different from that of the proclamation found in the *Hereditary Household* and is of uncertain provenance factors which when taken in tandem with the late date of the compilation cast doubt on the authenticity of the document.

Although contemporary evidence is lacking it is entirely possible that Zhengsui was summoned to court and granted an honorary title. The accounts of his son and successor Qianyao being called to court by Emperor Renzong that are found in Daoist sources are corroborated in the *History of the Song* which records that the twenty-fifth Celestial Master was called to court and awarded the title Prior Born of Simple Clarity (*Chengsu xiansheng* 澄素先生) in the eighth year of the Tiansheng 天聖 reign era (1030 C.E.).<sup>23</sup> This lends some credence to the possibility that the title Prior Born of Perfected Silence was in fact granted to Zhang Zhengsui and is not a Daoist fabrication but rather reflects historical reality.

With very few exceptions scholars are rightly hesitant to suggest that the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain was established prior to the Tang dynasty. In a brief but wide ranging article on persistent questions regarding the history of the Way of the Celestial Masters Qing Xitai allows for the possibility that the self-presentation of the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain is accurate and that they were in actuality

---

<sup>22</sup> Imperially Commented Outlines and Details to the expanded Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government (*Yupi xu tongjian gangmu* 御批續資治通鑑綱目 SKQS 3.55).

<sup>23</sup> *History of the Song* (*Song shi* 宋史 SKQS 9.14).

present on the mountain from the time of Zhang Sheng. He does not commit fully to the possibility however and notes the absence of contemporary historical sources regarding the fourth Celestial Master as reason for doubt.<sup>24</sup>

Zhuang Hongyi 莊宏誼 contends that the movement which originated in the late Han persisted in Ba, Shu, and Hanzhong after Zhang Lu's death and holds that the Dragon and Tiger Mountain lineage established itself in the Eastern Jin (317-420 C.E.).<sup>25</sup> Zhuang does not give any evidence for this assertion. It may be that he bases his reasoning in sources originating from the Celestial Masters themselves, including the *Hereditary Household*, which tell of the sixth generation descendant Zhang Jiao 張椒 being summoned to court by an emperor of the Eastern Jin dynasty.<sup>26</sup>

#### (4.2) *Dragon and Tiger Mountain as a Site of Religious Significance*

As suggested by the range of scholarly opinion regarding the time of emergence and the variety of works cited as offering significant evidence, no single source or collection of sources gives us a window into a specific historical moment at which the lineage came into being. All the same there are several intriguing bits of evidence from the Tang dynasty onwards that either give a sense of the mountain as a place of religious

---

<sup>24</sup> Qing Xitai 卿希泰, "You guan wudou mi dao de ji ge wenti" 有关五斗米道的几个问题 [Concerning Several Questions Pertaining to the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice], *Zhongguo zhixue* 中國哲學 4 (1980): 325-336.

<sup>25</sup> Zhuang Hongyi 莊宏誼, *Mingdai dao jiao Zhengyi pai* 明代道教正一派 [The Upright Unity Sect of Daoism in the Ming Dynasty], (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1986): 69.

<sup>26</sup> The *Hereditary Household* states that Zhang Jiao was summoned by Emperor An 安帝 (r. 397-419 C.E.) but did not heed the call (ZHDZ 46.349).



significance or associate the Zhang family with the site. As will be illustrated, this evidence is often of limited value in making a case for the time of establishment due to insurmountable questions of authenticity.

The earliest and one of the most intriguing sources to attest to the religious significance of Dragon and Tiger Mountain is the Upper Clarity patriarch Sima Chengzhen's 司馬承禎 (647 – 735 C.E.) *Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the Grotto Heavens and Blessed Lands* (*Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖).<sup>27</sup> There, Dragon and Tiger Mountain is listed as number thirty-two in a list of seventy-two blessed plots:

Number thirty-two, Dragon and Tiger Mountain. It is located in Xinzhou, Guixi County. The mountain is under the charge of the Transcendent Zhang Jujun.<sup>28</sup>

In his *Encyclopedia of Religion* article “The Taoist Community,” John Lagerwey suggests that the presence of a member of the Zhang family on Dragon and Tiger Mountain is attested to by this source.<sup>29</sup> Timothy Barrett disputes this in noting that the entry for Dragon and Tiger Mountain, in keeping with other entries on the seventy-two blessed plots, lists the supernatural patron who has command (*zhu* 主) over the mountain rather than a mortal Daoist in residence (*zhu* 住).<sup>30</sup> Barrett is likely correct on this point

---

<sup>27</sup> *Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the Grotto Heavens and Blessed Lands* (*Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖) is preserved in *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel*. An introduction to the text is found in Franciscus Verellen “The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heavens (*dongtian*) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8.8 (1995): 265-290.

<sup>28</sup> *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.240).

<sup>29</sup> John Lagerwey, “Taoism: The Taoist Community,” in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 13:313.

<sup>30</sup> Timothy Barrett, “Emergence,” 95-96.

and any connection between Zhang Jujun and the Zhang family of Celestial Masters is rendered dubious by evidence both internal to Sima Chengzhen's text and that found elsewhere.

Zhang Jujun 張巨君, the figure who is said to have command over the mountain, is also listed in the *Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus* as having charge over the fifty-third blessed plot, Mount De (*De shan* 德山) which is located in Wuling County (*Wuling xian* 武陵縣) contemporary northern Hunan. That site is not elsewhere noted for any connection to the Celestial Masters.<sup>31</sup> A number of other sources suggest that Zhang Jujun was a Daoist or transcendent who lived in reclusion and had mastery over methods of prognostication and healing. The *Book of the Latter Han* includes a "Tradition of Xu Man" (*Xu Man zhuan* 許曼傳) which tells of a certain Xu Jishan 許季山, the grandfather of the titular protagonist, who has fallen ill. Out of familial duty Xu Man travels to Mount Tai 太山 to seek out a means of ascertaining his grandfather's fate. There he encounters the Daoist Zhang Jujun who grants him methods of prognostication based in the *Changes of Zhou* (*Zhou yi* 周易).<sup>32</sup>

An annotated version of the *Record of the Latter Han* account is found in *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era*.<sup>33</sup> An alternate version of the story which has Xu Jishan himself as the protagonist is found in Zhang Jujun's biography found in the

---

<sup>31</sup> *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.241).

<sup>32</sup> *Book of the Latter Han* (SKQS 112.3-4).

<sup>33</sup> *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (SKQS 727.10-11).

*Traditions of Cavern Transcendents* (*Dongxian zhuan* 洞仙傳), an undated collection compiled by the otherwise unknown Master who Observes the Pure (*Jiansu zi* 見素子) that is preserved in *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel*.<sup>34</sup> This account serves as the basis of Zhang Jujun's hagiography in the *Comprehensive Mirror*.<sup>35</sup> In these instances Jujun is described not as a Daoist (*Daoshi* 道士) but rather as a transcendent (*xianren* 仙人).

A section of the late sixth century compendium *Supreme Secret Essentials* (*Wushang biyao* 無上祕要), titled "Those who Obtained the Way of Supreme Clarity (*De taiqing dao renmin pin* 得太清道人名品), includes an entry on Zhang Jujun in which it is said that he bestowed the methods of the *Zhou Yi* on Xu Jishan.<sup>36</sup> Jujun's identity is clarified in *Table of Ranks and Functions of the Perfected Numinous of the Lingbao Mystery Cavern* (*Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu* 洞玄靈寶真靈位業圖).<sup>37</sup> Initially compiled by Tao Hongjing (ca. 500 C.E.) and revised by Luqiu Fangyuan 闡丘方遠 in the late ninth century, the text is intended to serve as a complete survey of the names, ranks, and administrative responsibilities of the inhabitants of seven tiers of spiritual realms. Zhang Jujun is listed as an officer of the fourth grade, right hand position, of the

---

<sup>34</sup> *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.853-854).

<sup>35</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.279).

<sup>36</sup> *Supreme Secret Essentials* (*Wushang biyao* 無上祕要 HY 1130 ZHDZ 28.249).

<sup>37</sup> *Table of Ranks and Functions of the Perfected Numinous of the Lingbao Mystery Cavern* (*Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu* 洞玄靈寶真靈位業圖 HY 167 ZHDZ 2.721-731).

Jade Clarity Palace of the Three Primes (*Yuqing sanyuan gong* 玉清三元宮), the residence of the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (*Yuanshi tianzun* 元始天尊).<sup>38</sup>

At no point in any of these sources is any association with Mount Longhu or the Zhang family Celestial Masters made. The only possible connection between Zhang Jujun and the Celestial Masters lineage is a highly tenuous one. In the *Comprehensive Mirror* biography of the fourth Celestial Master a certain Zhang Ju 張巨 is named as the youngest son of Zhang Lu. An unnamed alternate source (*yi yun* 一云) is parenthetically cited identifying Zhang Ju as the sixth of Zhang Lu's seven sons.<sup>39</sup> Ju is said to have served as an Attending Censor (*Shi yushi* 侍御史) and governor of Yiyang 義陽 in contemporary southern Henan before he attained the Way and corpse liberation.<sup>40</sup> It is highly unlikely that the association of Zhang Jujun with Mount Longhu is the result of the conflation of his legend with the biography of Zhang Ju as the latter is not named in early historical sources and is not attested to in extant Daoist works predating or contemporary to the time when Sima Chengzhen composed the *Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus*.

A text found in the Daoist Canon, *Accounts of Extraordinary Men from Jiang and Huai* (*Jiang Huai yiren lu* 江淮異人錄), includes two references to Dragon and Tiger

---

<sup>38</sup> *Table of Ranks and Functions* (ZHDZ 2.726).

<sup>39</sup> *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.346).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

Mountain in a religious context.<sup>41</sup> *Accounts of Extraordinary Men* was compiled by Wu Shu 吳淑 (947-1002 C.E.) a scholar from Danyang 丹陽 in what is contemporary Zhenjiang 鎮江 in Jiangsu. He is best known for his work on the *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* and *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era*.<sup>42</sup> The extraordinary men whose accounts are given in his compilation lived in the late Tang and Five Dynasties period.

The first relevant account concerns a Daoist by the name of Nie Shidao 聶師道 who was charged with performing a retreat on Dragon and Tiger Mountain by the ruling household of the Wu 吳 (902-937 C.E.), one of the Ten Southern Kingdoms.<sup>43</sup> On the way to the mountain Shidao encountered a gang of bandits. As the thugs set upon Shidao with the intention of robbing and killing him one among their number recognized him as the Daoist of the Palace of Purple Extremity (*Ziji gong* 紫極宮) in Yangzhou 揚州 who had previously treated the band of outlaws with kindness. The bandits accordingly spared him from harm and he was allowed to go on his way. Nothing more is said of the retreat or of Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the anecdote and we do not know if it was to be undertaken in collaboration with representatives of the Zhang family or with the Celestial Master himself.

---

<sup>41</sup> *Accounts of Extraordinary Men from Jiang and Huai* (*Jiang Huai yiren lu* 江淮異人錄 HY 595 ZHDZ 45.232-241).

<sup>42</sup> A biography of Wu Shu is found in the *History of the Song* (SKQS 441.2-4).

<sup>43</sup> *Accounts of Extraordinary Men* (ZHDZ 45.233).

The second account concerns a certain Chen Yunsheng 陳允升 of Raozhou 饒州 in northeastern Jiangxi who was known as “One Hundred Years Chen” (*Bainian Chen* 百年陳).<sup>44</sup> He was fond of the Way from a young age, rarely spoke to others, and abstained from the consumption of meat that his family brought back from hunting excursions. At ten years of age he went into reclusion on Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Common people frequently caught glimpse of him on the mountain’s passes though he would feel at their approach like a frightened deer. In the Tianyou 天祐 reign (904-907 C.E.) at the end of the Tang dynasty he was sighted at Hemp Maiden Mountain (*Magu shan* 麻姑山) in southwestern Jiangxi. Although he had been in reclusion for more than seventy years he retained his youthful appearance. While nothing is said of the Celestial Masters in either account they further underscore the mountain’s place in the religious landscape of post-Tang China as a site associated with ritual and reclusion.

The Zhang family is associated with Dragon and Tiger Mountain in three works of sacred geography roughly contemporary to the movement’s likely time of emergence in the Five Dynasties or, slightly later, in the Northern Song. The first, *Records of Grotto Heavens, Blissful Lands, Peaks, Rivers, and Famous Mountains* (*Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記) was compiled by Du Guangting in Chengdu in 901 C.E.<sup>45</sup> The relevant entry simply states the following: “Dragon and Tiger Mountain is in

---

<sup>44</sup> *Accounts of Extraordinary Men* (ZHDZ 45.237).

<sup>45</sup> *Records of Grotto Heavens, Blissful Lands, Peaks, Rivers, and Famous Mountains* (*Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記 HY 599 ZHDZ 48.80-96).

Guixi County of Xinzhou. It is the site of the Celestial Master's residence."<sup>46</sup> The language of the passage is open to interpretation; Du Guangting may intend the phrase "the Celestial Master's residence" (*Tianshi zhai* 天師宅) to indicate either a contemporary seat of administration or the site of Zhang Daoling's former hermitage.

The late tenth century *Imperial Records of the Taiping Era* contains a brief but interesting entry on the mountain drawn from the *Topographical Classic of Xinzhou* (*Xinzhou tu jing* 信州圖經). That work is now lost save for a small number of fragments.

The entry reads:

Dragon and Tiger Mountain is in Guixi County. Two mountains face each other and a stream runs between them. This is the mountain where the Zhang Celestial Master obtained the Way.<sup>47</sup>

An early eleventh century source, *Anthology of the Cavern Abyss* (*Dongyuan ji* 洞淵集) contains a variant of Sima Chengzhen's catalogue of sacred landscape. There, Dragon and Tiger Mountain is number twenty-nine of the seventy-two blessed plots.<sup>48</sup> The *Anthology*, which was presented to Emperor Renzong of the Song in 1050 C.E., is the work of by Li Sicong 李思聰 a Daoist of the Auspicious Talismans of the Great Mean Palace (*Dazhong xiangfu gong* 大中祥符宮) in Qianzhou 虔州 which is located in present-day Gan County 贛縣 in southern Jiangxi. The temple was presumably named for its date of construction in the *dazhong xiangfu* reign era (1008-1017 C.E.). The entry

---

<sup>46</sup> *Record of Grotto Heavens* (ZHDZ 48.83).

<sup>47</sup> *Imperial Records of the Taiping Era* (SKQS 48.10).

<sup>48</sup> *Anthology of the Abyssal Cavern* (*Dongyuan ji* 洞淵集 HY 1055 ZHDZ 48.86-107).

on the mountain is not clearly worded but it does indicate a contemporary presence of Zhang family Celestial Masters: “The twenty-ninth blessed plot is Dragon and Tiger Mountain. It is [the residence of] The Zhang Celestial Masters in Xinzhou.”<sup>49</sup>

#### (4.3) *Early References to Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Literature*

A poem composed by the eighth century poet Chang Jian 常建 entitled “The Grass Hut of the Zhang Celestial Master,” (*Zhang tianshi caotang* 張天師草堂) does not in all likelihood actually pertain to Dragon and Tiger Mountain though it is associated with the site by means of its inclusion in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi*. Chang Jian’s biography as found in his collected works (*Chang jian shi* 常建詩) states that he passed the *jinshi* examination in 727 C.E. In the Tianbao 天寶 reign era (742-56 C.E.) of Tang Xuanzong he held a post in Xuyi 盱眙 in what is contemporary western Jiangsu and went into reclusion in Ezhu 鄂渚 in contemporary eastern Hubei. He is best known for a pair of poems that are preserved in *Three Hundred Tang Poems* (*Tang shi sanbai shou* 唐詩三百首) and many of his poetic works touch on Buddhist and Daoist themes. Though some familiarity with Daoism is evident in his poems they give the general impression of having been written in keeping with the aesthetic tradition derived from the *Chuci* 楚辭 that was *au courant* in the mid-Tang thanks in part to the work of his contemporary Li Bai 李白 and do not evince a depth of religious knowledge or zeal for particular practices and traditions.

---

<sup>49</sup> *Anthology of the Abyssal Cavern* (ZHDZ 48.95).



“The Grass Hut of the Zhang Celestial Master” contains a good deal of pleasant imagery of the sort to be expected from a Tang landscape poem: ancient pines are encircled by peonies, myriad gullies echo with avian calls, and a bright moon illuminates the landscape. There is nothing specific to the site described that resonates with particular landmarks on Dragon and Tiger Mountain however. The poem may well be about Cloud Terrace Parish, Mount Crane Call, or any number of other sites associated with Zhang Daoling’s peregrinations. Despite the lack of internal evidence associating the poem with the mountain it is included among poems on the site in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi*. A comment accompanying the poem in that source informs the reader that “the grass hut of the Celestial Master is located on the site of the Hall of Three Purities (*Sanqing dian* 三清殿) at Upper Clarity Palace on Dragon and Tiger Mountain. In the Tang dynasty Chang Jian composed a poem on the site.”<sup>50</sup>

In contrast to Chang Jian, the relatively obscure author of “The Grass Hut of the Zhang Celestial Master,” the poem “Dragon and Tiger Mountain,” also preserved in *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* is attributed to the a well-known figure, the famed eighth century poet and Daoist Wu Yun 吳筠 (d. 778 C.E.). Should the authorial attribution be trusted, the poem is both notable for numbering among the earliest works to associate Daoism with the mountain and for placing the site on the pilgrimage itinerary of one of the most renowned figures of Tang dynasty Daoism. The two couplets of the poem have some of the flavor of Wu Yun’s *Saunters in Sylphdom* (*Youxian shi* 遊仙詩):

---

<sup>50</sup> *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 40.29).

The Daoist draped in a fish scale cloak, in broad daylight he suddenly ascends to flight in the blue sky. The peak of Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the bright moonlight, the jade hall and pearl pavilion on the halcyon hillside.<sup>51</sup>

Again, there is nothing here that resonates with the personages associated with or landmarks found on Dragon and Tiger Mountain as presented in works such as the *Hereditary Household and Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. Had the anonymous Daoist in the poem been replaced by a Zhang family master and had the jade hall and pearl pavilion been swapped out for Upper Clarity Belvedere the poem would have greater significance as evidence of the significance of the mountain. The attribution to Wu Yun is not a certainty, however, and it is entirely possible that the title was appended to an existing poem or that it was composed for insertion into the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi*.

The poem is not found among Wu Yun's writings preserved in the Daoist Canon. This in and of itself does not exclude the possibility of his authorship. The largest collection of his writings, *Collected Works of Zongxuan the Prior Born (Zongxuan xiansheng wenji 宗玄先生文集)* is incomplete in its current state; the preface indicates the work comprised twenty fascicles whereas the present edition consists of three fascicles and is missing several of the sections listed in the preface. It is not unthinkable then that the poem is one of many thought to be lost to history. Nonetheless, the fact that the poem which allegedly dates from the eighth century only surfaces in the Qing dynasty *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* does not inspire confidence regarding its authenticity.

---

<sup>51</sup> *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 157.15).

The previously noted poem “Presented to the Zhang [Family] Celestial Masters of Dragon and Tiger Mountain,” (*Xian Longhu shan Zhang tianshi* 獻龍虎山張天師) attributed to a certain Li Xiang 李翔 is among the earliest sources to place the Zhang family on the mountain though its provenance is not without controversy. The poem is one of twenty-eight composed in seven character regulated verse that are preserved in the Dunhuang manuscripts under the title *Poems on Fording the Way* (*Shedao shi* 涉道詩). The poems in the collection are written in praise of a variety of Daoist figures, sites, and scriptures. The majority of sites taken up as the sources of Li Xiang’s poetic inspiration are located in the Jiangnan region. Seven of the poems, including that on Dragon and Tiger Mountain, pertain to sites in what is contemporary Jiangxi. The following is a translation of the poem:

The direct descendants of the Eastern Han Celestial Master, long have they accorded with the statutes and precepts in order to reside at the mysterious gate. In the midst of the world they have their proper position and those who come to them all offer obeisances; in the realm of man there are none who do not honor them. The officials and officers of the Three Heavens lower themselves to *koutou*, the demons and oddities of the Six Heavens melt away into darkness. Capable of bestowing the registers of longevity, great calamities are inscribed in flesh of those who dare to forget gratefulness.<sup>52</sup>

In the main it consists of laudatory sentiments of a generalized nature (the Celestial Masters are said to have garnered the esteem of both the court and the common people and to be capable of bestowing talismans of longevity). The inclusion of reference to the purified offices of the Three Heavens and the demonic forces of the Six Heavens indicates a degree of familiarity with Celestial Masters doctrine as does the

---

<sup>52</sup> *Poems on Fording the Way* (*Shedao shi* 涉道詩 P.3866). Preserved in, *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Books External to the Canon], ed. Hu Daojing 胡道靜, (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1992-1994), 21:542.

detail regarding the bestowal of registers of longevity. The poem is somewhat frustrating in that it lacks reference to particular features of the mountain, halls and belvederes constructed on the site, or even the name of the Celestial Master to whom the poem was gifted. In short, while it attests to the association of the Zhang family with the mountain it does not offer any real insight into the specifics of institutions and figures present on the site in the time of the poem's composition.

The attribution to Li Xiang and the alleged date of composition of *Poems on Fording the Way* are both subject to debate. Timothy Barrett judges the work to be a product of the late ninth century. He bases his judgment in the work of Wu Qiyu. In an article on *Poems on Fording the Way* Wu Qiyu identifies the author as a ninth generation descendant of Tang Gaozong who held office in Putian 莆田, in contemporary eastern Fujian, who lived during the reign of Tang Yizong (r. 859-873 C.E.).<sup>53</sup> Li Xiang is largely absent from the historical and literary record save for a biography in the *New Book of the Tang* (*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書) of 1060 C.E. As such there is little in the way of information that might offer insight into his literary career or Daoist associations.

Nikaido Yoshihiro 二階堂善弘 uses the poem as an entrée into the question of the timeframe for the Zhang family's establishment at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. He cites the judgment of previous scholars (presumably including Wu Qiyu) in concluding that "the poem 'Presented to the Zhang [Family] Celestial Masters of Longhu Shan,' found in Li Xiang's *Poems on Fording the Way* cannot be used as the sole basis for

---

<sup>53</sup> Wu Qiyu 吳其昱, "Li Xiang jiqi Shedaoshi," 李翔及其涉道詩 [Li Xiang and the *Poems on Fording the Way*], *Dōkyō kenkyū* 道教研究, 1 (1965): 271.

establishing a date [for the Zhang family's presence at Dragon and Tiger Mountain]. However, it was probably written in the late Tang."<sup>54</sup>

In an editorial commentary on the poem in *Restored and Collated Complete Poems of the Tang* (*Quan Tang shi bubian* 全唐诗补编) Chen Shangjun does not follow in Wu Qiyu's opinion. He writes that Li Xiang's dates are unknown to us as are the original sources for a number of his poems. Chen opines that Li Xiang is likely a person of the region depicted in the poems (Jiangxi, Zhejiang, and Jiangsu) who lived in the late ninth or early tenth century.<sup>55</sup>

An interesting dissenting opinion is given by Arami Hiroshi 荒见泰史 in an article titled "On the Authenticity of 'Shedao shi' in the Dunhuang Manuscripts."<sup>56</sup> Arami argues that the author of the poems is not Li Xiang 李翔 whose biography in the *New Book of the Tang* makes no mention of *Poems on Forging the Way* but rather the philosopher and statesman Li Ao 李翱 (772-841 C.E.). This conclusion is reached on the basis of the attribution of the collection to Li Ao in the tenth century *Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Song* (*Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧传), the early 11th century collection of biographies of Chan Buddhist 禪 patriarchs *Jingde Era Record of the*

---

<sup>54</sup> Nikaido Yoshihiro 二階堂善弘, "You guan Tianshi Zhang Xujing de xingxiang" 有關天師張虛靖的形象 [On the Imagery of the Celestial Master Zhang Xujing], *Taiwan zongjiao yanjiu tongxun* 臺灣宗教研究通訊 3 (2002): 34.

<sup>55</sup> *Quan Tang shi bubian* 全唐诗补编, ed. Chen Shangjun 陈尚君, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 1:60

<sup>56</sup> Arami Hiroshi 荒见泰史 "Lun Dunhuang ben Shedao shi de zuozhe wenti," 论敦煌本《涉道诗》的作者问题 [A Discussion on the Authorship of the Dunhuang Edition of Poems on Forging the Way], *Fudan Journal of Social Sciences* 3 (2001): 127-132.

*Transmission of the Lamp* (*Jingde chuan deng lu* 景德傳燈錄), and the thirteenth century *Chronicle of the Buddhas and Patriarchs* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀).<sup>57</sup> He further cites the late fourteenth century *Essentials of the History of Calligraphy* (*Shushi huiyao* 書史會要) in which Li Xiang is given as an alternate name for Li Ao.<sup>58</sup>

The issue of authorship is not easily resolved. Li Xiang is, at best, a minor historical figure and the lack of biographical material on him makes it very difficult to convincingly argue for him as author of *Poems on Forging the Way*. As for Li Ao, the strongest argument against his authorship of the collection is found in its content. While his most widely known work, *The Book on Returning to One's Nature* (*Fuxing shu* 復性書) concerns self-cultivation methods and betrays the absorption of Buddhist and Daoist influences he elsewhere exhibits skepticism towards both religions and an adherence to Confucian orthodoxy. His writing is inclusive of vocal criticisms of Buddhism and Daoism. Why would someone who is both antagonistic towards Daoism and not known as a poet compose a series of lyrical lauds to Daoist sites and figures?

In terms of establishing a Celestial Masters presence at Dragon and Tiger Mountain the matter of attribution has a slight but not immaterial impact. If Li Ao is, in fact, responsible for the work then we have evidence of Celestial Masters Daoism at the site dating to no later than the early ninth century. If Wu Qiyu is correct and the author is Li Xiang then the date of composition is some point in the latter half of the ninth century.

---

<sup>57</sup> Arami Hiroshi, "Lun Dunhang ben shedao shi," 129.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

If the author was an unknown figure who coincidentally shares the name of the descendant of Tang Gaozong whose biography is found in the *New Book of the Tang* then the date at which the cache of texts discovered at Dunhuang was sealed away provides us with a *terminus ante quem* of the early Song dynasty.

Yet another candidate for earliest poetic reference to Zhang Daoling's scions residing at Longhu shan is found in a poem titled "Dragon and Tiger Mountain," (*Longhu shan* 龍虎山). It is attributed to Wu Wuling 吳武陵, a native of Xinzhou 信州, the region of present-day Jiangxi where the mountain is located, and preserved in the *Classic on the Collection of Mountains and Rivers of the Great Land* (*Fangyu huibian shanchuan dian* 方輿彙編山川典) found in the early eighteenth century encyclopedia *Imperially Sanctioned Collection of Books and Illustrations Past and Present* (*Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成).<sup>59</sup> Relatively little is known of Wu Wuling's life aside from his place of origin and his successful passage of the *Jinshi* examination in 807 C.E. A brief biography preserved in the *New Book of the Tang* says nothing of any Daoist proclivities.

The attribution of the poem to Wu Wuling is problematized by its appearance in the *Essential Literary Collection of Wu [Cheng]* (*Wu wen zhengji* 吳文正集) a compilation of works composed by the late Song and early Yuan Neo-Confucian scholar and official Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333 C.E.).<sup>60</sup> There, the poem is not titled "Dragon

---

<sup>59</sup> *Collection of Mountains and Rivers of the Great Land* (*Fangyu huibian shanchuan dian* 方輿彙編山川典 fasc. 147).

<sup>60</sup> *The Essential Literary Collection of Wu [Cheng]*, (*Wu wen zhengji* 吳文正集 SKQS 96.6).

and Tiger Mountain” but is one of a pair found under the heading “Seeing Li Chungu Off to Receive Daoist Liturgical Registers” (*Song Li Chungu wang shou daolu* 送李春谷往受道錄).<sup>61</sup> An eminent scholar and statesman, Wu Cheng was called to the capital on four occasions, held a post in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (*Jixian yuan* 集賢院), and was for a time a lecturer of the Classics colloquium (*jingyan jiangguan* 經筵講官). He was also a disciple of Cheng Ruoyong 程若庸, a devotee of the teachings of Zhu Xi 朱熹.

While this pedigree does not at first blush suggest Daoist proclivities it should be noted that Wu Cheng was a native of Linchuan 臨川 in the vicinity of Mount Longhu and spent much of his life in Jiangxi. We also know that he was familiar with at least one generation of the Zhang family Celestial Masters. The *Essential Literary Collection of Wu [Cheng]* includes an edict composed for the thirty-ninth Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 on the occasion of his promotion to the position of overseer of Daoist affairs in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies.<sup>62</sup> Further Daoist connections are revealed in a biography found in the *Essential Literary Collection of Wu [Cheng]* that was composed by his chief disciple Yu Ji 虞集.<sup>63</sup> In 1295 C.E. he visited Western Hills in

---

<sup>61</sup> I have been unable to find reference to Li Chungu elsewhere.

<sup>62</sup> *Essential Literary Collection of Wu [Cheng]* (SKQS 90.2).

<sup>63</sup> I base my reading of the biography on David Gedalecia’s translation. See, David Gedalecia “The Life and Career of Wu Ch’eng: A Biography and Introduction,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 99. 4 (1979): 601-641.



Jiangxi where he must have encountered the cult of Xu Xun.<sup>64</sup> In 1306 C.E. he took a leave of absence from office citing illness as the cause for his retirement and stayed at the Belvedere of the Clear Metropolis (*Qingdu guan* 清都觀), a Daoist abbey in what is contemporary Ji'an County 吉安縣, southern Jiangxi.<sup>65</sup>

Wu Cheng's collected writings, stela inscriptions, and a number of works preserved in the Daoist Canon reveal wide-ranging intellectual interests inclusive of many facets of Daoism. To give but a few examples, he composed a commentary on the *Dao de jing* in which he arranged the traditional eighty-one chapters of the work into sixty-eight larger chapters as well as a uniquely paginated edition of the inner chapters of the *Zhuangzi*.<sup>66</sup> He also produced stele inscriptions for two sites on Dragon and Tiger Mountain: the Belvedere of Humane Longevity (*Renshou guan* 仁壽觀) and the Belvedere of Primordial Felicity (*Yuanxi guan* 元禧觀).<sup>67</sup> *A Record of the Lodge for*

---

<sup>64</sup> David Gedalecia, "The Life and Career of Wu Ch'eng," 613.

<sup>65</sup> David Gedalecia, "The Life and Career of Wu Ch'eng," 615.

<sup>66</sup> *Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power (Daode zhenjing ju* 道德真經註 HY 704 ZHDZ 12.577-620) and *Correctly Arranged Edition of Zhuangzi's Inner Chapters (Zhuangzi neipian dingzheng* 莊子內篇訂正 HY 741 ZHDZ 14.541-557).

<sup>67</sup> The inscriptions are titled *Record of the Belvedere of Humane Longevity on Southern Mountain (Nanshan renshou guan ji* 南山仁壽觀記) and *Record of the Belvedere of Primordial Felicity at Transcendent Cliff (Xianyan Yuanxi guan ji* 仙岩元禧觀記). Both inscriptions are preserved *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 928. The *Record of the Belvedere of Humane Longevity on Southern Mountain* is found in *Essential Literary Collection of Wu [Cheng]* (SKQS 47.2-4). The *Record of the Belvedere of Primordial Felicity at Transcendent Cliff* is also found in *Essential Literary Collection of Wu [Cheng]* (SKQS 48.6-8).

*Venerating the Virtuous* (*Chongxian guan ji* 崇賢館記), also composed for a site on the mountain, is preserved in the *Essential Literary Collection of Wu [Cheng]*.<sup>68</sup>

While it is possible that either Wu Wuling or Wu Cheng composed the poem in question, my judgment leans towards the latter simply because of the overwhelming amount of material connecting him to Daoist institutions in Jiangxi and to Dragon and Tiger Mountain in particular. As for the poem itself it is somewhat unremarkable. Presuming that it is the work of Wu Cheng it was written well after the Celestial Masters institution was established at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Should it be the eighth century work of Wu Wuling, the poem arguably includes oblique reference to the presence of Zhang Daoling and his heirs on Longhu shan in the form of the declaration that “the transcendents of the five pecks of rice have truly obtained the Way,” a proclamation that is followed by the observation that “The autumn wind blows the green luxuriance and the grass on the hillock, clearly and surely the gold flies up to heaven.”<sup>69</sup>

One possible interpretation of the final couplet of the poem hinges upon the homophony of the green (*lu*) vegetation and the grass on the hillock (*ling*) with the personal names of the third and first generation Celestial Masters, Zhang Lu and Zhang Ling. Supposing that the vegetative metaphor was intended and that the poem is rightly attributed to Wu Wuling then the poem provides eighth century evidence of a tradition in which the ancestral Celestial Master and his third generation descended ascended from

---

<sup>68</sup> *Essential Literary Collection of Wu [Cheng]* (SKQS 48.16-17).

<sup>69</sup> *Essential Literary Collection of Wu [Cheng]* (SKQS 96.6).

Dragon and Tiger Mountain. To suggest this as more than a possibility is not, however, a shaky speculative branch onto which I am willing to climb with confidence.

#### *(4.4) Stele Inscriptions Pertaining to Dragon and Tiger Mountain*

The stele inscriptions and records composed by Wu Cheng and pertaining to Dragon and Tiger Mountain are attested to in multiple credible sources. The same cannot be said of a pair of stele allegedly dating to the Five Dynasties period. *The Stele for Mister Deng, the Dignitary of Maoshan Daoism* (*Maoshan daomen weiyi Deng xiansheng bei* 茅山道門威儀鄧先生碑) and the *Stele on the Construction of the Celestial Master Memorial Hall at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Xinzhou under the Northern Tang* (*Nantang xinzhou longhu shan Zhang tianshi miao beiming* 南唐新建信州龍虎山張天師廟碑銘) are both intriguing due to their content, stated date of composition, and their supposed authors. Unfortunately, neither inscription is found in sources predating the late Qing dynasty *Complete Prose of the Tang* (*Quan Tang wen* 全唐文).

The *Stele for Mister Deng* is attributed to the Southern Tang exegete Xu Kai 徐鍇 (920-974 C.E.) who, along with his brother Xu Xuan 徐鉉, compiled a restored edition of the Han dynasty *Analytical Dictionary of Characters* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字). No reference to the stele is found in the copious biographical material produced on Xu Kai. The stele itself pertains to the religious education of Deng Qixia 鄧啟霞 which begins at Mount Mao in the inaugural year of the Xiantong 咸通 reign era (860 C.E.) when he is taken on as a disciple at the Belvedere of Great Peace (*Taiping guan* 太平觀)

on Mount Mao.<sup>70</sup> He was invested as a Daoist in the sixth year of that era (866 C.E.) and traveled to Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the twelfth year (871 C.E.). There he was granted the Methods and Registers of the Upright Unity Office of Merit (*Dugong Zhengyi fa lu* 都功正一法錄) by an unnamed Celestial Master of the nineteenth generation.

Curiously, the bestowal of the Registers of the Office of Merit figures into the stories of the nineteenth generation Celestial Master in Du Guangting's aforementioned *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* as well as the *Comprehensive Record and Hereditary Household*. Du Guangting's account, titled "Evidential [Miracle] of Liu Qian and the Registers of the Office of Merit" (*Liu Qian du gong lu yan* 劉遷都功錄驗), holds that the registers were first widely distributed by the thirteenth Celestial Master.<sup>71</sup> The evidential miracle portion of the text concerns a wealthy merchant by the name of Liu Qian who obtains registers from the nineteenth generation Celestial Master the ninth year of the Xiantong reign era (868 C.E.). Liu Qian is later granted a reprieve from death when officers of the chthonic realm who are about to seize him find the register on his person. In deference to the power of the Celestial Master they grant Liu an extension of his slated lifespan. He then travels to Dragon and Tiger Mountain where he becomes a Daoist.

The nineteenth Celestial Master is not named in Du Guangting's account and it is not clear where he and his predecessor of the thirteenth generation reside. Dragon and

---

<sup>70</sup>*Complete Prose of the Tang* (*Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 fasc. 888).

<sup>71</sup> *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* (ZHDZ 45.113).

Tiger Mountain only appears in the closing passage of the story. The tale of Liu Qian as it appears in the biography of the nineteenth generation Celestial Master Zhang Xiu 張修 in the *Hereditary Household* reads as follows:

A wealthy merchant from Jiangxi named Liu Qian received talismans and registers from the Celestial Master. The merchant died while in Jinling and revived the following day. Upon recovery Liu Qian recounted how he had been seized by officers of the underworld when they encountered a transcendent clerk who proclaimed, “Liu Qian is the recipient of Daoist registers. Although the appointed time of his death has arrived he has been granted an extension of twenty years to his lifespan.” Following this incident Liu Qian immediately entered the mountains and became a disciple of the Celestial Master.<sup>72</sup>

The exceptionally late date of the source in which the *Stele of Mister Deng* appears coupled with the odd attribution to an eminent figure not known for Daoist proclivities cast doubt on the authenticity of the inscription as does the fact that it describes incidents which took place long before its supposed composer was born. Be that as it may Du Guangting’s “Evidential [Miracle] of Liu Qian and the Registers of the Office of Merit,” illustrates that stories surrounding the efficacy of registers bestowed by the nineteenth generation Celestial Master were in circulation during the Five Dynasties. It may be that the stele is an authentic product of the early tenth century though in the absence of further evidence it remains an open question.

The *Stele on the Construction of the Celestial Master Memorial Hall at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Xinzhou under the Northern Tang* is not specifically dated though the short-lived dynasty given in the title (937-976 C.E.) allows for a relatively brief frame of possibility. It is attributed to Chen Qiao 陳喬. His biography in Ma Ling’s 馬令 *Ma*

---

<sup>72</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.351).

*Family Book of the Northern Song* (*Ma shi Nan Tang shu* 馬氏南唐書) indicates that he was an official who hailed from Luling 廬陵 in contemporary southern Jiangxi and a member of a prominent Nanchang family that enjoyed great eminence in the Tang.<sup>73</sup> The text of the inscription notes that it had been composed on the occasion of the construction of a structure on Dragon and Tiger Mountain and makes reference to the contemporary Celestial Master, Zhang Bingyi 張秉一, who is described as the lineal descendant of the twenty-second generation.<sup>74</sup>

In Bai Yuchan's "In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters," the *Comprehensive Mirror, Hereditary Household, and Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* Zhang Bingyi is given as the name of the twenty-first Celestial Master. Among those sources the construction of a memorial hall under his auspices is only found in the *Hereditary Household*. There, the project is said to have been initiated by the future Emperor Yuanzong 元宗 (r.943-961 C.E.) of the Southern Tang dynasty:

In the Southern Tang the Prince of Qi dreamt that he had fallen into a well. A Daoist with cyan eyes, a long beard, and burgundy colored robes appeared and extracted the prince from his predicament. A diviner spoke to the prince and identified the figure as the Han Celestial Master. Out of gratitude the Prince of Qi sponsored the establishment of a memorial hall at Dragon and Tiger Mountain and made a gift of paddy fields to the Celestial Master.<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> *Ma Family Book of the Northern Song* (*Ma shi Nan Tang shu* 馬氏南唐書 SKQS 17.2).

<sup>74</sup> *Complete Prose of the Tang* (*Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 fasc. 876).

<sup>75</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.351).

In the entry on the Belvedere for the Performance of Rites (*Yanfa guan* 演法觀) at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* we find the following:

The belvedere is found on Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Guixi County. The Han Celestial Master Zhang Daoling underwent refinement at the site. In the midst of the Baoda reign era of the Northern Tang a memorial hall to the Celestial Master was constructed here. This is recorded in a stele composed by Chen Qiao. In the midst of the Chongning reign era of the Song the site was changed to the Belvedere for the Performance of Rites.<sup>76</sup>

The Baoda 保大 reign era (943-958 C.E.) corresponds to the early years of Emperor Yuanzong's reign at which point he no longer held the title Prince of Qi. This puts the account of the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* into conflict with that of the *Hereditary Household*. The entry on the Belvedere for the Performance of Rites in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* squares with that in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi*. There it is said that an imperial placard was bestowed on the site in the midst of the Chongning reign era (1102-1107 C.E.).<sup>77</sup> It is also in keeping with the biography of the thirtieth Celestial Master, Zhang Jixian, in the *Hereditary Household* which tells us that, "the Memorial Hall of the Ancestral Master was refurbished as the Belvedere for the Performance of Rites and a jade tablet honoring the Ancestral Master as a Perfected Sovereign was commissioned by the Emperor for placement in the hall."<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 112.44).

<sup>77</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.11).

<sup>78</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.354).

However, the entry in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* further states that in the Xianchun 咸淳 reign era (1265-1275 C.E.) the thirty-sixth Celestial Master reverted the site to the earlier designation of Memorial Hall for the Zhang family. Nothing is said of the thirty-sixth Celestial Master refurbishing or renaming the site elsewhere among biographical or historical sources. A separate entry on the Memorial Hall for the Zhang family in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* states that the hall was completed by the fourth Celestial Master upon his arrival on the mountain in order to venerate his ancestor and that a placard reading “Belvedere for the Performance of Rites” was ordered to be gifted for the site in the Song dynasty.<sup>79</sup>

Although the details differ the general facts as presented in the stele are in keeping with the information found in the *Hereditary Household* and the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi*. Both of these later sources are in agreement with the stele that a memorial hall was constructed on Dragon and Tiger Mountain at some point in the Northern Tang dynasty. As with the *Stele for Mister Deng* the absence of the *Stele on the Construction of the Celestial Master Memorial Hall* in sources prior to the *Complete Prose of the Tang* is troubling. This is somewhat tempered by reference to the stele in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* which dates to 1525 C.E. Still, this dates the earliest reference to the inscription to some five hundred years after its supposed time of composition. If authentic, it is an important piece of early corroborating evidence for Celestial Masters activity in the Five Dynasties era. As it stands the authenticity of the stele cannot be claimed with certainty.

---

<sup>79</sup> *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.10).



*(4.5) Canonical Sources on the Emergence of the Zhang Family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain*

It is in the late Tang and early Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms periods writings of Du Guangting that we find the earliest series of accounts placing Zhang Daoling and his heirs on Dragon and Tiger Mountain from a reliably authentic source. We have already seen some examples of Du Guangting's writings on the mountain in *Records of Grotto Heavens, Blissful Lands, Peaks, Rivers, and Famous Mountains*, and *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism*. It is unclear whether Du Guangting was himself the creator of much of the early lore associating the Zhang family with the mountain or if he was simply the first to transmit existing stories that had been in circulation for some time prior to him. It is worth noting that references to the Zhang family on Dragon and Tiger Mountain are sprinkled anecdotally throughout his writings. In no case are they central to the works in which they appear and there is never a whiff of the apologetic to them. This suggests that if he were the creator of legends regarding the Zhang family rather than their transmitter he was exceptionally subtle in the manner which he chose to introduce them.

The earliest extant account of Zhang Daoling performing laboratory alchemy on Dragon and Tiger Mountain is found in Du Guangting's entry on Lady Sun 孫夫人, the wife of the ancestral master, in the compendium of female transcendents *Record of the Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City* (*Yongcheng jixian lu* 壙城集仙錄). A slightly variant version of the biography is found in *Extensive Records of the Taiping*

*Era*.<sup>80</sup> The opening passage of the account as found in *Record of the Transcendents* reads as follows:

Sun Furen is the wife of the Three Heavens Celestial Master Zhang Daoling. She lived in Reclusion with him at Dragon and Tiger Mountain and practiced the art of refinement of the three primes of the silent court for several years. Their efforts were met with response. The Celestial Master obtained the art of the Yellow Emperor's Dragon and Tiger Cinnabar. When the elixir was completed it was ingested giving them the ability to change form and sit as though they had shed their bodies. The Celestial Master left Poyang and entered Mount Song. There he obtained hidden writs on the art of ordering fate, and was able to command ghosts and spirits.<sup>81</sup>

This account of the Celestial Master refining cinnabar on the mountain prior to departing for Mount Song in order to quell demons is largely consistent with that found in the *Hereditary Household* among other later hagiographical accounts, though Lady Sun's presence is not recorded in those sources. The centrality of Zhang Daoling's alchemical activities to his time on the mountain is common to virtually all hagiographic material that places him at the site and is likely derived from a tradition that begins with Ge Hong's *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents*. Though rooted in well-established lore the particular alchemical formula employed differs from one telling to the next. Song Lian's preface to the *Hereditary Household* records that "upon arriving in Poyang he ascended Dragon and Tiger Mountain where he synthesized the Spirit Cinnabar of the Nine

---

<sup>80</sup> *Extensive Records of the Taping Era* (SKQS 60.5-6).

<sup>81</sup> *Record of the Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City* (*Yongcheng jixian lu* 壙城集仙錄 HY 782 ZHDZ 45.225).

Heavens.”<sup>82</sup> Zhang Daoling’s biography in the *Hereditary Household* is in agreement with this and credits the incident as the source of the mountain’s name:

The Celestial Master left that place and followed the river to Cloud Brocade Mountain. There, he refined the Spirit Cinnabar of the Nine Heavens. When the process of alchemical transformation was complete a dragon and a tiger appeared. The mountain’s present name is derived from this incident.<sup>83</sup>

Lineal continuity within the Zhang family is underscored in Du Guangting’s *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism*. In the section of that work dedicated to the bestowal of scriptures, talismans, and registers, the ancestral Celestial Master (*xi tianshi* 昔天師, i.e. Zhang Daoling) is said to have declared to the ten thousand spirits of heaven and earth that following his ascent, his sword, seals, and registers would be transmitted to his descendants in order to benefit the myriad beings.<sup>84</sup> The point is further emphasized in the section of the text dedicated to ritual paraphernalia. There, the exorcistic sword of Zhang Daoling is said to be “handed down from each Celestial Master to his descendent on the day of (the former’s) ascension.” An oath, presumably to be made on the day of ascent, is then given in which the Celestial Master swears “to transmit the sword, seals, and registers to my son. If I am without descendants, there will be no transmission.”<sup>85</sup> While Dragon and Tiger Mountain is not specifically invoked in the passage, the text of

---

<sup>82</sup> “Spirit Cinnabar of the Nine Heavens,” (*Jiu tian shen dan* 九天神丹) *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.340).

<sup>83</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.346).

<sup>84</sup> *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* (ZHDZ 45.112).

<sup>85</sup> *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* (ZHDZ 45.122-123).

the oath is echoed, almost verbatim, in the *Hereditary Household, Comprehensive Mirror*, and *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*.

As we have seen, Du Guangting's *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* attests that Registers of the Office of Merit were granted initially by the thirteenth generation Celestial Master and the practice was carried on in Du Guangting's own time by a nineteenth generation descendant. Another text preserved in the canon, the *Record of the Three Masters of the Numinous Gem Cavern Mystery* (*Dongxuan lingbao san shi ji* 洞玄靈寶三師記) tells of a bestowal by the eighteenth generation Celestial Master. The origin of the text is something of a mystery. The preface of 920 C.E. is attributed to Liu Chujing 劉處靜 who is identified as a disciple of Ying Yijie 應夷節 who bears the honorific "Prior Born of Broad Accomplishment" (*Guancheng xiansheng* 廣成先生). This is clearly an error as the honorific is one borne by Du Guangting who was himself a disciple of Ying Yijie, suggesting that the work is rightly attributed to him.

The text contains an account of Ying Yijie's travels in which he is said to have visited Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the fifteenth year of the Taihe 太和 reign era of Tang Wenzong (828 C.E.). There he was granted Three Articles of the Great Inspector of Merit (*San pin da du gong* 三品大都功) by an eighteenth generation descendant of the Celestial Master named Zhang Shaoren 張少任.<sup>86</sup> Hagiographical sources, including the *Hereditary Household* are unanimous in identifying the eighteenth generation Celestial Master as Zhang Shiyuan 張士元. This does not necessarily conflict with the story of

---

<sup>86</sup> *Record of the Three Masters* (ZHDZ 46.273).

Ying Yijie, as Zhang Shaoren is identified only as a descendant of the Celestial Master in the eighteenth generation and is not explicitly indicated to hold the title himself. By way of contrast, in the aforementioned “Evidential [Miracle] of Liu Qian and the Registers of the Office of Merit,” Du Guangting identifies the unnamed transmitter of registers as “the nineteenth generation Celestial Master,” (*shi jiu shi tianshi* 十九世天師).<sup>87</sup>

Unfortunately, Zhang Shaoren is not found elsewhere in texts pertaining to the Zhang family, suggesting that he may have been a descendant of sufficient status to bestow registers and tallies but was not himself the holder of the lineage.

The only other canonical reference to the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain which dates to the five dynasties or early Northern Song that I have been able to locate is found in *Protocol for the Practice of the Way of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong xiudao yi* 三洞修道儀).<sup>88</sup> A handbook on liturgical ordination, the *Protocol for Practice* was compiled by the Upper Clarity Daoist Sun Yizhong 孫夷中 in 1003 C.E. The work itself is based on the teachings of Liu Ruozhuo 劉若拙, a Daoist of Beimang 北邙 in Sichuan. The relevant passage reads as follows:

At the end of the Eastern Han Sovereign Zhang, the Master of the Methods of the Three Heavens, received the Statutes of Upright Unity of the Most High. He initially resided in Shu where he sequestered ghosts to the night and separated them from the people. Below he established the office of the underworld of the twenty-four parishes in harmony with the twenty-four pneumae. Later, the demonic forces of the six heavens took up an occupation which was known as the “encampment of ghosts.” The Celestial Master brought them low and gained control over them by means of the methods of

---

<sup>87</sup> *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* (ZHDZ 45.113).

<sup>88</sup> *Protocol for the Practice of the Way of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong xiudao yi* 三洞修道儀 HY 1227 ZHDZ 42.157-260).

Upright Unity. To this day they are relegated to the bureaus of the underworld where the ghosts serve as officials. As for the descendants of the Celestial Master, in each generation there is a single person. Presently the Zhang family resides on Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Xinzhou.<sup>89</sup>

While it is not possible to establish a definitive date for the emergence of the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain there is a fair amount of information that can be gleaned from extant sources. Sima Chengzhen's *Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the Grotto Heavens and Blessed Lands* establishes that the mountain was considered a site of religious significance by the first half of the Tang dynasty. Although that source does not associate the mountain with the Zhang family, three treatises on sacred geography dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries do. In Du Guangting *Records of Grotto Heavens, Blissful Lands, Peaks, Rivers, and Famous Mountains* the mountain is described as the site of "the Celestial Master's residence." *The Topographical Classic of Xinzhou* identifies Dragon and Tiger Mountain as the place where the Zhang Celestial Master obtained the Way, and the *Anthology of the Abyssal Cavern* refers to the mountain as the residence of the Zhang Celestial Master(s) in Xinzhou.

*The Topographical Classic of Xinzhou* refers clearly to the ancestral Celestial Maser, Zhang Daoling. The language of the other two sources is ambiguous. In both cases they may be interpreted as confirmation of the enduring presence of the Zhang family on the mountain. They may also simply mark the site as one of significance due to its association with Zhang Daoling's alchemical pursuits. With Du Guangting the former possibility is suggested as a consequence of reference to descendants of the

---

<sup>89</sup> *Protocol for the Practice of the Way of the Three Kingdoms* (ZHDZ 42.257).

Celestial Master inhabiting the mountain in his own time made in other writings. Separate entries in his *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* establish a ceremony of transmission from one generation of Celestial Master to the next and place Celestial Masters of the thirteenth and nineteenth generation on the mountain. Likewise, his *Record of the Three Masters of the Numinous Gem Cavern Mystery* tells of an eighteenth generation descendant bestowing talismans and registers from the mountain.

Du Guangting serves as a pivot of sorts in the search for the time of emergence. As is explored above, those literary and epigraphic sources that predate him are uniformly problematic. In contrast, in the centuries after Du Guangting's death a gradual increase in references to the lineage accumulates in the historical record and reaches a zenith in the Yuan and early Ming dynasties. Du Guangting's writings confirm two important facts: first, the legend placing Zhang Daoling and his alchemical pursuits on the mountain was in circulation by the end of the Tang dynasty. Second, members of the Zhang clan claiming generational descent from the Celestial Master were present on the mountain and engaged in the distribution of registers by the late Tang if not earlier.

#### (4.6) *Corroborating Evidence of Individual Zhang Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain*

It is curious then that roughly a century elapses between Du Guangting and the first appearance of a Zhang family descendant at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the official histories. This comes in the form of a passage from *History of the Song* which records the bestowal of a title on the twenty-fifth Celestial Master by Emperor Renzong

in 1030 C.E. From there, another seventy years pass before the next appearance of a Zhang Celestial Master in dynastic histories with an honorific granted to the thirtieth Celestial Master Zhang Jixian in 1105 C.E., an incident that is also recorded in the *History of the Song*.

Although he came to be highly renowned and his biography in the *Hereditary Household* is of comparable length and detail to that of Zhang Daoling, the actual impact that Zhang Jixian had in his own lifetime is difficult to gauge. His posthumous career was illustrious however, and he frequently appears as a tutelary figure in popular literature. Tales regarding the quasi-mythic Daoist Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (ca. 1141-1178 C.E.) including the narrative *Record of Perfected Sa Obtaining the Way and Spellbinding Jujubes* (*Sa zhenren de dao zhouzao ji* 薩真人得道咒棗記) of 1603 C.E. tell of the protagonist receiving instruction from an avatar of the thirtieth Celestial Master on Dragon and Tiger Mountain.<sup>90</sup> Perhaps most famously, the thirtieth Celestial Master Zhang Jixian is a featured character in the opening chapter of *The Water Margin* (*Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳) one of the “four great novels” of China. Sites associated with his actions in the novel remain points of interest for tourists to Dragon and Tiger Mountain down to the present day.

An entry in Hong Mai’s 洪邁 (1123-1202 C.E.) Southern Song collection of strange tales *Record of the Listener* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅志) centers on the exorcistic powers

---

<sup>90</sup> On the various sources for Sa Shoujian’s legend see Judith M. Boltz, “Sa Shoujian,” in *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 2.825-826.



of the thirtieth Celestial Master.<sup>91</sup> A tale dated to 1196 C.E. titled “The White Snake of Tongzhou,” (*Tongzhou baishe* 同州白蛇) involves a demonic presence in the titular region of Tongzhou, modern Dali County 大荔縣 Shaanxi, to the northeast of Xi’an, which takes the form of a snake that preys upon commoners and officials alike. When the foolhardy son-in-law of a Grand Councilor takes up a post as administrator in the region he is poisoned by an apparition that is visible only to him. The Grand Councilor then brings the matter to the attention of Emperor Huizong who charges Zhang Xujing with quelling the snake spirit.

Xujing arrives and after a bit of detective work that involves the interrogation of local gods and spirits he comes upon the cavern in which the malevolent presence has taken refuge and establishes an altar in order to perform an exorcism. An exciting battle then ensues with the snake attempting to engulf the altar in a burst of flame. The fire is miraculously extinguished but the serpent is undeterred and attempts to gulp down the altar. The Celestial Master then takes up the seal of Tongzhou in one hand and the jade seal of the Celestial Master in the other and casts a spell on the snake, freezing it prior to finishing it off with his exorcistic sword. The entry concludes with a biographical note on the thirtieth Celestial Master:

Xujing was the lineal descendent of the Han Celestial Master in the thirtieth generation. He never married. When the capital was about to fall into chaos he furtively

---

<sup>91</sup> Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, 9.1119-1120. A partial translation is found in McGee, *Questioning Convergence*, 134-135. Though his avoidance name was Jixian 繼先 the thirtieth Celestial Master is commonly referred to by the honorific Xujing 虛靖. On the *Record of the Listener* see Allister Inglis, *Hong Mai's Yijian Zhi and its Song Dynasty Context*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006). On depictions of the Celestial Masters as exorcists see, *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan*, eds. John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone, (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 322-326.

exited the city wall and returned to the country. When he obtained corpse liberation he went into reclusion on Mount E'mei and the people of Shu catch glimpse of him on occasion. The direct lineage of the Celestial Master was thus severed though presently members of the [Zhang] clan carry on as his successors.<sup>92</sup>

While the story of the snake spirit of Tongzhou did not make its way into the *Hereditary Household* certain other details of the tale are in keeping with the account of the thirtieth Celestial Master found there. For instance, his biography in the *Hereditary Household* tells of more than one instance in which he remonstrated with the emperor to correct his ways in order to avert disaster as well as visions of a coming conflagration that caused him to avoid the capital prior to the Jingkang incident, the “chaos” that is alluded to in the above passage from the *Record of the Listener*. While the *Hereditary Household* says nothing of reclusion on Mount E'mei it does include a posthumous appearance on Verdant Citadel Mountain, indicating that stories of him being glimpsed on occasion by the people of Shu were in circulation for some time.

In his commentary on the story Neil McGee suggests that it indicates Hong Mai's doubt regarding the authenticity of the Zhang family lineage:

This last sentence could mean that the line of descent was cut off before Zhang Jixian, and that Jixian's own descent line since was brought about by the insertion of a claimed “lineage member” (*zuren* 族人). Or it could mean that the line has been cut off once, or repeatedly, and restored by the insertion of a claimed “lineage member.” It is perhaps impossible to verify, but either way the language here suggests there was some skepticism on Hong Mai's part that the claims of descent from Zhang Daoling were legitimate.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, 9.1120

<sup>93</sup> McGee, *Questioning Convergence*, 136.

This reading possibly ascribes to Hong Mai a greater degree of interest in the veracity of the lineal claims of the Zhang family than the collector of strange tales possessed. At any rate the passage under scrutiny is clear in stating that the *direct* line from Zhang Xujing was severed because he never married and thus never fathered a male heir. It is not a statement regarding the lineage in a broader context and there is no hint of multiple severances. It is also clearly stated that the line was taken up by another member of the Zhang family bloodline. The *Hereditary Household* and other hagiographic material regarding the thirtieth Celestial Master acknowledge this quite plainly and explain the transmission of the lineage following Zhang Xujing's death:

Zhang Xujing had never married and was without sons. He had a brother named Yuanzong who was a student of the Way. It was intended for Yuanzong to inherit the teachings but he underwent his transformation while still in his youth. When Xujing was travelling in Xizhou he made ready to bestow the seal, sword, scriptures, and tallies of the lineage on Chaoying. Those assembled urged Chaoying to inherit the teaching but Chaoying spoke up saying, "Jixian, you are my nephew. How is it that I should be your successor?" Those assembled said, "The basis of your authority is found in these emblems of office. It follows that you must inherit the teachings."<sup>94</sup>

Zhang Xujing's retreat is the subject of a poem titled "Hermitage of Tranquil Accomplishment" (*Jingtong an* 靖通庵) by Hong Mai's contemporary Bai Yuchan. The poem is largely an appreciation of the landscape of the site though it closes with the couplet "Xujing has since departed to transcendence, I don't know who has inherited his alchemical instructions."<sup>95</sup> The site is of significance in lore surrounding Zhang Xujing; a "Song of the Hermitage of Tranquil Accomplishment" (*Jiantong an ge* 靖通庵歌)

---

<sup>94</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.355).

<sup>95</sup> *Collected Works Written on Mount Wuyi* (ZHDZ 19.979).

attributed to the thirtieth Celestial Master himself is preserved in *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master*.<sup>96</sup> It is also the subject of more than one piece in Zhang Yuchu's *Anthology of the Alpine Spring*.<sup>97</sup>

Zhang Jixian also serves as a patron of thunder magic in canonical works such as the Ming dynasty compendium of Song and Yuan liturgical materials *Corpus of Daoist Ritual* (*Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元). That massive work is inclusive of didactic poetry, ritual manuals, commentaries, and colophons all attributed to him and none of which are mentioned in biographical material. As noted previously, the degree to which *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master*, the *Perfected Sovereign of Void Tranquility*, Zhang Jixian's collected works as compiled by Zhang Yuchu, is an accurate record of his written output remains an open question awaiting further research.

Although the legend of Zhang Jixian grew in the centuries after his death his immediate successors do not appear to have benefitted directly from inherited charisma in the form of renown or patronage. It is only after the Yuan conquest of the Song dynasty and from the thirty-fifth Celestial Master onwards that we have sustained corroboration of imperial recognition of the Zhang family. The biography of Zhang Keda in *Hereditary Household* offers the following cryptic piece of foreshadowing: "Emperor Shizu of the Yuan dispatched an envoy to consult with the Celestial Master as he hoped to be granted

---

<sup>96</sup> *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master* (ZHDZ 26.137).

<sup>97</sup> *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* (ZHDZ 26.155-259).

an exposition on the numinous. That which was spoken of later came to pass.”<sup>98</sup> The encounter is slightly clearer in Song Lian’s preface:

At the time when the Song dynasty was reaching its end Emperor Shizu of the Yuan heard tell of the Celestial Master’s uncanny nature and dispatched an envoy in secret to make inquiries after him. Zhang Keda bestowed upon the emperor a discourse on the numinous and spoke to the envoy saying, “Take righteous service as your precept. Twenty years hence all under heaven will be united.” In the thirteenth year of the Zhiyuan era the prediction came to pass.<sup>99</sup>

The story is confirmed by the *History of the Yuan* in which Emperor Shizu recalls the prediction of the Yuan dynasty’s rise to power in an audience with the thirty-sixth Celestial Master:

“Formerly, during a *jiwei* year, when I was in Ezhu, I dispatched Yiqing to call on your father. He responded to me saying, ‘Twenty years hence the world will be united. The words of the spirit transcendent have presently been verified.’”<sup>100</sup>

Zhang Keda’s son and heir Zhang Zongyan was a frequent guest to the Yuan court. The *Hereditary Household* records and the *History of the Yuan* corroborates that he was initially summoned in the thirteenth year of the Zhiyuan reign era (1276 C.E.).<sup>101</sup> He was called to the capital the following year to perform a libation at the site now known as White Cloud Temple and again in 1278 C.E. at which time he was granted the office of Director of Daoist Teachings for the Various Routes of Jiangnan (*Ling Jiangnan zhulu Daojiao* 領江南諸路道教).<sup>102</sup> The *History of the Yuan* also reports that he was

---

<sup>98</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.356).

<sup>99</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.341-342).

<sup>100</sup> *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 202.13).

<sup>101</sup> *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 8.166).

<sup>102</sup> *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 9.19).

summoned in the twenty-fourth year of the Zhiyuan reign era (1287 C.E.) to perform a libation together with the patriarchs of Mount Gezao and Mount Mao.<sup>103</sup>

It is only with the thirty-eighth Celestial Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材, that we have a significant extant literary output from a member of the Zhang lineage on Dragon and Tiger Mountain. In 1307 C.E. he composed a preface to *Portraits of the Ten Masters of the Mysterious Prime* (*Xuanyuan shizi tu* 玄元十子圖) compiled by the renowned painter, calligrapher, and scholar Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫.<sup>104</sup> Another preface attributed to him and dated to 1308 C.E. precedes an ecumenical work that seeks to reconcile the three teachings titled *Daoist Methods Illustrated and Elucidated* (*Daofa zongzhi tu yanyi* 道法宗旨圖衍義).<sup>105</sup> Although it is not made plain in the text one of the works authors Zhang Xixian 章希賢 was an official in Jiangxi and possibly an acquaintance of the Celestial Master who sought out his commentary. Finally, Yucai's name is appended to a pair of prefaces from 1312 C.E. for the *Commentary on the Great Cavern Transcendent Scripture of Limitless Great Clarity as Explicated by Wenchang* (*Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 玉清無極總真文昌大洞仙經注) and the *Record of Numinous Oddities in Response to Supplications to the Sage, the High Emperor of Dark*

---

<sup>103</sup> *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 14.19).

<sup>104</sup> *Portraits of the Ten Masters of the Mysterious Prime* (*Xuanyuan shizi tu* 玄元十子圖 HY 163 ZHDZ 46-155-159).

<sup>105</sup> *Daoist Methods Illustrated and Elucidated* (*Daofa zongzhi tu yanyi* 道法宗旨圖衍義 HY 1267 ZHDZ 31.365-376).

Heaven (*Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 玄天上帝啟聖靈異錄).<sup>106</sup> Yucai also composed a number of stele inscriptions commemorating the building or rebuilding of temples. In 1312 C.E. alone his name appears on stelae for the Palace of Gathered Transcendents (*Jixian gong* 集仙宮) in Jiangsu and the Uplifting Heaven Belvedere (*Chengtian guan* 承天觀) in Zhejiang.<sup>107</sup>

Zhang Yucai appears in a different context in the *Treasure Mirror of Painting* (*Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑒) which is a collection of brief biographies of artists by the Yuan dynasty scholar Xia Wenyan 夏文彥 dated to 1365 C.E.<sup>108</sup> The entry on Zhang Yucai includes some basic biographical information:

The avoidance name of the thirty-eighth Celestial Master was Yucai. His style name was Guoliang. He was titled Weishan. His alternate title was Master of Broad Tenuity. He was in the Line of the Duke of Liu and resided on Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Xinzhou. He was proficient in large script calligraphy and painted bamboo and dragons.<sup>109</sup>

The *Record of Langhuan* (*Langhuan ji* 琅嬛記) by Yin Shizhen 尹世珍 of the Yuan dynasty contains a passage from the *Record of Red-Green [Illustrations]* (*Danqing ji* 丹青記) that gushes with praise for Zhang Yucai's paintings of dragons, describing them as

---

<sup>106</sup> *Commentary on the Great Cavern Transcendent Scripture of Limitless Great Clarity as Explicated by Wenchang* (*Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 玉清無極總真文昌大洞仙經注 HY 103 ZHDZ 6.454-568); *Record of Numinous Oddities in Response to Supplications to the Sage, the High Emperor of Dark Heaven* (*Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 玄天上帝啟聖靈異錄 HY 959 ZHDZ 30.645-698).

<sup>107</sup> *Jixian gong rui zhu ji* 集仙宮瑞竹記 and *Caishi chongjian Chengtian guan Sanqing dian ji* 采石重建承天觀三清殿記, *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 896, 897.

<sup>108</sup> *Treasured Mirror of Painting* (*Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑒 SKQS 5.17).

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

unfathomable and noting that those who wished to own them gathered about like a school of fish.<sup>110</sup>

This is in keeping with depictions of Zhang Yucai as a practitioner of the arts that is found in other sources including the *Hereditary Household*:

Those with mastery over the fine arts gathered daily at his gates and each of them looked upon him in admiration. In the autumn of the second year of the Yanyou reign era the Celestial Master and his disciples traversed the cliffs and caves. When the master composed poems or painted the landscape those who observed his work were stunned by its profundity and none could grasp its measure.<sup>111</sup>

In light of the above evidence regarding the emergence of the Zhang family I would posit it as highly plausible that the lineage first established itself on the mountain at some nebulous point in the Tang dynasty and gradually built a following. By the late Tang and into the Five Dynasties, as is attested in Du Guangting's work, they were known for the distribution of talismans and registers. In the Song dynasty certain charismatic members of the lineage (i.e. Zhang Qianyao and Zhang Jixian) were granted an imperial audience and attendant honors which further cemented the status of the lineage. Their fortunes may have dimmed somewhat for much of the remainder of the Song dynasty but imperial patronage was reinstated with renewed vigor at the onset of the Yuan dynasty and was carried over into the Ming.

#### (4.7) *Hagiographical Works and the Time of Emergence*

---

<sup>110</sup> *Record of Langhuan* (Langhuan ji 琅嬛記), upper fascicle. The *Record of Langhuan* is reprinted in Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬, *Xue jin tao yuan* 學津討源 [Plumbing the Font of the Ford of Study] (Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1965).

<sup>111</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.359).



While the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain are first attested to in the official history of the Song and their presence and position of influence is well documented by the early Yuan the compilation of a lineal history was apparently something of an afterthought. It is only in the early thirteenth century that we have a biographical work (of sorts) which accounts for individual generations of the Zhang Celestial Masters in Bai Yuchan's "In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters." In his series of thirty-two cryptic poems on the generational descendants of the Han Celestial Master Bai Yuchan makes hazy references to traditions and incidents known from later hagiographical works such as the fourth Celestial Master's discovery of his ancestor's alchemical stove. This indicates that Bai Yuchan was familiar with existing traditions surrounding individual inheritors of the Zhang family lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain and that his readers would have known of them as well.

Bai Yuchan possibly drew on a series of works, now lost, for his knowledge of traditions pertaining to the Zhang family. These include the undated and unattributed *Inner Traditions of the Han Celestial Master*, *Outer Traditions of the Han Celestial Master*, and *Original Traditions of the Zhang Celestial Masters*, [Composed by] the *Prior Born of Florid Peak*. Each of these titles is listed in the bibliography section of the Song dynasty historian Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 *Comprehensive Treatises* of 1161 C.E. Fragments of *Traditions of the Celestial Masters*, *Collected Record of Transcendents*, and *Inner Traditions of the Celestial Masters* are found in the Southern Song *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns*.

As noted in chapter one, no sources are given for the *Hereditary Household*. Its authors may have had access to certain or all among the lost works found in the *Comprehensive Treatise*. The greatly expanded nature of the majority of the biographies found in the *Hereditary Household* suggests that if sparsely detailed earlier hagiographic works which precede its initial publication such as Bai Yuchan's "In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters," *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*, and "Pedigree of the Celestial Masters," found in the *Extensive Record of the Forest of Matters* were consulted the material they provided was greatly embellished and expanded upon. The *Comprehensive Mirror* predates the earliest redaction of the *Hereditary Household* and may have been consulted though there are significant differences between the works including the names and biographical details of several among the earliest generations of Celestial Masters.

With regards to the emergence of the Zhang family, the *Hereditary Household* offers some circumstantial evidence both on the basis of an internal reading and when compared with other hagiographical sources. In comparing sources we find a higher number of discrepancies between works regarding the generations between Zhang Lu and the Northern Song dynasty than we do for later biographical entries. To give but one example, the twelfth Celestial Master, said to have lived in the reign of Tang Gaozong is named as Zhang Heng 張恒 in the *Hereditary Household* and the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* whereas his name is given as Zhongchang 仲常 in the *Comprehensive Mirror*, "In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters," and "Pedigree of the Celestial Masters." He is identified as Zhang Daoyu 張道裕 in Du Guangting's

*Biographies of Persons Who Had Contacts and Encounters with Spirits and Transcendents.*

Within the *Hereditary Household* there is a general trend towards greater length, complexity, and outside corroboration for biographies from the Northern Song onwards. Earlier generations are marked by exceptionally long if not outright superhuman lifespans, sparse biographical detail, and a uniformity of transmission by primogeniture. Lineal inheritance is tellingly more complicated among later generations. The *Hereditary Household* records that the famed thirtieth Celestial Master was not the eldest son but rather the younger cousin of his predecessor. As Jixian was without heirs he was succeeded by his nephew, the grandson of the twenty-seventh Celestial Master. A period of regency is described as marking the transition between the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth Celestial Masters:

The avoidance name of the thirty-fourth Celestial Master was Qingxian. His honorific was Shaozu. He was the son of Deying, the thirty-third Celestial Master. Prior to Qingxian's birth, Deying's younger brother Cixian was charged with temporarily taking up the teachings. In the *xinyou* year of the Jiatai reign era of Song Ningzhou Qingxian inherited the teachings.<sup>112</sup>

This transition is relatively simple compared to that of Zhang Keda, the thirty-fifth Celestial Master. The account of his rise to office involves more characters than a Dostoyevsky novel:

Celestial Master's avoidance name was Keda. His style name was Zixian. His great grandfather was the thirty-second Celestial Master Shouzhen. His grandfather was Boyu, the second son of Shouzhen. In the immediate wake of Jingyuan's death Boyu took charge of affairs related to the teachings. When Qingxian passed on and his eldest

---

<sup>112</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.355).

son Chengda was yet in his minority Keda's father Tianlin took charge of affairs related to the teachings. Emperor Ningzong summoned Tianlin to court and granted him the title Prior Born of Humane Tranquility. Not long thereafter Chengda passed away at a young age and so Keda succeeded Qingxian as Celestial Master. In the third year of the Shaoding reign era the Prior Born of Humane Tranquility passed away. Keda ascended to the rank of Celestial Master at twelve years of age.<sup>113</sup>

In writing on lineage claims in Chan Buddhism John McRae commented pithily that "precision implies inaccuracy."<sup>114</sup> As a corollary I would note that simplicity implies inaccuracy whereas complexity implies validity. The biographies of earlier generations of Celestial Masters, those who allegedly lived in the centuries of diaspora, do not contain any material which grapples with the complexities of inheritance in a system of primogeniture wherein the birth and survival to maturity of a male heir is by no means guaranteed. In the *Hereditary Household* none among the early generations pass away without an heir; nephews do not inherit the mantle from their uncles, firstborn sons do not die in their youth and there are no regencies.

#### (4.8) *The Celestial Masters in Post-Emergence Literature*

Beginning in the Southern Song and accelerating into the Yuan dynasty by which point the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain were well established the Zhang family and their mountain appear in the literary record with increasing frequency. Given the dramatic nature of tales of exorcism and the frequent appearance of Celestial Masters plying that trade in tales of the anomalous it is something of a surprise that they are largely absent from popular drama. One exception is *The Zhang Celestial Master*

---

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> John R. McRae, *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004): xix.

*Halts a Romance* (*Zhang tianshi duan feng hua xue yue* 張天師斷風花雪月) a work by the late Yuan dynasty playwright Wu Changling 吳昌齡 which reaches its climax with a final act exorcism performed by a Zhang Celestial Master of Dragon and Tiger Mountain.<sup>115</sup> The intriguingly titled *Sa the Perfected Nips a Peach Blossom at Night* (*Sa zhenren ye duan bi tao hua* 薩真人夜斷碧桃花) does not make any reference to the titular characters connection to the Celestial Masters.<sup>116</sup>

In addition to the poem on Zhang Xujing's hermitage and a series of biographical poems on the Zhang family Celestial Masters of the first thirty-two generations, Bai Yuchan's collected writings reveal a familiarity with the landscape and religious life of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Other poems include a celebration of a successful supplication for rain on the mountain (*Longhu shan qi yu zao xing you zuo* 龍虎山祈雨早行有作) and a visit to Upper Clarity Palace (*Shangqing gong fangzhai hou gong ting* 上清宮方丈後宮亭).<sup>117</sup> A sojourn to the Celestial Master's palace is described in a pair of poems titled "Bestowed to Daoist He," (*Zeng He daoren* 贈何道人) and a retreat on the mountain is the subject of "Celestial Valley Hermitage," (*Tian gu an* 天谷庵).<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup>*Zhang tian shi duan feng hua xue yue za ju* 張天師斷風花雪月雜劇 in *Yuan qu xuan* 元曲選 [Selected Operas of the Yuan], (Shanghai: gu ji chu ban she, 2002): 452-470.

<sup>116</sup>*Sa zhenren ye duan bi tao hua za ju* 薩真人夜斷碧桃花雜劇 in *Yuan qu xuan* 元曲選 [Selected Operas of the Yuan], (Shanghai: gu ji chu ban she, 2002): 594-612.

<sup>117</sup> *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (ZHDZ 19.981).

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

Hong Mai's *Record of the Listener* contains several anecdotes involving the Zhang Celestial Masters of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. These instances are of interest not only for their association of the family with the mountain but for the power and efficacy which they ascribe to the holders of the office. To the latter point the stories are generally consonant with post-Tang depictions of the Zhang family as powerful exorcists of the highest order.

The tale, "The Female Ghost Deludes Chou Duo" (*Nugui huò Chou Duo* 女鬼惑仇鐸) tells of a *jinshi* scholar from Tiantai 天臺 by the name of Chou Duo who entreats the Spirit of the Purple Maiden (*Zigu shen* 紫姑神) to aid him in finding a marriage partner only to be tormented by supernatural forces.<sup>119</sup> The demonic presence eventually takes the form of the Revered Mother Mountain White Snake (*A mu shan bia she* 阿母山白蛇) who had killed more than three thousand seven hundred people. Those who witnessed the apparition summon a master of rites in hopes of subduing it. His powers prove insufficient to the task and the demon mocks Chou saying, "I only fear the Zhang Celestial Master of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. There are none others that I am frightened of!"<sup>120</sup> This incident is somewhat similar to another story in the collection in which five malevolent spirits taunt their would-be exorcist saying, "Who is this 'ritual

---

<sup>119</sup> Hong Mai 洪邁, *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 [Record of the Listener], (Beijing : Zhonghua shu ju, 1981): 328-330.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

master' that comes forth? Even if the Han Celestial Master should return I would not fear!"<sup>121</sup>

Another story in the *Record of the Listener*, "The Daughter of the Fang Family," (*Fangshi nu* 方氏女) tells of a young lady who is beguiled by an incubus like demonic force (*mei* 魅) that compels her to dress in flowers and ornaments and retire to her bedchamber daily. When her brother asks after her strange behavior the girl simply answers that "no joy in the realm of humans compares to this."<sup>122</sup> The girl's family employs Daoists to quell the presence but they prove unsuccessful. Eventually a servant is dispatched to Guixi where he tells the Zhang Celestial Master of Dragon and Tiger Mountain of the predicament. The following day a pair of yellow robed spirit troops bar the malevolent presence from entry and the girl is no longer plagued.

Unlike the daughter of the Fang family who fell into the thrall of unseen forces through no fault of her own, the protagonist of the story "The Son of the Dong Family Studies Methods," (*Dong shi zi xue fa* 董氏子學法) brings calamity upon himself.<sup>123</sup> Hong Mai describes him as a young man of Leping 樂平 who sought a method of deceiving women and obtained an incantation that causes them to disrobe themselves. Wishing to test the power of the enchantment he performs it before his wife only to find her body covered in a strange rash, as though she were riddled with snake and scorpion

---

<sup>121</sup>Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, 1130.

<sup>122</sup> Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, 446-447.

<sup>123</sup> Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, fasc.20.

bites. She dies soon after, providing a harsh lesson for her lecherous spouse. The method is associated with Mount Hou (*Hou shan* 后山), a place where dark arts are practiced.<sup>124</sup> Hong Mai opens the story by contrasting the site and its methods with the upright way of the Celestial Masters:

Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Guixi of Xinzhou is where generations of Zhang family Celestial Masters have transmitted the registers of the Upright Unity teachings. And Mount Hou is where the medium-incanters practice their craft. They call it the “southern methods” though it is a malevolent art.<sup>125</sup>

A mysterious Celestial Master by the name of Zhang Jingying 張靜應 appears in the tale “Jiang Anshi” 江安世. The titular character is a person of Lanxi 蘭溪 in what is contemporary Jinhua 金華 Zhejiang who receives registers from the Celestial Masters Zhang Jingying of Dragon and Tiger Mountain.<sup>126</sup> As the *Record of The Listener* is composed of tales that were told to Hong Mai on his travels, it is reasonable to assume that Zhang Jingying is a contemporary figure of the Southern Song. There is no record of anyone by that name among the lineal Celestial Masters or in sources originating from Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Zhang Jingying is mentioned in passing in Qin Zhi’an’s 秦志安 1241 C.E. preface to the *Record of the True Line of Transmission of the Golden Lotus School* (*Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗記). The preface contains a conversation between unnamed interlocutors in which it is said that when the Han Celestial Master

---

<sup>124</sup> The *Book of the Latter Han* tells of a pair of mountains known as Mount Tang (*Tang shan* 唐山) and Mount Hou (*Hou shan* 后山) in Junqiu County (*Jun qiu xian* 浚遼縣), contemporary Anhui, where the common people make offerings. Every year the mediums of the mountains sacrifice a male from the region to the Duke of the Mountains and a Female to the Old Woman of the Mountain (SKQS 71.19).

<sup>125</sup> Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, fasc.6.

<sup>126</sup> Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, 5.38



Zhang Jingying left the world his descendants inherited the talismans of Upright Unity.<sup>127</sup>

Although the name is not found elsewhere as an honorific or byname for Zhang Daoling the context of the passage indicates that the figure in question must be the ancestral Celestial Master. Daoling was granted a title inclusive of the characters *jingying* (*Zhengyi chongyuan shenhua jingying xianzuo zhen jun* 正一冲元神化靜應顯佑真君) but not until 1295 C.E. The connection is somewhat tenuous given that both *Record of the True Line of Transmission* and the bestowal of the honorific in the Yuan dynasty postdate the *Record of the Listener*.

“The Ascension of Celestial Master Zhang,” (*Zhang tianshi feisheng tu* 張天師飛昇圖) an inscribed poem attributed to the Song dynasty loyalist, painter, poet, and Daoist Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1239-1316 C.E.) hints at the mysterious transmission of the lineage and the possibility of a tradition whereby Zhang Daoling is said to have ascended from Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Though the painting onto which the poem was originally written is now lost the verse itself is included in *One Hundred Twenty Inscribed Poems* (*Yibai ershi tushi ji* 一百二十圖詩集), a compilation whose earliest extant edition is found in Chen Shilong’s 陳世隆 Yuan dynasty expansion of Chen Si’s 陳思 *Collected Works of Celebrated Figures of the Northern and Southern Song* (*Nan*

---

<sup>127</sup> *Record of the True Line of Transmission of the Golden Lotus School* (*Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗記 HY 173 ZHDZ 47.29).

*Song ming xian xiaoji* 兩宋名賢小集).<sup>128</sup> It is also preserved in the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi*.<sup>129</sup>

Zheng Sixiao is best known for his alleged authorship of the *History of a Loyal Heart* (*Xinshi* 心史), a collection of texts thematically united in authorial lamentation over the Mongol conquest of the Song.<sup>130</sup> According to appended prefaces Zheng sealed the work in an iron case and secreted it away in the well of a Buddhist monastery in Suzhou in 1283 C.E. where it remained until it was fortuitously discovered some three hundred fifty years later as the Ming dynasty was falling to foreign Manchu, creating a historical parallel to the Yuan conquest of the Song. Needless to say, the unusual circumstance and timing of the discovery provoked skepticism and the work's actual provenance is debated to this day.

A small collection of Zheng Sixiao's writings was extant prior to the "discovery" of the *History of a Loyal Heart*. He was a painter, principally of orchids. Otherwise, very little is known about him. The dates of his birth and death are not recorded and his actual surname is not known. He is sparsely represented in the historical record outside of the *Account of the Loyal and Righteous at the End of the Song* (*Song ji zhong yi lu* 宋季忠義

---

<sup>128</sup> *Collected Works of Celebrated Figures of the Northern and Southern Song* (*Nan Song ming xian xiaoji* 兩宋名賢小集 SKQS 371.11).

<sup>129</sup> *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 157.48).

<sup>130</sup> A study of the text is found in Achim Mittag, "Scribe in the Wilderness: The Manchu Conquest and the Loyal-Hearted Historiographer's (*xinshi* 心史) Mission," *Oriens Extremus* 44 (2003/2004): 27-42.

錄) by the Qing Historian Wan Sitong 萬斯同 and various sources indebted to it.<sup>131</sup>

There we learn that Zheng went by the bitterly patriotic self-appellations “Old Man who Remembers,” (*Yi weng* 憶翁) and “Placed in the South,” (*Suo nan* 所南). A person of Fuzhou who sat for the national exams, Zheng petitioned the throne urging them to resist when the Yuan advanced southward. When the Song fell he lived out his days in exile and poverty at a Buddhist monastery in Suzhou.

Though not emphasized in extant biographical material evidence of Zheng Sixiao’s interest in and knowledge of Daoism is found in more than one work attributed to him. In addition to “Ascension of Celestial Master Zhang,” *One Hundred Twenty Inscribed Poems* includes a work on the ascent to transcendence of Xu Xun at Western Mountain. Taken in tandem with the Ascension of Master Zhang these works indicate a familiarity with the religious landscape of Jiangxi in the late Song and early Yuan.

The Daoist Canon contains a single text attributed to Zheng Sixiao titled *Inner Method of the Grand Ultimate for Sacrifice and Sublimation* (*Taiji jilian neifa* 太極祭鍊內法).<sup>132</sup> Internal evidence indicates that the text was completed in 1291 C.E. However, the current version was published in 1406 C.E. with an appended preface composed by the forty-third Celestial Master Zhang Yuchu and is based on a 1347 C.E. edition in three fascicles compiled by Wang Daogui 王道珪, a Daoist of Mysterious Brightness Cloister

---

<sup>131</sup> Account of the Loyal and Righteous at the End of the Song (*Song ji zhong yi lu* 宋季忠義錄) in *Cong shu ji cheng xu bian* 叢書集成續編 [Continuation of Collectanea], (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1994) Vol.28.

<sup>132</sup> *Inner Method of the Grand Ultimate for Sacrifice and Sublimation* (*Taiji jilian neifa* 太極祭鍊內法 HY 548 ZHDZ 32.800-934).

(*Xuanming daoyuan* 玄明道院) in Suzhou. Although none of the various appended colophons offer much in the way of insight into Zheng Sixiao's biography, the text itself is the product of a mind both well versed in the intellectual and religious currents of the late Song and possessed of a syncretic disposition invoking as it does a mingling of Daoist, Buddhist and Neo-Confucian philosophies.

There is little reason to doubt that the core text is indeed the product of Zheng Sixiao. The timeframe of its composition and the fact that the text emerged from Suzhou are both in keeping with what we know of Zheng's biography. Furthermore, the eventual publication of the text by the forty-third Celestial Master reinforces connections to Jiangxi Daoism hinted at in the *One Hundred Twenty Inscribed Poems*.

“The Ascension of Celestial Master Zhang” reads as follows:

At Jade Throne Parish in bygone times Lord Lao was venerated, through generations of descendants down to the present day the treasured mysterious writs are esteemed. I wish to know the prior state of Mount Longhu, yet in in gazing skyward, several flakes of cloud.<sup>133</sup>

Both couplets reference a place of significance to Celestial Master's Daoism. In the first, Jade Throne Parish is invoked. As we have seen, the site's name is derived from a tradition which holds that when Lord Lao manifested in 155 C.E. a jade throne rose up from the ground for his comfort. Lord Lao ascended the throne, preached the essentials of the way and pronounced a variety of scriptures to Zhang Daoling, and ascended into the heavens whereupon the throne crumbled into the ground revealing a grotto hidden beneath the site of the manifestation.

---

<sup>133</sup> *Collected Works of Celebrated Figures of the Northern and Southern Song* (SKQS 371.11).

The second couplet parallels the structure of the first, contrasting the presence of Lord Lao at Jade Throne Parish with the absence and stillness of Mount Longhu. Any interpretation is hampered by the absence of the painting onto which it was originally inscribed. Oddly enough, given the title of the poem and the presumable subject of the painting neither of the sites referenced in the poem are that from which Zhang Daoling is traditionally said to have ascended into the heavens. It may be that Sixiao is attesting to a little known tradition according to which Zhang Daoling rose up to the heavens from Mount Crane Call rather than Cloud Terrace Parish as is generally attested to in lore. In that case the second couplet finds the omniscient Sixiao yearning to have been present at the mountain in Zhang Daoling's time. Instead, he finds himself in the present looking to a sky that is empty save for a number of clouds because the Celestial Master made his ascent long ago.

A Yuan dynasty poem pertaining to the Zhang family and attributed to Jie Xisi 揭傒斯 (1274-1344 C.E.) is worthy of consideration though there is reason to question the attribution. The poem in question is not found in early collections of Jie Xisi's work. It is preserved in the Qing dynasty collection *Selected Poetry of the Yuan* (*Yuan shi xuan* 元詩選) under the title "Sending the Zhang Family Perfected off on His Return to Upper Clarity," (*Song Zhang zhenren gui shangqing* 送張真人歸上清).<sup>134</sup> The poem is also found in Li Mengsheng's 李夢生 modern compilation of Jie Xisi's works.<sup>135</sup> There it is

---

<sup>134</sup> *Selected Poetry of the Yuan* (*Yuan shi xuan* 元詩選 SKQS 30.46).

<sup>135</sup> Jie Xisi 揭傒斯, *Jie Xisi quan ji* 揭傒斯全集 [Complete Works of Jie Xisi], ed. Li Mengsheng 李夢, (Shanghai: Shanghai guju, 1985).

found under the title “Sending the Zhang Celestial Master off on His Return to Dragon and Tiger Mountain,” (*Song Zhang tianshi gui longhu shan* 送張天師歸龍虎山). The disparity between the titles is not explained.

Jie Xisi is known to posterity as one of the “Four Great Poets of the Yuan,” but he was also a literatus, calligrapher, and historian. A native of Fengcheng 豐城 in northern Jiangxi he began his official career in 1314 C.E. as junior compiler in the Hanlin Academy and held high offices under Yuan Wenzong 文宗 (r. 1328-31 C.E.) and Huizong 惠宗 (1333-1368 C.E.) eventually serving as an editor for the histories of the Liao, Jin, and Song dynasties.

Despite the fact that it is absent from early collections of Jie Xisi’s writings there is reason to believe that the poem, whatever its original title may have been, is authentic. Jie Xisi composed numerous inscriptions and records for Daoist shrines and belvederes throughout Jiangxi and was clearly familiar with the major Daoist institutions of his home region in the early fourteenth century.<sup>136</sup> Most notably for present purposes, Jie Xisi composed the text of an edict that was made on the occasion of an imperial bestowal of responsibility over the talismans of the three mountains, command over Daoist affairs

---

<sup>136</sup> Among Jie Xisi’s writings we find the *Record of the Dongyue Eastern Marchmount Shrine in Anfu* (*Anfu zhou dong yue miao ji* 安福州東嶽廟記) in *Collected Writings of [Xie] Wen’an* (*Wen’an ji* 文安集 SKQS 10.12-13) and *Stele Composed for Myriad Longevity Palace of Celestial Florescence* (*Tianhua wanshou gong bei* 天華萬壽宮碑) (*Wen’an ji* SKQS 12.11-14). Both were composed for sites in the vicinity of Ji’an 吉安, southern Jiangxi. *Record of Transmitted Filiality Shrine* (*Xiaotong miao ji* 孝通廟記) (*Wen’an ji* 10.21-23) pertains to a site at Xingan 新淦, western Jiangxi. The *Record of Numinous Response Shrine in Fuzhou* (*Fuzhou linggan miao ji* 撫州靈感廟記) in (*Wen’an ji* 10.16-17) regards a site in Fuzhou, northeast Jiangxi, and *Belvedere of Kingfisher Green Tenuity* (*Cui wei guan ji* 翠微觀記) (*Xianquan ji* 峴泉集 ZHDZ 26.198) was composed for a belvedere on Gold Rooster Mountain (*Jinji shan* 金雞山) in Shangrao 上饒, eastern Jiangxi.

in the Jiangnan region, an appointment to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and the bestowal of the title Great Perfected of Cyclically Transforming Great Mystery who Embodies Humaneness and Merits Response from the Way (*Taixuan fuhua tiren ying dadao zhen ren* 太玄輔化體仁應道大真人) to the thirty-ninth Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng.<sup>137</sup>

Beyond the title, which may be a later addition, the content of the poem suggests that it was written for a Zhang Celestial Master returning from the capital. The unnamed figure described in the poem makes his journey with “a satchel containing celestial writs as bright as the sun and the moon and a scabbard in which rests a spirit sword concealing wind and thunder.”<sup>138</sup> The latter detail in particular, suggestive as it is of the exorcistic sword passed from father to son in the Zhang family lineage, gives credence to the possibility that the subject of the poem is as the title in Li Mengsheng’s collection indicates.

If the attribution is genuine it is almost certain that the poem was composed for the thirty-ninth Celestial Master (both he and Jie Xisi lived to a ripe old age and passed away in 1344 C.E.) and entirely possible that it was composed for the same occasion as the memorial and was meant as a companion piece to the edict. The first couplet of the poem refers to the gates of the capital closing and one who has come north for an

---

<sup>137</sup> “Record of the Edict to the Thirty-Ninth Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng,” (*Shenming san shi jiu tianshi Zhang Sicheng zhi* 申命三十九代天師張嗣成制) in *Collected Writings of [Xie] Wen’an* (*Wen’an ji* 文安集 SKQS 6.4).

<sup>138</sup> “囊裏天書明日月，匣中神劍闕風雷,” (*Yuan shi xuan* 元詩選 SKQS 30.46).

audience returning to the south.<sup>139</sup> The *Hereditary Household* has Zhang Sicheng return from the capital to Dragon and Tiger Mountain immediately after being granted an appointment:

In the third month of the third year of the *zhiyuan* reign (1337 C.E.) the Celestial Master was appointed Administrator of the Academy of Worthies. He had already dwelt in the capital for a long period of time and requested permission to return to the mountain. The emperor gathered the various officials together and held a farewell banquet in honor of the Celestial Master.<sup>140</sup>

---

<sup>139</sup>“閉戶京城晝懶開，初聞北覲卻南回。”(*Yuan shi xuan* 元詩選 SKQS 30.46).

<sup>140</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.355).



## CHAPTER FIVE

### CRITICISM AND DEFENSE OF LINEAL AUTHENTICITY

From the Tang dynasty onwards the legitimacy conferred by an ancient and enduring lineage was a necessary tool in the jockeying for position, prestige, and imperial favor amongst various institutions. It is one that has drawn the attention of numerous scholars in recent years. With regards to Buddhism, John McRae and Wendy Adamek have shed light on the Song dynasty creation of a Chan lineage stretching back to the Buddha's disciple Mahākāśyapa. Peter Gregory and David Getz have likewise analyzed the Song creation of Tiantai and Pure Land lineages. Among scholars of Daoism, Pierre Marsone, Vincent Goossaert, and Louis Komjathy have drawn our attention to the centrality of hagiography to the corpus of texts produced by the Complete Perfection movement that emerged in the Northern Jin dynasty (1115-1234 C.E.). Even Zhu Xi, the most eminent of neo-Confucian thinkers, posited a lineage of sorts in which he was the heir of a true and correct Mencian Confucianism.

The *Hereditary Household* is very much a product of this post-Tang culture of lineal assertion and one that was written with an awareness of the tenuous nature of institutional status and imperial favor. While the *Hereditary Household* reads as a triumphant catalogue of rites met with auspicious and efficacious response interspersed with honors and accolades from a long succession of imperial households the historical record reveals many instances in which the Zhang family and their lineage were the subject of harsh criticism from Buddhists, Confucian officials, and even their

coreligionists. In short, a noticeable degree of defensiveness against the denigrations of outsiders is exhibited in the *Hereditary Household*, particularly in Zhou Tianqiu's preface of 1593 C.E and Yu Wenwei's preface of 1597 C.E. The central theme of the *Hereditary Household* is the august nature of the Celestial Masters institution and the unbroken lineage's long history of service to the empire. This, coupled with repeated assertions of the Zhang family as equal to that of the Kong family heirs of Confucius, reflects the self-assertive nature of the text. It is also indicative of a perceived need to respond to outside critiques.

This chapter opens with a review of the historical circumstances in which the lineal hagiography was composed. I begin with an overview of similar works that may have served, in terms of structure rather than content, as inspirational to the composers of the *Hereditary Household*. I then regard those points at which the text of the *Hereditary Household* diverges from the historical record in order to bolster the prestige of the Zhang family and to excise unflattering episodes. The second part of this chapter consists of an overview of historical critiques of the Zhang family and the Celestial Masters institution found in works produced by Buddhist and Confucian rivals for imperial favor and its attendant power and prestige.

#### (5.1) *Precursors to the Hereditary Household in Buddhist and Daoist Texts*

In the context of Chinese religion the *Hereditary Household* may owe its form to earlier Buddhist works in which claims of institutional validity are expressed through traditions of generation by generation transmission of a mantle of sectarian leadership.

Wendi Adamek has written extensively on the *Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Generations* (*Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記), a late eighth century lineal text written under the auspices of a short-lived branch of Chan Buddhism centered in Chengdu known as the Baotang 保唐 school.<sup>1</sup> Derided even by contemporaries as a “fabric of self-promoting fictions,” the text centers on the claim that the movement held the lineal mantle of Chan Buddhism by dint of the possession of the robe granted to the sixth patriarch Huineng 惠能 (638-713 C.E.) by his predecessor Hongren 弘忍 (602-675 C.E.).<sup>2</sup> Among other points, Adamek cites the text as noteworthy for representing a prototype of the family tree style of hagiography grounded in generational transmission employed in tenth century Chan Buddhism and which would become a hallmark of Song dynasty collections. It was a novel shift towards the hagiographical compendia as instrument of institutional cohesion rather than collection of inspirational tales focused on charismatic individuals as expressed in earlier works such as Huijiao’s 慧皎 early sixth century *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Gao seng zhuan* 高僧傳).

John McRae describes the compilation of the *Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall* (*Zutang ji* 祖堂集) in 952 C.E. as a significant date in the Chan self-identification as the lone purveyor of a lineal tradition which represents the “central teaching of Buddhism, which has been transmitted from the seven Buddhas of the past to the twenty-eight Indian

---

<sup>1</sup> The culmination of her studies on the text which was also the subject of her dissertation is found in Wendi Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission: On an Early Chan History and its Contexts*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

<sup>2</sup>Wendi L. Adamek, ‘Robes Purple and Gold: Transmission of the Robe in the ‘Lidai fabao ji’ (*Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages*),” *History of Religions*, 40.1 (2000): 58.

patriarchs, the six Chinese patriarchs, and all the generations of Chinese and Japanese Chan and Zen masters that follow.”<sup>3</sup> Together with the *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp of the Jingde Era* (*Jingde chuan deng lu* 景德傳燈錄), the *Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall* represents the late Five Dynasties and early Song codification of a conception of lineal legitimacy as central to religious authority and authenticity in Chinese Buddhism.

Other schools followed suit in the creation of lineal traditions and the composition of accompanying texts outlining their pedigrees. In the article “T’ien-t’ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate” in *Buddhism in the Sung* Daniel Getz describes how Pure Land Buddhism became a “school” replete with a fully charted lineage and attendant institutions in the Southern Song when a previously unknown patriarchate stretching back to a Huiyuan 慧遠 (434-416 C.E.), a monk of Mount Lu in Jiangxi was created.<sup>4</sup> An article in the same volume by Koichi Shinohara concerns itself with two thirteenth century works, Zong Jian’s 宗鑑 *Orthodox Lineage of the Buddhist*

---

<sup>3</sup> McRae, *Seeing through Zen*, 4. The creation of Chan Buddhism has been the subject of multiple studies in recent years. A sampling of book length studies includes the following: Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1997), John Jorgenson, *Inventing Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography And Biography in Early Ch’an*, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), Jia Jinhua, *The Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism in Eighth- through Tenth-Century China*, (Albany, State University of New York Press, 2006), Morten Schlutter, *How Zen Became Zen: The Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan Buddhism in Song-Dynasty China*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008), Albert Welter, *The Linji Lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy: The Development of Chan’s Records of Sayings Literature*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), Mario Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), Alan Cole, *Fathering Your Father: The Zen of Fabrication in Tang Buddhism*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), Mario Poceski, *The Records of Mazu and the Making of Classical Chan Literature*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Daniel A. Getz, “T’ien-t’ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate,” in *Buddhism in the Sung*, eds. Peter Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999): 477-523.

*Tradition (Shimen zhengtong 釋門正統)* of 1237 C.E. and Zhi Pan's *Comprehensive Record of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs (Fozu tongji 佛祖通紀)* which was compiled between 1258 and 1269 C.E.<sup>5</sup> The author describes the purpose and content of the works in very similar terms to those used by McRae for Chan lineal texts:

The T'ien-t'ai version of history held that the very essence of Buddhism was embodied in Ti'en-t'ai teaching and practice which had been faithfully transmitted from the Buddha Śākyamuni, through the Indian patriarchs and on to the T'ien-t'ai patriarchs of China. In view of this transmission, these histories were structured around the principle of patriarchal succession, in which the lineage of the Ti'en-t'ai patriarchs and their descendants occupied a central and dominant position.<sup>6</sup>

Hoyt Tillman's work on Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200 C.E.) underscores the twelfth century emergence of Neo-Confucianism as a normative form of the philosophy rooted in a "true understanding" of the sage and the reestablishment of a line that had been lost after the time of Mencius but which had been rediscovered by the brothers Cheng Yi 程頤 and Cheng Hao 程顥, and inherited by Zhu Xi himself. Zhu Xi is believed to have created the term "transmission of the Way," (*Daotong* 道統) in 1181 C.E. which he employed as a descriptor of those whose correct understanding of doctrine placed them in a privileged position as heirs to Confucian orthodoxy.<sup>7</sup> Zhu Xi's self-conceptualization as sole heir to the true teachings of Confucius extended to the practice of offering direct prayers and supplications to the sage despite the fact that he was not a descendant of the

---

<sup>5</sup> Koichi Shinohara, "From Local History to Universal History: The Construction of the Sung T'ien-t'ai Lineage," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, eds. Peter Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999): 524-576.

<sup>6</sup> Koichi Shinohara, "From Local History to Universal History," 524.

<sup>7</sup> Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992): 183.

Kong family.<sup>8</sup> While no lineal texts were produced by him Zhu Xi's emphasis on the concept of *daotong* and acts of reverence towards spiritual predecessors speak to the importance of an established orthodox tradition in the newly revitalized Confucianism of the Southern Song dynasty.

The lineal text as a tool of legitimation gains greater prominence among Daoist sects as well in the late Southern Song and into the Yuan dynasty. The nearest antecedent to the *Hereditary Household* and those Upright Unity lineal texts which precede it is found in the literary output of the Complete Perfection school of Daoism. In Complete Perfection Daoism esoteric ritual manuals, ranks of ordination, and obscure cosmological texts were secondary to hagiographic works and literary compendia.<sup>9</sup> Those works which tell of the exploits of the founding figure Wang Chongyang 王重陽 (1113-1170 C.E.) and his exemplary disciples, the “seven perfected” (*qizhen* 七真) or which present their written legacy establish a lineal narrative grounded in the lives of charismatic figures.

The earliest hagiographical compendium to emerge from the Complete Perfection school is the *Record of the Upright Tradition of the Golden Lotus* (*Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗記) by Qin Zhi'an 秦志安 (1188-1244 C.E.), the preface of which dates to

---

<sup>8</sup> On Zhu Xi's acts of reverence and their relationship to his understanding of *daotong* see Hoyt C. Tillman, “Zhu Xi's Prayers to the Spirit of Confucius and Claim to the Transmission of the Way,” *Philosophy East and West* 54.4 (2004): 489-503.

<sup>9</sup> Recent books on the Complete Perfection lineage include Stephen Eskildsen, *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters*, (Albany: State University Press of New York, 2004); Pierre Marsone, *Wang Chongyang et la fondation du Quanzhen: ascètes taoïstes et alchimie intérieure*, (Paris: Collège de France, 2010); Louis Komjathy, *The Way of Complete Perfection: A Quanzhen Anthology*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013).

1241 C.E.<sup>10</sup> Qin was co-editor of the Jin dynasty *Treasured Canon of the Mysterious Capital* (*Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏) of 1244 C.E. and the *Record of the Upright Tradition* was included in collection. A later abbreviated version found in the Ming dynasty canon entitled *Illustrated Biographies of the Transcendent Spring of the Upright Tradition of the Golden Lotus* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhua* 金蓮正宗仙源像傳) was compiled in 1327 C.E. with a preface by thirty-ninth Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成.<sup>11</sup>

The *Record of the Upright Tradition* is chronologically ordered and divided into five fascicles. The first pertains to the mythic predecessors of the lineage, and the remainder to Wang Chongyang and his disciples. The seven lotuses of the title refer to the “seven perfected” by way of a tradition which holds that Wang Chongyang encountered a coterie of transcendents who presented him with seven golden lotuses foretelling his future tutelage of the disciples who would carry forth his teachings.

A major chronicler of the movement, the Complete Perfection Daoist and abbot of Redoubled Yang Palace (*Chongyang gong* 重陽宮) Li Daoqian 李道謙 (1219-1296 C.E.) is responsible for a chronology of the lineage, a hagiographical compendium, and a collection of stele inscriptions pertaining to the movement. The *Chronology of the Seven Perfected* (*Qizhen nianpu* 七真年譜), compiled in 1271 C.E. is a year by year account of

---

<sup>10</sup> *Record of the Upright Tradition of the Golden Lotus* (*Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗記 HY 173 ZHDZ 47.29-53).

<sup>11</sup> *Illustrated Biographies of the Transcendent Spring of the Upright Tradition of the Golden Lotus* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhua* 金蓮正宗仙源像傳 HY 174 ZHDZ 47.54-68).

major events in the lives of Wang Chongyang and his disciples that makes use of a variety of earlier sources including stelae, literary compendia, and the *Record of the Upright Tradition*.<sup>12</sup> *Inner Traditions of Transcendents and Perfected of the Ancestral Court of the Zhongnan Mountains* (*Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 終南山祖庭仙真內傳), named for the temple in the Zhongnan Mountains of Shaanxi where the movement originated and where Wang Chongyang was interred, expands on the hagiographical material of the *Record of the Upright Tradition*, and is inclusive of thirty-seven accounts of the lives of the first three generations of Complete Perfection masters.<sup>13</sup> The *Record of Transcendents Encountered at Ganshui Spring* (*Ganshui xianyuan lu* 甘水仙源錄) is a voluminous ten fascicle collection of inscriptions pertaining to the patriarchs, disciples, and sites of significance to the movement.<sup>14</sup>

The above are but a few examples of the self-chronicling of the early generations of Complete Perfection Daoism. The propagation of often redundant records of its own history as exemplified by Li Daoqian's work is without precedent in the history of Daoism and is something that surely did not escape the notice of the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain as evidenced by Zhang Sicheng's preface to an edition of the *Record of the Upright Tradition*. The scholar Paul Katz describes this notable tendency

---

<sup>12</sup> *Chronology of the Seven Perfected* (*Qizhen nianpu* 七真年譜 HY 175 ZHDZ 47.69-76).

<sup>13</sup> *Inner Traditions of Transcendents and Perfected of the Ancestral Court of the Zhongnan Mountains* (*Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 終南山祖庭仙真內傳 HY 954 ZHDZ 47.77-106). See, Louis Komjathy, *The Way of Complete Perfection*, 220-221.

<sup>14</sup> *Record of Transcendents Encountered at Ganshui Spring* (*Ganshui xianyuan lu* 甘水仙源錄 HY 971 ZHDZ 47.113-212).



pithily, “Quanzhen Taoism was both an extremely outward-looking yet self-conscious organization that with often near-manic frenzy produced a wide range of texts describing its founding and development on a nationwide scale.”<sup>15</sup>

The Upper Clarity school of Daoism produced its own lineal history in the *Monograph of Mount Mao* (*Maoshan zhi* 茅山志), compiled by the forty-fifth Shangqing patriarch Liu Dabin 劉大彬 (fl. 1317-28).<sup>16</sup> The content of the monograph is similar to other works of its type pertaining to sacred sites including the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* and is inclusive of sections on imperial documents granted to the inhabitants of the mountain, the landscape of the site, historical traces of the activities of illustrious figures one might observe on the mountain, and biographies of eminent figures associated with the mountain. Fascicle five is given over to the Mao Brothers for whom the mountain is named and fascicles ten through twelve consist of a posteriorly constructed record of forty-five Upper Clarity patriarchs from Wei Huacun 魏華存 in the Western Jin dynasty through Liu Dabin himself.

Closer to Dragon and Tiger Mountain and nearly contemporary to the *Hereditary Household*, the *Complete Writings of the Way of Purity and Brightness, Loyalty and Filiality* (*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 淨明忠孝全書) is a compendium of material produced by the Way of Purity and Brightness, Loyalty and Filiality (*Jingming zhongxiao*

---

<sup>15</sup> Paul R. Katz, “Writing History Creating Identity: A Case Study of *Quanfeng Xinghui Tu*,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 161.

<sup>16</sup> *Monograph of Mount Mao* (*Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 HY 304 ZHDZ 366-528).

*dao* 淨明忠孝道) headquartered at Western Mountain 西山 in northwest Jiangxi.<sup>17</sup> The compilation consists of texts dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and is divided into six fascicles. The first fascicle consists of a history of the movement as expressed through hagiographies of lineal ancestors both mythical and historical including the movement's founding figure the legendary loyal official and dragon tamer of the Jin dynasty Xu Xun 許遜, as well as Hu Huichao 胡慧超 who revived the movement in the sixth century and Liu Yuzhen 劉玉真 (1257-1308 C.E.) who was responsible for the shape of the movement as it rose to prominence in the Yuan dynasty.

The religious and intellectual landscape of post-Tang China and particularly that of the Song and Yuan was such that assertions of lineal continuity as an expression of institutional purity were *de rigueur*. Though expressed variously the central conceit in all instances is that a particular figurehead served as the keeper of a flame inherited in a direct line of transmission from an (often mythic) founding figure. The *Hereditary Household* is very much an expression of this larger trend.

#### (5.2) *Affirmation of the Lineage in the Hereditary Household*

The Hereditary Household was the culmination of earlier nascent hagiographical traditions pertaining to the Zhang family such as the *Pedigree of the Celestial Masters*, and Bai Yuchan's "In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters," works which, as we have seen, may themselves owe a debt to lost works such as the *Inner Traditions of the Han Celestial Master*. It was also a (somewhat tardy) product of

---

<sup>17</sup> *Complete Writings of the Way of Purity and Brightness, Loyalty and Filiality (Jingming zhongxiao quanshu 淨明忠孝全書 HY 1102 ZHDZ 31.567-602).*

widespread trend towards chronicling lineage evident among each of the “three teachings.” The assertions of lineal continuity and validity found throughout the work were both positive statements of authority and a bulwark against contrary claims regarding the lineage.

For the most part the authors of the *Hereditary Household* make use of self-assertion and the selective omission of historical setbacks (such as the revocation of the title of Celestial Master by Ming Taizu) as their chief rhetorical tactics rather than engaging in direct confrontation with those critical of the claims of the lineage. In the preface of Song Lian we find the first of many pronouncements of varying shades of subtlety regarding the august and enduring nature of the lineage: “those who took it upon themselves to return to that renowned mountain which is infused with spirit pneuma have prospered and brought the endeavors of their ancestor to fruition. Their bloodline extends long and unbroken, flourishing and grand.”<sup>18</sup>

Song Lian’s preface closes with a veiled reference to other “eminent lineages” the efficacy and longevity of which compare poorly to that of the Zhang family:

Is it not the case that many eminent lineages that have sunk into servitude, unable to avoid such a fate? Now, look upon the scions of this mysterious unbroken lineage that has passed through more than twelve hundred years and has yet to cease. How can this be? It must be on account of their Way. The inheritors flourish. Such inspiring knowledge this is! Such inspiring knowledge this is!<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.342).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

Su Boheng's preface takes up a similar theme, noting that few among the noble families who rose to prominence with the founding of the Zhou and Han dynasties have endured to the present age. He then places the Zhang family in the company of the Kong clan, the heirs of Confucius: "It may be observed that where ties to remote antiquity are concerned, none are equal to the descendants of Confucius and after them none are equal to the descendants of the Celestial Master."<sup>20</sup> He later draws parallels between the two lineages in terms of their service to the nation:

The descendants of Confucius have flourished and are called "those who perform the sacrifices for one hundred generations with the utmost virtue." And in what way does the lineage of the Han Celestial Master differ from this? Although the Way of the Han Celestial Master is not the same as that of Confucius, it is nevertheless the case that both lineages take the refinement of body and spirit, the arbitration of the union of yin and yang, the pondering of primordial transformations, communion with spirits, guarding against great catastrophes, and warding off calamities as their concern. It is due to them baleful omens do not transpire, pestilence does not arise, suffering is pacified, and those who would die young enjoy longevity.<sup>21</sup>

As for the enduring nature of the Zhang family lineage itself he writes the following:

From the Han Celestial Master down to the present day more than twelve hundred years have passed, and we are presently in the forty-third generation. Filial sons and wise grandsons have come forth in radiant succession. Each of them developed and expanded upon what came before in order to bring glory to their predecessors. Among the states there are none that do not venerate the Celestial Masters and praise their extraordinary nature.<sup>22</sup>

The final two prefaces, that of Yu Wenwei dated to 1597 C.E. and that of Zhou Tianqiu dated to 1593 C.E. are more combative in tone. Yu Wenwei's brief preface opens with an incredulous comment on how the Kong family alone is mentioned when

---

<sup>20</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.343).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

“those of the present age speak of hereditary households,” and closes with a strange indictment of the heirs of the Kong family, “some of whom circulate talismans and registers and serve the ghosts and spirits.”<sup>23</sup> The basis of the critique is not clear but Yu Wenwei appears to be accusing the Kong family either of infringing upon ritual duties that are rightly the domain of the Zhang Celestial Masters or of hypocrisy in deriding Daoist practices similar to those they themselves engage in.

Zhou Tianqiu’s preface opens with a defense of the Zhang family lineage coupled with an attack on those who would defame it:

The mantle of Han Celestial Master has been transmitted from generation to generation as have the reigns of the nation. Passing through the Tang, Song, and presently into the Ming dynasty successive generations have taken hold of the teachings of the Way in order to benefit the world. In spite of this the skewed speech of the Buddhists and the defamations of the Confucians remain ubiquitous!<sup>24</sup>

The comparison of the Zhang family with the heirs of Confucius is also made, in less antagonistic terms, in a speech said to have been made by Ming Taizu to the forty-second Celestial Master Zhang Zhengchang at a banquet held in honor of the latter:

Your ancestor the Celestial Master undertook labors for the benefit of the nation. So it is that your lineage has descended in tandem with that of Confucius and has stretched across time down to the present day. You justly embody clarity, quiescence, and effortless action.<sup>25</sup>

In his colophon, Zhang Yuchu does not draw lines of comparison between his own lineage and that of the Kong family or, for that matter, other eminent lineages. He

---

<sup>23</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.344-345).

<sup>24</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.345).

<sup>25</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.361).

does however carefully elaborate on the nature of the service rendered to the nation by his lineage and its process of transmission:

We continue, passing down methods for the subjugation of evil spirits and oddities, and engaging in self-cultivation spirit cinnabar refinement. When the work is complete, we ascend to transcendence. The sword and seal of office are then passed on to the Celestial Master of the succeeding generation. At present, they have been handed down for fifteen hundred years. Although cyclical alterations have wrought changes in the world the lineage has continued without disruption. They raise up the teachings of clarity, quiescence, and effortless inaction. Their meritorious action of spirit corresponds to the virtue of Heaven and so it is sufficient to the ends of nurturing and transforming.<sup>26</sup>

One curious passage in Zhang Yuchu's postface appears to anticipate queries regarding the relative absence of the lineage from the historical record between time of Zhang Lu and the emergence of the movement on Dragon and Tiger Mountain:

From the end of the Han dynasty to the present they have resided at Dragon and Tiger Mountain, nesting in the crags and secreting themselves away in the valleys. There they undertake self-refinement in order to cultivate longevity. In the early years of the Song dynasty, their Daoist pursuit of the Way gradually came to be met with praise. Proceeding to the Chongning and Dagan reign eras the Perfected Sovereign of Empty Tranquility came forth.<sup>27</sup>

This is in keeping with the *Hereditary Household* understanding of events in which the fourth Celestial Master, Zhang Sheng, took up residence on the mountain. In the *Hereditary Household*, those who occupied the generations between the fall of the Han and the Song are said to have been frequent guests of a succession of emperors and to have rendered service to the empire as exorcists and ritual wonderworkers who could be relied upon to quell natural disasters, relieve droughts, and the like. Yet here Yuchu contradicts or at least disregards the content of the *Hereditary Household* in presenting

---

<sup>26</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.369).

<sup>27</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.370).

the holders of the lineage as engaging in eremitic self-cultivation in the cliffs and caves of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. He does so, it seems, as a means of accounting for the absence of lineage holders prior to the Song from both historical documents and Daoist scriptures.

He is arguably writing with an awareness of the earliest appearances of his more immediate predecessors in the official histories. That he posits the early Song as the time at which the lineage “came to be met with praise,” is telling. As noted earlier, the *History of the Song* reports that Zhang Qianyao received a title from Song Renzong in the eighth year of the Tiansheng reign era (1030 C.E.). After Zhang Qianyao the thirtieth Celestial Master, Zhang Jixian, who won the favor of Song Huizong (r. 1100-1126 C.E.) is the first Celestial Master to be mentioned in the dynastic histories. As will be illustrated below the absence of tens of generations of Zhang family Celestial Masters from the record did not go unnoticed by critics of the lineage and it may be that Zhang Yuchu has attempted to temper the great many imperial accolades granted to those intervening generations in the biographies of the *Hereditary Household* by depicting his predecessors of the Han through the early Song as loftily detached from the world along the lines of Zhuangzi’s elusive spirit person of Gushe Mountain.

The Celestial Masters are themselves depicted as models of humility throughout their biographical entries in the *Hereditary Household*. They are also the objects of gushing praise from a succession of emperors and officials who fawn over the great service that the lineage has rendered to the nation from the time of the ancestral Celestial Master onwards and marvel at the unbroken nature of their family line. These paeans,

generally uncorroborated in historical sources, frequently mingle admiration with incredulity at the insufficient degree to which the lineage has been honored. One such example is found in a laud to the ancestral Celestial Master attributed to Song Emperor Huizong:

From the time of the Liu Clan their traces have proliferated.<sup>28</sup> Embracing radiance and loftily surpassing the masses of common people, his esoteric tallies and perfected charts have been transmitted to posterity. Suppressing and expelling disasters and evil omens, warding off that which is inauspicious and working unseen they secure the tranquility of the common people. The lineage has long been lacking praise and commendation. Is this the height of recompense for those who are to be raised up in gratitude?<sup>29</sup>

A writ of praise to Zhang Daoling attributed to Song Emperor Lizong carries the notion of the Zhang family as insufficiently appreciated a step further in declaring that “the numinous traces of the Celestial Master’s actions are in evidence throughout Shu. Defamations casting doubt on this fact will not stand.”<sup>30</sup> The failure of the Ruists to give the Celestial Masters their due and their apparent misrepresentations of the Zhang family are rebuked directly:

The Ruists consciously avoid speaking of the Celestial Masters. This is strange given their grasp of ancient history. They heap on slander and invective and are ignorant of ‘those who are constant in their skill at saving the people and who do not cast away anyone.’ How does such comportment differ from what is meant when we say that ‘the feeling of commiseration is the principle of humaneness’?<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> This is a reference to the ruling household of the Han dynasty.

<sup>29</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.348).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*



A writ of praise in honor of the thirty-ninth Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng that is attributed to Emperor Huizong of the Yuan mingles an assertion of lineal integrity with a vague warning against those who would denigrate the holder of the mantle:

He followed in the traces of his predecessors who stood in the ranks of the transcendence. He made arrangements for preservation of the renewal of the practice of instruction. His renown is to be safeguarded from dissolution and falsehood. I draw particular attention to commending his abidance with the ways of the ancestor.<sup>32</sup>

Several proclamations attributed to a series of emperors underscore the importance of lineal succession. Some, such as that said to have been composed by Song Zhenzong on the passing of the twenty-fourth Celestial Master Zhang Zhengsui, even speak of the mechanics of transmission and account for the exceptional longevity of the generations of the Zhang family:

Your ancestor obtained the numinous commentaries at the Golden Porte and transmitted his command to posterity. The eldest son of the first wife is charged with carrying forth the uncanny teachings and expounding upon the mysteries of the prior heavens so as to guide those who are slow to awaken. I have observed that the ascended generations were possessed of longevity as a consequence of their virtue.<sup>33</sup>

A similar tone is struck in a laud attributed to Emperor Xiaozong composed upon learning of the death of Zhang Shouzhen, the thirty-second Celestial Master:

Zhang Shouzhen was the thirty-second generation inheriting descendent of the Han Celestial Master. He carried forth the undertaking of his ancestors. For tens of generations of continuous succession the line has not perished. This is extraordinary!<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.359).

<sup>33</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.351-352).

<sup>34</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.355).

The frequency of imperial lauds in general and those that place particular emphasis on the continuity of the lineage in particular increases from the Yuan dynasty onwards. The gist of Xiaozong's eulogy for Zhang Shouzhen is echoed in a proclamation said to have been drafted for the thirty-sixth generation Celestial Master Zhang Zongyan by Emperor Shizu of the Yuan:

I address the Zhang Celestial Master of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Your ancestor Daoling exerted his will with a singular focus. He received the methods and talismans and transmitted them according to orthodox practice. This is eminently evident and verifiable. The teachings have flowed forth and spread out down to the present day. They have been carried on by his descendants for tens of generations and more than two thousand years.<sup>35</sup>

A pair of proclamations from Emperor Chengzong of the Yuan, one composed in honor of the thirty-eighth Celestial Master Zhang Yucai and one on the occasion of the bestowal of an honorific on his mother, contain words of praise for the lineage's transmission of the lofty efforts of Zhang Daoling down to the present. The latter of the two documents emphasizes both this continuity and the duty of the emperor to recognize and praise the work of the lineage:

The traditions of the ancestor are carried from elder to junior and they endure down to the present day. In past and future alike imperial grace has and shall be bestowed. The height of tender filiality is carried on to later generations of descendants and the shining splendor of Upright Unity is consequently burnished. In recent times as in the distant past, the dawn and evening offerings of incense are continually made.<sup>36</sup>

The closing passage of a laud allegedly composed by Emperor Shun of the Yuan for the thirty-ninth Celestial Master similarly posits recognition of the lineage as an imperial duty:

---

<sup>35</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.356-357).

<sup>36</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.358).

Ah! The spirit transcendent takes loyalty and filiality as his root, and transmits maternal concern to the worthy. The Emperor takes heaven and earth as his heart. How could one dare to neglect offering reverence to virtue in sight of those who do not waver from their duty and maintain the command of old?<sup>37</sup>

Finally, a proclamation addressed to the fortieth Celestial Master from Emperor Shun of the Yuan opens with an appreciation of the ancestral Celestial Master that segues into an account of lineal transmission and is inclusive of mention of services rendered to the empire and a vow of ongoing imperial favor:

The lineage was set forth with the ascent to the heavens from Shu and Hanzhong. Later generations manifested their transformation from reclusion. Treasured registers and golden talismans; auspicious reciprocation from former times shines forth from the bundled scriptures. Green serpent, the jade sword; an eternal thread of fathomless origin carried on from father to son. Historically, they have set forth numinosity through declaration and clarification. Invariably, they have assisted in governance through clarity and quiescence. Although their receipt of imperial favor is founded in a prior age it is nonetheless further deepened in the present dynasty.<sup>38</sup>

The absence of corroborating historical information regarding those generations of Celestial Masters between Zhang Lu and the eventual emergence of the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain and the lack of imperial proclamations found in the *Hereditary Household* in external sources casts doubt on the text's reliability as an accurate record of actual historical events. The spirited defense of the lineage in the prefaces and the repeated (and imagined) proclamations of emperors on the "eternal thread" of the lineage, vows of devotion to the lineage, and appalled astonishment at the thought that the Zhang family should not be given its due reverence are accordingly deployed as bulwarks against doubt. While they may not reflect cold historical fact, they are nonetheless important to the end of creating the basis of a tradition that is (again,

---

<sup>37</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.360).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

fictively) vouched for by a succession of emperors and by those scholars responsible for the prefaces to the *Hereditary Household*.

### (5.3) *Buddhist Polemics*

While a generalized condemnation of slander and invective on the part of the Buddhists and Confucians is found at several points in the *Hereditary Household* specific works are only singled out in Zhou Tianqiu's preface: "The preposterous slander found in Xuan Guang's *Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity* and that of Li Ying's *Record of Shu* is insufficient to the task of marring Fu Han."<sup>39</sup> Both works predate Zhou Tianqiu's preface by roughly one thousand years suggesting that the sting of the barbs contained within were rather slow to dull. The *Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity* (*Bianhuo lun* 辯惑論), is a polemic that arose out of debates between representatives of Buddhism and Daoism at the court of the Northern Qi (*Bei Qi* 北齊) and was composed around 480 C.E. by Dharma Master Xuanguang 釋玄光. It is preserved in Sengyou's 僧祐 *Record on Spreading the Light [of Buddhism]* (*Hongming ji* 弘明集), composed between 507 and 514 C.E. under the Liang dynasty 梁朝.<sup>40</sup> The *Record of Shu* (*Shu ji* 蜀記), also known as the *Record of Yizhou* (*Yizhou ji* 益州記), by Li Ying 李膺, is a regional gazetteer of the Liang dynasty that is no longer extant but is frequently cited in Buddhist and Confucian polemical sources including Zhen Luan's 甄鸞 *Laughing at the Way* (*Xiaodao lun* 笑道論) of 570 C.E., The monk Dao An's 道安 *On the Two Teachings* (*Erjiao lun* 二教論)

---

<sup>39</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.345). Fu Han 輔漢 is the style name of Zhang Daoling.

<sup>40</sup> *Record on Spreading the Light [of Buddhism]* (Hongming ji 弘明集 T.2102, 52.1-97).

also completed in 570 C.E., Dharma Master Daoxuan's 釋道宣 *Anthology of Past and Present Buddhist and Daoist Debates* (*Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡) a compilation of texts pertaining to Buddhho-Daoist conflict from the Han through the early Tang compiled in 661 C.E., and Zhi Pan's late Southern Song *Comprehensive Record of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖通紀)<sup>41</sup>

*Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity* is a broad critique that accuses Daoists of a litany of misdeeds including the fabrication of scriptures and talismans, deception of the emperor through the promise of an elixir of deathlessness, and indulgence in immoral sexual rites (i.e. the Way of the Yellow and the Red, a frequent target for Buddhist polemicists). In two passages the Celestial Master's lineage is singled out for ridicule. The first instance consists of a humorous "corrective" which ridicules the belief that the ancestral Celestial Master ascended to the heavens in broad daylight:

Zhang Ling improperly proclaimed himself Celestial Master, and in doing so insulted both the human and spirit realms. He was accordingly met with deserved recompense in his own lifetime. At the end of the Xingping reign era of the Han he was gobbled up by a python.<sup>42</sup> His son, Zhang Heng, ran about searching for him but Daoling could not be located. Fearing that he would be met with criticism or reprisal from the people Heng devised an expedient strategy. In order to represent traces of a numinous transformation he tied a rope to the foot of a wild goose and placed it on a stone on the summit of the mountain. After everything he plotted was ready he determined a time to set his plan in motion.

In the first year of the Jianan reign era he sent an envoy with the announcement that on the seventh day of the first month the Celestial Master had ascended to the Mystic

---

<sup>41</sup> *Laughing at the Way* (*Xiaodao lun* 笑道論 T.2103, 52.143-152); *On the Two Teachings* (*Erjiao lun* 二教論 T.2103); *Anthology of Past and Present Buddhist and Daoist Debates* (*Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 T.2104); *Comprehensive Record of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖通紀 T.2035).

<sup>42</sup> The Xingping 興平 reign era of Han Xiandi 獻帝 is inclusive of the years 194-195 C.E.

Metropolis.<sup>43</sup> The “rice folk” and the Mountain-dwelling Lao people gathered like ants around the precincts of the mountain. The populace of Cloud Terrace Parish and the others knocked their heads on the ground and with repeated prostrations said, “We have heard that the sage has ridden off to the Mystic Metropolis. We will be parted from him for a long time. We wish the favor of receiving his bodily remains that we might enjoy blessings in the Nine Realms of Tenuity.”

When night came, Heng entered the mountain. After a long time, he came out and deceived the people by announcing on Zhang Ling’s behalf: “I will chariot to the stars and to the Floriate Canopy! Each of you should return to your proper parish. With a pure heart uphold the practices, envision the Master, and keep the Way in your thoughts.” Heng then secretly pulled on the rope that secured the wild goose and it shot straight up into the empty sky. The people and the Lao were ignorant and all said that [Zhang Ling] had ascended in Transcendence. This is trading on death to benefit the living; deceiving both heaven and earth!<sup>44</sup>

The second attack on the Celestial Masters is found in a section of the text titled “The Daoist Knights-Errant Create Disorder” (*Xia dao zuo luan* 俠道作亂). It places Zhang Lu in the company of famous rebels who spread chaos throughout the realm in hopes of establishing religiously inspired utopian kingdoms.<sup>45</sup> First, there were the Yellow Turbans who “gazed upon the Han household like birds of prey.” Though they were captured and executed for their attempted usurpation they were followed by Zhang Lu who came forth and renewed their practices which he branded the “Way of Ghosts.” The last figure in this rogue’s gallery is Sun En, who rebelled against the Jin dynasty at the end of the fourth century.

The depiction of Zhang Lu’s teachings in the passage is something of a hodge-podge of information found in early historical sources. The *Record of Huayang* and the *Record of the Latter Han* both label Zhang Lu’s teachings as the “Way of Ghosts” (*gui*

---

<sup>43</sup> The first year of the Jianan 建安 reign era corresponds to 196 C.E.

<sup>44</sup> *Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity* (*Bianhuo lun* 辯惑論 T.2102, 52. 0048b10-b23).

<sup>45</sup> *Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity* (T.2102, 52. 0048c08-c17).

*dao* 鬼道) though the latter attributes the teachings to his mother and neither source associates the term with the Yellow Turbans. Passages from the *Outline of Records* in both the *Record of the Latter Han* and the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* suggest that Yellow Turban influence was incorporated into Zhang Lu's teachings by way of his ill-fated compatriot Zhang Xiu. Xuan Guang looks to have combined elements of these varied accounts in order to draw a more direct line between Zhang Lu and the Yellow Turbans than is permitted by a careful reading of the early histories.

Composed by Zhen Luan, a former Daoist who had embraced Buddhism, in the wake of the sixth century Buddho-Daoist debates the attacks found in *Laughing at the Way* are made with the zeal of the newly converted. Zhen Luan focuses in on a number of those targets common to Buddhist critiques of Daoism including the depiction of the religion as a dangerous font of rebellion and luridly descriptive outrage over “merging pneuma” rites.<sup>46</sup> Zhang Daoling and Zhang Heng are subjected to derision in a passage from *Laughing at the Way* that is in keeping the favored talking points of Buddhist polemicists with regard to the movement; Zhang Ling is said to have met his end in the belly of a snake and the Celestial Masters are implied to have a connection to the Yellow Turban uprising.

The former point is made in a passage titled “Guanyin as Servant of the Way,” (*Guanyin shidao zhe* 觀音侍道者) which concerns an image of Laozi that Daoists

---

<sup>46</sup> *Laughing at the Way* is preserved in the *Expanded Record on Spreading the Light [of Buddhism]* (*Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 T. 2103, 52.143c-52c). Compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 in 664 C.E., the *Guang hongming ji* is, as the title suggests, an expanded update on Sengyou's early sixth century compilation. A translation and study of *Laughing at the Way* is found in Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao: Debates among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

claimed to have been worshipped by the Bodhisattva. The Zhang family enters into the conversation on account of their yellow garb which is understood by Zhen Luan to be both an imitation of the dress of Buddhist monastics and also as adopted as a symbolic reminder of an eschatological belief grounded in five phases (*wuxing* 五行) theory which held that the yellow phase of the earth was in ascent at the fall of the Han. It is implied that yellow robes were taken up by the Celestial Masters as part of a strategy of usurpation to hasten the fall of the dynasty.

The tale of Zhang Daoling being eaten by a snake is told with significantly less detail than in the *Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity* though the gist of the story remains the same; in both cases the fate of the ancestral Celestial Master is well-deserved retribution for duplicitous practices:

According to the *Record of Shu*, Zhang Ling, sought to ameliorate pestilence and so established an earthen altar and obtained the art of incantations to spirits. He fabricated talismans and writs in order to deceive the common people and was swallowed whole by a giant snake. His disciples were shamed by this and said that he ascended to the heavens in broad daylight. Ling's son Heng acted as succeeding master and Heng's son Lu was the inheriting master. They made use of their ancestor's demonic arts to stir up chaos throughout the realm.<sup>47</sup>

The account of Zhang Lu's activities in "Guanyin as Servant of the Way," follows the general outline of that given in historical sources; Zhang Lu initially serves Liu Yan under whose command he overthrows the regional governor Su Gu whereupon he establishes himself in Hanzhong. Zhen Luan cites the *Book of the Han* (*Han shu* 漢書) as his source on Zhang Lu, though he is most certainly referring to the *History of the Latter Han* (*Hou Han shu* 後漢書). At any rate, certain details not found in historical

---

<sup>47</sup> *Laughing at the Way* (*Xiaodao lun* 笑道論 T.2103, 52.146b20- 146b23).



sources are added in *Laughing at the Way*, embellishments which paint the third Celestial Master in a particularly unflattering light; Zhang Lu is said to have killed Su Gu and then to have usurped control of Hanzhong where he converted the people to the Way of Ghosts. Zhen Luan further reports that Zhang Lu declared himself the king of Hanzhong and, as a symbolic indication of the turning of the dominant phase and the loss of the Han dynasty's mandate, he took to wearing yellow robes and ordered his underlings to wear yellow robes, turbans, and capes. This detail is not found in historical sources and is most certainly included in Zhen Luan's account as a means of highlighting the association of Zhang Lu's movement with the Yellow Turbans.

Another section of *Laughing at the Way*, "Zhang Qian Takes Hold of the Scriptures," (*Zhang Qian qu jing zhe* 張騫取經者) recounts the story of Zhang Daoling being eaten by a snake in the context of a refutation of the history of Daoism as presented in the infamous *Scripture on Converting the Barbarians* (*Huahu jing* 化胡經). In this case it is not Li Ying's *Record of Shu* that is cited as the source of the tale: "the *Book of the Han* says, 'Zhang Ling lived in the reign of Han Shundi. He traveled to Shu in pursuit of knowledge and was gobbled up by a snake on Mount Crane Call.'"<sup>48</sup> Here, again, the *Book of the Han* must refer to the *History of the Latter Han*. The Celestial Masters are not referenced in the former source which chronicles the dynasty from its beginning to Wang Mang's interregnum (9-23 C.E.). The latter source tells of Zhang Daoling fabricating talismans and writs in order to deceive the common people while in

---

<sup>48</sup> *Laughing at the Way* (T.2103, 52.0147c25).

residence on Mount Crane Call but says nothing of the circumstances of his death in the maw of a serpent or otherwise.<sup>49</sup>

Much the same ground is covered in *On the Two Teachings*, another Buddhist polemic to emerge from the Buddho-Daoist debates of the Northern Zhou. The author, Dao An 道安, makes his critique of the Celestial Masters through an appeal to the authority of the *Record of Shu* and the *History of the Latter Han*:

Now, the Daoism of the present day originates with Zhang Ling. This is the Way of Ghosts and does not bear any relation to Laozi. How do we know this? The *Record of Shu* by Li Ying states the following; “Zhang Ling wished to ameliorate illness and pestilence from the midst of an earthen altar. He obtained arts and writes on incantations to spirits and by means of them explicated and employed the ghost methods. Later, he was eaten by a giant snake.”<sup>50</sup>

*On the Two Teachings* follows with a synopsis reading of Zhang Lu’s biography as found in *History of the Latter Han* that is inclusive of his mother’s beguiling nature and mastery of the Way of Ghosts. His time in Hanzhong is described in terms that combine the narrative of the *History of the Latter Han* with Dao An’s own interpolations which paint Zhang Lu as the leader of a branch of the Yellow Turban uprising. Dao An does not note where he diverges from the source text and does not indicate the source of his polemic embellishments to the historical record:

Liu Yan, the regional inspector of Yizhou, appointed Lu as Command Supervisor of Propriety. Together with the commander of another bureau, Zhang Xiu, Lu commanded troops in a surprise attack on Su Gu, the governor of Hanzhong. They cut off the Xie valley and killed the Han officials. Lu then took possession of Hanzhong, killed Zhang Xiu, and absorbed the mass of his followers. He rebelled against the Han,

---

<sup>49</sup> *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.5).

<sup>50</sup> *On the Two Teachings* (*Erjiao lun* 二教論 T.2103, 52.0140a19-140a21).

donned a yellow turban and clad himself in yellow robes. When Cao Cao received the mandate the yellow [phase] was changed to red. The yellow turbaned bandits then came to be pacified.<sup>51</sup>

This is reiterated slightly later following an account of the titles and honors granted Zhang Lu by Cao Cao: “Zhang Jue, Zhang Lu and others initially wore yellow clothing on account of a prognostication which stated that ‘in the end of the Han one robed in yellow will be king.’”<sup>52</sup> Finally, the *Outline of Records* is invoked to make the claim that “the yellow turban and yellow robes originate with Zhang Lu. The records of the nation illuminate this and so how could it be false?”<sup>53</sup> The *Outline of Records* as quoted in the *History of the Latter Han* does claim that there were parallels between Zhang Xiu and the Yellow Turbans but does not describe Zhang Lu as having worn wearing yellow clothing in hopes of making a prophecy into reality.<sup>54</sup>

*Refutation of Heresy (Poxie lun 破邪論)*, a text preserved in the *Expanded Record on Spreading the Light [of Buddhism]* and composed by the monk Falin 法林 in 622 C.E. makes use of complimentary passages in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* and the biography of the Latter Han general Huangfu Song 皇甫嵩 found in the *History of the Latter Han* to underscore parallels between the Yellow Turbans and the Celestial Masters. Falin first offers a synopsis of Zhang Lu’s biography as found in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* inclusive of the structure and practices of his community in Hanzhong which

---

<sup>51</sup> *On the Two Teachings* (T.2103, 52.0140a26-140a27).

<sup>52</sup> *On the Two Teachings* (T.2103, 52.0140b20).

<sup>53</sup> *On the Two Teachings* (T.2103, 52.0140b26).

<sup>54</sup> *History of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.7).

ends with the phrase “[the practices] for the most part resembled those of the Yellow Turbans.”<sup>55</sup> Though it is selectively edited Falin’s account is nonetheless an accurate representation of the content of the biography.

It is followed, without comment, by a synopsis of the description of the Yellow Turban rebellion given in the early passages of Huangfu Song’s biography in the *History of the Latter Han*.<sup>56</sup> Falin’s summary of the passage misleadingly states that Zhang Jue “professed the Way of Huanglao and practiced the arts of Zhang Ling,” whereas the actual passage in Huangfu Song’s biography makes no mention of the ancestral Celestial Master but reports that Jue “professed the Way of Huanglao in order to gather and cultivate disciples.”<sup>57</sup> Falin does not comment on the similarities of the practices of the Celestial Masters and the Yellow Turbans beyond asserting that the latter practiced Zhang Ling’s arts. The nature of the equivalence is largely left for the reader to draw as healing and the usage of talismans are the only practices in common to the two movements in the synopsis passages.

*Refutation of Heresy* was composed in response to a series of memorials urging the abolition of Buddhism submitted to the Tang emperor Gaozong 高宗 by the Daoist and court astrologer Fuyi 傅奕 in the year 621 C.E. The same is true of another work found in the *Expanded Record*, the pointedly titled *Judgments on the Matter of Fu Yi’s Rejection of Buddhist Dharma and Monkhood* (*Juedui Fuyi fei Fo fa seng shi* 決對傅奕

---

<sup>55</sup> *Refutation of Heresy* (*Poxie lun* 破邪論 T.2103, 52.167a).

<sup>56</sup> *History of the Latter Han* (SKQS 101.1-10).

<sup>57</sup> *History of the Latter Han* (SKQS 101.1); *Refutation of Heresy* (*Poxie lun* 破邪論 T.2103, 52.167a).

廢佛法僧事) composed by the monk Ming'gai 明槩, a contemporary of Falin. The section relevant to the Celestial Masters is found in the context of a larger discussion on the relative antiquity of Buddhism and Daoism. Ming'gai argues that Buddhism predates Daoism in China on the basis of the founding of the White Horse Temple (*Baima si* 白馬寺) in Luoyang under Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han (r. 58-75 C.E.) at which time there were no altars to Laozi. According to Ming'gai it was only with Zhang Ling that Daoist belvederes and chambers were first constructed. From this point he proceeds to deliver a novel variation on the narrative of the would-be usurpation of the Celestial Masters and their Yellow Turban compatriots in which he implicates Zhang Ling himself as the first among a series of Daoist rebels who sought to seize the throne for themselves:

Later, in the time of Han Shundi there was Zhang Ling of Pei who was a visitor in Shu. He heard a saying transmitted from olden times which held that formerly Han Gaozu gained response from the twenty-four pneuma and made offering to the twenty-four mountains. It thereafter came to pass that he assumed kingship over all under heaven. Ling did not abide in virtue and so he concocted a plan to sacrifice cattle in twenty four locations. He constructed earthen altars and made veneration in grass chambers which he named the twenty-four parishes. This is the origin of the parishes and lodges. Twenty-three of these were located in Shu and one was located at the site of Yin Xi's residence in Xianyang. In this way the ignorant were deceived and Zhang Ling amassed a sinister faction. He collected a levy of rice and brought about disorder. Later, Zhang Ling was eaten by a snake and so his rebellious sacrifice was not efficacious.<sup>58</sup>

The details of Zhang Daoling's ritual based attempt at usurpation as told here are particularly interesting. The exact nature of Han Gaozu's supplication is not given, but it may be inferred that they were both ritually correct and performed by one of the utmost righteousness and therefore efficacious. Daoling, by contrast, is said to have lacked

---

<sup>58</sup> *Judgments on the Matter of Fu Yi's Rejection of Buddhist Dharma and Monkhhood* (*Juedui Fuyi fei Fo fa seng shi* 決對傅奕廢佛法僧事 T.2103, 52.171b).

virtue and therefore engaged in the sacrifice of cattle. This, of course, would have been in direct violation of the Celestial Master's prohibition against blood sacrifice as attested to in the *Xiang'er Commentary to the Laozi* and it accordingly not surprising that the ritual bloodletting is not referenced elsewhere.<sup>59</sup> Ming'gai's account of Zhang Lu likewise takes liberties with what is known from the historical record by implying that he was executed rather than enfeoffed by Cao Cao and by suggesting a direct connection between the Yellow Turbans and Zhang Lu beyond what can be gleaned from the histories:

[Zhang Ling's] grandson was Zhang Lu. He wrought calamity in Hanzhong and was exterminated by Cao Cao. From their origin to the present day the wickedness of this cabal is carried forth in succession. Reliant on the parishes and lodges they persist in performing their evil arts. In the inaugural year of the Zhongping reign era of Han Shundi, Zhang Jue of Julu Commandery declared himself the Master of Yellow Heaven.<sup>60</sup> There were thirty-six generals [under Zhang Jue], each of whom wore yellow robes and turbans. They were a far off correlate to [the movement of] Zhang Lu.<sup>61</sup>

The early Tang *Anthology of Past and Present Buddhist and Daoist Debates* echoes the account of Zhang Ling's death as found in the *Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity* though, as with *Laughing at the Way* and *On the Two Teachings*, the retelling lacks the humorous detail of the heaven-bound goose:

At the end of the Han the three Zhangs enacted their Way to delude the world. This is perfectly evident in the histories. In the *Record of Shu*, Li Ying states that Zhang

---

<sup>59</sup> See Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 119-120. On blood sacrifice and early Celestial Masters Daoism see Terry F. Kleeman, "Licentious Cults and Bloody Victuals: Sacrifice, Reciprocity, and Violence in Traditional China," *Asia Major*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series 7.1, (1994): 200-211.

<sup>60</sup> This is an error. The Yellow Turban uprising broke out in 184 C.E., the initial year of the Zhongping 中平 reign era of Han Lingdi 靈帝. Emperor Shundi of the Han 順帝 reigned from 125 to 144 C.E.

<sup>61</sup> *Judgments on the Matter of Fu Yi's Rejection of Buddhist Dharma and Monkhood* (*Juedui Fuyi fei Fo fa seng shi* 決對傅奕廢佛法僧事 T.2103, 52.171b).

Ling sought to ameliorate illness and established an earthen altar. He obtained methods and writs of incantations to spirits and elucidated the methods of ghosts. Later, when he was swallowed by a great snake his followers absurdly claimed that he ascended to the heavens. His son was Heng and Heng's son was Lu. Those who studied their way called them the "three masters." Ling is known as the Celestial Master, Heng, as the inheriting master, and Lu as succeeding master. They made use of the Way of Ghosts to influence the simple and vulgar.<sup>62</sup>

The account of Zhang Lu's life found in the *Anthology of Past and Present Buddhist and Daoist Debates* is presented as deriving from the *History of the Latter Han*. As with *Laughing at the Way* the usurpation of Hanzhong and the depiction of the Celestial Masters as associates of the Yellow Turbans is the focal point of the passage on Zhang Lu:

The Record of the Latter Han states that Zhang Lu initially served as Command Supervisor of Propriety. He was sent to launch a surprise attack on Su Gu, the Governor of Hanzhong. He cut off the Xie Pass, killed the Han officials, and occupied Hanzhong for more than thirty years. He donned the accoutrements of the Yellow Turbans and, like them, fabricated talismans and writs in order to deceive the common folk.<sup>63</sup>

The passage closes with a note regarding a prognostication which foretells of a man garbed in yellow who will claim the throne at the end of the Han. Zhang Jue, Zhang Lu, and others are said to have dressed themselves in yellow robes in hopes of fulfilling the prophecy to their own benefit.

The mid-thirteenth century *Comprehensive Record of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs* contains an argument for the equation of the Zhang family teachings with those of the Yellow Turbans that is grounded in a comparison of accounts of the "three

---

<sup>62</sup> *Anthology of Past and Present Buddhist and Daoist Debates* (*Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 T2104, 52.0371c14-c15).

<sup>63</sup> *Anthology of Past and Present Buddhist and Daoist Debates* (*Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 T2104, 52.372c16-c18).

masters” in the *Outline of Records*, *Record of the Three Kingdoms*, and *History of the Latter Han* with that found in a Daoist source, the *Tradition of the Celestial Masters* (*Tianshi zhuan* 天師傅). That work is now lost save for a scattering of citations including three passages in *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns*, none of which match the content presented by Zhi Pan in the *Comprehensive Record*. The passage employed bears a strong resemblance to Zhang Daoling’s biography as found in the *Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning* of 1191 C.E. In both sources it is reported that Zhang Daoling was able to recite the *Daode jing* by the age of seven and was summoned to court by Han Emperor Hedi in 92 C.E. Both sources also identify Cloud Brocade as an alternate name for Dragon and Tiger Mountain. If the passage from the *Tradition of the Celestial Master* is authentic then it suggests that the biography of the Celestial Master found in the *Annals of the Sage* was patterned after the earlier text.

Zhi Pan follows the lengthy quote from *Tradition of the Celestial Master* with a passage from the *Outline of Records* that tells of Zhang Lu absorbing and embellishing the Way of Great Peace (*Taiping dao* 太平道) teachings of Zhang Xiu after his compatriot’s death. This is followed by a few lines from the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* which tell of Zhang Daoling fabricating writs and receiving five pecks of rice from his followers. Finally, he includes a lengthy account of the Yellow Turban Rebellion that is drawn from the *Record of the Latter Han* biography of the Han dynasty general Huangfu Song 皇甫嵩 who suppressed the uprising. The commentary which follows attempts to synthesize this clumsy cobble of disparate accounts in order to debunk the lineal history presented in the *Tradition of the Celestial Masters*:



These matters as presented in actuality consist of a mixture of truth and falsehood. The deceased [Zhang Xiu and Zhang Jue] were in fact of the Way of Five Pecks of Rice. It is also held that the methods of the Covenant of Upright Unity were bestowed on the Celestial Master from Lord Lao. In the time of Han Shundi the Celestial Master travelled to Shu. The Celestial Masters, father and son, obtained the Way and rose up to the heavens as transcendents. Down to the present their historical traces are arrayed at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. The descendants served as inheriting masters in an unbroken line and were venerated as perfected by successive dynasties.

Zhang Xiu and Zhang Jue assumed the position of the Celestial Master's successors in the time of Han Lingdi. The false way of the five pecks of rice was transmitted among the masses of their disciples and spread throughout the eight states and 36 directions. Moreover, they rebelled and together with their troops were collectively executed for duplicity. Now, those who record history are occasionally excessive in their speech leading those of later generations to be unable to scrutinize truth from falsehood. That which is stated in the "Record of Liu Yan" in the *History of the Han* is clear. Those who obtained the Way from Ling gave five pecks of rice. From Ling to Lu there were three generations. Lu was enfeoffed as Marquis of Lanzhong and his son, Fu, succeeded. This is chronicled by Fan Ye and I will not repeat his account.<sup>64</sup> Now, let us look at that which is stated in the *Record of Wei*; Ling wrote Daoist books and deceived the people who in turn offered him five pecks of rice. Those of his generation referred to him as the "rice bandit." This, what Chen Shou describes, is very much in the form of a harsh critique.<sup>65</sup>

Now, we arrive at what is said in the *Outline of Records*. There again it is said that Zhang Jue was executed for his Way of Five Pecks of Rice. Zhang Lu was able to rely on the faith of others and embellished the teachings. What is described is greatly lacking in sense. Lu enacted the Way of Rice and claimed it to be his ancestral method. How could it be that he did not rely on Zhang Jue for his teachings? This is known; the *Record of Wei* and the *Outline of Records* are lacking as sources of knowledge and their absurd accounts are not secreted away. They do not measure up to the treasured record of the *History of the Han*.

It is not known when Li Ying's *Record of Shu* was recorded. [There it is said] that Zhang Ling offered insult to humans and ghosts alike and was consumed by a great serpent. As for this low slander, how could it be endured in temperance? Those who are known as the three Zhangs and who have been hallowed as the Celestial Masters are the disciples of the Yellow Turbans. This is the fact that they seek to conceal.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Fan Ye 范曄 was the author of the *Record of the Latter Han*.

<sup>65</sup> Chen Shou 陳壽 was the compiler and author of the *Record of the Three Kingdoms*.

<sup>66</sup> *Comprehensive Record of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs (Fozu tongji 佛祖統紀 T.2035, 35.0337b28-c24)*.

Zhi Pan's argument is somewhat convoluted and the rationale behind the specific passages he has chosen to draw the reader's attention to is not always clear. For instance, Huangfu Song's biography says nothing of the Zhang family and does not state that the Yellow Turbans collected a levy of five pecks of rice from their followers. Zhi Pan's dismissal of the *Outline of Records* appears to stem from the absence of an explicit statement in which the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice is described as having derived from the Yellow Turbans. This leads Zhi Pan to rhetorically question how it is possible that Zhang Lu "did not rely on Zhang Jue for his teachings."

Zhi Pan's criticism of the *Outline of Records* for not hewing fully to his own interpretation of the relationship between the Celestial Masters and Yellow Turbans is perhaps a bit misplaced. While the *Outline of Records* does not baldly state that the Way of the Celestial Masters is equivalent to the Yellow Turbans it does hold that Zhang Lu's methods were an embellished version of Zhang Xiu's teachings and, in an earlier passage that escaped Zhi Pan's attention, it is stated that "Zhang Xiu's methods were largely identical to those of Zhang Jue."<sup>67</sup> In other words, the *Outline of Records* indicates that Zhang Lu's teachings were similar to those of the Yellow Turbans. It does not, however, forcefully discount the possibility of inheritance from Zhang Daoling or underscore the Yellow Turban pedigree of Zhang Lu's teachings forcefully and plainly enough for Zhi Pan.

---

<sup>67</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 105.6).

As for the *Record of the Three Kingdoms*, Zhi Pan cheers the harsh critique of the Zhang Celestial Masters found within but nonetheless dismisses the source. The passages that he has chosen to highlight simply reiterate the tradition that five pecks of rice were taken as a tax on the faithful and those that describe the teachings as transmitted from Zhang Daoling to his son and grandson. In the broader context of the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* the rationale behind Zhi Pan's choice of passages employed and his distrust of the source are difficult to fathom. His case would be well served by underscoring a description of practices and institutions established by Zhang Lu found in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* that is quoted by Falin in his *Refutation of Heresy*. There, it is said that Zhang Lu's teachings "resembled those of the Yellow Turbans for the most part."<sup>68</sup>

Zhi Pan's favorable treatment of the *History of the Latter Han* is equally puzzling as it is the only source among those considered that does not claim some connection between Zhang Lu's teachings and those of the Yellow Turbans. The passages that Zhi Pan considers tell of the suppression of the Yellow Turban movement and of the lineal transmission from Zhang Daoling to Zhang Heng and then Zhang Lu. No attempt is made to synthesize those discrete pieces of information into anything resembling an argument.

Finally, Li Ying's *Record of Shu* is thrown into the mix almost as a *non sequitur*. It is given little comment or consideration. The source is likely quoted simply on account of the pejorative thrust of the passage.

---

<sup>68</sup> *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.38).

Though it is somewhat clumsily executed Zhi Pan's critique is notable for the attempt to offer a counterpoint to the self-presentation in Celestial Masters hagiographies. Zhi Pan's marshalling of historical sources to reveal the "true nature" of the lineage as originating with the Yellow Turbans is a somewhat more sophisticated tactic than those employed in earlier Buddhist polemics. The claim that Zhang Lu donned yellow robes in imitation of the Yellow Turbans as found in *Laughing at the Way* and *Anthology of Past and Present Buddhist and Daoist Debates* is grounded in a citation from the *History of the Han* that is easily refuted by the absence of any such passage in that text. By way of contrast, the passages from historical texts cited in the *Comprehensive Record of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs* are authentic.

Above all else in the context of the present study Zhi Pan's critique is noteworthy for acknowledging the presence of the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain and for offering a direct response to a work that seeks to present the lineage in a positive light. Even if the passages from earlier works that he employs aren't marshalled as effectively as they might be Zhi Pan is nonetheless successful in drawing his reader's attention to the disconnect between the self-presentation of the Celestial Masters and their depiction in official histories. In so doing his rhetoric is more powerful than that of earlier critiques that rely exclusively on selective or disingenuously embellished readings of passages pertaining to the Celestial Masters in early histories.

A similar but less thorough predecessor to Zhi Pan's tactic of comparing Daoist and historical sources on the Celestial Master's lineage is found in a commentary on the Lotus Sutra composed by You Yan 有嚴 (d.1101 C.E.), a Northern Song Buddhist

originally from Linhai 臨海 in present day Zhejiang.<sup>69</sup> As indicated by the heading of the passage, “Zhang Ling is Gobbled up by a Great Python and is Said to Obtain Transcendence,” (*Zhang Ling wei da mang suo tun naizhi de xian* 張陵為大蟒所吞乃至云得仙) You Yan takes as his task the revelation of the shocking “truth” regarding the fate of the ancestral Celestial Master.

You Yan opens his investigation with a citation from *Traditions of the Great Way* (*Gaodao zhuan* 高道傳), a Daoist hagiographical compendium attributed to his contemporary Jia Shanxiang 賈善翔 (ca. 1086-1101 C.E.). *Traditions of the Great Way* is now lost but it serves as the basis for many of the biographies found in the first fascicle of the *Requisite Anthology of Taoist Teachings* (*Daomen tongjiao biyao yongji* 道門通教必用集) compiled by Lu Taigu 呂太古 in 1201 C.E. It is also quoted extensively in *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* and to a lesser extent elsewhere in the canon.<sup>70</sup> The specific passage that You Yan takes up is not preserved among canonical sources but is evidently a synopsis version of the opening of Zhang Daoling’s biography from that source, fragments of which are found in *Record of the Gathered Transcendents*.

---

<sup>69</sup> *Explication of the Lotus Scripture* (*Fahua jing xuanqian beijian* 法華經玄籤備檢 X.588, 28) You Yan’s 有嚴 biography in the *Comprehensive Record of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs* attributes the *Xuanqian beijian* to him but does not relate the date or circumstances of its composition (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖通紀 T.2035, 49.0218a28-b28).

<sup>70</sup> *Requisite Anthology of Daoist Teachings* (*Daomen tongjiao biyao yongji* 道門通教必用集 HY 1216 ZHDZ 42.478-533); *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄 HY 1238 ZHDZ 45.268-408).

As the supposed circumstance of the Celestial Master's passage from this world is his object of inquiry You Yan contrasts the ascent told of in *Traditions of the Great Way* with the now familiar passage from Li Ying's *Record of Shu* which he then follows with a paraphrase of Xuan Guang's account of the Celestial Master's death and Zhang Lu's attempt to conceal the truth of his father's fate. He closes the passage with his own judgment on the matter:

Ling fabricated Daoist writs in order to delude the common people. Those who received his Way offered five pecks of rice and those of his generation branded him the rice thief. As such he was guilty of deception against heaven and earth. How could he obtain ascent to the heavens? It is thus as Xuan Guang says in his *Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity*; the goose was changed to a crane, the bird that is mounted by transcendents. Presently, those who bestow registers from Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Xinzhou are the distant kinsman of the Zhang Celestial Master.<sup>71</sup>

A final invocation of the tale of Zhang Ling being consumed by a snake is found in the monk Xiang Mai's *Record on Contesting Falsehood* (*Bianwei lu* 辯偽錄) of 1291 C.E.<sup>72</sup> The account found there does not elaborate on earlier versions of the story and does not cite the *Record of Shu*. It appears in the context of a lengthy corrective to the depiction of their religion's history offered by Daoists themselves. *Record on Contesting Falsehood* was composed in the aftermath of the last great flaring up of tensions between Buddhists and Daoists. It was completed a decade after the second of two Buddh-Daoist debates held in 1258 and 1281 C.E. These debates were precipitated by Buddhist petitions to the throne regarding the renewed circulation of the *huahu* legend by Complete Perfection Daoists and by that movement's practice of converting of Buddhist

---

<sup>71</sup> *Explication of the Lotus Scripture* (X.588, 28.280494a22-b01).

<sup>72</sup> *Record on Contesting Falsehood* (*Bianwei lu* 辯偽錄 T.2116, 52.773a-b).

temples to Daoist sites, a consequence of the overly zealous application of privileges granted to the patriarch Qiu Chuji 丘處機 by Chinggis Khan in 1223 C.E. Although the thirty-sixth Celestial Master Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 was among the representatives of Daoism in the debate of 1281 C.E. the Celestial Masters are little mentioned in Xiang Mai's text and are not treated to harsh and sustained criticism of the sort found in Zhi Pan's *Comprehensive Record of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs*. Apart from a brief aside regarding Zhang Ling's ignominious end in the belly of a snake the Celestial Masters are only invoked in one other passage in which they are identified as the originators of devious practices which have no relation to the august figure of Laozi, a critique similar to that made by Dao An in *On the Two Teachings*.<sup>73</sup>

The Yuan dynasty saw the last great court debate between Buddhists and Daoists and it was also under that dynasty that the final outpouring of anti-Daoist polemics composed by Buddhists came into being. In light of this it would seem that Zhou Tianqiu's complaint that "the skewed speech of the Buddhists and the defamations of the Confucians remain ubiquitous," in his preface to the *Hereditary Household* is made in reference to texts that were several centuries old by the time he was writing.<sup>74</sup> As these polemics remained in circulation and were never consigned to flames as the various retellings of the *huahu* legend were they endured as a challenge to the self-representation of the Celestial Masters as found in the *Hereditary Household* and other hagiographies.

#### (5.4) *Confucian Polemics: Attacks from Scholars and Officials*

---

<sup>73</sup> *Record on Contesting Falsehood* (T.2116, 52.778a).

<sup>74</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.345).

Critiques of the Celestial Masters from Confucian literati are less numerous and, generally speaking, less pointed in content and venomous in tone than those from Buddhists. This may be a consequence of the fact that there was no Confucian-Daoist analogue to the debates and controversies that arose sporadically between Buddhists and their chief competitors for imperial endorsement in the realm of religion. Those direct attacks on the lineage emanating from the literati that do exist are few in number and largely confined to the collected works of a number of Ruists from the Song through the Ming whose attacks on Daoism are reflective of a generalized distaste for anything that might be dismissed as superstition.

An interesting and unusual case of an official zealously pursuing the prosecution of the Zhang family lineage is found in the story of the Southern Song official Lin Ji 林積. A number of extant sources include variations on an encounter between Lin Ji and the twenty-sixth Celestial Master Zhang Sizong (or in some cases a proxy figure) in which doubt is cast on the authenticity of the Zhang family lineage and its patriarch is punished for fraud. Biographies of Lin Ji are found in a trio of Qing dynasty sources, the *Comprehensive Record of Guangdong* (*Guangdong Tongzhi* 廣東通志), the *Comprehensive Record of Fujian* (*Fujian Tongzhi* 福建通志), and the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi*.<sup>75</sup> Biographical details differ slightly between these sources but they are in united in agreement that Lin Ji was a person of Youxi 尤溪 in contemporary Fujian who passed the *jinshi* examination in the Qingli 慶曆 reign era of Song Renzong (1041-

---

<sup>75</sup> *Comprehensive Record of Guangdong* (*Guangdong Tongzhi* 廣東通志 SKQS 39.64-65); *Comprehensive Record of Fujian* (*Fujian Tongzhi* 福建通志 SKQS 46.41); *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 61.31).



1048 C.E.) prior to embarking on a career in the bureaucracy of the Northern Song. Of the three accounts only the *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* places Lin Ji in the vicinity of Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

The earliest version of the story is found in Lin Ji's memorial inscription as preserved in Huang Shang's 黄裳 *Collected Works from Mount Yan* (*Yanshan ji* 演山集). The inscription is undated though a biography in the late Qing *Supplement to the History of the Song* (*Songshi yi* 宋史翼) tells us that Huang Shang was a near contemporary of Lin Ji who also hailed from Fujian.<sup>76</sup> The story, as told in *Collected Works from Mount Yan*, reads partially as follows:

The Daoist Zhang Sizong came forth from Dragon and Tiger Mountain with a coterie of disciples. He referred to himself as the twenty-sixth generation descendent of the Lord Master of the Han. He wielded a bronze seal of office and produced talismans and registers that bore the imprint of the Chief Official of Yangping Parish. Lin Ji made use of the biography of Liu Yan in the *Record of the Latter Han* and that of Zhang Lu in the *Chronicle of the Wei* to expose the fraudulence of this transgression; "There it is said that in the Eastern Han Zhang Ling crafted talismanic writs in order to deceive the common people and was known as the "rice thief." When the way of the Han was in decline the perverse doctrines of the Way of Ghosts ran rampant throughout the world with a force that cannot be fathomed. Zhang Lu took possession of Hanchuan and remained there for thirty years. Cao Cao made a show of force and Zhang Lu submitted himself to Cao Cao after the warlord made a show of force. Cao Cao executed Zhang Heng at Yangping Pass.

It follows that this alleged seal of the Chief Official of Yangping Parish is a counterfeit item. To make use of the seal to claim the ability to suppress disasters that would befall my people and coax forth good fortune, is this not preposterous? Moreover, at present the Way prevails in the world. How can I allow deceptions that were not permitted in the late Han to sew chaos among the people, deceive those in high stations, and bring harm to our government? So it is that I have made a forceful inquiry into this duplicity and petitioned the court for the destruction of this seal so that by the power of

---

<sup>76</sup> *Supplement to the History of the Song* (*Songshi yi* 宋史翼 SKQS 26.14-15).

imperial dispensation none may seek its aid and the demonic arts will be extinguished from the lower reaches of the Yangzi.”<sup>77</sup>

Certain details of the story, notably the correlation of the timeframe of Lin Ji’s career with the period in which Zhang Sizong was active, accord with Daoist sources such as the *Hereditary Household* though the story is nowhere to be found in biographical works of Daoist origin. On the basis of available evidence it is not possible to determine whether the incident was omitted due to its embarrassing nature or whether it was the fabrication of vindictive Confucians. The latter possibility is suggested by the fact that Zhang Sizong’s father Qianyao had been honored by Emperor Renzong and, according to the *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* and *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents*, the young Sizong had been invested with authority over the teachings at a young age by Renzong as well.<sup>78</sup> That a relatively minor local official would have the clout to change the emperor’s long held esteem for the family on the basis of a brief memorial is accordingly somewhat dubious. The account is inclusive of at least one fabrication; the inclusion of the claim that Cao Cao executed Zhang Heng was evidently added to further denigrate the Celestial Masters lineage and it is not found in any historical sources. The detail is likely included as a simple polemical barb but it is also possible that Huang Shan has simply confused Zhang Heng for Zhang Lu’s brother Zhang Wei who, according to *Record of the Latter Han*, was executed by Cao Cao following a failed defense of Yangping.

---

<sup>77</sup> *Collected Works from Mount Yan* (*Yanshan ji* 演山集 33.1-2).

<sup>78</sup> *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (ZHDZ 19.965) and *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.349).

A later version of the story with a bit more narrative flair is found in *Random Records from Willing Change Studio* (*Nenggaizhai Manlu* 能改齋漫錄), a “brush notes” (*biji* 筆記) collection from the early Southern Song scholar Wu Zeng 吳曾 (fl. 1127-1160 C.E.). This account spares the reader any suspense regarding the outcome of the encounter by appearing under the title, “Lin Ji Destroys Zhang Sizong’s Seal of Demonic Arts” (*Lin Ji hui Zhang Sizong yaoshu yin* 林績毀張嗣宗妖術印). Aside from a few added details the gist of the story is the same though Wu Zeng curiously refers to Sizong as the thirty-third rather than twenty-sixth generation descendant of the Han Celestial Master:

Lin Ji of Nanjian in Youxi was charged with the command of Anfu in Jizhou by Song Renzong.<sup>79</sup> At the time there was a certain Zhang Sizong who practiced the art of demon suppression by crafting talismans and registers. He referred to himself as the thirty-third generation descendent of the Lord Sovereign of the Han. He had come from Dragon and Tiger Mountain with a coterie of disciples and it was said that he had the ability to suppress disasters and coax forth good fortune. The common people were unified in their devotion to him.

Li Jin observed Zhang’s seal of office and said “Ah! This is a thief’s item! In former times Zhang Daoling handed it down to Zhang Lu. To those who followed the teachings of the Way of Ghosts, Lu was the self-proclaimed Sovereign Master. He took possession of Hanchuan and loitered there for thirty years whereupon he surrendered to Cao Cao and returned to Yangping. This seal accordingly bears the inscription of the Chief Official of Yangping Diocese. The present age is in accord with the Way. How can I permit the progeny of those who abide by evil spirits and steal sprouting crops to indulge in deception in order to bring harm to my administration?” Accordingly, the seal was seized. When word of what had transpired reached the court the seal was destroyed and the study of demonic arts in the Jiangnan region was brought to an end.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> Anfu 安福 district, Jizhou 吉州 is located in central Jiangxi.

<sup>80</sup> *Random records from Willing Change Studio* (*Nenggaizhai Manlu* 能改齋漫錄 SKQS 13.6-7).

Highly abbreviated versions of the story that likely derive from Lin Ji's tomb inscription and Wu Zeng's retelling are found in later works. The late Southern Song and early Yuan scholar Huang Zhen 黃震 (1213-1281 C.E.) reiterates the story in synopsis form in his *Daily Records of Mister Huang* (*Huang shi ri chao* 黃氏日抄): "In the present dynasty Lin Ji, the Prefect of Nanjian, sent the Zhang Celestial Master to prison and presented a memorial to the court stating that the [Zhang family] ancestor was a rebel against the Han and as such his descendants should not be granted hereditary titles."<sup>81</sup>

The mid-thirteenth century *Analects* styled compilation of Zhu Xi's discussions with his students, *Collected Sayings of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類) also includes a brief summary of the incident:

In speaking of Zhang Celestial Master, the prior born said, "In the present dynasty Lin Ji the Prefect of Nanjian sentenced the Zhang Celestial Master to prison. Lin composed a memorial to the emperor stating that as the ancestor was a traitor of the Han it is not right that his descendants should be enfeoffed. At the time people all had faith in them and this one man was able to shine light on their banditry. He accordingly composed a memorial worthy of perusal."<sup>82</sup>

The Late Ming scholar Tian Yiheng 田藝衡 references Lin Ji's exposure of the Celestial Master as a fraud in a section of his *Daily Records of Liuqing* (*Liuqing rizha* 留青日札) of 1572 C.E titled "Rejecting the Celestial Master" (*ge tianshi* 革天師). Following a discussion on the origins of the term "Celestial Master" in the *Zhuangzi* and a brief note on Zhang Daoling as the ill-reputed "rice thief" Tian writes that, "In the Song

---

<sup>81</sup> *Daily Records of Mister Huang* (*Huang shi ri chao* 黃氏日抄 SKQS 38.20).

<sup>82</sup> *Classified Dialogues of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 SKQS 138.13).

dynasty Lin Ji the Prefect of Nanjian sent the descendant of the Zhang Celestial Master to jail. He memorialized the emperor saying, ‘his ancestor is a rebel against the Han and so his descendants should not be enfeoffed.’”<sup>83</sup>

In a departure from earlier sources Tian Yiheng does not give a generation or name for the descendent who was jailed for his treachery. The rest of the relevant section of his text is given over to an account of imperial audiences with Celestial Masters of the late Yuan and Ming dynasties. Particular emphasis is given to humiliating incidents of demotion such as Ming Emperor Taizu’s rejection of the title of Celestial Master and the Longqing Emperor’s confiscation of the jade seal of Yangping parish, events that do not find their way into the *Hereditary Household* for obvious reasons.<sup>84</sup>

A final retelling is found in the Qing dynasty scholar Pan Yongyin’s 潘永因 *Anthology of Trivialities from the Song* (*Songbai Leichao* 宋稗類鈔), the preface of which dates to 1669 C.E. Pan’s recounting of the incident looks to be cribbed from that of Wu Zeng though there are a number of differences between the two versions:

Lin Ji, a person of Youxi in Nanjian, was administrator of Anfu and Jizhou during the reign of Song Renzong. At the time Zhang Zongsi was practicing the art of demon suppression and crafted talismans and registers. He referred to himself as the thirty-third generation descendant of the master sovereign of the Han. He led his disciples from Dragon and Tiger Mountain and claimed the ability to eradicate disaster and call forth good fortune. The common people were united in their praise and took to following him.

Lin Ji examined Zhang’s seal of office and exclaimed, “A-ha! This is an item of those who rebelled against the Han! Long ago it was passed on from Zhang Ling, the heir to the Yellow Turbans, to his grandson Zhang Lu in order to instruct the people in

---

<sup>83</sup>*Daily Records of Liuqing* (*Liuqing rizha* 留青日札 fasc.12.48).

<sup>84</sup> *Daily Records of Liuqing* (*Liuqing rizha* 留青日札 fasc.12.48-50).

the Way of Ghosts. Lu styled himself “Sovereign Master” and usurped Hanchuan where he dwelt for twenty years. Later, he was defeated by Cao Cao and fled to the Yangping pass. So it is that this seal is inscribed Writ of the Chief Official of Yangping Parish. The way presently prevails in the world. Ah! Should I allow such fallacy to take root by permitting the descendant of the Han rebel to engage in unbridled deceit and bring harm to the region under my command?” Zhang was thereupon seized and sent off to prison where he was punished for his crimes. Word was sent to the court, the seal was destroyed, and practice of demonic arts in the Jiangnan region was put to a halt.<sup>85</sup>

Pan Yongxin follows Wu Zeng in referring to the subject of the tale as the thirty-third rather than twenty-second generation Celestial Master. He also identifies him as Zhang Zongsi 張宗嗣 rather than Zhang Sizong 張嗣宗, though this is likely a mistaken transposition rather than an intended change of name. Pan Yongxin’s telling also removes the reference to Cao Cao’s execution of Zhang Heng found in Wu Zeng’s account and adds the detail that Zhang Ling is the “heir” to the Yellow Turbans. Finally, he includes the detail that Zhang Zongsi/Sizong was imprisoned for his deceit, an element missing from Wu Zeng’s account and Lin Ji’s tomb inscription but found in Huang Zhen’s synopsized telling as well as that of Zhu Xi’s disciples.

In addition to his endorsement of Lin Ji’s actions further critiques of Daoism in general and the Celestial Masters lineage in particular are attributed to Zhu Xi in the *Collected Sayings of Master Zhu* and in his commentary to the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑), the *Imperially Approved Complete Book of The Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government* (*Yupi Zizhi Tongjian Gangmu Quanshu* 御批資治通鑑綱目全書). In one passage from the

---

<sup>85</sup> *Anthology of Trivialities from the Song* (*Songbai Leichao* 宋稗類鈔 SKQS 2.9-10).

*Collected Sayings* Zhu Xi clarifies the origins of Daoism according to his own understanding:

Someone asked the following, “Daoism is issued forth from the Laozi. For the Daoists of the present day, however, this is not the case. Might it be that the arts presently transmitted are those of Zhang Jue?”

Zhu Xi responded, “They are the practices of Zhang Ling as seen in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms*. They presently make use of a seal of office that is known as the Seal of the Chief Official of Yangping Parish. When Zhang Lu raised arms there were Libationers, and chief Libationers. Zhang Lu wed his daughter to Ma Chao in order to compel his service. Zhang performed rites employing five *dou* of rice and so he was called the rice thief. In Zhedong he performed a rite petitioning for rain and made supplications for the ill. How can one procure rain from thought? This is not to be believed.”<sup>86</sup>

It is interesting that Zhu Xi does not take up the suggestion of his interlocutor and equate the Celestial Masters with the Yellow Turbans. His statement is hardly a ringing endorsement of the Zhang family but neither is it as harsh as critiques found elsewhere among the writings of Confucian and Buddhist opponents of the lineage. A stronger condemnation of the ill effects of Buddhism and Daoism on the governance of the realm is found in a section of the *Collected Sayings* titled “Laozi, Zhuangzi, and Liezi,” (*Lao Zhuang Liezi* 老莊列子). The passage opens with an account of the ideal state of affairs prior to the realm’s pollution by Buddhist and Daoist thought: “When the teachings of Confucianism came forth the two emperors and three kings complied with the patterns of heaven and people’s hearts were obedient. The world was ordered and the people were instructed.”<sup>87</sup> This happy situation came to an end with the introduction of the thought of

---

<sup>86</sup> *Collected Sayings of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 SKQS 126.46).

<sup>87</sup> *Collected Sayings of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 SKQS 125.12).

those “outside of society” (*fang wai* 方外) whose rejection of norms created a state of affairs warned of by Mencius in describing those with neither father nor sovereign who are comparable to beasts. In the passage which follows his overview Zhu Xi is more specific in his assignation of blame:

At the outset of the Han the sovereign ruled, all had trust in his words, and the people were transformed by his influence. The grand scribes record that Xiao He, Cao Shen, and Ji An all believed the Six Classics were sufficient to rule and that nothing was superior to them.<sup>88</sup> From the latter Han onwards there were the rice thief Zhang Ling, and Kou Qianzhi of Haidao. Their disciples have followed them in their banditry. Cao Cao sent troops to seize Yangping from Zhang Ling’s grandson Zhang Lu. He accepted Zhang Lu’s surrender and treated him with honor. It is apparent that the absurdity of Zhang Lu’s deceit was not sufficiently inquired into by Cao Cao.<sup>89</sup>

These themes of skepticism and a distaste for Daoism whether it be expressed in the writings of Laozi and Zhuangzi or in the nefarious influence of Zhang Lu and Kou Qianzhi are expounded upon at greater length in the *Complete Book of The Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government*. Zhu Xi is particularly displeased with the less than reverent depiction of Confucius as the student of Laozi in the *Zhuangzi* and also takes umbrage at the anarchic bent of the text as exemplified by the call to destroy measures and scales.

The Celestial Masters are commented on after the basics of the movement’s origin are discussed in a lengthy passage from the *Records of Hearsay* (*Wenjian lu* 聞見錄)

---

<sup>88</sup> Xiao He 蕭何, Cao Shen 曹參, and Ji An 汲黯 were officials of the Western Han dynasty. Xiao He was an early ally of Liu Bang 劉邦 and served as his Chancellor (*zaixiang* 宰相) of the Han dynasty. Cao Shen was the second Chancellor of the Han. Ji An was an official under emperors Jingdi 景帝 (r. 157-141 B.C.E.) and Wudi 武帝 (r. 141-87 B.C.E.).

<sup>89</sup> *Collected Sayings of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 SKQS 125.12).



which, in turn, relies heavily on the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* and the *Book of the Latter Han* followed by the concluding observation that the account given in histories affirms that Zhang Ling was not an “extraordinary person,” (*fei yiren* 非異人).<sup>90</sup>

In the passage that follows doubt is cast on the antiquity and endurance of the title Celestial Master:

Presently Daoists take ancestor Ling as Celestial Master. Ling was enfeoffed as Celestial Master in year seven of the Tianbao reign era of the Tang dynasty. And yet, in Cui Hao’s biography in the History of the Northern Wei Kou Qianzhi is said to have succeeded Ling as Celestial Master. How is it then that the honorific Celestial Master is only an established title in the Tang dynasty?<sup>91</sup>

This passage is followed by a lengthy biographical account of Zhang Daoling that follows the outline of events as presented in the *Hereditary Household* albeit with a number of significant departures. Daoling is said to have been born on Heaven’s Eye Mountain and to have gone into reclusion on Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Xinzhou. Cloud Brocade Mountain is then said to have been the site of Zhang Daoling’s alchemical experiments though it is not equated with Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the passage. Cloud Terrace Mountain is given as the place of Zhang Daoling’s ascent and is said to be the place where the Zhang patriarchs have dwelt from the time of the fourth generation descendant Zhang Sheng to the author’s own time. After further review of the history of Daoism the passage concludes with a reflection on the mundane character of Daoists and

---

<sup>90</sup> *Imperially Approved Complete Book of The Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government* (*Yupi zizhi tongjian gangmu quanshu* 御批資治通鑑綱目全書 SKQS 24.63). The *Record of Hearsay* (*Wenjian lu* 聞見錄) is a “brush notes” work written by the Northern Song scholar Shao Bowen 邵伯溫 (1057-1134 C.E.), the eldest son of the early Neo-Confucian thinker Shao Yong 邵雍.

<sup>91</sup> *Imperially Approved Complete Book of The Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government* (SKQS 24.63).

the inappropriate nature of the lofty honorifics by which members of the Zhang family and Kou Qianzhi were known:

It is foolishly said that Daoists are the Celestial Master's descendants. On account of this it is said that none is greater under heaven and none more revered than Zhang Daoling of the Han. Only among sovereigns and emperors is the son of heaven found. How could a lowly recipe gentleman be the master of heaven? This originates with the disciples of Daoling and Qianzhi. They received life from fathers and mothers, received their nature from heaven and earth. They were composed of blood and flesh and took wives. The Way and virtue are also born of heaven, so how can there be a master of heaven? If heaven has a master then the High Thearch of Bright Heaven would turn to the north and receive his teachings. How is this sensible?

Later generations inheritors of Daoling were titled Celestial Master down to our time when this appellation was overturned. They are now called Perfected. This ridiculous appellation originates with Emperor Taiwu having faith in Cui Hao's words and venerating Qianzhi. Their methods extended throughout the world and down to later generations and the minor methods of these magicians who delude the people do not reflect the meaning of the five thousand words on the Way and virtue.<sup>92</sup>

Zhu Xi's understanding of Daoism is in keeping with those of other Confucian literati writing between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries who generally emphasize the distinction between the *Daode jing* and the "vulgar" practices of self-described Daoists. Beyond mere superstition these practices are generally reviled for their supposed catastrophic influence on any ruler who falls into their thrall. This point is emphasized through the example of personages such as Kou Qianzhi and Lin Lingsu who, rightly or wrongly, shoulder much of the blame for the downfall of their patrons, and through the penchant for insurrection that is exemplified by the Yellow Turbans and Sun En. As for the Zhang family, the title of Celestial Master is generally held to be a relatively recent creation and the moral standing of the lineage is called into question by

---

<sup>92</sup> *Imperially Approved Complete Book of The Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government* (SKQS 24.65).

means of familiar historical sources including the *Record of the Three Kingdoms*, *History of the Latter Han*, and Li Ying's *Record of Shu*.

The lattermost of these sources is employed to the same end by Ruist critics of the Celestial Masters as it is in those Buddhist sources reviewed above. The earliest such instance attributed to a member of the literati is found in the Northern Song scholar Ma Yongyi's 馬永易 encyclopedia *Record of the Earnest Guest* (*Shibin lu* 實賓錄). In an entry titled "The Three Zhangs" (*San Zhang* 三張) Ma writes:

In the time of Emperor Shundi of the Latter Han Zhang Ling travelled as a guest in Shu. There, he collected taxes in the form of a rice levy. His machinations were the roots of the disasters of the time, and he was eaten by a snake. His grandson Zhang Lu continued the arts of his ancestors and in Hanzhong he titled himself Sovereign Master. His scourge rose up and was extinguished by Duke Cao. Also, in the inaugural year of the Zhongping reign era Zhang Jue of Julu titled himself Master of Yellow Heaven. He had command over thirty-six generals all of whom wore yellow turbans and had charge over one hundred thousand troops.<sup>93</sup>

An early seventeenth century brush notes text by Xu Yingqiu 徐應秋 (*jinshi* 1616 C.E.) titled *A Collection of Talks from Jade Fungus Hall* (*Yuzhitang tan hui* 玉芝堂談薈) includes a section that opens with a standard biography of Zhang Daoling that follows the outline of events as given in the *Hereditary Household*. This is then contrasted with the account of the Celestial Master being eaten by a snake and Zhang Heng's subsequent cover-up of the event as found in the *Record of Shu*. Xu concludes the passage with the observation, "down to the present day those who venerate and uphold the teachings of

---

<sup>93</sup> *Record of the Earnest Guest* (*Shibin lu* 實賓錄 SKQS 3.10).

Upright Unity, together with their followers make an extravagant display of their absurdities. Their words are not reflective of the true record.”<sup>94</sup>

A later passage titled “Vast Vagaries of the Transcendent Arts” (*Xianshu miaomang* 仙術渺茫) contrasts the historical records of various figures, including Zhang Daoling, with legendary accounts that grew up following their deaths:

When heterodoxies flourished and circulated the customs of the age were mired in superstition. And so there is deluded thought. The Yellow Emperor died and was buried. In the *Original Records* it is said that at Tripod Lake he rode off on a dragon. Marquis Liu died and was seen in the world so there is talk of grain avoidance to lighten the body in order to ascend. Wangzi Jin died in his youth at the age of seventeen and said that he mounted a crane on Goushi Mountain. Zhang Daoling was eaten by a viper and his body was not found. Later it was said that he ascended to the heavens on the seventh day of the seventh month.<sup>95</sup>

A trio of late Ming and early Qing dictionaries and collectanea are inclusive of approving citations of the depiction of Zhang Daoling’s fate as recorded in the *Record of Shu*. These include Zhou Ying’s 周嬰 *Forest of Goblets* (*Zhilin* 卮林) of 1640 C.E. which references the *Record of Shu* as cited in the *Collected Remainder from Mount Wanwei* (*Wanwei yubian* 宛委餘編) of Wang Shizhen 王世貞.<sup>96</sup> The *Comprehensive Explication of Terms* (*Tongya* 通雅) completed by Fang Yizhi 方以智 in 1666 C.E. presents the oft cited passage from the *Record of Shu* in tandem with a selective interpretation of passages from the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* that implicates the Zhang family as an extended branch of the Yellow Turbans:

---

<sup>94</sup> *A Collection of Talks from Jade Fungus Hall* (*Yuzhitang tan hui* 玉芝堂談薈 SKQS 17.20).

<sup>95</sup> *A Collection of Talks from Jade Fungus Hall* (*Yuzhitang tan hui* 玉芝堂談薈 SKQS 17.51).

<sup>96</sup> *Forest of Goblets* (*Zhilin* 卮林 SKQS 5.49-50).

As for the Zhang family great perfected, inheritors of the teachings of Upright Unity [their lineage] begins with the ancestor Zhang Ling whose methods are the same as Zhang Jue. He took up a staff of nine nodes and made use of talismans and incantations. The afflicted would *koutou* and reflect on their transgressions, drink talisman water, and make offerings of talismans to the three offices of heaven, earth, and water. The ill offered five pecks of rice. We know from Pei Songzhi's annotated Record of the Three Kingdoms that Zhang Jue's plot was revealed and his rebellion was extinguished. In Shu, Ling transmitted the teachings to his son Heng and to his grandson Lu. Lu took command of Hanzhong for thirty years. Cao Cao crushed his forces and Lu begged to surrender. He was enfeoffed as a marquis and his teachings were transmitted throughout the realm. In the Tang and into the Song dynasty they reemerged and took charge of Daoism.<sup>97</sup>

Another encyclopedic work by Fang Yizhi, *A Little Knowledge of Innate Principles* (*Wuli xiaozhi* 物理小識) contains a similar appraisal of Daoist miracle stories. The passage opens with a pair of accounts taken from the Yuan dynasty scholar Fang Hui's 方回 *Leisurely Transcriptions of Empty Valley* (*Xugu xianchao* 虛谷閒抄) in which the purported miracles given in that source are recounted but their subsequent debunking is not included. The tale of Zhang Ling being eaten by a snake is not attributed to a specific source but follows on the heels of a story said to originate in the *Record of Miscellany from Shu* (*Shu za ji* 蜀雜記) which tells of Daoists in Mianzhu County (*Mianzhu xian* 綿竹縣) claiming to ascend annually on a white cloud as a means of concealing the fact that their ranks are, in fact, consumed by a snake spirit much as Zhang Daoling was:

Fang Hui's *Xugu xianchao* says that Shi Lao transformed into a white crane and tells of the Sage Maiden of Taihu's coffin.<sup>98</sup> This spurious talk of sorcery deceives the

---

<sup>97</sup> *Comprehensive Explication of Terms* (*Tongya* 通雅 SKQS 21.16-17).

<sup>98</sup> Both stories are preserved in a fragment from the *Xugu xiancho* 虛谷閒鈔 in the Ming dynasty compendium *Ocean of Tales Old and New* (*Gujin shuohai* 古今說海 SKQS 127.3-4). According to that source the story of Shi Lao's transformation was spread far and wide by his son and disciples. It was ultimately discovered that his son had fabricated the tale and that Shi Lao died of illness and was dumped

people. One person transmits emptiness and the mass of people take it as the truth. The *Record of Miscellany from Shu* states that in Mianzhu county Daoists annually take their leave on a white cloud. It is known that they are taken by the spirit of a python. Zhang Daoling was also eaten by a python at Mount Crane Call and his disciples rushed off in a panic. Presently the story is altered to state that Zhang departed on a journey to the land of spirits.<sup>99</sup>

*Collected Works of Wang Zhong*, (*Wang Zhong wengong ji* 王忠文公集), a Song dynasty compilation of the scholar Wang Wei's 王禕 written legacy includes a lengthy passage in which Daoists are taken to task for their deviation from the philosophy of the *Laozi*. The critique itself uses an endorsement of the *Daode jing* as an acceptable philosophy by which to pacify a nation as the jumping off point for a dismissal of the "heterodoxies" which were later spread by Zhang Daoling and his ilk. It is also of interest in that Wang Wei was a close associate of Song Lian. The two hailed from the same region, rose quickly through the bureaucracy of the nascent Song dynasty, and co-edited the *History of the Yuan*. In addition to their status as colleagues they apparently thought highly of each other as Wang Wei contributed a preface to Song Lian's collected works.<sup>100</sup> It would be interesting to know what Wang Wei thought of Song Lian's Daoist proclivities and whether the two ever clashed over the matter. At any rate, Wang Wei's

---

in a river. His son was then sentenced to be flogged to death for his deceit. The Sage Maiden of Taihu's coffin was the object of veneration at a shrine on Dongting Mountain (*Dongting shan* 洞庭山) in Wu Commandery (*Wu jun* 吳郡), present-day Suzhou. According to legend the Sage Maiden passed away hundreds of years in the past but her remains were miraculously preserved such that she appeared to remain in the blush of youth. When the coffin was ordered open by skeptical inquirers nothing but desiccated bones were found.

<sup>99</sup> *A Little Knowledge of Innate Principles* (*Wuli xiaozhi* 物理小識 SKQS 12.5).

<sup>100</sup> The preface is found in *Collected Works of Wang Zhong* (*Wang Zhong wengong ji* 王忠文公集 SKQS 5.1-3).

interpretation of Daoism as a degradation of a worthy philosophy into mere superstition speaks for itself:

Laozi's Way is rooted in clarity, quiescence, and effortless action. Effortless action is taken as its substance. Effortless action and effortless inaction are its expression. The Classic of Way and its Virtue in five thousand words takes this as its essence and nothing beyond that.

In the Former Han Wendi was sovereign and Cao Shen was chancellor. They made use of this Way to govern and pacify the people. With this Way the nation may be managed. These studies were transformed to the arts of spirit transcendents and recipe gentleman and again transformed to the teachings of the rice sorcerers and Libationers who spread their heterodoxy. And so the arts of the spirit transcendent and recipe gentlemen there are of two sorts; refined cultivation and dietetic regimens. These two are the teachings of today's Complete Perfection.

The teachings of the rice sorcerers and Libationers are of two sorts; talismans and registers and statutes. These are the teachings of today's Upright Unity... Talismans and registers are not found in Huanglao books. They are in truth methods created by Zhang Daoling, Kou Qianzhi, and others. Du Guangting, Lin Lingsu and the like transformed talismans and registers into scriptures of statutes. To take up these teachings is to add to vulgarity.<sup>101</sup>

A similar argument is proposed by the Jiangxi born Ming dynasty scholar-official Luo Qinchun 羅欽順 (*jinsi* 1493 C.E.) in his *Knowledge Painfully Acquired* (*Kun zhi ji* 困知記).<sup>102</sup> The relevant passage opens with a demarcation between the philosophy of Laozi and the pedigree of Ming Daoists:

Today's Daoists originate from the sorcerers and incantors of old and truly have nothing to do with Laozi. Laozi is at odds with them. His Way resides in deep roots with firm stalks, long life and lasting vision and that is all. *The Book of the Way and its Virtue*

---

<sup>101</sup> *Collected Works of Wang Zhong* (*Wang Zhong wengong ji* 王忠文公集 SKQS 20.43-44).

<sup>102</sup> For an English translation and study of the work see Irene Bloom, *Knowledge Painfully Acquired*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

*in Five Thousand Words* remains intact. As for common prayers and sacrifices to ameliorate disasters, incantations, registers, tallies, there is not a single word.<sup>103</sup>

He continues, writing that scriptures, incantations, talismans and registers derive from the recipe gentlemen who lived in the Qin and Han whose heirs are Zhang Daoling and Lin Lingsu among others. The numinous essence of prayers for the amelioration of disaster is said to have long since been lost and they are accordingly without efficacy as evidenced by the fact that disasters occur and blessings are not brought forth. He concludes that “those who enter the ‘gate of the sage’ do not take hold of the extravagant language and deceptive tricks of Zhang Daoling and his ilk which are an insult to Laozi.”<sup>104</sup>

The receipt of imperial honors by members of the Zhang family lineage is the catalyst for a pair of critiques from literati composed well after the offending incidents that incurred their disdain had transpired. The first is found in *Collected Works from Jiaoqiu* (*Jiaoqiu wenji* 椒邱文集) by He Qiaoxin 何喬新 (*jinshi* 1454 C.E.), a long serving official of the Ming dynasty whose natal home was Guangchang 廣昌 which is located roughly fifty miles to the southwest of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. His critique, under the heading “The Honoring of the Dragon and Tiger Mountain Daoist Zhang Qianyao by the Title Prior Born of Clear Purity,” (*Si Longhu shan daoshi Zhang Qianyao hao Chensu xiansheng* 賜龍虎道士張乾曜號澄素先生) is inclusive of both an indictment of the supposedly august nature of the lineage and the efficacy of their practices:

---

<sup>103</sup> *Knowledge Painfully Acquired* (*Kun zhi ji* 困知記 SKQS 1.36).

<sup>104</sup> *Knowledge Painfully Acquired* (SKQS 1.37).



The title of Celestial Master comes to light with Kou Qianzhi and prior to the Jin dynasty it does not exist. In the Song dynasty the Zhang family of Dragon and Tiger Mountain first took sole possession of the title through the person of [Zhang] Qian Yao. Passing through the Yuan and down to the present day the nation has revered and doted on them unduly such that a gilded seal cut in jade has been bestowed on them as a mark of the lineage.

Chronicles state that Qian Yao is the descendant of Zhang Daoling of the Han and the Zhang family itself proclaims that Daoling is in the lineage of Marquis Liu. Now, looking into this it is evident that Marquis Liu died in the time of Han Huidi. How could he truly ascend to the void, fly in the ether, and follow Chi Songzi in his travels? Daoling was the grandfather of Lu and at the end of the Han he made use of evil arts to delude the masses. Lu usurped Hanzhong and was akin to the Yellow Turban Zhang Jue. How is he a gentleman of the Way and how is it that he should be venerated as such?<sup>105</sup>

The passage continues with a proclamation of doubt on the ability of the Celestial Masters to ameliorate disaster given that all manner of conflagrations have persisted throughout the ages and a skeptical inquiry into how it is that each generation of the Zhang family has passed from the earth given their supposed possession of the arts of longevity. Qiaoxin concludes with the following prescription: “that all the world should revoke their titles, scatter their disciples, and burn their so-called talismans and registers is sufficient to expel the duplicities they have prosecuted throughout the ages.”<sup>106</sup>

A section on “heterodox teachings” (*yi jiao* 異教) in the *Rich Meaning of the Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong yanyi* 中庸衍義) by the early sixteenth century scholar Xia Liangsheng (*jinshi* 1508 C.E.) takes the bestowal of a title on the thirty-eighth generation Celestial Master Zhang Yucai as its point of departure:

In the second year of the Yuanzhen reign era of Yuan Chengzong the thirty-eighth generation inheriting Celestial Master [Zhang] Yucai was made Perfected of the Vast

---

<sup>105</sup> *Collected Works from Jiaoqiu* (*Jiaoqiu wenji* 椒邱文集 SKQS 5.8).

<sup>106</sup> *Collected Works from Jiaoqiu* (*Jiaoqiu wenji* 椒邱文集 SKQS 5.1).

Way of Great Purity who Concentrates the Spirit. He was given command over Daoist affairs in the Jiangnan region. The official Qiu Jun said, “After Zhang Daoling later generations safeguarded his teachings and there were none who were awarded his title.”<sup>107</sup>

The bestowal of titles originates with Song Zhenzong. All of Daoling’s descendants of each generation were granted the title Prior Born though none were given official ranks. In the Yuan they were enfeoffed as Perfected and given a silver seal and rank of the third grade. This is the start of [their receipt] of graded ranks.<sup>108</sup>

He continues, lamenting that all officials are compelled to make prostrations before the descendants of the Han Celestial Master in spite of the fact that “We, the disciples of the Kong family know to honor that lineage alone. How can we offer reverence to strange teachings?”<sup>109</sup> This is followed by a lengthy passage chronicling those various rulers such as Wu of the Liao and Song Huizong who submitted themselves to the heterodoxies of Buddhism and Daoism and were met with ill fortune as a result.

The mid-sixteenth century scholar Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (*jinshi* 1547 C.E.) continues in the theme of lamenting those honors and titles heaped upon later generations of Celestial Masters in a detailed passage from his collected works, the *Draft in Four Categories of the Man of Mount Yanzhou* (*Yanzhou shan ren sibu gao* 弇州山人四部稿). The initial section of his critique is largely identical to those found elsewhere, complete with the drawing of lines of equivalence between the Celestial Masters and the Yellow Turban rebels and the suggestion that they only avoided the fate of their

---

<sup>107</sup> Qiu Jun 丘濬 (*jinshi* 1454 C.E.) was a Ming dynasty scholar and author of *Supplement to the Abundant Meanings of the Great Learning* (*Daxue yanyi bu* 大學衍義補).

<sup>108</sup> *Rich Meaning of the Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong yanyi* 中庸衍義 SKQS 3.67).

<sup>109</sup> *Rich Meaning of the Doctrine of the Mean* (SKQS 3.67).

compatriots through guile. Following Zhang Lu's death their tradition was "transmitted throughout the nation from generation to generation and in the Tang and Song they took command of Daoist teachings. An ornamented jade seal is transmitted [from master to son], and [they are] taken as equivalent to the lineage of the Confucius. That they should be doted upon as virtuous from first to last and praised after their time is laughable."<sup>110</sup>

Wang continues with the story of Zhang Daoling being consumed by a snake as told in Li Ying's *Record of Shu* which he comments on noting that "Heng was the succeeding master and Lu was the inheriting master. By means of their methods they spread chaos throughout the world. Their way has been transmitted to the present."<sup>111</sup>

He concludes with a passage ridiculing the story of the thirtieth Celestial Master defeating the wicked spirit inhabiting a salt marsh:

In the *chongning* reign era of the Song dynasty the spirit of Chiyou occupied a salt marsh. The emperor dispatched the Celestial Master Zhang Xujing to summon Marquis Guan to defeat it. The marsh reverted to its former state and the marquis was enfeoffed as a perfected sovereign. Presently memorial halls are adorned with murals of Chiyou's defeat. According to the preface to the Classic of the Yellow Emperor the Yellow Emperor killed Chiyou and his blood transformed into salt. The site is a salt pond in the present day. And so Chiyou's salt pond has long been spoken of.<sup>112</sup>

Wang Shizhen's commentary hinges on the implausibility of the spirit of Chiyou being defeated by the Celestial Master given that he had already been transformed into salt by the Yellow Emperor in the distant past. The only version of this story found among biographical sources pertaining to the Celestial Masters is that in the *Hereditary*

---

<sup>110</sup> *Draft in Four Categories of the Man of Mount Yanzhou* (*Yanzhou shan ren sibu gao* 弇州山人四部稿 SKQS 174.11).

<sup>111</sup> *Draft in Four Categories of the Man of Mount Yanzhou* (SKQS 174.11-12).

<sup>112</sup> *Draft in Four Categories of the Man of Mount Yanzhou* (SKQS 174.12).

*Household*. There, the spirit that is defeated is a generic “water dragon” (*jiao nie* 蛟螭) rather than an apparition of Chiyou 蚩尤, the enemy of the Yellow Emperor.

Wang Shizhen’s *Reflections on Readings* (*Du shu hou* 讀書後) contains the most direct engagement of a work on the Celestial Master’s lineage produced by one of its critics in the form of the essay “Reflections on Reading *Traditions of Zhang Daoling*” (*Shu Zhang Daoling zhuan hou* 書張道陵傳後). The exact work that Wang Shizhen’s critique was composed in response to is not entirely clear. No work by the exact title *Traditions of Zhang Daoling* is referenced in Daoist sources or catalogues of lost works though the format of each entry in *Reflections on Readings* is such that the title of the work read is included in the heading. For instance, Wang’s critique of the lineal text is followed by an entry titled “Reflections on Reading *Accounts of Felicitous Meetings with the Mysterious School*,” (*Shu Xuanfeng qinghui lu hou* 書玄風慶會錄後), an appraisal of Yelu Chucai’s 耶律楚材 famous narrative of the Complete Perfection patriarch Qiu Chuji’s travels to the court of Chinggis Khan. In keeping with the pattern of *Reflections on Readings*, it is likely that Wang wrote in response to a work titled *Traditions of Zhang Daoling* although he does not mention the work again by name in the body of the text and does not make any reference to its provenance or author.

The most recent historical Celestial Master mentioned in the review is the thirtieth generation descendant Zhang Xujing (d.1126 C.E.). Accordingly, no critique is made of the imperial favor granted to later generations of Zhang family descendants such as Zhang Yucai and Zhang Yuchu giving the impression that although he was writing in the

mid to late sixteenth century Wang was likely responding to a copy of a relatively early lineal text. An explanation as to why he chose to respond to this particular lineal work rather than, for instance, the *Hereditary Household*, is offered in the opening lines of the review in which Wang explains that he obtained a copy and was requested to make a thorough critique of it.

It is also possible that he wrote in response to one of several works on the lineage in circulation at the time which are likewise now lost. A number of potential candidates are found in Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 *Comprehensive Treatises* (*Tongzhi* 通志) of 1161 C.E. which includes listings for *Inner Traditions of the Celestial Masters* (*Tianshi neizhuan* 天師內傳), *Inner Traditions of Sovereign Zhang, the Master of the Methods of the Three Heavens and Perfected of Upright Unity* (*Zhengyi zhenren santian fashi Zhang jun neizhuan* 正一真人三天法師張君內傳), and *Original Traditions of the Zhang Celestial Masters, [Composed by] the Prior Born of Florid Peak* (*Huading xiansheng Zhang tianshi benzhan* 華頂先生張天師本傳), all of which are now lost.<sup>113</sup> Other possibilities among works that are not available to us include Song Lian's *Traditions of the Household of the Zhang Celestial Master* (*Zhang tianshi jiachuan* 張天師家傳) and the *Traditions of the Celestial Masters* (*Tianshi zhuan* 天師傳), fragments of which are preserved in the *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群

---

<sup>113</sup> *Comprehensive Treatises* (*Tong zhi* 通志 SKQS 67.9-11).

仙錄).<sup>114</sup> Whatever the case may be the criticisms of the lineage offered are such that they could be applied with equal force to any lineal text chronicling the Zhang family of its sort including the *Hereditary Household*:

The traditions of the Celestial Masters are composed as a generational register. It makes assertions despite a lack of evidence to a degree that cannot be expressed. I was requested to take it up and make an item by item critique of it. It states that when Hedi took the throne he heard that Zhang Daoling was in possession of the Way and granted him a seal of office of the third rank. At the time of his summons the Han did not yet have “third rank” officials. Zhang was also summoned to serve as Grand Mentor and enfeoffed as Duke of Ji County. This is transmitted because of Zhuo Mao.<sup>115</sup> The Grand Mentor is a position above the Three Dukes, the all-pervading marquis of great state. How is it that to pacify the world it follows to appoint a vulgar rustic? Moreover, how is this matter so trifling that it is not recorded in the histories?

As for the Spirit talismans those who receive them are capable of grasping the brush and writing and thus the myriad ghosts of the dead can be made to live. Once, the Most High of Li Village (Laozi) in Xichuan directed pacification of spirits. After this, how is it necessary for him to give reign to the utmost of calamities and act by proxy through the Celestial Master?

People of Yangdu largely occupied the mountains and valleys where the king’s law does not reach.<sup>116</sup> Thus, the Celestial Master was able to administer the region and so the populace did not surpass ten thousand. How then can there be thirty-six thousand seed people of the heterodox Way? If ghosts can be killed with a single brush stroke as the most high bestowed upon him, how can he also be charged with exceeding propriety and contaminate the sky with murderous pneuma?

---

<sup>114</sup> Song Lian’s *Traditions of the Household of the Zhang Celestial Master* is listed in the mid-sixteenth century *Catalogue of Qianqing Hall* (*Qianqing tang Shumu* 千頃堂書目 SKQS 15.18). *Record of the Gathered Transcendents of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄 HY 1238 ZHDZ 45.349, 369, 386).

<sup>115</sup> Zhuo Mao 卓茂 was one of the thirty-two “meritorious officials” of the Latter Han and was awarded the title of Grand Mentor. Song Lian’s preface to the *Hereditary Household* records that Zhang Daoling was granted the lofty title by Han Hedi (SKQS 46.340). Zhang Daoling’s biography in the *Hereditary Household* states that he was summoned by Han Hedi on three occasions in order to be granted the title but that he did not respond to the summons (SKQS 46.346).

<sup>116</sup> Given the context of the passage Yangdu 陽都 likely refers to the seat of power at Yangping Parish (*Yangping zhi* 陽平治) and not Yangdu in Shandong province, the natal home of Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮.

Zhang Lu surrendered to the Wei in Hanzhong. He was enfeoffed and died a natural death. The histories are very clear on this. And yet it is said that he did not receive and enfeoffment and ascended to the heavens in broad daylight. Moreover Cao Zijian made a very fastidious record of the practitioners of Daoist arts in his time and did not include Zhang Lu.<sup>117</sup> As for Zhang Lu's son's Wei and Kui there is no talk of their uncanny arts or ascent.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, how could the sons and daughters of more than ten successive generations ascend to heaven and yet there is no record of this?

From the time of the Jin dynasty there is Zhaocheng, there is Jiao, there is Zhonghui, there is Jiong, there is Fu, there is Zixiang, there is Tong, there is Zhongchang, there is Guang, there is Shun, there is Shiyuan, there is Xiu, there is Chen, there is Bingyi, there is Shan, there is Jiwen, Zhengsui, Qianyao.<sup>119</sup> Their lifespans were one hundred years and none lived less than ninety years. How is it that coming down to Qianyao who was summoned to court and his later descendants their lifespans are the same as common people?

Essentially, the seal, sword, talismans, and registers of the pacifier of the south were carried on although [later generations] did not necessarily engage in his disciplines and practices.<sup>120</sup> Song Zhenzong was well inclined to them and therefore they gradually emerged as a result to this.<sup>121</sup> Yet, they were unable to make a great impact. Coming to the *xuan* and *zheng* the prior born of Empty Tranquility, Zhang Xujing emerged and the

---

<sup>117</sup> Cao Zijian 曹子建 is Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232 C.E.), the renowned poet and third son of Cao Cao. The work alluded to is almost certainly *Discourse on Analyzing the Way* (*Bian dao lu* 辯道論).

<sup>118</sup> It may be that Zhang Wei and Zhang Kui are mistakenly referred to as Zhang Lu's sons in the work that Wang Shizen is critiquing. Zhang Wei appears in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* as Zhang Lu's brother who mounted an unsuccessful defense against Cao Cao's forces. He and Zhang Kui are identified as Zhang Lu's younger brothers in Daoist sources such as the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* and the *Hereditary Household*.

<sup>119</sup> Zhaocheng 昭成 through Zixiang 子祥 are the fifth through tenth generation Celestial Masters as they appear in the *Hereditary Household*. Tong 通 is the name given for the eleventh Celestial Master in Bai Yuchan's *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* and the *Comprehensive Mirror* among other sources. His name is given as Tongxuan 通玄 in the *Hereditary Household*. The twelfth generation Celestial Master is named as Zhongchang in a number of sources and as Heng 恒 in the *Hereditary Household*. Wang skips the fourteenth through sixteenth generations and names the seventeenth generation as Zhang Shun 張順. He is named as Zhang Yi 張頤 in the *Hereditary Household*. The eighteenth through twenty-fifth generations appear here as they do in the *Hereditary Household*.

<sup>120</sup> Wang Shizen's reference to the "pacifier of the south" (*zhennan* 鎮南) is an abbreviation of the title General who Pacifies the South (*Zhennan jiangjun* 鎮南將軍) which was bestowed on Zhang Lu by Cao Cao.

<sup>121</sup> Emperor Zhenzong is likely singled out here as the emperor under which the Celestial Masters came to prominence as a consequence of claims that the twenty-fourth Celestial Master Zhang Zhengsui was granted a title by Zhenzong as found in the *Imperially Commented Outlines and Details to the expanded Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* and the *Hereditary Household* among other sources.

sovereign and his ministers competed without restraint to embellish [the lineage].<sup>122</sup> It is on account of this that there is a lineal record. Although the *Declarations of the Perfected* references the Celestial Master time and again, [Zhang] Ling is not terribly important.

---

<sup>122</sup> The *xuan* 宣 and *zheng* 政 presumably refers to the *zhenghe* 政和 and *xuanhe* reign eras of Song Huizong which span the years from 1111 to 1125 C.E. This corresponds to the period in which Zhang Xujing would have been active.



## CONCLUSION

This research project came into being as a consequence of the simple observation of how astonishing it is that the Zhang Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain were able to successfully take hold of a lineal mantle that had stood vacant across a span of multiple centuries and numerous dynasties. That their claims of the continuous and unbroken succession of a lineage that, according to all reasonable evidence, was extinguished at the end of the Han dynasty (and that held its locus of power on the other side of the country no less) were not only taken seriously but rewarded with the honor and acclaim of a succession of ruling households and a position of the highest authority in Chinese religion is no mean feat. It would be, to use the papal analogy that I have assiduously avoided up to this point, as if upon settling into office in 1309 C.E. Clement V were to contend that the papacy at Avignon stretched back to Saint Peter himself and find a receptive audience for the claim among the royalty of his day. Among other factors including those intangibles that are now lost to history (the personal charisma of certain holders of the mantle and their ability to persuade rulers of the benefit of patronage for example) the ability to craft a convincing narrative regarding the antiquity, authenticity, and power of the lineage is surely high on the list of reasons for the success of the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

This observation brought me to question both when the movement initially came into being and how it presented its own narrative in such a way as to both account for the history of the lineage and present itself as worthy of the respects and honors that were its due. A pair of articles, Timothy Barret's "The Emergence of the Taoist Papacy in the

Tang Dynasty,” and Wang Jianchuan’s “The Rise and Development of the Zhang Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the Song Dynasty” piqued my interest and gave me a point of orientation but also left open as many questions as they answered. I set to work on a conference paper which I confidently titled “The Revision of Hagiography and the Creation of a Lineage” and soon found that the “when” and “how” of the establishment of the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain was a subject entirely too vast for the constraints of a fifteen minute panel presentation. In the course of researching that paper I came upon the *Hereditary Household* and came to the realization that it could serve as the centerpiece of a study on the self-representation of the lineage that doubled as an exploration of the historical fortunes of the Zhang family Celestial Masters over the course of their history and so this dissertation began to take shape.

This study began with the observation that scholarship on the *Hereditary Household* has yet to proceed far beyond the recognition that the text was composed in stages over the course of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. Though we are hindered by the absence of multiple extant iterations of the text it is nonetheless possible to both answer certain questions and to muddy the waters regarding the process whereby the text came into being. On the basis of internal evidence we know that the initial version of the text produced under the auspices of the forty-second Celestial Master Zhang Zhengchang consisted of a single fascicle and Su Boheng’s preface of 1390 C.E. confirms that the work was not divided into multiple fascicles in the time of the forty-third Celestial Master Zhang Yuchu. We know that a certain Zhang Yue recompiled the work in the early sixteenth century though the degree to which he reshaped the work is

not clear. It can also be demonstrated that the introit which some have attributed to Zhang Yue was in fact a repurposed preface found in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*.

The simple matter of authorship remains up for debate. While statements in the various prefaces to the *Hereditary Household* indicate that the project was begun under the guidance of Zhang Zhengchang there is nothing to suggest that he was himself the author of any of the biographical entries in the work. Likewise, while work on the *Hereditary Household* continued under Zhang Yuchu nothing is said in any of the colophons to the work, including that which he himself composed, regarding the degree or nature of his involvement in drafting the text. Finally, while those prefaces drafted for the 1607 C.E. edition of the *Hereditary Household* tell of the fiftieth Celestial Master Zhang Guoxiang soliciting colophons from Zhou Tianqiu and Wang Dexin at no point in the text are we told if Guoxiang actually composed any of the text himself.

There are hints that Song Lian may have contributed more than a preface to the work. Zhang Yuchu's undated colophon states that Song Lian "prefaced this work and hastily set to the task of putting it into order."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, a comparison of his "Spirit Way Inscription" with the biography of the forty-second Celestial Master in the *Hereditary Household* reveals that the former served as the template for the latter indicating that at least one of the biographical entries in the work is demonstrably the product of Song Lian's brush. There is also the matter of an intriguingly titled lost work

---

<sup>1</sup> *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.370).

attributed to Song Lian, *Traditions of the Household of the Zhang Celestial Master* that is listed in the mid sixteenth century *Catalogue of Qianqing Hall*.

It is not impossible that Song Lian may have compiled the earliest recensions of the text on the basis of existing hagiographical traditions surrounding the Zhang family. Further research into and a thorough comparison of the language of those extant works and fragments of hagiography pertaining to the Zhang family is required before more can be claimed with confidence regarding the exact relationship between existing texts and the *Hereditary Household*. The present study, however, gives some indication of the way forward on that matter.

The second chapter stands as a contribution to the study of early Daoism containing as it does a comprehensive overview of those narratives of the first three generations of Zhang family Celestial Masters found in early historical sources. In considering the points of divergence between the “three masters” as depicted in works such as the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* and *History of the Latter Han* and their treatment in early (pre-Tang) Daoist scriptures with their hagiographical treatment in the *Hereditary Household* (and its antecedents) I provide a late(r) imperial counterpart to previous scholarship on the continuing evolution of the image of the Celestial Master and his successors found in works such as Liu Yi’s, “Myth and History: The Contribution of Six Dynasties Daoism to the Formation of the Image of Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling,” and “Popular Sects and the Early Daoist Tradition,” in H.M. Seiwert’s *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History* that account for the discrepancies between the Celestial Masters church in early historical sources and Six Dynasties Daoist

texts. The evolution or reinvention of the biographies of the “three masters” and Zhang Daoling in particular over the centuries in order to fit the religious and social concerns of a given age is another topic that is deserving of future study and one that I have hopefully made some small contribution towards here.

My discussion of the state of affairs of the early Daoist community in diaspora is indebted to Stephen Bokenkamp’s studies of *Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Dao* and *Scripture of the Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* as well as Terry Kleeman’s work on Six Dynasties Daoism and, especially the Celestial Masters movement. In discussing those Six Dynasties texts that depict a community and lacking in leadership from a Zhang family patriarch in tandem with the portrait of stability through continuity found in the *Hereditary Household* I underscore the stark contrast between the idealized self-presentation of the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain and the actual circumstances of the lineage. In sifting through the relatively sparse historical evidence attesting to Zhang family descendants between the Three Kingdoms and the late Tang I find that while a degree of prestige appears to have remained the birthright of the bloodline there is no evidence to suggest that the mantle of Celestial Master had any lineal claimants prior to the establishment of the branch at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. That there were those outside of the Zhang clan, most notably Kou Qianzhi, who were able to lay claim to the title of Celestial Master is further proof of the lineage’s decline into relative powerlessness.

The absence of certain named descendants of the ancestral Celestial Master found in canonical, imperial, and epigraphic works from the *Hereditary Household* suggests

that either the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain was unaware of these figures or, more interestingly, that they were intentionally excluded from the text. For instance, eight Zhang family descendants in the ninth and tenth generations named in the *Monograph on Mount Mao* receive no mention in the *Hereditary Household* perhaps as a consequence of their obscurity or possibly because their position of subservience to the Upper Clarity school at Mount Mao would have been unseemly to the Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. A particularly noteworthy omission is the figure of the twelfth generation descendant Zhang Yu or Zhang Daoyu who is well documented in canonical (*Record of Cavern Heavens, Blessed Plots, Marchmounts, Marshes, and Famous Mountains*), epigraphic (*Stele of Emperor Jianwen of the Liang on Beckoning the Perfected Hall*) and imperially commissioned works (*Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*). Though he enjoyed great acclaim in his lifetime he was firmly associated with Beckoning the Perfected Belvedere and its associated parish at Mount Yu in contemporary Jiangsu and Dragon and Tiger Mountain is never associated with him in sources contemporary to or produced shortly after his own lifetime. In this instance and others it is reasonable to presume that certain figures despite their eminence were omitted from the *Hereditary Household* in order to avoid drawing attention to narratives that have no place in the lore of the movement and, moreover, openly contradict the centrality of Dragon and Tiger Mountain to the Zhang family lineage.

In the fourth chapter of this study I review previous scholarly attempts at establishing the time of emergence of the Zhang family lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain and then proceed to consider the available evidence in order to reach a

reasoned conclusion on the matter. In the course of my review I find that the earliest source to reference Dragon and Tiger Mountain in a religious context is the Upper Clarity patriarch Sima Chengzhen's (647-735 C.E.) sacred geography the *Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the Grotto Heavens and Blessed Lands* in which the mountain is listed as number thirty-two out of seventy-two blessed plots though no mention is made of the Zhang family in that source. I offer conclusive evidence that Zhang Jujun 張巨君 who is said to be the commanding figure over the mountain in that source is a figure with a complicated history but not one with any connection to the Celestial Masters lineage. I next consider four poems allegedly dating to the Tang dynasty and a pair of stela inscriptions said to have been produced in the Five Dynasties era that attest to the presence of the Zhang family on Dragon and Tiger Mountain. In each case insurmountable issues regarding provenance prevent me from judging the work in question to be worthy of serious consideration as proof that the lineage was established by the Tang.

It is only in the later works of Du Guangting (850-933 C.E.) that a reliably datable tradition placing the Zhang family on the mountain is attested to. In his *Records of Grotto Heavens, Blissful Lands, Peaks, Rivers, and Famous Mountains* of 901 C.E. it is recorded that the mountain is the site of "the Celestial Master's residence" (*Tianshi zhai* 天師宅) but the phrasing of the passage is such that it may be interpreted to indicate either the former dwelling of Zhang Daoling or a contemporary seat of the Zhang family. In a pair of stories in Du's early tenth century *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* that are partially incorporated into the *Hereditary Household* an unnamed nineteenth

generation Celestial Master is placed in residence on the mountain and reference is made the continuity of the Zhang family lineage in his own time. Finally, the earliest extant tale of Zhang Daoling performing laboratory alchemy on Dragon and Tiger Mountain is found in Du Guangting's compendium of female transcendents, the *Record of the Transcendents Gathered in the Walled City*. Finally, the *Record of the Three Masters of the Numinous Gem Cavern Mystery* which bears a preface dating to 920 C.E. tells of an eighteenth generation Celestial Master bestowing registers on Du Guangting's master Ying Yijie in 828 C.E.

The earliest reference to a Zhang family Celestial Master receiving imperial honors in the official histories is found in the *History of the Song* where it is recorded that the twenty-fifth Celestial Master was granted a title by the by Emperor Renzong in 1030 C.E. The earliest extant generation by generation account of the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain is Bai Yuchan's early thirteenth century "In Praise of the Historical Generations of Celestial Masters," which consists of thirty-two biographical poems that allude to incidents in the lives of the inheriting masters from Zhang Daoling down to his own time. The casual references to Zhang family lineage holders on Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Du Guangting's work and the cryptic nature of Bai Yuchan's poems suggest that both men were writing with awareness of and in response to an existing tradition regarding of lore pertaining to the lineage. A number of undated and unattributed works now lost save for reference in catalogues or preserved only in fragments such as the *Inner Traditions of the Han Celestial Master*, *Outer Traditions of the Han Celestial Master*, and *Original Traditions of the Zhang Celestial Masters*



*[Composed by] the Prior Born of Florid Peak* may have been drawn upon by Du Guangting, Bai Yuchan, and the authors of the *Hereditary Household*. At any rate, while an exact date for the emergence of the lineage cannot be stated with certainty it may be said with confidence on the basis of available evidence that traditions regarding the Zhang family at Dragon and Tiger Mountain must have been in circulation by the end of the Tang dynasty.

In the final chapter of this dissertation I place the *Hereditary Household* in the context of texts and statements of lineal assertion produced in the Tang dynasty and later by those Buddhists, Confucians, and Daoists who sought to win popular and imperial favor through the creation of a narrative of unbroken generation by generation transmission of a mantle that is imbued with the charisma of an illustrious founding figure. In the field of Buddhist studies the creation of a Chan lineage as a tool of legitimation has been the subject of recent works by Wendi Adamek, Alan Cole, Jia Jinhua, John Jorgenson, John McRae, and Morton Schlutter among others. Daniel Getz and Koichi Shinohara have written accounts of the Southern Song creation of a T'ien-t'ai patriarchate. With regards to Confucianism Hoyt Tillman has illustrated how Zhu Xi understood himself to be the true heir of Confucian teachings that had been misunderstood from the time of Mencius and as such was the self-appointed embodiment of a newly (re)established orthodoxy. In Daoist studies scholars such as Vincent Goossaert, Louis Komjathy, and Pierre Marsone have brought attention to the Northern Jin and Yuan dynasty production of narratives concerning the founding figure of the

Complete Perfection school of Daoism Wang Chongyang and his disciples that were intended to illustrate the virtue and efficacy of the sect's major figures.

As is true in the works and statements of figures that are the focus of studies by those scholars named above the *Hereditary Household* is a claim of continuity and validity intended to both assert authority and to serve as a counterpoint to criticisms of the lineage. On the former point I discuss those rhetorical tactics employed to promote the august and enduring nature of the lineage through repeated assurances in the prefaces, statements of wonder at the efficacy and continuation of the lineage placed in the mouths of various emperors, and repeated references to the continuing beneficial service that the Zhang family has rendered to the nation in the course of biographical narratives and in the text of imperial lauds, the vast majority of which are unsubstantiated elsewhere in the historical record. On the latter point I discuss those passages in the prefaces and the narrative in which the Zhang family is placed on a level equal to that of the descendants of Confucius, open criticism of those Buddhists and Confucians who would dare to slander the name of the household both in the prefaces and in statements reputed to issue from the imperial household, and exclamations of astonishment on the part of various emperors that the Zhang family has not been privileged with sufficient honor.

This defensiveness is placed in its context through an analysis of criticisms levied against the Zhang Celestial Masters by Buddhists and literati. These range from the farcical, such as the oft-repeated claim that Zhang Daoling did not ascend to the heavens but was gobbled up by a great snake that likely originates with Li Ying's Six Dynasties *Record of Shu*, to pointed attempts to draw lines of connection between the Celestial

Masters and the Yellow Turban and Sun En rebellions. This latter critique represents a particularly potent threat to the Zhang family lineage as it is a direct rebuke to the sustained narrative of service to the empire that the *Hereditary Household*.

My aim in crafting this history in parallel to the lineal biographies of the *Hereditary Household* is not to expose the work as historically dubious. This is not because I have any reason to believe that it is a historically accurate document which offers a verifiable or even plausible chronicle of the Zhang family lineage. There is no compelling evidence to suggest that it does. Rather, it is because the matter of historical accuracy is of interest mainly as an entrée into an exploration of the creative expression of self-assertion that the *Hereditary Household* represents. That the depiction of the first three generations of Celestial Masters as depicted in that work is a radical departure from their treatment in earlier histories and scriptures or that the Celestial Masters of the fourth through twenty-fourth generations are largely or entirely absent from the historical record and from Daoist sources produced outside of the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain is, on its own, a simple fact. That these figures were reconceived or created whole cloth and invested with detailed biographies in which they serve as pearls on a string of lineal continuity whose actions demonstrate the power of the lineage and whose receipt of imperial recognition reinforces the message that the household has served each succeeding dynasty without fail tells us quite a bit about the self-conceptualization and aspirations of the lineage holders who presented them as truth. I contend that in tracing the lineal history as presented in the *Hereditary Household* against that of the official histories, the epigraphic and literary record, and works produced by Daoists, Buddhists,

Confucians and others it is possible to better understand the nature of the undertaking in its full context and to appreciate the poetic (or, less charitably, the polemic) truths of the Hereditary Household when they are set in contrast to the historical facts that they diverge from when the narratives are placed in tandem.

The story of the Zhang Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain continues down to the present day though the mountain itself has not been home to the holder of the lineal mantle since the sixty-third Celestial Master departed for Taiwan in 1949. The title of Celestial Master in the sixty-fifth generation is currently a matter of legal dispute between parties in Taiwan. In the Celestial Master's absence an impressive tourist infrastructure has come into being on Dragon and Tiger Mountain that is inclusive of a recently constructed "village" of hotels, restaurants, and souvenir shops. The centerpiece of this recent development boom is a visitor's center which opened in 2008 and includes a multimedia museum on the history of Daoism the entrance of which is emblazoned with a quote from Lu Xun assuring visitors that Daoist culture is Chinese culture. Open-air trams and shuttle buses run regularly ferrying tourists to the reconstructed Upper Clarity Palace, Upright Unity Belvedere, and Memorial Hall of the Han Celestial Masters among other sites bearing witness to the mountain's history as a center of religious and, to no small degree, temporal power. One cannot help but wonder what Zhang Zhengchang, Zhang Yuchu, Song Lian, Zhang Guoxiang and those others who had a hand in crafting the *Hereditary Household* and asserting the stable and enduring presence of the Celestial Masters as servants to the empire would make of this thoroughly complicated and utterly modern state of affairs.

## REFERENCES

### *Abbreviations*

- HY            *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏. Individual works cited according to Weng Dujian 翁獨健. *Daoze zimu yinde* 道藏子目引得 [Combined Indexes to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature]. Beijing: Yenching University, 1935. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, no. 25.) Repr. Taipei: Chengwen, 1966.
- SDSY         *Sandong shiyi* 三洞拾遺. Wang Ka 王卡 and Wang Guiping 汪桂平 eds. Hefei: Huangshan shuju, 2005.
- SKQS         *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書
- T             Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經. Eds. TAKAKUSA Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡辺海旭. Tokyo, 1924 - 35.
- X             *Xinbian wanzi xuzang jing* 新編卍字續藏經. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1968-70.
- ZHDZ         *Zhonghua daoze* 中華道藏. Ed. Zhang Jiyu 張繼禹. 49 vols. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004.

### *Secondary Sources*

- Adamek, Wendi L. "Robes Purple and Gold: Transmission of the Robe in the 'Lidai fabao ji' (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages)." *History of Religions* 40.1 (2000): 58-81.
- . *The Mystique of Transmission: On an Early Chan History and Its Contexts*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Arami Hiroshi 荒見泰史. "Lun Dunhuang ben Shedao shi de zuozhe wenti" 论敦煌本《涉道诗》的作者问题 [A Discussion on the Authorship of the Dunhuang Edition of *Poems on Forging the Way*] *Fudan Journal of Social Sciences* 3 (2001): 127-132.
- Bao Jianxin 鮑建信. "Zhang tianshi nao shuangbao qiuchang ershen da nizhuan," 張天師闢雙包求償 二審大逆轉 *Liberty Times (Ziyou shibao 自由時報)* July 1, 2015. <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/society/breakingnews/1365527> (accessed October 1, 2015).

- Barrett, Timothy H. "The Emergence of the Taoist Papacy in the T'ang Dynasty." *Asia Major* 7 (1994): 89-106.
- Bell, Catherine. "Lu Hsiu-ching." *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Ed. Mircea Eliade. New York: Macmillian, 1987. IX: 2195.
- Bloom, Irene. *Knowledge Painfully Acquired*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.
- Boltz, Judith M. *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California, 1987).
- . "Lineage of the Han Celestial Master." *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. London: Routledge, 2008. 1: 470-471.
- . "Sa Shoujian." *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. London: Routledge, 2008. 2: 825-826.
- . "Zhang Guoxiang." *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. Ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. London: Routledge, 2008. 2: 1227.
- Bokenkamp, Stephen R. *Early Daoist Scriptures*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- . "Into the Clouds: Mount Yuntai Parish and Early Celestial Masters Daoism." Unpublished manuscript.
- Bumbacher, Stephan Peter. *Fragments of the Daoxue Zhuan*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000.
- Cahill, Suzanne. *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Campany, Robert Ford. *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong's Traditions of Divine Transcendents*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Cedzich, Ursula-Angelika. "Santian neijie jing." *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. 1:124-125.
- . "Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo Bao yueguang huangzhou shengmu tianzun kongque mingwang jing." *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. 2: 1233-34.
- Chao, Shin-Yi. *Daoist Ritual, State Religion, and Popular Practices: Zhenwu Worship from Song to Ming (960-1644)*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

- Chen Shangjun 陈尚君 ed. *Quan Tang shi bubian* 全唐诗补编 [Amended Complete Poems of the Tang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992.
- Chen Yaoting. "Real Lords of Overflowing Mercy." *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. Ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. London: Routledge, 2008. 1: 485-487.
- Chen Zhichao 陈智超 and Zeng Qingying 曾庆瑛 eds. *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 [Collected Daoist Epigraphy]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988.
- Clart, Philip. "Caishen." *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. Ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. London: Routledge, 2008. 1: 243.
- Darga, Martina. "Zhang Sanfeng." *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. London: Routledge, 2008. 2: 1233-35.
- Eichhorn, Werner. "Description of the Rebellion of Sun En and Earlier Taoist Rebellions." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 2 (1954): 325-52.
- Eskildsen, Stephen. *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters*. Albany: State University Press of New York, 2004.
- Gedalecia, David. "The Life and Career of Wu Ch'eng: A Biography and Introduction." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99.4 (1979): 601-641
- Getz, Daniel A. "T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate." *Buddhism in the Sung*. Peter Gregory and Daniel A. Getz eds. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999. 477-523
- Goodrich, L. Carrington and Chaoying Fang eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.
- Goossaert, Vincent. "Bureaucratic charisma: The Zhang Heavenly Master Institution and Court Taoists in Late Qing China." *Asia Major* 17.2 (2004): 121-159.
- . "Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master, the Perfected Sovereign of Void Tranquility." *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. 2: 932.
- Graham, A. C. "The Origins of the Legend of Lao Tan." *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 111–124.
- Hu Daojing 胡道静 ed. *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道书 [Daoist Books External to the Canon]. Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1992-1994.
- Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.

- Inglis, Alister. *Hong Mai's Yijian Zhi and its Song Dynasty Context*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006.
- Katz, Paul R. "Writing History Creating Identity: A Case Study of *Quanfeng Xinghui Tu*." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 161-178.
- Kirkland, Russell. "Chang Kao: Noteworthy T'ang Taoist?" *T'ang Studies* 2 (1984): 31-36.
- Kleeman, Terry F. "Licentious Cults and Bloody Victuals: Sacrifice, Reciprocity, and Violence in Traditional China." *Asia Major* 7.1 (1994): 200-211.
- . *Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998.
- . Daoism in the Third Century." *Purposes, Means, and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium*. ed. Florian C. Reiter. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007. 1-28.
- Kohn, Livia. *Laughing at the Tao: Debates among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Komjathy, Louis. *The Way of Complete Perfection: A Quanzhen Anthology*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013.
- Lagerwey, John. "Daomen tongjiao biyong ji." *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. 2: 1012-1014.
- . "Jade Mirror of the Numinous Treasure." *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. 2: 1020.
- . "The Old Lord's Scripture for the Chanting of the Commandments." *Purposes, Means, and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium*. ed. Florian C. Reiter. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007. 29-56.
- Lagerwey, John and Pierre Marsone eds. *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960-1368 AD)*, Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- . "Taoism: The Taoist Community." *Encyclopedia of Religion*. ed. Mircea Eliade. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 14: 306-317.
- . *Wu-Shang Pi-Yao*. Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1981.
- Lai Chi-tim. "The Demon Statutes of Nu-qing and the Problem of the Bureaucratization of the Netherworld in Early Heavenly Master Daoism." *T'oung Pao* 88 (2003): 251-281.



- . “The Opposition of Celestial Masters Taoism to Popular Cults during the Six Dynasties.” *Asia Major* 11 (1998): 1-20.
- Legge, James. *The Sacred Books of China*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1899.
- Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁. *He feng tang wenji* 和風堂文集 [Collected Writings from the Hall of Harmonious Wind]. Shanghai: Guji chuban she, 1991.
- . “Was Celestial Master Zhang a Historical Figure?” *Daoism in History: Essays in Honor of Liu Ts'un-yan*. ed. Benjamin Penny. New York: Routledge, 2006. 189-253.
- Liu Yi 劉屹. “Myth and History: The Contribution of Six Dynasties Daoism to the Formation of the Image of the Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling.” *Purposes, Means, and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium*. ed. Florian C. Reiter. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007. 57-82.
- Liu Zhaorui 劉昭瑞. *Kaogu faxian yu zaoqi daojiao yanjiu* 考古發現與早期道教研究 [Archeological Discoveries and the Study of Early Daoism]. Beijing: Wenwu chuban she, 2007.
- Marsone, Pierre. *Wang Chongyang et la fondation du Quanzhen : ascètes taoïstes et alchimie intérieure*. Paris: Collège de France, 2010.
- Maspero, Henri. *Taoism and Chinese Religion*. Trans. Frank A. Kierman Jr. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981.
- Mather, Richard B. "K'ou Ch'ien-chih and the Taoist Theocracy at the Northern Wei Court, 425-451." *Facets of Taoism*. eds. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979. 103-123.
- Matsumoto Koichi 松本浩一. “Zhang tianshi yu Nan Song daojiao,” 張天師與南宋道教 [The Zhang Celestial Masters and Southern Song Daoism]. *Tanxun minjian zhu shen yu Xinyang wenhua* 探尋民間諸神與信仰文化 [Investigations into the Culture of Popular Divinities and Beliefs]. ed. Gao Zhihua 高致華. Anhui: Huangshan shushe, 2006. 69-86.
- McGee, Neil E. “Questioning Convergence: Daoism in South China During the Yuan Dynasty.” Ph.D. diss. Columbia University, 2014.
- McMullen, David C. “Memorials and Essays: Political Protest in Late Medieval China,” *International Journal of China Studies* 3.3 (2012): 250.
- McRae, John R. *Seeing Through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

- Miller, Amy Lynn. "Santian and Liutian." *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. London: Routledge, 2008. 2: 850-851.
- Mittag, Achim. "Scribe in the Wilderness: The Manchu Conquest and the Loyal-Hearted Historiographer's (*xinshi* 心史) Mission." *Oriens Extremus* 44 (2003/2004): 27-42.
- Miyakawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志. "Local Cults around Mount Lu at the Time of Sun En's Rebellion." *Facets of Taoism*. eds. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979. 83-101.
- . "Son On, Ro Jun no ran ni tsuite," 孫恩盧循の亂について [On the Rebellion of Sun En and Lu Xun]. *Toyoshi kenkyu* 東洋史研究 30 (1971): 161-90.
- Nickerson, Peter. "Abridged Codes of Master Lu for the Daoist Community." *Religions of China in Practice*. ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. 347-359.
- Nikaido Yoshihiro 二階堂善弘. "You guan Tianshi Zhang Xujing de xingxiang" 有關天師張虛靖的形象 [On the Imagery of the Celestial Master Zhang Xujing]. *Taiwan zongjiao yanjiu tongxun* 臺灣宗教研究通訊 3 (2002) 34-48.
- Olles, Volker. "Stars and Legends: Some Observations about Sacred Space in Daoism," *Purposes, Means, and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Seminar*. eds. Poul Anderson and Florian C. Reiter. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007. 233-252.
- Peterson, Thomas H. "The Demon Statutes of Feminine Verdure, a Preliminary Study." Master's thesis, Indiana University Bloomington, 1992.
- Pregadio, Fabrizio. *Great Clarity: Daoism and Alchemy in Medieval China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006. 127-28.
- Pregadio, Fabrizio ed. *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Qing Xitai 卿希泰. *You guan wudou mi dao de ji ge wenti* 有关五斗米道的几个问题 [Concerning Several Questions Pertaining to the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice]. *Zhongguo zhexue* 中國哲學 4 (1980): 325-336.
- Qing Xitai 卿希泰 ed., *Zhongguo daojiao* 中国道教 [Chinese Daoism]. Shanghai: Zhishi chuban she, 1994.
- Raz, Gil. "Chi Songzi." *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. London: Routledge, 2008. 1: 271-272.
- . *The Emergence of Daoism: Creation of Tradition*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

- . “The Way of the Yellow and the Red: Sexual Practice in Early Daoism.” *Nan Nü, Men, Women and Gender in China* 10 (2008): 86-120.
- Reiter, Florian C. “The Discourse on the Thunders by the Taoist Wang Wen-ch’ing.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. 14.3 (2004): 207-229.
- . “Daoist Thunder Magic (Wulei fa 五雷法), Some Aspects of its Schemes, Historical Positions, and Developments.” Ed. Florian C. Reiter. *Foundations of Daoist Ritual: A Berlin Symposium*. Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co., 2009. 27-47.
- Ren Jiyu 任继愈 ed., *Zongjiao da cidian* 宗教大词典 [Encyclopedia of Religion]. Shanghai: Cishu chubanshe, 1998.
- Robinet, Isabelle. *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*. Trans. Phyllis Brooks. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- . “Sanwu.” *Encyclopedia of Daoism*. Ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. London: Routledge, 2008. 2: 853-54.
- Schafer, Edward H. *The Vermillion Bird: T’ang Images of the South*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
- Schipper, Kristofer. “Les Maîtres Célestes à l’époque Song.” *Annuaire de l’École Pratique des Hautes Études Ve Section* 91 (1982): 133-137.
- . *The Taoist Body*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Schipper, Kristofer and Franciscus Verellen, eds. *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Schipper, Kristofer and Yuan Bingling. “Han tianshi shijia.” *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. 2: 898-899.
- Seidel, Anna. “Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha.” *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*. Ed. Michel Strickmann. Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1983. 2:291-371.
- . “Le sutra merveilleux du Ling-pao supreme, traitant de Lao tseu qui convertit les barbares.” *Contributions aux études du Touen-houang*. Ed. Michel Soymié. Geneva: Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1984. 3:305-52.
- Seiwert, H.W. *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

- Shinohara Koichi. "From Local History to Universal History: The Construction of the Sung T'ien-t'ai Lineage." *Buddhism in the Sung*. Peter Gregory and Daniel A. Getz eds. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999. 524-576.
- Skar, Lowell. "Charting a New Itinerary of Perfection in Medieval China: The Formation and Uses of the Diagram on Cultivating Perfection (Xiuzhen tu)." Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, San Diego, California, March 9-12, 2000.
- Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland. *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992.
- . "Zhu Xi's Prayers to the Spirit of Confucius and Claim to the Transmission of the Way." *Philosophy East and West* 54.4 (2004): 489-503.
- Verellen, Franciscus. "The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heavens (*dongtian*) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8.8 (1995): 265-290.
- . "The Heavenly Master liturgical agenda According to Chisong zi's Petition Almanac," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 14 (2004): 291-343.
- . "The Twenty-four Dioceses and Zhang Daoling: Spatio-Liturgical Organization in Early Heavenly Master Taoism." *Pilgrims and Place: Localizing Sanctity in Asian Religions*, Eds. Ph. Granoff and Koichi Shinohara. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003. 15-67.
- Wang Jianchuan 王見川. "Zhang tianshi zhi yanjiu yi longhu shan yixi wei kaocha zhongxin" 張天師之研究:以龍虎山一系為考察中心 [A Study of the Zhang Celestial Masters with the Dragon and Tiger Mountain Lineage as the Central Point of Inquiry]. Ph.D. diss. National Chung Cheng University, 2003.
- . "Longhu shan Zhang tianshi de xingqi yu qi zai Songdai de fazhan" 龍虎山張天師的興起與其在宋代的發展 [The Rise and Development of the Zhang Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in the Song Dynasty]. *Guangwu tongshi xuebao* 光武通識學報 1 (2005): 243-284.
- Wang, Richard G. *The Ming Prince and Daoism: Institutional Patronage of an Elite*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Wu Qiyu 吳其昱. "Li Xiang jiqi Shedao shi" 李翔及其涉道詩 [Li Xiang and the Poems on Forging the Way]. *Dōkyō kenkyū* 道教研究 1 (1965) 271-294.
- Wu Rusong 吳如嵩. "Wujing qishu" 武經七書. *Zhongguo da baike quanshu* 中國大百科全書 Beijing/Shanghai: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1989. 1078-1079.

Xu Shiduan. "Tagi." *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women, Volume II: Tang Through Ming 618 – 1644*. Eds. Lilly Xiao Hong Lee and Sue Wiles. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Libraries, 2014. 387-389.

Yamada Tokiaki. "Sanhuang wen." *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. Ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. London: Routledge, 2008. 2: 837.

Zhang Chongfu 張崇富. "Di sanshi dai Tianshi Zhang Jixian dizi kaolun" 第三十代天師張繼先弟子考論 [An investigation of the Thirtieth Celestial Master Zhang Jixian's Disciples]. *Hongdao 弘道* 61 (2014): 53-62.

Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬. *Xue jin tao yuan 學津討源. Plumbing the Font of the Ford of Study* Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1965.

Zhang Zhenqian 張振謙. "Ba xian zaoqi chengyuan Xu shenweng Xinyang kaoshu" 八仙早期成員徐神翁信仰考述. *Zongjiao xue yanjiu 宗教學研究* 3 (2011): 16-21.

Zhuang Hongyi 莊宏誼. *Mingdai daojiao Zhengyi pai 明代道教正一派 [The Upright Unity Sect of Daoism in the Ming Dynasty]*. Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1986.

#### *Primary Sources*

*Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 抱朴子內篇校釋 [The Master Who Embraces Simplicity]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.

*Bianhuo lun* 辯惑論 [Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity] T.2102

*Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 [Biographies of Buddhist Nuns]. T. 2063

*Bowu zhi* 博物志 [Record of Curiosities]. Siku Quanshu Edition.

*Chisong zi zhangli* 赤松子章曆 [Master Redpine's Petition Almanac]. HY 615 ZHDZ 8.620-679.

*Cong shu ji cheng xu bian* 叢書集成續編 [Continuation of Collectanea]. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chuban she, 1994

*Da mingxuan jiao licheng zhajiao yi* 大明玄教立成齋醮儀 HY 467 ZHDZ 44.616-623.

*Daode zhenjing ju* 道德真經註 [Commentary on the True Scripture of the Way and its Power] HY 704 ZHDZ 12.577-620

*Daofa Huiyuan* 道法會元 [Daoist Methods of Collected Primacy] HY 1210 ZHDZ 38.1-515.

*Daofa zongzhi tu yanyi* 道法宗旨圖衍義 [Daoist Methods Illustrated and Elucidated]. HY 1267 ZHDZ 31.365-376.

*Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記 [Record of Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism] HY 590 ZHDZ 45.68-132.

*Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 道門通教必用集 [Comprehensive and Requisite Manuals of Daoism]. HY 1216 ZHDZ 42.478-533.

*Daoyuan xue gulu* 道園學古錄 [Ancient Records of Study in the Garden of the Way]. Siku Quanshu Edition.

*Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記 [Record of Cavern Heavens, Blessed Plots, Marchmounts, Marshes, and Famous Mountains]. HY 599 ZHDZ 48.80

*Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖志 [Illustrated Monograph of Cavern Empyreans]. Siku Quanshu Edition.

*Dongxuan lingbao sanshi ji* 洞玄靈寶三師記 [Record of the Three Masters of the Numinous Treasure Cavern Mystery]. HY 444 ZHDZ 46.271-274.

*Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu* 洞玄靈寶真靈位業圖 [Table of Ranks and Functions of the Perfected Numinous of the Lingbao Mystery Cavern] HY 167 ZHDZ 2.721-731.

*Dongyuan ji* 洞淵集 [Anthology of the Abyssal Cavern] HY 1055 ZHDZ 48.86-107.

*Dongzhen Huangshu* 洞真黃書 [Yellow Book of Cavern Perfection] HY 1343 ZHDZ 8.518-523.

*Erjiao lun* 二教論 [On the Two Teachings] T.2103

*Fahua jing xuanqian bejian* 法華經玄籤備檢 [Explication of the Lotus Scripture] X.588.

*Fozu tongji* 佛祖通紀 [Comprehensive Record of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs] T.2035.

*Fujian Tongzhi* 福建通志 [Comprehensive Record of Fujian] Siku Quanshu Edition.

- Ganshui xianyuan lu* 甘水仙源錄 [Record of Transcendents Encountered at Ganshui Spring] HY 971 ZHDZ 47.113-212.
- Guandou zhongxiao wulei wuhou mifa* 貫斗忠孝五雷武侯秘法 [The Martial Prince's Esoteric Method of the Loyal and Filial Five Thunders for Traversing the Stars of the Dipper]. HY 585 ZHDZ 32.835-840.
- Guangdong Tongzhi* 廣東通志 [Comprehensive Record of Guangdong]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 [Expanded Collection on Spreading the Light of Buddhism] T.2103.
- Gujin shuohai* 古今說海 [Ocean of Words Past and Present]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 [Imperially Sanctioned Collection of Books and Illustrations Past and Present]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.
- Hongdao lu* 弘道錄 [Chronicle of the Vast Way]. HY 1452 ZHDZ 25.444-834.
- Hongming ji* 弘明集 [Collection on Spreading the Light of Buddhism]. T. 2102.52
- Houhan shu* 後漢書 [Book of the Latter Han]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Huang ming en ming shi lu* 皇明恩命世錄 [Chronological Register of the Gracious Ordinances of the Illustrious Ming]. HY 1450 ZHDZ 46.310-339.
- Huang shi ri chao* 黃氏日抄 [Daily Records of Mister Huang] Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Huangting neijing yujing* 黃庭內景玉經 [Jade Scripture of the Inner Landscape of the Yellow Court]. HY 331 ZHDZ 23.1-7.
- Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經註 [Commentary on the Precious Book of the Inner Landscape of the Yellow Court]. HY 401 ZHDZ 23.64-84.
- Huayang guo zhi* 華陽國志 [Chronicles of Huayang]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Hunyuan shengji* 混元聖紀 [Saintly Chronicle of Chaotic Origin] HY 769 ZHDZ 46.11-123.
- Jiang Huai yiren lu* 江淮異人錄 [Accounts of Extraordinary Men from Jiang and Huai] HY 595 ZHDZ 45.232-241)

- Jiangxi Tongzhi* 江西通志 [Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Jiaoqiu wenji* 椒邱文集 [Collected Works from Jiaoqiu]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 [Anthology of Past and Present Buddhist and Daoist Debates] T.2104.
- Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 淨明忠孝全書 [Complete Writings of the Way of Purity and Brightness, Loyalty and Filiality] HY 1102 ZHDZ 31.567-602.
- Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗記. [Record of the True Line of Transmission of the Golden Lotus School] HY 173 ZHDZ 47.29-53.
- Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhua* 金蓮正宗仙源像傳 [Illustrated Biographies of the Transcendent Spring of the Upright Tradition of the Golden Lotus] HY 174 ZHDZ 47.54-68.
- Jin shu* 晉書 [Book of Jin]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 淨明忠孝全書 [Complete Writings of the Way of Purity and Brightness, Loyalty and Filiality]. HY 1102 ZHDZ 31.567-603.
- Juedui Fuyi fei Fo fa seng shi* 決對傅奕廢佛法僧事 [Judgments on the Matter of Fu Yi's Rejection of Buddhist Dharma and Monkhood] T.2103.
- Kun zhi ji* 困知記 [Knowledge Painfully Acquired]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Laojun yinsong jieji* 老君音誦誡經 [Sovereign Lao's Scripture for Chanting the Precepts]. HY 784 ZHDZ 8.563-570.
- Liang shu* 梁書 [Book of the Liang]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 [Arrayed Biographies of Transcendents]. HY 294 ZHDZ 45.1-15
- Liji* 禮記 [Book of Rites]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980.
- Lingbao yujian* 靈寶玉鑑 [Jade Mirror of Numinous Treasure]. HY 547 ZHDZ 35.440-739.
- Lishi lixu* 隸釋隸續 [Supplement to the Analysis of Writings in Chancery Script]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.



- Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 [The Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages]. HY 296 ZHDZ 47.213-577.
- Liuqing rizha* 留青日札 [Daily Records of Liuqing]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992.
- Longhu shan zhi* 龍虎山志 [Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain]. *Sandong shiyi* 三洞拾遺. Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005.
- Lu xiansheng daomen kelue* 陸先生道門科略 [Master Lu's Abridged Codes for the Daoist Community]. HY 1119 ZHDZ 8.556-559.
- Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 [Monograph on Mount Mao]. HY 304 ZHDZ 48.366-528.
- Ma shi Nan Tang shu* 馬氏南唐書 [Ma Family Book of the Northern Song]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Ming shi* 明史 [History of the Ming]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Ming shi zong* 明詩綜 [Compendium of Ming Poetry]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Ming Taizu wenji* 明太祖文集 [The Collected Writs of Ming Emperor Taizu]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Nan Song ming xian xiaoji* 兩宋名賢小集 [Collected Works of Celebrated Figures of the Northern and Southern Song]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Nenggai zhai manlu* 能改齋漫錄 [Random records from Willing Change Studio] Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Nuqing guilu* 女青鬼律 [Demon Statutes of Nuqing] HY 789 ZHDZ 8.599-611.
- Poxie lun* 破邪論 [Refutation of Heresy] T.2103.
- Qianqingtang Shumu* 千頃堂書目 [Catalogue of Qianqing Hall]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Qingrong junshi ji* 清容居士集 [Collected Works of Householder Qingrong]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Qinding Quan Tang wen* 欽定全唐文 [Imperially Commissioned Complete Prose of the Tang]. Tainan: Jingwei shuju, 1965.

- Qizhen nianpu* 七真年譜 [Chronology of the Seven Perfected] HY 175 ZHDZ 47.69-76.
- Qunxian yaoyu zuanji* 群仙要語纂集 [Collected Essential Sayings of the Gathered Immortals] HY 1247 ZHDZ 27.751-765.
- Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄 [Record of the Gathered Immortals of the Three Caverns]. HY 1248 ZHDZ 45.268-409.
- Sandong xiudao yi* 三洞修道儀 [Protocol for the Practice of the Way of the Three Caverns] HY 1227 ZHDZ 42.157-260.
- Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊 [Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns]. HY 1131 ZHDZ 28.405-479.
- Sanguo zhi* 三國志 [Record of the Three Kingdoms]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* 三十代天師虛靖真君語錄 [Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master, the Perfected Lord of Empty Peace]. HY 1239 ZHDZ 26.131-154.
- Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經 [Scripture of the Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens] HY 1196 ZHDZ 8.544-549.
- Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 上清大洞真經 [Perfected Scripture of the Great Cavern of Upper Clarity]. HY 6 ZHDZ 1.1-47.
- Shangqing dao leishi xiang* 上清道類事相 [True Appearances of Categories Pertaining to the Way of Highest Purity]. HY 1124 ZHDZ 28.381-404.
- Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 上清天心正法 [Correct Method of the Celestial Heart of the Highest Clarity]. HY 566 ZHDZ 30.245-281.
- Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 神仙感遇傳 [Biographies of Persons Who Had Contacts and Encounters with Spirits and Transcendents]. HY 592 ZHDZ 45.161-192.
- Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 [Traditions of Spirit Transcendents]. HY ZHDZ 45.16-60.
- Shibin lu* 實賓錄 [Record of the Earnest Guest]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Shi ji* 史記 [Records of the Grand Historian]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
- Shoulu ci dengfa xinyi* 受籙次第法信儀 [Protocol of Ritual Pledges to be Granted upon Receiving the Registers, in Hierarchical Order]. HY 1234 ZHDZ 42.150-157
- Shuijing zhu* 水經注 [Commentary on the Water Classic]. Siku Quanshu Edition.

- Shushi huiyao* 書史會要 [Official History of Calligraphy]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Shuzhong guangji* 蜀中廣記 [Broad Records of Shu]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Sichuan tongzhi* 四川通志 [Comprehensive Record of Sichuan]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Songbai Leichao* 宋稗類鈔 [Anthology of Trivialities from the Song]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Song shi* 宋史 [History of the Song]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Songshi yi* 宋史翼 [Supplement to the History of the Song] Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Songxue zhai wen ji* 松雪齋集 [Essays from Snowy Pine Studio]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Soushen ji* 搜神記 [Record of Seeking the Spirits]. HY 1466 ZHDZ 45.517-564.
- Taiji jilian neifa* 太極祭鍊內法 [Inner Methods of the Grand Ultimate for Sacrificing to and Sublimating]. HY 548 ZHDZ 32.800-834.
- Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記 [Extensive Records of the Taiping Era]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961.
- Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 [Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960.
- Taishang lingbao Laozi huahu miaojing* 太上靈寶老子化胡妙經 [Marvelous Scripture of Supreme Lingbao on Laozi Converting the Barbarians]. S. 2081
- Taishang shuo nandou liu* 太上說南斗六司延壽度人妙經 [Miraculous Scripture on Salvation and Extending Longevity of the Six Offices of the Southern Dipper Spoken by the Most High] HY 624 ZHDZ 6.645-646
- Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miaojing* 太上玄靈北斗本命長生妙經 [Book of the Northern Dipper of Mysterious Power Prolonging the Original Life Spirit]. HY 623 ZHDZ 6.643.
- Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo Bao yueguang huangzhou shengmu tianzun kongque mingwang jing* 太上元始天尊說寶月光皇后聖母天尊孔雀明王經 [Scripture of the Empress of Precious Moonlight, Heavenly Worthy Holy Mother and Radiant Peacock Queen, Pronounced by The Most High Celestial Worthy of Primordial Origin]. HY 1423 ZHDZ 30.592-616.

- Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao 太上助國救民總真祕要 [Supreme Essential Secret of General Perfection to Help the Empire and Save the People]. HY 1217 ZHDZ 30.313-386.
- Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce 天皇至道太清玉冊 [Grand Clarity Jade Volume on the Supreme Way of August Heaven]. HY 1472 ZHDZ 28.668-763.
- Tongya 通雅 [Comprehensive Explication of Terms]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Tongzhi 通志 [Comprehensive Treatises]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Tuhui baojian 圖繪寶鑒 [Precious Mirror of Painting]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Wang Zhong wengong ji 王忠文公集 [Collected Works of Wang Zhong]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Wen'an ji 文安集 [Collected Writings of Wen'an]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Wenxian ji 文憲集 [Collected Works of Song Lian]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Wuli xiaozhi 物理小識 [A Little Knowledge of Innate Principles]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Wushang biyao 無上祕要 [Supreme Esoteric Essentials]. HY 1130 ZHDZ 28.1-317.
- Wushang santian fashi shuo yinyu zhongsheng miaojing 無上三天法師說蔭有眾生妙經 [Marvelous Scripture for the Protection of the People, Spoken by the Supreme Ritual Master of the Three Heavens]. HY 1188 ZHDZ 8.536-537).
- Wushang xuanyuan santian Yutang dafa 無上玄元三天玉堂大法 [Great Rites of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens, of the Supreme Mysterious Origin]. HY 220 ZHDZ 30.307-506.
- Wu wenzheng ji 吳文正集 [Definitive Collected Writings of Wu Cheng]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Xiangshan ji 象山集 [Collected Works of Elephant Mountain]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Xianquan ji 峴泉集. [Anthology of the Alpine Spring]. HY 1300 ZHDZ 26.155-258.
- Xiaodao lun 笑道論 [Laughing at the Way] T.2103.

- Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 [Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection] HY 263 ZHDZ 19.761-1042.
- Xuandu luwen* 玄都律文 [Statutes of the Mysterious Capital]. HY 188 ZHDZ 8.612-619.
- Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 玄天上帝啟聖靈異錄 [Record of the Miraculous Manifestations that Occurred in Response to the Worship of the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven]. HY 959 ZHDZ 30.699-705.
- Xuanyuan shizi tu* 玄元十子圖 [Portraits of the Ten Masters of the Mysterious Primacy]. HY 163 ZHDZ 46.155-159.
- Xuelou ji* 雪樓集 [Collected Works from Snowy Tower]. Hong Kong: Di zhi wen hua chu ban you xian gong si, 2002.
- Xujing chonghe xiansheng Xu shenweng yulu* 虛靜沖和先生徐神翁語錄 [Recorded Sayings of Xu Shenweng the Prior Born of Uplifted Harmony Clarity and Quiescence] HY 1241 ZHDZ 32.415-432.
- Yangsheng bilu* 養生祕錄 [Esoteric Record on Nourishing Life]. HY 579 ZHDZ 19.636-647.
- Yan shan ji* 演山集 [Collected Works of Yan Shan] Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1935.
- Yanzhou shan ren sibu gao* 弇州山人四部稿 [Draft in Four Categories of the Man of Mount Yanzhou]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Yaoxiu keyi jielu chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 [Summary of Important Ceremonies, Rules, and Codices to be Practiced]. HY 463 ZHDZ 42.159-245.
- Yi'an wen xuan* 頤庵文選 [Selections from Yi Hermitage]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 [Record of the Listener]. Taipei: Mingwen, 1982.
- Yisheng baode zhuan* 翊聖保德傳 [Traditions of the Perfected Lord who Assists Sanctity and Protects Virtue]. HY 1275 ZHDZ 46.371-381.
- Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 [Collection of Literature Arranged by Category]. Siku Quanshu Edition.

- Yongcheng jixian lu* 壩城集仙錄 [Record of the Immortals Gathered in the Walled City]. HY 782 ZHDZ 45.193-231.
- Yuan qu xuan* 元曲選. [Selected Operas of the Yuan]. Shanghai: gu ji chu ban she, 2002.
- Yuanshi* 元史 [History of the Yuan]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing* 元始五老赤書玉篇真文天書經 [Scripture of the True Writs of the Five Ancients of the Primordial Beginning, Red Writings in Celestial Script on Jade Tablets]. HY 22 ZHDZ 3.1-25
- Yunji qi qian* 雲笈七籤 [Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel]. HY 1032 ZHDZ 29.1-962.
- Yupi zizhi tongjian gangmu quanshu* 御批資治通鑑綱目全書 [Imperially Approved Complete Book of The Outline and Detail of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 玉清無極總真文昌大洞仙經注 [Commentary on the Great Cavern Transcendent Scripture of Limitless Great Clarity as Explicated by Wenchang]. HY 103 ZHDZ 6.454-568.
- Yuzhitang tan hui* 玉芝堂談薈 [Collection of Talks from Jade Fungus Hall]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Zhengao* 真誥 [Declarations of the Perfected] HY 1010 ZHDZ 2.112-244.
- Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiao jieke jing* 正一法文天師教戒科經 [Scripture on Precepts and Codes Taught by the Celestial Master, from the Texts of the Law of Orthodox Unity] HY ZHDZ 8.317-325.
- Zhengyi lun* 正一論 [Discussion on Upright Unity]. HY 1218 ZHDZ 8.553-556.
- Zhengyi tianshi gao Zhao Sheng koujue* 正一天師告趙昇口訣 [Oral Instructions of Upright Unity Spoken to Zhao Sheng by the Celestial Master]. HY 1263 ZHDZ 8.538-539.
- Zhilin* 卮林 [Forest of Goblets]. Siku Quanshu Edition.
- Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 終南山祖庭仙真內傳 [Inner Traditions of Transcendents and Perfected of the Ancestral Court of the Zhongnan Mountains] HY 954 ZHDZ 47.77-106.

*Zhongyong yanyi* 中庸衍義 [Rich Meaning of the Doctrine of the Mean] Siku Quanshu Edition.

*Zhuangzi neipian dingzheng* 莊子內篇訂正 [Correctly Arranged Edition of Zhuangzi's Inner Chapters]. HY 741 ZHDZ 14.541-557.

*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 [Classified Dialogues of Master Zhu]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986.

APPENDIX A

TRANSLATION OF FASCILES ONE TO THREE OF THE *HEREDITARY*

*HOUSEHOLD OF THE HAN CELESTIAL MASTER*



Preface to the *Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master*

The forty-second generation descendent of Zhang [the perfected one] composed a record of his hereditary household in one fascicle. The Celestial Master charged Fu Tongxu, a Daoist of the Upper Clarity Belvedere, with the task of recruiting Song Lian to compose a preface to the present work.<sup>1</sup> Lian had heard tell of those ancient lineage holders who were illustrious in their own generations. As a historiographer he was compelled to compose a preface to this genealogy that has been arranged and ordered for transmission to future generations. The work emphasizes the original roots of the lineage and sheds light on meritorious deeds undertaken.

The progeny of those endowed with spirit brightness cannot be omitted. The hereditary lineage that is the subject of the present compilation originates with Marquis Wencheng of Liu.<sup>2</sup> Nothing is known of his predecessors. Song Lian relied on a variety

---

<sup>1</sup> The Upper Clarity Belvedere (*shangqing guan* 上清觀) located at Dragon and Tiger Mountain was the residence of the Zhang Celestial Masters. Sources composed by the Celestial Masters hold that it was known as the Lodge of Perfected Transcendents (*Zhenxian guan* 真仙館) in the Tang dynasty. In the Song dynasty it was known as Upper Clarity Belvedere (*Shangqing guan* 上清觀) though the name was later changed to the Upright Unity Upper Clarity Palace (*Shangqing Zhengyi gong* 上清正一宮). In the Yuan dynasty it was known as the Upright Unity Great Longevity Palace (*Zhengyi wanshou gong* 正一萬壽宮) and in the Qing dynasty the name was changed to Most High Clarity Palace (*Taishang qing gong* 太上清宮). Fu Tongxu 傅同虛 was a Mount Longhu Daoist of the early Ming who was among the compilers of *Standard Ritual of the Great Ming for Daoist Retreats and Offerings* (*Da Ming xuanjiao licheng zhajiao yi* 大明玄教立成齋醮儀 HY 467 ZHDZ 44.616-623). His biography is found in fascicle seven of the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (*Longhu shan zhi* 龍虎山志). Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381 C.E.) was an eminent historian, man of letters, and advisor to the founder of the Ming dynasty, Emperor Taizu 明太祖. Song Lian oversaw the compilation of the *History of the Yuan* 元史 while serving as head of the Bureau of History.

<sup>2</sup> Marquis Wencheng of Liu 留文成侯 was Zhang Liang 張良 the would-be assassin of the founding emperor of the Qin dynasty Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 (r. 247-220 B.C.E.). Zhang Liang served as an advisor to Han Gaozong. In Ge Hong's 葛洪 *Tradition of Divine Transcendents* (*Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳) Zhang Liang is said to have been a student of a mysterious figure known as Duke Yellow Stone (*Huangshi gong* 黃石公) and to have achieved transcendence. No mention of the Celestial Master is made in that

of works related to the clan in order to mend any gaps in knowledge of the lineage. He made use of the methods of historiography to concisely record the ongoing thread of the lineage so that an overview its past may be apprehended from a single perusal of his preface. Detailed biographies are found in the text that follows.

The words of the preface are as follows: “The name Zhang derives from the Hui clan.<sup>3</sup> The fifth son of Xuan Yuan’s son of the Qingyang clan wielded a bow and arrow.<sup>4</sup> He created the bow and arrow, spread nets to capture birds and beasts, and offered sacrifices to the bow star.<sup>5</sup> He took command of these duties and so was granted the surname Zhang. There was a minister named Zhang Zhong in the time of King Xuan of the Zhou.<sup>6</sup> His descendent served the country of Jin as a grandee. Marquis Zhang

---

source. See Robert Ford Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: Ge Hong’s Traditions of Divine Transcendents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002): 313-314. The earliest reference to Zhang Liang as an ancestor of the Zhang Celestial Master appears to be that found in the fifth century *Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (Santian neijie jing 三天內解經 HY 1196 ZHDZ 8.546) wherein Zhang Daoling is said to be his great-great-grandson. Zhang Liang’s Daoist pedigree is burnished by a hagiography in *Uncollected Biographies of Immortals* (*Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺) by the late Tang and early Five Dynasties Daoist Du Guangting 杜光庭, portions of which are preserved in *Record of the Gathered Immortals of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄 HY 1248 ZHDZ 45.268-409). There, Zhang Liang is said to have attained transcendence and is alleged to be the grandfather of Zhang Daoling. A more traditional account of Zhang Liang’s life is found in Sima Qian’s 司馬遷 *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shi ji* 史記).

<sup>3</sup> Hui 姬 is the surname of the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi* 黃帝), the legendary cultural hero.

<sup>4</sup> Xuan Yuan 軒轅 is an alternate appellation for the Yellow Emperor, the provenance of which remains a matter of scholarly debate. Tradition holds that the Yellow Emperor’s eldest son Shaohao 少昊 or Xuanxiao 玄囂 was the founder of the Qingyang clan (*qingyang shi* 青陽氏).

<sup>5</sup> The bow star (*huxing* 弧星) is found in the Canis Major constellation.

<sup>6</sup> This is apparently Zhang Zhong 張仲 the filial and friendly (*xiao you* 孝友) of the *Shijing* 詩經 poem “Sixth Month” (*Liu yue* 六月). In the poem he is listed as a banqueting companion of Yin Jifu 尹吉甫, who served as a minister to King Xuan 周宣王 (r. 827-782 B.C.E).

sired Zhang Lao. Zhang Lao sired Zhang Junwu. Zhang Junwu sired Zhang Yue. Zhang Yue sired Zhang Ge whose grandson was known as Yi.

The Zhang family served the Han clan when the state of Jin was divided by the three ministers.<sup>7</sup> Zhang Kaidi served as a minister under Marquis Zhao of Han and King Xuanhui.<sup>8</sup> In the time of King Xiang, Zhang Kaide sired Zhang Ping who served as a minister under King Xi of Han and King Daohui (of Han).<sup>9</sup> Zhang Ping sired Zhang Liang whose style name was Zifang. He was the Grand Preceptor of the Han, Marquis Wencheng of Liu. He was a resident of Feng Village in the county of Pei.<sup>10</sup> Zhang Liang fathered two sons; Zhang Piqiang who was a Palace Attendant and Zhang Buyi who inherited his father's title.<sup>11</sup> Buyi was the father of Zhang Dian and Zhang Gao. Zhang Dian was the father of Zhang Mo. Zhang Mo fathered Zhang Jin, who was Grand

---

<sup>7</sup> The three ministers (*sanqing* 三卿) of Jin are Wu of Wei 魏武侯 (r. 387-371 B.C.E.), Ai of Han 韓哀侯 (r. 377-371 B.C.E.), and Jing of Zhao 趙敬侯 (r. 387-375 B.C.E.). They divided the territory of the state of Jin amongst themselves in 376 B.C.E. marking the culmination of an internal rebellion. An early account is found in *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記 39.1635-1688).

<sup>8</sup> The careers of Zhang Kaidi 張開地 and his immediate descendants are outlined in brief in the biography of Marquis Wencheng of Liu in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 55. 2033). Marquis Zhao of the Han 韓昭侯 was also known as Marquis Xin of Han 韓厘侯 (r.362-333 B.C.E.). The former Marquis Wei of Han 韓威侯 (r. 332-323) later reigned as King Xuanhui 宣惠王 (r. 323-312 B.C.E.).

<sup>9</sup> King Xiang of Han 韓襄王 is alternately titled King Xiang'ai of the Han 韓襄哀王 and King Daoxiang of the Han 韓悼襄王 (r. 311 –296 B.C.E). King Xi 韓釐王 (r. 295– 273 B.C.E.) oversaw a number of military misadventures against the state of Qin 秦. His successor is identified in *Records of the Grand Historian* as King Daohui of Han 悼惠王 (r. 272 –239 B.C.E) and in other sources as King Huanhui of the Han 韓桓惠王.

<sup>10</sup> Feng Township (*Feng yi* 豐邑) in Pei County (*Pei xian* 沛縣) is located in present-day Feng County, Jiangsu province. Liu Bang 劉邦, the founder of the Han dynasty and Zhang Liang's patron, was also a native of Feng Township.

<sup>11</sup> According to the *Records of the Grand Historian* Zhang Piqiang was given the title of Palace Attendant in 188 C.E. after the death of Han Emperor Hui 惠帝 (*Shiji* 9.399).

Defender in Chief. Jin fathered Zhang Qianqiu, the Duke of Yanglu. The style name of Qianqiu was Wannian. Wannian sired Zhang Song who was the father of five sons; Zhang Zhuang, Zhang Zan, Zhang Peng, Zhang Mu, and Zhang Shu who was his successor.

Many of the deeds and achievements of these men have been transmitted to the present. Proceeding down to the Tang dynasty branches of the Zhang clan had settled in Poyang, Taiyuan, Nanyang, Dunhuang, Xiuwu, Shanggu, Peigu, Liangguo, Pingyuan, and Jingtao among other places. There were forty-three branches of the prominent clan out of which seventeen grand councilors emerged.

Zhang Gao was the father of Tong. Tong was the father of Wuwang. Wuwang was the father of Liren. Liren was the father of Hao. Hao was the father of Wang. Wang was the father of Dashun, the Perfected of the Cypress Tree.<sup>12</sup> Dashun fathered the Han Celestial Master Zhang Daoling, the ancestor of the mysterious teachings.

The thread of his transmission is long and profound, flourishing beyond the esteemed family that preceded him. There are those who would enter into discourse without examining the matter who believe that Marquis Liu's descendants vanished from the nation and that he was without heirs. Truly, they are ignorant of the fact that his descendants are presently flourishing in the north and south alike.

---

<sup>12</sup> The above pedigree is repeated with a small number of discrepancies in names and generations in fascicle eighteen of *The Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages* (*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 HY 296 ZHDZ 47.336). Specifically, Zhang Daoling's paternal grandfather is named as Zhang Qi 張起 and his great grandfather is given as Zhang Jue or Zhang Jiao 張覺. Also in that source the interpolation regarding the spread of the clan to different regions is absent and Zhang Shu is specified as the father of Zhang Gao.

The style name of Daoyuan was Fuhan.<sup>13</sup> He was born at Heaven's Eye Mountain in Wu in the tenth year of the Jianwu reign period under the Han dynasty.<sup>14</sup> As he grew and matured Zhang Daoling studied all manner of works and amassed a following of more than one thousand disciples. Officials who speak directly and remonstrate forcefully were sought by the government and so Zhang Daoling was appointed director of the Jiang region in Ba Commandery.<sup>15</sup>

He retired from office and went into seclusion on Mount Beimang in Luoyang where he practiced the art of refining the form.<sup>16</sup> When Han Zhangdi convened academicians, Zhang Daoling did not attend.<sup>17</sup> When Han Hedi ascended the throne he appointed Zhang to the position of Grand Mentor and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Ji.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> The name Daoyuan 道遠 is apparently a mistaken transcription for Daoling 道陵. I have encountered no other instances elsewhere in which the first Celestial Master is identified as Daoyuan and I am unable to account for this error.

<sup>14</sup> The tenth year of the Jianwu reign era corresponds to the period between February 8, 34 C.E. and January 27, 35 C.E. Heaven's Eye Mountain (*Tianmu shan* 天目山) is located in present-day Lin'an County, Zhejiang province. Early biographical materials such as the *Record of Huayang* (*Huayang guo zhi* 華陽國志 SKQS 2.4) and *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents* (*Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 ZHDZ 45.37) list Feng Township in Pei County, the birthplace of Marquis Liu, as Zhang Daoling's birthplace.

<sup>15</sup> Ba Commandery (*Ba jun* 巴郡) corresponds roughly to Zhong County, Chongqing province. The Jiang region (*Jiang zhou* 江州) of Ba Commandery correlates to Yuzhong, central Chongqing.

<sup>16</sup> Mount Beimang (*Beimang shan* 北邙山) is listed among the seventy-two blessed plots of Daoism (*qi shi er fudi* 七十二福地) in *Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the Grotto Heavens and Blissful Lands* (*Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖) composed by Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647 – 735 C.E.) and preserved in *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (*Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 HY 1032 ZHDZ 29). The *Record of Seeking the Spirits* (*Soushen ji* 搜神記 HY 1466 ZHDZ 45.520) contains a brief biography of Zhang Daoling in which it is said that he studied methods of longevity on Mount Beimang. The mountain is located in present-day Mengjin County, Henan province.

<sup>17</sup> Han Zhangdi 漢章帝 (r. 76-88 C.E.).

<sup>18</sup> Han Hedi 漢和帝 (r. 88-105 C.E.). Ji Prefecture (*Ji zhou* 冀州) corresponds roughly to Hengshui City, Hebei. On the varied and shifting meanings and responsibilities of the title Grand Mentor (*Tai fu* 太傅) see

Zhang did not accept these appointments but rather took up his staff and switch and travelled the Huai River. Upon arriving in Poyang he ascended Dragon and Tiger Mountain where he synthesized the Spirit Cinnabar of the Nine Heavens.<sup>19</sup> He sought out the Font of Western Transcendents and obtained the Five Marchmounts Method for Controlling Fate.<sup>20</sup> He then visited Bilu Cavern and obtained the Esoteric Writ for Effectuating the Ten-Thousand Numens and Spirit Tigers.<sup>21</sup>

---

Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985): 477. The improbability that such a high title was granted to Zhang Daoling but not recorded in any extant histories is a point of critique in the mid-sixteenth century scholar Wang Shizhen's 王世貞 (*jinshi* 1547 C.E.) discussion of a lost Celestial Masters lineal text found in his *Reflections on Readings* (*Du shu hou* 讀書後 SKQS 8.1).

<sup>19</sup> The term "spirit cinnabar" (*shen dan* 神丹) is common throughout Daoist alchemical practices and is found in the classic sourcebook of alchemy *Master Who Embraces Simplicity* (*Baopuzi* 抱朴子). The term "nine heavens" (*jiu tian* 九天) is also commonly found in works on cosmology, meditation, and alchemy. See Fabrizio Pregadio's entry "Nine Heavens," in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. in Fabrizio Pregadio, (London: Routledge, 2008), 2:593-94. The Spirit Cinnabar of the Nine Heavens (*jiu tian shen dan* 九天神丹) does not appear as a discrete formula or practice in the Daoist Canon outside of this particular legend. Poyang 鄱陽 is located in present day Shangrao City in Jiangxi province.

<sup>20</sup> The Font of Western Transcendents (*Xi xian yuan* 西仙源) is given as the fifth of seventy-two blessed plots in *Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the Grotto Heavens and Blessed Lands* where it is said to be located in Huayan County in the Taizhou District (*Huayan taizhou* 台州黃巖) in what is contemporary Zhejiang province (ZHDZ 29.239). The context of the passage precludes that location from being equivalent to the site under discussion here. No such place is listed in the section on topography of the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. A relatively late source, the Qing dynasty *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* contends that The Western Font of Transcendence is located at Dragon and Tiger Mountain and is an alternate name for Bilu Cavern though the two sites are clearly differentiated in the present passage (*Jiangxi tongzhi* 江西通志 SKQS 11.21). The Five Marchmounts Method for Controlling Fate (*Huo zhi ming wuyue* 獲制命五嶽) is only referenced in the present text.

<sup>21</sup> Bilu Cavern (*Bilu dong* 壁魯洞) is a site on Dragon and Tiger Mountain. The function and origin of the Esoteric Writ for Effectuating the Ten-Thousand Numens and Spirit Tigers (*Shezhao wanling ji shenhu miwen* 攝召萬靈及神虎秘文) is not expounded upon here or elsewhere in the Daoist Canon. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.8) notes that Zhang Daoling discovered an Uncanny Writ of the Spirit Tiger (*Shenhu yishu* 神虎異書) in Bilu Cavern.

Soon thereafter he travelled to Mount Song where he obtained the Book of the Nine Vessels of the Yellow Emperor that was secreted away in a cavern.<sup>22</sup> His Way having reached fruition Zhang heard tell of noxious vapors causing harm to the people of Ba and Shu and so he resolved to travel to the region. He initially stayed at Mount Yangping before moving to Mount Crane Call. There he encountered the Venerable Lord of Mysterious Origin who gifted him scriptures and talismanic methods which enabling him to divide his form.<sup>23</sup>

Zhang Daoling established the twenty-four parishes and added four to their number thereby establishing correlation with the twenty-eight stellar mansions.<sup>24</sup> He caused malevolent entities to be extinguished as though they were caught in the wake of a spring that had gushed forth. The destruction wrought in the underworld was so great as to defy a full account. In the second year of the Yongshou reign era Zhang Daoling once

---

<sup>22</sup> Mount Song (*Song shan* 嵩山), the central marchmount, is found in Henan. The Book of the Nine Vessels of the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi jiuding shu* 黃帝九鼎書) is not found outside of this text. The *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents* tells of Zhang Daoling discovering a Cinnabar Scripture of the Nine Vessels of the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi jiuding dan jing* 黃帝九鼎丹經) at Mount Fanyang (*Fanyang shan* 繁陽山) (ZHDZ 45.37).

<sup>23</sup> Yangping Parish, first among the twenty-four parishes and that overseen by the Celestial Master and his heirs, was originally located in the Chengdu plain before it was moved to Hanzhong Commandery under the leadership of Zhang Lu. Mount Crane Call (*Heming shan* 鶴鳴山) is located in contemporary Dayi County, Sichuan. The Venerable Lord of Mysterious Origin (*Xuanyuan laojun* 玄元老君) refers to the deified Laozi. Song Lian here presents a particularly abbreviated retelling of the investiture of Zhang Daoling by Laozi at Mount Crane Call, a crucial episode in the mythology of Celestial Masters Daoism.

<sup>24</sup> The original Celestial Masters community is said to have been a theocracy divided into twenty-four administrative districts known as dioceses or parishes (*ershi si zhi* 二十四治), the majority of which were located in the Sichuan basin. Each parish was overseen by an official of the church known as a Libationer (*jijiu* 祭酒) with the exception of the first of the twenty-four, Yangping (*Yangping zhi* 陽平治), which was ruled by the Celestial Master. See, Franciscus Verellen, "The Twenty-four Dioceses and Zhang Daoling: Spatio-Liturgical Organization in Early Heavenly Master Taoism," in *Pilgrims and Place: Localizing Sanctity in Asian Religions*, eds. Ph. Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003):15-67.

again set out and journeyed to Mount Quting.<sup>25</sup> There he unearthed the Twin Swords for Terminating Evil of the Three Fives, and the Seal of Government of Yangping Parish.<sup>26</sup> Zhang Daoling passed them on to the inheriting master, Heng, who was charged with handing them down to the following generation. Zhang Daoling then mounted a cloud and ascended to the heavens. At that time he was one hundred twenty-three years of age.

Zhang Heng's style names were Lingzhen and Changcun. The emperor enlisted him to serve as Attendant Gentleman of the Palace Gate. Heng retired from office and went into reclusion on Mount Yangping. He took an oath to guide the people towards loyalty and filiality, stated his intent to carry forth the thread that was begun by his ancestor, and endeavored for the well-being of the common people.

Heng fathered the succeeding master Zhang Lu whose style name was Gongqi.<sup>27</sup> Lu held aloft the upright zeal of his predecessors and carried it forth. He taught the people by means of the Daoist arts, titled himself "sovereign master," and granted instruction to those who came forth to learn of the Way. Those disciples who were

---

<sup>25</sup> Mount Quting (*Quting shan* 渠亭山) is located within the parish governed by Mount Heming in earlier sources. See Verellen, "The Twenty-four Dioceses," 30.

<sup>26</sup> These are emblems of office. The twin swords are apotropaic or exorcistic in nature as is borne out by the iconography of Zhang Daoling in his role as an exorcist bearing a sword while astride a tiger. The term "three fives" is a sort of shorthand for correlative totality and designates the five visible planets in the heavens, the five vital organs within the human body and the Five Marchmounts on earth. See Isabelle Robinet's entry "Sanwu," in *Encyclopedia of Daoism*, 853-54.

<sup>27</sup> Song Lian's recitation of Zhang Lu's biography is a sanitized paraphrase of the account found in Zhang Lu's biography in the Book of Wei in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms*. The language and specifics are largely identical although Song Lian omits any reference to Zhang Xiu 張修, a mysterious figure who, in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* and the *Book of the Latter Han* (*Houhan shu* 後漢書) was murdered by Zhang Lu and whose followers were subsequently absorbed into the community at Hanzhong (*Sanguo zhi* SKQS 8.27). Other accounts, including those in the *Record of Huayang* and the *Outline of Records* (*Dianlue* 典略) do not implicate Zhang Lu in his death.



earnest were titled as Libationers and all were instructed by means of sincerity and in good faith. None were deceived. Those who fell ill confessed their transgressions. At a later point charity huts were established.<sup>28</sup> Grains were placed in the huts as alms and travelers could take their fill. However, those who snatched up an amount in excess of their needs were met with ill fortune.

The people returned to settle in Hanzhong, their numbers increasing day by day. An imperial edict was conferred upon Lu, titling him Leader of Court Gentlemen for the Pacification of the People and Commandery Governor of Hanning.<sup>29</sup> Zhang Lu later returned to the place of Wei Taizu who honored him with the title General Charged with Pacifying the South and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Langzhong.<sup>30</sup> Zhang Lu's five sons were made marquises and his daughter was married to Taizu's son Pengzu.<sup>31</sup> After his death Zhang Lu was posthumously granted the title Marquis Yuan.

---

<sup>28</sup> The establishment of charitable granaries (*yicang* 義倉) or charity lodges (*yishe* 義舍) for the benefit of travelers and the confession of misdeeds as a therapeutic practice for the sick are both practices attested to in early historical sources and in writings produced by the movement itself. For an overview see Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, Trans. Phyllis Brooks, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997): 56-62.

<sup>29</sup> Zhang Lu's base of operations in Hanning 漢寧 was located in what is presently southwestern Shaanxi.

<sup>30</sup> Cao Cao 曹操, who was an ambitious warlord rather than the founder of a dynasty at the time of the events under discussion, is nonetheless referred to here by his temple name Taizu 太祖. As is invariably the case in Daoist sources no reference is made to the Battle of Yangping in 215 C.E. the outcome of which compelled Zhang Lu to surrender to Cao Cao. The fall of Hanning is chronicled in *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi* SKQS 8.29-30) and *Record of Huayang* (*Huayang guozhi* SKQS 2.4).

<sup>31</sup> Pengzu 彭祖 is the Style name of Cao Yu 曹宇. Under the reign of his older half-brother, Emperor Wen 文帝, he was made Prince of Xiapi 下邳王. In 232 C.E. his nephew Cao Rui 曹叡 ascended the throne and made him Prince of Yan 燕王 (*Sanguo zhi* SKQS 20.582).

Zhang Lu fathered Zhang Sheng whose style name was Yuanzhong. Emperor Taizu of the Wei bestowed the title Marquis of Duting on Zhang Sheng but he did not accept the honor.<sup>32</sup> Sheng set out from Hanzhong and returned to Dragon and Tiger Mountain. There, on the days of the Three Primes, he established an altar and transmitted talismans.<sup>33</sup>

Zhang Sheng fathered Zhaocheng whose style name was Daorong. Once, while he was seated upright in a cavern chamber, tigers and leopards happened upon him and prostrated themselves. When Zhaocheng achieved his transformation and departed he could be observed traversing the skies mounted on a crane. His tomb was opened and examined but only a cap and shoe were found.

Zhang Zhaocheng fathered Shu. Emperor An of the Jin summoned Shu to court but he did not answer the call.<sup>34</sup> Zhang Shu fathered Hui. Zhang Hui fathered Jiong. Zhang Jiong fathered Fu.

Zhang Fu fathered Xiang whose style name was Linbo. He served the Sui dynasty in Luoyang as a Commandant. Xiang was able to expectorate cinnabar into the

---

<sup>32</sup> This claim is not confirmed in historical sources.

<sup>33</sup> Triannual assemblies were held on the fifteenth day of the first, seventh, and tenth lunar months. On these days the terrestrial records of the community were tallied with those of the celestial realm.

<sup>34</sup> Emperor An of the Jin 晋安帝 reigned from 397-418 C.E. though the empire was actually ruled by a series of regents and his time on the throne was marked by astring of rebellions including that of Sun En 孙恩 whose family had strong ties to the Way of the Celestial Masters. The emperor may be invoked here in order to assure readers that the Zhang family remained in the good graces of the Jin dynasty even as a Daoist rebellion threatened to topple it. The rebellion of Sun En remains an unfortunately understudied chapter in the history of Daoism and the best account of the event remains Werner Eichhorn, "Description of the Rebellion of Sun En and Earlier Taoist Rebellions." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 2 (1954): 325-52.

palm of his hands. The radiance of the mineral would shine outwards and illuminate an entire chamber. He would then gulp it back down.

Zhang Xiang fathered Tongxuan. In the midst of a year of great pestilence he took up a branch and planted it in the midst of a body of water. Those who drew water from the site and drank it were invariably cured of their illness.

Tongxuan fathered Zhang Heng. Tang Gaozong requested Heng's advice on governance.<sup>35</sup> He replied, "If you are capable of effortless action then the world will be governed of its own accord."<sup>36</sup> Gaozong commended Heng's words.

Zhang Heng fathered Guang. Zhang Guang fathered Cizheng. Zhang Cizheng fathered Shilong. Once, Shilong forgot his jade seal at a tavern in Chang'an. A youth came upon the seal and exhausted his strength attempting to lift it. The seal would not budge. The following day Shilong returned to the tavern. He chuckled to himself and then took up the seal and went on his way.

Zhang Shilong fathered Yingshao. Zhang Yingshao fathered Yi. Zhang Yi fathered Shiyuan whose style name was Zhongliang. Shiyuan was gaunt and wore a long beard. He resided on Mount Yingtian for a period of forty years.<sup>37</sup> The mountain was

---

<sup>35</sup> Tang Gaozong 唐高宗 (r. 649-683).

<sup>36</sup> Zhang Heng's advice on governance echoes a phrase from the "Free and Easy Wandering" (*Xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊) chapter of *Zhuangzi* 莊子, "The Master establishes himself and the world is governed of its own accord" (*Fuzi li er tianxia zhi* 夫子立而天下治).

<sup>37</sup> According to *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.5), "Elephant Mountain is in the midst of the chain of mountains and its peak is the zenith of the range. It is alternately known as Responding to Heaven Mountain. Its name is derived from its resemblance to an elephant." The face of the mountain is

home to a great many tigers and so no one dared called on him to pay their respects. Whenever a fierce storm arose Shiyuan could be spied from afar mounted on a black dragon and weaving amidst the peaks.

Zhang Shiyuan fathered Xiu. Zhang Xiu fathered Chen. Zhang Chen fathered Bingyi whose style name was Wenfu. His eyes flashed like lightning and he was able to see in the darkness. On one occasion he shouldered his sword and set out into the mountain marshes. He cursed an old tree whereupon it was struck by a bolt of lightning killing two large pythons and more than one hundred small snakes.

Zhang Bingyi fathered Shan. Zhang Shan fathered Jiwen. In the Five Dynasties a great multitude received registers from him and those who received metal tallies numbered in the tens of thousands.

Zhang Jiwen fathered Zhengsui. In the eighth year of the Dazhong Xianfu reign era of the Song dynasty Zhengsui was summoned to court and granted the title Prior Born of Perfected Silence.<sup>38</sup> Descendants of later generations were all granted the honorific Prior Born. The Minister of Personnel Wang Qinruo memorialized the throne requesting the establishment of a hall for the conferral of talismans.<sup>39</sup>

---

distinguished by a stone arch that protrudes from a flat patch of rock which, with a little imagination on the part of the viewer, resembles an elephant's face and trunk.

<sup>38</sup>1015 C.E.

<sup>39</sup> A single work attributed to Wang Qinruo 王欽若 is preserved in the Daoist Canon; *Traditions of the Perfected Lord who Assists Sanctity and Protects Virtue* (*Yisheng baode zhuan* 翊聖保德傳 HY 1275 ZHDZ 46.371-381). It is a record of revelations from the patron deity of the Song dynasty, the Perfected Lord who Assists Sanctity and Protects Virtue (*Yisheng baode zhenjun* 翊聖保德真君). Wang Qinruo is best known for the encyclopedia *Primordial Tortoise of the Document Bureau* (*Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜).

Zhang Zhengsui fathered Qianyao, the Prior Born of Clear Purity. Zhang Qianyao fathered Cizong, the Prior Born of Void Clarity. Zhang Cizong fathered Xiangzhong whose style name was Gongchen. He was able to walk At three months of age and able to speak at five months of age. He had an audience in the capital at the age of seven and was granted a purple robe.

Zhang Xiangzhong fathered Dunfu, the Prior Born of Preserving Brightness. Zhang Dunfu had no male heirs and so he was succeeded by his nephew Jingduan, the Prior Born of Preserving Perfection. Zhang Jingduan was also without male heirs and so he was succeeded by his younger brother Jixian, the Prior Born of Void Quiescence.

Jixian's style name was Jiawen. He was still unable to speak at five years of age. Suddenly, upon hearing a cock crow, he let out a laugh and composed a rhapsody. Those present all marveled at this event.

In the first year of the Chongning reign era the waters of salt marshes flowed over their banks.<sup>40</sup> An envoy was dispatched to summon Jixian who inscribed a metal talisman and threw it into the water. Thereupon a bolt of lightning struck the water and tore an aquatic dragon to pieces.<sup>41</sup> The dragon died at the water's edge.

---

<sup>40</sup> 1102 C.E.

<sup>41</sup> Edward H. Schafer describes the multivalent nature of the term *jiao* that I have translated as “aquatic dragon.” “Spiritually akin to the crocodile, and perhaps originally the same reptile, was a mysterious creature capable of many forms called the chiao (kǎu). Most often it was regarded as a kind of lung – a ‘dragon’ as we say. But sometimes it was manlike, and sometimes it was merely a fish. All of its realizations were interchangeable.” Edward H. Schafer, *The Vermillion Bird: T'ang Images of the South*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 217-8.

One day he accompanied the emperor into the imperial bedchamber. The ladies of the palace jostled one another requesting writs from the Celestial Master. Jixian composed his writing in accord with the language of the sacred texts. All were mystified as to his meaning. One among them took up his composition and grasped it while kowtowing. The writ read “Protect and secure the nation’s fortunes so that it may endure as long as heaven.” The emperor and his attendants marveled at this.

On one occasion the emperor charged Jixian with offering prayers for rain. After a period of three days the rain stopped. Jixian was granted the title Prior Born of Great Vacuity but did not accept the honor. An imperial edict was sent to the Fiscal Commissioner of Jiangdong ordering that the mountain be surveyed and that the Upper Clarity Belvedere be relocated and rebuilt as the Upper Clarity Palace of Upright Unity.

Those who followed Jixian in order to take up the Way numbered in the tens of hundreds. In the initial year of the Jinkang reign era Jixian was again summoned by the emperor.<sup>42</sup> At that time Jin attacked Bian.<sup>43</sup> Jixian was en route to the capital and stopped at Tianqing Belvedere in Si Prefecture where he took up a brush and a white

---

<sup>42</sup> 1126 C.E.

<sup>43</sup> This refers to the 1127 C.E. siege of the Northern Song capital of Bianjing 汴京 (later known as Kaifeng 開封) by Jurchen forces, an incident that marked the end of the Northern Song.

sheet of paper and composed a poem.<sup>44</sup> He then reclined and transformed. His tomb is located on the slope of Tortoise Mountain.<sup>45</sup>

Sixteen years later Sa Shoujian, a man of Xihe, was travelling Verdant Citadel Mountain when he encountered Jixian at the mouth of a gorge.<sup>46</sup> Jixian produced a letter and a single red slipper which he instructed Sa Shoujian to deliver to the inheriting Celestial Master. The successor and his household were greatly shocked by this and an underling was dispatched to exhume the gravesite at Tortoise Mountain. The coffin was empty save for a single slipper.<sup>47</sup>

Zhang Jixian was without heirs and so Zhang Xiangzhong's nephew Shixiu inherited the mantle of Celestial Master. Shixiu protested saying, "The Celestial Master is my nephew. How can I take the position of his descendant?" Those gathered said, "Such is the etiquette of mourning, to gain advantage and decline it." Shixiu assented to the proper course of action and accepted the mantle.

Zhang Shixiu fathered Zhang Shouzhen, the Prior Born of Upright Response. Shouzhen remained in his mother's womb for nineteen months prior to his birth. Once,

---

<sup>44</sup> Sizhou 泗州 is located in present day Anhui province.

<sup>45</sup> There is no entry for Tortoise Mountain (*Gui shan* 龜山) in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. There is a Tortoise Peak (*Gui feng* 龜峰) located approximately twenty-five miles to the east of Yingtan, Jiangxi. See, *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 11.7).

<sup>46</sup> Verdant Citadel Mountain (*Qingcheng shan* 青城山) is located to the west of Chengdu in Sichuan. A biography of Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 found in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.602-603) includes a detailed retelling of this story.

<sup>47</sup> This story is also found in Zhang Yuchu's compilation of works attributed to the thirtieth Celestial Master Zhang Jixian, *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master, the Perfected Lord of Empty Peace* (*Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* 三十代天師虛靖真君語錄 HY 1239 ZHDZ 26.131-154).

in Piling, there was a tree inhabited by a demon.<sup>48</sup> Shouzhen received a command to investigate the matter and one night caused the tree to be uprooted by wind and lightning. On another occasion he calmed a river on which towering waves had erupted. Emperor Gaozong granted Shouzhen an ivory tablet, a precious sword, and a pair of scriptures entitled *Purity and Quiescence* and *Hidden Talisman*.

Zhang Shouzhen fathered Jingyuan. Zhang Jingyuan fathered Qingxian.<sup>49</sup> In Duke Zhang's Cavern there is a well that is very deep.<sup>50</sup> Qingxian would amuse himself by plucking leaves off of trees and casting them down the well. Once a great column of water rushed up and surged forth from the well and an old man emerged from the midst of it. Qingxian cursed and admonished the figure and he disappeared.

Zhang Qingxian had no son and so he was succeeded by his nephew Keda, the Perfected who Observes the Wondrous. Keda was the great grandson of Zhang Shouzhen. His grandfather was Zhang Boyu and his father was Zhang Tianlin. Each among them was involved in the administration of the religion's affairs.

When the waters of Lake Poyang rose and flooded the huts of innumerable people the Superintendent Judicial Commissioner Yuan made a request to Zhang Keda asking

---

<sup>48</sup> Piling 毗陵 is located in what is contemporary Changzhou, Jiangsu province.

<sup>49</sup> The thirty-fourth Celestial Master's name is given as Qingxian 慶先 in all extant biographical sources except for Song Lian's preface in which it is given as Qingxian 慶仙.

<sup>50</sup> Duke Zhang's Cavern (*Zhang gong dong* 張公洞) is one of the "three odd sites" (*Sanguai* 三怪) of Yixing 宜興. It is located twenty miles to the southwest of Yixing city in Jiangsu province. According to a tradition found in *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* both Zhang Daoling, the ancestral Celestial Master, and Zhang Guolao 張果老, one of the Eight Immortals, undertook self-cultivation in the cavern (*Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記 424.3451). It is unclear whether or not the figure in the well in the present account is meant to be Zhang Guolao who is known as a trickster.



him to subdue the waters. Keda struck and killed a giant white python and the waters were stilled. On another occasion there was a wildfire brought on by drought. Keda performed a sacrifice which brought rains and the fires were extinguished.<sup>51</sup>

An edict was proclaimed granting Keda the responsibility of overseeing the registers and talismans of the three mountains.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, he was called to court and made supervisor over the palaces and belvederes of the various teachings and placed in charge of Wheeling Dragon Palace.<sup>53</sup>

At the time when the Song dynasty was reaching its end Emperor Shizu of the Yuan heard tell of the Celestial Master's uncanny nature and dispatched an envoy in secret to make inquiries after him.<sup>54</sup> Zhang Keda bestowed upon the emperor a discourse on the numinous and spoke to the envoy saying, "Take righteous service as your precept.

---

<sup>51</sup> These stories are abbreviated and conflated in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Immortals* (ZHDZ 47.351).

<sup>52</sup> The three mountains are Dragon and Tiger Mountain, Mount Mao (*Mao shan* 茅山), and Mount Gezao (*Gezao shan* 閣皂山), the ritual centers of Upright Unity, Upper Clarity, and Numinous Treasure Daoism, respectively.

<sup>53</sup> Wheeling Dragon Palace (*Longxian gong* 龍翔宮) was located in the Southern Song capital of Lin'an 臨安.

<sup>54</sup> Emperor Shizu 世祖 (r.1260-1294).

Twenty years hence all under heaven will be united.”<sup>55</sup> In the thirteenth year of the Zhiyuan era the prediction came to pass.<sup>56</sup>

Zhang Keda fathered Zongyan whose honorific was Shichuan. As Zongyan matured he became exceptionally clever. When Emperor Shizu of the Yuan pacified the Song dynasty he reflected upon the words of Zongyan’s father and realized that they had been fulfilled. Emperor Shizu dispatched Wang Shiyong, a director of the Bureau of Military Appointments, and Xiao Yuji, director of the Ministry of Punishments, to summon Zongyan.<sup>57</sup> He was granted a jade cap, a jade *gui* tablet, and the title Perfected who Harmonizes Numinous Response and Enacts the Way. Additionally, he was given three silver seals, placed in charge of Daoist affairs in the Jiangnan region, and empowered with the ability to initiate Daoists.

Zhang Zongyan fathered Yudi whose honorific was Guohua. Yuan Shizu bestowed upon him the title Perfected of the Vast Teachings who Promulgates the Way of Embodied Mystery. He was rewarded generously and passed away in the vicinity of the capital.

Zhang Yudi was without male heirs and so he was succeeded by his younger brother Yucai. Zhang Yucai’s honorific was Guoliang. In the initial year of the

---

<sup>55</sup> In the *History of the Yuan* (*Yuanshi* 元史 SKQS 202.13) Emperor Shizu recalls this prediction in a statement to the thirty-sixth Celestial Master, “Formerly, during a *jiwei* year, when I was in Ezhu, I dispatched Yiqing to call on your father. He responded to me saying, ‘Twenty years hence the world will be united. The words of the spirit transcendent have presently been verified.’”

<sup>56</sup> 1276 C.E. It was in the thirteenth year of the Zhiyuan reign era that the siege of Lin’an and subsequent abdication of Song Emperor Gong 宋恭 took place.

<sup>57</sup> This is corroborated in the *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 8.166).

Yuanzhen reign era Zhang Yucai was called to an audience in the Hall of Great Brightness where he was granted the title Grand Perfected of Great Purity who Enacts the Way and Concentrates the Spirit.<sup>58</sup>

In the second year of the Dade reign era Haiyan and Yanguan were stricken by great tidal waves that pummeled the shoreline across a distance of one hundred *li* and reached the city walls.<sup>59</sup> Zhang Yucai cast a metal talisman into the water. It leapt back out thrice. Finally, lightning illuminated the darkness and struck dead a strange beast with the head of a fish and the body of a tortoise that was over a *zhang* in length.<sup>60</sup> The embankments were later restored to their former state.

In the winter of the fifth year there was no snow.<sup>61</sup> The emperor said, “I fear that a winter without snow means that that the people will meet with disaster.” Zhang Yucai established an altar and made a supplication. That night, snow fell to a depth of more than one *chi*.<sup>62</sup> The emperor was greatly pleased with this and ordered a palace attendant to offer libations. He then said, “How is it that the minister is capable of reciprocating with the divinities to this degree!”

---

<sup>58</sup> 1295 C.E. This was the first year in the reign of Yuan Chengzong 元成宗. The *History of the Yuan* records an audience in the second year of the Yuanzhen reign era.

<sup>59</sup> 1298 C.E. Haiyan 海鹽 corresponds to present day Haiyan County in the coastal region of Zhejiang. Yanguan Prefecture 鹽官州 is located to the northeast of Hangzhou on the banks of the Qiantang River in Zhejiang.

<sup>60</sup> The fish headed tortoise beast was fairly substantial; one *zhang* equals 3.3 meters. This story is also found in the section on Buddhism and Daoism (*Shilao* 释老) of the *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 202.13-14).

<sup>61</sup> The fifth year of the Dade reign era corresponds to 1301 C.E. This summons is not recorded in the official histories.

<sup>62</sup> A single *chi* corresponds to slightly more than 13 inches.

In the eighth year Zhang Yucai was titled Master of the Upright Unity Teachings, granted charge over the talismans and registers of the three mountains, and given a pair of silver seals of office in recognition of his efforts at pacifying the tides.<sup>63</sup> In the ninth year a seawall in Chongming Prefecture collapsed.<sup>64</sup> Zhang Yucai dispatched a disciple equipped with a talisman to look into the matter. He dreamt of a spirit settling the waters and thereafter they were calmed. In the inaugural year of the Zhida reign era, he was titled Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon, enfeoffed as an auxiliary duke, and gifted a jeweled cap, gold robes, and a silver seal.<sup>65</sup>

Zhang Yucai was the father of Sicheng, the Master of Grand Mystery. His capacity for Daoist practice was remarkable and he was the recipient of honors and awards at court. He did not diminish the customs of his father. When Zhang Sicheng came to his end he was succeeded by his younger brother Zhengyan.

When Zhang Zhengyan passed on he was succeeded by Zhengchang who was the son of the Master of Grand Mystery. Zhengchang's style name is Zhongji and he is the current Celestial Master. He has been granted an audience in the capital on six occasions by the present ruler. In the initial year of the Hongwu reign era he was granted the title Great Perfected of Vast Virtue who Venerates the Way with Wisdom and Sincerity,

---

<sup>63</sup> 1304 C.E.

<sup>64</sup> Chongming Prefecture 崇明州 is located in what is presently the Shanghai metropolitan area.

<sup>65</sup> 1308 C.E. The title Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon (*Jinzi guanglu dafu* 金紫光祿大夫) is a prestige title that dates, initially, to the Three Kingdoms era. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, 168.

Broadly Transforming Grand Mystery, Inheritor of the Upright Unity teachings.<sup>66</sup> He was given command over Daoist affairs, gifted a pair of silver seals, and granted a ritual garment embroidered with silver and gold. His father was titled Great Perfected who Venerates the Way, Bright Sincerity, Vast Transformations of Great Mystery. His mother, a woman of the Hu clan, was titled Mysterious Sovereign of Virtue and Decorum, Reverent Grace and Benevolent Humility.

Further favor was bestowed in the form of a writ which read, “The pivot of his pupils churn like lightning. In manner and appearance he is noble. He flourishes in accord with timeliness. He transmits the teachings as is suitable to the present age. His wide and flinty eyes reflect the inscrutable.” These were the emperor’s words to Song Lian.

It has been said that the Marquis of Wencheng studied rites at Huaiyang in his youth. In the east he paid tribute to the Sovereign of the Watchet Sea who had been a Ruist prior to becoming a sea spirit.<sup>67</sup> Later, he encountered the uncanny fellow Duke Yellow Stone on a bridge in Xiapi.<sup>68</sup> Thus, even when he had yet to achieve the Way, Zhang Liang was already able to commune with spirits.

---

<sup>66</sup> 1368 C.E.

<sup>67</sup> Huaiyang 淮揚 refers to a portion of central and north-central Jiangsu. The Sovereign of the Watchet Sea (*Canghai jun* 蒼海君) is an exceedingly obscure figure who does not appear in any of the expected hagiographical sources.

<sup>68</sup> Xiapi 下邳 refers to what is contemporary Pizhou City in northern Jiangsu. Several traditional sources recount an incident in which the mysterious Duke Yellow Stone appeared before Zhang Liang and bestowed upon him a book entitled *Three Strategies of Duke Yellow Stone* (*Huangshigong sanlüe* 黄石公三略). While a work by that name exists, and is included among the Seven Military Classics (*Wujing qishu* 武經七書) of the Song dynasty, the provenance of the text is shrouded in legend. *The Records of the*

In later years, when his renown tallied with his accomplishments, he wished to practice grain avoidance and follow Master Red Pine.<sup>69</sup> He relied on no one and when his aspirations were fulfilled he extricated himself from the world. That which was established by those nine generations leading down to the Han Celestial Master is gazed back upon with great admiration.

Zhang Daoling studied the arts of rising up lightly to transcendence and extending longevity. He banished that which is dark and pestilential and transformed the people by means of the righteous Way. The inheriting master and the succeeding master continued in his path of cultivation and did not allow the enterprise of their forebear to fall into decline. Their only fear was that others would descend into misfortune. At the end of the Han dynasty the world was clouded in disorder and only the people of Ba and Shu lived in comfort and peace. Travelers in that region did not conceal their provisions and residents did not guard the passes. The officials could be depended upon to govern justly.

The situation continued in that manner for thirty years, an achievement which may be described as extraordinary. In that generation there were those who felt

---

*Grand Historian, Arguments Weighed (Lunheng 論衡), and Discourses of the Recluse (Qianfu lun 潛夫論)* each recount the transmission of the work to Zhang Liang with slightly differing details regarding the place and circumstance surrounding the bestowal. A discussion of the text is found in Wu Rusong 吳如嵩, "Wujing qishu 武經七書," in *Zhongguo da baike quanshu 中國大百科全書* (Beijing/Shanghai: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1989): 1078-1079.

<sup>69</sup> Zhang Liang's emulation of Master Red Pine (*Chisong zi 赤松子*) is first mentioned in *Records of the Grand Historian*. For an overview of Master Redpine See Gil Raz's entry "Chi Songzi," in *The Encyclopedia of Daoism*, 271-272.

compelled to doff their court robes and achieve transformation...the states of the imperial marquises.<sup>70</sup> Is not Heaven's recompense evident?

Those who took it upon themselves to return to that renowned mountain which is infused with spirit pneuma have prospered and brought their ancestor's endeavors to fruition. Their bloodline extends long and unbroken, flourishing and grand. To speak of them as such is but superficial. Ah! The descendants of Marquis Wencheng are found in all places both to the north and the south. Their deeds and achievements are remarkable; the least among them were acolytes of the brilliant methods and the greatest were bulwarks of the state. Among them there were none who were not luminous and eminent.

Is it not the case that many eminent lineages have sunk into servitude, unable to avoid such a fate? Now, look upon the scions of this mysterious unbroken lineage that has passed through more than twelve hundred years and has yet to cease. How can this be? It must be on account of their Way. The inheritors flourish. Such inspiring knowledge this is! Such inspiring knowledge this is!

- Dated the fifteenth day of the first month of the ninth year of the Hongwu reign.<sup>71</sup> Hanlin Academician, Grand Master of Palace Accord, Drafter of Imperial

---

<sup>70</sup> A portion of text is missing from this passage.

<sup>71</sup> February 5, 1376. The date given is, not coincidentally, a highly auspicious one. It is the day of the first prime in the ninth year, a number associated with the zenith of *yang*.

Pronouncements, Song Lian of Jin Yao, Vice Compiler in the Institute of Historiography,  
Secretary to the Heir Apparent.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Jin Yao 金藥 should read Jin Hua 金華. Biographical sources list Song Lian as a person of Jin Hua in what is contemporary Zhejiang.



## Preface Two

When Wuwang vanquished the Shang he partitioned the nation into eight hundred feudal states.<sup>73</sup> As verified in the histories and evidenced by descendants, many of whom are identifiable, the eminent and noble did not perish from the world. There are Song, Lu, Qi, Jin, Wu, Chu, Yan, Zhao, Chen, Qi, Guan, and Cai and that is all. Together with the sacrifices transmitted to the Zhou there are only those to Yan and Qi.

At the outset of the Han dynasty the distinguished rose up to follow Gaodi and spurred their horses on to the central plains.<sup>74</sup> When the empire was stabilized Gaodi parceled the land into fiefdoms. Among his followers, the great were made princes and the lesser were titled as marquises. All told there were more than one hundred individuals.

When the reign of Emperor Xiaowu reached its end after fifty-six years eight or nine out of ten noble families were no more.<sup>75</sup> Emperor Xiaoxuan granted appointments to his own progeny, many of whom were extracted from the ranks of common laborers.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> This refers to the founding of the Zhou dynasty following the Battle of Muye in 1046 B.C.E.

<sup>74</sup> Gaodi 高帝 or Gaozu 高祖 is the posthumous name of Liu Bang 劉邦 the founding ruler of the Han dynasty (r. 202-195 B.C.E.).

<sup>75</sup> Xiaowu 孝武 is the posthumous name of Han Emperor Wudi 武帝. The latter portion of his lengthy reign is marked by a descent into paranoia and despotism spurred on by nightmares and hallucinations that resulted in a great purge of the royal household and high ministers.

<sup>76</sup> Xiao Xuan 孝宣 is the posthumous name of Liu Bingyi 劉病已, Han Emperor Xuandi 宣帝 (r. 74-49 B.C.E.). He was raised as a commoner after his grandfather committed suicide and his father was killed in the tumultuous final years of Wudi's reign.

Coming to the time of Emperor Xiaocheng the lineage was in a precarious spot and darkness set in.<sup>77</sup>

Until the Yellow River is thin as a sash and Mount Tai is as small as a whetstone may the nation and the descendants live eternally in peace.<sup>78</sup> It may be observed that where ties to remote antiquity are concerned, none are equal to the descendants of Confucius and after them none are equal to the descendants of the Celestial Master. When Confucius passed away his former residence was converted into a shrine the following year. In the Wude reign era of the Tang dynasty a Confucian shrine was established at the Directorate of Education.<sup>79</sup> By the Kaiyuan reign era every county had its own shrine and offerings were made throughout the whole of the realm.<sup>80</sup> In each generation it was customary for the eldest son to inherit the lineal mantle and tend to the sacrifices. In the Han dynasty the scion of the Confucian lineage was titled Marquis who Praises Perfection. Under the Song dynasty the heir was titled Duke who Perpetuates Sageliness. This is a tradition that is abided by to the present day.<sup>81</sup> The distinguished

---

<sup>77</sup>Xiaocheng 孝成 is the posthumous name of Han Emperor Chengdi 成帝 (r. 33-7 B.C.E.). Emperor Cheng is known to history as a weak ruler who was unable to produce an heir at a time of great crisis and he is blamed for allowing the Wang family to consolidate power leading to the insurrection of Wang Mang 王莽.

<sup>78</sup> This portion of the text is drawn, nearly verbatim, from the “Annual Table of Laudable Officials who became Marquises in the Reign of Gaozu” in *Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji)* 18.877).

<sup>79</sup>The Wude reign era encompasses the whole of founding emperor Tang Gaozu’s 唐高祖 reign (618-626 C.E).

<sup>80</sup> 713-741 C.E.

<sup>81</sup> The title Marquis who Praises Perfection (*Baocheng hou* 褒成侯) was first granted by Han Emperor Pingdi 平帝 to the most direct male descendant of Confucius who was charged with the performance of sacrificial rites at the tomb of his illustrious ancestor. See, Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, 366-367. The title Duke who Perpetuates Sageliness (*Yansheng gong* 衍聖公) was first awarded to the most direct

among the heirs took up official posts upon completion of the imperial examinations. Their influence and achievements are illustrious and are not lacking in the present generation.

The lineage of the Han Celestial Masters sprang forth from Marquis Wencheng of Liu. Wencheng was descended from Hui, the fifth son of Xuanyuan. Proceeding from Hui the lineage passed down for several generations to the time of Marquis Wencheng. From Marquis Wencheng nine generations passed to the time of the Han Celestial Master. From the Han Celestial Master down to the present day more than twelve hundred years have passed, and we are presently in the forty-third generation. Filial sons and wise grandsons have come forth in radiant succession. Each of them developed and expanded upon what came before in order to bring glory to their predecessors. Among the states there are none that do not venerate the Celestial Masters and praise their extraordinary nature.

The noble progeny of spirit brightness extend forward in an unbroken line. Are not the Zhang and Kong clans comparable? How could it be that word of the Zhang lineage's extinction would fail to reach a mass of auditors? In fact they have endured and flourished down to the present generation. How can it be that there are those who are ignorant of their enduring existence?

When the Zhou dynasty became enfeebled true sovereigns ceased to arise. The feudal lords were unfettered and capricious and their followers were brutal and uncouth.

---

male heir of Confucius in 1055 C.E. under the reign of Song Renzong 仁宗. Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, 560.

Spurring on their mutual savagery, they poisoned all under heaven. Civilian infrastructure fell into ruin causing disasters in excess even of those wrought by great floods. The state of affairs required the emergence of Confucius who refashioned the Ruist arts in order to bring about the kingly way, make order out of chaos, and bring about a return to the proper and upright. He made it such that the people were able to obtain the guidance needed for the preservation of their lives. Moreover, the great scriptures and lofty laws necessary to the stability of all under heaven were set down in writing and a pattern that has endured for one hundred generations was established.

The way of heaven is illuminated, the patterns of earth are discernable, and the utmost standards of man established. The three powers are settled and the myriad transformations come to fruition.<sup>82</sup> The conferral of the benevolence and righteousness of the *Classic of Poetry* and the *Book of Documents* begins and ends together with heaven and earth. And so it is that the descendants of Confucius have flourished and are called “Those who perform the sacrifices for one hundred generations with the utmost virtue.”

And in what way does the lineage of the Han Celestial Master differ from this? Although the Way of the Han Celestial Master is not the same as that of Confucius, it is nevertheless the case that both lineages take the refinement of body and spirit, the arbitration of the union of *yin* and *yang*, the pondering of primordial transformations, communion with spirits, guarding against great catastrophes, and warding off calamities as their concern.

---

<sup>82</sup> The three powers (*sancai* 三才) are heaven, earth, and mankind.

It is due to them baleful omens do not transpire, pestilence does not arise, suffering is pacified, and those who would die young enjoy longevity. It may further be said that there is great benevolence to be found in the present generation. The entitlements of Heaven are fostered by those of a latter age. Virtue is caused to be nourished and patterns of retribution are enacted of their own accord.

It may broadly be said of the Zhang family that the good works of the ancestors are maintained and abided by. And so, while it may be the case that natural disasters are prevalent there has been no age in which this is not so. What cause is there for vexation? The people have always depended upon them. They have carried on to the present and upheld tradition. They contemplate that which their ancestors had amassed and equal them in the aspiration of ascending to the heavens. In this they are resolute and, being equal to the honors conferred upon them, they take responsibility upon themselves.

This great and extraordinary writ will flourish tenfold and one hundred times. This writ is the *Hereditary Household* in one fascicle, established by the Celestial Master of the forty-second generation, the Great Perfected of Broad Virtue Who Venerates the Way and Expounds on the Ancestral Way with Penetrating Earnestness, the Protector of the Nation and Inheritor of the Orthodox Unity Teachings. He has instructed his disciple to compose and so the Hanlin academician Song Lian drafted a preface.

The current Celestial Master, the Sage of Effortless action, has said “Actions that long endure arise from words that are elegant.”<sup>83</sup> This work has been refined and adorned so that it may be replicated and transmitted into the world.<sup>84</sup> And how could I, the vulgar Bocheng, not feel compelled to compose this supplementary preface? I have observed the caution that the Sage of Effortless Action has taken in editing this work to the end of carrying forth the merit of his predecessors so that the present age of the household may reflect their enduring power. The result of this is that the favor bestowed on a single person is obscured and the good fortune of the four assemblies is observed and so the mysterious teachings add to the weight of the nine tripods.<sup>85</sup> I, Boheng, sincerely dare not append this preface to that of Song the elder. To my old acquaintance the Sage of Effortless Action I declare that not a single day has passed in which I was not aware that I have overstepped my proper bounds in composing this preface.

---

<sup>83</sup> “Actions that long endure arise from words that are elegant.” (*Xing zhi ye yuan you yan zhi ye wen* 行之也遠, 由言之也文.) This is quite possibly a play on the turn of phrase “Speech lacking in elegance will not long endure,” (*Yan zhi wu wen xing er bu yuan* 言之無文, 行而不遠) found in *Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan* 春秋左傳 *Xianggong* 襄公 25). The title Sage of Effortless Action (*Wuwei zi* 無為子) must refer to the forty-third Celestial Master Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 though I am unable to find reference to him by that title elsewhere.

<sup>84</sup> (*xiushi runse zhi* 脩飾潤色之). This alludes to the drafting process described in the *Xianwen* 憲問 chapter of the *Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu* 論語 14.9). “...the messenger Zi Yu polished the draft and Zi Chan of Dong Li adorned it with a proper finish.” (*Xing ren Zi yu xiushi zhi dongle Zi chan runse zhi* 行人子羽脩飾之, 東里子產潤色之).

<sup>85</sup> The “four assemblies” (*si zhong* 四眾) typically indicates the Buddhist *sangha* comprised of monks, nuns, male laypersons, and female laypersons. In the present context it appears that Su Boheng is using the term to refer to the Daoist community as a whole in distinction to specific eminent individuals. The nine tripods (*jiu ding* 九鼎) are legendary ritual vessels that are emblematic of the power and majesty of legitimate rule.

-Dated the *bingshen* day of the fifth month of the *gengwu* year of the Hongwu reign era.<sup>86</sup> Su Boheng, Historiographer Emeritus of Mount Mei.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup> The date given corresponds to June 17, 1390 in the twenty-third year of the Hongwu reign era under Emperor Taizu of the Ming.

<sup>87</sup> Mount Mei (*Mei shan* 眉山) is located in what is present-day central Sichuan.

### Preface Three

Formerly, I perched on obscure cliffs and dreamt of discoursing on the Way with Laozi. Secretly, I was piqued by the travels of Red Pine and yet I was ignorant of the inheritors of the teachings. How could I remain in Jinling?<sup>88</sup>

Beneath Mount Lu my sails were drained of wind when suddenly the boat of Zhang, the perfected one, drew near. In the evening we moored and bowed cheerfully to one another like old friends with longstanding ties. He produced a satchel containing the *Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master* for my perusal and said, “It is my hope that you will provide a word in order to burnish the memory of my ancestors.” Struck dumb, I received the work so that I might read it. With a sigh I said, “The brush strokes of Grand Scribe Song have not been expunged. What benefit is there to be gained from my participation?”

Have I not heard that the way of heaven and earth is constant and singular?<sup>89</sup> While there may be many instances of blackening eclipses, crumbling mountains, and exhausted waters such things are not inevitabilities that may be anticipated and so there are those whose minds are tranquil and calm as they have no experience of destruction. In high antiquity this was grasped and so affairs were presided over and managed.

---

<sup>88</sup> Jinling 金陵 is an archaic name for Nanjing.

<sup>89</sup> Here the author obliquely calls the reader’s attention to a section of the “Great Treatise” (*Xici xia* 繫辭下) chapter of the *Zhouyi* 周易. Legge’s translation of the relevant passage reads as follows: “Good fortune and ill are continually prevailing each against the other by an exact rule. By the same rule, heaven and earth, in their course, continually give forth (their lessons); the sun and moon continually emit their light; all the movements under the sky are constantly subject to this one and the same rule.” James Legge, *The Sacred Books of China* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1899): 381.



The Perfected Daoist of Upright Unity grasped this and so cultivated and supplemented the order of high antiquity. And so, the numinous pneuma has been entrusted to his successors and the lineage's spiritual wondrousness has endured for more than one thousand years. They grasp the mysterious transformations as the events of a single day. Who is able to take measure of their efficacy? It is said that talismans and registers have the ability to control ghosts and spirits, guard against calamities, and quell baleful vapors in service to the nation. Thus the celestial emissaries flourish in the present generation and in the event that evil arises it will simply be suppressed down to its last vestige.

The illustrious deeds of Zhang Xinsheng may be understood as reflective of the Upright Unity covenant.<sup>90</sup> One day a prince played the flute as he traversed Dragon Mountain when he was granted a dream of Laozi holding forth in remonstrance. Lord Zhang was seized with maternal concern and said, "You dare to not to keep guard over your speech and actions, yet you gaze upwards to the purple pneuma enshrouded peaks of Dragon Mountain."

- Wang Dexin, regular metropolitan graduate, Minister of the Three Bureaus, twice summoned to court, Headman of Luodong in Qingyuan.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup> Zhang Xinsheng 張心湛 is the honorific of the fiftieth generation Celestial Master Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥 (d. 1611).

<sup>91</sup> The rank of "regular metropolitan graduate" (*jìnshì chūshēn* 進士出身) was awarded to second tier graduates of the palace exams. Qingyuan 青原 is located in what is presently Ji'an, central Jiangxi.

## Preface Four

When those of the present age speak of hereditary households, none are mentioned as frequently as the Kong family. How does one approximate the Han Celestial Masters to the Kong family? The Han Celestial Master Daoling was a descendent of Marquis Wencheng of Liu. Marquis Wencheng received writs from Duke Yellow Stone, took up grain avoidance, and accompanied Red Pine on his journeys. The origins of the profound teachings of the Way arise from him.

Passing through five generations we arrive at the ancestral master Zhang Daoling. He set forth and gathered the essence of the Most High's teachings, studied the mysterious pivot of emergent creation and transformation, and cultivated perfection on Dragon and Tiger Mountain. The Way and virtue were taken as his high ancestors. Spirit brightness was as his mother, clarity and quiescence were his masters, and grand harmony was his companion. The Celestial Master commanded the wind and clouds, and paced the three terraces causing the cosmos to cycle.<sup>92</sup> He breathed lightning and wielded a blade of stars so as to purge the world of impurities.

Arising in the Han dynasty but not ending with its fall, the Celestial Masters have passed through the Tang and Song and arrived at our Ming dynasty. They have been conferred honors by imperial mandate and have embodied luminous refinement for generations. They were honored with titles as nobles of Upright Unity, equivalent in rank

---

<sup>92</sup> The three terraces (*santai* 三台) are six stars in the constellation Ursa Major which were understood to resonate with the human realm in accordance with traditional conceptions of correlative cosmology. See *Upper Chapter on Celestial Patterns* (*Tianwen zhi shang* 天文志上) in the *Book of Jin* (*Jin shu* 晉書 11.293).

to dukes and marquises, equal to the flawlessness of tenuity, upstanding masters whose ancestor brought radiance to the world.

They have continued down to the present day and the fiftieth generation. The transformations of the Way carry on for innumerable generations, flowing down to the heirs of the lineage and always surging forth while never dissipating. As for this work that we refer to as the *Hereditary Household*, it is undoubtedly an auspicious undertaking!

And what of the great and lofty Kong family, some of whom circulate talismans and registers and serve the ghosts and spirits? They are always raised up and flocked to heedlessly. Bah! Is this not petty? Observe the Celestial Masters; how do they know of the ingestion of the six pneumata and the transformation of cinnabar into white stone?<sup>93</sup>

Submerged within the three ultimates, the Way gathered mysterious primacy. Latent within are the prior beginnings of heaven and earth. The reason for its origins is unknown. As for the coming end of heaven and earth, the cause of their cessation is unknown.

It is not sufficient that the completion of the *Hereditary Household* be called an extraordinary accomplishment. I've made this extraordinary journey to these exquisite environs and obtained this, the *Hereditary Household of the Celestial Master*. How

---

<sup>93</sup> The entirety of this passage appears to be evocative rather than descriptive. There is no mention elsewhere in the Daoist Canon of an alchemical process whereby cinnabar becomes white stone. There is a *Scripture on the Ingestion of the Six Pneumata* (*Shi liu qi* 食六氣) cataloged in the “Broad Overview” (*Xialan* 遐覽) chapter of *Baopuzi* though it has no evident connection to the Celestial Masters.

could it not be honored? I have accordingly provided a preface in order to praise the greatness of this work.

-Dated to the second month of the *dingyou* year of the Wanli reign. Yu Wenwei of Yuzhang, regular metropolitan graduate, Attendant to the Classics Colloquium, Investigating Censor of the Yunnan circuit.<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> The date given corresponds to March 18 to April 15 of 1597 C.E. Yuzhang 豫章 is located in what is currently the Nanchang metropolitan area in Jiangxi. The duties of the Attendant to the Classics Colloquium (*Shi jingyan* 侍經筵) are not entirely clear. The colloquium itself was a meeting of the emperor with various eminent figures for the purpose of discussing the classics. Initially held irregularly the colloquium became a biannual event held every spring and autumn beginning in the Ming dynasty. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, 173.

## Preface Five

The mantle of Han Celestial Master has been transmitted from generation to generation as have the reigns of the nation. Passing through the Tang, Song, and presently into the Ming dynasty successive generations have taken hold of the teachings of the Way in order to benefit the world. In spite of this the skewed speech of the Buddhists and the defamation of the Confucians remain ubiquitous!

Our Emperor Gao was spirited and martial. How could he be misled with regards to the meaning of “grand unity” as it appears in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*?<sup>95</sup> Looking back, he composed lauds in praise of the first twenty generations of Han Celestial Masters in order to make manifest their worth.<sup>96</sup>

From the Han dynasty to the present day their glory is entirely akin to that of the Kong family. This is a certainty that cannot be falsified by force of intellect. There has been no generation in which countless sacrifices have not been made and yet there is no stability in the world. There are those who casually take up talismans and registers to gain command over spirits. They obtain talismans and set out to impede ghosts and spirits but invariably find themselves baffled and unable to subdue them. This is to

---

<sup>95</sup> Emperor Gao 高帝 is the posthumous name of the founding emperor of the Ming whose patronage Zhang Yuchu enjoyed.

<sup>96</sup> This refers to fascicle sixteen of *Ming Emperor Taizu's Collected Writs* (*Ming Taizu wenji* 明太祖文集 SKQS 16) which includes twenty lauds (*zan* 贊) in praise of the first twenty generations of Celestial Masters under the title *In Praise of Twenty Generation of the Dragon and Tiger Mountain Celestial Masters* (*Longhu shan ershi dai tianshi zan* 龍虎山二十代天師贊).

possess and yet to be without, to hold a simulacrum and not a reality. When circumstances change they invariably beat a retreat.

This is because they would take hold of all ghosts and spirits but do not take hold of the entirety of the Way. It is accordingly said that talismans and registers are not sufficient to subdue ghosts and spirits. To rely on them alone is simple recklessness. Now, certain people have the capacity to make use of talismans and registers; the talismanic arts flourished under Kou Qianzhi and Du Guangting but have not since arisen.<sup>97</sup>

The Celestial Masters have flourished for fifty generations. They are without limit. Their great Way is profound and enduring and proceeds from a place of dwelling within the unknown. Is it not the case that Han Gaozu and Tang Wenzong possessed great merit? And yet, are any of their descendants to whom they may be compared anywhere to be found in the present day? The preposterous slander found in Xuan Guang's *Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity* and that of Li Ying's *Record of Shu* is insufficient to the task of marring Fu Han.<sup>98</sup> The *Scripture on the Conversion of the*

---

<sup>97</sup> It is unusual to see Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 mentioned in a text produced by the Celestial Masters of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. He famously took the mantle of Celestial Master upon himself in the Northern Wei dynasty and maintained that while Zhang Daoling was legitimately granted the title by Lord Lao it was never meant to be inherited by his heirs. He was also vocal in his criticism of rites of sexual union that were practiced by the early Celestial Masters. Though seldom mentioned in later works of the lineage these rites were a favored topic of Buddhist polemicists. A thorough overview of Kou Qianzhi's brief but impactful career is found in Richard B. Mather, "K'ou Ch'ien-chih and the Taoist Theocracy at the Northern Wei Court, 425-451," in *Facets of Taoism*, Eds. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979): 103-123.

<sup>98</sup> Fu Han 輔漢 is the style name of Zhang Daoling. The *Discourse on Apprehending Duplicity Bianhuo lun* (辯惑論), composed by Xuan Guang 玄光 in the late fifth century is a polemic that arose out of the Buddo-Daoist debates of the Northern Qi (*Bei Qi* 北齊). Among other insults to the lineage it contends that Zhang Daoling was gobbled up by a python and that his disciples fabricated the story of his ascension to

*Barbarians* is insufficient to the task of praising Boyang.<sup>99</sup> This is entirely preposterous. I earnestly take the continued flourishing of this lineage as comparable to that of the descendants of Chong Ni. Are they not a matched pair?

In the midst of the Hongwu reign era the forty-second Celestial Master requested a preface to the *Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master* from the academician Song Lian of Jinyao.<sup>100</sup> This is widely known. A span of more than two hundred years has passed and now I am greatly pleased that the fiftieth Celestial Master has contacted me at my residence in the capital.

I was on my way to court on the road at Wumen when he encountered me.<sup>101</sup> How is it that this refined and courteous Ruist scholar should possess the Way? A letter arrived by rapid post from a distance of one thousand *li* requesting that I compose a

---

hide this embarrassing fact. Ties are also drawn in the text between the Zhang family and the Yellow Turban uprising of the Late Han. The text is preserved in *Record on Spreading the Light [of Buddhism]* (*Hongming ji* 弘明集 T. 2102. 52). The *Record of Shu* (*Shu ji* 蜀記) by Li Ying 李膺 is no longer extant but is frequently cited in Buddhist polemical sources and may be the origin of the claim that Zhang Daoling was eaten by a snake.

<sup>99</sup> Boyang 伯陽 is the style name of Laozi. The *Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians* (*Huahu jing* 化胡經) is attributed to Wang Fu 王浮, a Libationer of the Western Jin 西晉 (265-316 C.E.). The scripture contends that Laozi transformed himself into the Buddha in order to deliver a teaching suitable to the people of India but lacking in the depth and subtlety of Daoism and therefore inappropriate to the people of China. A source of much contention between Buddhists and Daoists, versions of the story have repeatedly been circulated and prohibited over the course of history. A late sixth century telling entitled *Marvelous Scripture of Supreme Lingbao on Laozi Converting the Barbarians* (*Taishang lingbao Laozi huahu miaojing* 太上靈寶老子化胡妙經 S. 2081) was discovered at Dunhuang and partially translated in a study by Anna Seidel. See Anna Seidel, “Le sutra merveilleux du Ling-pao supreme, traitant de Lao tseu qui convertit les barbares.” in *Contributions aux études du Touen-houang*, ed. Michel Soymié, (Geneva: Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1984.), 3:305-52.

<sup>100</sup> Jin Yao 金藥 is a mistaken transcription for Jin Hua 金華 which biographical sources invariably note as the natal home of Song Lian. The same mistake is found in the currently extant transcription of Song Lian’s preface as well.

<sup>101</sup> Wumen 吳門 is an archaic name for Suzhou.

preface to this volume. Now, from the Hongwu reign era to the Jiajing reign era, eight generations of Celestial Masters have left their traces. As I have grown older I have become a student of the Way. Still, sincerely, I do not dare to exhibit partisanship and denounce Buddhism. As for the three teachings, how could it be the case that they do not all lead to the same end?

-Dated to the autumn of the *guisi* year of the Wanli reign era.<sup>102</sup> Zhou Tianqiu of Wu Commandery.

---

<sup>102</sup> 1593 C.E.



## Fascicle Two: The Transmission of the Celestial Masters Lineage

-Collated by the Zhang Yue of Anren, *jinshi*, Vice Minister of the Ministry of Works, Grand Master for Thorough Counsel.<sup>103</sup>

The title Celestial Master is found in the “Basic Questions” of the *Zhuangzi* where it is a term of utmost praise for those who are in possession of the Way.<sup>104</sup> Lao Dan recited *The Book of the Way and Its Virtue* in the time of the Zhou ancestors.<sup>105</sup> The Celestial Master initiated the Upright Unity teachings in the Han dynasty and the Zhang clan is honored by the title.

The lineage has been transmitted from age to age and presently we are in the forty-eighth generation. Is this not clear? For a span of fifteen hundred years prosperity and penury have cyclically given rise to one another just as the fall of one state is entwined with the rise to power of another. There have never been any who are

---

<sup>103</sup>Anren 安仁 is located in present day Yujiang County 余江 Jiangxi, under the administration of Yingtan City. It is in the immediate vicinity of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. A brief biography in the *Comprehensive Record of* reiterates the details of his career given here and also informs us that he passed the *jinshi* exam at the outset of the Zhengde reign era (1505-1521 C.E.) (SKQS 90.16-17). The introduction which precedes the biography of the first Celestial Master is not signed. The introduction also appears in the mid-fifteenth century edition of the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. There the forty-eighth Celestial Master is replaced with the thirty-seventh indicating that the introduction may have been composed in the late thirteenth century and repurposed for the present work.

<sup>104</sup> A figure identified only as the “Celestial Master” is an interlocutor in the “Basic Questions” (*Su wen* 素問) the opening chapter of the *Inner Classic of the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經). In “Xu Wugui” 徐無鬼, chapter twenty-four of the *Zhuangzi*, the Yellow Emperor uses the term to praise a sagacious young boy.

<sup>105</sup> Lao Dan 老聃 is an alternate name for Laozi that is used in the *Zhuangzi* as well as the *Shiji*. Lao Dan may well have originally been a distinct character whose biography gradually merged with that of Laozi over the course of centuries. See, A. C., Graham, 1986. “The Origins of the Legend of Lao Tan,” *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990): 111–124.

comparable to the Zhang clan. Their numinosity alone has long endured. Is this not akin to a profusion of luxuriant mountains and rivers? How does the wondrous union of Heaven and man come about? A grand bounty of achievement and reputation is transmitted to posterity. I have no knowledge of their end.

The avoidance name of the ancestral master was Daoling and his style name was Fuhan. He was a person of Peifeng.<sup>106</sup> Zhang Daoling was a descendant of Zhang Liang who lived nine generations prior to his time. While traversing a bridge in Xiapu, Liang encountered Duke Yellow Stone who granted him a text. Later, he served in the retinue of Han Wudi at the time when the latter gathered all under heaven into his domain. He was enfeoffed as Marquis Liu in recognition of his meritorious actions. He addressed the emperor saying, “Your minister wishes to retire from the affairs of the world and follow Master Red Pine in his travels.” He was posthumously granted the title Marquis of Wencheng.

The inheriting Marquis of Wencheng was named Buyi. Buyi was the father of Gao. Gao was the father of Tong. Tong was the father of Wuwang. Wuwang was the father of Liren. Liren was the father of Hao. Hao was the father of Gang. Gang was the father of Dashun, the Perfected of the Cypress Tree. Dashun was the father of the ancestral Celestial Master.

---

<sup>106</sup>Present day Feng County, Jiangsu.

One night the mother of the Celestial Master dreamt of a spirit-like man who descended earthward from the *kui* stars of the Northern Dipper.<sup>107</sup> Over one *zhang* in height and garbed in brocaded robes, he handed her a bouquet of fragrant grasses and said, “This is wild ginger.”<sup>108</sup> Upon waking she found that her clothing and bedchamber were imbued with an extraordinary fragrance. A month passed and the scent did not dispel. It was then that she knew herself to be pregnant.

In the evening of the fifteenth day of the first month of the tenth year of the Jianwu reign era the Celestial Master was born at Heaven’s Eye Mountain.<sup>109</sup> At the time of his birth the chamber was overhung with a gold cloud and suffused with purple pneuma. The birthing room was illuminated as bright as midday and the fragrance that had formerly filled the chamber was once again prevalent.

The Celestial Master stood at a height of nine *chi* and two *cun*. He had a broad face with salt and pepper brows. The crown of his head was vermilion and his eyes were green. His nose was high-bridged and his jaw was square. His eyes were triangular in shape, he had a handsome moustache and beard, and his arms were so long that his hands hung past his knees. In repose he was draconic and in motion he was like a tiger. His gaze was solemn and distant.

---

<sup>107</sup>The *kui* 魁 stars are *tian shu* 天樞, *tian xuan* 天璇, *tian ji* 天璣, and *tian quan* 天權. Together they form the cup of the dipper.

<sup>108</sup>*Hengwei* 薜薺 (*Asarum forbesii maxim*) is traditionally used for a variety of medicinal purposes. However, I have been unable to locate any symbolic connection between the herb and pregnancy.

<sup>109</sup> February 22, 34 C.E.

At seven years of age he read the book of Laozi and was able to comprehend its principles. He had a complete and penetrating knowledge of the mysteries of the weft texts and of charts and writs pertaining to astronomy and geomancy.<sup>110</sup> He scrutinized the classics and records without exception and gathered a following of more than one thousand students.

Thirty *li* to the south and eighty *li* to the northwest of Heaven's Eye Mountain there stood halls of incantation. In Lin'an there was Spirit Mountain Belvedere and in Yukang there was the Belvedere of Pervading Transcendence.<sup>111</sup> He proceeded from the Zhe River and forded the Huai.<sup>112</sup> Crossing the Luo he entered the mountains of Shu where he obtained writs on the art of refining the form and the practice of merging pneumata.<sup>113</sup> He abstained from grains and eschewed sleep.

In the second year of the Yongping reign era the twenty-five year old Celestial Master was appointed magistrate of Jiang Prefecture through the auspices of an

---

<sup>110</sup> The weft texts (*chenwei* 讖緯) are Han dynasty apocrypha used in prognostication. Anna Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha," in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein* Volume Ed. Michel Strickmann, (Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1983), 2:291-371.

<sup>111</sup> Both Lin'an 臨安 and Yukang 餘杭 are located in contemporary Zhejiang.

<sup>112</sup> The Zhe River 浙江 is presently known as the Qiantang River 錢塘江. It flows through Zhejiang, passing the provincial capital of Hangzhou. The Huai River 淮江 originates in Henan. It flows through northern Anhui and Jiangsu where it empties into the Yangtze.

<sup>113</sup> The Luo River 洛江 flows from Shaanxi into Henan where it joins the Yellow River. The practice of merging pneumata (*heqi* 合氣) is a sexual initiation rite that was practiced in the early Celestial Masters community but widely criticized by later Daoists and, especially, Buddhists. It is seldom mentioned outside of the earliest Celestial Masters texts. For an overview of the history of the practice and its condemnation see Gil Raz, "The Way of the Yellow and the Red: Sexual Practice in Early Daoism," *Nan Nü, Men, Women and Gender in China* 10 (2008): 86-120.

examination for those able to speak directly and offer the utmost admonition.<sup>114</sup> Upon retiring from his post he returned to Mount Beimang in Luoyang. He had spent three years practicing self-cultivation at that place when a white tiger with a talisman in its mouth came forth and reclined at his side.

In the fifth year of the Jianchu reign era the Celestial Master was summoned by Han Zhangdi but he did not pay court to the emperor.<sup>115</sup> In the initial year of the Yongyuan reign era Han Hedi summoned the Celestial Master in order to grant him an appointment as Grand Mentor and the title Marquis of Ji County.<sup>116</sup> He was summoned on three occasions but did not respond.

He traveled down the Huai River and took up residence at Mount Taiping in the Tongbai range.<sup>117</sup> Accompanied only by his disciple Wang Chang, the Celestial Master

---

<sup>114</sup>The second year of the Yongping reign era corresponds to 59 C.E. Although there are abundant examples of individuals who “spoke directly and remonstrated to the utmost” (*Zhiyan jijian* 直言極諫) in pre-Han literature the practice of examinations for those able to speak directly and offer the utmost admonition,” (*Zhiyan jjian ke* 正直言極諫科) dates only to the Tang dynasty. David C. McMullen notes that “there were also imperially initiated decree examinations calling for those able to provide upright admonition to come forward and sit special examinations. These examinations bore titles such as ‘Examination for the good and upright and those able to speak directly and offer extreme admonition’ (*Xianliangfang zheng neng zhi yan ji jian ke* 賢良方正直言極諫科). These channels, however, remained uncertain and even potentially risky ways of approaching the apex of political power.” David C. McMullen, “Memorials and Essays: Political Protest in Late Medieval China,” *International Journal of China Studies* 3.3 (2012): 250.

<sup>115</sup> 80 C.E.

<sup>116</sup> The Yongyuan reign era began in 89 C.E. Ji County 冀縣 is located in contemporary Hebei. In contrast to the account given in Song Lian’s preface the present passage indicates that Zhang Daoling did not accept the title of Grand Mentor (*Tai fu* 太傅).

<sup>117</sup> The Tongbai range (*Tongbai shan* 桐柏山) stretches for approximately sixty miles through portions of contemporary Henan and Hubei.

followed the Huai River to Poyang where he ascended Mount Leping's Yuze Peak.<sup>118</sup> There, the spirit of the mountain appeared on the path and greeted him with reverence. The spirit expressed its wish to receive the Celestial Master's command. A sacrificial hall was established at the foot of the peak and cinnabar was refined at the site. The spirit of the mountain took notice of this and a pair of cranes appeared to escort the Celestial Master on his comings and goings.

The Celestial Master left that place and followed the river to Cloud Brocade Mountain. There, he refined the Spirit Cinnabar of the Nine Heavens. When the process of alchemical transformation was complete a dragon and a tiger appeared. The mountain's present name is derived from this incident.<sup>119</sup> He was over sixty years of age at the time but retained his vigor.

Once, a spirit-like man who identified himself as Zhao Gongming arrived accompanied by a black tiger.<sup>120</sup> He stood before the Celestial Master and said, "It is my

---

<sup>118</sup> Mount Leping (*Leping shan* 樂平山) is located in the vicinity of Lake Poyang in northern Jiangxi. Prior to the Tang dynasty it was known as Mount Shimo (*Shimo shan* 石墨山). Wang Chang 王長 along with his companion Zhao Sheng 趙昇 is one of the two most trusted disciples of the Celestial Master. They appear in the earliest strata of Celestial Masters works including the third century C.E. text *Demon Statutes of Lady Blue* (*Nuqing guilu* 女青鬼律) in which it is said that of the Celestial Masters thousands of disciples only Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng have mastered the art of longevity (HY 789 ZHDZ 8.608).

<sup>119</sup> Cloud Brocade Mountain (*Yunjin shan* 雲錦山) appears in other biographical sources in which it is not equated to Mount Longhu suggesting that the locale may have referred to a different location in earlier hagiographical tales and was co-opted by the lineage at some point. In the *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* (*Wuyi ji* 武夷集) composed by the eminent Southern Song Daoist Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 we are told that Zhang Daoling performed alchemy on Cloud Brocade Mountain causing demons of the Anterior Heavens to be exorcised. The location of the mountain is not, however, specified. The *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* is preserved in *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (*Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 HY 263 ZHDZ 19.964).

<sup>120</sup> Zhao Gongming 趙公明 was initially identified as a spirit general or plague spirit, roles well suited to his fearsome iconography. From the Yuan dynasty onwards has played a significant role in the popular

wish to eternally stand guard with great resolve.” At the Western Font of Transcendence the Celestial Master obtained *The Five Marchmounts Mastery of Fate* and at Bilu Cavern he obtained the *Esoteric Writs on Convening the Myriad Spirits and Summoning Spirit Tigers*. Later, the Celestial Master travelled to Mount Song where he obtained *Inner Writs of the Three Sovereigns*, *The Yellow Emperor’s Nine Cauldron Cinnabar Text*, and *Cinnabar Script of Highest Clarity*.<sup>121</sup>

The Celestial Master said, “In former times Yu pacified the water and the land, and Yi cleared the mountains and marshes with fire. Their achievements have endured for myriad generations. Presently, the way that is followed is without equipoise; sinister entities are not met with admonition. If those who follow me are lacking in merit then the realization of the Way will not be accomplished.”

He heard tell of disasters wrought by the brackish miasmas in Ba and Shu and set out at once to eliminate them. At the outset of his journey the Celestial Master stayed at

---

pantheon as a God of Wealth (*Caishen* 財神). See Philip Clart’s entry “Caishen,” in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 243. In Celestial Masters Daoism he serves as Marshal Zhao of the Dark Altar of Upright Unity (*Zhengyi xuantan Zhao Yuanshuai* 正一玄壇趙元帥), a guardian of the ritual space. See *In Search of the Supernatural* (*Soushen ji* 搜神記 ZHDZ 45.547). The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.10) indicates that a shrine to Marshal Zhao was once located in the vicinity of Upper Clarity Palace.

<sup>121</sup> As suggested by their titles these works do not correspond to what is known of early Celestial Masters scriptures and practices but are associated with the tradition of Ge Hong 葛洪. According to the *Baopuzi* Ge Xuan was in possession of a work titled *Cinnabar Scripture of the Nine Cauldrons* (*Jiuding danjing* 九鼎丹經) as well as the *Cinnabar Scripture of Highest Clarity* (*Taiqing danjing* 太清丹經). In chapter nineteen of *Baopuzi*, the *Inner Writs of the Three Sovereigns* (*Sanhuang neiwen* 三皇內文) is praised as among the most important of works on the Way. It is said that the text cannot be transmitted from teacher to student but is attainable only to those of purity and sincerity who seek it out in sacred grottoes. Ge Hong’s brief description of the text suggests that its intended function is apotropaic rather than alchemical. See Yamada Tokiaki’s entry “Sanhuang wen,” in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 837. For a translation of the relevant *Baopuzi* passage see Fabrizio Pregadio, *Great Clarity: Daoism and Alchemy in Medieval China*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006): 127-28.

Mount Yangping where the Most High responded to his presence with the bestowal of liturgical and talismanic methods.<sup>122</sup> He next ascended Mount Western Citadel, and established an altar in order to cause the Five Thearchs to descend.<sup>123</sup> They spoke to the Celestial Master saying, “There is a white tiger spirit at Mount Western Citadel that drinks the blood of men and takes humans as a sacrifice.” He called forth the spirit and banished it.

In Zi Prefecture a great snake manifested itself.<sup>124</sup> When it cried out the mountains and valleys trembled. The serpent would exhale a foul pneuma that spread over a distance of several *li* killing all of those caught in its midst. The Celestial Master took it upon himself to slay the serpent.

The Celestial Master resided at Gegui, Qinzhong, Changli, Lishang, Yongquan, Zhenduo, Beiping, Chougeng, Liaoting and other mountains.<sup>125</sup> He cultivated the methods of the Nine Perfected, obtained the miracle of passing through water and fire without harm, and the arts of nourishing the spirit and making the body light. Eventually he returned to Mount Crane Call.

---

<sup>122</sup> Mount Yangping (*Yangping shan* 陽平山) is located in contemporary Qinglin, Sichuan. It is the site of Yangping Parish (*Yangping zhi* 陽平治), the first among the twenty-four parishes of the Han Celestial Masters.

<sup>123</sup> The Five Thearchs are legendary morally perfected sage kings. The story of the tiger spirit is also found in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* although in that source Zhang Daoling is informed of the menace by an anonymous resident of the region rather than the Five Thearchs (SDSY 13.13). The *Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the Grotto Heavens* lists Western Citadel Mountain (*Xicheng shan* 西城山) among the Ten Greater Grotto Heavens (*Da dongtian* 大洞天). It is located in contemporary Shaanxi.

<sup>124</sup> Zi Prefecture 梓州 is located in modern Santai County, Sichuan.

<sup>125</sup> These places number among the twenty-four parishes of the original Celestial Masters community in and around the Sichuan Basin.



There, on the day of the Upper Prime in the *renshi* year of the Han'an reign era, the Most High Lord Lao descended in a chariot piloted by five white dragons.<sup>126</sup> The Most High spoke to the Celestial Master saying, "In a former time I dictated a scripture to Yin Xi.<sup>127</sup> Presently, I charge you with the universal deliverance of sentient beings. Furthermore, I presently establish the twenty-four parishes, designate those who will rank among the transcendents, and hold sway over the people's ruination and blessings, life and death.

Several *kalpa* have passed.<sup>128</sup> You are to claim office from the Six Heavens.<sup>129</sup> You are charged with seeking out and prosecuting those ghosts and spirits that consume blood and you are to take occupation of their dwelling place. Presently, spirits and men are not segregated from one another. You are to reassert control over them.

I now bestow upon you the talismans, scriptures, and articles of the Inspector of Merit of the Three Fives. Furthermore, I grant you Twin Swords for Terminating Evil of the Three Fives, a jade seal, a fish-scale robe, the Crown of Harmonious Unity of Heaven

---

<sup>126</sup> 142 C.E. The day of the Upper Prime (*Shangyuan* 上元) is the fifteenth of the first lunar month. This is the date invariably given in hagiographical sources as that on which the covenant between Zhang Daoling and the deified Laozi took place.

<sup>127</sup> According to tradition Yin Xi 尹喜 was a gatekeeper to whom Laozi entrusted his teachings prior to departing for the west.

<sup>128</sup> A *Kalpa* (*jie* 劫) is an unfathomably long period of time. The term was introduced to Daoism through translations of Buddhist scriptures.

<sup>129</sup> This passage partially echoes the telling of Lord Lao's proclamation to Zhang Daoling found in the *Scripture of the Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens* (*Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經 HY 1196), a text of the Liu-Song dynasty (420-79 C.E.). The meaning of the term "Six Heavens" (*liu tian* 六天) differs from text to text and age to age. However, in the *Inner Explanations* and other early Celestial Masters texts it refers to a cosmic cycle the pneuma of which has "grown stale" and is due to be replaced by the new age of the "Three Heavens". See Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997): 186-203.

and Earth, and a Heaven Pervading Jade Scroll.” One thousand days later they convened at Langyuan where the Celestial Master prostrated himself in gratitude to the Most High.<sup>130</sup>

On the first day of the seventh month of the second year of the Han’an reign era the Celestial Master ascended Verdant Citadel Mountain.<sup>131</sup> The mountain was home to a ghost infested keep and was a gathering place for spirits. The mass of ghosts were ordered into eight troops which would daily set out to harm the common people. Each troop was commanded by a spectral marshal. Upon the Celestial Master’s arrival, the spectral marshals ordered the spirits under their charge to engage him as an enemy. Taking up a cinnabar inked brush the Celestial Master traced strokes in the air causing the throng of spirits to immediately collapse in a heap. He then beckoned the spirits forth whereupon they all rose up again.

Some among them were dispelled like flames fanned by a contrary wind while others were dissipated like a patch of fog exposed to the emerging sun. Their passage was barred as though the way was blocked by Mount Tai and they were restrained as though pinned down by a great boulder. The ghosts wailed with lamentation, begged for mercy, and requested a truce of allegiance.

The Celestial Master ordered them to gather at the altar of the Yellow Emperor on Verdant Citadel Mountain and proclaimed that humans are to reside in brightness while

---

<sup>130</sup> Langyuan 閩苑 is a paradisiacal realm albeit one that does not appear in early sources pertaining to the Zhang Celestial Masters.

<sup>131</sup> July 30, 143 C.E.

ghosts are to dwell in darkness. The text of the oath reads as follows: “From this point forth heaven and earth reciprocate one another and the sun and moon are in equilibrium. Should you make yourselves manifest once again I will be obligated to exterminate you.”

The Celestial Master established four parishes in addition to the already extant twenty-four so as to correspond with the twenty-eight celestial manors.<sup>132</sup> Upright pneuma descended and permeated all things and the sexegenary stems and branches to give rise to humanity. The parishes were demarcated. A Transcendent Officer and an Otherworldly Officer was established in each parish, the command of which was delegated to Libationers. Accumulated acts of sincerity, honesty, loyalty, and fidelity performed by members of the community were tallied by the Transcendent Officials. Acts of insubordination, corruption, dissolution, and avaricious misdeeds were recorded by the Otherworldly Officials. And so it was that virtuous acts and transgressions were followed by recompense as swiftly as shadow follows form.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup> On the symbolic significance of the twenty-four and twenty-eight parishes both in a specifically Daoist context and as they relate to Chinese cosmogony and correlative cosmology see Verellen, “The Twenty-Four Dioceses,” 24-29. The present account of the establishment of the parish system is unusual in that it credits Zhang Daoling with establishing a system of twenty-eight parishes so as to correlate to the twenty-eight celestial lodges of the night sky. Earlier hagiographies contend that the twenty-four parishes are the terrestrial counterpart to the twenty-eight celestial lodges and biographical sources on Zhang Lu mention twenty-four rather than twenty-eight parishes. In the Northern Wei dynasty, Kou Qianzhi recommended that the association of the dioceses with actual locations in and around the Chengdu basin be abandoned in favor of a purely abstract affiliation of Libationers with the twenty-eight stellar lodges. See (*Laojun yinsong jieji* 老君音誦誡經 HY 784 ZHDZ 8.569-570).

<sup>133</sup> This is a description of ritual confession performed by members of the Celestial Masters community as found in early historical sources such as *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.6) and *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.28) as well as in Zhang Daoling’s *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents* (*Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳) biography preserved in *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* (ZHDZ 29.847-848). Although the passage is not explicit on the point the Transcendent Officials (*Xian guan* 仙官) and Otherworldly Officials (*Yin guan* 陰官) were divine emissaries rather than members of the community.

The people of Shu came forth and pledged their allegiance. Thirty-six quiet chambers were established and the seventy-two blessed plots and three hundred sixty famed mountains were ranked and ordered.<sup>134</sup> A Spirit Office was installed to tend to each location.

The Celestial Master returned to Cloud Terrace Parish.<sup>135</sup> There, he addressed his disciple Wang Chang saying, “At Mount Yang there is white miasma and malevolent beings.<sup>136</sup> We are to go there and suppress them.”

On a pathway they encountered twelve female spirits. The Celestial Master requested directions to a salty spring and one of the spirits replied saying, “Ahead there is a large pond in the midst of which lies a poisonous dragon.” The Celestial Master cast a talisman into the water and the malevolence dwelling within the pond fled. The water whirled away and dried up whereupon the Celestial Master inserted his sword into the dry bed of the pond and transformed it into a salt well.

---

<sup>134</sup> Quiet chambers (*Jing lu* 靖廬, also written as *jingshi* 靜室, *jingshi* 靖室, *jingshe* 靜舍, and *jingshe* 靖舍) were places for reflection on transgressions. Their use in Celestial Masters ritual is attested to in the *Record of Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.28). The fifth century Celestial Masters scripture *Master Lu's Abridged Codes for the Daoist Community* (*Lu xiansheng daomen kelue* 陸先生道門科略 ZHDZ 8.557) states that thirty-six chambers were established by Zhang Daoling.

<sup>135</sup> Cloud Terrace Parish (*Yuntai zhi* 雲台治) was located in the northern edge of the Sichuan Basin.

<sup>136</sup> The location of Mount Yang (*Yangshan* 陽山) is unclear. An earlier version of this legend found in the *Record of Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* (*Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記 HY 590 ZHDZ 45.100-101) by Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933 C.E.). In that telling the events take place in Ling Prefecture 陵州 in what is present day Renshou County, Sichuan. An alternate telling of this incident found in *The Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* also takes place in Ling Prefecture (*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 ZHDZ 47.342).

Each of the female spirits presented him with a jade ring and wished to be granted a talismanic whisk in return. The Celestial Master took the twelve rings, linked them together, and threw them into the well. He said, “I will fulfill the request of whoever among you is able to retrieve the linked rings.” The assembled female spirits jostled one another as they raced to the bottom of the well in order to grasp the rings. The Celestial Master covered the well and made a proclamation to the spirits stating, “You shall remain forever as the spirits of this well and are forbidden from causing harm to people. If any hunters on this trail should encounter you they are to be admonished against killing and taught to boil water so that they may obtain salt.”

The local people profited from the salt pond and built a shrine in honor of the Celestial Master on the site. The place was given the name “Hall of the Ancestral Sovereign of Qinghe.”<sup>137</sup> It has continually been the site of pious supplications down to the present day.

When the Celestial Master crossed the Song River he observed that a malevolent sprite lurked within it.<sup>138</sup> He took up a stone seal and used it as a means of entrapment whereby the sprite was vanquished. When he was residing at Archivist’s Mountain a spirit visited the Celestial Master in the night and granted him a jade disc.<sup>139</sup> At Rooted

---

<sup>137</sup> Qinghe 清河 refers to the ancestral home of the Zhang family clan in contemporary Jiangsu.

<sup>138</sup> The Song River 宋江 originates in Nanzhang County, Shaanxi and enters the Jialing River 嘉陵江 at Hexi Township in Sichuan.

<sup>139</sup> Archivist’s Mountain (*Zhubu shan* 主簿山) is numbered among the twenty-four parishes and is also known as Long Autumn Mountain (*Changqiu shan* 長秋山). It is to the east of Pujiang, Sichuan and its name is derived from a legend regarding a Han dynasty official by the name of Wang Xing 王興 ascending to heaven from the spot. See, Volker Olles, “Stars and Legends: Some Observations about Sacred Space in

Bamboo Mountain an assembly of the perfected descended and presented the Celestial Master with Numinous Treasure Scriptures.<sup>140</sup> He resided at Mount Mengqin before moving on to Mount Quting and finally to Cloud Terrace Parish.<sup>141</sup>

At that place a tree laden with ripe peaches grew in the midst of a deep ravine. The Celestial Master addressed his disciples saying, “Who among you is capable of descending into this chasm to gather that fruit?” Zhao Sheng descended and gathered some peaches to present to the Celestial Master who also cast himself down. Zhao Sheng and Wang Chang alone threw themselves into the ravine and so the Celestial Master granted them spirit cinnabar, scriptures and esoteric doctrines.

The Celestial Master visited Mount Liyuan in order to establish an altar for the recitation of scriptures and travelled to Deer Hall Mountain where he refined the Nine Reversions Spirit Cinnabar.<sup>142</sup> At Mount Ping’gai he concocted the Celestial Master Great Elixir of the Nine Efflorescences.<sup>143</sup> At Chengdu the earth issued forth a jade

---

Daoism,” in *Purposes, Means, and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Seminar*, Eds. Poul Anderson and Florian C. Reiter, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007): 237-238.

<sup>140</sup> Rooted Bamboo Mountain (*Benzhu shan* 本竹山) is one of the twenty-four parishes. The anachronistic claim that Zhang Daoling received the Numinous Treasure Scriptures (*Lingbao jing* 靈寶經) which first appeared at the end of the fourth century C.E. is also found in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.341) and the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* 13.13.

<sup>141</sup> Mount Mengqin (*Mengqin shan* 蒙秦山), one of the twenty-four parishes, is located in southern Sichuan.

<sup>142</sup> Mount Liyuan (*Liyuan shan* 漓沅山) is one of the original twenty-four parishes. It is located in what is presently Pengzhou to the northwest of Chengdu in Sichuan. Deer Hall Mountain (*Lutang shan* 鹿堂山) is also home to one of the twenty-four parishes. It is found in Deyang, Sichuan.

<sup>143</sup> Mount Ping’gai (*Ping’gai shan* 平蓋山) was also the site of one of the twenty-four parishes. It is located in present day Xinjin County to the southwest of Chengdu.

throne onto which the Instructing Master descended and from which he recited the essential scriptures.<sup>144</sup>

In the second year of the Yongshou reign era the Celestial Master travelled to Mount Quting where he received a jade scroll from the Most High Lord Lao that contained a decree granting him the title Limitless Six Directions Grand Thearch of Lofty Brightness and honoring him as a Descendent of the Way in the Sixth Generation. Moreover, the Sovereign Lad of the Eastern Sea was titled Master of Protection and Supervision, the Most High was made Master of Ordination, and Zhang Daoling was empowered as Celestial Master. Out of three hundred recipients of the teachings only three people were of distinguished ability. They were Zhang Shen, Wang Sheng, and Li Zhong.<sup>145</sup>

---

<sup>144</sup> This is the founding legend of Jade Throne Parish (*Yuju zhi* 玉局治). Located near the old southern gate of Chengdu, the parish's name derives from a tradition which holds that when Lord Lao manifested in the locale in 155 C.E. a jade throne rose up from the ground for his comfort. Lord Lao ascended the throne, preached the essentials of the way and pronounced a variety of scriptures to Zhang Daoling, and then ascended into the heavens whereupon the throne crumbled into the ground revealing a hidden grotto. The legend is told in greater detail in *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.343) and in the *Book of the Northern Dipper of Mysterious Power Prolonging the Original Life Spirit* (*Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miaojing* 太上玄靈北斗本命長生妙經 HY 623 ZHDZ 6.643-644).

<sup>145</sup> The second year of the Yongshou reign era corresponds to 156 C.E. The entirety of this account is a paraphrase of the *Inner Record of Cloud Terrace, the Central Parish* (*Yuntai zhi zhong neilu* 雲台治中內錄) a work partially preserved in *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel*. In the relevant passage Lord Lao's teachings are transmitted generationally through a series of renowned mythological personages until the sixth generation at which point a special revelation of renewal is made to Zhang Daoling. There also Zhang Daoling is appointed his lofty post on the basis of a recommendation from the Lad of the Eastern Sea (*Donghai xiaotong* 東海小童) and transmits his teachings to three hundred disciples of whom only Zhang Shen 張申 Wang Sheng 王昇 and Li Zhong 李忠 prove worthy (ZHDZ 29.53). All three are obscure figures. Wang Sheng is possibly a confused amalgamation of the disciples Wang Chang 王長 and Zhao Sheng 趙昇. Elsewhere in the *Seven Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel* Zhang Shen is identified as a master of transformation who dwelt within a gourd that contained a world in miniature (ZHDZ 29.245). Li Zhong is listed as one of twenty-eight directionally oriented spirit generals in the post-Tang Celestial Masters text *Marshal Zhao's Esoteric Methods for the Mysterious Altar of Upright Unity* (*Zhengyi xuantan*

The Celestial Master conferred scriptures, tallies, and the sword and seal of office on his son Zhang Heng. The Master solemnly addressed his son saying, “I have encountered the Most High who personally transmitted the Way to me. Those writs that were bestowed upon me contain comprehensive instructions on the method for pacing the mainstays of the three fives and the pivotal essentials of Upright Unity. In each generation a single son will succeed to the station that I currently occupy. If there are no male descendants in my direct lineage then the mantle will not be transferred.”

The Master conferred cinnabar upon Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng. The elixir was divided at the pinnacle of Cloud Terrace Mountain and the Celestial Master mounted a cloud and ascended together with his consort of the Yong family. He had lived among men for one hundred twenty-three years. Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng together with their attendants and Zhang Daoling’s daughters, Wenji, Wenguang, Xianji, and Fangzhi obtained the Way and ascended.

In the seventh year of the Tianbao reign era the Celestial Master of the Latter Han, Zhang Daoling, was granted the title Grand Master.<sup>146</sup> In the fourth year of the Zhonghe reign era of the Tang dynasty the Celestial Master was granted the title Aid to the Teachings of the Three Heavens, Great Methods Master.<sup>147</sup> In the Song dynasty his title

---

*yuanshuai bifa* 正一玄壇趙元帥祕法) found in *Daoist Methods of Collected Primacy (Daofa Huiyuan* 道法會元 HY 1210 ZHDZ 38.313), a massive compilation of Song and Yuan ritual manuals.

<sup>146</sup> 748 C.E. Corroboration of the posthumous bestowal of the title Grand Master (*Taishi* 太師) by Xuanzong is not found in Tang sources.

<sup>147</sup> 884 C.E. The title Aid to the Teachings of the Three Heavens, Great Methods Master (*Santian fujiao da fashi* 三天扶教大法師) is not found in Tang dynasty sources. Zhang Daoling is referred to by a similar title, Ancestral Master Assisting Instructor of the Three Heavens who Aids the Primordial, the Great



was expanded to Assisting Instructor of the Three Heavens, Great Methods Master who Aids the Primordial.

Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang praised the Celestial Master saying, “In the remote and radiant Han dynasty from celestial firmament to central palace gate the myriad beings died away or were broken and the three numens became increasingly diffuse. Only the Celestial Master responded as was required by the time and with spiritual vigor rapidly set forth and personally rendered his services to the mysterious prime. The Master’s descendants have carried forth his esoteric formulae and by means of them malevolent miasmas are driven away like clouds and lofty peaks are cloven as by sword. The renown and influence of the Celestial Master was broadly circulated and gathered calamities were wholly cleared away. Effortless action stirred into motion and enduring brightness was secured. Luan birds and cranes came forth and cinnabar and green ochre were set in place. The Celestial Master’s deportment was flawless as jade and his lofty reputation has accordingly been ceaselessly promulgated.”

The emperor further praised the Celestial Master saying, “In the distant past there were the perfected and there were transcendents. They were solitary, stately, and of high principle. Pneuma threads through the lofty ether and the commandments of the Mysterious Prime are expounded upon. Poised and dignified in bearing and towering gracefully like the bright moon, he meted out punishments to wicked beings cutting off their wellsprings. Malevolent forces were purged and specters were expunged. The

---

Methods Master and Perfected Sovereign (*Zushi santian fujiao fuyuan da fashi zhenjun* 祖師三天扶教輔元大法師真君), in the *History of the Ming* (*Ming shi* 明史 SKQS 50.212).

Covenant with the Powers of the Han dynasty has been transmitted to the present without interruption.”<sup>148</sup>

Emperor Suzong of the Tang praised the Celestial Master saying, “Virtue proceeds from clarity and vacuity. The fruit of the sagely teachings is obscured and apparent, simple and unadorned. In silent places and rose-gem terraces incense smolders in the jade chamber. The heart of the Way is not divided, it is upright unity.”<sup>149</sup>

Emperor Huizong of the Song issued a Jade Writ of Enfeoffment into Sovereign Perfection. The accompanying declaration was dated to the *renchen* day of the tenth month of the *wuzi* year of the Dagan reign era.<sup>150</sup> The emperor bowed twice with reverence and spoke as follows, “Only the Way is without limit. It is set into motion through service to humanity. Its actions are solely to the benefit of all beings. It reaches completion through reliance on humanity. In former times perfection was arrived at and the Way flourished in the world. Spirit-like luminosity is formed by the meritorious undertakings of the myriad beings. In service it is called idle. How could one be so brash as to not reverence this?”

The Han Celestial Master is the Perfected of Upright Unity, Assisting Instructor of the Three Heavens, the Great Methods Master who Aids the Primordial. He alone is

---

<sup>148</sup> These lauds are identical to those given in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.344). They do not appear in Tang sources or official histories and their authenticity is accordingly less than certain.

<sup>149</sup> A largely identical paean is found in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.344). As with the lauds attributed to Xuanzong above the historicity of Tang Suzong’s brief verse of praise is doubtful.

<sup>150</sup> November 20, 1108 C.E.

able to give shape to the wondrous and clarity to the abstruse. This is of great benefit to all under heaven.

From the time of the Liu Clan their traces have proliferated.<sup>151</sup> Embracing radiance and loftily surpassing the masses of common people, the esoteric tallies and perfected charts have been transmitted to posterity. Suppressing and expelling disasters and evil omens, warding off that which is inauspicious and working unseen they secure the tranquility of the common people.<sup>152</sup> The lineage has long been found wanting for praise and commendation. Is this the height of recompense for those who are to be raised up in gratitude?<sup>153</sup>

Liu Yan, the Grandmaster for Court Service and Prefect of Xin Prefecture, was dispatched to announce the bestowal of an imperially granted honorific.<sup>154</sup> The text read as follows: “The Upright Unity Perfected Sovereign of Reverent Response. When the Great Way was concealed in darkness the Celestial Master brought it into the light. His meritorious actions were swiftly enacted and remain nigh. He is beyond my understanding. Constant and tireless, his enduring benefit remains in circulation and is observable as though in a distant mirror. He granted blessings to our nation, extended

---

<sup>151</sup> This is a reference to the Liu family, ruling clan of the Han dynasty.

<sup>152</sup> The phrase “working unseen they secure the tranquility of the common people” (*Yinjian xian min* 陰鷲下民) is drawn from the Great Plan (*Hong fan* 洪範) section of the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu* 尚書).

<sup>153</sup> Song Huizong 宋徽宗 (r. 1110-1125 C.E.) was a great patron of the thirtieth generation Celestial Master Zhang Jixian 張繼先 and so it is not entirely implausible that he would have made a similar proclamation to that recorded here. It should be noted though that this reverent appreciation is not found outside of the present source and the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.344).

<sup>154</sup> Xinzhou 信州 is located in the vicinity of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. I have been unable to locate any record of an official named Liu Yan 劉晏 who held the posts listed.

them to the people, and exerted himself in order to burnish good fortune that is carried forth without limit so that posterity may inherit it for countless generations.”

Emperor Lizong of the Song dynasty offered a proclamation that read as follows: “Clarity, purity, and effortless action; these are what the Daoists venerate.<sup>155</sup> Seals and tallies, cinnabar stoves, breath circulation, libations and offerings; these are the ancestral methods and as such they are to be honored with earnest conviction. Might not the people be induced to repent their transgressions and hasten towards the good? The renowned teachings of the Celestial Master offer a singular service to the end of bringing about good and ordered government!

The Assisting Instructor of the Three Heavens who Aids the Primordial, the Perfected Sovereign of Reverent Response accepted his destiny and descended from the Vault of Pure Jade to be born in the Han dynasty. Having cultivated perfection and refined his actions the Celestial Master mounted a cloud and ascended into the ether. Throughout the twenty-four parishes and at Verdant Citadel Mountain the Celestial Master flicked his writing brush and the chthonic spirits were compelled to pledge their allegiance. At Three Canyons he transformed the land and created a salt water spring. The numinous traces of the Celestial Master’s actions are in evidence throughout Shu. Defamations casting doubt on this fact will not stand!

The ancient site of the Perfected Sovereign’s perch at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in Shangrao has passed from one generation to the next. The jade seal and precious sword

---

<sup>155</sup>Song Lizong 宋理宗 (r.1224-1264 C.E.). The lengthy speech attributed here to Song Lizong is not found elsewhere in sources of either official or Daoist origin.

of office have been handed down to each successor. In former times, if the capital and its environs were scorched with drought or if the levees were breached by the tides the Celestial Master would offer earnest supplications which would be met with response from unseen intercessors.

The Ruists consciously avoid speaking of the Celestial Masters. This is strange given their grasp of ancient history. They heap on slander and invective and are ignorant of ‘those who are constant in their skill at saving the people and who do not cast away anyone.’<sup>156</sup> How does such comportment differ from what is meant when we say that ‘the feeling of commiseration is the principle of humaneness’?<sup>157</sup>

It follows then that an honorific shall be added to the old title held by the Celestial Master. Swiftly rushing forth and entering the seamless space, let this be carried out with reverence.<sup>158</sup> The Celestial Master is therefore honored as The Assisting Instructor of the Three Heavens, Great Methods Master who Aids the Primordial, Upright Unity Perfected Sovereign of Reverent Response who Conjures Blessings.”

Emperor Chengzong of the Yuan dynasty offered a proclamation which read, “That which exemplifies the utmost in humaneness and the height of virtue in our nation

---

<sup>156</sup> This echoes the phrase, “Sagely persons are constant in their skill at saving people and do not cast away anyone” found in chapter twenty-seven of the *Daode jing* 道德經.

<sup>157</sup> This phrase is found in the *Mencius* where it partially encapsulates the moral thrust of the “Child in the Well” parable found in chapter 2A6.

<sup>158</sup> This is another allusion to the *Daode jing*. Here the phrase “Swiftly rushing forth and entering the seamless space” (焱游無間) echoes the phrase “That which is without substance enters that which is seamless” (無有入無間) found in chapter forty-three.

is to be honored and not forgotten.<sup>159</sup> So it is that the bequeathed traces of the Celestial Master's numinous character are recorded here in their entirety. Should we examine the ancient canons we would find that the Celestial Master has been specially granted the supplementary title Assisting Instructor of the Three Heavens, Great Methods Master who Aids the Primordial, Upright Unity Perfected Sovereign of Reverent Response who Conjures Blessings. He refined his pneuma and attained perfection. He drove out the crooked, assisted the upright, and served as a model for the world. Over the course of more than twelve hundred years and down to the present and thirty-seventh generation the Celestial Master's sword and seal of office have been handed down to a single heir.<sup>160</sup>

The inheritor of the mantle, Zhang Yudi, is capable of lifting up and carrying forth the upright methods of his ancestors. The abiding descendants of the venerated master enrich and keep vital the Way of their predecessor. The Way is rooted in effortless action. As for virtue, there is nothing that should be given greater attention. The Way and virtue are made manifest in accordance with timeliness and that which was made known in former times is recorded.

---

<sup>159</sup> Yuan Chengzong 元成宗 (r. 1294-1307 C.E.).

<sup>160</sup> The thirty-seventh generation Celestial Master was Zhang Yudi 張與棣. His biography in the present text asserts that he was summoned to court soon after Chengzong ascended the throne (ZHDZ 46.357). In the *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 18.16) Zhang Yudi is one of twelve religious figures summoned to court in order to participate in the performance of an offertory ritual inaugurating Chengzong's reign in early 1295 C.E. If authentic, this proclamation must date from very early in the reign of Chengzong as Zhang Yudi likely died in 1295 C.E.

Scriptures were bestowed in the initial month of the *yiwei* year at the outset of the Yongshou reign era under the Han dynasty.<sup>161</sup> A posthumous honorific has been appended in the present Yuanzhen reign and matched tallies of the sexagenary cycle have been granted.<sup>162</sup> The lineage has long endured, offering supplications for the benefit of successive generations. And so it is that the additional honorific Assisting Instructor of the Three Heavens, Great Methods Master who Aids the Primordial, Upright Unity Perfected Sovereign of Reverent Response who Conjures Blessings is bestowed on the Celestial Master of the first generation.”

The avoidance name of the second generation Celestial Master was Heng.<sup>163</sup> His style name was Lingzhen. His essence was refined and he fully attained the Way. He was not entangled with worldly affairs and declined the offer to serve as Attendant Gentleman at the Palace Gate.<sup>164</sup> In the second year of the Yongshou reign era he inherited the teachings and took up residence at Mount Yangping.<sup>165</sup> In that year he conferred scriptures and tallies on his disciples and made manifest the Way of Upright

---

<sup>161</sup> This is likely a reference to Zhang Daoling’s ascension. The initial month of the *yiwei* year in the Yongshou reign era corresponds to the period between February 20 and March 20, 155 C.E.

<sup>162</sup> 1295-1297 C.E.

<sup>163</sup> Virtually nothing is said of Zhang Heng in the earliest historical sources. The *Record of Huayang* simply records that “When Ling died his son Heng continued his work. When Heng died his son Lu continued his work,” (SKQS 2.4). The *Record of the Three Kingdoms* simply tells us that “When Ling died his son Heng enacted his Way and when Heng died it was again carried forth by Lu,” (SKQS 8.263).

<sup>164</sup> The *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.348) also records that Zhang Heng refused the post of Attendant Gentleman at the Palace Gate (*Huangmen shilang* 黃門侍郎). The earliest variant on this claim is found in the seventh century Daoist encyclopedia *Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns* (*Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊 HY 1131 ZHDZ 28.444). There it is written that Emperor Xiaoling 孝靈 (r.168-189 C.E.) summoned Zhang Heng to court in order to install him as a Gentleman of the Palace (*Lang zhong* 郎中) but that the honor was declined.

<sup>165</sup> 156 C.E.

Unity. He spoke with principle and clarity. Those who heard him speak were moved to action.

In the first month of the *jiwei* year in the Yuanhe reign era of the Han dynasty Zhang Heng handed the seal and sword of office down to his son Zhang Lu.<sup>166</sup> He spoke to Zhang Lu saying, “Your grandfather took heaven and earth as the object of his own heart and all living beings as the object of his own thoughts. He was rooted in sincerity and honor, loyalty and filial virtue. He travelled the world on a tour of inspection exorcising those ill-omened beings that would bring harm to the people. So it was that paternal munificence moved the sagely master to establish the great teachings.

Should those who inherit my teachings lack sincerity they will not be able to obtain the Way. Should they lack honor they will be unable to obtain virtue. Should they lack loyalty they will be unable to render service to their sovereign. Should they lack filiality they will be unable to render service to their kin. Now it is your turn to inherit the teachings. In your generation human relations are to be upheld and established teachings are to be complied with.”

The gathered disciples bowed down before Zhang Heng and he continued, “The aspirations of the ancestral master were expansive and it is because his household’s teachings were established that he is due eternal reverence. Bound through the talismans of the Way and embodying the continuity of lineal methods the Celestial Master serves as a conduit to his predecessor and a source of revelation for his successors. Hence, no

---

<sup>166</sup> The Yuanhe reign era of Han Zhangdi 章帝 spanned from 84 to 87 C.E. well before Zhang Heng’s birth. This is likely a mistaken transcription for the Guanghe reign era (178-184 C.E.) of Emperor Lingdi 靈帝.



matter the difficulty, how could the Celestial Master not reverently engage in diligent service to the vast and mysterious transformations?” When he had finished speaking Zhang Heng and his wife of the Lu clan ascended to the heavens in broad daylight from the slopes of Mount Yangping.<sup>167</sup>

In the initial year of the Zhida reign era Emperor Wuzong of the Yuan dynasty delivered a proclamation.<sup>168</sup> It read as follows: “I have heard that among the sagely rulers of ancient times there were none who did not take clarity, quiescence, and the tranquility of the populace as the root of their rule. Thus, Gongsun called upon Dawei and Taotang followed the Fen River.<sup>169</sup> They travelled to the edges of the world in search of the highest principles of governance and so I hold them in high esteem.

As for the Upright Unity teachings of the Celestial Master, are they not abundant? In the present day officeholders make their requests of the inheriting Celestial Master. The descendant of the Celestial Master alone holds watch over the formless Way and its material vessels. He spurns the onrushing lure of glory and manifests his reverence for

---

<sup>167</sup> The *Bag of Pearls from the Three Caverns* tells us that Zhang Heng ascended from Mount Yangping on the day of the first prime in the second year of the Guanghe reign era (179 C.E.) (ZHDZ 28.444). The tenth century *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* records Zhang Heng’s date of ascension as the twenty-third day of the first month of the *jiwei* year or second year of the Guanghe reign year (February 23, 179 C.E.) (SKQS 60.11). This date is repeated in later sources including the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.345).

<sup>168</sup> 1308 C.E.

<sup>169</sup> Gongsun 公孫 is the surname of the Yellow Emperor. According to “Xu Wugui” 徐無鬼, chapter twenty-four of the *Zhuangzi*, the Yellow Emperor sought advice on governance from a mysterious sage named Dawei 大隗 at Mount Juci (*Juci shan* 具茨山) a peak on Mount Song. Taotang 陶唐 is the clan name of the sage emperor Yao. Chapter twelve of the *Zhuangzi*, “Free and Easy Wandering” (*Xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊) tells of Yao returning to his capital along the Fen River after a journey in search of advice on governance: “Yao governed the world’s people and maintained order within the four seas. He travelled to far-off Mount Guye to call on the four sages. Returning to the sunny side of the Fen River the world was lost to his bleary gaze.”

tranquility through word and deed. He carries forward that which was initiated by his ancestor, receiving the customary practices and resting in the traces of his goodness. It is unacceptable that he should want for praise. It is fitting and proper that he should be widely acclaimed with the utmost respect. He is thus presented the title Inheriting Master of Upright Unity, the Perfected Sovereign of the Wondrous Way who Expounds the Teachings of Great Clarity.”<sup>170</sup>

The avoidance name of the third generation lineal master was Lu. His style name was Gongqi. The eldest son of the inheriting master, he received the tradition of his ancestors at a young age. When the Han dynasty was in its twilight the central plains were in turmoil and the land was struck by earthquakes. The righteous were called upon to safeguard the nation and the teachings of the Way were protected. Disciples flocked to the Celestial Master in ever increasing numbers and those who came to study the Way were taught to be sincere and not duplicitous. Those who fell ill were compelled to confess their transgressions. Individuals were appointed to the office of Libationer and those who fully recovered from their illnesses abided by the standards of the community. Pennants, scriptures, and tallies were deployed. Those gathered pursued goodness and in time all achieved transformation.

An edict was issued granting Zhang Lu the titles Field Officer in Command of Agriculture, Attendant General for the Pacification of the Populace, and Grand Protector

---

<sup>170</sup> This laudatory proclamation is not found in official sources but is preserved in the compiled writings of the Yuan dynasty literatus Cheng Wenhai 程文海, a person of Jianchang 建昌 approximately fifty miles to the south of Dragon and Tiger Mountain in what is contemporary Nancheng County, Jiangxi. See: *Collected Works of Xuelou (Xuelou ji 雪樓集 SKQS 2.22)*.

of Han'an.<sup>171</sup> When Liu Yan was in Shu he encountered resistance from those with sedition in their hearts and accordingly requested the Celestial Master's service as Commanding Supervisor of Propriety.<sup>172</sup> Zhang Lu went into reclusion in Hanzhong and gathered grain sufficient to feed ten-thousand households. An imperial edict was issued naming Zhang Lu Grand Protector of the Hanzhong and Nanzheng Commandaries. Soon thereafter soldiers from Qin and Yong stirred up chaos prompting the masses to urge the Celestial Master to take up arms and proclaim himself king of Hanzhong.

When the armies of Wei compelled him to flee Zhang Lu sealed the granaries and went into reclusion in the southern mountains. When Emperor Taizu of the Wei entered Nanzheng at the head of a force of troops he saw that the granaries were provisioned and that the Celestial Master was without malice and so he praised him highly.<sup>173</sup> Taizu

---

<sup>171</sup> The first two of these three titles are also found in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.345) but are absent from biographical material pertaining to Zhang Lu in early historical sources such as the *Record of the Three Kingdoms*. The title Grand Protector of Han'an (*Han'an taishou* 漢安太守) appears to refer to the Han'an reign era (142 -144 C.E.). 142 C.E. is said to be the year when the deified Laozi made his covenant with Zhang Daoling. The title is absent from the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents*. There Zhang Lu is identified as Governor of Hanzhong and Nanzheng Commanderies (*Hanzhong Nanzheng erjun taishou* 漢中南鄭二郡太守).

<sup>172</sup> Liu Yan 劉焉 (d. 194 C.E.) was a member of the extended Han royal family who served as Governor of Yi Prefecture 益州, a region encompassing much of the Sichuan and Hanzhong basins, in the late second century. Liu Yan's biography in the *Book of the Latter Han* (*Houhan shu* 後漢書 SKQS 105.2) confirms that he charged Zhang Lu as Commanding Supervisor of Propriety (*Duyi cima* 督義司馬). Zhang Lu's time of service under Liu Yan is depicted in a rather more complicated light in the *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.6), the *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 2.4) and the *Book of Wei* section of the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (8.27). The *Record of the Latter Han* and the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* report that Liu Yan dispatched Zhang Lu together with a certain Zhang Xiu to attack the governor of Hanzhong, Su Gu 蘇固, but that Lu murdered his compatriot and absorbed his followers. The *Record of Huayang* simply tells us that Zhang Xiu died in battle.

<sup>173</sup> This account of events largely tallies with that found in the *Book of Wei* of the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.27-28). The events leading to Zhang Lu's eventual surrender to Cao Cao are explored in far greater detail in the official histories. Here, as in other Daoist sources, no mention is made of the Battle of Yangping or of the death of the Celestial Master's brother Zhang Wei 張衛 who insisted on resisting against Cao Cao. A fragment of the *Traditions of the Celestial Masters* (*Tianshi zhuan* 天師傳)

generously dispatched an envoy with an edict of conciliation naming Zhang Lu to the post of Regional Administrator over the provinces of Liang and Yi and granting him the post of General who Pacifies the South.<sup>174</sup> He was further made Marquis of Lands within the Pass and granted a fiefdom of thirty thousand households.<sup>175</sup> He firmly declined to accept the honors and said to the envoy, “I am one who cultivates the Way and it is presently my wish to ascend to transcendence. I have no desire for land and titles and request that you return the emblems of office to your sovereign.”

One day he summoned his heir, Zhang Sheng, and granted him the lineal scriptures and talismans as well as the seal and sword of the Celestial Master saying, “The mysterious altar of the ancestral master is found at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. The stars in the heavens shine on that mountain and their light is reflected back from it. The pneuma of that place is flourishing and concretized. It is a dwelling place for spirit like beings. The alchemical stove and the secret writs of your ancestor are hidden away in the mountain’s crags and caverns. You are to go forth and proclaim my transformation.

---

preserved in the twelfth century *Record of the Gathered Immortals of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄 CT 1248 ZHDZ 45.349) includes a lengthy and entertaining aside concerning Zhang Lu’s ability to resist Cao Cao’s forces by means of geomancy before finally surrendering out of sheer disinterest in temporal power that is not found here. A version of the story is repeated in Zhang Lu’s biography in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.345).

<sup>174</sup> Liang Prefecture (*Liang zhou* 梁州) is in southwestern Shaanxi. Yi Prefecture (*Yi zhou* 益州) is roughly coterminous with Sichuan Basin. The *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.7) does not record that appointment but does record that Zhang Lu was given the post of General who Pacifies the South (*Zhennan jiangjun* 鎮南將軍).

<sup>175</sup> The Marquis of the Lands within the Pass (*Guan’nei hou* 關內侯) was a title unique to the Wei. Located in what is contemporary northern Shaanxi province, it was the second highest out of twenty awarded ranks of nobility. See, Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, 286. The *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.7) does not attest to the bestowal of this rank but rather tells of Zhang Lu receiving the title Marquis of Langzhong (*Langzhong hou* 關中侯), a fiefdom of ten thousand households. The *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.345) tallies with the title given in the *Record of the Latter Han* but inflates the number of households in the fiefdom from ten thousand to thirty thousand.

Then you are to strenuously undertake the practice of your own refinement.” When he had finished speaking the Celestial Master ascended in broad daylight from Northern Dipper Peak.

Zhang Lu had a younger brother who was named Wei. His honorific was Gongze. He was honored as the General who Illuminates Righteousness. He retired from office in order to study the Way and ascended to the heavens in broad daylight.<sup>176</sup> Zhang Lu’s youngest brother was named Kui.<sup>177</sup> His style name was Gongren. He was named Grand Protector of Nan Commandery and made a Commandant of Attendant Cavalry. He also retired from office, dedicated himself to studying the Way, and ascended to the heavens in broad daylight. Zhang Lu’s five sons, his advisor Yan Pu, and others in the Celestial Master’s service were all granted the title of Marquis.<sup>178</sup> None among them accepted the honor.

Emperor Chengzong of the Yuan made a proclamation which read, “The Way emerges from Heaven and reaches its fruition in humanity. The lineage of the Han Celestial Master stretches onwards into the distance. Is it not the case that his heirs carry

---

<sup>176</sup> The *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.6) records that Zhang Wei died while defending Yangping. The *Book of Wei* in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.29) simply notes that Zhang Wei was crushed by the forces of Wei.

<sup>177</sup> No mention of the third Celestial Master having a brother by the name of Zhang Kui 張愧 is found in historical sources. The account of his career given here is also found in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.345).

<sup>178</sup> This is corroborated by the *Record of Huayang* (SKQS 2.1), the *Record of the Latter Han* (SKQS 105.7), and the *Book of Wei* in the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (SKQS 8.30). In the lattermost source it is further said that Cao Cao forged an alliance between the households by arranging the marriage of his son Cao Yu 曹宇 to the daughter of the Celestial Master. None of these sources record the honor being refused by Zhang Lu’s sons. Yan Pu 閻圃 is consistently depicted throughout the official histories as a shrewd and cautious advisor to Zhang Lu.

their ancestor's righteousness upwards and forwards? They work tirelessly and those to whom they bring great benefit are ferried across and ascend in great numbers. And so it may be observed that there are those uncanny individuals in the world who go forth and aid in bringing the nation to order and transforming the people. And so it is that I bestow additional honorifics on the inheriting masters that they may continue in the great path of the succeeding master.

The radiant numinosity of the Celestial Masters is illuminated by their canon. While they have liberated themselves through wondrous means they do not rely on past achievements. Is it not said in the Classic that 'Those of the highest virtue do not seek recognition for their own virtue and as such they are in possession of virtue?'<sup>179</sup> Accordingly, I bestow the title Perfected Sovereign of Broad Virtue who Illuminates and Transforms through Great Clarity, the Inheriting Master of Upright Unity."

The avoidance name of the fourth generation Celestial Master was Sheng.<sup>180</sup> His style name was Yuanzong. Zhang Sheng was the third son of the prior master. He initially resided in Nanzheng.<sup>181</sup> He set his will towards refinement and so his father charged him with the inheritance of the teachings.

---

<sup>179</sup>The "classic" in question is, naturally, the *Daode jing*. This phrase is found in chapter thirty-eight of that book.

<sup>180</sup> Zhang Sheng is not mentioned in early historical sources and there is some disagreement in later Daoist sources over the identity of the fourth generation Celestial Master. Bai Yuchan's *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* (ZHDZ 19.964) lists Zhang Zi 張滋 as the fourth generation Celestial Master. The *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.346) folds Zhang Sheng's biographical details into the entry for Zhang Zi who is said to have been his older brother.

<sup>181</sup> Nanzheng 南鄭 is located in Hanzhong Commandery, site of Zhang Lu's theocratic stronghold.

Emperor Shizu of the Wei granted Zhang Sheng the titles Commandant in Chief of Chariots, Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, and Marquis of Metropolitan Residence.<sup>182</sup> He did not accept these honors but rather took up the sword, seal, scriptures, and tallies of office and left Hanzhong. He returned to the Poyang region and entered into Dragon and Tiger Mountain. There, he came upon the mysterious altar established by the ancestral master as well as the site of his alchemical furnace. Zhang Sheng took up residence at that place and on the days of the Three Primes he ascended the altar and transmitted tallies to all the people of the four quarters. Over one thousand disciples studied the Way under the master and he regularly explicated the liturgy for their benefit.

Zhang Sheng entrusted the sword and seal of office to his son Zhang Zhaocheng and set out to make his transformation. In less than a year's time the Celestial Master reported to He Prefecture in Guangxi in order to explicate the teachings to the King of Guang.<sup>183</sup> The Celestial Master spoke to those assembled saying, "Mount Crane Call is located to the west in Shu. Dragon and Tiger Mountain is found in the east in Wu. My cultivation has reached its end and so I have returned to the south." In the initial year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty Zhang Sheng was honored as the Perfected Sovereign of Vast Virtue, Promulgator of Clarity and Tenuity.<sup>184</sup>

---

<sup>182</sup> Shizu 世祖 is the temple name of Cao Pi 曹丕 (r. 220-226 C.E.). These titles are all historically accurate to the early Six Dynasties period though they are not said to have been granted to Zhang Sheng in any extant historical sources.

<sup>183</sup> Hezhou 賀州 is located in the northeast of the area presently known as Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.

<sup>184</sup> The inaugural year of the Zhizheng reign era corresponds to 1341 C.E.

The avoidance name of the fifth generation Celestial Master was Zhaocheng and his style name was Daorong. He was the eldest son of Yuanzong. From a young age he tirelessly studied the Way and was able to send his spirit out roaming over a distance of several hundred *li* while bodily seated in his chamber. When tigers and leopards would chance across him they would invariably prostrate themselves. At one hundred nineteen years of age he transformed. After death his complexion remained that of a living person.

A variety of numinous plants sprouted on his burial mound and white cranes could be observed wandering about the site. When his casket was opened so that his corpse might be observed it was empty save for his cap and shoes. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of the Vast Way who Promulgates the Teachings of Clarity and Tenuity.<sup>185</sup>

The avoidance name of the sixth generation Celestial Master was Jiao. His style name was Dexin. He had a broad and thoroughgoing understanding of Ruist doctrine and was repeatedly summoned to the court of Emperor An but did not respond.<sup>186</sup>

The Celestial Master was travelling on Lake Poyang one moonlit night when an elderly gentleman boarded his boat and said, “I have heard that the master’s family has established methods of instruction on the way of transcendence. I willingly offer my deference and request to be granted passage to that which was formerly inaccessible. I was presently unaware that transcendent traces loomed in the distance until I ferried near.

---

<sup>185</sup> 1353 C.E.

<sup>186</sup> Jin Andi 晉安帝 reigned from 396 to 418 C.E.



Having caught sight of your radiant countenance, I must entreat you to reveal the profound and clarify that which is muddled.”

The Celestial Master responded to him saying, “In former time those who obtained the Way invariably relied upon compliance with the admonitions in order to proceed. If one’s will is set on the admonitions then no transgressions will weigh upon one’s heart. The myriad phenomena are entirely empty. Singular perfection is constant and enduring. The aged gentleman is surely aware of this.” The man rose, expressed his gratitude to the Celestial Master, and made ready to leave. A strange light suddenly appeared and the sky and water seemed to be of a single hue. The old gentleman was nowhere to be found. The Celestial Master smiled and said, “The Draconic Elder commands the denizens of the waters.<sup>187</sup> He had yet to hear an explication of the Way and so he came forth to question me.”

When the Celestial Master was dwelling in the mountains he often encountered traces of the supernatural. At more than one hundred years of age he obtained bodily liberation and departed. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Obscure Wondrousness who Broadly Explicates the Teachings of Clarity and Tenuity.

---

<sup>187</sup> The Draconic Elder (*Long bo* 龍伯) would appear to be a denizen of Draconic Elder Kingdom (*Long bo guo* 龍伯國). In the “Tangwen” 湯問 chapter of the *Liezi* 列子 the inhabitants of that place are described as giants, capable of crossing seas in a few short steps. The Jin dynasty *Record of Curiosities* (*Bowu zhi* 博物志 SKQS 2.3) describes the people of Draconic Elder Kingdom as standing some thirty *zhang* 丈 in height and living to an impressive age of 18,000 years. These characteristics do not enter into the present passage.

The avoidance name of the seventh generation Celestial Master was Hui and his style name was Zhongchang.<sup>188</sup> He was able to converse from birth and once inquired into the nature of the Way. Those gathered were struck dumb, unable to muster an answer. This elicited from Hui a laugh that he could not stifle followed by a sigh. At the age of five Zhang Hui wished to have the scriptures and talismans transmitted to him. His father said “You are first to study Ruist works.” Zhang Hui replied, “What sense is there in studying the works of others but not those of my own ancestor?” At the age of ten he finally inherited the teachings.

Zhang Hui undertook a diet of grain avoidance and was able to see for a distance of several hundred *li*. Later, he travelled to Verdant Citadel Mountain. His ultimate fate is unknown.<sup>189</sup> In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Jade Clarity who Aids the Teachings and Broadly Grants Deliverance.

The avoidance name of the eighth generation Celestial Master was Jiong. His style name was Yanchao. He obtained the Way at a young age. His comportment and appearance were flawless and he possessed an innate capacity for virtue. His nature was one of complete sincerity and he had a transformative influence on others. When

---

<sup>188</sup> In the *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* (ZHDZ 19.964) his avoidance name is given as Zhonghui 仲回 and his style name as Dechang 德昌. This is also the case in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.346).

<sup>189</sup> Although the details differ hagiographical sources are in agreement that the eighth generation Celestial Master retired to the region of the twenty-four parishes. The *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* has him disappearing in the mountains of Shu 蜀 (ZHDZ 47.346). The *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* (ZHDZ 19.964) describes the eighth generation Celestial Master as last seen taking up his staff and heading off to Mount Crane Call.

requested to perform supplications he never held back and his efforts were invariably met with supernatural response regardless of whether his client were of noble or lowly extraction.

The Celestial Master was once summoned to the court of Wei Taizu. The emperor questioned him about the Way.<sup>190</sup> At ninety years of age the Celestial Master achieved corpse liberation. On the day of his transformation the Celestial Master's chambers were suffused with an unusual fragrance that did not dissipate over the course of an entire month. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Jade Clarity who Responsively Adapts and Accords with Humility and Tranquility.

The avoidance name of the ninth generation Celestial Master was Fu and his style name was Dexin. He was upright, solemn, and possessed of a thoroughgoing knowledge. In a single reading he memorized the entirety of the scriptural canon transmitted to him. He revealed the scriptures and tallies according to the dictates of timeliness and the people of all quarters looked up to him in admiration. The Celestial Master made his transformation at the advanced age of ninety-three. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Jade Clarity who Venerates Wondrousness and Supports Cultivation.

The avoidance name of the tenth Celestial Master was Zixiang. His style name was Linbo. He served the Sui dynasty as a commandant in Luoyang before retiring from

---

<sup>190</sup> This is the temple name of Emperor Daowu 魏道武 (d. 409 C.E.) of the Northern Wei dynasty.

office in order to inherit the teachings. He engaged in self-cultivation and refinement through dietary means and was able to expectorate cinnabar which he would hold in the palm of his hand. Brilliant rays of light would emit from the stones and stream forth, illuminating the master's dwelling. He would then gulp the minerals back down again.

While travelling in Heluo the Celestial Master ascended the central peak of Mount Song and entered a stony cavern. He was enjoying the secluded beauty of the place when, after nightfall, the sound of approaching cavalry was suddenly audible. A pair of spirit functionaries appeared and paid their respects saying, "The Lord of the Eastern Marchmount was passing this place and has paused to call on the Celestial Master."<sup>191</sup>

The Lord of the Eastern Marchmount spoke up saying, "In the past, I encountered the sagely master at Verdant Citadel Mountain. Since that time more than four hundred years have already passed. From the Wei dynasty to the Jin dynasty and down to the present age the world has long been in a state of disorder and dispersion. The people have been subjected to harm and are unable to extricate themselves from the transgressions that bind them. Presently I, Director of Marchmounts, again have the good fortune of encountering a sagely master. Accordingly, I beseech you to broadly promulgate the talismans and registers so as to bring about a great transformation." Having spoken his piece the Lord of the Eastern Marchmount bade farewell to the Master and then departed.

---

<sup>191</sup>Mount Song is the Central Marchmount. The Lord of the Eastern Marchmount (*Dongyue zhu* 東嶽主), the spirit of Mount Tai (*Tai shan* 泰山) and therefore sovereign over all five mountains, was apparently on a tour of inspection when he happened upon the Celestial Master.

The Celestial Master returned to Dragon and Tiger Mountain and sent his disciples to all corners of the world in order to proclaim the teachings and accumulate obscure merit. He made his transformation at the advanced age of one hundred twenty years.<sup>192</sup> In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Upper Clarity Perfected Sovereign of the Abstruse Wondrousness of Great Vacuity.

The avoidance name of the eleventh generation Celestial Master was Tongxuan.<sup>193</sup> His style name was Zhongda. His innate temperament was one of deep tranquility. He would frequently sequester himself and sit alone in his chambers. He did not emerge except for on those occasions when it was required of him. He was seldom glimpsed even by his attendants.

In a year of great pestilence he planted a stalk in a pool of water. All of those who drew from the pool and drank the water were healed. One person came forward bearing silks as a token of gratitude. The Celestial Master declined the offering saying, “My ancestors have always aided the people. How can I accept these gifts?”

---

<sup>192</sup> Certain other sources chronicle the corpse liberation of the tenth Celestial Master in greater detail. A hagiography of the tenth Celestial Master originally found in the *Inner Traditions of the Celestial Masters* (*Tianshi neizhuan* 天師內傳) and presently preserved in *Record of the Gathered Immortals of the Three Caverns* (ZHDZ 45.371) records that after he passed away at more than one hundred years of age the Celestial Master’s gravesite was exhumed and his coffin found to be empty. The *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* (ZHDZ 19.964) notes that Zhang Zixiang’s coffin was found to be empty save for his “variegated robes” (*nichang* 霓裳). The *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.347) says that his coffin was unusually light and when opened it was found to be empty save for his clothing.

<sup>193</sup> The eleventh generation Celestial Master is identified as Zhang Tongxuan 張通玄 in a eulogy attributed to the Ming Emperor Taizu 太祖 found in *Chronological Register of the Gracious Ordinances of the Illustrious Ming* (*Huangming enming shilu* 皇明恩命世錄 HY 1450 ZHDZ 46.312). Elsewhere his name is given as Zhang Tong 張通.

Those who came forth to request talismans from him gathered like clouds and those who received scriptures and tallies came forth in a surging mass like the waters of a flood. The Celestial Master made his transformation at the advanced age of ninety-seven years. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Upper Clarity Perfected Sovereign of Mysterious Response, Humility and Tranquility.

The avoidance name of the twelfth generation Celestial Master was Heng.<sup>194</sup> His style name was Derun. He would never forget the content of any scripture or work of history that he passed his eyes over. Once, Tang Gaozong dispatched an envoy to summon the Celestial Master to court so that the emperor might question him on the art of governance.<sup>195</sup> The Celestial Master simply replied, “If you are capable of enacting effortless action then all under heaven will be governed.”<sup>196</sup> The emperor praised this.

---

<sup>194</sup> The avoidance name of the twelfth Celestial Master is given as Zhongchang 仲常 in a fragment of the *Inner Traditions of the Celestial Masters* that is found in the *Record of the Gathered Immortals of the Three Caverns* (ZHDZ 45.305), in the *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* (ZHDZ 19.964), and in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.347). Aside from the difference in avoidance name the biographical anecdotes given in those sources are in keeping with those found in the *Hereditary Household*. A fragment of the *Biographies of Students of the Dao* (*Daoxue zhuan* 道學傳) pertaining to a Zhang Celestial Master of the twelfth generation by the name of Yu 裕 is preserved in the *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 SKQS 666.5-6) which, if authentic, would date to the late sixth century. No reference is made to the lineage at Dragon and Tiger Mountain in that source. Rather, it describes a certain Beckoning Perfection Belvedere (*Zhaozhen guan* 招真觀) as having been constructed under the auspices of the Celestial Master and records that Liang Jianwen 梁簡文 (r.550-551 C.E.) commissioned a commemorative stele to be placed at the site. This likely refers to the (*Yushan zhaozhen guan bei* 虞山招真館碑) found in fascicle seventy-eight of the Tang dynasty *Classified Anthology of Literary Works* (*Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚).

<sup>195</sup> Tang Gaozong 唐高宗 (r.649-683)

<sup>196</sup> This is a paraphrase of a portion of chapter ten of the *Daode jing* that might be translated as follows: “In loving the people and governing the state (is the ruler) capable of effortless action?”

The Celestial Master was particularly skilled in the art of transformation and spoke about himself saying, “I am the trickster of the spirit transcendents.” One day while slipping away from the court he sighed to himself and said, “I have fallen into the snare of worldliness.” The Celestial Master pursued the Way while living as a householder. He would bring an earthenware jug into his apartments and, together with his wife, consume meat and drink liquor. Although the jug was drained over the course of the night it remained full and the following day there was no ill effect. The Celestial Master made his transformation at ninety-seven years of age. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Upper Clarity Perfected Sovereign of Mysterious Virtue, Great Harmony.

The avoidance name of the thirteenth generation Celestial Master was Guang.<sup>197</sup> His style name was Deshao. He fixed his will on the Way and undertook solitary self-cultivation in a stone chamber for nearly thirty years. He returned to his natal home only in order to inherit the teachings. As Celestial Master he bestowed scriptures and tallies on the masses. He kept a vegetarian diet and later took up the practice of grain avoidance. The Celestial Master made his transformation at one hundred four years of age. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Grand Mystery, Utmost Virtue, and Broad Wondrousness.

---

<sup>197</sup>The earliest surviving work to clearly and directly allege the residence of Zhang Daoling’s descendants on Dragon and Tiger Mountain is Du Guangting’s early tenth century *Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* (*Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記 HY 590 ZHDZ 45.112-113). There, unnamed Celestial Masters of the thirteenth and nineteenth generation as said to have bestowed talismans and registers from the mountain.

Zhang Guang's youngest son was named Wu.<sup>198</sup> His style name was Junming. From a young age he undertook self-cultivation and practiced grain avoidance. He was capable of soaring hither and yon. His ultimate fate is unknown.

The avoidance name of the fourteenth Celestial Master was Cizheng. His style name was Ziming. He possessed wisdom as well as a keen intellect and frequently employed the *Changes of Zhou* when offering instruction to others. Disciples gathered about him like clouds. Whenever the Master was in possession of surplus cash he would make use of it to aid the poor.

He took leave of his wife in order to cultivate the Way and set off into the mountains where he ascended Sage's Well Peak.<sup>199</sup> There he twined together a hut and lived in solitude. Every year on the days of the Three Primes he would exit his place of reclusion on the mountain in order to transmit the scriptures and tallies.

The Celestial Master was once summoned to court for an imperial appointment but he did not respond. At more than one hundred years of age he underwent his transformation. At the time of his departure transcendent music could be heard drifting downwards from the sky in welcome. Sage's Well Peak is presently named Peak of the Gentleman Summoned to Office and the portion of the mountain through which a stream

---

<sup>198</sup> Zhang Wu 張梧 does not figure into the narrative of other hagiographies of the thirteenth generation Celestial Master and is not found elsewhere in the canon as a figure of note in his own right.

<sup>199</sup> Sage's Well Peak (*Shengjing shan* 聖井山) is found on the southern edge of the range that comprises Dragon and Tiger Mountain. It is named for the presence of a well that figures into a legend in which the exorcistic prowess of the thirty-fifth Celestial Master is demonstrated. It would not, presumably, have been known by that name in the time of the fourteenth Celestial Master. See, *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.8).



runs is named Gully of the Gentleman Summoned to Office.<sup>200</sup> In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Great Mystery, Lofty Virtue of Purple Vacuity.

The avoidance name of the fifteenth generation Celestial Master was Gao. His style name was Shilong. His disposition was one of lofty magnanimity. He was fond of liquor and was able to quaff an entire *dan* without becoming inebriated.<sup>201</sup> Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang summoned the Celestial Master to court and ordered him to establish an altar in the capital from which to transmit talismans.<sup>202</sup> He was presented with gifts of gold and silks and granted an exemption from land taxes. Xuanzong further bestowed a title upon the Ancestral Celestial Master of the Han. Emperor Suzong of the Tang sponsored the performance of a rite of libation on Dragon and Tiger Mountain for which he gave gifts of incense and offerings.<sup>203</sup> Suzong also presented a piece of imperial calligraphy composed in praise of a portrait of the Celestial Master.

On one occasion Zhang Gao forgot his jade seal of office at a tavern in Chang'an. A young man who happened across it exerted himself attempting to lift the seal but was

---

<sup>200</sup> In the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.6) Peak of the Gentleman Summoned to Office (*Zheng jun shan* 徵君山) is given as being located five *li* to the west of Upper Clarity Palace. The site's name does not appear to have any association with the fourteenth Celestial Master in that source. In the biography of the twenty-seventh Celestial Master in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* he is said to have retired from office and entered into reclusion on the Peak of the Gentleman Summoned to Office (SDSY 13.15).

<sup>201</sup> A single *dan* 石 equals ten pecks (*dou* 斗) or one hundred liters. It is a substantial amount by any measurement.

<sup>202</sup> Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (r. 712-756 C.E.).

<sup>203</sup> Tang Suzong 唐肅宗 (r. 756-762 C.E.).

unable to make it budge. The following day the Celestial Master returned to the tavern, plucked the seal up with a laugh, and went on his way. At the age of ninety-three the Celestial Master underwent his transformation. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Great Mystery who Praises the Virtue of the Mysterious Teachings.

The avoidance name of the sixteenth generation Celestial Master was Yingshao. His style name was Zhifeng. When Yingshao inherited the teachings he bestowed the sword and seal of office on his son and entered into reclusion on the slopes above Dragon Whisker Well to the south of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. There, he cultivated crops for his own amusement. He would often play his flute while reclining on the stones above the well. The music was audible for a distance of several *li*.<sup>204</sup>

One day he perched over the deep well, roosted in repose, and transformed. His burial site is to the side of the well. Presently, the tomb of the transcendent is marked by an archway of paper mulberry trees. The place where he tilled the land is called Yellow Sand Gully. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of the Cavern of Vacuity, who Practices the Way of Simplicity.

---

<sup>204</sup> The details found in this brief biography of the sixteenth Celestial Master are consistent from source to source. Bai Yuchan's *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* references both the Celestial Master's penchant for playing the flute and his hobbyist farming (ZHDZ 19.964). The biography in the *Comprehensive Mirror* is largely identical to that given here but slightly more detailed (ZHDZ 347.348).

The avoidance name of the seventeenth generation Celestial Master was Shun.<sup>205</sup> His style name was Zhongfu. His was the utmost in filiality. When his mother fell ill he did not remove his robes for an entire month. He would frequently say that, “To be without filiality and yet seek to study the Way and strive after transcendence is akin to abandoning the oars of one’s craft to ford a great river.”

The Celestial Master was initially appointed to a post as Minister of Waterways. He abandoned office in order to inherit the teachings and, together with his wife, took up residence on Mount Mao.<sup>206</sup> At the age of eighty-seven he transformed. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign who Blesses and Protects, and Discloses the Teachings of the Cavern of Vacuity.

The avoidance name of the eighteenth Celestial Master was Shiyuan.<sup>207</sup> His style name was Zhongliang. He was gaunt and wore a long beard. He lived in reclusion on Mount Yingtian for forty years.<sup>208</sup> There were many tigers on the mountain and so no

---

<sup>205</sup>The name of the seventeenth generation Celestial Master is given as Zhang Shun 張順 in the *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* (ZHDZ 19.964) and in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.348). Elsewhere, including Song Lian’s preface to the present work, he is listed as Zhang Yi 張頤.

<sup>206</sup> The *Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master* is the only extant hagiographical source in which it is said that Zhang Shun resided on Mount Mao.

<sup>207</sup> Hagiographical sources are in agreement with regards to the name of the eighteenth Celestial Master with the possible exception of the early tenth century *Record of the Three Masters of the Numinous Treasure Cavern Mystery* (*Dongxuan lingbao sanshi ji* 洞玄靈寶三師記 HY 444 ZHDZ 46.272-274) attributed to Liu Chujing 劉處靜 though possibly the work of Du Guangting. In that work Du Guangting’s master Ying Yijie 應夷節 receives initiation at Dragon and Tiger Mountain from a certain Zhang Shaoren 張少任 who is identified as an eighteenth generation descendant of the Celestial Master (ZHDZ 46.273).

<sup>208</sup> Mount Yingtian refers to the highest peak of Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

one dared to call upon him there. He descended the mountain only on the days of the Three Primes in order to distribute talismans. Whenever great storms arose the Celestial Master might be observed wearing a dark cap and wending amongst the peaks on the back of a black tiger. Those who saw this understood him to be the Celestial Master.

Presently, his cinnabar storehouse is found on the mountain's southern slope. To the north of the mountain is a stone on which he interpreted scriptures, Black Dragon Well, and Cyan Lotus Pond. These are all relics of the Celestial Master. He lived to the age of ninety-two. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of the Cavern of Vacuity who Illuminates the Way of Good Fortune.

The avoidance name of the nineteenth Celestial Master was Xiu. His style name was Dezhen. His demeanor was marked by rustic earnestness and he personally tilled his fields. He would inscribe leaves with seal characters and administer them to those who had fallen ill. They would invariably recover.

He circulated all of the talismans and registers that were conferred on him to others. A wealthy merchant from Jiangxi named Liu Qian received talismans and registers from the Celestial Master. The merchant died while in Jinling and returned to life the following day. Upon recovery Liu Qian recounted how he had been seized by officers of the underworld when they encountered a transcendent clerk who proclaimed, "Liu Qian is the recipient of Daoist registers. Although the appointed time of his death

has arrived he has been granted an extension of twenty years to his lifespan.” Following this incident Liu Qian immediately entered the mountains and became a disciple of the Celestial Master.<sup>209</sup>

One day the Celestial Master gathered all of his disciples and predicted the particular date on which he would undergo his transformation. When the day arrived he bathed, changed his clothes, sat upright, and transformed. He was eighty-five years of age. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Winged Transformation, Vigor and Mystery, and Illuminator of Good Fortune.

The avoidance name of the twentieth generation Celestial Master was Chen. His style name was Zijian. Emperor Wuzong of the Tang summoned the Celestial Master to court in the *xinyou* year of the Huichang reign era.<sup>210</sup> The emperor bestowed upon him a plaque that read “Belvedere of the Perfected Transcendent.” It was placed above the altar for the transmission of talismans. Emperor Wuzong also granted an official appointment but the Celestial Master declined the honor and returned to Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

In the Xiantong reign era Emperor Yizong ordered the performance of the Great Offering of the Golden Register. The Celestial Master was gifted a string of gold coins. He then returned to Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

---

<sup>209</sup> An expanded version of this story is found under the title “The Verification of Liu Qian’s Tally of the Inspector of Merit” (*Liu Qian dugong luyan* 劉遷都功錄驗) in Du Guangting’s *Record of Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* (ZHDZ 45.112-113).

<sup>210</sup> The Huichang reign era encompasses the totality of the reign of emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r.841-846 C.E.). The *xinyou* year of the Huichang reign era corresponds to January 27, 841 to January 20, 842 C.E.

One day he became deeply inebriated and underwent his transformation.<sup>211</sup> At the time he was over one hundred years of age. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Vigor and Mystery, Cavern of Perfection, Trust and Virtue.

The avoidance name of the twenty-first Celestial Master was Bingyi. His style name was Wenfu. The Celestial Master's mother was napping one afternoon when she dreamt of a spirit standing upon a golden tortoise that descended from the heavens to meet her.<sup>212</sup> She awoke to discover that she was pregnant and gave birth after a period of fifteen months.

As the Celestial Master reached maturity his eyes flashed like lightning and he was able to discern objects clearly even at night. He would often take up his sword and roam the mountain marshes. Once, he let out a great shout in the direction of an old tree. It was instantly struck by a bolt of lightning and split in twain. Two giant pythons and more than one hundred smaller snakes that were lodging within the tree were killed.

In the Southern Tang the Prince of Qi dreamt that he had fallen into a well.<sup>213</sup> A Daoist with cyan eyes, a long beard, and burgundy colored robes appeared and extracted the prince from his predicament. A diviner spoke to the prince and identified the figure as the Han Celestial Master. Out of gratitude the Prince of Qi sponsored the

---

<sup>211</sup> This strange detail is also found in Zhang Cheng's hagiography in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.348).

<sup>212</sup> Although the details differ, his birth is presaged by a dream involving a gold or jade tortoise in all extant sources predating the *Hereditary Household*.

<sup>213</sup> The title Prince of Qi 齊王 was held by Li Jing 李景, the future Emperor Yuanzong 元宗 (r.943-961 C.E.) of the Southern Tang dynasty, from 938 C.E. until the time he ascended the throne.

establishment of a memorial hall at Dragon and Tiger Mountain and made a gift of paddy fields to the Celestial Master.

As the Celestial Master made ready to undergo his transformation he said, “When I depart this realm an earthquake will follow.” His body was prepared for burial and soon thereafter an earthquake occurred. Seven days after his passing the Celestial Master’s body remained lukewarm like jade. He was ninety-two years of age. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of the Purple Culmen, Guardian of the Obscure, and Illuminator of the Teachings.

The avoidance name of the twenty-second generation Celestial Master was Shan. His style name was Yuanchang. From a young age he avoided the consumption of meat and as he grew older he took to wandering in the famous mountains. Following a sojourn of more than twenty years he returned to Dragon and Tiger Mountain where he sequestered himself in order to practice inner cultivation. He refrained from engaging in worldly affairs and passed away at the age of eighty-seven. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Clear Vacuity, Reverent Response, Trust and Trust and Magnanimity.

The avoidance name of the twenty-third Celestial Master was Jiwen. His style name was Zhonggui. In the Five Dynasties era great crowds gathered to receive his scriptures and talismans. It became common practice for people to tie their talismans to iron rings. These iron ring talismans were particularly abundant at the start of the Song

dynasty. The Celestial Master lived to the age of eighty-seven. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of the Miraculous Way of Clear Vacuity Who Assists the Nation.

The avoidance name of the twenty-fourth generation Celestial Master was Zhengsui. His style name was Baoshen. His nature was one of upright sincerity and simplicity. He did not interact with the vulgar world. In the eighth year of the Xiangfu dazhong reign era of the Song dynasty the Celestial Master was summoned to court.<sup>214</sup> Wang Qinruo, the Minister of Personnel, presented a memorial on behalf of the Celestial Master in which he petitioned for the establishment of a hall for the bestowal of talismans as well as the proclamation of an imperial directive changing the name of Perfected Transcendent Belvedere to Upper Clarity Belvedere.

At eighty-seven years of age the Celestial Master expired. Emperor Zhenzong made a proclamation saying, “The descendants of the Celestial Master preserve the ancestral temple and venerate the celestial Way. They shoulder the burden of the prodigious resonance between heaven and earth and explicate the precious talismans of the *River Chart* and *Inscription of Luo* in order to join with those who have reached attainment in pondering the miraculous Way.<sup>215</sup> Your ancestor obtained the numinous commentaries at the Golden Porte and transmitted his command to posterity.

---

<sup>214</sup> 1015 C.E.

<sup>215</sup> This passage speaks to the ideal of harmony achieved through attention to correlative cosmology and as such it references the *River Chart* (*Hetu* 河圖) and *Inscription of Luo* (*Luoshu* 洛書) two ancient cosmological diagrams of mythic origin.



The eldest son of the first wife is charged with carrying forth the uncanny teachings and expounding upon the mysteries of the prior heavens so as to guide those who are slow to awaken. I have observed that the ascended generations were possessed of longevity as a consequence of their virtue. So it is that I confer the honorary title on the one who burnishes and extends the great Way of prior sages. To him I grant the title Prior Born of Perfected Silence.” In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty Zhang Zhengsui was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Clear Vacuity, Promulgator of Teachings on Wondrous Deliverance.

The avoidance name of the twenty-fifth Celestial Master was Qianyao.<sup>216</sup> His style name was Yuanguang. His character was marked by equilibrium and tranquility. He seldom spoke and pursued inner cultivation with single-minded diligence. In the eighth year of the Tiansheng reign era of the Song dynasty Emperor Renzong summoned the Celestial Master to court in order to inquire after ascending to transcendence.<sup>217</sup>

The Celestial Master responded by saying, “Such teachings cannot aid in governance. If your majesty is capable of returning to rusticity and trafficking in simplicity then the world will be at peace.”<sup>218</sup> What is to be said of the ascent to

---

<sup>216</sup> The majority of hagiographic sources are in agreement with regards to the name and biographical details of the twenty-fifth Celestial Master. Curiously, Du Guangting’s *Record of Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism* (ZHDZ 45.114) includes a tale entitled “Verification of Zhang Qianyao’s ‘Tianpeng Incantation’” (*Zhang Qianyao Tianpeng zhou yan* 張乾曜天蓬咒驗). The protagonist of the story is identified as a Daoist of the Abbey of Ultimate Perfection (*Zhizhen guang* 至真觀) in Chengdu and is not identified as a Zhang family Celestial Master nor is he associated with Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

<sup>217</sup> 1030 C.E.

<sup>218</sup> In asking if the emperor is “able to return to rusticity (*neng fan zhi pu* 能返之朴) the Celestial Master echoes the admonition to “return to the uncarved block” (*fu gui yu pu* 復歸於朴) found in chapter twenty-eight of the *Laozi*.

transcendence?”<sup>219</sup> Emperor Renzong was pleased with this response and bestowed the title Prior Born of Clear Purity upon the Celestial Master.<sup>220</sup>

At the age of eighty-five the Celestial Master underwent his transformation and was entombed with his sword at Zhangbu in Renfu Village, the ancestral home of the Cao household.<sup>221</sup> Emperor Renzong of the Song made a proclamation saying, “The descendants of the Celestial Master have carried the actions of their predecessors forth across the years, immersing their hearts in the supreme Way. Prostrating before the sovereign Yellow Emperor, the people are fostered and the fluctuations of yin and yang are governed. So it is that rule is brought about through effortless action.

The Yellow Emperor sought out the Master of Broad Completion atop Mount Kongtong and did not shrink away from his duty but went forth on his knees and with an air of deferential submission made his inquiries in order to aid the people.<sup>222</sup> Without concern for the vast distance you have travelled a thousand *li* in order to alight in the

---

<sup>219</sup> This encounter is an instance of a familiar trope which finds an eminent Daoist attempting to dissuade a ruler from taking too keen of an interest in transcendence. Zhang Qian Yao and Song Renzong are preceded on this front by Tao Hongjing and Emperor Wu of the Liang as well as Qiu Chuji and Chinggis Khan among others. Much the same exchange takes place between the thirtieth Celestial Master Zhang Jixian and Emperor Huizong at a later point in the present text.

<sup>220</sup> The bestowal of this title in the eighth year of the Tiansheng reign era is attested to in the *History of the Song* (*Songshi* 宋史 SKQS 9.14). No record of the meeting described here is preserved in that work.

<sup>221</sup> The *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 15.63) lists a Renfu Village (*Renfu Xiang* 仁福鄉) in Guixi County (*Guixi Xian* 貴溪縣) where Dragon and Tiger Mountain is located. The Cao family derives from the State of Cao (*Caoguo* 曹國) in what is presently Dingtao County, Shandong, a fact which makes the latter part of this statement somewhat puzzling.

<sup>222</sup> *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents* (ZHDZ 1.1) opens with a hagiography of the Master of Broad Completion (*Guangcheng zi* 廣成子) in which he is identified as a transcendent who resides in a cavern on Mount Kongtong 崆峒. The legend of the Yellow Emperor’s pilgrimage to Master Guangcheng’s hermitage is found in the “Exercising Forbearance” (*Zaiyou* 在宥) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

capital. You have inspired me by means of a simple word on the essentials of nourishing life and governing the populace. You have made honor manifest through indifference to titles of praise. You grant the means by which to broadly transform the spirit. It is through good fortune that I have summoned you. Master Guangcheng is thus not permitted to amass all of the praise that is due to the ancients.” In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty the Celestial Master was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Deep Solitude, Universal Deliverance, and Veneration of Mystery.

The avoidance name of the twenty-sixth Celestial Master was Cizong. His style name was Rongzu. He was born with a birthmark on his left hand that resembled the imprint of an official seal. By the time he inherited the teachings he was already renowned for his uncanny abilities. In the second year of the Zhihe reign era Emperor Renzong of the Song summoned the Celestial Master to court.<sup>223</sup> The supplications made by the Celestial Master on behalf of Renzong were met with divine reciprocation and so the emperor issued an edict mandating the relocation of Upper Clarity Belvedere to the southern slope of Dragon and Tiger Mountain.<sup>224</sup> At seventy-eight years of age his visage remained youthful. He was granted the title Prior Born of Vacuous Blankness. At eighty-one years of age the Celestial Master underwent his transformation and was entombed with his sword at Rukou Outpost.<sup>225</sup>

---

<sup>223</sup> 1056 C.E.

<sup>224</sup> This is also claimed in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.15). No mention of the belvedere’s relocation is made in official sources.

<sup>225</sup> Rukou Outpost (*Rukou Zhai* 醜口寨) is confirmed as a location in the vicinity of Dragon and Tiger mountain in a poem preserved in the *Collected Works of Elephant Mountain* (*Xiangshan ji* 象山集 SKQS

Emperor Renzong made a proclamation declaring that, “The supplications initiated by the Commissioner of Sacrifices through the offerings to Heaven and Earth are undertaken in the court and good works are accumulated. This is not comparable to the actions of common soothsayers. To bring the world to order requires sincere intent to pervade everywhere.

Zhang Cizong, the twenty-sixth generation descendant of the Han Celestial Master has carried the familial teachings forward and has made manifest his ancestor’s customs. He revealed the methods whereby Heaven is successfully petitioned. He could wrest good fortune from disaster. Is this not because his mind was unified with the essence of the Way and his utmost sincerity moved the spirits to action? Empty spaces allow for the rise of light and through them auspiciousness finds its resting place.”<sup>226</sup> The Celestial Master was granted the title Prior Born of Void Emptiness. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign who Venerates Authenticity, Universal Transformation, and Miraculous Understanding.

The avoidance name of the twenty-seventh Celestial Master was Xiangzhong. His style name was Gongchen. He took his first steps three months after his birth and was able to speak when only five months old. At seven years of age he was summoned

---

20.11 ) by the Southern Song *Lixue* 理學 scholar Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139-1193 C.E.). It is not a place that figures prominently into Celestial Masters lore.

<sup>226</sup> “Empty spaces allow for the rise of light and through them auspiciousness finds its resting place,” (*Xukong sheng bai jixiang zhi zhi* 虛空生白 吉祥止止). This phrase is borrowed from the *Zhuangzi* chapter “In the World of Men” (*Renjian shi* 人間世) where it is spoken by Confucius.

to court, granted purple robes, and invested with the lineal teachings.<sup>227</sup> The emperor bade him to sit and inquired after the Way. Xianzhong's response greatly impressed the emperor who gifted the Celestial Master a piece of imperial calligraphy.

Xianzhong later returned to the Peak of the Gentleman Summoned to Office where he built a hut of twined vines near a pond surrounded by parasol and willow trees. He obtained the Way and rose to transcendence. Seven Star Mound and White Crane Embankment mark the place of his ascent.<sup>228</sup> In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Purple Obscurity Who Venerates Authenticity and Bestows Universal Benefit.

The avoidance name of the twenty-eighth generation Celestial Master was Dunfu. His style name was Yanzhi. He was gifted with an innate capacity for scholarly pursuits and his speaking voice had the clear tone of a bell. He was greatly admired by the literati. In the midst of the Xining reign era Song Emperor Shenzong summoned the Celestial Master to the capital and ordered the performance of a retreat in the inner court.<sup>229</sup> The Master was later granted the title Prior Born of Concealed Brilliance. He underwent transformation at the age of fifty-three and was entombed with his sword at the Deng family embankment.

---

<sup>227</sup> The unnamed emperor in this passage is specified as Song Renzong in *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* (ZHDZ 19.965) and *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.349).

<sup>228</sup> The *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 113.11) describes the mound as located to the front of the Upright Unity Belvedere at Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

<sup>229</sup> The Xining reign era corresponds to February 6, 1068 to January 16, 1078 C.E.

Emperor Shenzong of the Song dynasty made a declaration in praise of the Celestial Master stating, “Shouldering heaven and earth and gazing backwards. Owing to the achievements of the ancestor, within the four seas the land is at peace and the people are prosperous and contented. Vastness of thought and clear tranquility are taken as customary. All take joy in rule through effortless action.

Zhang Dunfu, the twenty-eighth generation descendent of the Han Celestial Master, was the inheritor of the ancestral seal. From a young age he was able to comprehend the perfected commentaries. Alas, he has hurriedly returned to the cinnabar hillock. Now there are none who stand before the great hall suited to the task of expounding on the ancient scrolls and casting light on that which is enshrouded.” He was granted the title Prior Born of Concealed Brilliance.

In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of the Grand Pivot who Elucidates the Teachings of Effortless Action.

### Fascicle Three: The Transmission of the Celestial Masters Lineage

The avoidance name of the twenty-ninth generation Celestial Master was Jingduan. His style name was Ziren. He was Zhang Dunfu's nephew.<sup>230</sup> His nature was tranquil and he was indifferent to honors and fame. He cut himself off from desire and did not engage in contentiousness. His will was firmly set on the study of arcane philosophy and in the second year of the Dagan reign era he was granted the title Prior Born of Concealed Authenticity.<sup>231</sup> He underwent his transformation at fifty-two years of age.

Emperor Huizong of the Song made a proclamation in praise of the Celestial Master stating, "To guard against disaster and ward off misfortune, this is the primary aim of the sacrificial canon. To do honor to that which is virtuous and grant recompense to meritorious actions, this is what the sages esteem. Zhang Jixian, the Prior Born of Void Quiescence, quelled the foul emanations lingering at the salt marsh and performed the libation petition of the Golden Court.<sup>232</sup> As a sound is followed by its echo, his efforts bore great fruit. This efficacy originates in the Zhang family teachings. The renown in which your name is held is of great satisfaction to me and so it is that I grant the posthumous title Prior Born of Concealed Authenticity." In the thirteenth year of the

---

<sup>230</sup> The transition between the twenty-eight and twenty-ninth generation marks the first instance in which the rule of primogeniture is not followed. The *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.349) identifies Zhang Ziren as a direct descendent of the twenty-fourth Celestial Master.

<sup>231</sup> 1108 C.E.

<sup>232</sup> The placement of this laud at this point in the text is an odd editorial decision given that it is clearly in praise of the thirtieth Celestial Master, Zhang Jixian, and not the twenty-ninth Celestial Master.

Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty the Celestial Master was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of the Grand Pivot, Benevolent Wondrousness of Clear Vacuity.

The avoidance name of the thirtieth generation Celestial Master was Jixian. His style names were Jiawen and Daozheng, and he was titled Master of Composed Detachment.<sup>233</sup> He was the great-grandson of the twenty-seventh Celestial Master, the grandson of Zhang Dunxin, and the son of Zhang Churen.<sup>234</sup> He served the Song dynasty as Administrator of Linchuan County.<sup>235</sup>

He was born at Obscured Valley Hermitage on the twentieth day of the tenth month of the seventh, or *renshen*, year of the Yuanyou reign era of the Song dynasty.<sup>236</sup> Jixian remained mute until the age of five. One day he heard a cock crow, let out a sudden chuckle, and spoke the following lines of rhapsodic verse: “Numinous fowl in possession of the five virtues, his comb and spurs do not leave him. In the fifth watch his great beak opened and he roused the dreamers.” The following day, Zhang Jixian was found seated in meditation atop a cyan colored lotus flower. The people all declared

---

<sup>233</sup> Master of Composed Detachment (Xianran zi 儵然子). The name refers to a phrase from the “Great Revered Master” (*Da Zongshi* 大宗師) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* in which the perfected of old are said to have come into and exited out of the world with composed detachment.

<sup>234</sup> *The Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Immortals* (ZHDZ 47.349) simply lists Zhang Jixian as a direct descendent of the twenty-sixth generation Celestial Master but is in agreement with the present work regarding the identity of his father. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (13.16) tallies with the genealogy given here but adds that Zhang Jixian is the younger cousin of the twenty-ninth Celestial Master who was without male heirs.

<sup>235</sup> Linchuan County (*Linchuan Xian* 臨川縣) is located to the south of Lake Poyang and the Southeast of Nanchang in Jiangxi.

<sup>236</sup> November 21, 1092 C.E. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.11) contains a brief entry on Obscured Valley Hermitage which is noted as the birthplace of the thirtieth Celestial Master. There it is said that the name is derived from Zhang Jixian’s father’s self-appellation Master of the Obscured Valley (*Mengu zi* 蒙谷子).



him to be a prodigy in the manner of a perfected transcendent. The pond where these events transpired is found at the Belvedere of the Transcendent's Ablutions.<sup>237</sup> At nine years of age he inherited the teachings.

In the second year of the Chongning reign era a petition was sent to the court notifying the Emperor that a salt pond in Xiezhou was flooded with fresh water.<sup>238</sup> The emperor sought the advice of the Daoist Xu Shenweng who replied, "The harm was caused by the spirit of a scaled dragon. It would be best to summon the Zhang family Celestial Master."<sup>239</sup> The Emperor accordingly dispatched an official to enlist the aid of the Celestial Master.

The following year Zhang Jixian was summoned to court. The emperor said, "You reside on Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Have you ever had occasion to lay eyes on

---

<sup>237</sup> The Belvedere of the Transcendent's Ablutions (*Yuxian guan* 浴仙觀) is not a site mentioned elsewhere in hagiographical materials on Zhang Jixian nor is it referenced, as might be expected, in *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master*.

<sup>238</sup> This date corresponds to 1103 C.E., early in the reign of Song Huizong 宋徽宗 (r.1101-1125 C.E.). The town of Xiezhou (*Xiezhou Zhen* 懈州鎮) is located in the southwest of Shanxi province. It is best known to history as the home of Guan Yu 關羽, the deified hero of the Three Kingdoms era.

<sup>239</sup> Xu Shenweng 徐神翁 or "Spirit Oldster Xu" was a historic figure of great renown who lived in the twelfth century and was numbered among the legendary eight immortals until he was gradually phased out of that coterie in the popular imagination and replaced by Transcendent Maiden He (*He Xianggu* 何仙姑). In Song dynasty *biji* and literature as well as the anonymous early Ming opera "Eight Immortals Contesting over the Jade Tablet while Crossing the Sea" (*Jing yuban baxian guohai* 爭玉板八仙過海) Xu is numbered among the eight immortals. Wu Yuantai's 吳元泰 novel *Record of the Eight Immortals' Eastward Travels* (*Baxian chuchu dongyou ji* 八仙出處東遊記) and subsequent mythology finds him replaced by Transcendent Maiden He. See, 张振谦, "八仙早期成员徐神翁信仰考述," *Zongjiao xue yanjiu* 宗教学研究 (2011): 3. A biographical sketch followed by a series of chronologically ordered anecdotes dating to 1187 C.E., *Recorded Sayings of Xu Shenweng the Prior Born of Uplifted Harmony Clarity and Quiescence* (*Xujing chonghe xiansheng Xu shenweng yulu* 虛靜沖和先生徐神翁語錄 HY 1241 ZHDZ 32.415-432) tells of Xu Shenweng travelling to court in 1107 C.E. in the company of Zhang Jixian.

either dragon or tiger?" The Celestial Master responded, "Living on the mountain it is common to observe tigers. Today I gaze upon the draconic countenance."

The emperor was pleased with this and ordered the Celestial Master to draw up a talisman. He inspected it, smiled, and asked, "From whence does numinosity arrive?" The Celestial Master responded, "Numinosity comes forth from the dwelling place of the spirit." The emperor then asked whether he had a particular talent for calligraphy to which the Celestial replied, "I have produced a copy of *The Book of the Way and Its Virtue*." He later presented his transcription to the emperor as a gift.

Huizong made inquiries pertaining to the art of refining cinnabar. The Celestial Master replied, "That is a matter for those living in the wilds. It is not proper for a ruler of men to indulge in cinnabar refinement. If you majesty would take up clarity, quiescence, and effortless action as your principles of governance you would be worthy of comparison to Yao and Shun." This response pleased the Emperor.

Those attendants granted entry to the imperial chambers jostled one another and made beckoning gestures in hopes of receiving writs from the Celestial Master. When the Celestial Master read from the scriptures all present came to a deep understanding of his words. One among them emerged from the fray grasping the text, bowed down in deference towards the writ, and said, "Safeguard and protect the nation that it may endure as long as Heaven!" By decree of the emperor a banquet was held for the Celestial Master after which he departed from the court.

On the fifteenth day of the twelfth month the Celestial Master was again summoned to court.<sup>240</sup> The emperor said, “The waters of Xie have burst their banks and the people are suffering on account of this calamity. I have accordingly called upon you to take command over the situation.” An order was sent down for the fabrication of inscribed metal talismans and the Celestial Master’s disciple Zhu Yongyou was summoned to court to assist in the matter.<sup>241</sup> The Celestial Master and Zhu Yongyou stood on the embankment and cast the talismans into the depths of the pond. With a luminous flash a stroke of lightning dispelled the darkness and the mangled corpse of a flood dragon bobbed up on the surface of the water.

The Emperor later asked the Celestial Master about the encounter saying, “When you went forth to subdue the flood dragon which spirit general did you employ? Has he returned to from whence he came? Does he remain apparent?”

The Celestial Master replied, “The one I conscripted was Guan Yu. He appeared immediately upon being summoned.” The Celestial Master took hold of his sword and gestured to a place on the left hand side of the hall. Guan Yu promptly appeared.

The emperor was shocked at this and flung *chongning* coins towards the spirit saying, “I hereby enfeoff you! The world will accordingly venerate you as Perfected

---

<sup>240</sup> January 2, 1105 C.E.

<sup>241</sup> A brief biography of Zhu Yongyou 祝永佑 is found in fascicle seven of the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. A thorough discussion of his life and career is found in Zhang Chongfu 張崇富, “Di sanshi dai Tianshi Zhang Jixian dizi kaolun 第三十代天師張繼先弟子考論 [An investigation of the Thirtieth Celestial Master Zhang Jixian’s Disciples].” *Hongdao* 弘道 61 (2014): 61-62.

Sovereign of the Chongning Reign Era.” In the third month of the following year Xie Pond produced its usual yield of salt.

In the fifth month the Celestial Master was summoned to court and granted an audience.<sup>242</sup> The emperor inquired about the unity and divergence of the Way and its methods. The Celestial Master replied, “The Way is rooted in effortless action and so there is nothing that is not enacted. The Way is form and the methods are action. Form and action are of a singular origin and at root are lacking in either unity or divergence. If one of these is not established then the name of the other is forced. Where is the discrimination of unity and divergence to be found?”<sup>243</sup>

The emperor replied, “So it is that to discriminate unity and divergence through speech is to create ‘three.’”

The Celestial Heart methods for purging impurities and the various Thunder Methods were venerated by the imperial household.<sup>244</sup> In the seventh month the Celestial Master established an altar for the transmission of scriptures and registers.<sup>245</sup> He expounded on the methods and set forth on the wondrousness of the Way. The people

---

<sup>242</sup> June 14 to July 12, 1105 C.E.

<sup>243</sup>This echoes the reluctance to ascribe labels to the Way found in chapter twenty-five of the *Daode jing*. “I do not know its name. If pressed, I would style it ‘the Way.’ Compelled to name it, I would call it ‘great.’”

<sup>244</sup> Major works of the Upright Methods of the Celestial Heart (*Tianxin Zhengfa* 天心正法) which falls under the umbrella category of Thunder Methods (*Leifa* 雷法) began to appear in the twelfth century including *Supreme Essential Secret of General Perfection to Help the Empire and Save the People* (*Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 太上助國救民總真祕要 HY 1217 ZHDZ 30.313-386) which was submitted to Huizong in 1116 C.E.

<sup>245</sup> August 12 to September 9, 1105 C.E.

gathered in a cloudlike throng to participate in the rites and all who attended attained a full understanding of the teachings prior to their departure.

Once, at the Hall of Celestial Auspiciousness the emperor asked after the relationship of the Way to timeliness in governance. The Celestial Master responded, “In the Yuanyou reign era the ministers all bore the heavy burden of the world’s hopes. I implore your highness to naturalize your stately comportment.”<sup>246</sup>

The emperor was shocked and disturbed by this and replied, “In what manner is my comportment not at ease?” The Celestial Master responded, “Your Highness has broadly established the standard whereby the world is ruled. You are without partiality and lack partisanship. You take up the common people as the object of your concern. This is greatly auspicious.”

The Celestial Master implored the emperor to permit him to return to Dragon and Tiger Mountain. The emperor granted the request along with gifts of gold and silk which the Celestial Master refused. Members of the imperial coterie were ordered to prepare a ceremony of departure for the Celestial Master at the gates of the capital.

In the fourth year of the Chongning reign era the Celestial Master was summoned to the capital in order to perform a rite of libation in the inner court.<sup>247</sup> The Celestial

---

<sup>246</sup> The Yuanyou reign era of 1086-1093 C.E. was the rocky initial period of Song Zhezong’s 哲宗 reign at which time the influence of the Chancellor Sima Guang 司馬光 was still felt in official policy. The call to “naturalize one’s stately comportment” (*Shengdu congong* 聖度從容) may be an invocation of the statement that “He who naturally follows the median way is a sage” (*Congrong zhong dao shengren ye* 從容中道聖人也) found in the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸).

<sup>247</sup> 1105 C.E.

Master had an ill-omened vision of a scarlet horse and a red goat which prompted him to submit a secret petition to the emperor urging him to fix his efforts on the cultivation of virtue.

The emperor made a proclamation which read, “Zhang Jixian is the thirtieth generation descendent of the Han Celestial Master. The profound achievements of the Han Celestial Master are known to all. You serve as the inheritor and do not debase the grand undertaking of your predecessors but carry forth the ancestral methods. Talismanic water is efficacious and empty tranquility brings forth unperturbed equanimity. The enactment of the Way is lofty and unsullied. It is right and fitting for additional honors to be bestowed upon you and for the perfected customs of the lineage to be made manifest.” The emperor granted Zhang Jixian the title Prior Born of Empty Tranquility and gifted him with an image of Lord Lao cast in gold and a portrait of the Han Celestial Master.

The Celestial Master repeatedly petitioned to retire to Dragon and Tiger Mountain but was not granted permission to do so. The emperor asked the Celestial Master what he required. The reply came, “Your servant wishes the following: Upper Clarity Belvedere is both remote and in disrepair. I wish for it to be rebuilt at a new location. To do so is beyond my power.”

The emperor commanded the Transport Intendant of Jiangdong to make a survey of the mountain and to oversee the relocation and reconstruction of the belvedere.<sup>248</sup>

---

<sup>248</sup> Jiangdong 江東 refers to the region south of the Yangtze. Transport Intendant (*Cao chen* 漕臣) is an alternate designation for Fiscal Commissioner that is exclusive to the Song dynasty. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, 520.

The emperor also made a gift of cultivable land so that the Celestial Master might grant provisions to the multitudes. The Celestial Master practiced self-cultivation and refinement at a hermitage which was established on the northern slope of the mountain. The emperor produced a plaque which read “Hermitage of Tranquil Completion” and presented it to the Celestial Master.<sup>249</sup>

A structure was built and named Composed Detachment Pavilion. Three belvederes were also constructed; Numinous Gem Belvedere, Cloud Brocade Belvedere, and Perfected Virtue Belvedere.<sup>250</sup> The Memorial Hall of the Ancestral Master was refurbished as the Belvedere for the Performance of Rites and a jade tablet honoring the ancestral master as a Perfected Sovereign was commissioned by the Emperor for placement in the hall.<sup>251</sup>

In the twelfth month the Celestial Master returned to the mountain.<sup>252</sup> Along with his father and elder brothers he was granted a title of nobility and many thousands of

---

<sup>249</sup> This is a significant location in lore surrounding the thirtieth Celestial Master. A poem written by Bai Yuchan in honor of Zhang Jixian titled “Hermitage of Tranquil Completion” (*Jingtong an* 靖通庵) is found in the *Anthology of the Abbey at Mount Wuyi* (ZHDZ 19.979). A “Song of the Hermitage of Tranquil Completion” (*Jiantong an ge* 靖通庵歌) ostensibly written by Zhang Jixian himself is preserved in *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master* (ZHDZ 26.137) and the hermitage is the subject of more than one piece in Zhang Yuchu’s *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* (ZHDZ 26.155-259).

<sup>250</sup> No initial date of construction is given for any of these sites in the section on assorted palaces and belvederes in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. The entry for Numinous Gem Belvedere (*Lingbao guan* 靈寶觀) notes that Emperor Huizong commissioned a plaque to be hung at the temple in the second year of the Dagan reign era (1108 C.E.) but does not mention his role in the construction of the belvedere (SDSY 13.11).

<sup>251</sup> The entry on the Belvedere for the Performance of Rites (*Yanfa guan* 演法觀) in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.11) simply mentions the bestowal of an imperial placard in the midst of the Chongning reign era.

<sup>252</sup> January 7 to February 5, 1106 C.E.

students of the Way streamed to the mountain from all four directions. In the *dingke* year of the Dagan reign era the emperor dispatched an emissary to the mountain with a directive commanding the Celestial Master to perform a ritual of libation.<sup>253</sup>

The Celestial Master was summoned to the capital at a time when Xu Shenweng was in residence at the court. Without pretext Shenweng said, “Worldly affairs are vulgar. It is better to retire and live in reclusion than it is to engage in them.”

The Celestial Master responded, “To return is simply to return. What is to be considered and what is to be fretted over?”<sup>254</sup> Upon hearing this Xu Shengwen immediately took his seat and passed away.

On the day of the Duanyang Festival the Celestial Master was summoned to court. The emperor said, “A malevolent sprite appears to be lurking in the palace. If this is the case, I must ask you to banish it.”

The Celestial Master replied, “It is known that the crooked cannot encroach upon the upright and the wicked cannot overcome the virtuous. Should your highness fix his will on the task of cultivating virtue then the malevolent sprite will certainly be exhausted of its own accord.”

---

<sup>253</sup> 1107 C.E.

<sup>254</sup> In asking “What is to be considered and what is to be fretted over?” (*Hesi helu* 何思何慮) The Celestial Master draws from the “Great Treatise” (*Xici xia* 繫辭下) chapter of the *Zhouyi* 周易. Legge’s translation reads as follows, “In all (the processes taking place) under heaven, what is there of thinking? What is there of anxious scheming? They all come to the same (successful) issue, though by different paths; there is one result, though there might be a hundred anxious schemes. What is there of thinking? What is there of anxious scheming? Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, 389.



The palace attendants had presented memorials at the Pavilion of Humane Aid.<sup>255</sup> As a consequence of this action a malevolent sprite manifested itself. Suddenly, the sprite set upon a young attendant, causing him to grasp his head in both hands and weepily prostrate himself.

The Celestial Master rebuked him saying, “You have muddled your mind and fallen onto a deluded path. Return to your original form! You are to transform with haste!” Thereupon the youth quit sobbing and fell in a heap to the floor where he remained for a long while before finally coming to his senses.

On another occasion the Emperor issued a decree ordering several tens of large earthen jars to be filled with water and placed throughout the capital and its environs. Talismans were then placed in the jars. Those afflicted with illness drank of the water and invariably recovered from their ailments.

The emperor dispatched an envoy to ask after the essentials of the Way. He inquired as to what might be learned of spirit transcendence and to surmise if deathlessness is attainable. In response the Celestial Master composed the Song of the Great Way, and entrusted it to the envoy.<sup>256</sup>

---

<sup>255</sup> The Pavilion of Humane Aid (*Renji ting* 仁濟亭) was one of several sites built under the auspices of Lin Lingsu 林靈素 and at which he distributed talismans. See, Lin Lingsu’s biography in the Ming dynasty *Ocean of Words Past and Present* (*Gujin shuohai* 古今說海 SKQS 83.1-2). It is unclear whether the undertaking was ill-omened due to its connection to Lin Lingsu upon whom an inordinate amount of blame for the fall of the Northern Song was heaped, or because the palace attendants had overstepped their bounds in offering petitions.

<sup>256</sup> The Song of the Great Way (*Dadao ge* 大道歌) is found in *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master* (ZHDZ 26.136). The poem is also found in the late Yuan or early Ming dynasty compilation

In a year of terrible drought the Celestial Master was ordered to make a supplication for aid. It then rained for a period of three days. The title Grand Master of Great Vacuity was bestowed upon the Celestial Master but he did not accept the honor. The emperor then composed a poem and conferred it upon the Celestial Master.

In the second year of the Dagan reign era the Celestial Master returned to Dragon and Tiger Mountain.<sup>257</sup> The emperor presented a gift of gold and silks but the Celestial Master rejected the offerings with great insistence, saying, “I only have need for a single coarse robe. There is no sense in me accepting these gifts.”

The high ministers held a farewell feast for the Celestial Master. He clasped his hands in a gesture of appreciation to those present and said, “Gathering together and again dispersing; this is the root of the eternal principle. To exit and to remain; these are without a fixed schedule. This floating life rushes past. Each one of the ministers assembled here must exert himself to the utmost.”

Returning to Dragon and Tiger Mountain the Celestial Master addressed his disciples saying, “It is by the Yangtze and the Xiang that Shu is entered. There, the twenty-eight parishes are found. Taking the fork from the Qin River, we will return to Dragon and Tiger Mountain.”

---

*Collected Essential Sayings of the Gathered Immortals (Qunxian yaoyu zuanji 群仙要語纂集 HY 1247 ZHDZ 27.370-371).*

<sup>257</sup> 1108 C.E.

They crossed the Qin River on their way back to the mountain. In Xiyuan the Celestial Master resided in a hermitage. A placard which hung above the entrance read, “Primordial Chaos.”<sup>258</sup> In Jinyang, to the north of the Forest of the Refined Jade Terrace, there are five quatrains he composed as an expression of affection for Xiyuan.<sup>259</sup>

Once, Shi Zifang visited from Poyang and went travelling with the Celestial Master.<sup>260</sup> Their talks frequently concerned the transformations of life and death. Zifang said, “The totality of one’s constitution is obtained from Heaven. If one does not know life as good and death as evil then what is obtained from death?”

The Celestial Master replied, “This is not correct. You speak of obtaining your totality through Heaven. If this is so then what, in turn, does Heaven obtain its totality from? The true governor is not evident. Our nature and our comprehension arise jointly and a singular perfection is made evident. As the myriad *kalpa* are empty so too is Heaven without totality.” Zifang heard this and understood.

In the second year of the Zhenghe reign era an emissary was sent to summon the Celestial Master to court in order to dispel a pestilence.<sup>261</sup> The Master dispatched his

---

<sup>258</sup> Xiyuan 西源 is located on Lake Poyang in present-day Duchang County, Jiangxi.

<sup>259</sup>The nearest settlement to Dragon and Tiger Mountain was known as Upper Clarity Township (*Shangqing zhen* 上清镇) in the Song and Yuan dynasties. The name was changed to Jinyang 沂陽 early in the Ming dynasty and reverted to Upper Clarity Township prior to the Qing. A cycle of twelve poems written on Xiyuan is found in *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master* (ZHDZ 26.149-150).

<sup>260</sup> Shi Zifang 石自方 was a Song dynasty Daoist who hailed from the Poyang region of Jiangxi. His biography is found in the Southern Song *Illustrated Monograph of Cavern Emphyreans* (*Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖志 SKQS 5.24-25).

<sup>261</sup>1112 C.E.

disciple Wang Daojian and sent his regrets. Daojian spoke to the Emperor on the matter of cultivating virtue in order to avert disaster.<sup>262</sup>

The emperor commanded that Upper Clarity Belvedere be converted into a palace, bestowed upon Daojian the honorific Grand Master of Great Purity, and made him a keeper of records in the Hall for Concentrating the Spirit. The Emperor then ordered Daojian to perform a rite intended to ward off those disasters that might beset the nation. After the ritual was completed, Daojian returned to Dragon and Tiger Mountain by means of the Xu River.<sup>263</sup>

Wang Wenqing and others would reveal the Daoist arts in court and then return to seclusion.<sup>264</sup> They frequently journeyed to and fro between the mountains and the court and spent their days engaged in leisurely pursuits. In the breeze of dawn or at moonlit night, searching after height of profundity, pacing hither and yon while chanting and singing, each of the Daoists was self-content.

One day an inscription appeared on the wall of Composed Detachment Pavilion. It read: “The Scarlet Emperor mounts a dragon, piloting forth without descent. Heng’e

---

<sup>262</sup> Wang Daojian’s 王道堅 biography in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.31) contains an account of this encounter.

<sup>263</sup> The Xu River (*Xu jiang* 盱江) flows north from Guangchang County in southern Jiangxi through the province to the west of Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

<sup>264</sup> Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093-1153 C.E.) was a Daoist of Jianchang 建昌 in Jiangxi who served as Lin Lingsu’s successor as representative of Divine Empyrean Daoism (*Shenxiao* 神霄) at the court of Emperor Huizong. See, Florian C. Reiter, “Daoist Thunder Magic (*Wulei fa* 五雷法), Some Aspects of its Schemes, Historical Positions, and Developments,” in Florian C. Reiter, ed. *Foundations of Daoist Ritual: A Berlin Symposium*, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co., 2009): 27-47.

parts ways with the moon, entering the depths of the mountains.”<sup>265</sup> Among the people, none were able to fathom the meaning of this. While travelling in Magu, the Celestial Master rested at Pure Cloud Pavilion.<sup>266</sup> He sighed and said, “Walking to Penglai through clear and shallow waters. The mulberry fields have been reached.”<sup>267</sup> When the Jingkang incident occurred his words were verified.<sup>268</sup>

In the *bingwu* year Jin forces invaded Bianjing. The emperor and his father wished for a memorial from the Celestial Master and dispatched an envoy with an urgent

---

<sup>265</sup> The Scarlet Emperor is one of the Five Emperors (*Wudi* 五帝), personifications of each of the five phases and their correlated directions, seasons, elements, and so on. In *Scripture of the True Writs of the Five Ancients of the Primordial Beginning, Red Writings in Celestial Script on Jade Tablets* (*Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing* 元始五老赤書玉篇真文天書經) HY 22 ZHDZ 3.10) it is said, “Scarlet Emperor is the honorific of the Southern Perfected Venerable Lord of Cinnabar Numinosity of the Bright Yang of the Pure Jewel.” Heng’e 姮娥, also known as Chang’e 嫦娥 and Su’e 素娥 is a deity associated with the moon and the elixir of immortality. Various legends regarding her exploits are found in works as varied as *Huainan zi* 淮南子, *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhai jing* 山海經), and *Master Lü’s Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋) among other sources. Presumably the depiction of these figures in flight is meant to be an analogue to Emperor Huizong’s hasty abdication and flight from the capital.

<sup>266</sup> Mount Magu (*Magu shan* 麻姑山, in southwest Jiangxi, is associated with the transcendent Hemp Maiden (*Magu* 麻姑) and is traditionally held to be the site of her ascent. The origin of this association is not clear and another Mount Magu is found in what is present-day Anhui. An annotated translation of Magu’s hagiography as it appears in *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents* (*Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳) is found in Robert Ford Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 259-270.

<sup>267</sup> The Celestial Master’s cryptic statement concerning Penglai, a fabled isle of the transcendents, invokes an observation made by Magu in the *Traditions of Spirit Transcendents*. “Maid Ma declared: ‘Since I entered your service, I have seen the Eastern Sea turn to mulberry fields three times. As one proceeded across to Penglai, the water came only up to one’s waist. I wonder whether it will turn to dry land once again.’ Wang answered with a sigh, ‘Oh, the sages all say that the Eastern Sea will once again become blowing dust.’” Trans. Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 262. In the context of the Jingkang incident and the end of the Northern Song Magu’s observance on the cyclical nature of time is to be understood as a statement on the inevitability of one dynasty falling and giving rise to another.

<sup>268</sup> The Jingkang incident (*Jingkang zhi bian* 靖康之變) marked the humiliating end of the Northern Song dynasty when Jurchen troops sacked the Song capital of Bianjing 汴京, presently known as Kaifeng 開封, and captured Emperor Qinzong 欽宗 and his father Emperor Emeritus Huizong.

summons. Upon reaching the Belvedere of Celestial Blessings in Sizhou the Celestial Master took up his brush and composed the following ode: “One face of a bronze mirror with a patina of green, innumerable layers of mountains in cyan jade. The muddled red sky of night is diffused and traces of transcendence flit among the cavern heavens. Perfumed clouds mingle in the Treasure Hall. None are present. The myriad manifestations are at rest. The red sun descends behind the western mountains. Misty rain falls steadily.”<sup>269</sup> He finished writing and underwent transformation.

It was the twenty-third day of the eleventh month of the *bingwu* year of the Jingkang reign era.<sup>270</sup> On that day the capital was also ensnared. The Celestial Master’s uncle Zhang Xianshi, the Grand Master of Martial Merit, attended the internment service at the foot of Tortoise Mountain as did a varied crowd of officials and commoners.<sup>271</sup>

When the Celestial Master first visited the capital he encountered a pair of students at the Directorate of Education named Chen Dong and Yi Guan. They asked after their fates to which the Celestial Master responded, “Chen Dong, as a loyal minister your name will pass down through the generations and not fade. Yi Guan, you will take up take up a post as a district magistrate where you will meet your fated end.”

---

<sup>269</sup>Belvedere of Celestial Blessings (*Tianqing guan* 天慶觀) is a generalized term for state sanctioned Daoist administrative institutions found throughout the nation in the Song and Yuan dynasties. Xizhou 泗州 is located in the region of contemporary eastern Anhui and western Jiangsu.

<sup>270</sup>This date corresponds to December 8, 1126 C.E. which was towards the end of the second siege of Bianjing but not, according to official historical sources, the actual date on which the city fell.

<sup>271</sup>Grand Master of Martial Merit (*Wugong dafu* 武功大夫) was a rank office (*jieguan* 階官) or salaried prestige title initially granted by Song Huizong 徽宗 in the Zhenghe reign era (1111-1118 C.E.).

When Song Gaozong crossed over to the south Chen Dong sent up a petition beseeching the emperor to dismiss Huang Qianshan and Wang Boyan from office. For this act Chen Dong was executed.<sup>272</sup> Yi Guan took up a post as magistrate in the Taihe district. His family fell into poverty and within a year he had died.

In the *xinyou* year of the Shaoxing reign era, sixteen years after the Celestial Mater transformed, Sa Shoujian of Xihe was travelling in the region of Verdant Citadel Mountain.<sup>273</sup> He reached the mouth of a ravine when he encountered an individual who handed him a work containing instructions on the talismanic arts, *The Water Melody Lyric*, a sealed writ, and a single shoe.<sup>274</sup> It then dawned upon Sa Shoujian that his companion was the inheriting Celestial Master.

They arrived at the base of the mountain and the inheriting Celestial Master produced a writ which he divided. He gave one half to Sa Shoujian and kept the other himself. The writ contained instructions that his coffin in Xizhou was to be opened. This was done and the coffin was empty save for a single shoe. It was thus that all came to

---

<sup>272</sup> Chen Dong 陳東 was a student at the royal academy in Bianjing who in 1125 C.E. petitioned for the execution of a cabal of ministers that he dubbed the “Six Thieves” (*liuzei* 六賊) and accused of undermining the nation by putting personal gain ahead of resistance to Jurchen incursions. In 1127 C.E. he petitioned for the dismissal of a pair of powerful officials, Huang Qianshan 黃潛善 and Wang Boyan 汪伯彥, who favored maintaining the status quo with the Jin rather than pursuing a path of open resistance. Chen Dong was executed in 1130 C.E. for this act of impertinence though his reputation remained unsullied and the emperor granted him posthumous honorifics shortly after his execution. A lengthy biography of Chen Dong is found in *History of the Song* (SKQS 455.1-6).

<sup>273</sup> 1141 C.E.

<sup>274</sup> *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master* (ZHDZ 26.151) contains a “Water Melody Lyric,” (*Shuitiao getou* 水調歌頭) preceded by a note presumably written by the editor of the text, Zhang Yuchu, claiming that it is the same work as that bestowed upon Sa Shoujian.

know that he had obtained corpse liberation. Since that time the Celestial Master has been encountered at Mount Wuyi and Mount Luofu.<sup>275</sup>

Emperor Wuzong of the Yuan drafted a proclamation stating, “I have pondered meeting the Master of Broad Completion at Mount Kongtong and conversing on the wondrousness of form and spirit. Geng Sanchu lived on Mount Weilei.<sup>276</sup> There, a flourish of rites was undertaken and sacrifices were offered. Thus it is that successive generations of eminent descendants have dwelt in the true customs. It is thus suitable that I grant a title to the Celestial Master in order to offer my veneration to this current generation. I therefore entitle Zhang Jixian as the Prior Born, the Inheriting Celestial Master of the Thirtieth Generation. His mind is settled and steeped in stillness. His virtuous nature is purely harmonized. The Way is massed emptiness and so it is known as mysterious. The mysterious is in constant motion and so it is settled.

When the ruler of the Song made leisurely inquiries into the Way the Master did his utmost to set forth the clear and pure teachings of Lord Lao. The spirit obtains unity through numinosity and so it is that supplications and offerings are met with response.<sup>277</sup>

---

<sup>275</sup> Mount Wuyi (*Wuyi shan* 武夷山) is in northwest Fujian province near the Jiangxi border. It is the site of Bai Yuchan’s hermitage and the site of one of the seventy-two grotto heavens. Mount Luofu (*Luofu shan* 羅浮山) in contemporary Guangdong is known to tradition as the residence of Ge Hong 葛洪 and the site of his final alchemical experiments.

<sup>276</sup> Geng Sanchu 庚桑楚 is the titular figure of one of the miscellaneous chapters of the *Zhuangzi*. He is identified as a disciple of Laozi.

<sup>277</sup> “The spirit obtains unity through numinosity,” (*Shen deyi yiling* 神得一以靈) is a phrase drawn from chapter thirty-nine of the *Daode jing*.



Things return to their root and this is called stillness.<sup>278</sup> Refined pneuma is alone among substances in that it long endures.

The hereditary rank in the Bureaus of Transcendence and the inherited reputation of the ancestral pedigree is supplemented by the Celestial Master. As the feathered ones flood the sunlit valley will their thoughts dwell on the lofty traces of the ancestors? Mounted on a white cloud he returns to the old homeland. The basis of the lineage is found in taking up the charge of those who came before. Zhang Jixian is thus enfeoffed as the Perfected Sovereign of Vast Realization who Comprehends the Mystery of Void Tranquility.”

The avoidance name of the thirty-first Celestial Master was Shixia. His style name was Chaoying. He was the grandson of the twenty-seventh generation Celestial Master Zhang Xiangzhong and the son of Zhang Dunzhi.<sup>279</sup>

Zhang Xujing had never married and was without sons. He had a brother named Yuanzong who was a student of the Way. It was intended for Yuanzong to inherit the teachings but he underwent his transformation while still in his youth. When Xujing was travelling in Xizhou he made ready to bestow the seal, sword, scriptures, and tallies of the lineage on Chaoying. Those assembled urged Chaoying to inherit the teaching but Chaoying spoke up saying, “Jixian, you are my nephew. How is it that I should be your

---

<sup>278</sup> “When things return to their root this is called stillness,” (*wu guigen yue jing* 物歸根曰靜) is drawn from chapter sixteen of the *Daode jing*.

<sup>279</sup> Zhang Shixiu’s 張時修 father Zhang Dunzhi 張敦直 is one of four sons of the twenty-seventh Celestial Master to appear in historical sources. The others are Zhang Dunhou 張敦后, Zhang Dunxin 張敦信, and the twenty-eighth Celestial Master Zhang Dunfu. In *Comprehensive Mirror* (ZHDZ 47.350) Zhang Shixiu is listed simply as a descendent of the twenty-seventh Celestial Master.

successor?”<sup>280</sup> Those assembled said, “The basis of your authority is found in these emblems of office. It follows that you must inherit the teachings.”

The Celestial Master lived in tranquil reclusion and set his will set on self-cultivation and refinement. At sixty-one years of age he underwent his transformation. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Bright Realization of the Vast Transformations of Upright Unity.

The avoidance name of the thirty-second generation Celestial Master was Shouzhen. His style name was Zunyi. His mother, a woman of the Wu family, gave birth to him after nineteen months of pregnancy.<sup>281</sup> He inherited the teachings in the tenth year Shaoxing reign era of the Song dynasty.<sup>282</sup>

In the sixth year of the Qiandao reign era the Celestial Master was summoned to Piling in order to subdue a malevolent sprite that had taken possession of a tree.<sup>283</sup> He duly went forth and extracted the sprite from its tree by means of a bolt of lightning. In recognition of this deed the Celestial Master was summoned to court and granted the title Prior Born of Upright Response.

---

<sup>280</sup> The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.16) identifies Zhang Shixiu as the youngest uncle (*Jifu* 季父) of Zhang Jixian.

<sup>281</sup> The *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.350) does not speak of his lengthy gestation but says that mother had a strange dream of a transcendent who told her that she would give birth to one who would take up the seal of Yangping Parish.

<sup>282</sup> 1140 C.E.

<sup>283</sup> 1170 C.E. Piling 毗陵 is located in present day Changzhou, to the west on Nanjing in southwestern Jiangsu province.

Emperor Gaozong summoned him to an audience in order to request instruction in the methods of the Way. In the time of Emperor Xiaozong the waters of the Yangzi rushed and swelled, breaching their banks.<sup>284</sup> The emperor ordered Shouzhen to perform a ritual of libation in the inner court. It was met with an extraordinary response. Xiaozong accordingly bestowed upon the Celestial Master an ivory tablet, a jeweled sword, the scripture *Clarity and Quiescence* and a *yin* talisman. He was granted the title Prior Born of Upright Response.

On the thirtieth day of the tenth month of the third year of the Chunxi reign era the Celestial Master spoke to his disciples saying, “I have received word from my elder, Zhang Xujing. We have an appointment at Verdant Citadel Mountain and so I must depart.” The Celestial Master finished speaking and underwent his transformation.<sup>285</sup> His shed husk was interred to the west of the Belvedere for the Performance of Rites.

Emperor Xiaozong made a declaration which read, “Zhang Shouzhen was the thirty-second generation inheriting descendent of the Han Celestial Master. He carried forth the undertaking of his ancestors. For tens of generations of continuous succession the line has not perished. This is extraordinary! You have previously been conferred an honorific. In the past you were granted the title Prior Born of Upright Response. Now, I

---

<sup>284</sup> In 1128 C.E. the Song general Du Chong 杜充 intentionally broke the levees of the Yellow River in an attempt to block the Jurchen advance. This caused the course of the river to shift and resulted in floods over the next several decades until the Yuan dynasty undertook a project of restoration.

<sup>285</sup> The given date for the Celestial Master’s transformation corresponds to December 2, 1176 C.E.

will again confer a title upon you, that of Perfected Sovereign of Upright Response who Venerates Emptiness and Shining Wondrousness.”<sup>286</sup>

The avoidance name of the thirty-third generation Celestial Master was Jingyuan. His style name was Dejing. He was formerly named Bojing. In the Qiandao reign era he accompanied his father as a servant at the Song court. Emperor Gaozong found him to be an extraordinary individual and so changed his name.<sup>287</sup>

Jingyuan once performed a rite of libation in the inner court that was greatly efficacious. Consequently, when the emperor’s son, the Prince of Wei, fell ill while in command of Ming Prefecture the Celestial Master was dispatched to establish an altar and make supplications.<sup>288</sup> When the rite was complete, the prince was given talisman water which he drank whereupon he swiftly recovered. The Celestial Master was showered with rich rewards in thanks for his service.

An envoy was again dispatched, this time to offer Jingyuan an official post. As soon as the messenger arrived at the gates the Celestial Master hastily convened his disciples and said, “The time for me to achieve transcendence has arrived. I cannot fail to keep this appointment.” Thereupon he reclined and immediately transformed. His sword

---

<sup>286</sup> The emperor is mistakenly named here as Yuan Xiaozong 元孝宗. There was no such emperor. Other sources on the thirty-second Celestial Master as well as the chronology of the present text make it apparent that the emperor responsible for the declaration is Song Xiaozong 宋孝宗 (r.1163-1189 C.E.).

<sup>287</sup> Hagiographical sources are in agreement that the Celestial Master was originally named Bojing 伯璟 but that he was renamed Jingyuan 景淵 by Song Gaozong 宋高宗 when he was called to court with his father as a boy.

<sup>288</sup> Emperor Xiaozong’s son Zhao Dun 趙惇 held the title Prince of Wei 魏王 prior to his reign as Song Guangzong 宋光宗 from 1189 until his abdication in 1194 C.E. Ming Prefecture (*Ming zhou* 明州) is a former name for Ningbo in Zhejiang.

was buried at Upper Clarity Palace, the font of the lineage. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign Who Penetrates the Way and Venerates the Perfection of Great Purity.

The avoidance name of the surrogate Celestial Master was Cixian.<sup>289</sup> His style name was Guangzu. In the *guisi* year of the Qiandao reign era his elder brother Jingyuan took him on as a disciple.<sup>290</sup> At nineteen years of age he inherited the teachings. In the Chongning reign era he was summoned to court in order to pay tribute to the emperor.<sup>291</sup> Prince Jingxian composed a piece of calligraphy reading “Woodsman in Reclusion” which he gifted to the surrogate Celestial Master.

He carried out the teachings for twelve years at which time it was agreed upon that the son of Zhang Jingyuan should inherit the mantle of Celestial Master. And so the seal, sword, and tallies were granted to the surrogate Celestial Master’s nephew Qingxian. Cixian went into reclusion where he took joy in the Way and eventually passed on.

The avoidance name of the thirty-fourth Celestial Master was Qingxian. His style name was Shaozu. He was the son of Zhang Deying. Prior to Qingxian’s birth, Deying’s younger brother Cixian was temporarily given charge over the teachings. In the *xinyou*

---

<sup>289</sup> Zhang Cixian 張嗣先 is said to have served as surrogate Celestial Master during the minority of his successor in the *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.350-351) and the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (13.17).

<sup>290</sup> 1173 C.E.

<sup>291</sup> This is likely a mistaken transcription; the Chongning reign era of Song Huizong corresponds to the years 1102 to 1106 C.E., presumably several decades before the birth of the surrogate Celestial Master.

year of the Jiatai reign era Qingxian inherited the teachings.<sup>292</sup> His nature was one of kindness and generosity towards all of those in need. He transmitted the scriptures and talismans in order to broadly benefit the people. Moreover, he could drink several *dou* of liquor without becoming inebriated.

Once, while wandering in Duke Zhang's Cavern, Qingxian came across a fathomless well. He playfully tossed a leaf into the depths of the well whereupon a great wave rushed up and surged forth violently. An old man emerged from within the well. The Celestial Master bowed and then admonished him against causing droughts and floods.<sup>293</sup> On the twenty-second day of the tenth month of the second year of the Jiading reign era a certain Daoist came to pay his respects to the Celestial Master.<sup>294</sup> His expression of veneration was deeply reverent and after he left the Celestial Master spoke to his disciples, saying "We have a deep covenant." Seven days passed and at sunrise the Celestial Master reclined and transformed. In the thirteenth year of the Zhizheng reign era of the Yuan dynasty he was granted the title Perfected Sovereign of Shining Transformation, Perfected Wondrousness, who Venerates Vacuity.

The thirty-fifth Celestial Master's avoidance name was Keda. His style name was Zixian. His great grandfather was the thirty-second Celestial Master Shouzhen. His grandfather was Boyu, the second son of Shouzhen. In the immediate wake of

---

<sup>292</sup> 1201 C.E.

<sup>293</sup> It is unclear if the figure in this anecdote is meant to be Zhang Guolao himself. He is best known for the ability to travel great distances on the back of a mule that he would then fold up and store in his robes and is something of a trickster but is not said to engage in malicious acts such as causing floods or droughts.

<sup>294</sup> November 20, 1209 C.E.

Jingyuan's death Boyu took charge of affairs related to the teachings. When Qingxian passed on and his eldest son Chengda was yet in his minority Keda's father Tianlin took charge of affairs related to the teachings. Emperor Ningzong summoned Tianlin to court and granted him the title Prior Born of Humane Tranquility. Not long thereafter Chengda passed away at a young age and so Keda succeeded Qingxian as Celestial Master. In the third year of the Shaoding reign era the Prior Born of Humane Tranquility passed away. Keda ascended to the rank of Celestial Master at twelve years of age.<sup>295</sup>

At the time the Poyang River had flooded and was wreaking havoc on the people and destroying their homes. Superintendent Judicial Commissioner Yuan requested that the Celestial Master control the flood. He threw a talisman into the water and lightning struck the surface killing a giant white serpent. The waters then receded. Yuan composed a poem for the Celestial Master out of gratitude.

In the midst of the Duanping reign era the Celestial Master was summoned to court and granted an endowment for the production of scriptures.<sup>296</sup> In the third year of the Jiayi reign era the waters of the Qiantang River swelled up and surged to the Genshan Gate.<sup>297</sup> The people's houses were inundated and the Celestial Master was called upon

---

<sup>295</sup> This somewhat convoluted account of how the thirty-fifth Celestial Master came to accept the mantle tallies with those found in *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* (ZHDZ 47.351) and *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.17). The former source adds the detail that Keda was the second son of Tianlin and states that he ascended to the rank of Celestial Master at the age of thirteen and not, as is said here, twelve. Nothing is said of his older brother's fate.

<sup>296</sup> 1234-1237 C.E. *Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Transcendents* holds that he was granted a gift of cash for the cutting of replacement blocks for the printing of registers in the third year of the Duanping reign era (1236 C.E.).

<sup>297</sup> The third year of the Jiayi reign era corresponds to 1239 C.E. The Qiantang 錢塘 originates at the borders of Anhui and Jiangxi where it is called the Fuchun River 富春. It flows eastward through Zhejiang

to control the waters. He threw an iron talisman into the midst of the waters and the waves retreated.

Once there was a great drought which coincided with a locust infestation. The emperor ordered a rite of libation at the Palace of the Grand Monad.<sup>298</sup> The Celestial Master performed the ritual and the locusts were drowned by the ensuing rain.

In the seventh month the emperor again summoned the Celestial Master and granted him the title Prior Born who Surveys Wondrousness. He was charged with command over the talismans and registers of the three mountains. He was called before the throne and given command over the religious affairs of all palaces and belvederes and made abbot of Wheeling Dragon Palace. The Perfected Virtue Belvedere was refurbished and the Celestial Master was further gifted several *qing* of fields for which he was granted an exemption from land taxes.<sup>299</sup>

The emperor composed placards for Perfected Breeze Hall, Purple Tenuity Pavillion, and Perfected Virtue Belvedere.<sup>300</sup> The emperor also added to the

---

to Hangzhou and discharges into the East China Sea. The Genshan Gate (*Genshan men* 艮山門) was the northeastern city gate of Hangzhou.

<sup>298</sup> The temple is located in the Southern Song capital of Lin'an.

<sup>299</sup>In the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* it is noted that construction on Perfected Virtue Belvedere (*Zhenhuan guan* 真懿觀) took place in the Jiaxi reign era (SDSY 13.10). A *qing* 頃 is equivalent to approximately 16.5 acres.

<sup>300</sup> The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.9) records a placard composed by Song Lizong being gifted to Perfected Breeze Hall (*Zhenfeng dian* 真風殿). It was located in the Upper Clarity Palace complex and housed images of the ancestral, inheriting, and succeeding masters (i.e. Zhang Daoling, Zhang Heng, and Zhang Lu). Purple Tenuity Pavillion (*Ziwei ge* 紫微閣) was no longer extant as of the time that the Ming dynasty revision of the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* was compiled. In that source it is



appointments of the ancestral master, Commanders Guan and Shi, and the Spirit of the Dragon Well, among others.

Emperor Shizu of the Yuan dispatched an envoy to consult with the Celestial Master as he hoped to be granted an exposition on the numinous. That which was spoken of came to pass at a latter time.

In the fourth month of the fourth year of the Jingding reign era the Celestial Master took up his sword and seals and handed them to his successor and son Zhang Zongyan.<sup>301</sup> The Celestial Master then bade him farewell and underwent his transformation. He was memorialized by the Prime Minister Jiang Wanli and his sword was buried at Ruiqing Belvedere.<sup>302</sup>

Emperor Shizu of the Yuan dynasty made a proclamation stating, “The Way is the constant principle of heaven and earth. Its wondrousness is enjoined with the creation and transformation of the renowned. Held in common both in the past and at present, it is to be offered great veneration and praise.

The thirty-fifth generation descendent of the Han Celestial Master, the Prior Born who Surveys Wondrousness, Zhang Keda, wears the tallies of the three mysteries at his

---

said that Song Lizong once composed a placard for the pavilion which formerly stood at the site of Upright Unity Temple (*Zhengyi tang* 正一堂) to the north of the Perfected Breeze Hall (SDSY 13.9).

<sup>301</sup> 1263 C.E. The fourth year of the Jingding reign era of Song Lizong was also the fourth year of the Zhongtong reign era of Yuan Shizu.

<sup>302</sup> Jiang Wanli 江萬里 (d. 1275 C.E.) was a native of what is presently Duchang in northern Jiangxi province and was the founder of Luzhou Academy (*Luzhou shu yuan* 鷺洲書院), one of the four great learning centers of Jiangxi located in what is presently Ji'an. His biography is found in the *History of the Song* (SKQS 418.11-18).

waist and is renowned throughout the eight directions.<sup>303</sup> His accumulated merits and gathered efforts arise from that which is subtle and formless. That his entreaties bring rain and cause the waves to retreat is naught but the dirt and dregs.<sup>304</sup> The former rulers of bygone times dispatched envoys to the Pearl Court prior to ascending the throne. They knew that Heaven's mandate was in reciprocation with them through their receipt of silent numinous discourse.

By means of that which is called sagely brightness all the world is unified. This is evident. After twenty years the spirit and Way are joined and all that was to come to pass has been fathomed.<sup>305</sup> In the present there is contentment in what was distantly an aspiration. This tallies with what was previously stated.

His regards are set on the perfected journey. Is this not extraordinary profundity? The inheriting master Zhang Yudi is capable of carrying forth the ancestral customs. The patriarch Liusun has complete command over the Mysterious Teachings.<sup>306</sup> The blessings

---

<sup>303</sup> The term “three mysteries” (*sanxuan* 三玄) is likely meant to invoke the sun, moon, and stars in this case as such a reading corresponds to the theme of geographic universality evoked by the eight directions (*baji* 八極).

<sup>304</sup> This is an echo of the “Kings who Yield the Throne” (*Rangwang* 讓王) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. “The true purpose of the Way is in governing the individual. Its residue is applied to the governance of nations and households. The governance of the world is but the dirt and dregs of it.”

<sup>305</sup> This is apparently the amount of time that has passed since Emperor Shixu's initial encounter with the Celestial Master.

<sup>306</sup> Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1247-1322 C.E.) was a Daoist of Dragon and Tiger Mountain who accompanied the thirty-sixth Celestial Master to court in 1276 C.E. When the Celestial Master returned to the mountain Liusun remained in the emperor's service. The *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 202.15) records that in 1278 C.E. Zhang Liusun was offered the title of Celestial Master by Emperor Shizu but refused the honor and was made head of the newly established school of Mysterious Teachings (*Xuanjiao* 玄教).

of Jiqiu are established and the name Perfected Unity is added to them.<sup>307</sup> Ah! Caps and gowns are the boon sought by those who are lacking.<sup>308</sup> The cloudy carriage draws near and the one to whom it is granted has yet to extend himself.<sup>309</sup> I bestow the title Perfected Sovereign who Surveys Wondrousness, Exceeds the Mysterious and Transforms Responsively.”

The avoidance name of the thirty-sixth generation Celestial Master was Zongyan. His style name was Shichuan. He was titled Jianzhai. By nature he was tranquil and indifferent to renown. He exhibited great intelligence in his youth and at the age of nineteen he inherited the teachings.

In the Xianchun reign era of the Song dynasty Shangrao in Xinzhou Prefecture was afflicted by a drought.<sup>310</sup> The Prefect Tang Zhen requested that the Celestial Master perform a rainmaking rite.<sup>311</sup> The ritual was met with immediate response.

---

<sup>307</sup> The *Arrayed Biographies of Transcendents* (*Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 SKQS 1.19) of the first century B.C.E. includes a biography of Sovereign Jiqiu (*Jiqiu jun* 稷邱君) a Daoist recluse on Mount Tai who was sought out by Han Wudi.

<sup>308</sup> This sentiment is ambiguously phrased but appears to appeal to the conventional wisdom that those who seek office for their own sake are morally inferior to those who take on the responsibility of governance only with reluctance and as a burdensome moral duty.

<sup>309</sup> The cloudy carriage (*Yun xuan* 雲軒) has a dual meaning referring to both the conveyance of transcendents and the imperial carriage.

<sup>310</sup> The Xianchun era encompasses the entirety of Song Duzong's 宋度宗 reign (1265-1275 C.E.). Shangrao 上饒 is located in the region of contemporary Shangrao city in northern Jiangxi.

<sup>311</sup> The biography of Tang Zhen 唐震 in the *History of the Song* (SKQS 450.17) tells of his efforts at mitigating the effects of a drought in Xinzhou during the sixth year of the Xianchun reign era (1270 C.E.). It is said that he oversaw the importation of emergency grain to the afflicted region but no mention is made of the Celestial Master's assistance.

At the time when Yuan Shizong pacified the Song he dispatched an envoy with a declaration of privilege. The Celestial Master was summoned to court and officials were ordered to receive him in the suburbs and greet him with the courtesies that are a guest's due.<sup>312</sup> The Celestial Master entered the court and offered his advisement. In the sixth month the Celestial Master performed a rite of libation in the inner court.

The following year he was again called upon and performed a libation at the Palace of Eternal Spring.<sup>313</sup> He was granted the title Perfected who Harmonizes Numinous Response and Enacts the Way, and was granted a pair of silver seals. The Celestial Master was given command over Daoist activity in the Jiangnan region and granted the authority to ordain individuals as Daoists at his own discretion. At the circuit level, an office for the registration of Daoists was established. At the prefectural level, an office for the regulation of Daoists was established. At the county level, an office for the regulation of ceremonies was established. All were placed under the Celestial Master's command.<sup>314</sup>

---

<sup>312</sup> The *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 9.10-11) indicates that Zhang Zongyan was first summoned to court on the *renwu* 壬午 day of the fourth month of the thirteenth year of the Zhiyuan reign era (June 1, 1276 C.E.).

<sup>313</sup> The Palace of Eternal Spring (*Changchun gong* 長春宮), named in honor of Qiu Chuji 丘處機, the Complete Perfection (*Quanzhen* 全真) patriarch who was also known by the honorific Master Eternal Spring (*Changchun zi* 長春子). It was located in the temple complex in Beijing where White Cloud Belvedere (*Baiyun guan* 白雲觀) currently stands. The palace was destroyed in the Ming dynasty. The *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 9.19) indicates that the Celestial Master was summoned to the Palace of Eternal Spring on the *jiwei* day of the first month of the fourteenth year of the Zhiyuan reign era (March 5, 1277 C.E.) to perform a Libation of the Circuit of Heaven (*Zhoutian zhai* 周天醮). The twelfth century *Biography of the Perfected Lord who Assists Sanctity and Guards Virtue* (*Yisheng baode zhuan* 翊聖保德傳 HY 1285 ZHDZ 46.372) by Wang Qinruo 王欽若 lists a Great Libation of the Circuit of Heaven (*Zhoutian dajiao* 周天大醮) as one of three types of libation offered for the benefit of the nation.

<sup>314</sup> The *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 9.19) recounts a summons on the *bingshen* day of the first month of the fourteenth year of the Zhiyuan reign era (February 10, 1277). The title given here is corroborated in that

The emperor decreed all palaces and belvederes in the Jiangnan region to be exempt of taxation and corvee obligations. In the capital, the Venerating Perfection Myriad Longevity Palace was established and its disciples were made subordinate to Zhang Liusun.<sup>315</sup> Later, the Celestial Master twice more responded to imperial summons and was granted further courtesies.<sup>316</sup>

One day a person of the Way came to pay respects and informed the Celestial Master that he had an appointment with the Jade Rabbit.<sup>317</sup> On the eleventh day of the eleventh month of the *xinmao* year of the Zhiyuan reign era the white rabbit appeared.<sup>318</sup> The Celestial Master spoke to his disciples saying, “I was born on the day of a bright moon and now I will depart on the day of a bright moon.” Thereupon he composed an ode and transformed. His sword was buried at the Crabfield Font.<sup>319</sup> He was later

---

source and it is said that he was charged with the position of Director of Daoist Teachings for the Various Routes of Jiangnan (*Ling Jiangnan zhulu Daojiao* 領江南諸路道教). No mention is made of a right to invest new Daoists in that source and nothing is said of the structure of the bureaucracy he oversaw.

<sup>315</sup> The *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 202.15) relates that Emperor Shizu ordered the construction of a Venerating Perfection Palace (*Chongzhen gong* 崇真宮) in each of the two capitals.

<sup>316</sup> The *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 11.9) reports that the Celestial Master was again called to the capital on the *jiashen* day of the tenth month of the seventeenth year of the Zhiyuan reign era (November 9, 1280 C.E.). The same source reports that he was also summoned on the first day of the second month of the twenty-fourth year of the Zhiyuan reign era (February 14, 1287) in order to perform a libation together with the patriarchs of Mount Gezao and Mount Mao (SKQS 14.19).

<sup>317</sup> The Jade Rabbit (*Yutu* 玉兔) refers to the mythological being said to refine the elixir of immortality on the moon and is also a term for the moon itself as paired with the Golden Crow (*Jinwu* 金烏) which is representative of the sun.

<sup>318</sup> December 2, 1291 C.E. *Mao* 卯, the fourth of the twelve terrestrial branches (*dizhi* 地支) is associated with the rabbit in the Chinese zodiac.

<sup>319</sup> Crabfield Font (*Xietian yuan* 蟹田源) is not mentioned elsewhere in hagiographical material on Zhang Zongyan and is not a location in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*.

granted the posthumous title Perfected Sovereign of Mysterious Quiescence, the Perfected who Harmonizes Numinous Response and Enacts the Way.

Emperor Shizu of the Yuan made a proclamation stating, “I address the Zhang Celestial Master of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Your ancestor Daoling exerted his will with a singular focus. He received the methods and talismans and transmitted them according to orthodox practice. This is eminently evident and verifiable. The teachings have flowed forth and spread down to the present day. They have been carried on by his descendants for tens of generations and more than two thousand years. Although your lofty reputation was known to me, the two nations broke off ties and so it would have been premature to call for you.

Recently, the moral capacity of the ruler of the Song has been found wanting. I held back my messengers and have long waited without dispatching envoys. And so now I command Bayan, Assistant Director of the Left of the Secretariat to lead troops on a southern campaign.<sup>320</sup> With Heaven’s assent the great river is already in my possession and north and south are united as a single household.

Now I have dispatched the Court Strategist General of the Military Bureau Wang Shiyong and Court Strategist General of the Ministry of Justice Xiao Yuze with a summons. You have not taken a change in ruler as a pretext for allowing suspicion and

---

<sup>320</sup> Bayan 伯顏, transcribed here as 伯頑, refers to Bayan of the Baarin, the general who commanded Kublai Khan’s troops during the final conquest of the Song dynasty.

disloyalty to arise.<sup>321</sup> From the Eastern Han onwards, passing through fifteen ruling houses, your ancestors have rendered their service. None among them were not devoted the public good and none harbored partisan convictions.

Heaven is without selfish motives. Its charge is not fixed. You have knowledge of the Way and are of a tranquil mind as a consequence. To move forward with commands when it is appropriate to do so is to be without modest refusal of office. And so I presently grant this decree so that all may know of this and have reverence.”

Emperor Shizong of the Yuan made a declaration stating, “The thirty-sixth generation Celestial Master Zhang Zongyan, you have passed on the methods of the lineage. Pure form and perfected tradition are found in the materials of the *Yellow Court* and the *Vast Cavern*.<sup>322</sup> You take hold of the registers of the Covenant with the Powers of Orthodox Unity, and so there is clarity and there is purity as well as veracity and honesty. With the three *chi* Green Serpent you cause the ghosts and spirits to banish themselves to darkness and desolation.<sup>323</sup> With a cup of bright water, you purify heaven borne

---

<sup>321</sup> The *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 8.27) reports that a Director of the Military Bureau (*Bingbu langzhong* 兵部郎中) named Wang Shiyong 王世英 and a Director of the Bureau of Punishments (*Xingbu langzhong* 刑部郎中) named Xiao Yu 蕭郁 summoned Zhang Zongyan to court. Zongyan is mistakenly identified as the fortieth lineal Celestial Master.

<sup>322</sup> The *Yellow Court* (*Huangting* 黃庭) and the *Great Cavern* (*Dadong* 大洞) may refer to two texts by Wei Huacun 魏華存, the eminent third century female Daoist and founding matriarch of Upper Clarity Daoism (*Shangqing* 上清); *Perfected Scripture of the Great Cavern of Upper Clarity* (*Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 上清大洞真經 HY 6 ZHDZ 1.1-47), and *Jade Scripture of the Inner Landscape of the Yellow Court* (*Huangting neijing yujing* 黃庭內景玉經 HY 331 ZHDZ 23.1-7). Both of these texts are in the Upper Clarity corpus rather than that of the Celestial Masters and so it is not clear why they are singled out for invocation in the present context.

<sup>323</sup> The Green Serpent is not a literal snake but rather an exorcistic sword wielded by the Celestial Master. See, among other sources, a fragment of the *Classic of Dragon and Tiger [Mountain]* (*Longhu jing* 龍虎經) quoted in *Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection* (ZHDZ 19.813).

calamities both near and far.<sup>324</sup> The work of deliverance is consequently broadly enacted. And so it is appropriate for you to be granted a title of praise and commendation. Thus, I grant you the title Perfected who Harmonizes Numinous Response and Enacts the Way.”

Emperor Chengzong of the Yuan made a declaration stating, “Gai Gong encountered the Han and serenely declined the summons to Haishang.<sup>325</sup> Sima of the Tang responded to the invitation of Tiantai.<sup>326</sup> According to the great scholars of old, many traces are to be found on the renowned mountains that are only made apparent at the suitable time and in a proper manner.

The thirty-sixth generation Celestial Master, the Perfected who Harmonizes Numinous Response and Enacts the Way, has jurisdiction over Daoist affairs in all circuits throughout Jiangnan. Zhang Zongyan graciously promulgates the sect of transcendent numinosity. He studiously seeks out the merit of fixed tranquility. From the time that royal armies first looked down over Ezhu, the wondrous Way has reached the ears of the world’s ruler.<sup>327</sup>

An imperial decree was fixed with sealant, stamped with a cloud script seal, and sent down to Jiangnan. Gold robes, a jade cap, and a princely chariot; these three items

---

<sup>324</sup>Bright water (*mingshui* 明水) is a liquid used in rites of libation. The term is found as early as the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記).

<sup>325</sup> Gai Gong 蓋公 was a Huang Lao philosopher of the early Han who advised the statesman Cao Shen 曹參 to enact a policy of governance through effortless action. See, *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 54.2029).

<sup>326</sup> This refers to Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647-735 C.E.) the twelfth patriarch of Upper Clarity Daoism.

<sup>327</sup> Ezhu 鄂渚 is located in the vicinity of Wuhan in Hubei. It was the staging ground for a southward campaign against the forces of the Song in 1259 C.E.



were received together with a sagely scroll. The customs of your ancestor are supplemented and lifted up. The mysterious teachings are augmented and brightened. Casting off thought and wandering in transcendence, it is right that condolence for the deceased be expressed. Therefore you are granted a title of ascended grade and granted a further honorific.

Ah! Jingyang was versed in the arts of subduing dragons.<sup>328</sup> Virtue is bequeathed to those righteous descendants. They reside at Gushe and avoid disease and pestilence.<sup>329</sup> This benefit they disseminate and grant to the ranks of the common people.<sup>330</sup> Thus, I grant you the title Perfected Sovereign of Mysterious Quiescence who Harmonizes Numinous Response and Enacts the Way.”

The avoidance name of the thirty-seventh generation Celestial Master was Yudi. His style name was Guohua, and he was titled Master of Rare Tenuity. He was

---

<sup>328</sup> Jingyang 旌陽 is Xu Xun who was a magistrate of Jingyan in the late third century C.E. and a dragon catcher in his spare time. He is said to have ascended from the Western Hills (*Xishan* 西山) in the vicinity of Nanchang, Jiangxi in 292 C.E. He is the patriarch of the Way of Purity and Brightness, a movement centered at the Myriad Longevity Palace (*Wanshou gong* 萬壽宮) in Western Hills. Twenty-seven works associated with the movement are found in the Daoist Canon. The most notable among them is the comprehensive hagiographical and philosophical compendium *Complete Writings of the Way of Purity and Brightness, Loyalty and Filiality* (*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 淨明忠孝全書 HY 1102 ZHDZ 31.567-603). It is not clear why he is invoked here.

<sup>329</sup> Gushe 姑射 is a mountain to the west of Linfen in contemporary Shanxi. More importantly, it is home to the spirit-like person in the “Free and Easy Wandering” chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. Among his attributes is an ability to avoid disease and pestilence (*Cili* 疵癘). Emperor Chengzong is here apparently likening the peaceful reclusion of that figure to that of the Celestial Master’s descendants.

<sup>330</sup> This echoes a phrase from the *Great Plan* (*Hongfan* 洪範) in which the sovereign is said to concentrate in his own person the five sources of good fortune (*wufu* 五福) which he then diffuses to the people (*yong fuxi jue shumin* 用敷錫厥庶民).

profoundly tranquil and taciturn. Thoroughly versed in the three teachings, he produced several thousand words of poetry and prose.

When he had just come of age and was yet in his father's service Yudi joined him in paying tribute to the court. His demeanor was bright and genial and he was quick and clever with his responses. Time and again the emperor sighed in wonder at his precociousness.

In the *xinmao* year of the Zhiyuan reign era he inherited the teachings.<sup>331</sup> He responded when summoned to court and was granted an audience seated before the emperor. Shizu extended his highest regards and granted the Celestial Master the title Perfected of the Broad Teachings of the Vast Way that Embodies the Mysterious. The Celestial Master was also given command over Daoist Affairs in all of the circuits of Jiangnan.

When Emperor Chengzong ascended the throne the Celestial Master was again summoned to court. He was commanded to perform rites of libation at the Round Hall and the Palace of Eternal Spring.<sup>332</sup> It was commanded that the entirety of the empire follow the Celestial Master's ritual protocols and each Belvedere of Celestial Blessing in

---

<sup>331</sup> 1291 C.E. The *History of the Yuan* records that Zhang Yudi was called to court on the occasion of his ascent to the position of Celestial Master on the *guimao* day of the first month of the twenty-ninth year of the Zhiyuan reign era (January 30, 1292 C.E.) (SKQS 17.3).

<sup>332</sup> The *History of the Yuan* records that the Celestial Master was summoned to court shortly after Chengzong ascended the throne in order to perform a rite of libation in the company of twelve other masters including the Patriarch of the Mysterious Teachings Zhang Liusun and Zhang Zhixian 張志仙 who was a descendent of the Complete Perfection patriarch Qiu Chuji (SKQS 18.15-16).

every circuit throughout the empire was converted to a Belvedere of Mysterious Wonder.<sup>333</sup>

One day the Celestial Master suddenly addressed his disciples saying, “The flavor of this world is plain and bland. Presently I have dwelt in the capital for a prolonged spell even though it does not suit my own disposition.” He requested permission to return to the mountain but was not permitted to do so. The following month he underwent transformation at Venerating Perfection Palace. Envoys were dispatched to escort his coffin back to the mountain. The emperor ordered court ministers to perform a service of remembrance and veneration at the gates of the capital after which the Celestial Master was interred at Jade Field.<sup>334</sup>

Emperor Shizu of the Yuan made a declaration stating, “Zhang Yudi, the thirty-seventh generation descendent of the Han Celestial Master, capably succeeded his father, the Perfected Sovereign of Mysterious Quiescence who Harmonizes Numinous Response and Enacts the Way. He transmitted the methods of the lineage and shed light on the abstruse traditions. As such, Zhang Yudi is rightly granted receipt of the preceding memorial.”

Emperor Shizu of the Yuan made a proclamation declaring, “Zhang Yudi, the thirty-seventh generation descendant of the Han Celestial Master, your celebrated

---

<sup>333</sup> This is corroborated in the *History of the Yuan* where the rationale behind the action is explained in further detail. The change in site names was an aspect of a campaign of ritual renewal that saw the destruction of sites where Song Emperor Taizu was venerated (SKQS 18.21-22).

<sup>334</sup> Jade Field (*Yutian* 玉田) is presumably a site on Dragon and Tiger Mountain though it does not figure prominently into Celestial Masters lore. Zhang Yudi’s hagiography in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* simply records that he underwent his transformation at Venerating Perfection Palace and that his body was returned to the mountain (SDSY 13.19).

provenance is its own causation and your transformative response is without limit. And so it is right that I promulgate this glorious edict in order to make manifest the mysterious gate. I accordingly have granted Zhang Yudi the title Perfected of the Broad Teachings of the Vast Way that Embodies the Mysterious, and have given him dominion over all Daoist affairs in all circuits of the Jiangnan region.”

The Yuan Emperor Wuzong made a proclamation declaring, “He sustains the mysterious tradition and carries it forth into this generation following and abiding by the precedent set by his ancestor’s actions. He carries forth the family’s standard in setting forth graciousness that continues down to the present day. As for Feng Shuzhen, the transcendent maiden of the thirty-seventh generation Celestial Master, her cap is tasseled and embroidered in white. Her sash and scarves are lovely. She was paired with the one who transmits the benefit of Gucheng.<sup>335</sup>

The master, with clarity and quiescence guards the cypress boat and takes hold of it with complete sincerity.<sup>336</sup> This is enduring faithfulness and love’s blessing. And so with deep conviction of purpose I confer a name upon you. And so, grand cloud dragons and wind tigers form a blessed convocation. This glorious declaration causes phoenixes

---

<sup>335</sup> Gucheng 穀城 is a mountain in what is present day Shandong. According his biography in the *Records of the Grand Historian* it is the place where Zhang Liang erected a temple in honor of his mysterious master Duke Yellow Stone and was himself interred (*Shiji* 55.2033).

<sup>336</sup> “The Cypress Boat” (*Bozhou* 柏舟) is the title of a poem in the *Traditions of the States* (*Guofeng* 國風) section of the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經). In that poem the titular boat is unmoored and drifting suggestive of uncertain fidelity as opposed to the metaphorical craft invoked here which is firmly in the grasp of Yudi.

to dance and egrets to wheel about. You who flourish and uphold without tiring are thus granted the title Transcendent Maiden of Perfected Purity and Tranquil Brightness.”<sup>337</sup>

The avoidance name of the thirty-eighth Celestial Master was Yucai. His style name was Guoliang. He was titled Master of Broad Tenuity. He was the second son of Zhang Zongyan. His innate nature was one of deep humaneness. As for prose and poetry, he was capable of spontaneous composition and could produce words of elegant wondrousness.

In the thirty-first year of the Zhiyuan reign era he inherited the teachings.<sup>338</sup> The emperor dispatched an emissary who presented him with a cap, robe, and jade pendants so that he might take charge of affairs related to the teachings. Yucai was also summoned to court for an audience with the emperor at that time.

The following year the reign era was changed to Yuanzhen and the Celestial Master paid court at the Hall of Great Brightness. The next year he received the title Grand Perfected of Great Purity who Enacts the Way and Concentrates the Spirit and was given charge over Daoist teachings.<sup>339</sup> His mother was granted the title Transcendent

---

<sup>337</sup> The title granted to Feng Suzhen 馮淑真 by Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 1307-1311) is not corroborated in the official histories. A variant version of this declaration is found in the *Collected Works of Householder Qingrong* (*Qingrong junshi ji* 清容居士集 SKQS 37.16) by Yuan Jue 袁桷 (1266-1327 C.E.) a Hanlin academician who hailed from Ningbo.

<sup>338</sup> 1294 C.E. The *History of the Yuan* does not record a summons at the end of Emperor Shizu’s reign.

<sup>339</sup> The *History of the Yuan* notes that Zhang Yucai was summoned to court and granted this title as well as command over Daoist affairs in Jiangnan on the *jiawu* 甲午 day of the first month of the second year of the Yuanzhen reign (February 29, 1296 C.E.) (SKQS 19.2).

Maiden of Miraculous Response and Mysterious Perfection.<sup>340</sup> The Celestial Master was given the right to personally ordain Daoists and all palaces and belvederes in his charge were exempted from corvee and taxes. He was authorized to distribute tallies and granted an exemption from providing contributions from a distance.

In the second year of the Dade reign era officials from Haiyan memorialized the emperor informing him that two prefectures had been swamped with great waves over an area of one hundred *li*. The sandstone embankments were eroded and the waters had reached the city walls. The Celestial Master was summoned to control the flood.

The Celestial Master arrived at Hangzhou and performed a rite of libation at the Belvedere of Blessed Sageliness.<sup>341</sup> He cast metal talismans into the river from the embankment. Three talismans vaulted out of the water and a stroke of lighting suddenly flashed, cleaving to death a creature with the head of a fish and the body of a tortoise. Its corpse, more than one *zhang* in length, came to rest at the water's edge. The embankments were restored to their previous state.

---

<sup>340</sup>*Essays from Snowy Pine Studio (Songxue zhai wen ji 松雪齋集 SKQS 9.14)*, a compendium of works by the literatus Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫(1254-1322 C.E.), records that in the second year of the Yuanzhen reign era the title Transcendent Maiden of Miraculous Response and Mysterious Perfection (*Xuanzhen miaoying xiangu 玄真妙應仙姑*) was bestowed. That same source records that during an audience in the first year of the Zhida reign era (1308 C.E.) the title was extended to Perfected Sovereign of Fathomless Virtue and Compassionate Aid, Miraculous Response and Mysterious Perfection (*Xuanzhen miaoying yuande zhenren 玄真妙應淵德真人*). Zhang Yucai must have been friendly with Zhao Mengfu. In 1307 C.E. Yucai composed a preface to a work of Zhao Mengfu's titled *Portraits of the Ten Masters of the Mysterious Prime (Xuanyuan shizi tu 玄元十子圖 HY 163 ZHDZ 46-155-159)*.

<sup>341</sup> The Belvedere of Blessed Sageliness (*yousheng guan 佑聖觀*) was located in Hangzhou. It was the home temple of Chen Xianwei 陳顯微 who is known for a commentary on the *Cantong qi 參同契* that is preserved in the Daoist Canon (*Zhouyi cantong qi jie 周易參同契解 HY 1004 ZHDZ 16.171-202*).

In the fifth year of the Dade reign era he was again summoned to court. Arriving at the capital, the prime minister informed him that the land was stricken by a fierce drought and requested that the master pray for rain. The Celestial Master replied, “Honest virtue is that which is capable of moving Heaven. Heaven must respond in kind to it.” It rained the following day.

On another occasion the emperor summoned the Celestial Master and said, “This winter is warm and snowless. The people fear that this is a portent of disaster.” The emperor ordered the Celestial Master to establish an altar and make a supplication. That evening snow fell to a depth of more than one *chi*.

In the sixth year of the Dade reign era the Celestial Master intended to make his farewells and go into retirement.<sup>342</sup> At the imperial grounds in Liulin the Celestial Master was made a sacrificial attendant and given other appointments of the highest grade.<sup>343</sup> He bundled incense and undertook a supplication at every palace and belvedere in the renowned mountains that he passed through.

Upon returning to Dragon and Tiger Mountain he performed a libation at the Upper Clarity Palace of Upright Unity. He was granted a silver seal and the title Grand Master of the Palace with a Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon. He was made a deputy duke, titled Commander of the Upright Unity Teachings, and was further given authority

---

<sup>342</sup> 1302 C.E.

<sup>343</sup> Liulin 柳林 is located in the area to the southeast of Beijing presently known as Tongzhou District. It was used as an imperial hunting ground during the Yuan and a lodge was built there during the reign of Emperor Shizu.

over the talismans and registers of the three mountains.<sup>344</sup> The titles of the first three generations of Celestial Master were supplemented and they were all honored as Perfected Sovereign. The Celestial Master's mother, a woman of the Zhou clan, was titled Primordial Sovereign of Fathomless Virtue and Compassionate Aid, Miraculous Response and Mysterious Perfection.

When the Empress Dowager was at the Palace of Rising Sageliness, and Emperor Renzong was at the Eastern Palace the favors bestowed by the imperial household were particularly generous.<sup>345</sup> That year the summer rains were overabundant and the grand councilor gathered assorted dukes to garrison the capital. The emperor dispatched the high officials and nobles from the Ministry of Rites to entreat the Celestial Master to perform a supplication. Three days after the rite was undertaken the skies cleared.

When Renzong ascended the throne the Celestial Master was again called to court and an audience was held at the Hall of Auspicious Joy.<sup>346</sup> The emperor summoned

---

<sup>344</sup> The *History of the Yuan* has Zhang Yucai taking command of the talismans and registers of the three mountains in the inaugural year of the Zhida 至大 reign of Yuan Wuzong 武宗 (1308 C.E.) (SKQS 19.30). A different passage in the same text states that he was made a deputy duke in that same year (SKQS 22.30).

<sup>345</sup> This refers to the period immediately following the exile of the future Emperor Renzong and his mother. Emperor Chengzong died in 1306 C.E. His heir apparent had passed away earlier in the same year and so the Yuan dynasty was left without an obvious successor. Chengzong's wife Empress Bulughan sent the future Emperor Renzong and his mother Tagi into exile in Henan where they bided their time until the future Wuzong returned from a military expedition in the north and seized the throne in 1307 C.E. In 1308 C.E. the Palace of Rising Sageliness (*Xingsheng gong* 興聖宮) was constructed for the Tagi and she was honored as Empress Dowager of Rising Sageliness (*Xingsheng taihou* 興聖太后). When Wuzong died suddenly in 1311 C.E. his younger brother ascended to the throne. See Xu Shiduan, "Tagi," in *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women, Volume II: Tang Through Ming 618 – 1644*, Eds. Lilly Xiao Hong Lee and Sue Wiles (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Libraries, 2014): 387-389.

<sup>346</sup> A stele composed by Yu Ji 虞集 (1272-1348 C.E.) on the occasion of the reconstruction of the Belvedere of the Azure Clouds (*Qingxia guan* 青霞觀) in Chaling (*Chaling zhou* 茶陵州), modern Changsha, Hunan (*Qingxia guan bei* 青霞觀碑) states that Zhang Yucai was summoned to court in the



Grand Guardian Kochu who said, “I praise the Way of the Celestial Master. The lineage which he continues and uplifts is peerless.” The Celestial Master was further granted riches and golden robes.

In the fourth month of the second year an envoy was dispatched to the mountain. He reported to the Celestial Master saying, “The previous winter there was no snow and now there is no rain. The fields are empty save for seed and the emperor cannot bear the suffering of the people.” The Celestial Master made a supplication at the Upper Clarity Palace. A swift response followed and all corners of the realm both near and far were saturated.

Every year he conferred tallies of protection against flood, drought, malevolent sprites, and pestilence on those who came forth to request them. He did not have a day’s rest and was always active. He contributed to the charity granaries in order to aid those throughout the realm that were without sufficient stores.

Those with mastery over the fine arts gathered daily at his gates and each of them looked upon him in admiration.<sup>347</sup> In the autumn of the second year of the *yanyou* reign

---

initial year of the Huangqing 皇慶 reign era of Emperor Renzong (1311 C.E.). It is preserved in *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 943-944.

<sup>347</sup> Zhang Yucai had a particular affinity for art. In addition to his 1307 C.E. preface to *Portraits of the Ten Masters of the Mysterious Primacy*, the *Record of the Miraculous Manifestations that Occurred in Response to the Worship of the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven* (*Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 玄天上帝啟聖靈異錄 HY 959 ZHDZ 30.703) includes a brief appreciatory preface that Yucai prepared for an illustrated tract on Xuanwu the Perfected Warrior. The Yuan dynasty *Precious Mirror of Painting* (*Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑒 SKQS 5.17) by Xia Wenyan 夏文彥 (preface 1365 C.E.) records that Zhang Yucai had a gift for calligraphy and for the painting of bamboo and dragons.

era the Celestial Master and his disciples traversed the cliffs and caves.<sup>348</sup> When the master composed poems or painted the landscape those who observed his work were stunned by its profundity and none could grasp its depth.

On New Year's Eve he completed his longevity portrait and composed a verse titled, "An Easterly Wind Drifted the Snow." On New Year's Day snow fell. The Celestial Master made an oral declaration, handed down an ode, and transformed. He was interred at Mingyang in Jinxi and a memorial hall named Belvedere of the Mysterious Capitol was constructed in his honor.<sup>349</sup>

In the second year of the Yuanzhen reign era Emperor Chengzong made a proclamation stating, "The Celestial Master of the thirty-eighth generation, Zhang Yucai, your great renown rises like a gold standard and is akin to the auspicious sprout of rainbow fungus.<sup>350</sup> You take the mysterious tenuity of the myriad luminosities as your object of inquiry. You make use of the registers to elucidate the upright teachings of the three primes. From the time of your ancestor down to your father, the lineage has already achieved lofty renown. You shoulder hardship as they did and thus your family's perfected tradition is spread forth.

And so I make this bestowal to you who continually look back on their example and take the embodiment of the Way of the perfected as your labor. You lift up and

---

<sup>348</sup> 1315 C.E.

<sup>349</sup> Jinxi 金谿 is located to the southwest of Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

<sup>350</sup> "Rainbow fungus" (*Hongzhi* 虹芝) is not a term that is frequently encountered in Daoist scriptures and does not appear to refer to anything particular in the Chinese pharmacopeia.

continue the lineage of the numinous mountain.<sup>351</sup> You praise virtue and invoke Heaven's eternal command and so I venerate the jade chamber. You are granted the title Perfected of the Vast Way of Great Purity who Concentrates the Spirit and given command over Daoist affairs in all circuits of the Jiangnan region.”

In the eighth year of the Dade reign era of the Yuan dynasty Emperor Chengzong made a proclamation saying, “From highest antiquity the Celestial Masters have transmitted their abilities for the purpose of averting those disasters that might befall the nation. The initial ancestor of Upright Unity once travelled to Shu and drove a malevolent sprite out of Dragon Well. The Prior Born who Gazes on Wondrousness once travelled to Hangzhou, where a disaster was caused by the tide of Xu.<sup>352</sup> He took hold of the seals of office three times when waves breached the embankments in Haiyan and Yanguan, the two prefectures. The Master employed numinous metal talismans and cinnabar writs and thereby exterminated an abomination with the head of a fish and the body of a tortoise which surfaced where the sand met the water. The embankments were then restored to their former strength and the people and their homes were spared from disaster. When officials of the Branch Secretariat of Jiangzhe heard this they were

---

<sup>351</sup> There is a Mount Numinosity (*Ling shan* 靈山) that is listed as number thirty-three of the seventy-two blessed plots in *Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the Grotto Heavens and Blissful Lands* (ZHDZ 29.240). It is located in the north of Shangrao County, Jiangxi, approximately seventy miles to the northeast of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Given the context of the present passage it is most likely meant to be descriptive of Dragon and Tiger Mountain than it is a reference to a distinct location.

<sup>352</sup> Xu's tide (*Xu tao* 胥濤) refers to the waves of the Qiantang River, said to be stirred up by the spirit of the Spring and Autumn era official Wu Zixu 伍子胥 whose corpse was dumped in the river after he was forced to commit suicide by King Fuchai 夫差 of Wu 吳. His righteous indignation is said to be responsible for aberrant tides. The legend is described in detail in *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 66).

compelled to prostrate themselves and raise a glass when speaking of the master of mysterious teachings.<sup>353</sup>

Complete sincerity is met with response. The transcendent hall is approached with clarity, quiescence, and effortless action. The wondrous Way is esteemed and honored. And so it is that I grant the further honors of command over the teachings of Upright Unity and dominion over the talismans and registers of the three mountains.”

In the inaugural year of the Zhida reign era of the Yuan dynasty emperor Chengzong made a proclamation declaring, “Eradicating malevolence and ushering in the upright, the appropriate teachings are much engaged. Honoring virtue and rewarding merit, the laws of the realm are all raised up. You maintain the sagely ancestor’s longstanding admiration for the Ultimate Way and in the age of prior emperors the perfected rites were performed time and again with sincerity. Presently, the traditions that originated with the ancestor are carried forth. Is it not the case that distant glory is transmitted to a later age?

The master of the teachings of Upright Unity, the inheritor of the Han Celestial Master in the thirty-eighth generation, Perfected of the Vast Way of Great Purity who Concentrates the Spirit, is charged with command over Daoist activities in all circuits of the Jiangnan region, and jurisdiction over the distribution of talismans and registers of the three mountains. Zhang Yucai, your lucidity lends itself to great renown. Your extensive learning cuts through vulgarity. With fathomlessness there is a deep transformation of

---

<sup>353</sup>The Branch Secretariat of Jiangzhe (*Jiangzhe xing sheng* 江瀾行省) was an administrative district centered at Hangzhou and inclusive of Jiangsu, Anhui, Zhejiang, Fujian, and northeast Jiangxi.

ordered boundaries. With shallowness response follows from the central principle. You defend the people from calamity and are always met with efficacious response. You grasp the statutes and so your inquiries into the ineffable are refined and ordered.

Supplications are made for the bestowal of blessings and are met with a surfeit of admonitions. The pacification of balanced pneumata is employed and not the slightest trace or shape is made manifest.<sup>354</sup> In service, is not the capacity of the office that which delimits actions undertaken? Appropriate standards are promulgated in the present. This is in keeping with Zhang Liang's enfeoffment as Marquis of Liu being taken as sufficient reward.<sup>355</sup>

The splendor of the lofty customs of the radiant Han was supplemented, and so Heaven has extended its eternal aid. The primordial lineage is fixed on a path of comforting and setting at ease, carrying out acts of guardianship and solicitude. So it is that I grant the further title Master of the Teachings of Upright Unity, Thirty-Eighth Generation Descendent of the Han Celestial Master, Great Perfected of Bright Virtue of the Vast Way of Great Purity who Concentrates the Spirit, Commander of Daoist Affairs in all Circuits of the Jiangnan region, Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon, and enfeoff you as a deputy duke.”

---

<sup>354</sup> “The pacification of balanced pneuma” (*chong qi zhi shi* 冲和之祇) evokes a line from chapter forty-two of the *Daode jing*: “The neutralization of pneumata begets balance,” (*Chong qi yiwei he* 冲氣以為和).

<sup>355</sup> In his *Records of the Grand Historian* biography Zhang Liang is said to have been offered a fiefdom of thirty-thousand households by Liu Bang but modestly declined, stating that the tile of Marquis Wencheng Liu was sufficient honor (*Shiji* 55.2033).

In the second year of the Yuanzhen reign era Chengzong made a proclamation declaring, “The exertion of the perfected Way abides in humanity. It is the cause of the issuance of great loyalty. When the gentleman completes his studies his virtue is present and the inner quarters are suitably matched.

The Perfected of the Vast Way of Great Purity who Concentrates the Spirit, the thirty-eighth generation descendent of the Han Celestial Master, Master of the Teachings of Upright Unity is Zhang Yucai. His mother is a woman of the Zhou clan who with graciousness and reverence embodies proper virtue, and whose temperament exudes harmonized pneumata. The charts of Cang are simple and pure.<sup>356</sup> They are separated into root and branch. Records are dispatched to the ranks of the celestials in a place where jeweled trees entwine and fragrance wafts. The traditions of the ancestor are carried from elder to junior and they endure down to the present day.

In past and future alike imperial grace has and shall be bestowed. The apex of tender filiality is carried on to later generations of descendants and the shining splendor of Upright Unity is consequently burnished. In recent times as in the distant past, the dawn and evening offerings of incense are continually made. And so I grant the title Transcendent Maiden of Miraculous Response and Mysterious Perfection.”

In the inaugural year of the Zhida reign era of the Yuan dynasty, Emperor Wuzong made a proclamation declaring, “Laozi’s words on the Way and virtue are

---

<sup>356</sup> Although the phrasing is not commonly employed, the “charts of Cang” (*Cang tu* 蒼圖) most logically refers to writs created by Cang Jie, the mythical historiographer who is said to have invented writing while in the service of the equally mythical Yellow Emperor.

rooted in the purpose of teaching filial kindness. The Western Mother holds court and the humane longevity of the ledgers of transcendence takes its course.<sup>357</sup> And so those who hold to the vulgar are transformed and dedicate themselves to filial devotion with particular attention to the etiquette of the inner chambers.<sup>358</sup> I thus bestow upon the mother of Zhang Yucai, the Perfected of the Vast Way of Great Purity who Concentrates the Spirit and Master of the Teachings of Upright Unity, the thirty-eighth generation descendent of the Han Celestial Master, the title Transcendent Maiden of Miraculous Response and Mysterious Perfection.

This woman of the Zhou clan is gracious and reverent. She embodies chastity and virtue, and her character is one of moral kindheartedness. Her virtue is well suited to her noble family. Her just and righteous teachings are joyfully granted to those descendants of later generations and the transmission of the unbroken strand of the Way flourishes.

It is thus that I graciously bestow five flowers to exemplify how an inch of grass reciprocates the glory of springtime.<sup>359</sup> I enquire after the deep waters of Penglai and set

---

<sup>357</sup> I read (*Xianjie* 仙藉), the meaning of which is unclear, as a mistaken transcription for “ledger of transcendence” (*Xianji* 仙籍), the celestial register into which the names of the elect are entered. The Western Mother (*Xi mu* 西母) or Queen Mother of the West (*Xi wangmu* 西王母), is a figure of great antiquity who presides over the paradisiacal Mount Kunlun. The medieval Daoist understand of her is illuminated by Du Guangting’s lengthy biography in *Record of the Immortals Gathered in the Walled City* (*Yongcheng jixian lu* 墉城集仙錄 HY 782 ZHDZ 45.196-200). See Suzanne Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

<sup>358</sup> The etiquette of the inner chambers (*Kun yi* 闈儀) refers to the decorum deemed appropriate to women.

<sup>359</sup> This is a play on the aphorism “An inch of grass in spring’s radiance” (*Cun cao chun hui* 寸草春暉) which expresses the notion that the love of even the most filial of children pales in comparison to that given by his or her parents. It derives from the closing couplet of Meng Jiao’s 孟郊 poem “Song of a Traveller,” (*Youzi nian* 游子吟) which reads, “What is to be said of the heart of a blade of grass? How could it repay three months of spring’s radiance?” (*wei yan cun cao xin bao de san chun hui* 誰言寸草心，報得三春暉).

eyes on the clear shallows of the sea. The lotuses open at Western Lake.<sup>360</sup> In residence at Mount Gushe, the people are saved from disease and pestilence and a plentiful harvest is secured every year.<sup>361</sup> You have assisted in holding aloft the teachings of Upright Unity, and flourished into your advanced age. As such I bestow upon you the title Perfected Sovereign of Fathomless Virtue and Compassionate Aid, Miraculous Response and Mysterious Perfection.”

In the inaugural year of the Yanyou reign era Emperor Renzong made a proclamation declaring, “Those who cultivate the Way take their mothers as the primary object of their attention. Those who study transcendence take filiality as a matter of the greatest import. The original wellspring is traced and the bestowal of honors is newly commissioned. The master of the teachings of Upright Unity, Great Perfected of Bright Virtue of the Vast Way of Great Purity who Concentrates the Spirit, charged with command over Daoist activities in all circuits of the Jiangnan region, the descendent of the Han Celestial Master in the thirty-eighth generation, Zhang Yucai. His mother, the Perfected Sovereign of Fathomless Virtue, Miraculous Response and Mysterious Perfection, is a woman of the Zhou clan who is both gracious and reverent.

The Celestial Masters are possessed of virtue and merit and endowed with clarity and purity. They keep the company of the spirit transcendents and when they reach their final years a successor serves as master of the celestials. What good fortune to have such

---

<sup>360</sup> The Western Lake (*Xi chi* 西池) is an alternate name for Jade Lake (*Yao chi* 瑶池), the residence of the Queen Mother of the West located at the peak of Mount Kunlun.

<sup>361</sup> This is a paraphrase of the section on the spirit-like person of Mount Gushe in the “Free and Easy Wandering” chapter of the Zhuangzi.



a son, who gestures to the mountains of Penglai and returns home!<sup>362</sup> He takes the scrolls of Ye Ding as something to be cast off.<sup>363</sup>

Though emptiness and tranquility are things that cannot have names forced upon them, it is nonetheless appropriate that the nation engages in the display of rites. I confer titles of praise and enact the tradition of redoubled mystery.<sup>364</sup> The sword is hidden away and the altar is kept to. I esteem Mother Wei's creation of cinnabar.<sup>365</sup> Her ascent from Mount Mao has transpired and the mother transmits her records of the Way with sincere mastery. You wander at ease and the admiration that is your due remains more than ample in the present day. So it is that I bestow the posthumous title Primordial Sovereign of Fathomless Virtue and Compassionate Aid, Miraculous Response and Mysterious Perfection.”

The avoidance name of the thirty-ninth generation Celestial Master was Sicheng. His style name was Ciwang and his title was Master of Grand Mystery. His spirit was tranquil and lofty. He was upright and firm in his demeanor and was taciturn by nature.

---

<sup>362</sup> This passage plays on a quote from the “Meaning of Sacrifice” (*Jiyi* 祭義) section of the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記 24/26.2), “The one whom all in the nation praise and admire saying, ‘What good fortune to have a son such as this!’ That is what is that which is called filiality.”

<sup>363</sup> There was a Song dynasty calligrapher by the name of Ye Ding 葉鼎 who hailed from the region of contemporary Lishui in southwest Zhejiang. However his renown was hardly such that mention in an imperial commendation is to be expected and I am uncertain as to why he is invoked here. A brief biography is found in Tao Zongyi's 陶宗儀 *Official History of Calligraphy* (*Shushi huiyao* 書史會要 SKQS 6.53).

<sup>364</sup> Presumably the tradition of redoubled mystery (*Chongxuan zong* 重玄宗) is a generalized reference to Daoism and not to the Madhyamaka derived early Tang philosophical movement of that name.

<sup>365</sup> Mother Wei (*Wei mu* 魏母) is the Upper Clarity matriarch Wei Huacun. She is more widely referred to by the titles Primordial Sovereign of the Purple Void (*Zixu Yuanju* 紫虛元君) and Lady Wei of the Southern Marchmount (*Nanyue Weifuren* 南嶽魏夫人).

In the third year of the Zhida reign era he accompanied his father to an imperial audience.<sup>366</sup> They reached Hangzhou and lodged at Ancestral Yang Palace.<sup>367</sup> A fire suddenly broke out in the city and the people came forth beseeching the Celestial Master and his son to provide assistance. They came to a bridge spanning the river, gazed upon the place where the inferno first rose up, and spouted water out of their mouths. The fire was thereupon extinguished.

In the third year of the Yanyou reign era the deputy duke passed into transcendence.<sup>368</sup> He passed down the sword and seal of office and charged Sicheng with carrying forth the teachings. He was honored as the master of the Zhang family tradition. Word of the Celestial Master reached the court and Emperor Renzong dispatched an envoy to the mountain in order to summon Sicheng to court and charge him with command over religious affairs.

In the tenth month the Celestial Master had an audience at the court of Emperor Renzong who fervently sought his advisement. Sicheng simply laughed and said “Carry on in the manner of your father.” The Emperor ordered a performance of the Great Offering of the Golden Register at the Palace of Enduring Springtime. When the retreat was completed the Celestial Master was gifted a cap and robe.

---

<sup>366</sup> 1310 C.E.

<sup>367</sup> Ancestral Yang Palace (*Zongyang gong* 宗陽宮) was an important center of Daoist learning. The famed Maoshan Daoist of the late Song and early Yuan Du Daojian 杜道堅 served as the institution’s abbot during the reign of Yuan Shizu.

<sup>368</sup> 1316 C.E.

In the first month of the following year the Celestial Master took his leave. The emperor granted him the title Great Perfected of Cyclically Transforming Great Mystery who Embodies Humaneness and Merits Response from the Way. He was charged with command over the talismans and registers of the three mountains and given control of Daoist affairs in the Jiangnan region.<sup>369</sup> The Emperor further extended favor to the Celestial Master by honoring his mother, a woman of the Yi clan, as Perfected of Enduring Quiescence, Compassionate Resonance and Wondrous Brightness.<sup>370</sup> The Emperor drafted a notice granting the Celestial Master charge over Daoist affairs, the right to grant ordination, the authority to circulate talismans and registers, and exemption from tolls. An envoy was then dispatched to escort the Celestial Master back to the mountain.

In the seventh year the tides in Yanguan Prefecture swelled.<sup>371</sup> The Celestial Master was summoned to that place in order to perform a great supplicatory libation. He stood on the banks of the river and cast a metal tally into the water whereupon a great bolt of lightning flashed and the waters calmed to their former state.

---

<sup>369</sup> This is confirmed in the *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 25.17) although in that source the bestowal of titles and award is said to have taken place in the twelfth month of the third year of the Yanyou reign era.

<sup>370</sup> This is corroborated in the *Collected Works of Song Lian* (*Wenxian ji* 文憲集 SKQS 18.24) though no mention of it is made in official imperial sources.

<sup>371</sup> 1320 C.E.

When Emperor Yingzong ascended the throne he summoned the Celestial Master to an audience in Shangdu. He produced an edict granting the Celestial Master use of imperial relay stations and horses for his return.<sup>372</sup>

On the *renwu* day of the first month of the second year of the Taiding reign era there was an eclipse.<sup>373</sup> A Grand Minister entreated the Celestial Master to make a supplication for snowfall. Heaven responded with a great blizzard.

The Celestial Master was later commanded to perform the Great Offering of the Yellow Register at the Palace of Enduring Springtime. At the time of the ritual's performance auspicious flowers rained down and cranes appeared in the sky. Yu Ji, Deputy Chancellor of the Imperial University, was ordered to produce a record of the event.<sup>374</sup> The Emperor granted Sicheng the additional title Master of the Upright Unity Teachings, Assistant to the Yuan who Venerates Virtue. He was also appointed as Administrator of Daoist Affairs in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies.<sup>375</sup>

---

<sup>372</sup> Emperor Yingzong 英宗 ascended the throne in 1320 C.E. His brief reign came to an unceremonious end when he was assassinated in 1323 C.E.

<sup>373</sup> January 13, 1325 C.E. Taiding is the initial reign era of Emperor Jinzong 晉宗. There is no record of an eclipse having occurred at this time.

<sup>374</sup> Yu Ji 虞集 (1272-1348 C.E.) was a renowned writer of prose and poetry as well as a member of the Hanlin Academy. The thirty-ninth Celestial Master appears at several points in the writings of Yu Ji, particularly in the *Ancient Records of Study in the Garden of the Way* (*Daoyuan xue gulu* 道園學古錄). However, I have been unable to find any record of the miraculous response under discussion here.

<sup>375</sup> The Celestial Master's appointment to this position is corroborated by the scholar Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333 C.E.) in the *Directive on the Entitlement of the Celestial Master* (*Feng tianshi zhi* 封天師制) which is preserved in the *Definitive Collected Writings of Wu Cheng* (*Wu wenzheng ji* 吳文正集 SKQS 90.2).

In the fourth year the tides once again rose in Yanguan Prefecture and caused the embankments to burst.<sup>376</sup> The Celestial Master traveled to the site to perform an offering at Aiding Sagacity Palace.<sup>377</sup> A three legged tortoise appeared outside of the hall and the tides retreated. Later, when the people of Hangzhou were afflicted with a drought the Celestial Master caused it to rain.

In the inaugural year of the Zhishun reign era the Celestial Master was summoned to court where the emperor issued a decree extending additional aid.<sup>378</sup> In the Zhiyuan reign era the Celestial Master was again summoned before the emperor at the Hall of Bright Humaneness.<sup>379</sup> At that time the capital was suffering from a great drought and so the Celestial Master was called upon to perform a supplication for rain at Venerating Perfection Palace. The rite was greatly efficacious.

In the autumn of that year there was an incessant deluge. The Celestial Master made a supplication and the downpour ceased. The winter of that year was without snow and so the Celestial Master made a petition that was met with response. The emperor was greatly pleased with this and conferred high honors on him. He spoke to a member

---

<sup>376</sup> 1327 C.E. The *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 30.17) records that Zhang Sicheng was summoned to perform a flood quelling rite on the *guimao* 癸卯 day of the fifth month of the fourth year of the Taiding reign era (May 26, 1327 C.E.).

<sup>377</sup> Aiding Sagacity Palace (*Yousheng gong* 佑聖宮) in Huzhou, Zhejiang, was constructed in the mid twelfth century on the site of a revelatory appearance of the deity Zhenwu 真武. A discussion of the founding of the temple and a translation of an account found in *Record of the Listener* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅志) is found in Shin-Yi Chao, *Daoist Ritual, State Religion, and Popular Practices: Zhenwu Worship from Song to Ming (960-1644)* (New York: Routledge, 2011): 37-38.

<sup>378</sup> The inaugural year of the Zhishun reign era corresponds to 1333 C.E. It was the first year of Emperor Huizong's 惠宗 reign.

<sup>379</sup> 1335-1340 C.E.

of the imperial coterie saying, “I have caused the Celestial Master much vexation. It is well and good that a minutely detailed account of the entirety of his meritorious deeds be composed.”

In the third month of the third year the Celestial Master was appointed Administrator of the Academy of Worthies.<sup>380</sup> He had already dwelt in the capital for a long period of time and requested permission to return to the mountain. The emperor gathered the various officials together and held a farewell banquet in honor of the Celestial Master.

He returned to the mountain, cut himself off from worldly affairs, and wandered freely at his own leisure. In the fourth year of the Zhizheng reign era he set out to visit the Five Marchmounts and Verdant Citadel Mountain.<sup>381</sup> He initially ascended Mount Tai. In the ninth month his boat was piloting along Luliang at twilight when an elderly man asked to have an audience with him. He spoke briefly and cryptically and then took his leave.<sup>382</sup> The following day the Celestial Master ordered the boat to turn back.

---

<sup>380</sup> 1337 C.E. Zhang Sicheng was apparently also appointed to the position of Administrator of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies by Emperor Renzong as is mentioned in an edict composed by the Yuan literatus Xie Jisi 揭傒斯. See, *Collected Writings of [Xie] Wen'an* (*Wen'an ji* 文安集 SKQS 6.4). The scholar and official Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333 C.E.) composed an imperial proclamation on the promotion of Zhang Sicheng to the Academy of Worthies during the reign of Emperor Taiding 泰定 (r. 1323-1328 C.E.). See, *The Essential Literary Collection of Wu [Cheng]*, (*Wu wen zhengji* SKQS 90.2).

<sup>381</sup> 1344 C.E.

<sup>382</sup> Luliang 吕梁 is located approximately forty miles southeast of Xuzhou, Zhejiang. In the “Full Understanding of Life” (*Dasheng* 達生) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* Luliang is the site of a meeting between Confucius and a mysterious elderly man who is adept at swimming. It is unclear whether the enigmatic venerable fellow in this passage is meant to evoke this same figure.

On the *gengzi* day he underwent his transformation on his boat while in Baoying.<sup>383</sup> The Celestial Master's disciples took up his cap and sword and returned to Poyang. When they reached Cloud Brocade Rivulet a pair of swift black dragons escorted the boat.<sup>384</sup> They arrived at Dragon and Tiger Mountain after travelling upstream for a period of less than six days. Such was the uncanny spiritual efficacy of the Celestial Master.

Later, he was interred on the southern slope of the mountain. The emperor issued a proclamation stating, "The Way exists in the world and so it is proper to venerate clarity and quiescence. The realized engage in effortless inaction and usher in governance marked by flourishing peace. I lift up and promulgate this order so as to further the radiance raised up by the tradition.

Zhang Sicheng, heir to the mantle of Celestial Master, obtained the true teachings of his venerable clan and forged open the gates of mystery. From the Han dynasty down to the present the lineage holders have endured numerous trials over thousands of years. They have crossed over into the present and the fortieth generation of transmission.

The thirty-ninth generation Celestial Master studied the true echoes of that which is distant, rare, and precious. He is the honored inheritor of the galloping crimson

---

<sup>383</sup> Baoying 寶應 is an administrative district in Yangzhou, Jiangsu.

<sup>384</sup> The *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 14.12) lists Cloud Brocade Rivulet (*Yunjin xi* 雲錦溪) as an alternate name for the Anren River (*Anren jiang* 安仁江) in the southern part of Anren County, directly to the northwest of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. The river is located in what is contemporary Yujiang County, Jiangxi.

tallies.<sup>385</sup> According to what is chronicled, he was deeply earnest from the time that he first came to court. He followed in the traces of his predecessors who stood in the ranks of the transcendentals. He made arrangements for the preservation of the renewal of the practice of instruction. He praised the norms established through the example of royal perfection and spread forth the bestowed blessings of the grand design. His renown is to be safeguarded from dissolution and falsehood. I draw particular attention to commending his abidance with the ways of the ancestor. How could his thoughts not be set towards fulfillment of the ancestral Way? He had great respect for that which is fortuitous and did not abrogate his reverence.

Extending graciousness, I grant the Celestial Master's mother, a woman of the Yi family, the title of Perfected of Enduring Quiescence, Compassionate Resonance and Wondrous Brightness. I further hand down a decree granting the Celestial Master command over Daoist affairs.”

Emperor Yingzong of the Yuan made a proclamation which read as follows: “Heaven's will is to be greatly venerated. The Way and virtue are to be revered. Stillness and unity are sought and the people are made tranquil. Realization is achieved through spoken teachings and radiance is extended to those descendants of later generations.

---

<sup>385</sup> Galloping crimson tallies (*Teng jiangjian* 騰絳簡) are cinnabar writs. The twelfth century *Commentary on the Precious Book of the Inner Landscape of the Yellow Court* (*Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經註 HY 401 ZHDZ 23.79) by Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 enumerates the merits of jade writs, crimson tallies, and cinnabar writs.



The inheriting Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng is dutiful to the legacy of his ancestor who capably transmitted Laozi's command to praise equanimity, venerate the upright, and cultivate teachings appropriate to the age. In the present day the household carries on and is made manifest in your person. The capacity of the lineage is vast and it is accomplished. The erudition of the household is widely renowned. From prior dynasties down to the present your household has long endured and it is due to virtue that the lineal name is maintained. You have inherited loftiness of deed and sincerity of purpose and enacted these tirelessly. The lineage holders are conscientious and modest in the refusal of accolades, and so the renown of the lineage is made all the more manifest.

When I first ascended the throne you respectfully made offerings at the court and took up the rites with great solemnity. That which is glorious and splendid is rightly utilized. Commands that have been issued are justly reaffirmed. Abiding in the duty of old, you maintain a unity of spirit. You make use of the vastness of your teachings with reverence and righteous prudence. You aid in governance through effortless action and do not neglect your duties but rather go forth with strict devotion. So it is that by special appointment I grant you the title Great Perfected of Cyclically Transforming Great Mystery who Embodies Humaneness and Merits Response from the Way, the Inheritor of the Han Celestial Master's Mantle and Keeper of the Upright Unity Teachings. You are charged with control over the talismans and registers of the three mountains and given command of Daoist affairs in the Jiangnan region.”

Prince Jin of the Yuan issued a proclamation stating, “The venerable and mysterious teachings of our nation have been peerless since ancient times.<sup>386</sup> Your family line has been the recipient of imperial gratitude that flourishes greatly in the present age. So it is right that I bestow a title upon you and in so doing make manifest your glory. Zhang Sicheng, the Inheriting Celestial Master, the Spirit Person of Ice and Snow, the Sage of Wind and Cloud.<sup>387</sup> Your ancestor and your father exerted themselves to accrue meritorious deeds in former times. Your sons and your grandsons will uphold and further burnish the reputation of the lineage in times to come.

And now, in your audience at the onset of the new reign, you are to assist in the renewal of virtuous reverence. The solemnity of cautious prudence; it is rightly said that with reverence there is ritual propriety. The majesty of the great Way; clarity and quiescence are requisite for effortless action. And so it is that by special appointment I grant you the title, Keeper of the Upright Unity Teachings, Assistant to the Yuan who Praises Virtue, the Inheritor of the Han Celestial Master’s Mantle, Great Perfected of Cyclically Transforming Great Mystery who Embodies Humaneness and Merits Response from the Way. You are charged with command over the talismans and registers of the three mountains and given control of Daoist affairs in the Jiangnan region. I

---

<sup>386</sup> The future Yuan Emperor Taiding 泰定 inherited the title Prince of Jin 晉王 from his father in 1302 C.E. and held it until he ascended the throne in 1323 C.E. As the inauguration of a new reign is mentioned, the proclamation may date to around the time of his ascent.

<sup>387</sup> “The Spirit Person of Ice and Snow, Sage of Wind and Cloud,” (*bingxue shenren feng yun shen dai* 冰雪神人，風雲聖代) is an allusion to the spirit person of Mount Guye in the “Free and Easy Wandering” chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

bestow upon the lady of the Hu clan the title Transcendent Maiden of Benevolent Obedience and Bright Intelligence.”<sup>388</sup>

Emperor Shun of the Yuan issued a proclamation stating, “When Lao Dan crossed the Hangu Pass he was not forgotten by the world.”<sup>389</sup> The Marquis of Liu followed Master Red Pine; how could that which was enacted with resolve be cast aside by men? The gates of the established teachings of the spirit-like way of the sages are opened.<sup>390</sup> The Son of Heaven is tasked with seeking the deliverance of good fortune to the people. In each generation the methods are transmitted and in each age the labor of the household is undertaken.

You do not wander distantly but present yourself to the court and so it is appropriate to renew your command. It is by special appointment that I grant you the title, Keeper of the Upright Unity Teachings, Assistant to the Yuan who Praises Virtue, Thirty-Ninth Generation Descendent of the Han Celestial Master, Great Perfected of Cyclically Transforming Great Mystery who Embodies Humaneness and Merits Response from the Way. You are charged with command over the talismans and

---

<sup>388</sup> The lady of the Hu clan refers to the wife of Zhang Sicheng and mother of the forty-second generation Celestial Master Zhang Zhengchang. Her given name is unknown.

<sup>389</sup> Tradition holds that Laozi composed the *Daode jing* and bestowed it upon the keeper of the pass Yinxi 尹喜. The sage then mounted his ox and travelled westward through the Hangu Pass 函谷關.

<sup>390</sup> The spirit-like way of the sages (*Shengren shendao* 聖人神道) is derived from a passage in the description of the Guan 觀 hexagram in the *Zhouyi*. Legge’s translation reads: “When we contemplate the spirit-like way of Heaven, we see how the four seasons proceed without error. The sages, in accordance with (this) spirit-like way, laid down their instructions, and all under heaven yield submission to them.” James Legge, *The Sacred Books of China* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1899): 230.

registers of the three mountains and given control over Daoist affairs in the Jiangnan region.

Zhang Sicheng, Administrator in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies and heir of spirit brightness in the lineage of the Way and its virtue. From the time of your ancestor's encounter with Shizong to the time of your father's audience with Renmiao the lineage has received Heaven's favor and remained in the heart of the emperor.<sup>391</sup> Take receipt of the immutability of the Way and engage with the command of sagely brightness. Take joy in governance through effortless inaction and elucidate the practice of clarity and quiescence. Broadly proclaiming Heaven granted jubilation and consistently illuminating numinous response, you are capable of carrying the works of your illustrious predecessors into later times.

When the seas surged disastrously the Celestial Masters time and again saved the common people from drowning. In recent times when natural disasters transpired the Celestial Master thrice delivered rain or snow. The work is accomplished and is not dwelt upon.<sup>392</sup> The rites are justly met with response. Ah! The spirit transcendent takes loyalty and filiality as his root, and evidences maternal concern to the worthy. The Emperor takes heaven and earth as his heart. How could one dare to neglect offering

---

<sup>391</sup> The timeline of this statement as it pertains to the ancestral line of the Han Celestial Masters is not clear. Shizong 世宗 is the temple name of Han Emperor Wu (r. 141-87 B.C.E.). The ancestor in question is thus clearly not Zhang Daoling as the major events of his hagiography take place in the reign of Emperor Shun 順帝 (r. 125-144 C.E.). Marquis Liu 留侯, the other esteemed lineal ancestor of the Han dynasty, is said to have died in 186 B.C.E. Renmiao 仁廟 is the temple name of Song Renzong (r.1022-1063 C.E.).

<sup>392</sup> "The work is accomplished and is not dwelt upon," (*Gong cheng er fu ju* 功成而弗居) is a phrase found in chapter two of the *Daode jing*. As an aphorism it is employed to describe those who do not rest on their laurels.

reverence to virtue in sight of those who do not waver from their duty and maintain the command of old?”<sup>393</sup>

The avoidance name of the fortieth generation Celestial Master was Side. His title was Grand Unity. He was the second son of Zhang Yucai. He was magnanimous and he had a gift for composition as well as a talent for poetry. In the *jiashen* year of the Zhizheng reign era he inherited the teachings.<sup>394</sup> Nine years later, in the *renchen* year, arms were taken up throughout the realm.<sup>395</sup> The Celestial Master commanded his disciple Shu Weiyin to raise a force of loyal troops to act as a safeguard against incursions.<sup>396</sup> Throughout all of the neighboring jurisdictions the common people relied on them to keep the peace and none dared raise arms in insurrection.

In the tenth month of that year the Celestial Master fell ill and underwent his transformation. The following year a proclamation was made granting the title Great Perfected who Embodies the Way of Vast Mystery and the Bright Teachings of Grand Unity. He was charged with command over the talismans and registers of the three mountains and given control of Daoist affairs in the Jiangnan region. At the time the

---

<sup>393</sup> The proclamation was apparently drafted by the Yuan dynasty poet Jie Xisi as it is found among his collected works. See, “Record of the Edict to the Thirty-Ninth Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng,” (*Shenming san shi jiu tianshi Zhang Sicheng zhi* 申命三十九代天師張嗣成制) in *Collected Writings of [Xie] Wen'an* (*Wen'an ji* 文安集 SKQS 6.4).

<sup>394</sup> 1344 C.E.

<sup>395</sup> The uprising referred to here is presumably the Red Turban Rebellion (*Hongjin qiyi* 紅巾起義) which began in 1351 C.E. and ended only with the fall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368.

<sup>396</sup> The only additional reference to Shu Weiyin that I have been able to find is a mention in the biography of the fortieth Celestial Master located in the extracanonical *Comprehensive Mirror of Historical Spirit Transcendents* (*Lidai shenxian tongjian* 歷代神仙通鑒) by the fifty-fourth Celestial Master Zhang Jizong 張繼宗 (d. 1716 C.E.).

proclamation was passed down the Celestial Master had already transformed.<sup>397</sup> The mortal form he had shed was interred at the Arrayed Stones.<sup>398</sup>

Emperor Shun of the Yuan issued a proclamation stating, “With Upright Unity and transcendent perfection the Celestial Master capably carries forth the esoteric scriptures, registers, talismans, and seals. The scion embodies the flourishing of spiritual brightness. Thus it is right that you bore and transmitted the cap, robes, sword, and seal of the lineage. You were called to the ledgers of transcendence and again granted special favor.

Ah, you, Zhang Side, whose studies hew to the familial precepts and whose way is performed according to the bond of the covenant. The good name of the lineage has been transmitted from the high ancestor. The renown of the lineage flows forth from the high ancestor and its virtue drifts onward in cloudlike fashion. The lineage was set forth with ascent to the heavens from Shu and Hanzhong. In later generations transformation was made manifest from reclusion. Treasured registers and golden talismans; auspicious reciprocation from former times shines forth from the bundled scriptures. Green serpent, the jade sword; an eternal thread of fathomless origin carried on from father to son. Historically, they have set forth numinosity through declaration and clarification. Invariably, they have assisted in governance through clarity and quiescence. Although

---

<sup>397</sup> The *History of the Yuan* (SKQS 42.20) records that Zhang Side was granted a seal of office in the fifth month of the twelfth year of the Zhizheng reign era (1352 C.E.) but does not mention any posthumously delivered charges of office.

<sup>398</sup> The Arrayed Stones (*Paiya shi* 排衙石) are a chain of Danxia 丹霞 sandstone cliffs that to the north of Dragon and Tiger Mountain. See, *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.8).

their receipt of imperial favor is founded in a prior age it is nonetheless further deepened in the present dynasty.

Purple proclamation and silver insignia; the import of the rites is in statutes of praise and veneration. Pearl cap and gold robes; the permeation of radiance is in the transmission of modesty and simplicity. The gate of mystery is paired with the palace and the tradition is uplifted. The inheritors of the methods are akin to the succeeding ruler. You esteem the statutes of perfected origin and pay reverence at the purified banquet of the Most High. You ruminate solemnly on the loftiness of the inherited works and extend aid to those living beings stricken with affliction. Time and again raising up numinous purity and endlessly transmitting the performance of perfected customs. Ritual accoutrements and varied rites; devotedly focused on serving the emperor. The altar is encircled with esoteric incantations. With rigor and concern good fortune is sought so that the people may be protected. With succinct comprehensiveness I make this declaration in order to expound your teachings.”

The avoidance name of the forty-first Celestial Master was Zhengyan. His title was Eastern Florescence. The eldest son of Zhang Side, he had the bearing of the ancients and a tranquil spirit. He was gentle, calm, and taciturn by nature.

The road to the capital was impassible for more than two years. The Overseer of the Branch Secretariat of Jiangzhe was dispatched to transmit an edict granting the title Great Perfected of Broad Instruction and Vast Cultivation, the Celestial Master of the Essentialized Way and Shining Earnestness. He was given control over the talismans

and registers of the three mountains and given command of Daoist affairs in the Jiangnan region.

A year later Zhengyan gathered his disciples and said, “For generations my lineage has taken the delivery of good fortune to the nation, loyal service to the rulers, and transformation to the people as its primary duties. Presently the world has descended into armed conflagration and the court is distant. Peace and peril; none can know the state of things. The disciples of the Mysterious Teachings who are gathered in the north are honored to have a patron who bestowed great honors. How is it that we have not heard a word of their fortunes?”

The disciple Cheng Tianxia sent a command to Yu Youxing, the Grand Patriarch of the Mysterious Teachings, ordering him to speak on the matter before the court.<sup>399</sup> The emperor said, “The Celestial Master is a gentleman outside the boundaries of the world. The rivers formerly plied are now obstructed and the routes are not pacified. I am greatly vexed by this state of affairs. It is, however, the fate that Heaven has mandated.” The decree was transmitted to the Grand Patriarch and so Tianxia reported the news back to the Celestial Master.

---

<sup>399</sup> Despite the fact that he was apparently a highly trusted disciple of the forty-first Celestial Master, I have been unable to locate any other reference to Cheng Tianxia 程天翼. Yu Youxing 于有興 was the fifth and final patriarch of the Mysterious Teachings lineage. His career is largely unchronicled although passing reference to him is made in the collected works of late Yuan literati who had particularly close ties to Daoism such as Li Cun 李存 and Yu Ji.



On the day of the mid prime in the *jihai* year the Celestial Master ascended to his platform and discoursed on the Way with great urgency.<sup>400</sup> Few among those present could fathom the depths of his words. Not long after this the Celestial Master fell ill. He gathered his disciples and said, “From the time I inherited the teachings to the present many hardships have been encountered. Now the time to pass on has arrived.” Two days later he composed an elegy and underwent his transformation.

The avoidance name of the forty-second generation Celestial Master was Zhengchang. His style name was Zhongji and his title was Master who Permeates the Void. He was the eldest son of the thirty-ninth Celestial Master, the Duke of Grand Mystery.

His birth was presaged by a strange omen. The Duke of Grand Mystery nodded off and dreamt of a spirit-like person who flew through the ether and arrived at his lodgings proclaiming, “I have journeyed from Mount Huagai to the sovereign’s home.<sup>401</sup> I wish to gaze upon his face.” He awoke and soon thereafter Zhengchang was born.

Zhang Zhengchang was a precocious youth. He was possessed of great magnanimity and his eyes were luminous like candles. He was inclined towards the

---

<sup>400</sup> August 9, 1359 C.E.

<sup>401</sup> The Duke of Great Mystery (*Daxuan gong* 大玄公) is used interchangeably with the title Duke of Grand Mystery (*Taixuan gong* 太玄公) throughout the remainder of the text. Mount Huagai (*Huagai shan* 華蓋山), in central Jiangxi, is home to the revelations of Celestial Heart Daoism (*Tianxin zhenfa* 天心正法). According to *Correct Method of the Celestial Heart of the Highest Clarity* (*Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 上清天心正法 HY 566 ZHDZ 30.245-281) a scholar in retirement named Rao Dongtian 饒洞天 was living on the mountain in 994 C.E. when the cache of texts that became the central scriptures of the tradition were mysteriously revealed to him.

words of Laozi and Zhuangzi and devoted himself to the esoteric methods of the transcendent Way with single-minded fervor.

When the Duke of Grand Mystery journeyed to the Five Marchmounts he transmitted the seal and sword saying, “The dragon star has again entered the 12<sup>th</sup> terrestrial branch.<sup>402</sup> My son should now take these up and greatly uplift the mysterious tradition.”

He inherited the teachings in the *jihai* year of the Zhizheng reign era.<sup>403</sup> The prophecy of Grand Mystery came to pass; the world descended into chaos and one who wished to receive those scriptures and talismans that had long been secreted away arrived from across the river.<sup>404</sup> The Libation of the Three Primes was performed at the mysterious altar. Rites of refinement were undertaken to bring clarity to that which was dark and produced uncanny results.

In the *xinchou* year Taizu, the lofty emperor of our Ming dynasty, issued a proclamation of recruitment for officials and the Celestial Master set out to court.<sup>405</sup> A memorandum was dispatched in which the Celestial Master extended a talisman of the return of celestial revolutions.<sup>406</sup> The emperor took up his brush and composed a reply,

---

<sup>402</sup> The dragon star (*Long xing* 龍星) is Antares, the brightest star in the constellation Scorpius.

<sup>403</sup> 1359 C.E.

<sup>404</sup> This is likely an oblique reference to Zhu Yuanzhong’s establishment of a stable government in Nanjing after crossing over the Yangzi in 1356 C.E. and his subsequent patronage of the Celestial Masters.

<sup>405</sup> 1361 C.E. This was prior to the formal establishment of the Ming dynasty in 1368 C.E.

<sup>406</sup> This is apparently to be understood as an indication of the Celestial Master’s endorsement of the soon to be established Ming regime as communicated through a talisman invoking correlative cosmological beliefs

“Possessed of great tranquility and a settled nature, your words are fixed on the works of the Way.”

In the *yisi* year the Celestial Master was summoned to an audience in the capital.<sup>407</sup> The emperor was pleased and said, “Your pupils are like churning lightning. In manner and appearance you are noble. Truly, you are the descendent of the Han Celestial Master.”<sup>408</sup> He invited the Celestial Master to be seated and ordered a banquet to be held in his honor. Later, he was again summoned to a banquet and was bestowed a gift of gold. He then returned to Dragon and Tiger Mountain.

In the *bingwu* year the Celestial Master returned to the capital.<sup>409</sup> Officials and commoners alike requested talismans and the Celestial Master produced a great number. His attendants could not pass them out quickly enough to satisfy the demand and so the people barred their way and would not let them pass. The emperor made a proclamation ordering the distribution of talisman water, and a great tally was cast into the well at the Palace of Homage to Heaven.<sup>410</sup> The people clamored to slurp it up. In a short while the water was drained and the well’s bottom was visible. Those among the ill who drank of

---

regarding political legitimacy and, specifically, the notion that a new reign coincides with a turn in the cosmic cycle.

<sup>407</sup> 1365 C.E.

<sup>408</sup> This quote is also found in Song Lian’s introduction to the present text (ZHDZ 46.342). There it is said that the emperor made his observations on the Celestial Master’s unusual appearance to Song Lian rather than to Zhang Zhengchang.

<sup>409</sup> 1366 C.E.

<sup>410</sup> The Palace of Homage to Heaven (*Chaotian gong* 朝天宮) in Nanjing was constructed by Zhu Yuanzhong in the late fourteenth century.

the water invariably recovered. The Emperor heard of this and was pleased. He ordered a pavilion built over the well and named the site Spring of Grand Unity.<sup>411</sup>

The Celestial Master was ordered to transmit all ranks of the Extending Joy Talisman of the Most High, after which he requested to be allowed to return to the mountains.<sup>412</sup> He was again summoned by imperial attendants and granted golden robes and embroidered fabrics. A special directive was dispatched to the secretariat granting the Celestial Master the right to imperial relay stations so that he might attend court whenever he wished.

In the initial or *dingmo* year of the Wu reign era the Celestial Master made a petition to Zhu Yuanzhang urging him to ascend the throne.<sup>413</sup> The Hongwu reign era was established in the *wushen* year and Zhu Yuanzhang ascended to the treasured position.<sup>414</sup> The Celestial Master made a congratulatory trip to the court and a banquet was held in his honor at the rest palace. The emperor made a proclamation which said, “I now grant you the title of Grand Perfected and gift you an official salary.” The Celestial

---

<sup>411</sup> This incident is repeated in an expanded but otherwise verbatim account in *Collected Works of Song Lian* (SKQS 18.21). It is also recounted in “Spirit-Way Inscription for the Forty-Second Generation Celestial Master, Inheritor of the Upright Unity Teachings, Duke Zhang the Great Perfected of the Vast Virtue who Venerates the Way with Complete Sincerity, Elucidates the Ancestral Teachings and Safeguard’s the Nation,” (*Sishi er dai tianshi zhengyi sijiao huguo chanzu tongcheng chongdao hongde dazhenren Zhang gong shendao beaming* 四十二代天師正一嗣教護國闡祖通城崇道弘德大真人張公神道碑銘) an inscription composed by Song Lian that is preserved in *Collected Daoist Epigraphy* 1240-1242.

<sup>412</sup> The Extending Joy Talisman of the Most High (*Taishang yanxi falu* 太上延禧法籙) is only mentioned in the present text and in the *Chronological Register*. At no point is its function described.

<sup>413</sup> The Wu 吳 reign era corresponds to 1367 C.E., at which point Zhu Yuanzhang was still titled Prince of Wu 吳王. It was the *dingmo* or twenty-seventh year of the Zhizheng 至正 reign era of Yuan Emperor Shundi.

<sup>414</sup> 1368 C.E.

Master declined the honor with cordial sincerity and requested only that the prior state of affairs be allowed to continue. He asked that taxes and corvee labor continue to be exempted and that the exclusive right to issue talismans and registers be extended. The emperor was pleased and assented to this, permitting the bestowal of a remittance of taxation and corvee labor to the entirety of the household and those who staffed the Great Upper Clarity Palace.

After the banquet the emperor issued a writ of direct order from the inner palace bestowing upon Zhengchang command over the teachings of Upright Unity and granting him the title Descendant of the Han Celestial Master in the Forty-Second Generation, the Great Perfected of the Vast Virtue who Venerates the Way with Complete Sincerity, Elucidates the Ancestral Teachings and Safeguards the Nation.<sup>415</sup> He was given command over Daoist affairs and granted a silver seal and a ceremonial position of the second rank. The emperor established the posts of Assistant Teacher and Chief Secretary among others whose duty was to aid the Celestial Master.<sup>416</sup> The audience ended and all were dismissed.

The emperor held an audience at the Hall of Prudent Conduct in which he spoke to Zhengchang with casual ease, “Your ancestor the Celestial Master undertook labors for

---

<sup>415</sup> The *History of the Ming* (SKQS 74.28) relates that Zhang Zhengchang had an audience at court in the inaugural year of the Hongwu reign era. In that source it is said that the emperor revoked the title Celestial Master and replaced it with that of Perfected. The incident is retold in a slightly expanded form in the *Evidential Learning* (*Kaozheng* 考證) section of the history (SKQS 299.26). There, the Emperor incredulously asks if Heaven has a master prior to revoking the title.

<sup>416</sup> The establishment of these posts is recounted in greater detail in the *History of the Ming* (SKQS 74.28). On the position of Assistant Teacher (*Zanjiao* 贊教) in the context of Ming dynasty Daoism See Richard G. Wang, *The Ming Prince and Daoism: Institutional Patronage of an Elite*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 142.

the benefit of the nation. So it is that your lineage has descended in tandem with that of Confucius and has stretched across time down to the present day. You embody clarity, quiescence, and effortless action. If you assist me in arriving at complete good governance then I will favor you.” The emperor then granted fifteen *yi* of gold for the refurbishment and reconstruction of facilities on the mountain.<sup>417</sup>

In the second month of the *jiyou* year a special summons was extended to the Celestial Master.<sup>418</sup> He had a personal audience with the emperor at the Hall of Tribute to Heaven after which a banquet was held in his honor. That month he was called in to consult with the emperor on four occasions and summoned to banquets twice.

On the thirteenth day of the third month the emperor held a supplication to the Thearch and a three day retreat was held.<sup>419</sup> The emperor wore a ceremonial robe and cap and inscribed his name on a register. He charged the Chamberlain of Ceremonials with the performance of music and handed the register to the Celestial Master who read the liturgy and then burned it. After the ritual was completed the emperor granted gold coins to the Celestial Master and held a banquet in his honor at the Pavilion of Literature. The various disciples of the Celestial Master were feted at another lodge and given lesser rewards.

---

<sup>417</sup> One *yi* 鎰 is equivalent to twenty taels. Song Lian’s “Spirit Way Inscription,” records that twelve *yi* were granted to the Celestial Master for renovations on this occasion. See *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 1241.

<sup>418</sup> March 9 to April 6, 1369 C.E.

<sup>419</sup> April 19, 1369 C.E.

In the summer of the *gengxu* year the emperor again extended his favor and dispatched a special directive to the Ministry of Personnel ordering that the honorific of Zhengchang's father, the thirty-ninth Celestial Master, the Great Perfected of Cyclically Transforming Great Mystery who Embodies Humaneness and Merits Response from the Way, be altered to Great Perfected who Venerates the Way, Bright Accomplishment, Vast Transformation of Great Mystery, Holder of the Teachings of Upright Unity.<sup>420</sup> The title of his mother, a woman of the Hu clan who was formerly honored as Transcendent Maiden of Benevolent Obedience and Bright Intelligence, was altered to Tender and Gentle Mysterious Sovereign, Benevolent and Kind, Respectful and Obedient.

In the autumn of that year the emperor summoned the Celestial Master to court and inquired into the characteristics of ghosts and spirits. He then granted the Celestial Master a silver seal of command over all Daoist affairs in the realm.<sup>421</sup> In the autumn of the *renzi* year the Celestial Master was again given a special summons to court. On that occasion the emperor granted him a commendation of praise in recognition of his command over Daoist affairs throughout the realm in perpetuity.<sup>422</sup>

---

<sup>420</sup> 1370 C.E. This passage on Emperor Taizu's alteration of the titles that were granted to Zhang Zhengchang's parents in the late Yuan is also found in Song Lian's "Spirit Way Inscription." See, *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 1241. It is also found in *Chronological Register* under the heading "Proclamation of Bestowals to the Great Perfected the Forty-Second Celestial Master," (*Shou sishi er dai tianshi da zhenren gao* 授四十二代天師大真人誥) (ZHDZ 46.315). In that source the audience is said to have taken place in the sixth month of the third year (June 24 to July 22, 1370 C.E.). No mention of this is made in official sources.

<sup>421</sup> This is also reported in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.315). No date is given in that source.

<sup>422</sup> 1372 C.E. Song Lian's "Spirit Way Inscription," also records the bestowal of a writ of commendation at this time. See, *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 1241. The commendation itself, dated to the twelfth month of the fifth year of the Hongwu reign era, is found in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.315) under the title "Proclamation on the Additional Bestowal of Command over Daoist Affairs in Perpetuity," (*Jia shou*

In the autumn of the *bingchen* year an envoy was dispatched to summon the Celestial Master.<sup>423</sup> To the emperor's surprise, Zhang Zhengchang arrived at court prior to the appointed day and was granted an audience. The emperor was pleased and said, "How is it that you have come? It is as though your thoughts are in concert with my own! In the autumn of following year you are to join in a sacrifice to the spirits of the seas and the Marchmounts. You are to come forth with a selection of disciples who are of marked by clarity and refinement." The emperor presented him with gold ritual robes, a jade tablet, and a variety of ritual implements.

In the summer of the *dingsi* year, the Celestial Master set out to court in the company of a coterie of disciples. A banquet was held in their honor in the tower at Wu Gate.<sup>424</sup> The emperor raised his glass and said, "You are to drain your goblet!" He ordered the palace attendants away and spoke in praise of the historical Celestial Masters saying, "The deeds of former times are inscribed and bestowed to you. Tomorrow I will order you to perform a sacrifice at Mount Song. High officials and disciples will be dispatched separately to perform sacrifices at the various Marchmounts.<sup>425</sup> Each will be

---

*yong chang daojiao shi gao* 加授永掌道教事誥). The absence of the text from imperial sources, including *Ming Emperor Taizu's Collected Writs*, is noteworthy.

<sup>423</sup> 1376 C.E. The story of this summons is recounted in both the "Spirit Way Inscription," and the *Chronological Register*. The wording of those sources differs slightly from the account presented here though the details are essentially identical.

<sup>424</sup> 1377 C.E. Wu Gate was the southern entrance to the imperial palace complex constructed in Nanjing under the auspices of Emperor Taizu.

<sup>425</sup> The "Spirit Way Inscription" records that the Celestial Master was to accompany "Grand Preceptor Li, the Duke of Han, Shanchang," (*Taishi Li Hangong Shanchang* 太師李韓公善長). See, *Collected Daoist Epigraphy*, 1421. Li Shanchang is also said to accompany the Celestial Master in the account found in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.316). Li Shanchang was a trusted advisor of Zhu Yuanzhang and one of the architects of the Ming legal code. He was executed along with seventy members of his household in



granted a pair of garments and differing amounts of paper currency. Upon return a banquet will be held as was done at the outset. On your return to Dragon and Tiger Mountain you will set your aspirations towards the extraordinary.”

One day a feast was held and the Celestial Master’s close compatriots were in a mood of festive carousal. He sighed and said, “My deceased father wished to travel to the Five Marchmounts, those renowned mountains, but never did so. Mount Song’s central peak is the place where my ancestor obtained the Cinnabar Scripture of Great Clarity. Now, owing to the numinous power of the sagely emperor, I have the good fortune of travelling to Mount Song. Sunlight illuminates the strata of rosy clouds. Distant dust drifts across vast *kalpa*. My intent is fixed on this.” Those gathered were astonished by his words.

Not long after this the Celestial Master fell ill. He sat upright upon his bed and gathered about him those disciples inclined towards righteousness. He then spoke to them saying, “I have no means by which to reciprocate the nation’s graciousness towards me. You who are gathered to my left and right are as my descendants who aid in tranquil transformation.”

He gathered up his sword and seal and passed them on to his son saying, “Our lineage has been transmitted for fifteen hundred years. You are to exert yourself to the utmost.” He finished speaking, raised his hand, and traced out a circle. Then he underwent his transformation without a further word. That night there was a great

---

1390 C.E., a victim of purges undertaken late in the reign of Emperor Taizu. See, *History of the Ming* (SKQS 127.1-9).

rockslide, the sound of which could be heard for tens of *li*. The Minister of Rites Zhang Chou composed an obituary.<sup>426</sup> The Emperor gave a heart rending sigh of grief and was silent for some time. Finally, he said, “I had hoped to command him to perform supplications at the Five Marchmounts. We have presently arrived at Mount Song. How could fate have brought him to such an end?”

With this he produced a memorial to the Celestial Master and commanded An Qing, the Assistant Administrator of the Branch Secretariat of Zhejiang to pronounce the eulogy.<sup>427</sup> The shed husk of the Celestial Master was interred on the southern slope of the mountain at Cloven Pit Cavern.

The avoidance name of the forty-third Celestial Master was Yuchu. His style name was Zixun. His alternate moniker was Qishan. He was the eldest son of The Master who Permeates the Void. He had clear eyes and double pupils that were joined like the two dippers.<sup>428</sup> He was a precocious boy and at the age of nine he was already in possession of the demeanor of a venerable man. One day an unusual person came to pay

---

<sup>426</sup> Zhang Chou 張籌 was initially a lowly Provisioner (*Yingfeng* 應奉) in the Hanlin Academy and was later made secretary in the Ministry of Rites (*Libu* 禮部). A biography is found in the *History of the Ming* (SKQS 136.10-11). The *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.316) records that the emperor ordered Zhang Chou to compose an obituary for Zhang Zhengchang in the eleventh year of the Hongwu reign era (1378 C.E.). The *Collected Works of Song Lian* (SKQS 18.20) also attests to this and says that Zhengchang died at Dragon and Tiger Mountain on the fifth day of the twelfth month of the *dingsi* year of the Hongwu reign era (January 4, 1378 C.E.).

<sup>427</sup> The memorial composed on the occasion is preserved in a number of works. In *Ming Emperor Taizu's Collected Writs* (*Ming Taizu wenji* 明太祖文集 SKQS 18.14) it appears under the title “Memorial Writ for the Perfected Zhang Zhengchang” (*Ji zhenren Zhang Zhengchang wen* 祭真人張正常文). In *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.24) it is appended to Zhang Zhengchang's biography. In the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.216) it concludes the section on honors bestowed on the forty-second Celestial Master.

<sup>428</sup> This is a mark of innate sagacity. Among other great figures both historical and legendary, the sagely and mythic Emperor Shun 舜 is said to have exhibited the trait.

his respects saying, “This is a scholar of transcendence. In days to come he will be a great transmitter of the teachings.”

As he grew to maturity his talents were both broad and profound and his scholarship progressed ceaselessly. He had a thorough and syncretic knowledge of the three clans which he merged into a single path.<sup>429</sup> He took up the teachings of the various masters and the works of the hundred schools of thought and did not cast any away but gathered them together. He inscribed writs recording Daoist affairs and each of them was the very zenith of refined wondrousness. The culmination of his writings is found in the *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* in twenty fascicles. The Prince of Liao was pleased with the work and ordered it transcribed onto printing blocks.<sup>430</sup>

The prince thoroughly perused the work, and upon returning it he bestowed great tokens of favor upon the Celestial Master. Among princes, dukes, and officials there were none who did not pay their homage to him.

Once, Yuchu was tending to the Master who Permeates the Void at the Pavilion of the Heavenly Heart of Moonlight on Water. To the northwest a cloudlike mist arose before their eyes. In its midst a gold portal opened onto a cavern from which five colored light radiated. A company of celestial spirit guardians stood in disciplined order, armed

---

<sup>429</sup> The three clans (*Sanshi* 三氏) are Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism.

<sup>430</sup> In the *Siku Quanshu* edition (SKQS 序.3-4) of the *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* the second preface is attributed to the Prince of Liao 遼王, Zhu Zhi 朱植, a son of Emperor Taizu. The same preface appears in the Daoist Canon version of the text but is unattributed. Though the identity of the author is an open question it was clearly not the work of Zhang Yuchu himself as he is referred to throughout in the third person.

and armored. A sudden change came over their countenances. The Master who Permeates the Void asked them the reason for their manifestation. They replied that they had come forth to receive the esoteric teachings of the household so that they might come to understand and benefit from them.

In the eleventh year of the Hongwu reign era the Celestial Master was called to court and had an audience with the emperor. The emperor looked him up and down time and again before finally saying, with a chuckle, “You greatly resemble your father.” Further honors were bestowed upon the Celestial Master.<sup>431</sup>

The following year the Emperor dispatched an envoy to the mountain. He extended a proclamation favoring the Celestial Master with the title Great Perfected, the Shining Standard Bearer who Elucidates the Ancestral Teachings, whose Way is in Union with Effortless Inaction, Inheritor of the Upright Unity Teachings.<sup>432</sup> He was called back to the capital for an audience. The Emperor sent down a personal edict urging the Celestial Master to enact tallies so as to rectify spirit intelligences.<sup>433</sup> The

---

<sup>431</sup> 1378 C.E. This meeting is not recorded in official sources nor is it found in Zhang Yuchu’s own *Anthology of the Alpine Spring*, the *Chronological Register*, or the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*.

<sup>432</sup> 1379 C.E. The Qing dynasty *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 104.46) follows the *Hereditary Household* in dating the title to this year. A proclamation in fascicle one hundred thirty of the *Veritable Records of the Ming* (*Ming shilu* 明實錄) gives the date for the bestowal of this title as the spring of the thirteenth year of the Hongwu reign era (1380 C.E.). The text as it appears in the *Veritable Records* is reproduced in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 26.316). An undated but otherwise verbatim transcription of the proclamation as it appears in that work is found in *Ming Emperor Taizu’s Collected Writs* (SKQS 3.14) and the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.24).

<sup>433</sup> The text of the imperial proclamation is found in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.24) and the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 26.316-317) where it is titled “Proclamation on the Exertion of Efforts to Enact the Tallies to Rectify Spirit Intelligences,” (*Ci mian xiujie yi ge shengming chi* 賜勉修節以格神明敕).

emperor then granted the Celestial Master ritual robes and gold as well as the use of imperial relay stations for his return to the mountain.

In the *xinyou* year the Emperor made a proclamation honoring the Celestial Master's mother, a woman of the Bao clan, as Mysterious Sovereign of Wondrous Virtue, Humble Simplicity and Pure Vacuity.<sup>434</sup> In the *guihai* year the Emperor summoned the Celestial Master to a private audience and ordered the performance of the Great Retreat of the Jade Register at Purple Gold Mountain.<sup>435</sup> In the same year the Celestial Master was summoned to the Belvedere of Spirit Music in order to perform a supplication for rain. It was efficacious.<sup>436</sup>

In the *gengwu* year he was granted funds for the reconstruction of the Upper Clarity Palace.<sup>437</sup> On the first day of the sixth month of the *xinwei* year, the emperor made a declaration to the Ministry of Rites forbidding the production of counterfeit

---

<sup>434</sup> 1381 C.E. This information is also found in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.24). The *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.317) includes a "Declaration on the Enfeoffment of the Transcendent Sovereign of the Bao Clan" (*Feng Baoshi xuanjun gao* 封包氏玄君誥) dated to the twentieth day of the first month of the fourteenth year of the Hongwu reign era (February 14, 1381 C.E.). The proclamation and date given in the *Chronological Record* is corroborated in fascicle one hundred thirty-four of the *Veritable Records of the Ming*.

<sup>435</sup> 1383 C.E. Purple Gold Mountain (*Zijin shan* 紫金山) is located in Jiangsu Province, to the east of Nanjing and is best known in the present day as the site of Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.24) and the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.317) record that this event took place in the same year as given in the present text. Neither extant edition of the *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* contains a record of this event. The *Siku Quanshu* edition of the text (SKQS 3.10) contains an entry in which it is said that the Celestial Master was summoned to Purple Gold Mountain in 1383 C.E. in order to perform a Yellow Register Libation for the Benefit of the State (*Huanglu guo jiao* 黄籙國醮) following the death of the empress.

<sup>436</sup> The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.24) records that this efficacious supplication took place the year after the rite at Purple Gold Mountain.

<sup>437</sup> 1390 C.E. This is corroborated by the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.317). The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.14) records that the repairs were made in the thirteenth year of the Hongwu reign era (1380 C.E.). No record of the event is found in official sources.

talismans and registers. He also granted the Celestial Master a Seal of the Mysterious Altar of Upright Unity so that he might enforce the prohibition on the unauthorized production of talismans and registers. He was additionally granted guardianship in perpetuity over the renowned mountains.<sup>438</sup> He returned to the mountain and went into seclusion and built a purity hut beneath Yellow Bamboo Peak where he would live out the rest of his days in seclusion.

In the *renwu* year Emperor Wen, whose temple name was Chengzu, inherited the throne.<sup>439</sup> The Celestial Master paid a congratulatory visit to the court and was in turn treated with favor and granted a gift of cash to be used for the repair of Upper Clarity Palace.<sup>440</sup> In the inaugural year of the Yongle reign era, he was called upon to assist in sacrifices at the altar to Heaven.<sup>441</sup> In the *bingxu* year he was ordered to revise and edit

---

<sup>438</sup> July 2, 1391 C.E. A “Decree Prohibiting the Spurious Production of Talismans and Registers,” (*Jin sichu fulu zhi* 禁私出符籙旨) in which the unauthorized production of tallies and registers is outlawed and the Celestial Master is granted a seal of office and command over the renowned mountains (*Ming shan* 名山) is preserved in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.317). The date of the command’s issue matches that given here. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.25) does not make mention of a prohibition of false talismans but states that the Celestial Master was granted emblems of office in the year after funds for the repairs of Upper Clarity Palace were granted which, according to the chronology of that source, places the event in 1381 C.E. Fascicle two hundred eleven of the *Veritable Records of the Ming* records that the Celestial Master was granted seals of office on the third day of the eighth month of the twenty-fourth year of the Hongwu reign era (September 1, 1391 C.E.). Nothing is said of a prohibition of counterfeit talismans in that source.

<sup>439</sup> 1402 C.E.

<sup>440</sup> This is corroborated in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.317) and the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.25).

<sup>441</sup> 1403 C.E. This is recorded in the *Chronological Record* (ZHDZ 46.317) and the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.25) where it is said that the emperor also granted a gift of ritual robes embroidered in gold on the occasion.

Daoist works.<sup>442</sup> In the *dinghai* year he was ordered to the Hall of Tribute to Heaven to perform the Great Retreat of the Jade Register for Commendation and Praise. At the time of the retreat's performance auspicious five colored clouds gathered over the altar and *luan* birds were observed sporting about with cranes. When word of this reached the Bureau of Sacrifice the Celestial Master was granted commendations.<sup>443</sup>

In the third month of the *wuzi* year a special decree was handed down ordering the elucidation and transmission of the talismans and registers of the household of the Perfected.<sup>444</sup> In the fourth month he was commanded to transmit the Extending Joy Talisman and perform the Great Retreat of Extending Joy of the Five Altars. These acts were met with great response and the Celestial Master was richly rewarded with imperial treasures and given special use of imperial relay stations for his return to the mountain.<sup>445</sup>

In the tenth month he was charged with the delivery of an edict of invitation written in the emperor's hand and addressed to the Perfected Transcendent Zhang

---

<sup>442</sup> 1406 C.E. The text of the proclamation is found in the *Chronological Record* (ZHDZ 46.317) where it is dated to the nineteenth day of the eleventh month of the fourth year of the Yongle reign era (December 29, 1406 C.E.). The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.25) records that the Celestial Master was called to court in that year but simply states that he was granted imperial favors and says nothing about the revision of texts.

<sup>443</sup> 1407 C.E. A lengthy proclamation inclusive of the display of wonders that the rite was met with is found in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.317) under the title "Decree on the Response which Greeted the Retreat's Performance," (*Ming jian zhai you ying jiang ci* 命建齋有應獎敕). It is dated to the fifteenth of the tenth month of the fifth year of the Yongle reign era (November 14, 1407 C.E.). The narrative of miraculous response is repeated in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.25) although that source contends that the Celestial Master performed the Great Retreat of the Yellow Register in addition to the Great Retreat of the Jade Register. There the text of the imperial proclamation is followed by a description of further imperial reward in the form of a gold brocaded garment.

<sup>444</sup> March 28 to April 25, 1408 C.E.

<sup>445</sup> April 26 to May 25, 1408 C.E. This is recorded in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.318) although the bestowal of imperial treasures is not mentioned in that source.

Sanfeng.<sup>446</sup> In the *jichou* year the Celestial Master was again ordered to seek out Zhang Sanfeng and extend a summons to court to him.<sup>447</sup>

In the springtime he spontaneously issued forth a speech on divine wonders. None present understood the meaning of what they heard. One day he took up the seal and sword and presented them to his younger brother Yuqing saying, “I will now return to completion. Only my gratefulness to the nation is not yet repaid.” Yuqing took this into consideration. After a period of three days the Celestial Master completed a laud which read, “A single jot of numinous brightness, rooted in nothingness life extinguishes. In the midst of fifty years, neither complete nor lacking. Presently the dawning sun rends the great void. The three realms and the ten directions are made clear and bright.” He lifted his hand, extended his finger, and expired.

At the time the imperial entourage was stopping over in Beijing. The crown prince was acting as regent and he dispatched couriers to convey a memorial of

---

<sup>446</sup> Although a renowned figure by the early Ming dynasty, he is not mentioned in the hagiographical compendia of the Yuan and Ming as one might expect. Relatively early biographical material is found in the *History of the Ming* (SKQS 299.10-11) and in the early seventeenth century *Book of the Land of Ecstatic wanderings* (*Xiaoyao xu jing* 逍遙墟經 HY 1453 ZHDZ 45.515). In both sources he is depicted as a person originally hailing from Yizhou 懿州 (contemporary Liaoning) who eventually established a hermitage on Mount Wudang (*Wudang shan* 武當山) in Hubei. These sources are fairly typical of descriptions of quasi-mythical figures; his otherworldly appearance and feats of self-cultivation are emphasized and the entry in the *History of the Ming* is notable for the inclusion of the detail that both the Hongwu Emperor and the Yongle Emperor sent out search parties inviting him to court. His residence on Mount Wudang is presumably the source of his later association with the martial arts. See, Martina Darga’s entry “Zhang Sanfeng,” in *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 1233-35. A brief imperial invitation to Zhang Sanfeng 張三丰 dated to the seventh day of the tenth month of the sixth year of the Yongle reign era (October 25, 1408 C.E.) is found in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.318).

<sup>447</sup> 1409 C.E. A dispatch addressed to the Celestial Master expressing deep disappointment that Zhang Sanfeng has yet to be found and ordering the search to continue is found in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.318). It is dated to the thirteenth day of the eighth month of the seventh year of the Yongle reign era (September 21, 1409 C.E.).



condolence.<sup>448</sup> The following year the emperor expressed his sorrow over the Celestial Master's death. A messenger was again dispatched to the mountain with a memorial in which the emperor's grief was given full vent.<sup>449</sup> The shed husk of the Celestial Master was interred at the Alpine Spring.

The avoidance name of the forty-fourth Celestial Master was Yuqing. His style name was Yanji. His alternate moniker was Xibi. He was the second son of the Master who Permeates the Void and the younger brother of Qishan.<sup>450</sup>

The Master who Permeates the Void dreamt that the Perfected of Bilu entered his chamber clad in red robes and wearing a high cap.<sup>451</sup> The following day Yuqing was born. At the age of seven he was capable of composing poetry. As he grew to maturity he probed and investigated the mysterious writs, Ruist works, scriptures, texts of the masters, and histories. None were left unexplored. He transmitted the *Collected Writs of*

---

<sup>448</sup> The text of a memorial in praise of Zhang Yuchu dated to the eighth year of the Yongle reign era (1410 C.E.) is found in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.318). An entry in fascicle one hundred two of the *Veritable Records of the Ming* notes that the crown prince dispatched a message of condolence on the twenty-fifth day of the third month of the eighth year of the Yongle reign era (April 28, 1410 C.E.). The *History of the Ming* (SKQS 299.26) records that Zhang Yuchu died in the eighth year of the Yongle reign era and was succeeded by his younger brother Yuqing but does not mention any imperial eulogies.

<sup>449</sup> The text of the memorial is found in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.318-319).

<sup>450</sup> The Master who Permeates the Void and Qishan are, respectively, the forty-second and forty-third Celestial Masters.

<sup>451</sup> The identity of the Perfected of Bilu (*Bilu zhenren* 壁魯真人) is not clear. Presumably he is the perfected guardian of Bilu Cavern at Dragon and Tiger Mountain (see note twenty of the present translation). The entry on that location in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.8) tells of a sasquatch like Perfected of the Western Mountain (*Xishan zhenren* 西山真人) who lived in the cavern during the reign of Han Chengdi 漢成帝 (r. 33-7 B.C.E.). He went naked throughout the year, insulated by two to three *chi* of hair which covered his entire body. That source also tells of the Perfected of the Great White (*Taibai zhenren* 太白真人) who bestowed the methods of the spirit tiger on the ancestral Celestial Master in the cavern.

*Xibi* to the world.<sup>452</sup> In the *gengyin* year of the Yongle reign era he inherited the teachings. In the tenth month of that year the imperial entourage was returning to the south. The Celestial Master was called to an audience and a banquet was held in his honor. The emperor granted him a cap, robes, and a peaked jade tablet. The Celestial Master was then ordered to perform a libation at Aiding Sagacity Palace. Later, a proclamation was made in which the Celestial Master was granted the title Inheritor of the Upright Unity Teachings, the Great Perfected who Brings Glory to the Ancestor, Enacts the Way, and Permeates the Purity of Clear Vacuity.<sup>453</sup> He was granted command over Daoist affairs.

In the seventh month of the *guisi* year the emperor made a gift of a chart of the full moon over Grand Summit and one hundred betel plums.<sup>454</sup> In the eighth month Yuqing was charged with the appointment of Daoists capable of enacting the Way to

---

<sup>452</sup> The *Collected Writs of Xibi* (*Xibi wenji* 西壁文集) is apparently no longer extant and quite possibly never was. I have been unable to locate external reference to the compilation.

<sup>453</sup> A proclamation in which the Celestial Master is granted this title and given command over Daoist affairs dated to the twenty-first day of the eleventh month of the eighth year of the Yongle reign era (December 16, 1410 C.E.) is found in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.319). Fascicle one hundred ten of the *Veritable Records of the Ming* records that the title was bestowed on the twentieth day of the eleventh month of the eighth year of the Yongle reign era.

<sup>454</sup> July 28 to August 25 1413 C.E. The Grand Summit (*Tai yue* 太嶽) refers to Mount Wudang which was honored as the Mountain of the Great Summit of Great Harmony (*Taihe taiyue shan* 太和太岳山) in the Yongle reign era. See, *History of the Ming* (SKQS 299.11). The betel plum (*Langmei* 榔梅) is indigenous to Mount Wudang. The Ming dynasty *Guidelines and Details of Materia Medica* (*Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目) includes a myth that credits Zhenwu 真武 the Perfected Warrior with creating the tree by grafting a plum branch onto a betel tree. See, Chao, *Daoist Ritual, State Religion, and Popular Practices*, 92. The *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.319-320) includes a memorial on the bestowal of these gifts that is dated to the fourth day of the seventh month of the eleventh year of the Yongle reign era (July 31, 1413 C.E.).

abbacies at Mount Wudang.<sup>455</sup> In the ninth month he was granted command over all of the mountains and ordered to perform the Seven Day Great Retreat of the Gold Register at the Great Upper Clarity Palace. The rite was met with a numinous response in the form of an omen that appeared at Dragon Well. The Celestial Master was given a gift of paper cash. So that fish might propagate in the midst of the mountain's streams a decree was made which read, "Pool for propagating life. The casting of poles and nets are forbidden."<sup>456</sup>

In the *yiwei* year the emperor ordered the refurbishment of the Great Upper Clarity Palace and the reconstruction of the Perfected Virtue Belvedere.<sup>457</sup> A pontoon bridge was built and an embankment was created. In the *dingyou* year the Celestial Master was ordered to make an offering at the altar of western suppression.<sup>458</sup> In the eleventh month he was ordered to the Palace of Numinous Deliverance in Fujian to

---

<sup>455</sup> August 26 to September 24, 1413 C.E. The *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.320) contains a "Decree on the Selection of Abbots at Mount Wudang" (*Ming xuan Wudang shan zhuchi chi* 命選武當山住持敕) which charges Zhang Yuqing with the appointment of two Daoists to every palace on the mountain that was rebuilt after the fall of the Yuan. It is dated to the twenty-fifth of the eighth month of the eleventh year of the Yongle reign era (September 19, 1413 C.E.).

<sup>456</sup> The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.26) and the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.320) both record the performance of the rite at the Great Upper Clarity Palace. The *Chronological Register* echoes the *Hereditary Household* with regards to the date of the performance whereas the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* places it in the fourteenth year of the Yogle reign era. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* records the appearance of a dancing dragon at Dragon Well.

<sup>457</sup> 1415C.E. This information is repeated without further embellishment in the *Chronological Register* (46.320) and the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.26).

<sup>458</sup> The meaning of this rite is not evident. The "altar of western suppression" (*Xi zhen tan* 西鎮壇) is not mentioned outside of the present text and identical passages in the *Chronological Register* (ZDSZ 46.320) and *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.26).

perform a Great Offering of the Golden Register of Gratefulness.<sup>459</sup> The rite was met with auspicious response; the moon shone like a bright candle, five colored clouds gathered like a drawing curtain and *luan* birds and cranes sported about. A great number of numinous signs accumulated. When word of this event reached the Bureau of Sacrifice further commendations were bestowed and the Celestial Master was given a gift of gold coins.

In the second month of the *wuxu* year the Celestial Master was called to court and gifted an embroidered cap and robe as well as one hundred *yi* of white gold coins.<sup>460</sup> He was ordered to perform a sacrifice to a golden image of the Mysterious Emperor at Mount Taihe.<sup>461</sup> In the fifth month he was charged with calming the calamitous tides in Zhejiang. The Celestial Master inscribed a metal talisman and delegated the matter to his disciple Huang Duanyou who cast it into the waters. At the time great waves billowed

---

<sup>459</sup> The Palace of Numinous Deliverance (*Lingji gong* 靈濟宮) in Fujian was constructed by the Yongle Emperor in 1417 C.E. as a place to honor the apotheosized tenth century officials Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhi'e 徐知諤, the Perfected Sovereigns of Overflowing Grace (*Hong'en zhenjun* 洪恩真君). See Chen Yaoting's entry "Real Lords of Overflowing Mercy," in *Encyclopedia of Daoism*, 485-487. Fascicle one hundred eighty six of the *Veritable Records of the Ming* records the circumstances of the temple's construction. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.26) does not specify the nature of the rite performed beyond noting that it was undertaken in honor of the enfeoffment of the Perfected Sovereigns of Overflowing Grace. The *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.320) contains an imperial memorial composed in commemoration of the rite. It is dated to the first month of the sixteenth year of the Yongle reign era (February 6 to March 7 1418 C.E.).

<sup>460</sup> March 8 to April 5, 1418 C.E. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.26) records that the Celestial Master was granted one hundred *yi* of white gold in addition to one hundred thousand paper cash notes.

<sup>461</sup> The Mysterious Emperor (*Xuan di* 玄帝) is the martial deity also known as the Great Emperor and Perfected Warrior (*Zhenwu dadi* 真武大帝), the Northern Emperor (*Bei di* 北帝), and High Emperor of Mysterious Heaven (*Xuantian shangdi* 玄天上帝) among other titles. Veneration of the deity reached an unprecedented peak during the reign of the Yongle Emperor who credited Zhenwu with aiding him in his successful campaign to take the throne from his nephew. The *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.321) records that the sacrifice took place in the third month of the sixteenth year of the Yongle reign era (April 6 to May 5, 1418 C.E.).

and surged forth and a sound like the cries of men mingled with the braying of horses could be heard. The waters then receded and the disaster was quelled. When word of this matter reached the ears of officials the emperor dispatched a messenger with the bestowal of further commendations.<sup>462</sup>

In the *yihai* year the Celestial Master's wife, a woman of the Sun clan, was enfeoffed as Chaste and Virtuous, Elegant and Upright Mysterious Sovereign of Wondrous Grace.<sup>463</sup> The Celestial Master was granted gold along with a variety of fruits and fish.<sup>464</sup> In the *gengzi* year the Celestial Master was summoned to court and called upon to lead a group of Daoists in the performance of the Great Retreat of the Jade Register.<sup>465</sup> The rite was met with numerous auspicious omens. In the tenth month the Celestial Master was called upon to perform a Libation of Universal Deliverance at the Palace of Numinous Deliverance in the capital.<sup>466</sup> On the first day of the first month of

---

<sup>462</sup> The *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.321) simply notes that the Celestial Master was charged with quelling floodwaters in Zhejiang. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.26) reproduces the description found here. The Celestial Master's disciple Huang Duanyou 黃端友 is not mentioned elsewhere in the Daoist Canon.

<sup>463</sup> 1419 C.E. This title is also repeated in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.26). A memorial titled "Declaration on the Enfeoffment of the Woman of the Sun Clan as Mysterious Sovereign," (*Feng Sun shi xuanjun gao* 封孫氏玄君誥) dated to the fourth day of the first month of the seventeenth year of the Yongle reign era (January 29, 1419 C.E.) is found in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.321).

<sup>464</sup> The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.26) states that the Celestial Master was bestowed a gift of cash, unusual items (*qi pin* 奇品), ocean fish of extraordinary flavor, and exotic fruits in the fifth month of the seventeenth year of the Yongle reign era.

<sup>465</sup> 1420 C.E. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.26-27) and the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.321) echo this account with the added embellishment that the Celestial Master oversaw eighteen hundred Daoists in the performance of the rite.

<sup>466</sup> The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.27) and the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.321) record that a Retreat of Universal Deliverance (*Pudu zhai* 普度齋) was performed rather than a Libation of Universal Deliverance (*Pudu jiao* 普度醮).

the *xinchou* year the Celestial Master was ordered to perform a sacrifice at the altar of the zodiacal stars and again to perform a Seven Day Libation of Safeguarding.<sup>467</sup> The Celestial Master was granted a peaked jade tablet, brocaded silks, and mink garments.

The emperor returned to the capital on a northern expedition and the Celestial Master was ordered to perform a Great Retreat of Gratefulness which was met with auspicious response in the form of felicitous glowing clouds. The honors granted the Celestial Master were augmented and he was the subject of special praise and honor. In the *jiachen* year he was summoned to Mount Taihe in order to perform a libation.<sup>468</sup>

When Renzong, Emperor Zhao, ascended to the throne the Celestial Master paid a visit of congratulations to the court and was ordered to perform a Great Retreat of Praise and Commendation. It was met with extraordinary response. The emperor ordered a note of praise to be drafted and granted the Celestial Master a gold and jade seal of office, a gold embroidered robe, a crane feather ritual robe lined with mink, a peaked jade tablet, silks, and coins. The disciples who accompanied him were granted lesser rewards.

In the inaugural year of the Xuande reign era when Xuanzong, Emperor Zhang, ascended the throne the Celestial Master paid a congratulatory visit to the court and a banquet was held in his honor.<sup>469</sup> In the fourth month, the emperor extended his gratitude

---

<sup>467</sup> February 2, 1421 C.E.

<sup>468</sup> 1424 C.E. The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.27) reports that the ritual's completion was met with the manifestation of perfected transcendents and that the moon took on a peculiar bright and rosy hue.

<sup>469</sup> In fascicle fourteen of *Veritable Records of the Ming* it is said that the Celestial Master paid homage to Xuanzong on the fifth day of the second month of the inaugural year of the Xuande reign era (March 13, 1426 C.E.).

and bestowed additional honors upon the Celestial Master. In the sixth month the emperor further bestowed the title Great Perfected of Cavern Mystery, who Holds to Silence and Venerates Modesty, Enacts the Way of the Glorious Ancestor, Deep Purity and Clear Quiescence Inheritor of the Upright Unity Teachings.<sup>470</sup> He was further granted command over Daoist affairs throughout the empire.

In the *dingwei* year he was called to court and the household was granted exemption from corvee service.<sup>471</sup> On the third day of the fifth month the Celestial Master requested to be allowed to return to Dragon and Tiger Mountain due to his advanced age. One day in mid-autumn as a feast with his disciples drew to an end the Celestial Master composed an ode which read, “Passing by caverns and searching throughout the realm, sojourning to ask after Fuqiu.<sup>472</sup> Rainbows span the heavens and lightning fords the earth. Half of the clarity and brightness of the universe is autumnal. Half is in the upright pneuma that returns to be made manifest by Heaven.” Suddenly there was a great flash of lightning followed by the appearance of a rainbow. The mountain’s valleys were illuminated and the Celestial Master underwent his

---

<sup>470</sup> The *History of the Ming* (SKQS 299.26) records that at the outset of the Xuande reign era the Secretary of the Ministry of Rites (*Libu shangshu* 禮部尚書) Hu Ying 胡濙 (d. 1463 C.E.) successfully petitioned for the bestowal of a title on Zhang Yuqing’s behalf. Fascicle eighteen of *Veritable Records of the Ming* records that Zhang Yuchu was granted the additional honorific Great Perfected (*Da zhenren* 大真人) and given charge over Daoist affairs throughout the empire on the seventeenth day of the sixth month of the inaugural year of the Xuande reign (July 21, 1426 C.E.) in response to a memorial submitted by Hu Ying. The text of the emperor’s letter of commendation to the Celestial Master is found in the *Chronological Register* (ZHDZ 46.322) and the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.27-28).

<sup>471</sup> 1427 C.E.

<sup>472</sup> Duke Fuqiu (*Fuqiu gong* 浮丘公) appears in the *Arrayed Biographies of Transcendents* (SKQS Upper Fascicle.13). Where he is described as a Daoist (*Daoshi* 道士) who accompanied Wang Ziqiao 王子喬 in his ascent of Mount Song.

transformation.<sup>473</sup> When word of Zhang Yuqing's passing reached the emperor he dispatched the Palace Eunuch Lei Chun to deliver a eulogy. The Celestial Master was interred on the mountain to the right side of the Northern Perfection Belvedere.<sup>474</sup>

---

<sup>473</sup> The *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.28) states that the Celestial Master underwent his transformation on the thirteenth day of the eighth month of the second year of the Xuande reign era (September 3, 1427 C.E.).

<sup>474</sup> The Northern Perfection Belvedere is not referenced in any sources attributed to Celestial Masters at Dragon and Tiger Mountain preserved in the Daoist Canon nor is it given an entry in the section on belvederes and palaces in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain*. The Qing dynasty *Comprehensive Record of Jiangxi* (SKQS 112.44) states that the belvedere is located on Dragon and Tiger Mountain. A "Record of the Northern Perfection Belvedere at Upper Clarity Palace" (*Shangqing gong beizhen guan ji* 上清宮北真觀記) is found in *Selections from Yi Hermitage* (*Yian wen xuan* 頤庵文選 SKQS 1.62-63), a collection of the Ming dynasty historian Hu Yan's 胡儼 writings. According to that source the belvedere was constructed on the grounds of the Upper Clarity Palace under the auspices of the forty-fourth Celestial Master.



APPENDIX B

TRANSLATION OF ZHANG YUCHU'S COLOPHON TO THE *HEREDITARY*

*HOUSEHOLD OF THE HAN CELESTIAL MASTER*

Postface to the *Hereditary Household of the Han Celestial Master*:

According to the *Classic of Changes*, when the Way is manifested the virtue of the spirits is enacted. On account of this, responses are able to be granted and the spirits are able to intercede. The space between Heaven and Earth is filled. In ancient and present times alike it is without rest. This is the Way. If one is able to make the Way manifest, the spirits will appear and harmonize with those who are virtuous. And so, those who merit response from the myriad transformations are granted praise and assistance from the spirits. This is what is called “understanding the transforming and nourishing powers of heaven and earth.”<sup>1</sup>

Grand Scribe Qian has said, “Daoism consists of effortless inaction, the concretization and unification of essential spirit. In movement, it is unified with formlessness. In tranquility, it brings completion to the myriad things. It changes in accordance with timeliness and transforms in response to externalities. It establishes conventions, enacts affairs, and does nothing that is improper.”<sup>2</sup> Indeed, this is so.

The Most High was born in the state of Yin and served as a recording secretary in the archives of the Zhou and later moved to position of Scribe below the Pillar.<sup>3</sup> With regards to spiritual transformation, none are able to fathom his traces. He descended into

---

<sup>1</sup> This is a quote from the “Doctrine of the Mean” (*Zhongyong* 中庸) section of the *Book of Rites*.

<sup>2</sup> Grand Scribe Qian (*Taishi qian* 太史遷) is Sima Qian 司馬遷 (d. 86 B.C.E.). The passage quoted here is a highly condensed version of a passage from fascicle one hundred thirty of the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 130.3289).

<sup>3</sup> The State of Yin 殷國 was established at the outset of the Zhou. It occupied what is present day Shang Qiu County, Henan. This account is in keeping with the biography of Laozi as found in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 63.2140).

the world for the benefit of the mysterious ancestral teachings. Our ancestor, the Celestial Master, received the inherited grace of Marquis Liu. Our family has received the Way from the Most High.

On account of this, transcendent scriptures, cavern registers, and esoteric ledgers are not to be transmitted [widely] as all have been handed down to this generation.<sup>4</sup> We continue, passing down methods for the subjugation of evil spirits and oddities, and engaging in self-cultivation and spirit cinnabar refinement. When the work is complete, we ascend to transcendence. The sword and seal of office are then passed on to the Celestial Master of the succeeding generation. At present, they have been handed down for fifteen hundred years.<sup>5</sup> Although cyclical alterations have wrought changes in the world the lineage has continued without disruption. They did not take up the teachings of clarity, quiescence, and effortless inaction. Their meritorious action of spirit corresponds to the virtue of Heaven and so it is sufficient to the ends of nurturing and transforming.

Coming to the present day, their numinous traces abide in all of the famed mountains and profound locales. The renown of the sons and grandsons of the Celestial Master has spread far and their lofty influence has long endured. With sincerity they aid

---

<sup>4</sup> This passage is not clearly phrased but appears to refer to controversies over counterfeit talismans and registers and the imperially ordained monopoly on the transmission of such items that is a topic in many of the biographical entries in the *Hereditary Household*.

<sup>5</sup> As the history of the lineal transmission from Zhang Daoling (ca. 142 C.E.) to Zhang Yuchu (d. 1410 C.E.) falls short of the fifteen hundred year mark it would seem plausible that this detail was edited by the fiftieth Celestial Master Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥 (d.1611 C.E.) when he expanded the *Hereditary Household* to include later generations of the lineage. However, the colophon as it appears in both the *Siku Quanshu* (SKQS 2.6-7) and Daoist Canon (ZHDZ 26.181) editions of the *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* include this instance of fuzzy math suggesting that it originates with Zhang Yuchu's brush.

in the establishment of imperial virtue and magnanimity without seeking credit. They broadly confer benefit on the common people. This much may be observed.

From the end of the Han dynasty to the present they have resided at Dragon and Tiger Mountain, nesting in the crags and secreting themselves away in the valleys. There they undertake self-refinement in order to cultivate longevity. In the early years of the Song dynasty, their Daoist pursuit of the Way gradually came to be met with praise. Proceeding to the Chongning and Dagan reign eras the Perfected Sovereign of Empty Tranquility came forth.<sup>6</sup> His spiritual undertakings were met with wondrous response. He expressed the full realization of the circulation of pneuma and the refinement of form. He is a benefit to later generations and is of sufficient merit to stand as an equal to his predecessors.

Of those who followed him, none manifested the ancestral spirit above my great grandfather, the Duke of Wei Mountain, and my grandfather the Duke of Great Mystery.<sup>7</sup> Their prayers for longevity and disaster avoidance flourished and were met with the

---

<sup>6</sup> The Perfected Sovereign of Empty Tranquility (*Xujing zhenjun* 虛靖真君) is the honorific of the thirtieth Celestial Master, Zhang Jixian, who would have been active in the Chongning (1102-1106 C.E.) and Dagan (1107-1110 C.E.) reign eras. The *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.355) gives his death date as 1126 C.E. It may be that he is singled out for notice here due to his status as the first Celestial Master in residence at Dragon and Tiger Mountain to leave a substantial impression on the historical record. Zhang Yuchu edited a compilation of Jixian's works entitled *Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Celestial Master, the Perfected Lord of Empty Peace*, which suggests that he held a special affinity for his predecessor of the thirtieth generation.

<sup>7</sup> The *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.361) biography of Zhang Zhengchang describes him as, "the eldest son of the thirty-ninth Celestial Master, the Duke of Grand Mystery." The thirty-ninth Celestial Master's biography in that source (ZHDZ 46.359) notes that he was titled Master of Grand Mystery (*Taixuan zi* 太玄子) but says nothing of a ducal title. This would make the Duke of Wei Mountain (*Weishan gong* 薇山公) the thirty-eighth Celestial Master although, puzzlingly enough, he is referred to as holding the title Duke of Liu (*Liuguo gong* 留國公) in his biography in the *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.342,357) and in the *Record of Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (SDSY 13.20).

utmost of imperial grace. At that time, strange omens proliferated, the traces of which yet remain. Even among the literati with tasseled caps and red silk sashes there were none who did not honor them with great esteem. Gazing forward, none have yet appeared who match them. In our dynasty, the prior sovereign was the Duke who Permeates the Void.<sup>8</sup> His radiance was joined with sagely brightness as all is united on sea and land. His estimable reputation and great renown were bright and luminous, flourishing from beginning to end. And yet, how can he be compared to those of old? He is assuredly a descendant of spirit brightness.

At the outset of the universe there were no materials or common substances. We rely upon the meritorious works of predecessors that have been handed down to us. The only thing to be feared is disgracing the good name of the family. The receipt of imperial grace alone is to be faced with deep and trembling trepidation. And yet a complete account of the generations of the household has yet to be made plain to the world. I fear that this is a great omission.

In earlier times they served the prior lords, taking hold of the old manuscripts in a single satchel and conferring the lofty Way. Fu Tongxu paid his respects to the grand scribe Lian who prefaced this work and hastily set to the task of putting it into order.<sup>9</sup> The old compositions had been scattered and their purport corrupted. The responsibility of

---

<sup>8</sup> The Duke Who Permeates the Void (*Chongxu gong* 冲虚公) was Zhang Yuchu's predecessor, Zhang Zhengchang.

<sup>9</sup> The grand scribe is Song Lian 宋濂. As the result of what must be a copyist's error the colophon as it appears in the *Hereditary Household* (ZHDZ 46.370) nonsensically reads "Mo, Grand Scribe, Lian" (*Mo taishi lian* 末太史濂) whereas the version preserved in the *Anthology of the Alpine Spring* (ZHDZ 26.182) reads "Song, the Grand Scribe, Lian" (*Song taishi lian* 宋太史濂).

editing and collating those works had been usurped and additions were made causing the printing blocks to be expanded. It is by drawing on these numerous works that the annals of the predecessors may be brought to completion.

Alas! The principle of all things is flourishing and decay. In thought, therefore, the past is to be carried forth in order to enlighten the future. This is difficult. Coming down to the present age there are many who abandon sincerity and hasten after glory, contesting over profit and influence. What if one were careless and incapable of attaining the teachings and cultivating their virtue in order to take lead of the tradition? Might such a person be called one who carries on the thread of the predecessors? How is such a person in possession of sufficient knowledge?

As for the one who in former times was the recipient of a bestowal from the Most High, his virtuous conduct flourished, and his meritorious action was great.<sup>10</sup> That which he passed down is boundless. How does it come to fruition? Curb the spirit and it will be illuminated and preserved for others. Those of later generations must urge themselves on to maintain order and transmit the teachings and not allow them to fall into ruin. This, what is called *Hereditary Household*, is the basis of all discussion regarding lineal history.

-Respectfully composed with great humility by the inheriting descendant Celestial Master of the forty-third generation, Zhang Yuchu.

---

<sup>10</sup> This is a reference to Zhang Daoling.