A Chinese Patriot’s Concern with Taoism: The Case of Wang O (1190–1273)

by

Florian C. Reiter (Würzburg)

Wang O[^1] witnessed the fall of the Chin dynasty (1123–1234) and the steady rise of the Mongol empire in China. He was an outstanding scholar who contributed greatly to the preservation of Chinese ways and means during the era of the Mongol conquest of China. His activities have elicited the attention of sinologues and historians. Hok-lam Chan presented the biography of Wang O and some other scholarly contributions dealing with the efforts which Wang O undertook, when he tried to have the official compilation of the Chin History arranged.[^1] Drawing on Hok-lam Chan’s “Biography No. 1, Wang O (1190–1273)” of the Yüan Biographical Project, we recall that in 1224, under the reign of Chin Ai-tsung, Wang O sat for the palace examination at Pien-liang (Kaifeng) and was most successful. He was appointed Drafter in the Han-lin Academy[^2] and consequently compiler in the National History Office. In 1229 he was appointed judge in the Kuei-te administration, and also served as magistrate in Ch’eng-fu district of Po-chou in Honan. It is well known that during these years the Mongol forces already pressed hard on the Chin defenses. In 1233 the emperor had to flee the capital and finally retreated south to Ts’ai-chou. A few weeks later Ts’ui Li[^2] who was the Grand Marshal of the Chin forces surrendered to the Mongols, and many of the senior officials became prisoners of the Mongols. Yüan Hao-wen[^8] (1190–1257), another outstanding Chinese scholar of that time, petitioned at the Mongol secretariat which was headed by Yeh-lü Ch’u-ts’ai[^4] (1189–1243), as to secure the release of numerous Chinese scholars, and Wang O was amongst them.

Before these events occurred Wang O actually had retired to Ts’ai-chou for private reasons and had not any share in the aftermath of the fall of Pien-liang.


[^2]: The official titles were taken from Hok-lam Chan’s expositions. In our translation and presentation of Tao-tsang texts (see below) we used C.O. Hucker, A Dictionary of Official Titles In Imperial China (Stanford 1985), without indicating the number of reference.
However, emperor Ai-tsung soon called on him and appointed him to take care of significant functions in the administration. He had been appointed Director of the Bureau of Left and Right in the Presidential Council. He supervised the transmission of memorials and the composition of the imperial daily records. After the fall of Ts'ai-chou Wang O could escape execution by the intermediation of Chang Jou [5], who had known about him either from Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai or from Yüan Hao-wen. Living at Chang Jou's headquarters in Pao-chou (Hopei) Wang O engaged in teaching activities, and at the same time started to collect the materials which would be needed for the preparation of the Chin History (Chin-shih) [5]. The same time Wang O composed an account of the last days of the Chin emperor and his court at Ts'ai-chou, the Ju-nan i-shih [7].

Qubilai who had started in 1242 to summon scholars to Qara-qorum also invited Wang O. Hok-lam Chan thinks that he accepted out of desire to do something "for the preservation of the heritage of the Chin state and the Confucian tradition". Wang O took the chance to recommend that sacrifices to Confucius should be offered. Qubilai accepted this advice and Wang O could officiate at the ceremony. Offerings to Confucius during the spring and autumn seasons became firmly installed in the state sacrifices of the Yüan dynasty. During the sojourn in Qara-qorum Wang O lectured on the major Confucian scriptures and expounded Confucian ethics and principles of government. Wang O also spoke about the need of having a Chin history compiled, without however eliciting an immediate order to start that work.

In 1260 Qubilai was enthroned at K'ai-p'ing fu, and he appointed Wang O who already was 70 years old, Imperial Han-lin Academician in charge of the compilation of historical records. Wang O proposed to have the historical records of the Mongols compiled and the National History Office established within the Han-lin Academy. These proposals have been featured in detail by Hok-lam Chan. Our classification patriot as applied to Wang O first of all points to his scholarly endeavours preserving the Chinese historiographic tradition, which was connected with the ways and means of the political administration. Taking this context into account we find it very rewarding to put the question: What did Wang O have to do with Taoism?

Wang O is said to have been a prolific writer who also composed "essays on the Taoist establishments with which he had much contact". The very nature of Wang O's Taoist contacts however remains to be explored. Hok-lam Chan lists

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3 Chang Jou, see Hok-lam Chan, Wang O 47–49. See Yüan-shih 147/3471.
4 See note 1.
6 See note 1.
some of these “essays”\textsuperscript{7} and says that ”Wang O highly praises the Taoists for their spiritual guidance and dedication to the communal welfare during the turbulent era of the Mongol conquest; but, at the same time echoing the criticism of his contemporaries, he does not conceal his disdain at their laxity of discipline, and the questionable behaviour of many of the converts. . . .”\textsuperscript{8} We think that it should be useful to take a somewhat closer look at the Taoist writings of Wang O and to analyse his ”concern with Taoism”.

Some of his Taoist writings have been studied in connection with research which was undertaken in order to elucidate the history of the Taoist Canon.\textsuperscript{9} One of his inscriptions, referring to the temple Kuang-fu wan-shou kung\textsuperscript{[8]} in Wei-chou (Honan) which was run by followers of the T’ai-i\textsuperscript{[9]} school of Taoism, has been reprinted in a modern book on the new Taoist schools of the time when Wang O lived.\textsuperscript{10} Here we do not take up these texts, but present a study of those materials which are preserved in the Taoist Canon. The texts which we have just mentioned, already show that Wang O contributed texts or inscriptions about the Taoist schools named Ch’üan-chen\textsuperscript{[10]} and T’ai-i. Did Wang O write indiscriminantly on Taoist topics, possibly satisfying requests by friends and acquaintances only? This is another question which should be answered, and for this purpose we have to study the following titles:

\begin{itemize}
  \item TT 972 Kung-kuan pei-chih: 13a–18a, ”Yüan ch’ung-hsiu Po-chou T’ai-ch’ing kung T’ai-chi tien pei”
  \item TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu: 3.10b–19a, ”Hsüan-men chang-chiao ta tsung-shih Chen-ch’ang chen-jen tao-hsing pei”
  \item TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu: 4.19b–24b, ”Ch’i-yün chen-jen Wang tsun-shih tao-hsing pei”
  \item TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu: 6.16b–19a, ”Hun-yüan hsien Chen-ch’ang tzu Liu chün tao-hsing chi”
  \item TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu: 8.11a–13a, ”Tung-hsüan tzu Shih-kung tao-hsing lu”
  \item TT 1140 Yün-shan chi (by Chi Chih-chen), Wang O wrote a ”Preface”, dated 1265.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{7} See Hok-lam Chan, Wang O, 67–68.
\textsuperscript{8} See Note 7, p. 68.
\textsuperscript{10} See Ch’en Yüan, Nan-Sung ch’u Ho-peit hain tao-chiao k’ao, 85–86 (Peking 1962).
All the titles listed above do refer very explicitly to the Ch’üan-chen school. This branch of Taoism emerged in the second half of the 12 ct. in Shensi and Shan-tung. Leading Ch’üan-chen Taoists maintained close contacts with the imperial administration of the Chin and Yüan dynasties. Especially in the North of China Ch’üan-chen Taoists had influence at all levels of society. In 1222 the Ch’üan-chen patriarch Ch’iu Ch’u-chi (Ch’ang-ch’un) had visited Chingiz Khan at his temporary residence in northern Afghanistan, and indeed this journey and the visit at the summons of the Khan were major historic events. They can document the prominence which Ch’üan-chen Taoists had gained by that time. However, the inscriptions which we have listed above had not been written for reasons related to the historical or political situation which Wang O witnessed. There is just one remarkable exception, the inscription in TT 972 Kung-kuan pei-chih which we present in translation. It is interesting to notice that most texts had been written on the basis of private or personal relations. It is exactly this fact which makes it rewarding to inquire what Wang O’s actual concern with Taoism was about. On the other hand, the very first inscription in our list deals with the temple at Lao-tzu’s reputed birthplace at Po-chou in Honan. That text refers by its very title to a tradition which was somehow "all-Chinese", quite independent of the actual political scene. "Lao-tzu" represented a tradition to which any Chinese scholar could devote attention and respect. The name of Lao-tzu was a major pillar of the rhetoric and propaganda put forth by Taoist activists. During the time of Wang O, and also when he was writing all these inscriptions which we have listed, the propagandistic book on the conversion of the barbarians by Lao-tzu had been circulated by Ch’üan-chen Taoists at the Mongol headquarters. This picture book featured the priority of Taoism, much to the dismay of the Buddhists. Although Wang O does not make any statements on this book or the conflict between the Buddhists and the Taoists which was aggravated by its dissemination, he must have been informed. Wang O wrote a report on the Taoist way of life of Shih Chih-ching who had co-signed that picture book. However, it must be said that actual economic and political conditions certainly have had a much more decisive


13 See above note 11 (F.C. Reiter, ZDMG 136. 450-491).
impact on the development of the conflict.

In this article we first of all give a translation of Wang O's inscription concerning the temple at Lao-tzu's birthplace. The inscription has been preserved in the collection TT 972 Kung-kuan pei-chih (see above). We do not have any evidence that it ever had been made public on a stele. Then we continue by giving a rough survey on the contents of Wang O's inscriptions dealing with the Ch'üan-ch'en school. Finally we shall attempt to answer the questions which the very title of this article implies.

**TT 972 Kung-kuan pei-chih: 13a–18a,**

"Inscription on the restoration of the main hall Grand Purity in Po-chou, (effected by) the Yüan dynasty" (Yüan ch'ung-hsiu Po-chou T'ai-ch'ing kung T'ai-chi tien pei)[13]

"When the present August Emperor[14] was still at his residence in his fief, he had always known that if one were to honour Taoism, one would proceed to restore the T'ai-ch'ing temple. When Jupiter was in the constellation chi-wei (1259) he already had issued an order forbidding people to collect firewood from the temple land. Also he had me to move the troops there away and not allow them to impede the construction.[16]

When he was in the second year of his reign (1261) the emperor sent a sealed letter which was entirely in accordance with his earlier edict. In the fourth year of his reign (1264) he dispatched Hsiao Chü-shou[14], who bore the title of Adept Chen-ch'ang[15], and the Court Attendant Ho-la-ssu[16] to demand from the Institute of Academicians the composition of a sacrificial address and to prepare the ritual to carry out sacrifice.[17] Then, more than five years later the T'ai-chi main hall had been completed.[18] The successor to Ch'ang-ch'un, Adept Ch'eng-ming[17], Chang Chih-ching[18], together with the Left Aide Chang Wen-ch'ien[19], and the

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14 Sihtsu, Qubilai. I most sincerely thank Prof. Piet van der Loon for his good advise on difficult passages in this inscription.

15 "temple" was used to translate kung (palace), and "hall" or "main hall" tien.

16 It was considered to be one of the major religious offenses, to use the temple land for profane purposes or to exploit it e.g. by collecting firewood. During the T'ang dynasty two rebels misused the T'ai-ch'ing kung for military purposes. However, Lao-tzu is said to have defended his worldly residence, according to Tu Kuang-t'ing's report, see F.C. Reiter, Some Observations Concerning Taoist Foundations In Traditional China, 371–373, in: ZDMG 133, 363–376, referring to TT 890 Tao-chiao ling-yen chi 1.8b–9b. Concerning religious punishments for offenders, see F.C. Reiter as above, p. 367, and e.g. TT 1125 Tung-hsien ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih 1.2b.

17 See T'ai-ch'ing kung sheng-chih pei, dat. 1261, in: Kuang-hsu Lu-i hsien-chih, ed. of 1896, 10B.21a–21b. Ho-la-ssu, see Yüan-shih 16/354, 18/385, 391 et al. (Ho-la-ssu-pao-wo-chieh-erh). No details are known about Hsiao Chü-shou.

18 This means that the date of the inscription should be 1269/1270.
Palace Attendant Liu Ch'eng-li\textsuperscript{20} petitioned that a stele should be set up in order to commemorate the date [of these events].\textsuperscript{19} The emperor agreed and issued the instruction that I, Wang O, should describe these events. When I learned about that order I nervously dared to bring my hands together and bowed my head and set out to write the text as follows.

There has been no age in which the Great Lao-chün did not appear, nor any generation when he was not honoured.\textsuperscript{20} During the time of Wu-ting of the Yin dynasty, in a keng-ch'en year, he adopted a worldly existence in Lai district, in K'ü county. It is said that the pregnancy lasted for 81 years, and that when he was born he had 72 auspicious signs [on his body].\textsuperscript{21} Having white hair he was called "Old Master". He pointed to a plum tree and thus was given the surname Li "Plum".

His manifestations, his names and titles, his supranatural effects, all of them have been reported in great detail by worthy authors of the past, and I do not dare to give a superfluous account here. We somehow should only speak of the acts of veneration performed by earlier generations and the accounts by later people.

We have not heard of the establishment of the honour for a Taoist temple when the Ch'in burnt the Songs and the Documents, and when the Han had to suffer with the hegemony (from Hsiang Yü)\textsuperscript{21}.\textsuperscript{22} Because in the eighth year of the reign title yen-hsi (165), under the reign of emperor Huan, the emperor dreamt that Lao-chün descended into the palace hall, he twice dispatched the Palace Attendant in Ordinary Tso Kuan to visit [this] temple shrine and to present offerings.\textsuperscript{23} Over the seat of Lao-chün there was placed a flower baldachin, and for the ritual music they used the chiao-t'ien\textsuperscript{22} [drums].\textsuperscript{24} Then the emperor issued the order that the Councilor of Ch'en, Pien Shao,\textsuperscript{23} should describe and record these events in an

\textsuperscript{19} Chang Chih-ching, see YIP 271. Chang Chih-ching was a disciple of Li Chen-ch'ang, see below. Chang Wen-ch'ien, see Yüan-shih 157/3695. Chang Wen-ch'ien was "Lord of Wei-kuo". Liu Ch'eng-li (see below) has not been identified.

\textsuperscript{20} See TT 593 Li-tai ch'ang-tao ch'i, specializing on the times up to the T'ang dynasty (author: Tu Kuang-t'ing 850–933). Also see A. Seidel, La divinisation de Lao Tseu dans le taoïsme des Han, 43–46, 121–128 (Paris 1969); and F.C. Reiter, Die "Einundachtzig Bildtexte", in: ZDMG 136.450–491, professing to cover the ages up to the year 1098 (p. 454).

\textsuperscript{21} Also see F.C. Reiter, Das Selbstverständnis des Taoismus zur frühen T'ang-Zeit in der Darstellung Wang Hsüan-ho's, 240–257, esp. 248–249 (note 44 (ref. TT 1139 San-tung chu-nang 8.1a–24a), in: Saeculum 33. 240–257.

\textsuperscript{22} It was not until the death of Hsiang Yü in 202 B.C. that Liu Pang could proclaim the Han dynasty.

\textsuperscript{23} See A. Seidel, La divinisation de Lao Tseu, 36–39. Also see TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-ch'i 7.26a.

\textsuperscript{24} Chiao-t'ien [drums], see PWYF 1680/2 (ref. K'ung Jung yü chu-hsiang shu).
In the sixth year of the reign title k’ai-huang (586) emperor Wen of the Sui commanded the Regional Inspector of Po-chou, Yang Yüan-chou[24] to investigate the old site and to build a temple. He ordered the Secretary in the Palace Domestic Service, Hsüeh Tao-heng[25], to compose a "Hymn on the Shrine" (Tz’u-t’ing sung)[26].

The T’ang [emperors] laid much emphasis on the common surname and relationship and honoured [Lao-chü] as their Holy Ancestor. In the first year of the reign title chen-kuan (627) T’ai-tsung decreed that this temple should be repaired. For the first time 50 households were given [to the temple] in order to provide cleaning services.

During the reign title ch’ien-feng (666–668) emperor Kao-tsung personally visited the Taoist temple and posthumously bestowed upon the Most Venerable the honorary designation August Emperor Exalted Virtue of the Mysterious Origin (Hsüan-yüan shang-te huang-ti)[27]. He had the temple halls and altars all together repaired [or] founded. He inaugurated the position of one Administrator and one Deputy, who in due course of the seasons would have to arrange the presentation of sacrificial offerings.

In the third year of the reign title k’ai-yüan (715) emperor Hsüan-tsung presented in the East the Feng sacrifice at Mt. T’ai[28]. On his way back home he paid a visit to this old lodge [of T’ai-shang Lao-chün], and personally wrote a calligraphy of the two scriptures of Tao and Te, which he had engraved on stone. In the twentieth year (732) the emperor himself composed the [song] Ni-shang yü-i ch’ü[29] and the [dance] Tzu-wei pa-kua wu[29] as to offer them to the performances [at temple festivities].

In the second year of the reign title t’ien-pao (743) the emperor had the Tzu-wei temple in the Commandery of Ch’iao turned into a T’ai-ch’ing temple. In the fourth year (745) he himself visited [the temple] and again composed two ch’ü[30]

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25 See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-ch'i 7.26a. See A. Seidel, La divination de Lao Tseu, 37–38. Also see F.C. Reiter, Some Observations Concerning Taoist Foundations, 371–372, in: ZDMG 133. 363–376. There are short notices in Tu Kuang-t’ing’s text (TT 590 Tao-chiao hing-yen chi, 1.8b–9b) concerning the following data in Wang O’s inscription, see F.C. Reiter, as above.

26 Hsüeh Tao-heng, see Sui-shu 57.22. See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-ch’i 3.2b.

27 See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-ch’i 8.13b.

28 See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-ch’i 8.23a.

29 Concerning Ni-shang yü-i ch’ü, see Chung-k’ua wen-shih tung-t’ung 5.255–256, esp. 271–277, Fa-ch‘ü, by Ch’iu Ch’iuang-sun, Shanghai 1962. The original name of the tune was P’o-lo-men. Also see, Wang K’o-fen, Chung-k’ua wu-t’a shih, pp. 51 Peking 1987. Concerning Tzu-wei pa-kua wu, see TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-ch’i 8.35a.
songs, Chiang-chen chao-hsien\textsuperscript{31} and Tzu-wei sung-hsien\textsuperscript{32} as to welcome and bid farewell [to T'ai-shang Lao-chün].\textsuperscript{30} He also had the wooden tablets for the prayer formulas changed to be the Blue Paper prayers. The emperor's [name] would appear at the beginning [of these Blue Paper prayers] reading "The successor emperor, Your servant so and so," and also [the emperor] decreed that an official should compose an ordnance [for these Blue Paper prayers].

In the seventh year of the reign title t'ai-ho (833), under the reign of emperor Wen-tsung the temple was flooded and suffered extensive destructions. The emperor ordered the Chief Military Commissioner Li Ch'eng\textsuperscript{33}\textsuperscript{31} to act the same time as commissioner in charge of the T'ai-ch'ing temple, and to repair and embellish [the compound] gradually, in order to restore it to its perfect beauty.

In the first year of the reign title chien-lung (960) Sung T'ai-tsu dispatched commissioners to visit the shrine.\textsuperscript{32} In the fourth year of the reign title ch'un-hua (993) emperor T'ai-tsung sent emissaries to have the temple repaired,\textsuperscript{33} and it was in the first year of the reign title ming-tao (1032) that all these works had been completed. [Emperor Jen-tsung] ordered the Vice Director in the Bureau of Waterways and Irrigation, Ho Meng\textsuperscript{34},\textsuperscript{34} to make an inscription on a stele. From that time onwards [the emperor] exclusively ordered the Supervising Service to supervise and direct [the affairs of the temple].

In the fifth year of the reign title hsien-p'ing (1002) emperor Chen-tsung dispatched his Palace Attendant to have [the temple] a second time repaired.\textsuperscript{35} He also provided some extra guardians [to safeguard] the temple. In the second year of the reign title ching-te (1005) he forbade that people from around the temple would collect firewood. In the fifth year of the reign title ta-chung hsiang-fu (1012) the emperor\textsuperscript{36} dispatched the State Finance Commissioner Ting Wei\textsuperscript{35}\textsuperscript{37} to represent him at a visit [in the temple]. In the sixth year (1013) the emperor came himself.\textsuperscript{38} In the seventh year (1014) he went again in person to this place in order to present a charter and a seal with the [new] name of honour for the Most Honorable [T'ai-shang Lao-chün]: The Most Exalted, the August Emperor

\textsuperscript{30} See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-chi 9.2a.
\textsuperscript{32} See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-chi 9.29b.
\textsuperscript{33} See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-chi 9.31a.
\textsuperscript{34} Ho Meng, see Sung-shih 430.5610/1.
\textsuperscript{35} See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-chi 9.31a.
\textsuperscript{36} See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-chi 9.34b.
\textsuperscript{37} Ting Wei, see Sung-shih 283.5255/1.
\textsuperscript{38} See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-chi 9.34b.
of the Supreme Virtue of the Chaotic Beginning (T'ai-shang hun-yüan shang-te huang-ti).\textsuperscript{39}

In the fifth year of the reign title shao-sheng (1098), under the reign of emperor Che-tsung, the prefect of Po-chou, Yü Chih \textsuperscript{37}, presented a memorial concerning favoured portents [effected by T'ai-shang Lao-chün, and the emperor] dispatched emissaries to stage sacrificial festivities to thank [for these signs].\textsuperscript{40} And furthermore, he instructed the Fiscal Commission of that circuit that all the parts of the temple which had decayed would immediately have to be restored.

In the newly adopted first year of the reign title ch'ung-ning (1102) emperor Hui-tsung \textsuperscript{41} ordered the Han-lin academician Chang Shang-yung\textsuperscript{38} to write an inscription as to complete the intentions of emperor Che-tsung.\textsuperscript{42} During successive emperors of the Chin period there happened even more supranatural events. Several times they granted to the Taoist priests [of the temple] some ten thousand mou of arable land, and exempted them from taxes and labour services. Even today the people in the countryside can still speak about these things. Therefore, rough surveys on the veneration which earlier generations exerted, would cause those in later generations who inclined towards Tao, to investigate them carefully.

As regards the persons who narrated all these events, to begin with Yin Hsi, who when Lao-chün on his grey ox travelled to the West requested and urged him to compose the book in five thousand words,\textsuperscript{43} they speak about purity, tranquillity and non-activity, about not being competitive and not being dazzling. Good troops are not auspicious assets. Governing a country is about just as easy as boiling fish. And they speak about galloping and racing, that they drive man crazy. And they speak about "the orphans, the lonely ones and the unworthy" as the appellations which kings and barons would use for themselves. If such a situation would be enforced and thereby peace brought to the world, in the dynasty would not be left any confusion.

Concerning the improvement of the mind and the cultivation of the body, the two scriptures [of Tao and Te] contain it completely. [Whoever tries to] achieve it, he shall have plenty of gains. The patriarch [Lao-chün] expound Tao and Te, and

\textsuperscript{39} See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-chi 9.34b–35a.

\textsuperscript{40} See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-chi 9.43a–43b. Concerning Yü Chih, see Sung-jen chuan-chi tsu-hao so-yin 2965 (Taipei 1977).

\textsuperscript{41} See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-chi 9.43b.

\textsuperscript{42} Chang Shang-yung (1043–1121), see Sung-shih 351.5412/2. Also see, Sung-jen chuan-chi tsu-hao so-yin 2404–2405 (Taipei 1977). The Taoist Canon contains texts by Chang Shang-yung, see TT 155 San-te'ai ting-wei t'u, TT 498 Chin-lu ch'ai t'ou-chien i and TT 510 Chin-lu ch'ai san-tung tsan-yung i. Chang Shang-yung also wrote a commentary on Huang-shih kung su-shu, see TT 1179. See TT 770 Hun-yüan sheng-chi 9.44a, for the title Chen-yu chi.

\textsuperscript{43} Concerning the sentences on p.15b/6–8, compare Tao-te ching 58, 3, 31, 60, 12, 42.
the four supporters transmitted [his teachings], and they followed the old tracks. And so, the books [with the titles] T'ung-ling, T'ung-hsüan, Ch'ung-hsü and Nan-hüd appeared. The customs of the world deteriorated, and heretic theories came up together. Consequently there were those who produced illusions, and there were those people who by spreading them made lies. However, Heaven did not destroy the true Tao.

In the more recent past the Ch'üan-chen school emerged. They were quiet and had a firm resolve. Whatever they did they observed the old rules. Wang Ch'ung-yang had received the teachings of Cheng-yang and Ch'un-yang. He strengthened this very basis. There were six persons around him to whom he entrusted the succession. Their fragrance spread everywhere, and the branches of their school flourished abundantly.

At the very beginning of the establishment of our ruling dynasty, [the founder] summoned Ch'ang-ch'un to expound the Mysterious Origins, and he personally made them his own concern, and the world abundantly turned towards good doctrines. Whether the smallest hamlet of three households or the postal stations all over 10,000 miles afar, they all accepted and honoured [his teachings]. Their observation of the Tao and their practice of effecting hidden merits were all in accord with the teachings of the Grand Supreme (Lao-chün). And it was for such reasons that the T'ai-ch'ing temple was rebuilt.

The T'ai-ch'ing temple had recently suffered war and destruction and furthermore the waters of the rivers Ho and Kuo flowed together. The former Palace of the Immortal got swept away completely. Only the Nine Dragon Wells, which are several thousand years old, remained altogether.

When Ch'ang-ch'un left his mortal body behind and turned immortal, he passed on his teachings to Chen-ch'ang. At that time there was Chang Jou, who

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44 This means the four authors, who have been indirectly identified with four literary titles (see below), 44 Tung-ling, T'ung-hsüan, Ch'ung-hsü, Nan-hüa, pointing to K'ang-sang tzu, Wen-tzu, Lieh-tzu and Chuang-tzu.

45 These names refer to Chung-li Ch'üan and Lü Tung-pin, see e.g. TT 173 Chüan-lien cheng-tung chi 1.2b–5b, 5b–9a. They especially indicate the traditions of the Interior Alchemy (nei-tan) of the Sung period.

46 Concerning the group of the Seven Perfected of the Ch'üan-chen school, see TT 175 Ch'i-chien nien-p'u, dated 1271, by Li Tao-ch'ien, who also compiled TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan tsu, dated 1289. Also, see note 11.

47 Or "the origins of Taoism", compare the title and contents of TT 176 Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui tsu, by Yeh-lü Ch'u-t'ai (I-ia Ch'u-t'ai), dated 1232.

48 This is the T'ai-ch'ing temple.

49 The nine wells, this is an old and famous topic, see F.C. Reiter, Some Observations Concerning Taoist Foundations, in: ZDMG 133.371–372.

50 Chang Jou, see above note 3. Chen-ch'ang is Li Chih-ch'ang (or Li Chen-ch'ang), see below
is the present Duke of An-su. He guarded with his troops Po-she. He ordered the officers to open subscription lists, so that they could attend to the reconstruction of the temple. Chen-ch'ang first commissioned the Intendant of the temple Shih Chih-yü, who had the title of Grand Teacher Yin-chen, as well as the Head of the temple Li Chih-pi, who had the title of Grand Teacher T'ung-wei, to make the planning for the works to be done.

Duke [An-su] on his part exerted his mind and made great efforts to care for and support the works. His aides and officers all went joyfully [to this place]. He also issued an official license for the temple and made a grant of land covering the forty miles in circumference [adjoining it]. Soon, when his work had barely begun, Chen-ch'ang passed away.

When Ch'eng-ming succeeded as patriarch he got orders from the prince of Haidu and asked urgently the Adept Ch'ung-tao, Chang Chih-su, and the Adept Ch'i-yün, Wang Chih-chin to manage this affair. After a short while Ch'i-yün died. His disciples exerted even more their strength, and Ch'ung-tao used their services all day long, not relaxing from the beginning to the end.

They enlarged the construction [of the T'ai-chi Hall] on the old foundations by over ten feet, so that the front size became nine pillars. Compared with the old structure it was much more beautiful. They made an image of the Grand Supreme [Lao-chün] in the middle of the hall. [Images of] Tung-hua and Wen-shih were placed left and right. [Images of] Tung-ling, T'ung-hsüan, Ch'ung-hsü and Nan-hua came next to them. The appearance of these immortals was stern, and the onlookers were filled with awe. Although the rest [of the building] was not yet

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concerning TT 973 Kan-shii hsien-yüan lu: 3.10b–19a; also see A. Waley, The Travels of an Alchemist, 17–18. According to Waley Li Chih-ch'ang died 1278. However, the date should be 1256, see e.g. Ch'en Lo-su et al ed., Ch'en Yüan shih-hsüh lun-chu hsüan, 522–523 (Shanghai 1981). Li Chih-ch'ang signs for TT 1429 Ch'ang-ch'un chen-jen hai-yu chi, dated 1228.

51 See T'ai-ch'ing kung chih-chao pei, in: Kuang-hsü Lu-i hsien-chih 10b.19b–20b. The date of the text is disputed (1260?).

52 Or "the prince of Hai-tu", see Yüan Hai-tu t'ai-tzu ling-chih pei, in: Kuang-hsü Lu-i hsien-chih 10b.18a–19a. This text seems to be dated 1257. On the basis of this date and other evidence the commentator in the Lu-i hsien-chih shows that the identity of Hai-tu t'ai-tzu cannot easily be ascertained. See O. Franke, Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches vol. 4 (Berlin 1948), Hai-tu/Kaidu was a grandson of Ogodai. He opposed Qubilai until his death in 1301. The successor (patriarch) is Chang Chih-ching, see YIP 271–272.


54 In 1263.


56 See above note 44.
complete, this was already enough to offer for the sacrifice of incense and paper
money, and to be a place where prayers are made for the good fortune of the
imperial dynasty and all the generations. Is this not really great?

The holy virtues of the emperor became daily anew effective, and his divine
power flashed like lightening. To the West [the emperor] pacified Ta-li[56], 57 and
to the East he made the [former] three Korean [kingdoms] obedient. In the Southern
region where rebells were set up, [the emperor] at one attempt executed the
barbarians. The princes in the Northern deserts all came to pay their allegiance
at court. The officials examined their duties, the weapons were put aside and civil
culture was cultivated. This is the turning point for an allpervading splendour and
the one opportunity in one thousand years. But [the emperor] still was in awe
of the heavens and cultivated important sacrifices, so that the foundation of this
temple could be hoped for within any time!

His servant humbly awaits punishments and as a member of the academy ac-
cepts the wise decree, carefully bowing twice respectfully expresses this in a laudatory
inscription which runs as follows:

When the sage did not exert benevolence,
The people were content. 58
As soon as prudence emerged,
All the false inventions wrecked what was perfect.
What then did Heaven say?
It gave birth to a perfect man.
How came his birth about?
It was on the bank of the river Wo.
When he was born he was endowed with divine qualities.
He abandoned sageliness and discarded wisdom.
He lived in the reality and dwelled in the substantial.
He untied the tangles and blunted sharpness. 59
He did not serve a vile ruler.
Willingly he stayed in a low position.
He rode to the West on his grey ox.
He shunned fame and withdrew.
In the two chapters on Tao and Te,
He set forth his 5000 words.

57 Ta-li (kuo) had been founded in 937 on the basis of the Nan-ch'ao domain. Qubilai conquers
in 1254 the capital Ta-li, in (present) Yün-nan province. See O. Franke Geschichte des
Chinesischen Reiches vol. 4, 37, 316–317 (Berlin 1948).
58 Compare Tao-te ching 5, 58.
59 Compare Tao-te ching 19, 38, 4/56.
Activity through non-activity,\textsuperscript{60}
The profoundest of the profound,
Loving the people and governing the state,\textsuperscript{61}
Was transmitted for a myriad generations.
Whose son is he?
He took on an appearance before the [ancient] Emperors,\textsuperscript{62}
He for ever remained the standard for the Emperors.
The Chaotic Beginning, the Supreme Virtue,
A shrine was established for him on the bank of the river.
Cranes flew above and pheasants spread their wings.
The temple was called Grand Purity,
The main hall was called Grand Ultimate.
Immortals and Perfected and a famous county,
Made the Country of Ch’iao\textsuperscript{57} increasingly lustrous.\textsuperscript{63}
When the Yellow River became a rushing torrent,
It rushed against our Ku-yang\textsuperscript{58}.\textsuperscript{64}
Magnificent as the temple was,
It all got wiped out at once.
There were several attempts at rebuilding it,
And it was not until our times that it prospered again.
The successor as patriarch, Ch’eng-ming,
Continued the intentions of Chen-ch’ang.
Chih-pi and Chih-yü\textsuperscript{65}
First fixed the building site.
Ch’ung-tao and Ch’i-yün
Joyfully continued to serve this duty.
As soon as the hall was completed,
Those who came to see it were filled with awe.
For 10000 years to come,
For the dynasty prayers will be made.
The merit belongs to no other person,
But mainly to Ch’ung-tao.
One should not attribute the glory to a subject,

\textsuperscript{60} Compare Tao-te ching 3.
\textsuperscript{61} Compare Tao-te ching 1, 10.
\textsuperscript{62} Compare Tao-te ching 4.
\textsuperscript{57} Ch’iao-kuo is an old alternative name for the area of Po district.
\textsuperscript{63} Ku-yang is another name for a part of present Lu-i district (Honan).
\textsuperscript{64} All these names had been introduced in the "inscription", see above.
But how much do we owe to the favour of the Ruler!
The source of blessings is in The Nine Wells,  
Good Fortune arises from the two rivers.  
Your humble servant has been blessed to give this inscription,  
To take the place of hymns to string music.66

This text is clear enough as to its purposes and intentions. However, it should be mentioned again that Wang O speaks extensively about Chang Jou, the officer who saved his life after the demise of Chin rule. Obviously Wang O also used this inscription to express attention and gratitude which would do justice to his personal relations. During the times of Wang O, the successors of Ch’iu Ch’u-chi in the leadership of the Ch’u-an-chen school operated the temple at the reputed birthplace of Lao-tzu. The inscription reported that for many centuries this Taoist installation had enjoyed the material and spiritual support of the emperors. Centuries earlier Tu Kuang-t’ing69 (850–933) had written conclusive reports about the spiritual and religious might attributed to that centre of Taoist aspirations. Lao-tzu was said to have shown his very presence in this world by defending his "residence" against intruders.67 We say this in order to remind of the much older literary and historical background for Wang O’s inscription and laudatory verse.

The point which we find especially noteworthy, is the leading part which Ch’u-an-chen Taoists played. The Ch’u-an-chen school did not represent ritual or liturgic traditions, and surely some of the Ch’u-an-chen Taoists even were not professionals, meaning "Taoist priests" (t’ao-shih)60. It is evident that Wang O’s inscription concerning the T’ai-ch’ing temple bears evidence for the practical amalgamation of Cheng-i and Ch’u-an-chen Taoism, the same time featuring the nominal predominance of Ch’u-an-chen Taoists. In other words, Taoism as it was an everyday reality at the temples and cloisters in the North of China where Wang O lived, was firmly connected with the label "Ch’u-an-chen". Within the frame of the history of Taoism, the Ch’u-an-chen school appeared to Wang O as preserving the legacy of Lao-tzu’s teachings. The fact that Ch’iu Ch’u-chi had been summoned by the Khan serves to show how appropriately the Mongols responded to historic realities and chances.

Now, we want to compare Wang O’s inscription on the T’ai-ch’ing temple with

66 Hsüan-ko, see J. Legge trans. Confucian Analects, Book XVII. Yang Ho, 17, 377–378/note 4 (repr. Taipei 1975). J. Legge quotes in note 4 the Pei-chih which says "The town was named Wu... but Tzue-yu had been able... to transform the people, and to make them change their mail and helmets for stringed instruments and singing. This was what made the Master glad". Wang O offers his inscription as being indicative of the same favourable condition in the country which was proven centuries earlier to Confucius by the music in Wu.

his other inscriptions which have been preserved in the collection TT 973 Kan-shui hsienn-yüan lu, and which deal with Ch‘üan-chen Taoists. We do this by presenting an interpretative discourse on the contents of these texts.

**TT 973 Kan-shui hsienn-yüan lu: 3.10b–19a,**

"Hsüan-men chang-chiao ta tsung-shih Chen-ch’ang ch’en-jen tao-hsing pei-ming"

The "Inscription on the Taoist Career of the Great Patriarch and Supervisor of the Taoists, the Adept Chen-ch’ang" deals with Li Chen-ch’ang[61] (1193–1260), also known as Li Chih-ch’ang[62]. He was the author of the travel diary depicting Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un’s journey to the Mongol Khan (1220–1224). Li Chen-ch’ang accompanied Ch’iu Ch’u-chi on his famous journey. A few years later Li Chen-ch’ang claimed the responsibility for having distributed the propagandistic picture book on the "Conversion of the Barbarians" which contributed to the struggle between Buddhists and Taoists vis-à-vis the Mongol administration.68

Wang O begins his text with a short survey about the history of Ch‘üan-chen Taoism. Ch‘üan-chen is seen as a branch of Taoism beginning with the founder of the school Wang Ch’ung-yang. Wang O gives a short biography of Wang Ch’ung-yang. We notice that he does not refer to the traditionally claimed spiritual ancestors of that school, Cheng-yang, Ch’un-yang et al.69 Wang O speaks about the four masters who actually were the core of those, whom Wang Ch‘ung-yang selected to be his followers, (Ma) Tan-yang[63], (T’an) Ch’ang-chen[64], (Liu) Ch’ang-sheng[65], (Ch‘iu) Ch’ang-ch’un. They properly spread the "teachings of the Saint" and effected that Tao and its influences (Te) came to new prominence. On p. 11a Wang O continues to discuss the public and administrative attention which these Ch‘üan-chen Taoists enjoyed. Now, what distinguished such a great Taoist as Ch‘iu Ch‘u-chi was? Wang O tells us that he "saved the creatures by exerting his benevolence (jen)[66], and converted them by his compassion (tz‘u)[67]. Ch‘iu Ch‘u-chi is said to have attracted crowds of followers, amongst them quite a few representatives of the educated upper class. Ch‘iu Ch‘u-chi was succeeded by Yin Ch‘ing-ho[68] (1169–1251),70 who retired from his function as leader of the Ch‘üan-chen school in 1238, and then it was Li Chen-ch’ang’s turn to be patriarch. Yin Ch‘ing-ho is being praised for his ability to use "purity and quietness (or peacefulness) to rear perfection", to "use benevolence and mercy to communicate with the creatures", and along these lines Li Chen-ch’ang is said to be the most suitable successor.

Concerning the story of Li Chen-ch’ang’s life which Wang O now sets out

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68 This is a famous theme, see e.g. P. Demiéville, La situation religieuse en Chine au temps de Marco Polo, in: Oriente Poliano, 193–236 (Roma 1957), and S. Jagchid, Chinese Buddhism and Taoism during the Mongolian Rule in China, in: Mongolian Studies 6, 61–98 (1980).

69 See above note 45.

70 Yin Ch‘ing-ho, see TT 973 Kan-shui hsienn-yüan lu: 3.1a–10b.
reporting, we should first of all like to mention the conception of Li Chen-ch’ang by his mother in a magical dream. She had visualized someone who gave her a boy made of Jade. This resembles some long-established hagiographic features which are used to qualify Li Chen-ch’ang.⁷¹ Li Chen-ch’ang lost his parents early and was brought up by his uncle. When his uncle planned to arrange a marriage Li Chen-ch’ang left and began roaming far around. Since long he had taken an interest in studies and Taoist erudition. He found his private situation not to be suitable, and this explains why he left. Finally he reached the "Temple of the Immortals" at Mt. T’ien-chu, where Li T’ang-yin [⁶⁹] was abbot. Li T’ang-yin greatly admired Li Chen-ch’ang for his personal accomplishment (12a).

Continuing his travels in search for Ch’iu Ch’u-chi, he reached the Eastern Mountain of Chi-mo (12b) where in the wake of the turmoils in the years 1213–1217 local bandits had infested the area. However, in the mountain some caves could give shelter to people who wanted to hide away. Once, when robbers came and the people hid in such a place, Li Chen-ch’ang was late and thus was refused access to the cave where already a number of people hid. He got caught by the robbers and tortured. Li Chen-ch’ang did not tell them the way to the cave, and when the robbers finally had left his bravery earned him a great reputation.

In 1218 (12b) he learned that Ch’iu Ch’u-chi had moved to Lai-yang (Shantung). He went to Lai-yang and became Ch’iu Ch’u-chi’s disciple. An official in the local administration, the Transport Commissioner of the Shantung circuit, T’ien Chuo, invited Li Chen-ch’ang to be his guest in I-tu. In 1219 (13a) the Khan dispatched Liu Chung-lu⁷⁰, the Grand Councillor, with an invitation for Ch’iu Ch’u-chi, who was living in Tung-lai.⁷² That time the Vice Marshall of I-tu, Chang Lin⁷¹ changed sides, from the Chin to the Sung causing great trouble in the area. Li Chen-ch’ang feared that this might stop Ch’iu Ch’u-chi and so he went to talk it over with Chang Lin, who then granted an escort to accompany the Taoist. In 1220 the travel party with Ch’iu Ch’u-chi departed, and Li Chen-ch’ang was one of the eighteen persons who accompanied Ch’iu Ch’u-chi.

In 1221 they reached Mt. A-pu-han where Ch’iu Ch’u-chi was asked to establish a belvedere (kuan)⁷². He appointed Li Chen-ch’ang to be its abbot. At that occasion Ch’iu Ch’u-chi gave him the name of honour Chen-ch’ang tzu (12b). The

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⁷¹ E.g. as to the conception of Lao-tzu, see F.C. Reiter, Die "Einundachtzig Bildtexte", in: ZDMG 136.464 (Wirkung 18). There were other Ch’üan-ch’en Taoists who were conceived by their mother in a magical dream, see Liu Ch’u-hsüan, in: TT 297 Li-shih chen-hsien t’i-tao t’ung-chien hsi-pien: 2.5b Liu Ch’u-hsüan was one of the Seven Perfected of the Ch’üan-ch’en school, see above (Liu) Ch’ang-sheng.

⁷² As to these events, see TT 176 Hsian-feng ch’ing-hui lu, and the expositions in: A. Waley (e.g.), The Travels of an Alchemist, 48–49.

⁷³ Chang Lin, see Hsien Yüan-shih 165.6934/2
belvedere was named Ch'i-hsia kuan\[73\]. Whereas Ch'iui Ch'u-ch'i continued his journey Li Chen-ch'ang stayed behind, completed the foundation of the temple and established two lay congregations. Their names were typical of the Ch'üan-ch'en school, the Ch'ang-ch'un hui\[74\] and the Yü-huahui\[75\]. Both congregations have not ceased to exist "up to today", says Wang O. In 1223, on his way back home Ch'iui Ch'u-ch'i spent some time in this belvedere, and one day they celebrated the ch'ai\[76\] festivity. At this occasion Ch'iui Ch'u-ch'i took the string of an arch and gave it to Li Chen-ch'ang. Both men did not speak a single word. Li Chen-ch'ang accepted it, rolled it up and fastened it to his belt. Wang O interprets this action as a public gesture of investiture: as a dependent of Ch'iui Ch'u-ch'i he had stayed back at the Ch'i-hsia kuan, and now he would return again with Ch'iui Ch'u-ch'i to the East.

Wang O reports about some instructions which Li Chen-ch'ang received from Ch'iui Ch'u-ch'i. Then he speaks about the time after that famous journey, which both men spent in Peking. In 1227 Ch'iui Ch'u-ch'i died, and Yin Ch'ing-ho became his successor (14a), entrusting Li Chen-ch'ang with the two functions of Registrar of the Taoists, stationed in the capital, and Head of the Ch'ang-ch'un kung\[77\] (temple palace). In 1229 he visited the court because instructors for the heir apparent were being sought. Li Chen-ch'ang presented the following scriptures, J\[78\], Shih\[79\], Shu\[80\], Tao-te ching\[81\], Hsiao-ching\[82\] and explained them in detail. The emperor praised him and allowed him later in the year to return home. In 1230 "false accusations" were raised against Yin Ch'ing-ho,\[77\] but Li Chen-ch'ang

\[73\] This reminds of the activities of the founder of Ch'üan-ch'en Taoism in Shantung, Wang Ch'ung-yang (1112–1170), who established several hui, and the names of these congregations were specified with the term san-chiao "Three Teachings", see TT 973 Kan-shui haien-yuan lu: 1.5b–7a ("Chung-nan shen-shien Ch'ung-yang ch'en-jen Ch'üan-ch'en chiao-tsu pei") – this text is important, also for its author: Wan-yen Shou, a cousin of emperor Chin Chantsung. Both names, Ch'ang-ch'un and Yü-hua, represent ideals of the Ch'üan-ch'en school, especially the Yü-hua ("Jade-flower") (hui). In TT 1233 Ch'ung-yang li-chiao shih-wu lu (No. 15) Wang Ch'ung-yang spoke about the Lotos flower as symbol of the true or successful adherent of the teachings: living in this world he rises above the mud of profane affairs. This also implies a modification of the concepts which might be associated with the name "Long-lasting Spring" (Ch'ang-ch'un), which is not intended to suggest "Long Life" in a literal sense as practical purpose of Wang Ch'ung-yang's Ch'üan-ch'en teachings. Also see Ch'iui Ch'u-ch'i's explanations in TT 176 Hsüen-feng ch'ing-hui lu.

\[74\] Concerning ch'ai and chiao festivities or rituals in religious Taoism, see e.g. K. Schipper, Le corps taoiste, 101–135 (Le rituel) (Paris 1982). Also see M. Saso, Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal, (Washington 1972). Especially see, N. Ofuchi, Chūkokujin no shūkyō girei, (Okayama 1983).

\[75\] The Tao-te ching and Hsiao-ching can be said to belong to the stock of those scriptures, which the founder of Ch'üan-ch'en Taoism (Wang Ch'ung-yang) indeed had lectured upon. The other titles show the Ch'üan-ch'en Taoist to be a scholarly advisor or teacher, explicitly representing the standard of the traditional Chinese erudition. Amongst the Seven Perfected, only Hao Ta-t'ung is said to have been a specialist on the I-ching, see TT 973 Kan-shui haien-yuan lu: 2.19b, 21a–21b; also see F. C. Reiter, The Soothsayer Hao Ta-t'ung (1140–1212) and his Encounter with Ch'üan-ch'en Taoism, in OE 28.198–205.

\[77\] Compare A. Waley, The Travels of an Alchemist, pp. 17–18, information had been given
took the responsibility saying that Yin Ch’ing-ho were the leader of the school, and his duty would be the transmission of the Tao, but the affairs of the adherents of the school were all under his (Li Chen-ch’ang) supervision... (14b). Wang O reports that Li Chen-ch’ang got imprisoned, but the locks would open up by themselves (et al.), and finally the accusations were revoked. In 1233 he received the order to teach in Peking (Yen-ching) eighteen children of high-ranking Mongol officials. He delegated this task to one of his followers. On pp. 14b–15a Wang O continues to report other instances of Li Chen-ch’ang receiving orders from the court. Li Chen-ch’ang indeed overshadowed Yin Ch’ing-ho who in 1238 retired from his position. On this occasion the Judge of the Branch Department of State Affairs transferred to Li Chen-ch’ang on behalf of the court a new name of honour, Hsüan-men cheng-p’ai ssu-fa yen-chiao Chen-ch’ang chen-jen[83] (15a).

In 1238 (15a) Li Chen-ch’ang rushed to the court as to present petitions in favour of the Ch’üan-chen school. He thus drew the attention especially to the Ling-hsü[84] Belvedere at the Chung-nan mountains (Shensi). This belvedere was dedicated to the origins of the Ch’üan-chen school, which means the perfection and initiation of Wang Ch’ung-yang (1112–1170). Now the court had it named Ch’ung-yang kung[85] and ordered a (new) construction on a large scale. In 1244 Li Chen-ch’ang was ordered to lead on a religious festivity in the Ch’ang-ch’ung kung, with many high-ranking people participating. The most qualified persons received the "rules of the discipline and registers" (15b).

In 1251 (15b) emperor Hsien-tsung came to be seated on the throne. Wishing to observe the ritual prescriptions he wanted to have sacrifices offered to the holy mountains and marshes. He dispatched an official who summoned Li Chen-ch’ang to come to the court. Here he was entrusted with the task of fulfilling these ritual requirements. He received the imperial credentials and the material support which he would need. Also he was told to continue to supervise the (Ch’üan-chen) school (chang-chiao). When he celebrated a Chin-lü sacrifice (Chin-lü chiao) [86], taking three days and nights, the people joining the festivity were all clad in purple clothes. They were the officials who would accompany Li Chen-ch’ang on his mission. Wang O now (16a) describes the way Li Chen-ch’ang went, in order to perform the sacrifices at the mountains and marshes. There was a problem concerning Mt. Heng which is situated in the South, where the Sung still ruled. That sacrifice had to be performed at the Heavenly Altar in the capital. Inscriptions were made,

to the government that on the walls of the Ch’ang-ch’un temple pictures of the Eighty-one incarnations of Lao-tzu had been painted. The Buddhists thought them to be insulting. However, in 1255 Li Chih-ch’ang had books just about this theme distributed in Qara-qorum. He surely had his share in the ensuing struggle between the Buddhists and the Taoists, also see A. Waley, p. 30.

78 See above note 75.

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reporting the divine responses to these sacrifices. In 1252 (16a) Li Chen-ch’ang was ordered to visit the "Ancestor Hall" at the Chung-nan mountains (Shensi), where he performed ritual services and gave guidelines for the construction of the temple compound.\(^79\) This became the exemplary model for all the other Taoist establishments in the area, which belonged to the same school (Ch’üan-ch’en).

In 1253 (16a) Li Chen-ch’ang received the imperial order to celebrate the Great Purification by the Golden Register (Chin-lu ta-chai),\(^80\) and to distribute to all the Taoist priests along his way initiation certificates, which were sealed by him as Grand Teacher of the School. A similar account (16b) referring to 1254 follows, which we do not describe. However, Wang O reports that Li Chen-ch’ang secured the release of many persons of the Peking area which had been in jail without reason for quite a time. – Again, this could be seen as an act of social care, to be compared with the bravery with which he once saved the people in the mountain cave (see above).

In 1255 (16b) Li Chen-ch’ang visited the emperor and joined audiences, together with the princes and kings. He answered questions about "the art of government". When the emperor exclaimed that he wanted to see people live in security and peace, but how would it come that he could not see anybody to share his sentiments, Li Chen-ch’ang replied ... that the emperor had to have upright and "virtuous" assistants around him (17a). It may be tempting to explain this advise with Wang O’s wish to strengthen the Chinese group of advisors, in opposition to the Central Asiatic advisory group.\(^81\) However, this type of statement is typical of Chinese advisors or guests at the imperial court. It is a standard rhetoric which does not necessarily deserve a special interpretation. On the other hand, we do remember quite similar statements in the inscription by Wang O which had been translated above. After all, "the art of government" seems to be the basic message of Lao-chün’s worldly mission, if we follow e.g. the "Laudatory Verse" (see above). In 1256 (ping-ch’en, 17a) Li Chen-ch’ang resigned from his official functions because of his age. In the sixth month of 1260 he asked Chang Chih-ching (Ch’eng-ming)\(^82\) to take over his duties and functions. The very next day Li Chen-ch’ang gave his seals and Taoist robes to Chang Chih-ching, wrote an ode and died at the age of 64 (17b).

\(^79\) The name of the respective temple was Ling-hsi Belvedere, which then had been changed to Ch’ung-yang kung (temple), see TT 955 Chung-nan shan Tsu-t’ing hsien-ch’en nei-ch’uan: 3.11a, a quotation of the biography of Chen-ch’ang chen-jen in this very important source.

\(^80\) Also see R. Malek, Das Chai-chieh lu, Materialien zur Liturgie im Taoismus, e.g. p. 53, in: Würzburger Sino-Japonica 14.

\(^81\) See the introductory paragraph of this article.

\(^82\) Chang Chih-ching, see above note 19.
Wang Ō reports that Li Chen-ch’ang left behind two literary collections, the *Hsüan-ch’i*\(^{87}\) (20 ch’üan), and *Hsi-yu chi*\(^{88}\) (2 ch’üan).\(^{83}\)

The following passages in this inscription (17b–18b) contain a short summary and Wang Ō’s evaluation: It is the determination of will, which is thought to characterize the Confucian scholar. This determination actually made Li Chen-ch’ang study Tao scholarly. He served his master most diligently and was loyal in his contacts with people. Li Chen-ch’ang did not drink any liquors, and he did not eat any spicy meals. For twenty years he was in charge of the arrangements and affairs related to the temple organisation of the school. All people believed in him, who was a most unselfish person. Anything he received, as far as material goods were concerned, he transferred to the temple properties. He is seen as an upright man, who did not bend his will just according to the situation. On p. 18a/6–7 Wang Ō makes an interesting statement saying that Li Chih-ch’ang could live through and serve three dynasties, because he knew people so well... In 1261 the title Chen-ch’ang shang-te hsüan-chiao chen-jen\(^{89}\) was decreed as posthumous honour (18b). In 1262 Wang Ō received the request of Chang Chih-ching (Ch‘eng-ming) to write about Li Chen-ch’ang on the basis of materials which he could provide. Wang Ō also could rely on what he himself had heard and seen. No new information is contained in the concluding inscription (ming)\(^{90}\) on p. 19a.

Now we speak about Wang Ō’s inscription on the life and work of Wang Ch‘i-yün (1178–1263).

**TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu: 4.19b–24b,**

"Ch‘i-yün chen-jen Wang tsun-shih tao-hsing pei“

The "Inscription on the Taoist Ways of the Venerable Master, the Adept Wang Ch‘i-yün" begins with a reference to the "present emperor“\(^{84}\) under whose rule according to the ways of old, the interior system of the country was being well ordered... In the eighth month of 1261 the Grand Councillor of the Palace Secretariat petitioned to draw attention to the utmost correctness of demeanour of the Ch‘üan-ch’en patriarch Wang Ch‘i-yün, who enjoyed a high appreciation throughout the country. It would be proper to respond with an imperial bulletin and to grant a new name of honour. On p. 20a Wang Ō begins to report about Wang Ch‘i-yün’s life. Wang Ch‘i-yün stemmed from a prosperous peasant family. When he was born he already was distinguished by some special physical marks. Early he showed his inclination towards Taoism. Reaching the age when he could be expected to marry he left home, and in Ning-hai (Shantung) he finally joined Hao

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\(^{83}\) We have no information about the *Hsüan-ch‘i*, as to the *Hsi-yu chi*, see *TT* 1429, and also see above note 12.

\(^{84}\) The "present emperor“ is Shih-tsu (Qubilai).
Ta-t'ung\textsuperscript{[81]}, who was one of the Seven Perfected of the Ch'üan-chen school.\textsuperscript{85} Hao Ta-t'ung taught in Ning-hai Ch'üan-chen theories. Wang Ch'i-yün became an arduous and efficient disciple. When Hao Ta-t'ung died (1212), he adopted a completely unpredictable behaviour, roaming far around. If he was employed as a servant, he would laugh and come to do the job, and if he was offended, he would show reverence and accept it. Wang O reports that Wang Ch'i-yün's interior radiance was hidden by his behaviour and really nobody would have known yet that he "had Tao". Many times he encountered military conflicts and eventually was caught by robbers (20b). When he was threatened with death by boiling, he did not show any signs of fear. Thus he was recognized as an extraordinary person and was released. When these turmoils had settled down, he followed Ch'iu Ch'ü-chi travelling to Yen and Li. For some time he lived in the rock ravines of a creek west of Mt. P'an, wore "straw clothes" and eat "wood", as if he prepared to die in that place. Many of the erudites living in the area came daily and felt great bewilderment. From that time onwards his position as a Taoist became much more influential.

After the death of Ch'iu Ch'ü-chi in 1227 (20b), he left the area of Mt. P'an and lived a life of asceticism, seemingly travelling around without purpose (20b). He either established temples wherever he was, or he made old ones flourish again. He did not mind if a temple was old or new. Even when he had stayed a long time in one place, he never would return once he had left (21a). Legions of people wanted to be his students. People of any standing approached him. He allowed them all to speak to him, and engaged them in conversations. He would say that all who embarked on Taoism were the followers of T'ai-shang (Lao-chün)\textsuperscript{86} and that they were brothers. In the world nothing would be worse than the prevailing conceit... But the Tao nature\textsuperscript{87} all people would completely own. So, why should he make any difference between old and young? – Wang O continues to describe Wang Ch'i-yün's attitudes which do fit well with the generally known features of Ch'üan-chen Taoism. His ritual services were all effective. Divine responses or heavenly signs appeared. The Taoist however would not make a big fuss about it and silently hide away. On p. 21b Wang O describes another religious festivity on which Wang Ch'i-yün presided, accepting the request of a local grandee. The Taoist explained all the accompanying or resulting miraculous effects as proof of the sincerity involved in the religious performance. A sincere will could connect

\textsuperscript{85} Hao Ta-t'ung (1140–1212) was a specialist on the I-ching, see above note 76.

\textsuperscript{86} This is a good example how the name and fame of Lao-tzu (T'ai-shang Lao-chün) serves as a general legitimation.

\textsuperscript{87} The Chinese term is tao-hsing. A good survey on these terms and on related concepts gives I. Robinet, La notion de Hsing dans le taoïsme et son rapport avec celle du confucianisme, in: Journal of the American Oriental Society 106.183–196.
Heaven and Earth. There were nothing else about it, explained Wang Ch’i-yün.  

Much earlier, when Wang Ch’ung-yang and four of his followers returned to the West, they stayed preaching at Pien-liang. The hostel in Pien-liang was owned by someone surnamed Wang. He was an unpollite person, who slandered the Taoists. Wang Ch’ung-yang predicted that one day in this place a new temple would be established by the sons and grandsons. In Pien-liang 64 years later, after the death of Wang Ch’ung-yang, Wang Ch’i-yün did lead on his followers to find that old site. Then a temple was established at that place. Wang Ch’i-yün again would not take any credit for this action, but pointed to the efforts of all those people who had contributed to this success. However, it was quite clearly understood that an old prophecy Wang Ch’ung-yang’s had been fulfilled. Wang O describes the way in which Wang Ch’i-yün supervised the work— all people just loved to be directed by him (22a). Obviously, these great efforts could be realized only after Pien-liang had been taken over by the Mongols. Wang O links the great deeds of Wang Ch’i-yün and the fulfillment of Wang Ch’ung-yang’s prophecy with the rise of the Mongol empire in China.

In 1263 (22a) Wang Ch’i-yün died at the age of 86. Wang O gives a precise description of how he prepared for death, and also how people around him behaved (22b). All the world cried, says Wang O. Wang Ch’i-yün was someone who "sincerely responded to people". Now, Wang O sets out to summarize the qualities of the Taoist, and here it is that he reveals the standard or the value which made it for him worthwhile writing that inscription.

On p. 22b Wang O explains that Wang Ch’i-yün did not read books and still his actions were in accord with the principles. His words were up to the facts. Words and actions corresponded perfectly. He would do anything he could in order to help people. Being alone, practicing meditation, or otherwise being together with many people, he never would show any unsincerity. Also, he was able to preserve the "Three Treasures" of Lao-tzu (or the Taoists), and thus behaved in accordance

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88 We find it quite remarkable that Wang O does not provide the slightest indications about the spiritual addresses of such petitions.

89 Shortly before the death of Wang Ch’ung-yang in 1170.

90 This is a fairly late tradition, which cannot have been derived from Wang Ch’ung-yang’s biographies in TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu, TT 173 Chin-lien cheng-tsung chi and TT 174 Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan hsiao-chuan.

91 See below concerning the preface of TT 1140 Yün-shan chi.

92 This could refer to the three essential elements which figure prominently e.g. in Ch’iu Ch’u-chi’s expositions vis-à-vis the Khan (compare TT 176 Hsüan-feng ch’ing-hui lu), i.e. shen (the spiritual forces), ching (the essences) and ch’i (the vital energies). The term Three Treasures appears in Tao-te ching 67, having a meaning which would fit perfectly with Wang O’s understanding of what matters and what not. See Wing-tsit Chan’s translation: "... I have three treasures. Guard and keep them: The first is deep love, The second is frugality,
with the "Heavenly Mind" (t'ien-hsin)\[92\]. He tried to meet the expectations of his contemporaries and acted as a real leader and teacher (tsung-shih)\[93\] of that generation!

Now, we should like to know why did Wang O write this text? In 1264 (23a) Wang Ch'i-yün's disciples Lun Chih-yüan\[94\] and Wei Chih-yen\[95\] took biographical notices along and approached the Superintendents Chang Chih-ko\[96\] and Li Chih-chü\[97\] with the suggestion to have them written down. Because Wang O was not living far away, they asked him to write the text for an inscription. Actually, Wang O felt that "they came from the same village", and also that they had their roots in a common, though distant, ancestry. Wang O had met with Wang Ch'i-yün in Peking, and even before that he had some knowledge about the Taoist's career. It also must not be forgotten, that Wang Ch'i-yün was older than Wang O was, who consequently owed him respect. There is some short notice concerning a conversation which they had had in Peking. Wang O had spoken with Wang Ch'i-yün about the Taoist's way of life. He had observed that Wang Ch'i-yün though already being very old still would be travelling around, preaching and doing many things which should cause him inconveniences. Wang Ch'i-yün says that it would be the way of life of a scholar, to act only according to the requirements of the situation. "I am a Ch'üan-chen man and dare not do so", Wang Ch'i-yün says. In short, any help which he could give, he actually gave disregarding any inconvenience like a long journey. He did not make any difference between rich or poor people, because he felt that he would practice the Ch'üan-chen way of conversion (23b). He would say that it's worthwhile the effort, if "the one who was a robber in the morning has become a noble man in the evening", and even if this would be only one single man out of many, it's "conversion". Wang O "knows that the heart of the master is like the heart of Heaven and Earth, it is the heart of a father and a mother" (23b). This defines Wang Ch'i-yün as a person of most appreciable moral standards. Wang O says that he would be on duty as a Han-lin academician and could not compose texts for people "outside", and yet he wants to cooperate in order to honour Wang Ch'i-yün as a compatriot who shared the same surname. Another aspect which certainly greatly supported Wang O's readiness to write this text, was the very strong request by the leader of the Ch'üan-chen school, Adept Ch'eng-ming, who spoke so much in favour of this matter. On pp. 24a–24b Wang O gives a short summarizing and concluding inscription (ming).

This text contains quite substantial statements which can explain the reason

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\[92\] And the third is not to dare to be ahead of the world...", in: A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy 171 (Princeton 1972).

\[93\] Lun Chih-yüan, Wei Chih-yen and Li Chih-chü, we have no information about these persons. Chang Chih-ko was a follower of Wang Ch'i-yün, see TT1140 Yün-shän chi 7.9a, and it is most likely that this also could be said about Li Chih-chü.
why Wang O wrote this text, or we even might say "such a text". Now, we still have to introduce two rather short inscriptions again dealing with the Ch'üan-chen school.

**TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yuan lu: 6.16b–19a,**

"Hun-yuan hsien Chen-ch'ang tzu Liu chün tao-hsing chi"

Liu Tao-ning[^98] from Po-teng in Yün-chung came from a family of local officials. When he played with other children he surely would have a little hut set up and sitting cross-legged he would say "I am learning Tao" (16b). Those who knew him well understood that this simply was his natural inclination, and when he had grown up he also liked very much Taoists. He had four brothers and was the eldest one. Thus when he was urged to embark on the official career, according to the tradition of his family, he steadfastly refused. In 1202 he learned about the retired scholar Liu Ch'ai-t'ou[^99] from Hun-yuan district.[^94] He settled his relations with the family and went to the Chin-ch'üan[^100] Belvedere at Mt. P'ing-feng where he served Liu Ch'ai-t'ou. His master had him endure any hardship and even sent him to beg for alms. Liu Tao-ning would happily do it. So, Liu Ch'ai-t'ou knew that he could be taught, and consequently gave him subtle instructions (17a). After that Liu Tao-ning travelled to the East. He passed through Kuan-chung where he stayed in a temple at Mt. Hua. After a few years of ascetic life and starving he made up his mind and moved to another temple in the area. When he happened to find a substantial amount of cash he had it distributed to the poor, because the owner of the money could not be found. The point is that he did not keep it back to use it for himself or the temple where he was living.

In 1214 (17a) he went into hiding and lived in a cave at a place called Village Chang. In 1216 the local official Feng Lu[^101] asked him to return to Yün-nei (Shansi) where again he went into seclusion as if he were bent on breaking off his contacts with the world. But the people who liked Taoism urged him to give up his seclusion, and then his students became daily more and more. In 1220 the head of Hun-yuan district heard about Liu Tao-ning's fame and invited him to come to the Belvedere Lung-ch'üan[^102], Chin-ch'üan and Hsüan-yüan[^103], which all were famous temples (belvederes) (17b). Liu Tao-ning was made abbot and did much about restoring and operating properly these places. Liu Tao-ning was performing as a Taoist priest (tao-shih).

In 1223 (17b) Ch'iu Ch'u-chi returned from his famous journey, and Liu Tao-ning went in time to a place east of Yin-hai[^104]. He intended to become Ch'iu Ch'u-chi's follower. When "their eyes met they were in complete accord in Tao". Being asked about the beginnings of his Taoist career, Liu Tao-ning spoke about

[^94]: Liu Ch'ai-t'ou, see YIP 212. District Hun-yüan is in Shansi province, Ta-t'ung prefecture, see Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta ts'ü-tien 912.4.
Liu Ch'ai-t'ou, and Ch'iu Ch'u-chi was pleased. Now it is that Ch'iu Ch'u-chi entrusted Liu Tao-ning with "secret instructions" (mi-chüeh)\[105] and gave him a Taoist name: Chen-ch'ang. Liu Tao-ning received the order to live at the Western Capital,\[98] and after a short time he was made Head of the Taoist Office.

In 1236 Yin Ch'ing-ho visited the Ancestor Hall (Shensi) and returning home he met with Liu Tao-ning on the southern side of Mt. Heng. Yin Ch'ing-ho had received the official order that in all Taoist temples someone should be responsible for the administration.\[96] He suggested quite strongly that Liu Tao-ning should be in charge of the Yün-t'ai\[106] Belvedere at Mt. Hua. This would be a magic place, a real "Grotto Heaven". Liu Tao-ning refused twice to go to Mt. Hua, but dispatched his followers to restore the temple, which he himself went to see several times (18a). Wang O reports another occasion when Liu Tao-ning earned great merits at official request a major temple at Mt. Hua. In 1246 he was invited to preside over the ceremonies of a Great Sacrifice to all the Heavens, which was to be held at Peking's Ch'ang-ch'un temple. In the fifth month of the same year he asked to be taken back to his old place at Mt. Heng, and finally he asked his follower Hsü Chih-an\[107] and the Prefect of the area, Kao Chung-chien\[108], to prepare the funeral. The very next day Liu Tao-ning died at the age of 75.

Wang O summarizes (18b–19a) the account of Liu Tao-ning's life, who also is known as Liu Chen-ch'ang. It is reported that Liu Tao-ning (Chen-ch'ang) had written some books for didactic purposes: Pa-jen ch'u\[109], Hui-hsien lu\[110], Sui-ying lu\[111], Tsung-hsien lu\[112]. Living in Hun-yüan district Liu Tao-ning used to travel with the scholar Wei Pang-yen \[113]. When Liu Tao-ning had died, his follower Shih Chih-ching\[99] wrote a description of his life and deeds and went to Peking. He hoped that Wei Pang-yen would make an inscription which he wanted to have engraved on stone, in order to set it up at the shrine. One day Wei Pang-yen approached Wang O, made polite excuses and passed to him the request to write this text. Wang O wrote it in 1247. We remember that between 1244 and 1250 Wang O had accepted invitations to visit the Mongol court at Qara-qorum, where he gave his advise on matters referring to the state cult and historiographic projects. He did not have an official position during that period of time. Accordingly, this text is signed "The Former Chin-shih, Wang O".

95 I.e. Ta-t'ung in Shansi.
96 Compare TT 955 Chung-nan shan Ta-t'ing hsien-chen nei-chuan: 3.4b.
97 Pa-jen ch'ü, Hui-hsien lu, Sui-ying lu, Tsung-hsien lu, we have not found any information about these texts.
98 Wei Pang-yen, also see TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu: 8.12b, referring to Shih Chih-ching (see below).
99 See below.
last paragraph of this text introduces the Taoist Shih Chih-ching. **TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu** also contains an inscription by Wang O about the life of this Taoist.

**TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu: 8.11a–13a,**

"Tung-hsüan tsu Shih-kung tao-hsing pei"

Shih Chih-ching came from a family of scholars. His grandfather and father are said to have earned "hidden merits". In 1202 Shih Chih-ching was born and early appeared to be greatly interested in Taoist matters (11a). At the age of six he joined Chi Te-chü [114] from the same hamlet to study hard. He is said to have been an outstanding student. In 1214 he had to flee military conflicts and somehow made his way to Yün-chung (Shansi), where he lived with the Wan-yen clan. That clan was in charge of the administration of the area (11b). Shih Chih-ching was reared "like a son". In 1221 he decided to leave and at Mt. Heng became Liu Tao-ning's (Chen-ch'ang) disciple. Liu Tao-ning appreciated him highly. In 1223 Ch‘u-chi returned from his journey to the Khan. Shih Chih-ching, following his master Liu Tao-ning visited Ch‘u Ch‘u-chi at Mt. A-pu-han. There he became a disciple of Ch‘u Ch‘u-chi, who gave him the name with which he had been introduced in this inscription from its very beginning. From that time onwards he made great advances in his Taoist erudition, learning hard and practicing ascetic ways.

In 1236, Yin Ch‘ing-ho living at the capital received the official consent to enlarge and repair the Yün-t‘ai Belvedere at Mt. Hua, and so he asked Liu Chen-ch‘ang to take care of the work. Liu Chen-ch‘ang dispatched his followers to do the work, and it did not take them many years to complete its perfect beauty. The Taoist there urged Shih Chih-ching to stay on as abbot, but he refused (12a). In 1241 he accepted an invitation to travel to the West where he reached the Mt. Hua area. Considering the great number of historic (Taoist) places at Mt. Hua, which mostly had not survived the many wars, he began to search for these sites, for relics and literary documentation. Finally he composed the monograph *Hua-shan chih*[115] (14 chapters), which largely had been based on field research.100

In 1246 Liu Tao-ning (Chen-ch‘ang) died, and Shih Chih-ching went to Hun-yüan101 district to mourn for his teacher. In 1249 he visited Yū Tung-chen116 102

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100 Shih Chih-ching's *Hua-shan chih* is not extant.

101 See above note 94.

102 Yū Tung-chen (1166–1250), see **TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu**. 3.19a–24b. Yū Tung-chen was an important Ch‘uan-chen master who had close contacts with Ma Tan-yang and Ch‘u Ch‘u-chi, and then especially with Li Chen-ch‘ang and the management of Taoist affairs in Shensi (esp. Ch‘ung-yang wan-shou kung et al.), see **TT 955 Chung-nan shan Ts‘u-t‘ing hsien-ch‘en nei-chuan**: 3.13a–20b. Shih Chih-ching’s Taoist career probably was not "outstanding" and must not be compared with Liu Tao-ning’s and Yū Tung-chen’s careers. The official
and was installed as Taoist priest (ts’an-shou ching-lu)[117]. In 1251 he followed Li Chih-ch’ang, who was in charge of the affairs related to the Ch’üan-ch’eng school to the North,“103 where he was dressed in purple and thus ranked as court Taoist. He received the name of honour: Hung-chen hsüan-i ta-shih[118]. In 1252 he followed Li Chih-ch’ang on his official mission. Li Chih-ch’ang had been ordered by the court to present the sacrifices at the holy mountains and marshes throughout the country. In 1258 (12b) Shih Chih-ching travelled to the East in order to visit the old sites where the Seven Perfected of the Ch’üan-ch’eng school had lived. Finally, in 1263 Shih Chih-ching returned to Yen-ching (Peking) coming from Wen-teng (Shantung).

Wang O reports that Shih Chih-ching used to write instructive books, using a clear diction. He especially applaudes of course his historiographic work, the Hua-shan chih.104 Now, after the death of Liu Tao-ning (Chen-ch’ang), Shih Chih-ching had come to Peking, together with Wei Pang-yen,105 and asked Wang O to write a commemorative text on Liu Chen-ch’ang (see above, TT 973: 6.16b–19a). At that occasion he also had been asked to write a preface for the Hua-shan chih. Wang O found that another preface actually would be quite superfluous and decided to write a text featuring the high standard of the Taoist achievements of Shih Chih-ching. That’s the basis for this text (TT 973: 8.11a–13a), dated 1265, which we have just described. In the same year Wang O wrote a preface for the literary collection of the Ch’üan-ch’eng Taoist Chi Chih-chen[119] (1193–1268).

**TT 1140 Yün-shan chi, ”Clouds and Mountains“.

This literary collection was compiled by Chi Chih-chen106 who belonged to the affiliation, which Wang Ch’i-yün had founded. We look at Wang O’s preface for this collection and present the most important information which it contains (Preface 1b–2b).

Wang O says that the teachings of Tao are effective and manifest, and this is so even without any literary announcements being made. However, it would be important that also the common people perceive Tao. The long tradition of literary works dealing with the reality of Tao would indeed reach back very far. Since the times of Huang-ti and Lao-tzu when Taoism was established, the two scriptures

honours which he later could enjoy (see below, the year 1251) have to be seen within the context of Li Chen-ch’ang’s career from which his immediate adherents naturally profited.

103 Compare TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu: 3.15b, referring to emperor Hsien-tsung who asked Li Chen-ch’ang to sacrifice to the mountains and marshes on behalf of the emperor, see above our description of "Hsüan-men chang-chiao ta tsung-shih Chen-ch’ang chen-jen tao-hsing pei-ming", in: TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu: 3.10b–19a.

104 See above note 100.

105 See above note 98.

Yin-fu ching\textsuperscript{120} and Tao-te ching appeared.\textsuperscript{107} And again since then the scriptures of the philosophers (Lieh-tzu, Chuang-tzu et al.) had emerged. Especially during the T'ang and Sung periods a great number of texts had been written. They all expounded the secrets about Heaven and man, showing the direction to follow for the students of later generations.

About the end of the Sung period, at the beginning of the Chin, the Ch'üan-ch'en school (Ch'üan-ch'en chia) emerged. They could do without writing any books, but Wang Ch'ung-yang was eagerly bent on converting people. And so, all these Taoists had their didactic sayings recorded in order to support the students of later generations. Recently (Wang) Ch'i-yün had a great determination to save people... "Our" Master Chih-ch'ang (Chi Chih-chen) had a bright mind. He asked Wang Ch'i-yün to be accepted as his student. Then he understood the 64 kua (I-ching) and the 81 paragraphs (Tao-te ching) and worked out his own explanations. He also wrote the books Nan-hua chieh-i\textsuperscript{121} and Ch'ung-hsü t'uan-ch'ang\textsuperscript{122}.\textsuperscript{108} The words are simple and the meaning is deep... There is much information of great value in the Yün-shan chi... 

Wang O had been asked by a Mr. Li\textsuperscript{109} to write this preface. Wang O says that he had had some contact with Chi Chih-chen, and also that he had written a postface for Chi Chih-chen's I-chieh.\textsuperscript{123} Wang O's preface is dated 1265 as we said before. He signs as Shen-tu lao-jen Tung-ming Wang O.\textsuperscript{124} He used the same title for the inscription on Shih Chih-ching. However, for that text he still had added the title of "Former Chin-shih". It will be remembered that in 1260 Qubilai had appointed him, at the age of 70, an Imperial Han-lin Academician. We repeat this piece of information in order to point to the background against which these texts should be reflected. Especially the very individual signatures show that these texts should be classified as "private". This has to be kept in mind.

\textsuperscript{107} Chi Chih-chen also wrote a commentary on the Tao-te ching see TT 973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan tu 8.23b (Tao-te ching tsung-chang, and notably a commentary on the I-ching, Chou-i chih-chieh). Both titles are not extant. Concerning the Huang-ti yin-fu ching, see C.C. Rand, Li Chüan and Chinese Military Thought, in: HJAS 39.107–137. Also see F.C. Reiter, The "Scripture of the Hidden Contracts" (Yin-fu ching), a short survey on facts and findings, in: NOAG 136.75–83; see p. 81, note 4, for indications of Japanese studies on the Yin-fu ching. Quotations of the Yin-fu ching appear to be a "trade mark" of Ch'üan-ch'en literature.

\textsuperscript{108} Nan-hua chieh-i and Ch'ung-hsü t'uan-ch'ang, we have not found any mention of these texts somewhere else. They deal with Chuang-tzu and Lieh-tzu.

\textsuperscript{109} We do not know the identity of that friend "Mr. Li".
Summary

The inscription on the T'ai-ch'ing temple at Lao-tzu's birthplace in Po-chou (TT 972 K'ung-kuan pei-chih: 13a–18a) had been written in response to an imperial order, after the restoration of the temple in 1264–1269. Wang O bases his expositions on the generally appreciated tradition referring to the name and fame of Lao-tzu. The historic starting point is emperor Huan (Han dynasty) who in 165 visualized Lao-tzu in a dream. No mention is made of Chang Tao-ling[125] and the formation of that Taoist group, which was the basis for Cheng-i [126] Taoism and the profession of the Taoist priest (tāo-shih). Concerning Lao-tzu and his story, Wang O refrains from reporting tales of miraculous events. He concentrates on the imperial acts of veneration, especially the building activities at the Lao-tzu temple in Po-chou and the visits of emperors at that place. His personal and practical contacts with the sphere of Taoism were mainly directed towards the representatives of Ch'üan-ch'en Taoism, who operated most of the Taoist temples in North China. The Ch'üan-ch'en Taoists maintained substantial contacts with the Mongols and thus constituted a link between the echelons of the administration and the common people.

After listing the acts of imperial attention and care, which the T'ai-ch'ing temple received up to the year 1102 (Sung Hui-tsung), Wang O makes a point which we feel reveals his concern with Taoism. Since Lao-tzu had preached his Tao-te ching, all the following generations were well informed about the art of government without resorting to brutal force. The name of Lao-tzu stands for this. Wang O implies that this was the Chinese way of government. This in fact had been realized by the ruling house, Wang O points out, and the restoration of the T'ai-chi hall of the T'ai-ch'ing temple at Po-chou reflects this fact. Interpreting Wang O's expositions we say that Lao-tzu and Taoism, especially Ch'üan-ch'en Taoism, appear to be a label for the Chinese ways and means in governing the country, which the Mongol dynasty had adopted.

Wang O notices of course that since Lao-tzu and the Taoist philosophers (Chuang-tzu, Lieh-tzu et al.) had written their books the situation deteriorated and heretic theories emerged, but this goes without further specification. His many references to Lao-tzu point to the fact that "Lao-tzu" and especially the political concepts of the Tao-te ching were theoremes which everybody accepted. The Ch'üan-ch'en Taoists Wang O is speaking about, appeared to him to practise the ideals which Lao-tzu is said to have established. They even are said to have actually realized and revived all these good traditions of purity and peacefulness or

[110] As to Chang Tao-ling and Cheng-i Taoism, there are many studies and descriptions. It should suffice to draw the attention to W. Eichhorn, Die Religionen Chinas (Stuttgart 1973), and the expositions of K. Schipper, in e.g.: Le corps taoiste, 22, 82, 86 (Paris 1982). Also see A. Seidel, La divinisation de Lao Tzeu, 74, 76, 81 et al. (Paris 1969).
tranquillity, the ways of the Saints of old. These (Ch’üan-chén) Taoists and their temples had to be honoured!

The more detailed information which Wang O gave need not be repeated. However, attention must be drawn to the name of Chang Jou, who since long had been an official in the area of Po-chou. Formerly he had greatly contributed to rebuild or repair the T’ai-ch’ing temple. Taking the personal gratitude into account, which Wang O certainly owed Chang Jou, we realize that he did Chang Jou a favour by naming him in this inscription.

We have already said that during the times of Wang O the Ch’üan-chén Taoists were very influential in North China. Li Chen-ch’ang and then Wang Ch’i-yün and his followers were in charge of the T’ai-ch’ing Temple. Wang O was acquainted with these persons, and he wrote the respective biographical texts for personal or even private reasons. In other words, it seems to be unlikely that Wang O was much concerned with Taoism beyond such purely personal obligations. We must not forget that the inscription on the T’ai-ch’ing temple had been done on imperial orders, and its wording is well within the frame of generally accepted sources (Tao-te ching) and historic data. It is an official eulogistic document.

Speaking about Ch’iu Ch’u-chi, Wang O points to his admirable realization of the virtues jen “benevolence“ and tz’u ”compassion“, thus gaining many followers amongst the educated class. Wang O refers to the line of succession in the leadership of the Ch’üan-chén school: Ch’iu Ch’u-chi, Yin Ch’ing-ho and Li Chen-ch’ang.

Li Chen-ch’ang (TT 973: Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu: 3.10b–19a) was very social and unselfish. He was the person, who would "save people". Wang O presents some conclusive hagiographic features. First of all, the miraculous conception of Li Chen-ch’ang, who consequently had "the bones of an Immortal“ – and thus was to be a good Taoist. A typical feature of Ch’üan-chén Taoism, deriving from Ch’au-Buddhist traditions, is the "method of transmitting clothes" (ch’üan-i fa)[127]. Li Chen-ch’ang actually received the string of an arch. We remember Hao Ta-t’ung, who received as a sign of his initiation Wang Ch’ung-yang’s arm sleeves. Wang O describes extensively Li Chen-ch’ang’s contacts with the imperial court, where he also was teaching the scriptures: I, Shih, Shu and Tao-te ching. Li Chen-ch’ang would discuss the ways of government, and of course he also would conduct ritual services on demand by the court. In 1251 he was dispatched by emperor Hsiensung to sacrifice to the mountains and marshes on behalf of the empire. Li Chen-ch’ang was a worthy topic for Wang O. The Taoist showed the attitudes "of a Confucian scholar", and so it was that he could study Tao thoroughly, explains Wang O.

In 1262 Chang Chih-ming (Ch’eng-ming), whom we know from the inscription
on the T'ai-ch'ing temple, asked Wang O to compose a biographical text.\textsuperscript{111} We do not think that Wang O used this text to express any special concern with Taoism, especially as he does not speak clearly about the accusations against Yin Ch'ing-ho, which have to be connected with the pictures on the walls of a Ch'üan-chen temple, showing "Lao-tzu when he converted the barbarians (and established Buddhism)". Li Chen-ch'ang takes the responsibility for this, but soon escapes jail and prosecution by spiritual help. A discussion of this theme would neither have pleased Chang Chih-ching nor the other Taoist acquaintances. This very private flair also shaped the inscription on Wang Ch'i-yün (\textit{TT} 973 \textit{Kan-shui hsiien-yüan lu}: 4.19b–24b).

Wang O agreed to write this inscription, because Wang Ch'i-yün came from the same hamlet, and the common surname suggested a common ancestry. Much earlier Wang O had met Wang Ch'i-yün and they had had some very good conversations. Again it was Chang Chih-ching, who urged Wang O to write the text. Wang O gives the most basic data of Wang Ch'i-yün's biography. This Taoist never stayed very long in a place, and he never would return, once he had left. He accepted any student, because everybody would have the "Tao nature". In other words, Ch'üan-chen can be realized by everybody. Wang Ch'i-yün appeared to be a man, who could connect Heaven and Earth by exerting true sincerity. He corresponded with the mind of Heaven..., explains Wang O. No doubt, the inscription about Wang Ch'i-yün had been written in order to satisfy the request of a devout Taoist (Chang Chih-ching).

The same is true for an inscription, which had been written much earlier (1247), featuring Liu Tao-ning (\textit{TT} 973 \textit{Kan-shui hsiien-yüan lu}: 6.16b–19a). Wang O had been invited by Shih Chih-ching and another companion of Liu Tao-ning (Chen-ch'ang) to write the text. It only gives the most basic data. Liu Tao-ning was a follower of Ch'iü Ch'u-chi. Yin Ch'ing-ho had asked him to restore a temple at Mt. Hua, and Liu Tao-ning in turn dispatched his followers to do the work. Shih Chih-ching was amongst them. That man also co-signed the new edition of the propagandistic picture book about the "conversion of the barbarians".\textsuperscript{112} This leads to the "Report" on Shih Chih-ching (\textit{TT} 973 \textit{Kan-shui hsiien-yüan lu}: 8.11a–13a), which was written in 1265. We do not repeat the details. However it has to be noticed that Wang O pointedly stresses the scholarly and historiographic activities of Shih Chih-ching, writing the \textit{Hua-shan chih}.

Finally, Wang O's preface to \textit{TT} 1140 \textit{Yün-shan chi} points again to private contacts with Ch'üan-chen Taoists. A friend of Chi Chih-chen had asked him to write the preface. Wang O was acquainted with Chi Chih-chen, who was the author

\textsuperscript{111} This is the inscription on Li Chen-ch'ang.

\textsuperscript{112} See F.C. Reiter, Die "Einundachtzig Bildtexte", in: \textit{ZDMG} 136.452. See above note 11.
of the collection Yün-shan chi. The preface refers to the two scriptures Yin-fu ching and Tao-te ching,113 which are said to be most representative documents of Taoism. Then there were the philosophers, and later the greatly increasing number of Taoist authors and texts. Especially during the T’ang and Sung dynasties the production of Taoist texts would have been most remarkable. Wang O observed that the founder of Ch’üan-chen Taoism, Wang Ch’ung-yang, actually did not need to write books in order to transmit his teachings, but having pity on later generations he did write, and so did all these (Ch’üan-chen) Taoists, who produced their own didactic works... Chi Chih-chen, who became a specialist on the I-ching and Tao-te ching, was a disciple of Wang Ch’i-yün (see TT973 Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu: 4.19b–24b).

The inscriptions, which Wang O wrote concerning Ch’üan-chen Taoists cover a small number of persons, who were connected with each other by their affiliations, either with Ch’iu Ch’u-chi or Wang Ch’i-yün. Most texts were written on the basis of private arrangements. Wang O could use the materials, which friends or acquaintances of the respective Taoists provided, and he also could rely on his own recollections or experiences. In other words, these texts present fairly reliable statements. And yet, Wang O suppresses some details, which he may have felt to be disturbing. This surely is true for details of the conflict between the Buddhists and Taoists, after the latter had gained favours from the Mongol Khan. Wang O’s inscriptions show Ch’üan-chen Taoism to be a most positive element within the context of Chinese culture and history. In fact, Cheng-i and Ch’üan-chen Taoism are seen as a unit, which the way of life of the Ch’üan-chen Taoists as described by Wang O very much documents. All the rhetoric and all the aspects of Taoism, which Wang O presents, smoothly correspond with common Chinese standards. We also have to appreciate these texts, because they describe the very level on which the contact between the historian and scholar Wang O and the Taoist world materialized.

The Chinese way of government is clad in words, which derive from theorems commonly connected with the name of Lao-tzu and the legacy of Taoism. In this sense it is natural, that Wang O features the efforts of the Mongol administration concerning the T’ai-ch’ing temple as most adequate. Paying homage to Lao-tzu the administration proves that in China Chinese ways prevail. Wang O should have been pleased. He did not miss to teach the lesson that one has to live up to Confucian standards and to exert scholarly attitudes, if one wants to be a successful Taoist. Wang O’s friends amongst the Ch’üan-chen Taoists appeared to him to have proven this statement to be true. Wang O’s concern with Taoism is, in this sense, a concern with the comprehensive scope of “Chinese culture”.

113 See above note 107.
Glossary

1. Wang O
2. Ts'ui Li
3. Yüan Hao-wen
4. Yeh-lü Ch'ü-ts'ai
5. Chang Jou
6. Chin-shih
7. Ju-nan i-shih
8. Kuang-fu wan-shou kung
9. T'ai-i
10. Ch'üan-chen
11. Ch'iü Ch'u-chi (Ch'ang-ch'ün) 丘處機（長春）
12. Shih Chih-ching 史志經
13. Yüan ch'ung-hsiu Po-chou T'ai-ch'ing kung T'ai-chi tien pei 元重修亳州太清宮太極殿碑
14. Hsiao Chü-shou 蕭居壽
15. Chen-ch'ang 真常
16. Ho-la-ssu 合剌思
17. Ch'eng-ming 誠明
18. Chang Chih-ching 張志敬
19. Chang Wen-ch'ien 張文謙
20. Liu Ch'eng-li 劉禮
21. Hsiang Yü 項羽
22. chiao-t'ien 效天
23. Pien Shao 劉束禮
24. Yang Yüan-chou 楊元召
25. Hsüeh Tao-heng 薛道衡
26. Tz'u-t'ing sung 玄元上德皇帝
27. Hsüan-yüan shang-te huang-ti 皇帝
28. Ni-shang yü-i ch'ü 霹靂羽衣曲
29. Tzu-wei pa-kua wu 紫徽八卦舞曲
30. ch'ü 降真召仙
31. Chiang-chen chao-hsien
[97] Li Chih-chü
[98] Liu Tao-ning
[99] Liu Ch'ai-t'ou
[100] Chin-ch'üan
[101] Feng Lu
[102] Lung-ch'üan
[103] Hsüan-yüan
[104] Yin-hai
[105] mi-chüeh
[106] Yün-t'ai
[107] Hsü Chih-an
[108] Kao Chung-chien
[109] Pa-jen ch'ü
[110] Hui-hsien lu
[111] Sui-ying lu
[112] Tsung-hsien lu
[113] Wei Pang-yen
[114] Chi Te-chü
[115] Hua-shan chih
[116] Yü Tung-ch'en
[117] ts'an-shou ching-lu
[118] Hung-chen hsüan-i ta-shih
[119] Chi Chih-chen
[120] Yin-fu ching
[121] Nan-hua chieh-i
[122] Ch'ung-hsü tuan-chang
[123] I-chieh
[124] Shen-tu lao-jen Tung-ming... Wang O
[125] Chang Tao-ling
[126] Cheng-i
[127] ch'uan-i fa

李志居
劉道寧
劉柴頭
金泉
馮緇
龍泉
玄元
銀海
秘訣
雲臺
許志安
高仲棣
巴人曲
會仙錄
隨應錄
總仙錄
魏邦彥
吉德居
華山志
于洞真
參受經錄
弘真宣義大師
姬志真
陰符經
南華解義
沖虛斷章
易解
慎獨老人東明......王鶚
張道陵
正一
傳衣法

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MS</td>
<td><em>Monumenta Serica</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>NOAG</td>
<td><em>Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE</td>
<td><em>Oriens Extremus</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>PWYF</td>
<td><em>P‘ei-wen yün-fu</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>TT</td>
<td><em>Cheng-t’ung tao-tsang</em>, edition: Taiwan 1977</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZDMG</td>
<td><em>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</em></td>
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