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ON
THE CULT OF CHANG SAN-FENG AND THE
AUTHENTICITY OF HIS WORKS

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Wong Min Han
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ABSTRACT

Chang San-feng 張三丰 was a Taoist master who was honoured by the Taoist inclined Emperors T'ai-tsu 太祖 (reigned 1368-1398), Ch'eng-tsu 成祖 (reigned 1403-1424) and Ying-tsung 英宗 (reigned 1436-1449, 1457-1464) of the Ming dynasty. The first two emperors dispatched delegates to invite him to court, but he never responded to imperial invitation. Many legends were woven around him and he was transmuted into an immortal. As his biography in the Ming-shih 明史 remarks, no one knew when he died. It is also problematic whether he was a historical figure or not. This thesis is an attempt to reveal the true facts about this noted Taoist.

This study consists of two parts. The first part, an examination and review of the biographical accounts of Chang San-feng as found in important historical compilations, local histories of the Ming dynasty and literary notes written by Ming authors, reflects the evolution of his biography from one of the earliest extant records, which was written during the Hsüan-te 禧德 reign (1426-1435), to its inclusion into the Ming-shih, and reveals the discrepancies existing in many records. Evidence is cited to prove that some sayings concerning Chang San-feng are unfounded.

By making use of comparatively reliable biographical accounts and analysing the records relating to the imperial search for Chang San-feng, which is a historical fact, it is argued that it is possible that Chang San-feng was a historical figure. Also, the dates of one of the disciples of Chang San-feng, and the discontinuation of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu's search for the Taoist, lead to the deduction that Chang San-feng lived approximately between the Yen-yu 延祐 period (1314-1320) and 1419.

Part II of this thesis is an investigation into the authenticity of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-shih 張三丰全集, the complete works
attributed to Chang San-feng. Many serious discrepancies existing in these works have been discovered, namely, the appearance of historical persons and mention of historical facts in periods remote from the time when Chang San-feng was believed to have flourished, anti-Taoist overtones, resentment against Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, a sentiment incapable of finding expression in the time and milieu of Chang San-feng and anachronistic use of terms and names of places current during the Ch'ing period. All these serve to betray that these works are spurious, and that they were forged or produced from planchette writing by Ch'ing Taoist devotees. Such clues also indicate that some of them were written by an unknown author in late Ming period. To sum up, Chang San-feng was not the author of these works.
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Students interested in the history of Taoism will surely be confused by the fabulous legends that abound in the biographies of Taoist figures. It has therefore become one of their greatest concerns to remove all these embellishments and to reveal the true face of such figures. I confronted the same difficulty when reading the voluminous *Tao-teang* 道藏, which can be rendered into English as the Taoist Tripitaka, in which I came across many figures whose historical existence is uncertain. I therefore choose to study Chang San-feng, as a sample case to reflect how the biographical profile of a Taoist figure can be eroded by legends which are accumulated, multiplied and exaggerated with the advance of time.

Chang San-feng is particularly interesting and important because his cult gained wide currency in the early Ming period, an epoch unsurpassed in history for domination by Taoist practice and thought of the court and literati. The fame of Chang San-feng attracted the attention of the emperors, and it may also be said that his cult was boosted by the imperial honours bestowed on him. The study of this figure sheds much light on the addiction to Taoism of Ming emperors and the prevalence of the persuasion in the Ming period.

The study of Chang San-feng and his works also serves another purpose. It is known that many works attributed to Taoist figures are spurious. A good example is found in the *Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi* 張三丰全集, the complete works attributed to Chang San-feng. An examination of this collected works shows that it contains many complex foreign elements which were forged by Taoist devotees with the purpose of enhancing the prestige of the religious sect they upheld. Many works in the *Tao-teang* and other large collections of Taoist literature, such as the *Tao-teang chi-yao* 道藏要, are like this, the *Chang San-feng*
ch'uan-chi serving here as an example.

It is hoped that this study will add a modicum of knowledge to the study of Taoism, and will help to clarify some points among the many uncertainties that still exist in this field.
The biography of Chang San-feng 張三丰 found in the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih 太嶽大和山志 is possibly one of the earliest accounts of his life, at least it is the earliest extant source yielding information on the life of Chang San-feng. This work was compiled in 1431 by Jen Tzu-yúan 任自垣, a T'ai-ch'ang-ssu-ch'eng 太常寺丞 (Assistant Minister at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices) during the reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung 宣宗 (reigned 1426-1435) of the Ming dynasty. The biographical account of Chang San-feng included therein, though not without ornamental verbiage, is on the whole acceptable. Since it is one of the early biographies of mysterious figure of the like of Chang San-feng, it is worth quoting in its entirety:

Chang Ch'uan-i 張全式 (I 式 is used interchangeably with I 一), ssu Hsüan-hsüan 素玄, hao San-feng 本周 (Feng 周 is equivalent to Feng 常), was said to be the descendant of the Marquis of Liu 留侯 (i.e. Chang Liang 張良 d. 189 B.C.3), but no one knew his

There are two extant editions of the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, one of which is an undated hand-copied volume 手鈔本 containing only thirteen chüan, while the other is an engraved edition in fifteen chüan printed between 1426 and 1435. See Library of Congress Microfilm Nos. 406 and 404 of National Peiping Library's Collection of rare books respectively. The biography of Chang San-feng, 'Chang Ch'uan-i chuan' 張全式傳 (Chang Ch'uan-i is the alias of Chang San-feng), is found in chüan 6 which is missing in the engraved edition. Both editions are cited frequently in Part I of this thesis. When the hand-copied volume is used it is thus indicated, otherwise it refers to the engraved edition. The pages in the hand-copied volume are not numbered, here the pagination number is obtained by counting.


native place. He was strong and big in stature, his form looked like that of a tortoise (i.e. symbol of longevity) and his frame resembled that of a stork (i.e. attributes of immortality). [He had] enormous ears and round eyes, and his beard and whiskers bristled like the blade of a halberd. His hair was tied in a knot and [he] always carried a foot rule in his hand. He would wear a cassock no matter whether it was winter or summer.

Having described his bizarre appearance, the author goes on to portray his peculiar way of life:

Sometimes he would stay in deserted mountains, other times he would roam about crowded cities and he used to frolic freely as if there were nobody by his side. When someone came to seek instruction from him, he would not utter a single word the whole day long. But when he came to discourse of the classical works of the three religions (i.e. Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism), he would speak without stopping. His conversation and speeches were always based on the virtues of benevolence, righteousness, loyalty and filial piety, and he did not try to deceive people by false and vain predictions of calamity or good fortune. Therefore his mind could communicate with his spirit which could [in turn] unite with the Tao 道 (Way) and he was able to foretell every happening. Sometimes he would take one meal in three or five days, or he would eat once every two or three months. When he was in a good mood he would go across the mountains and walk among the rocks, and on feeling tired he would use the clouds as his bedspread and sleep on the snow. He travelled no regular route and had no fixed abode. [Hence] people felt that he was strange and thought that he was one of the immortals.

The following depicts his activities during the early years of the

Hung-wu 洪武 period of the reign of Emperor T'ai-tsu 太祖 (reigned 1368-1398):

In the early years of the Hung-wu period, [San-feng] arrived at Mount Wu-tang 武當山 and he worshipped the deity Hsuan-ti 玄帝 (The Dark

Mount Wu-tang is 120 里 south of Ch'un-chou 均州 in Hupeh. It is also called Mount T'ai-ho 太和山. We do not know when it was given its other name, but as late as in the Later Han dynasty it was known as Mount Wu-tang. It is attested by the Biography of Chu Mu 車庶 (100-153 A.D.) in Hou Han-shu 後漢書 (Em-shih-shu shih ed.), 73/152, which says, 'Chu Mu, ts'ao Kung-shu 公叔 ... at that time (about 150 A.D.) Ch'ao-K'ang 趙康, ts'ao Shu-sheng 劉盛, of the same native place [as Chu Mu], led a secluded life on Mount Wu-tang...'. There are seventy-two peaks in Mount Wu-tang and are regarded by Taoist devotees as sacred places, see Liu Tao-min 劉道明 (thirteenth century), Wu-tang fu-ti tsung-chen-ch'i 武當福地總真集, in Tao-ťang 道藏 (cited hereafter as TT) (Lithographic ed., Shanghai, 1924-1926), No. 609, shang shang 上 and sheng 中. In some of the legends of the deity Hsuan-ti (see below), he was said to have attained immortality on this mountain, see Hsuan-t'ien shang-ti oh'i-sheng lu 玄天上帝啟聖錄, TT 606-8, oh'e. 1.
You can see the various peaks of Mount Wu-t'ang, searching for peculiar sights and viewing scenic spots. Once he remarked to the elders, 'One day this mountain will be very different from what it is nowadays. I shall remove the thorns and brushwood, and gather together the tiles and bricks in the Monasteries of Wu-lung五龍, Nan-yen南燕 and Tzu-hsiao齊相 and rebuild them roughly.' [Thus he] ordered Ch'i'u Hsia-ch'ing丘玄靖 (1327-1393) to live in the Wu-lung Monastery, Lu Ch'iu-yun盧秋雲 (d. 1416) to stay in the Nan-yan Monastery, while Liu Ku-ch'uan劉玄篆 and Yang Shan-ch'eng楊善誠 were to reside in the Tzu-hsiao Monastery. [Chang San-feng] also chose by divination a site on the northern limit of Chen-ch'i Peak辰旗 and built a thatched hut there. He offered incense and sacrifices to the supreme deity (i.e. Hsüan-t'i) in the hut, which he called Yu-ch'en遇真. [Again he] selected a place in Huang-t'ou-ch'eng黃土城 and erected a straw cottage which he named the Hui-hsien會仙 Monastery. Once he told his disciple Chou Chen-te周真德: 'You must attend to the worship in this monastery. A day will come when this mountain will become prosperous, even without your effort. Please remember my instruction.' In the twenty-third year of Hung-wu (1390), he flapped his sleeves and left [the mountain] for good, no one knew where.

The following passage relates how the emperors were attracted by the cult of Chang San-feng and sought to bring him to court:

In the twenty-fourth year [of Hung-wu] (1391), Emperor T'ai-tsu

5 Hsüan-t'i is the honorific title given to Hsüan-wu玄武, a stellar deity of the Northern Sky generally symbolized by the combination of a tortoise and a snake. The designation Hsüan-wu had a time-honoured history. It was changed to Chen-wu真武 during the Hsiang-fu祥符 period (1008-1016) of the reign of Emperor Chen-tsung真宗 (reigned 998-1022) of the Northern Sung dynasty, because of the taboo on the personal name of the first emperor of the Sung regime, Emperor Tai-tsu太祖 (reigned 960-976), who was called Chao Hsüan-lang趙玄朗. At least seventeen Taoist works related to this deity can be found in the TT, see 27 (two works), 83, 345, 530-1, 556 (two works), 567 (three works), 606-9, 608 (two works), 693 (two works), 981 and 1108. The legends of Hsüan-ti were used as plots in many popular fictions. For example, a novel entitled Pei-fang ch'en-wu ts'i-chih hsüan-tien shang-ti ch'i-yuan ch'uan-shuan 北方真武祖師玄天上聖出行全傳, written by Yu Hsiaang-tou余象斗, a Fukien merchant who flourished about 1602, has Hsüan-ti as the central figure. The edition at hand of this fiction is included in the Shu-yu-chih 四遊記 (Ch'ing engraved ed.), in two ts'e冊, four ch'uan, containing twenty-four hui回. A detailed annotation to its other (1602) edition can be found in Professor Liu Ts'tun-yen's 柳元生 Chinese popular fiction in two London libraries (Hong Kong, 1967), pp. 202-4. For the study of the cult of Hsüan-ti, see Hsu Tao-ling許藻陵, 'Hsüan-wu ch'in chi-ch'ien chi-en k'ao'玄武之起源及其變遷考, Shin-hsing shih-k'ian 史學集刊, No. 3 (Dec. 1937), pp. 223-40; and Willem A. Crooers, The hagiography of the Chinese god Chen-wu', Folklore studies, Vol. XI No. 2 (Tokyo, 1952), pp. 139-81.
dispatched the san-shan 三山 Taoist priests to be envoys, to go about the country reorganising the Taoist Church. At the same time he invited a Taoist called Chang Hsüan-hsüan 張玄真 (alias of Chang San-feng) to the court. In the early years of the Yung-lo 永樂 period (i.e., the reign title of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu 成祖, reigned 1403-1424), T'ai-tsung Wen-huang-ti 太宗文皇帝 was impressed by the high attainments of Chang San-feng, and sent repeated delegations with incense and imperial letter to seek [San-feng], but in vain. Ten years later, [the Emperor] issued an edict ordering the ministers to supervise the renovation of the monasteries in Mount Wu-tang. [Henceforward] the practice of the Taoist religion was much fostered, and at no time since the ascension of the supreme deity (i.e. Hsüan-ti) was worship in Mount Wu-tang so thriving. What the master (i.e. Chang San-feng) had said was not false.8

In this laconic biography, which provides the basic source for later biographical accounts of San-feng, besides recording San-feng's name, antecedent, appearance and uncanny behaviour, the author relates two episodes concerning the eccentric figure. These are the rebuilding of the monasteries on Mount Wu-tang by San-feng, and the search for him ordered by Emperor T'ai-tsu and continued more earnestly by his son Emperor Ch'eng-tsu. Throughout the account, the author impresses us by his sincerity. He does not pretend to know everything. For instance, not knowing the native district of San-feng, he simply remarks, 'No one knew his native place'. The legends woven about the name of Chang San-feng in later biographies are not to be seen in this plain account in the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih. For this reason, I think this account merits our attention. Naturally, I would not suggest that it is totally reliable.

The author, Jen Tzu-yüan, obtained most of his information from Taoist

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6 The term san-shan means the three islands of immortality which are P'eng-lai 蓬萊, Fang-chang 方丈 and Yüng-chou 濱洲, see Wang Chia 王嘉 (d. 390?), Shih-i shih 沛業記 (Tai-hai 漁海 ed., Taipei reprint of Chen-lu t'ang 桓淸堂 engraved ed., 1968), 1/8a-b.

7 The temple title of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu given by his successor Emperor Jen-tsung 仁宗 (reigned 1425) in 1425. In the seventeenth year of Chia-ch'ing 案清 (1558) of the reign of Emperor Shih-tsung 正統 (reigned 1522-1566), the temple title was changed to Ch'eng-tsu. See Basic Annals of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, III, Ming-shih 明史 (hereafter cited as MS) (Erch-sih-shih-wu shih ed.), 7/21.

8 T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih (Hand-copied volume), 6/13b-15b.
priests allegedly disciples of Chang San-feng, who were the contemporaries of Jen and whose statements might be false and unfounded. He had not seen San-feng in person. But he had treated the dubious life of San-feng with caution, without attempting to make any precipitate assumption, a mistake which many of his successors unfortunately made.

Biographical information on Chang San-feng is found in later records, which vary in length and degree of reliability. First to be treated are the accounts included in the more reliable historical writings. There are four biographies of Chang San-feng in Chiao Hung's 焦竑 (1541-1620) important collection of biographies of eminent people living between the Hung-wu and early Wan-lí 萬歷 (1573-1620) periods, the Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu 國朝獻徵録. The first one is written by Lan T'ien 藍田 (1477-1555) and is entitled 'Chang San-fen chen-jen chuan' 張三丰真人傳. Apart from material already included in the T'ai-yeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, this account mentions the following episode relating to San-feng:

On the twentieth day of the ninth month of the cyclical year Kuì-yu 穀餘 (i.e., twenty-sixth year of Hung-wu, 1393), Chang San-feng professed that he would pass away. Having left behind a hymn, he died. Yang Kuei-shan 楊際山 and others who were in the district then prepared the coffin and placed the deceased into it. But when it was about to be buried, a strange sound was heard, and when the coffin was opened, it was found that San-feng had come back to life.

9 The four biographies are found in Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu (1616 ed., Taipei reprint, 1965), 118/109a-115b.
10 Lan T'ien served as Investigating Censor of the Honan Circuit during the reign of Emperor Shih-tsung. He was known for his uprightness. For his biography, see MS, 206/495, under Yeh Ying-ts'ung 葉應騫.
11 In Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 118/109a-112a.
12 Ibid., p.111a. This episode is mentioned in other sources. The date of completion of this biography by Lan T'ien is not ascertained. However, in a definitely much earlier source, the Ch'ing-eh't's hua-pi 賢暇譜 (preface 1473) written by Yao Fu 耀福 (fl. 1465-1487), it records, 'Chang La-t'a 楚大翁, whose name was San-feng, was a native of the district of Pao-ch'i 膬池 (Shensi). He was once dead and his corpse had been placed into the coffin. After a few days,
At first sight, this alleged resurrection of Chang San-feng appears preposterous. However, if we attribute this pseudo-death to a stage in Taoist cultivation, then this happening, strange though it may sound, is not totally unaccountable.

Lan T'ien supplied a further piece of information about San-feng not found in the T'ai-yeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih. He states that the noted Taoist was associated with another member of the royal family, Prince Hsien of Szechwan 虢獻王 (d. 1423), the eleventh son of Emperor T'ai-tsu. According to Lan T'ien, 'after [San-feng had come back to life], he went to Szechwan where he paid a visit to Prince Hsien of Szechwan.' This meeting is recorded in other sources, for instance, Lu Shen's 陸深 (1477-1544) Yu-t'ang man-pi 玉堂漫筆 in which even the year of the visit is given, and the biography of Chang San-feng in the Ming-shih. However, it is not mentioned in the short biography of the erudite prince either in the Ming-shih or other sources.

The text runs, 'In the cyclical year jen-shen 丙申 (twenty-fifth year of Hung-wu, 1392), [Chang San-feng] responded to the summon of Prince Hsien of Szechwan [and went to visit him].' See Yu-t'ang man-pi (Kuang pai-ch'lan hsieh-hai) 广百川學海 ed., Taipai reprint of Ch'ing ed., 1970), p.7a.

Apart from the MS, the biography of Prince Hsien can also be found in Cheng Haisao 鄭海曉 (1499-1566), Wu-hsien-chien ch'i 源承典 蒙 (Wan-li ed.), 15/1a-b; Chu Nou-Wei 車奴惠 (f1. 1600), Pan-hsien chi 潘獻之 (Wan-li ed.), 2/3a-b; Chiao Hung, Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 1/45a-47b;
prince was noted for his hospitality to men of special talent, as Ho Ch'iao-yüan remarked in his Ming-chan-tse'ang, '[The prince] opened up the west hall and sought to invite noted scholars to join his entourage'.

Moreover, according to Ho Yu-tu's 何宇度 (fl. 1573-1600) I-pu t'an-tau 益部談資, the prince encouraged the spread of Buddhism and Taoism in his feudal state:

There are quite a number of Taoist monasteries and Buddhist temples in Chengtu. Half of them were established during the time when Prince Hsien was there, and great men of later generations who were enfeoffed with this state (i.e. Chengtu) followed [Prince Hsien's example] and had more monasteries built...

Although the prince's inclinations might have prompted some Ming writers to link him with Chang San-feng, the authenticity of this anecdote is still open to investigation.

Emperor Ch'eng-tsu's continual search for San-feng is also mentioned in Lan T'ien's 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan', but in greater detail and including the names of the ministers entrusted with the task:

On the sixth day of the first month of the cyclical year t'ing-hai 丁亥 (i.e., fifth year of Yung-lo, 1407), Wen huang-ti 文皇帝 (i.e. Emperor Ch'eng-tsu), in his admiration of the high attainments of San-feng, dispatched Hu Ying 胡應 (1375-1463), 19 the Hsing-tsei hu-k'o tu chi-shih-chung 行在戶科都給事中 (Chief Supervising Secretary of the Auxiliary Office of Scrutiny for Revenue), and Chu Hsiang 楚祥, the Ssu-she chien t'ai-chien 司書應監 太監 22 (Director of Ssu-she directorate), taking incense and imperial letter to seek San-feng among famous mountains and grottoes...
The rebuilding of the monasteries in Mount Wu-tang is also recorded in the T'ai-taung shih-lu 太宗實錄, the veritable records for the reign of Emperor Ch'eng-ts'eu. The entry for the chia-yin 甲寅 (twenty-eighth) day of the sixth month of the tenth year of Yung-lo (1412) reads:

...The monasteries in Mount Wu-tang of the Hu-kuang 湖廣 region were to be rebuilt. Chang Hsin, the Marquis of Lung-p'ing, and Mu Hsin, the Senior Consort, were ordered to supervise the operation...

The account of Chang San-feng written by Lan T'ien is, I think, based mainly on the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan shih and the memorial tablet of Hu Ying entitled the 'Li-pu shang-shu chih-shu tseng t'ai-pao shih Chung-an Hu-kung Ying shen-tao pei-ming' 播部尚書致仕贈太保諭忠安明公漢廣神道碑銘, 23 composed by Li Hsien 李賢 (1408-1466) who served at court at the same time as Hu. On the whole, Lan's account is free from fabulous embellishments and is therefore more acceptable than contemporary or later records.

The second anonymous biography of Chang San-feng found in the

23 Biography of Chang, MS, 146/349.
24 The surname is wrong here. It should be Mu Hsin 沐昕, who was the son of Mu Ying 沐英 (1345-1392) and brother of Mu Ch'un 沐春 (1368-1398). The biography of Mu Hsin is not found in the MS, his name appears in the biographical account of his father Ying, see MS, 126/311-2.
25 Biography of Kuo, MS, 157/369. His mission is not mentioned in the brief account of his life.
28 The epitaph is included in the Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 33/17a-21b.
29 Biography of Li, MS, 176/409-10.
Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu is taken from the Hsia-yang fu chih 襄陽府志 which was compiled by Wu Tao-erh 吳遵邁 (sixteenth century) and others in 1584. In this account San-feng has become a legendary figure attributed with occult powers. For example, San-feng is alleged by the biographer to have had premonitions of a bright future for some personalities:

[During the reign of Hung-wu, Chang San-feng] often went to stay in T'iu-tung 大同 Temple at Changan, and visited the homes of Yang Shih-min 楊仕敏 of Lung-hsi 永西 (present Kansu) and another [Mister] Yang, the Regional Commander of Min-chou 宣州 (Kansu). When Shih-min was newly born, San-feng heard him crying, and said, 'This [baby] will be a man of promise.' Years after Yang really became prosperous and honourable,31

A more dramatic description of miraculous deeds attributed to San-feng is unfolded in the last part of the biography and is translated below in full:

[During the Yung-lo period, Chang San-feng] took up abode at Mount T'ai-ping 太平 [in the prefecture of Te-an 徐安 in Hupah] and was closely associated with a villager called Tsung Ksien 誠軒 whose son often went travelling with him. Once the boy told other people, 'Whenever Chang went travelling he would bring me along, but he always asked me to close my eyes. One day I opened my eyes to take a peep and saw that I was high up in the air.' When San-feng heard about this, he was not pleased and sent the boy away. He himself decided to depart as well. The elders climbed up the mountain to bid him farewell. San-feng saluted them and asked them to be seated. Thereupon he went down the mountain to fetch fire, going a distance of forty li and returning in a short time. He also bought back a handful of bean curd and told the elders, 'This board [for holding bean curd] belongs to the household of the Wang family at Hsi-kuan 西關 in T'ang-i 唐邑. Please return it for me.'

When [the elders] went to the Wang family and asked about this, [they

30 Yang Shih-min became chu-jen 軍人 in 1417 and was appointed Censor of the Shantung Circuit in 1433. He retired with the title of Administration Vice-Commissioner of Shanxi during the early years of Cheng-t'ung 正統 period (1436-1449) of Emperor Ying-tsung 英宗 (reigned 1435-1449, 1457-1464). For his biography, see Ho Ch'u-kwang 何出光 (1583 chih-shih 進士) and others, Lan-t'ai fu-chien lu 蘭台府編錄 (Wan-li ed., Library of Congress Microfilm Nos. 290-1 of National Peiping Library's Collection of rare books), 7/23b.

31 See Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 110/112b; also Hsia-yang fu chih (1584 ed.), 41/12b. In fact, this story is mentioned earlier in the Hsia-yang chih 襄陽志, edited by Jen lo 什洛 (fl. 1488) (Reprint of the 1537 ed. by Baron Maeda 麻生 in the Sonezakiku oobho 尊絹閣叢書 in Tokyo, 1912, Taiwan reprint, 1969), 6/473.
were told] that the day San-feng went to buy bean curd was the same day when they ascended the mountain [to bid him adieu]. T'ang-i was one hundred and forty li away from Mount T'ai-p'ing. [When the elders] went back to seek San-feng, they could not find where he was ...

Such fantastic tales as those above quoted are to be found in the biography of Chang San-feng in the Hsiang-yang fu chih, together with other information included in the sources quoted above. This account should therefore be treated with caution in the study of Chang San-feng.

The author of the third biography concerning Chang San-feng in the Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu is likewise not named by the compiler, Chiao Hung. However, a comparison of the text shows that the account in question is transcribed from the Kao-p'o i-tsu-an 高坡景鶴 (preface 1532) by Yang I 楊儀 (1526 chih-shih). The author claims that the material in his account is obtained from I-chou chih 懿州志, the history of the district of I-chou (present Hei-shan hsien 黑山縣, Liaoning). Once again, legend rather than historical fact dominates this biography of San-feng, further exaggerating his power. Even objects said to be left by San-feng were able to heal the sick or to induce miracles. Two such episodes are recorded here, first depicting the curative effect of a chung-hsiu 中袖, an alleged possession of San-feng:

[Chang San-feng] had been to the house of Commander Chang of Kan-chou 甘州 (Kansu) and left behind a chung-hsiu and a gourd.

During the T'ien-shun 天順 period (1457-1464), the Regional
Commander of Kansu, Wang Ching 王敬, once suffered from the chung-man 肿胀 (ascites) disease and all the doctors failed to cure him. So he burned the chung-hsiu of San-feng over a fire and took it [as medicine] and was healed.35

In the second anecdote, a historical figure Chiang Wan 蕭琬 (1432-1486)37 was recorded as possessing the gourd supposedly left by San-feng:

During the early years of the Ch'eng-hua 成化 period (1465-1487), Chiang Wan, the Marquis of Ting-hsi 蒲亜侯, was the Regional Commander in Kansu. [Once] he gave a feast to his subordinates in his office, and actors gathered there to perform the tsa-chu 杂剧 play San-tu ch'eng-nan 三度城南 38. At that time one of the guests started to talk about [Chang] San-feng and so Chiang produced the gourd [left by San-feng] and passed on to the guests to examine. All of a sudden the gourd broke into pieces by itself.39

The source for the fourth and last biographical account of San-feng as included in the Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu is Lu Shen's Yu-t'ang man-pi 40 which is a collection of notes of the author's observations when he was a senior official of the Hsing-tei han-lin yuan 行在翰林院 (Auxiliary Hanlin Academy) from 1539 on.41 Most of the information about San-feng found in this account was therefore obtained from the acquaintances of Lu. For instance, Tu Mu 都穆 (tsu hsüan-ch'ing 文 敬, 1459-1525) told this story about San-feng:

Tu Hsüan-ch'ing, The T'ai-p'u 太僕 (Minister of the Court of the Imperial Stud) once told me that there was a family in Su-ch'eng 苏城 (i.e. Soochow) that kept a specimen of the calligraphy of San-feng.42

35 Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 118/114a; also Kao-p'ao t-teuan, shang/ p.2a.
37 For Chiang, see MS, 155/366, under the biography of his grandfather Chiang Kuei 蕭貴 (1380-1449).
38 This may refer to the tsa-chu play San-tu ch'eng-nan-liu 三度城 南柳, composed by Ku Tzu-ching 吳子敬 who flourished during the Hung-wu period. The full title of the play is hi Tung-pin san-tu ch'eng-nan-liu 諸憎三度城南柳.
39 Same as Note 36.
40 See Yu-t'ang man-pi, pp.7a-9a.
41 Biography of Lu, MS, 286/709.
42 Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 118/114b; also Yu-t'ang man-pi, p.7b.
The following passage is even more interesting:

[San-feng] was of the Chin period. For [he] had studied in company with Liu Ping-chung (1216-1274), the T'ai-pao 太保 (Grand Guardian) and Leng Ch'i-ch'ing 冷起敬, (alias of Leng Ch'ien 冷賢), the Ho-shih-t'unglang 協律 (Composer of Music), under the Buddhist monk Hai-tieh 海鷗.

43 Liu Ping-chung, alias Liu Chung-hui 劉仲晦, was a well-known statesman who acted as the chief adviser to Khubilai Khan (1215-1294) in the early Yuan period. For his biography, see Yuan-shih 元史 (Erh-shih-wu shih ed.), 157/370-1; also Hsin Yuan-shih 新元史 (Erh-shih-wu shih ed.), 157/322-3. Biographical material on this versatile statesman and scholar can also be seen in the appendix to his collected works of poetry, Ta'ang-ch'un shih 退朝集, ch'uan 6, which includes a hsing-ch'uang 行狀 (account of conduct) by Chang Wen-ch'ien 張文謙, (1217-1284), and is called the 'Ku kuang-lu-fu t'ai-pao tseng t'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu shih Wen-chen Liu-kung hsing-ch'uang' 故光禄大夫太保贈侍郎同司 驕文員劉公行狀; an epitaph by Wang P'an 王磐 (1202-1293), 'Ku kuang-lu-fu t'ai-pao t'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu Wen-chen liu-kung shen-tao pei-ming ping haü' 故光祿大夫太保贈侍郎同司 文員劉公神道碑額并序; a tomb inscription by T'u Tan-1u 徐亭阈, 'Ku kuang-lu-ta-fu t'ai-pao Liu-kung my-ch'ü'故光祿大師太保贈侍郎同司文員劉公墓誌'; and two chih-wen 祭文 (sacrificial speeches) by Yao Shu 費秀 (1202-1279) and Hsü Shih-lung 徐世隆 (1206-1285) respectively. Lin's undated manuscript of the Ta'ang-ch'un shih, originally in ten ch'uan 條曾 carrying also his prose works but were lost, is now kept in the National Central Library in Taiwan, and has been published in the bulletin of the National Central Library, 新系列, Vol.3 No.1 (1970), pp.63-110. For the study of Liu, see Chao Hock-lam 陳學霖, 'Liu Ping-chung, a Buddhist-Taoist statesman at the court of Khubilai Khan', T'ung-pao, 53 (1967), pp.93-145.

Leng was a noted musician in the early Hung-wu period. For his biography, see Yang I, Kao-p'ao t'ai-tsu-n, shang/3-4a; Chiao Hung, Ku-chiao hsien-cheng lu, 118/119-21; Fu Wei-lin 傅維琳 (1666 chih-shih, d.1657), Ming-shu 明書 (Ta'ang-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien 書書集初編) ed., Shanghai, 1935-37, 151/3000. For a detailed account of Leng, see Weng T'ung-wen 翁同文, 'Leng Ch'ien (ca. 1310-ca. 1371)', in Draft Ming Biographies, No.6 (Columbia University, 1968).

45 For the source of this quotation, see Note 42. But here it has to be pointed out that in other accounts, for example, Ho Ch'iao-yuan's Ming-shan-t'ang, the name of the Buddhist monk is recorded as Hai-yun 海雲 instead. Hai-yun (layname Sung Yin-chien 東印簡, 1202-1257), was a famous Buddhist monk who was invited by Khubilai Khan to proffer advice on the administration of the state. For his biography, see Monk Wen-ch'ang 念常, Fo-tsu li-t'ai t'ung-tai 佛祖歷代傳載 (Sen-k'u ch'üan-shu ch'en-pen 四庫全書 綜本), 3rd Series, ed., Taipei, 1972), 21/7a-17a. According to the biographies of Liu Ping-chung, he was recruited under Hai-yun, so possibly Lu Shen has made a mistake in recording the name in Y'ang man-pi.
Here Chang San-feng was associated with Liu Ping-chung and Leng Ch'ien. Lu Shen appears to be the first biographer to allude to this connection. It is interesting to trace the source of his information. Apparently Lu derived his information from the *Yeh-chi* 野記, written by Chu Yün-ming 車 映, 1460-1526, a remarkable man of letters and calligrapher. In the *Yeh-chi*, there is a short account of Leng Ch'ien, in which there are two paragraphs which merit attention.

The first depicts the acquaintance of Leng Ch'ien and Liu Ping-chung:

In the early years of the Ch'ung-t'ung 祝通 period (1260-1263, reign title of the first era of the reign of Khubulai Khan) of the Yuan dynasty, [Leng], together with Liu Ping-chung, studied under the Buddhist monk Hai-yün... During the Chih-yuan 章煥 period (1264-1279), Liu Ping-chung was made a premier and [Leng] Ch'ien relinquished his secluded life as a Buddhist monk and joined [Liu's] entourage... By Chih-cheng 正平 period (1341-1367), [Leng] was over a hundred years old yet his countenance was still like that of a child. During the insurrection of the red-hair 取降 rebels, he sought refuge in Chin-ling 金陵 (present Nanking). He sold drugs in the city every day, and the curative power of his medicine was amazing. At the beginning of the [Ming] dynasty, he served at the court as a T'ai-ch'ang po-shih 太常博士 (Erudite at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices)...

46 Two emperors of the Yuan times used Chih-yüan as their reign titles. The first one was Khubulai Khan and the period lasted from 1264-1279; the second was Emperor Shun-ti (reigned 1333-1367), the last of the Mongol rulers in China, who used Chih-yuan as the reign title from 1335-1360. The Chih-yuan period cited here in the quotation possibly refers to the reign of Khubulai Khan, as Liu Ping-chung was an influential statesman at the court of the mighty emperor.

47 Just like the Chih-yuan periods, there are also two Chih-cheng eras in the Yuan dynasty. They are reign titles used by Khubulai Khan and Emperor Shun-ti respectively. In fact, they continue each of the Chih-yuan times, and their durations are 1280-1294 and 1341-1367. On this occasion, the second Chih-cheng period is referred to, I suppose, as the riot of 'red-hair' rebels which happened in 1351, the eleventh year of the Chih-cheng period of Emperor Shun-ti, is mentioned here.

48 The red-hair rebels were led by Liu Fu-t'ung 劉福通 (d. 1363) and Han Shan-t'ung 韓山童 (d. 1351), who were leaders of secret societies. The insurrection lasted from 1351 to 1366. The insurgents used to wear a red turban, so they were also called the 'Red Army' 紅巾. For the biography of Liu, see *Hsin Yuan-shih*, 225/431; for Han, see *Hsin Yuan-shih*, 225/431, and *MS*, 122/302, under the biography of his son Han Lin-erh 韓林兒 (d. 1366).

49 *Yeh-chi*, contained in the *Li-tzi hsiao-shih* 例代小史, edited by Li Shih 李 舍 (Ming ed., Shanghai reprint, 1940), Vol.25, 79/56a-b.
In another paragraph, Chu Yun-ming recounts the association between Leng Ch'ien and San-feng:

[Leng] Ch'ien painted the *Hsien-i t'u* (A picture of the immortals playing *wei-ch'i*) on the fifth day of the fifth month in the sixth year of Chih-yuan (1340) and presented it to San-feng tun-lao 松亭老 (i.e. Chang San-feng). Later in the fourth month of the second year of Yung-lo (1404), Chang wrote a colophon for the painting and gave it to the premier Master Ch'iu [Fu] 酔 [福] (1343-1409), Duke of Ch'i-kuo 濟國公.

Evidently, the relation between Liu and Leng and that of Leng and Chang as mentioned in the *Yeh-chi* has prompted Lu Shen to combine the three together and say they were disciples of the same master at the same time. Lu Shen admitted that he had seen *Yeh-chi*, for he says, 'There is an entry in the *Yeh-chi* by Chu Hsi-che, in which is stated that Leng Ch'ien painted the *Hsien-i t'u*, [but that entry] is not recorded here [in this work]'. However, he makes no direct mention of using information obtained from the *Yeh-chi*. But Chu Yun-ming and Lu Shen are incorrect in asserting that Liu Ping-chung and Leng Ch'ien were friends, for Liu was a prominent statesman in the early Yuan period, while Leng was believed to flourish during the Hung-wu era. The latter's biography is not found in the official history of the Ming dynasty, but his name is mentioned in the *Treatise of Music* in the *Ming-shih*:

In the same year (i.e. 1364) there was set up the *T'ai-ch'ang-ssu* 太常寺 (Court of Imperial Sacrifices) and in this office there were posts, such as Composer of Music. At the end of the Yuan dynasty there was a man called Leng Ch'ien who was versed in music and was good at playing the zither. He led a secluded life as a Taoist priest at Mount Wu 嵩山 (Kiaosung). He was then summoned [to Nanking] and was appointed the Composer of Music. He was ordered to compose scores which were used to train novice musicians...

In his biography of Leng Ch'ien, Professor Weng T'ung-wen has deduced

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51 *Yeh-chi* 酔志, I, 51/135.

52 *Ibid.*, pp.86b-89a. These last few lines have not been included in the *Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu*. 
that probably Leng lived from approximately 1310 to 1371. Clearly Liu and Leng did not live in the same time and Chu Yün-ming is incorrect in making them contemporaries. In fact, Chu did not make up the anecdote himself, his information was extracted from the abovementioned colophon, 'P'eng-lai hsia-n-i-t' u pa' 遼萊仙奕圖跋, attributed to San-feng, in which the antecedents of Leng Ch' ien are given and on which the biographical account of Leng in Yeh-ch'i is based. But he failed to discern the discrepancy therein. The authenticity of the colophon had already been challenged by a younger contemporary of Chu, Lang Ying 玉 (b. 1487), who raised six points to dispute the authorship in his Ch'i-hsien hsü-kao 七修續稿. The full text of the colophon is included in Yang I's Kao-p'o i-tsuan which appeared after Yeh-ch'i in 1532, and also in the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi 张三丰全集, the complete works attributed to San-feng. The authenticity of the colophon is discussed in Part II of this thesis. What must be emphasized at the outset is that Chu Yün-ming made use of information obtained from a doubtful source to write that biography of Leng Ch' ien, in which Leng is associated with Liu Ping-chung and San-feng. Since it is clearly impossible that Leng could have befriended Liu, doubt must

53 Cf. last part of Note 44.

54 Ch'i-hsien hsü-kao 七修編稿, hsü-kao 續稿 (Peking, 1959), 4/801-2.

55 The date of completion of the Yeh-ch'i is not known. But the preface of Kao-p'o i-tsuan was dated 1532, whereas Chu Yün-ming died in 1526. Thus it is clear that Kao-p'o i-tsuan appeared after Yeh-ch'i.

56 The colophon is found in the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi (hereafter cited as CSFC) (Tao-tao-chi-yao 托創齋 Yao ed., Changtu, 1906, Taipei reprint, 1971, 2/14b-15a(7676-7). For the history of the compilation of the Tao-tao-chi-yao, see Part II, Chapter 3. In the Taipei reprint edition of the Tao-tao-chi-yao which is used throughout this thesis, each page carries two numbers, one being its original number, the other is the continuous number added by the publisher. As a matter of convenience, both numbers are given in the footnotes, the one within parenthesis is the serial page number.

57 See Part II, Chapter 5, pp. 158-71.
be cast on the alleged friendship of Leng and San-feng. But Chu Yuming accepted the information without question, while Lu Shen went even further to suggest that Liu, Leng, and San-feng were fellow disciples. This assertion based on a source whose unreliability is proven may be confidently dismissed as incorrect. What must however be stressed is Lu Shen's invention of a relation between San-feng and two other persons who lived in two different periods, since this allegation was taken up by some later biographers of San-feng. For example, Ho Chiao-yuan in his *Ming-shan-ts'ang* (preface 1640) also maintains that such a relationship existed:

![Text continues here](image-url)

Again, in the *Ming-shih kao* 明史稿 (1723), compiled by Wang Hung-hua 王鴻緒 (1645-1723) and others, San-feng was connected with Liu Ping-chung. Perhaps the compiler realized that Liu and Leng were not contemporaries, so the latter's name was not mentioned in this case:

> It was said that San-feng was of the Chin period, and in early Yuan times he studied in the company of Liu Ping-chung under the same master...59

The account in the *Ming-shih* (1736) is more or less the same, but the compiler harbours doubts regarding the reliability of the saying:

> It was said that San-feng was of the Chin period, and in the early Yuan period he studied in the company of Liu Ping-chung under the same master. Later he studied the way of cultivation at the T'ai-ch'ing 大清 Monastery in Lu-i waste (Honan). But all these facts cannot be verified.60

In order to make San-feng a contemporary of Liu Ping-chung, he was said to have flourished in the Chin and early Yuan periods. The dates of San-feng's life which will be discussed in detail in chapter 2 will not be

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58 *Ming-shan-ts'ang*, 7/3b.


60 MS, 299/741.
elaborated here. It is enough to show that the assertion that San-feng
and Liu learned under the same master originated from Lu Shen's Yu-t'ang
man-pi.

Also, the Yu-t'ang man-pi may be one of the earlier sources which
relates that San-feng learned the Way of cultivation in T'ai-ch'ing
Monastery in Lu-i. Lu Shen states his source of information was Chang
Ch'ao-yung whose great grandfather and father were said to be
acquainted with San-feng. The story runs:

[Chang San-feng] was acquainted with [Chang] I [1] 尹, the great
grandfather of [Chang] Ch'ao-yung, and he always visited his home
and they were very close friends. [San-feng] was also fond of the
father of Ch'ao-yung, [Chang] Shu-lien 尚倫 ... [During the Hung-wu
period], when Ch'ao-yung was only thirteen years old, San-feng once
saw him and asked, 'Whose son are you?' [Ch'ao-yung] answered, 'My
father is Chang Shu-lien of Che-ch'eng 旌城 (Honan), and the
family moved here (Pao-chi, Shensi) because of the war.' San-feng
then said, 'I am Chang Hsueh-hsuan. Formerly when I was in Che-ch'eng
I always went to your home. Who is the one in your family called
[Chang] I? ' [Ch'ao-yung] replied, 'He was my great grandfather.'
San-feng said, 'I saw him when he was newly born. Young boy, you
should work hard in your studies and one day you will be a minister
of the third rank.' Next month Ch'ao-yung and Li Pai-yun 李培尹
(i.e., a Taoist priest said to be a friend of San-feng) saw San-feng
off on his northbound trip, and found that when he walked his feet
did not touch the ground...61

This is of course another legendary account. Hence we see that the
biography of San-feng in Lu Shen's Yu-t'ang man-pi, which has also been
included in the Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, carries unfounded sayings and
fabulous legends which, instead of supplying more reliable information
on the biography of San-feng, has cast further doubt on this
mysterious figure.

Following this examination of the biographies of San-feng found in
the Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, attention should be drawn to other sources.
In the Huang Ming yung-hua lei-pien 明永化類編, the political and historical encyclopedia compiled by Teng Ch'iu 腹球 (1535
chin-shih) in 1570, there is a brief account of Chang San-feng, which,

61 Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 118/114b-115a; also Yu-t'ang man-pi, pp.7b-
8a.
like the preceding works, focuses on the search for the Taoist figure by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu.\textsuperscript{62} Ho Ch'iao-yüan also includes a biography of San-feng in his \textit{Ming-shan-ts'ang},\textsuperscript{63} otherwise known as \textit{Ming shih-san-ch'ao i-shih 明十三朝遺史}, including a preface dated 1640 by the eminent scholar Ch'ien Ch'ien-i 錢謙益 (1582-1664). Generally speaking, this biography follows the theme of earlier records, except that it includes a vivid narration of the meeting of San-feng with Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, an episode which is not described in the sources discussed above:

One day, [San-feng] went to the capital (i.e. Peking). Emperor Ch'eng-tsu summoned him [to the court] and asked, 'I would like to learn the Way of cultivation. What is the most pleasant thing?' San-feng answered, 'To eat good food and to remove your wastes smoothly, these are the most pleasant things.' His Majesty thought that he was disrespectful and intended to kill him. But then the Emperor was troubled in being unable to take food and failing to excrete wastes, thus he began to think that San-feng [was right]...\textsuperscript{64}

Though this interesting story is also seen mentioning in other records, for example, in Hsu Chen-ch'ing's \textit{I-lin 異林} (1479-1511), it is not verified by other apparently more reliable sources such as the \textit{T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan shih} or later historical writings like the \textit{Ming-shih kao} and \textit{Ming-shih}. Thus, this account should be treated as one of the many fabulous tales that have been woven around San-feng rather than as a historical fact.

The biography of Chang San-feng can also be found in three important historical works of the Ming dynasty, namely, Fu Wei-lin's \textit{Ming-shu} which was completed during the early K'ang-hsi 康熙 period (1662-1722), Wang Hung-hsu's \textit{Ming-shih kao} (1723) and the official history of

\textsuperscript{62}Huang Ming yung-hua lei-pien (1570 ed., Taipei reprint, 1965), 131/9a-10a.

\textsuperscript{63}Ming-shan-ts'ang, 7/3b-6a.

\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., p.5a.

\textsuperscript{65}See \textit{I-lin} (huang pai-ch'uan hsüeh-hai ed.), p.3b.
Ming, the Ming-shih (1736). The account in the Ming-shu is almost identical to that in the Huang Ming yung-hua lei-pien, most of the information included therein being already found in the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih. As for the biographies of San-feng in the Ming-shih kao and Ming-shih, they generally conform with each other only deviating slightly in minor points. In order to show how the biography of San-feng has evolved from the earliest extant account in the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih to its inclusion in the dynastic history, it is best to quote the full text of the biography in question in the Ming-shih which is as follows:

Chang San-feng was a native of I-chou of Liaotung. His real name was [Chang] Ch'uan-i and he had another name Ch'iu-pao. San-feng was his kao. As he did not care for his appearance, so he was also called Chang La-t'a. He was tall and strong in build. His form looked like that of a tortoise and his frame resembled that of a stork. [He had] enormous ears and round eyes and his beard and whiskers bristled like the blade of a halberd. No matter whether it was cold or hot he would wear only a cassock and a rain-cloak of leaves. [Sometimes] when he ate he would finish hastily a sheng or a tou (i.e. pints and pecks) of rice, or he could manage with only one meal for several days, or he could go without food for a few months. He would not forget whatever he read, and he was not regular in where he went. It was said that he could go a thousand li in one day. He was fond of making jokes [and he would act] as if there were no one at his side. He had visited the various peaks of Mount Wu-tang and said to others, 'One day this mountain will be prosperous.' At that time, the Monasteries of Wu-lung, Nan-yen and Tzu-hsiao had been destroyed during the war [in the late Yuan period]. San-feng and his disciples then removed thorns and brushwood, cleared tiles and bricks [and rebuilt the monasteries]. He also built a thatched hut where he lived. Not long after, he departed. Emperor T'ai-tsu then heard of his name and in the twenty-fourth year of Hung-Hu (1391), he dispatched delegates to seek San-feng but in vain. After this, [San-feng] took up his abode in the Chin-t'ai Monastery in the district of Pao-chi. One day he professed that he would pass away, and leaving behind a hymn, he died. Thereupon the people of the district prepared the coffin and placed the corpse into it. But at the time when it was about to be buried, a sound was heard from inside the coffin, which was then opened, and it was found that San-feng had come back to life. Later he went to travel in Szechwan and paid his respects to Prince Hsien of Szechwan. Afterwards he made

67 Ming-shih kao, 176/7b-6b.
68 MS, 299/741.
his second visit to Mount Wu-tang, passing by Hsiang-yang (Hupeh) and his deeds were even more mysterious. During the Yung-lo period, Emperor Ch'eng-tsu sent Hu Ying, the Supervising Secretary, and Chu Hsiang, a palace attendant, to take an imperial letter and incense to look for [San-feng]. They travelled all over the remote border areas, yet could not find him after several years of search. Then [the Emperor] ordered Kuo Chin, the Vice-Minister of Works, and Chang Hsin, the Marquis of Lung-p'ing, to mobilize more than three hundred thousand workers to start a grand-scale operation in rebuilding the monasteries in Mount Wu-tang. The expenses ran to millions. When the task was accomplished, [the Emperor] bestowed upon the mountain the name, 'T'ai-ho-t'ai-yeh shan' (The first mountain of Supreme Tranquility). A special officer was granted a seal of office and was appointed to keep charge of the mountain. All these happenings tallied with what San-feng had predicted. It was said that San-feng was of the Chin period, and in the early Yuan period he studied in the company of Liu Ping-chung under the same master. Later he studied the way of cultivation at the T'ai-ch'ing Monastery in Lu-i. But all these facts cannot be verified. In the third year of the T'ien-shun reign (1459), Emperor Ying-tsung issued an imperial edict to confer upon San-feng the title of 'T'ung-Hei hsien-hua chen-jen' (Immortal of Penetrating Mystery and Revealing Transformation). Eventually nobody knew when he died.

The biography of San-feng in the Ming-shih kao is almost parallel, except that it includes the tale quoted above from the Yu-t'ang man-pi in which San-feng was said to be a friend of the great grandfather of Chang Ch'ao-yung. The Ming-shih has left out this story possibly because it is grossly preposterous. It is obvious that the Ming-shih and Ming-shih kao have made considerable use of the material in the Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, or more precisely, Lan T'ien's 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan' and Lu Shen's Yu-t'ang man-pi. The account in the Ming-shih has included four episodes that are not found in the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, namely, the alleged resurrection of San-feng, the meeting with Prince Hsien of Szechwan, the relation with Liu Ping-chung, and the canonization of San-feng in the reign of Emperor Ying-tsung. It is understandable that the last event should not be mentioned in the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, as the canonization took place in 1459 while the work was completed in

69 Here I use the title translated by Dr. Anna Seidel, see her 'A Taoist Immortal of the Ming Dynasty: Chang San-feng', in Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed., Self and Society in Ming Thought (Columbia University Press, New York, 1970), pp. 483-531. The translated title is in p.487.

70 HS, 299/741.
1431. As for the other three anecdotes, it is probable that they are derived from the works of Lan T’ien and Lu Shen.

It must be pointed out that compilers of both the Ming-shih and Ming-shih kao have mistakenly attributed the renovation of the monasteries in Mount Wu-tang to an imperial honour bestowed upon San-feng personally. According to an imperial edict issued by Emperor Ch’eng-tsu on the eleventh day of the seventh month of 1412, all efforts were made as a token of honour to the deity Hsuan-ti, as noted in the following passage:

The imperial order to all ministers, officials, soldiers, workers, artisans, etc.: Mount Wu-tang is a famous mountain in the empire and it is the place where the Pei-chi chen-wu hsuan-t’ien shang-ti 北極真武玄天上帝 (The True Warlike Supreme Deity of the North Pole and Mysterious Heaven) practised cultivation, attained immortality and revealed his divine power. In every dynasty in the past, monasteries were built in this mountain, but they were burned to the ground by the disorderly troops in the late Yüan period. Now in our dynasty the deity Chen-wu has been very efficacious in manifesting his spiritual power to defend the country in secret and to protect the people. When I first started the campaign of pacification as instructed by Heaven, I enlisted

71 Emperor Ch’eng-tsu was a pious adorer of the Dark God. For greater detail, see discussion in Chapter 2.

72 This is one of the many designations of Hsuan-ti, probably given to the deity by the emperors of the Sung dynasty. According to the Chen-wu ling-yíng chen-chun tseng-shang yu-sheng tao-hao te’s wen 真武靈應真君壇上佑聖尊號冊文, Hsuan-ti was conferred the title ‘Yu-sheng chen-wu ling-yíng chen-chun’佑聖真武靈應真君 by Emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗 (reigned 1101-1126) in 1108, see TT 556, p.2a. Emperor Ch’ing-tsung 錫宗 (reigned 1126-1127) also issued an imperial decree in 1126 to add another title to the deity, who was then called ‘Yu-sheng chu-shun chen-wu ling-yíng chen-chun’佑聖助順真武靈應真君, see Fu-t’ung t’ung-k’ao 菩通考 (Chih-t’ung 旭通 ed., Shanghai, 1936), 90/824. Another title was conferred upon this stellar deity of the northern sky in 1209 by Emperor Ming-tsung 明宗 (reigned 1195-1224), which is ‘Pei-chi yu-sheng chu-shun chen-wu ling-yíng fu-te chen-chun’北極佑聖助順真武靈應福德真君. Emperor Li-tsung 理宗 (reigned 1225-1264) also canonized him with the title ‘Pei-chi yu-sheng chu-shun chen-wu fu-te yen-ch’ing jen-chi cheng-lieh chen-chun’北極佑聖助順真武福德衍慶仁濟正烈真君, see Wu-t’ung Fu-t’i tseng-ch’en chi, TT 602, fo 132a-13a.

73 This refers to the rebellion of the Prince of Yen 燕王 (later Emperor Ch’eng-tsu) from 1399 to 1402. For greater detail, see Chapter 2 in the discussion of the search of Emperor Chien-wen 建文
the assistance of the God who helped by making revelations, and I am so much affected that my gratitude is beyond words. At that time I decided to build monasteries in Peking, but the internal insurrection was not pacified then, so that my desire was not yet satisfied. When I first ascended the throne, I thought that Mount Wu-tang was just the place where the deity Chen-wu manifested himself and so intended to begin constructing monasteries there. However, as the soldiers and common people were recently relieved from disturbances and were having their rest, I deferred the operation till now. Presently [I mobilize soldiers and workers to go there (i.e. Mount Wu-tang) to build monasteries and temples to recompense the good will of the deity, in an effort, firstly, to offer worship to my deceased parents, and secondly, to supplicate for blessings for all people of the empire. Not much work will be needed, and it is very easy to accomplish. No difficulties [will be encountered]. [I] therefore specially order Chang Hsin, the Marquis of Lung-p'ing, and Mu Hsin, the Chief Consort, and other pa-tsong 把組織 (local commanders), foremen and other officers...

Here the reason why Emperor Ch'eng-tsu initiated the construction in Mount Wu-tang is clearly stated. The same event is mentioned in other places. For example, the veritable records for the reign of Emperor Hsiao-tsung 孝宗 (reigned 1488-1505), the Hsiao-tsung shih-lu 資録 which were completed in 1509, record:

As Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 (i.e. Emperor Ch'eng-tsu) had pacified the internal disorders, he thought that the deity (i.e. Hsüan-t'ai) had the merits of manifestation, so he rebuilt the monasteries in the north-east corner of the capital city (Peking) and in Mount Wu-tang. During the seasonal feasts and the first and fifteenth day of every lunar month in the year, officers were dispatched from the two capital cities (Peking and Nanking) to offer sacrifices [to Hsüan-t'ai], and a special officer was appointed to keep charge of the worship of the deity in Mount Wu-tang.

The above quotes serve to prove that the large scale project launched in 1412 was to honour Hsüan-t'ai, not, as the Ming-shih and Ming-shih kao have suggested, for the sake of Chang San-feng, although Emperor Ch'eng-tsu had earlier directed the Taoist priest, Sun Pi-yun 孫碧雲 who

73 (contd)
(reigned 1399-1402) by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu.

74 See T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan shih, 2/6b-7a.

75 The full temple title of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu is T'ai-tsung wen huang-ti, cf. Note 7.

76 Hsiao-tsung shih-lu (Ming shih-lu ed.), 13/9b.

77 Sun was a famous Taoist priest who flourished during the reign of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu. For his biography, see T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan
was the Tao-lu-sou yu-cheng-i ²道錄司左右正一 (Officer of the Right of the Central Taoist Registry) to divine a site in Mount Wu-tang for the building of an altar to honour San-feng.\(^{78}\)

The foregoing discussion of the biographies of San-feng included in some important historical compilations, from the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih to the Ming-shih, shows how legendary accounts and unfounded sayings have accumulated to hide the true face of this figure. With the spread of the cult of San-feng which was boosted by the interest of the Ming emperors, especially by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu who dispatched a delegation to look for him for ten long years, the name of San-feng continued to occupy a place in many miscellaneous writings and local histories of the Ming dynasty, and legendary accounts centering around San-feng were transmitted and subsequently multiplied as time progressed. For example, in Yao Fu's Ch'ing-ch'i hsia-pi (preface 1473), San-feng was associated with Li Ch'ing-lung 李景隆 (fl. 1404),\(^{79}\) who was appointed Tao-chu-kuo 左柱國 (Pillar of the State of the Left) by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu because he and Prince Ku, Chu Hui 趙王穉,\(^{80}\) had opened the city gate of Nanking to let in the rebellious troops of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu in 1402. The story in Ch'ing-ch'i hsia-pi depicts how San-feng saved Li and his whole family from being starved to death:

...[Li] Ch'ing-lung was also inclined to scholars, so many of his retainers were extraordinary persons...I (i.e. Yao Fu) have heard that the Li family had a thatched rain-cloak and a bamboo hat left by Chang San-feng. One day when I was at leisure, I went to visit the Li family and asked to see the cloak and hat which were then showed to me by Li 0 李 0 , Ch'ing-lung's great grandson...[Li] 0

\(^{77}\) (contd)
\[chih, 7/4a-5a.\]

\(^{78}\) This is sustained by an imperial edict issued by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu to Sun Pi-yünn, see T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, 2/5a.

\(^{79}\) For the biography of Li, see M3, 126/339-10, under that of his father Li Wen-chung 李文忠 (1339-1384), the Prince of Ch'i-yang 仇陽王.

\(^{80}\) Chu Hui was the nineteenth son of Emperor T'ai-ts'ao. For his biography, see M3, 118/292-3.
also told me, 'As Chang [San-feng] thought that my great grand-
father (i.e. Ching-lung) was so hospitable to him, therefore he tried,
with much effort, to stay [in our house] for several scores of days. On his departure, he said to my great grandfather, "In
less than a thousand days unexpected calamity will befall you and
you will go without any grain. As I am much impressed by the
sincerity with which you have treated me, so I leave behind these
two things. When you are in difficulties, put on the thatched rain-
cloak and wear this hat and walk around the garden calling my
name.""

Two years after [Chang's] departure, the great scandal was
raised and Li and his family were confined in their
residence and their food supply was cut off. When the provisions
ran out, [Ching-lung] did as he had been told [by San-feng] and
called out the latter's name. Instantly rice grains sprang up in
the fore and rear gardens and other waste lands [around the house],
and they turned ripe before the month ended. [Li and his family]
then ate the rice and were saved from starvation. When all the
grains were consumed, the court had decided to resume food
supply to the Li family. After this [Ching-lung] tried to call
[San-feng] again but no grain crop came up this time. This is
indeed strange!' 81

In the Biography of Li Ching-lung in the Ming-shih, it is recorded that
'Ching-lung went without food for ten days and yet he survived'. 83

Perhaps this incident has inspired some imaginative Ming writers to make
up the story connecting Li with the well-known Taoist master, Chang San-
feng.

81 The case first started in the second year of Yung-lo (1404) when Li
was criticized as being corruptible and disloyal, but the Emperor
did not pay attention to the accusation. Later Li was again impeached
by Chu Neng (1370-1406), the Duke of Ch'eng-kuo, Ch'ien I (1363-1435), the Minister of Personnel, and other
ministers, of having plotted against the throne. Chang Hsin and others
also memorialized against Li. Thereupon Emperor Ch'eng-tsung issued
an order to remove the title of merit from Li and also deprive him of
the privileges of imperial audience. Not long after, Li Chih-kang (1338-
1427), the Minister of Rites, again attacked Li as being
presumptuous. Li was criticized that when he was at home he used to
sit and accept the salute of the attendants as if he was an emperor.
His brother Li Tseng-chih was also accused of having
bought plenty of lands and estates and raised over one thousand ser-
vants. On hearing all these charges, the Emperor dictated that Li
should be abridged of his noble title and he and his whole family were
kept in custody in their residence. All his possessions were confis-
cated. See Biography of Li, MS, 126/320.

82 See Ch'ing-ch'i hia-pi, pp. 9a-b. This story is also recorded in
Chiang-ning fu shih (江寧府志), quoted in Ku-ch'in t'u-shu ch'i-
ch'eng 夫公圖書集成 (1726 ed., Shanghai reprint, 1934),
Shen-tien shu chi (善典書集), te's 509, 256/61b.

83 MS, 126/31c.
The mysterious traces of Chang San-feng were seen in other Ming writings, for instance, Hsü Chen-ch'ing's *I-lin*, and many local histories compiled during the Ming dynasty. To name some of them, the 1517 edition of the *Te-an fu chih*, compiled by Ma Ch'in and others, includes the episodes of the boy who said that he travelled in the air with San-feng and San-feng's walking one hundred and forty li in one day to buy bean curd, quoted above in the discussion of the account in the *I-lin*. The account of San-feng in *I-lin* is indiscriminate and full of discrepancies. It mentions about a Chang La-ta who was said to flourish in the Sung dynasty, and yet he was also active in the Ming period and was sought by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, 'Chang La-ta, it was said that he flourished in the Sung dynasty... In the early years of the [Ming] dynasty, he came to travel among mankind and often performed many miraculous deeds. At that time Emperor T'ai-tsung was living in Peiping and summoned [Chang] to his presence. [Chang's] words were mysterious. Later when Emperor [T'ai-tsung] ascended the throne, he longed to see [Chang] very much, so he sent the minister Hu Ying to go over seas and mountains to look for [Chang]. See *I-lin*, pp.8a-b. Throughout the account the name Chang San-feng is not cited, however, in other records San-feng was said to have the designation Chang La-t'a which is a homonym of Chang La-ta given here in *I-lin*. This mysterious person, according to *I-lin*, was attributed of another strange act, as the text runs, '...Mister Chang asked the attending servants to bring a jar, and pointing to it he said [to the Emperor], 'I, your subject, would like to enter into this jar to look at transformation'. Instantly he put his legs and drew his head [into the jar] and became invisible. When he was called, his answer could be heard, but when he was looked for inside the jar, he could not be seen. The Emperor ordered the servants to break the jar, and told each of them to hold a piece of the broken jar and called out [Chang's] name. It was just like the reflection of the moon on water which could be seen everywhere [but was not real]. Chang's reply could be heard whenever he was called [but he was not to be seen]. Nobody knew how this could be done. The Emperor then said to Chang, "See if you can come out." As soon as he finished speaking this, he saw Mister Chang appearing before him...", ibid., pp.8b-9a. This episode is also seen in the biography of Leng Ch'ien in Yang I's *Kao-p'o i-t'ouan*, but this time the hero is Leng instead. See *Kao-p'o i-t'ouan*, shang/3b. As the preface of the *Kao-p'o i-t'ouan* was dated 1532, and Hsü Chen-ch'ing, the author of *I-lin*, died in 1511, it is very clear that *I-lin* was completed before *Kao-p'o i-t'ouan*. There is a possibility that Yang I adapted this story from *I-lin* and attributed it to Leng Ch'ien. However, the source of this legend is not known. All in all, the biography of Chang San-feng in *I-lin* is very indiscriminate, and it is very absurd to say that Chang could have flourished in two distant periods.

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84 The account of San-feng in *I-lin* is indiscriminate and full of discrepancies. It mentions about a Chang La-ta who was said to flourish in the Sung dynasty, and yet he was also active in the Ming period and was sought by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, 'Chang La-ta, it was said that he flourished in the Sung dynasty... In the early years of the [Ming] dynasty, he came to travel among mankind and often performed many miraculous deeds. At that time Emperor T'ai-tsung was living in Peiping and summoned [Chang] to his presence. [Chang's] words were mysterious. Later when Emperor [T'ai-tsung] ascended the throne, he longed to see [Chang] very much, so he sent the minister Hu Ying to go over seas and mountains to look for [Chang].'

85 *Te-an fu chih* (1517 ed.), 7/8b.
Hsiang-yang fu chih that has been included in the Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu. There is an account of San-feng in the T'ai-yüeh chih-lüeh, compiled by Fang Sheng between 1522 and 1566, and it is almost identical to that found in the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih. Furthermore, the biography of Chang San-feng can be found in the Liao-tung chih (1537 edition), compiled by Jen Lo, the Shan-hsi t'ung-chih 陝西通志 (1542 edition), compiled by Ma Li 馬理 (1474-1555) and others, Cheng Hsiao's Chin-yen 今言 (preface 1566), and the Nan-yang fu chih 南陽府志 (1576 edition) compiled by Li T'ing-lung 李廷龍 and others. In the Ju-chou chih 汝州志 (1596 edition), compiled by Fang Ying-hstian 方應選 (1583 chin-shih) and Chang Wei-hsin 張維新 (1577 chin-shih), San-feng was once again described as having the gift of prescience:

During the Yung-lo period, San-feng] lived in the Yen-ch'ing 延慶 Monastery in the city of Mien 俱 (present Kaifeng, Honan). At that time, Master Wang Yu 王宇 (1417-1463), the Tz'u-ching 大理卿 (Chief Minister of the Grand Court of Revision) was in his babyhood. San-feng passed by his house and seeing him was amazed and said to other people, 'One day this baby will certainly be prominent.' At the end it all happened as San-feng had foretold.

Cf. pp.9-10 and Note 32.

T'ai-yüeh chih-lüeh (Chia-ching ed.), 2/7b-9a. The following line, '[San-feng] arrived at Mount Wu-tang where he worshipped the deity Hsüan-ti at T'ien-chu Peak' which comes after the line 'In the early years of the Hung-wu period' in the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, is missing in the T'ai-yüeh chih-lüeh.

Liao-tung chih, 6/473-4.


Chin-yen (Chi-lu hui-pien ed.), 3/12a.


Biography of Wang, MS, 159/374.

In another account in the 1604 edition of the *Lai-chou fu chih* 青州府志, compiled by Lung Wen-ming 龙文明 (1571 chin-shih), San-feng was credited with an extraordinary power by which he could rejuvenate dried flowers:

During the Yung-lo period, Chang San-feng led the life of a recluse in Yun-men 雲門 in Ch'ing-chou 青州 (Shantung) to practise cultivation. He often visited the village at the foot of Mount Lao (Shantung) where one of the residents, Su Hsien 蘇, always showed hospitality to him. Originally there was no cold enduring plant in the district, [but] San-feng had brought, from one of the islands, a plant which he planted in the courtyard of Su Hsien. Even in deep winter and amidst heavy snow the leaves of the plant remained green.94

Both Hsieh Chao-chih's 謝肇淛 (1592 chin-shih) *Chi-tung chi* 居東集, which was completed in about 1607, and the *Ch'ing-chou fu chih* 青州府志, compiled by Wang Chia-pin 王家賓 and Chung Yu-cheng 鍾羽正 (1580 chin-shih) in 1615,95 mention another anecdote in which Chang San-feng was said to demonstrate that he could walk a thousand li in one day. The following passage is from *Chi-tung chi*:

...Chang San-feng hid in the district of Jih-chao 日照 (Shantung) and worked as a servant in the house of Chang Hsiang 楊翔. One day, they were to plant some vegetables, but the seeds in the district had sold out. [The master] then sent [San-feng] to buy the seeds from another district, Chu-ch'eng 鈕城 (Shantung), and reminded him, saying 'The place is far away, so you can seek lodging for the night in a friend's home in Tao-lin 桃林.' Chang returned on the same day. The master was surprised and asked, 'Have you not gone yet?' Chang answered, 'I have already bought [the seeds]!' The master was astonished and thought that Chang was lying. At that time an old woman from the neighbourhood related to some other people, 'Just now I saw old Chang, riding on a stork, come descending from the sky.' A few days later the master's friend came and said that Chang had stayed for a meal in his place. Then the master believed that Chang was an immortal...96

Many other legendary accounts referring to Chang San-feng can be


96 *Chi-tung chi* (Ming ed.), 5/60b-61a. The story is also seen in *Ch'ing chou fu chih* (1615 ed.), 17/13b.
seen in other Ming local histories. For instance, the 1619 edition of the *Ssu-oh'uan teung-chih* 四川總志, from the hands of Tu Ying-fang 杜應芳 (1607 chin-shih) and Ch'en Ta-tao 陳大道 (1586 chin-shih), carries this fabulous tale:

During the reign of Hung-wu, [San-feng] went to Szechwan... stayed in the house of Mister Chiang 姜, a Regional Commander of Huan-wei 環衛. 97 No matter whether it was cold or hot he would wear only a thatched rain-cloak and a hat. The hat was very large... day and night he rested on a piece of great rock. Once he had taken a plum branch and inserted it into the soil, instantly it began to bloom and all the flowers were growing downwards. 98

This obviously legendary account is also included in the *Ch'eng-tu fu chih* 成都府志 (1621 edition) compiled by Feng Jen 程任 and Chang Shih-yung 張世雍, in which the biography of Chang San-feng is identical to that in the *Ssu-oh'uan teung-chih* 99 and is evidently a complete transcription from the latter.

The above fantastic stories relating to Chang San-feng in Ming local histories and miscellaneous notes by Ming writers show how the cult of Chang San-feng had attracted the attention of imaginative writers and how legends centering around San-feng accumulated, multiplied and became exaggerated with the advance of time. The descriptions of San-feng were even more fantastic in Ch'ing works, as shown in the following example from the 1892 edition of the *Shan-hai t'ung-chih* 山海通志, compiled by Wang Hsüan 王軒 and others, in which San-feng is associated with another legendary figure, Ma-ku 麻姑 100:

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97 Wei (guard) and So所 (chilliads) are the organization of the regular army of the Ming dynasty. For the study of this system, see Romeyn Taylor, 'Yuan Origins of the Wei-so System', in Charles O. Hucker, ed., *Chinese Government in Ming Times* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1969), pp.23-40.


100 Ma-ku was alleged to be the sister of Wang P'ang-p'ing 王方平 (fl. 147-167), also a legendary figure. For a biographical account of Ma-ku,
...On his way [Chang San-feng] met Ma-ku who taught him to take four kinds of lung-ya 落葉. 101 After this he went to travel in Mount Wu-tang and ascended Chu-yung 龍頭 Peak where he chewed a mouthful of plum flowers and recited in a loud voice the chapter Ch'i-kuo-shu 秋水 in the Nan-hua [ch'ing] 南華 [經]. 102

The legends of Ma-ku appear in Taoist writings completed before the T'ang dynasty and she was said to flourish in the Later Han period, therefore, it is transparently and grossly irrational to link the fairy with

100 (contd)

see Wang Sung-nien 王松年, Hsien-yuan pien-uhu 仙苑編珠, TT 330, ch'ih 13a; Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭, Chung-ching chi-hsien lu 崇真集仙録, TT 561, 4/10b-13a; San-tung chiu-hei'en lu 三洞群仙錄, compiled by Ch'en Pao-kuang 陳葆光 (preface 1154), TT 994, 11/5b-6a; Chao Tao-i 趙道一 (thirteenth century), Li-shih chen-heien t'ei-tao tung-chien hou-chi 历世真仙 體道通鑑後集, TT 150, 3/5a-b; and Hung Ying-ming 洪應明 (fl. 1596), Hsiao-yao-hsu ching 消耀経, TT 1081, 1/29a-30a.

101 Lung-ya is a common name for herbal plants. According to the Ch'un-yang 蘭陽 Lu-ch'en-jen yao-shih chih 結陽呂真人藥石記, TT 588, a pharmaceutical and alchemical manual and alchemical manual ascertained to be composed between the years 1324 and 1443 by Professor Ho Peng Yoke 何邦郁, there are 66 kinds of lung-ya. For greater detail, see Ho and Ch'en T'ieh-fan 陳鐵凡, 'Jen Ch'um-yang Lung-ch'en-jen yao-shih chih chü chu-ch'eng shih-tai' 調純陽呂真人藥石記的 著成時代 (On the dating of the Ch'un-yang Lung-ch'en-jen yao-shih chih--a pharmaceutical and alchemical Taoist manual), Journal of Oriental Studies 東方文化, Vol. IX No.2 (Hong Kong, July 1971), pp.181-226, especially pp.185-7.

102 Ch'i-kuo-shu is one of the 33 extant chapters of the Chuang-tzu 楚子, a celebrated Taoist classic written by Chuang Chou 楚周 (ca. 369-ca. 286 B.C.) and ranks second after the T'ao-te ching 道德經 (see Note 668) by Lao-tzu 老子. Chuang-tzu was given a new title the Nan-hua ch'en-ching 南華真經 in 742 in an imperial decree issued by Emperor Hsian-tsung 總 (reigned 712- 756) of the T'ang dynasty. Many commentaries have been made on this classic, among which the best was written by Hsiao Haizhu 姚 (fl. 221-300) who unfortunately died before he completed the annotation. His manuscript was later passed on to the hands of Kuo Hsiang 郭象 (d. 312) who supplemented the incomplete part of the work and treated it as his own, giving it the title Chuang-tzu shu 楚子注. For translation of the work, see, among others, Herbert A. Giles, Chuang Tzu: Taoist philosopher and Chinese mystic (London, 1951); James Legge, 'The Writings of Kwan-sze ', in The Texts of Taoism in Max Müller, ed., Sacred Books of the East, Vol.XXXIX- XL (Oxford University Press, Clarendon, 1891); and Burton Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu (Columbia University Press, New York, 1966).

Chang San-feng, as the cult of the latter Taoist figure started only at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The accounts of San-feng in Ch'ing local histories abound with such absurd and preposterous legends. 104

It is surprising to find that the name of Chang San-feng appears in so many local histories of various provinces, namely, Hupeh, Honan, Shantung, Shansi, Szechwan, Anhwei, Kweichow, etc., all alleging that he left behind vestiges or performed miraculous deeds in that particular locality. A rational explanation of this phenomenon is that

104 For example, in T'ien Wen's 天文 (1635-1704) Ch'ien-shu 點書, San-feng was associated with Chang Hsin, the Marquis of Lung-p'ing, and had premonition of the brilliant future for Hsin, see Ch'ien-shu (Yüeh-yu-t'ang to'ung-shu 嘎鰲堂通書 ed., Taipei reprint, 1965), 3/32a. In the 1694 edition of the Nan-yang fu chih, San-feng was said to ascend to heaven in broad daylight, see Nan-yang fu chih (1694 ed., Taipei reprint, 1968), 5/7b. There is a description of his extraordinary act in the Ch'ung-ch'ing fu chih 重慶府志 which reads, 'San-feng practised cultivation at the K'un-lun-tung 仙陵 on the peak of Mount Pa-yueh 巴岳山 (Szechwan). The cave was in a hanging cliff ten thousand chang 丈 high and San-feng used to ride on a donkey and went in and out of the cave. Once he ascended to heaven in broad daylight. Inside the cave there were a pair of bamboo staffs, a stone table, a stone bed, a jade table and a well. All these were his vestiges.' See Ch'ung-ch'ing fu chih, quoted in Ku-chin t' u-shu chi-oh'eng, Shen-i tien, ts'e 509, 256/62a. In the 1735 edition of Shan-hai t'ung-chih 陝西通志, compiled by Liu Yu-i 劉於義 (eighteenth century) and Shen Ch'ing-yai 沈清崖 (eighteenth century), a scholar called Chang K'o 彭格 was said to meet San-feng in the snow, as the text runs, 'At that time it was snowing heavily and they were just cooking rice. After a short while San-feng went back carrying vegetables that were like newly picked from the garden, and he said, "It was bought in Chengtu." K'o went out and looked and found that there were no traces in the snow. Thus he knew that San-feng was an immortal.' Eventually Chang K'o was bestowed the gift of cleverness by the immortal, see Shan-hai t'ung-chih (1735 ed.), 65/53a. Also, the Fu-feng k' ai ohih 抚風記志 (1788 ohih-fen) relates the following story about San-feng, 'Chang San-feng stayed at the Ching-fu 景福 Monastery in the north of the city of Fu-feng 抚風 (Shensi). One night he painted on the wall of the monastery. Where his brushstrokes went it was like the moving of hot clouds, and water waves drained from the wall. Those who were watching tried to feel the wall in suspect that there was a hole inside the wall. Many years afterwards not a single grain of dust could be found on the wall. Also, [San-feng] often sat and slept on a brick bed which was not cold even in deep winter. People of later generations became suspicious of this and removed the bed and found that on every single piece of brick there was written the character huo 火 (fire).' See Fu-feng k'ai ohih (1818 ed., Taipei reprint, 1970), 14/3a. These are some of the examples of the fabulous legends relating to San-feng as found in Ch'ing feng-chih 方志.
compilers of local gazetteers had by accident or design confused personalities with appearances similar to the description of San-feng generally found in records with the famed Taoist, and deeds of those persons were attributed to San-feng. Or more possibly some persons, impressed by the cult of the eccentric Taoist, tried to impersonate him or to behave or feign an appearance which would prompt ordinary people to regard them as San-feng. The demeanour of San-feng as described in records such as the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih is by no means unique. His remarkable slovenliness, the wearing of a cassock regardless of changes of weather and other uncanny manners, are all characteristics not uncommon in the description of other bizarre figures in local histories. For example, the Chiang-nan t'ung-chih 江南通志 (1737 edition), compiled by Huang Chih-ch'un 黃之隽 (1668-1748), recounts that there was a filthy immortal who was a native of Hsiu-ning 影亭, Anhwei. He used to wear heavy fur and sleep in the sunshine amidst intense heat, but during severe cold seasons he would run naked and walk barefoot on ice. It is recorded that in spite of his squalor, whoever went close to him would not detect any unpleasant odour from his body, so he was called the Filthy Immortal. Similarly, many other eccentric figures are mentioned in the local histories, and there is a high possibility that accounts of their actions were added to the records of San-feng making the legends of the latter even richer and more colourful.

In the Wan-li edition of the Ying-chou chih 順州志, compiled by Chang Ho-ming 張麟鳴 (1551-1635), is a biography of Chang San-feng.


106 For example, there is a Filthy Liu mentioned in the Han-yang fu chih 汉陽府志, quoted in Ku-chin t'iu-shu chi-ch'eng, Shen-i tien, tse'e 510, 258/9a-b. Also, according to the Shan-hai t'ung-chih (1735 ed.), there was a Taoist priest who flourished during the Yung-lo period, he was called Chang La-t'a 陳拉塔. His appearance resembled that of San-feng as described in records, and Hu Ying who was then in his tour to search for San-feng mistook Chang La-t'a for the famous Taoist, see 65/53a.
written by Chang Ho-t'eng 張鶴騰 (1595 chin-shih), brother of the compiler, containing a passage that merits attention:

In the old record of our subprefecture, Ying-chou 領州 (Anhwei), is written, 'Chang Ku-shan 張吉山, a native of this subprefecture (i.e. Ying-chou) was seemly and stable when he was young. His parents would like to get him a wife, but he refused, and when tempted with other things, he would not be moved. He led a secluded life and lived in the Ying-hsian 祥 Monastery in this subprefecture. By virtue of his high attainment in the cultivation of the Way, he was appointed as the T'ie-tien 擷點 of Mount Wu-tang. Later he went to collect herbal plants in the mountains and ever since then people lost track of him.' Here the record did not mention Chang San-feng. But as I examine the portrait of Chang Ku-shan, his beard and whiskers were like the blade of a halberd, he was carrying a foot rule in his hand and he was wearing a hat. All these coincide with [what is described about Chang San-feng] in the Lieh-hsien chuan 利仙傳 107 and also comply with the iconology of San-feng as transmitted from old. So it is doubtless that [Chang] Ku-shan was [Chang] San-feng. 108

Here Chang Ho-t'eng identified a certain Chang Ku-shan recorded in an earlier edition of the Ying-chou chih with the famous Chang San-feng.

Again, in the essay on the opening of the hall dedicated to Chang San-feng entitled 'Ch'uang-chien Chang San-feng tz'u-t'ang chi-lueh' 创建張三峰祠堂記畧 , included in the same local history, the author says:

...Yeh-hsien lao-jen 雲軒老人 109 recorded only the biography of Chang Ku-shan and there was no account of Chang Lieh-t'a 張儉. When Lu Hsiu-ch'ih 劉修鶴 110 compiled the history of the subprefecture of Ying-chou, he also mentioned only Ku-shan and not San-feng. This is because he did not investigate thoroughly what he had collected. Looking at the portrait of the late [Ku-shan], whose demeanour is like a green pine tree overhanging the ravine or a wild crane taking off into the air, 111 I think that it is the same

107 Lieh-hsien chuan, according to Chang Ho-t'eng, was written by Chang Shao-ku 張少谷, but this work is not cited in standard bibliographies.


109 His real name cannot be verified, possibly he was the compiler of an earlier edition of the history of Ying-chou.

110 Possibly this refers to Lu Ch'ing-meng 劉景蒙 (fl. 1536) who compiled the Ying-chou chih, twenty chuan.

111 Pine tree is a symbol of longevity and crane attributes to immortality. The description here means that Ku-shan had the appearance of an immortal.
as the picture of San-feng transmitted from old, with the beard like the blade of a halberd and the hat resting on his shoulder. [The portrait of Ku-shan] appears to be copied directly from that of San-feng in the *Lieh-hsien chuan*. Hence, there is no doubt that [Ku-shan] was [San-feng].

The biographer of San-feng in the *Ying-chou chih* maintained that Chang Ku-shan was Chang San-feng merely on two grounds, firstly, the portrait of the former was said to resemble that of the latter, and secondly, compilers of the early editions of the *Ying-chou chih* had recorded only the account of Ku-shan and made no allusion to San-feng. Basing his theory on these two flimsy arguments, the author entertained that Ku-shan was identical with San-feng. The author has obviously arrived at a hasty and unsound conclusion. Moreover, what is more interesting is that if there was really a Chang Ku-shan, then apparently he was trying to imitate Chang San-feng and aped the appearance by which the latter was commonly characterized with the bristling beard, thatched rain-cloak and hat, and noted filthiness. Likewise, there were probably other persons in other places, who were impressed by the popularity of Chang San-feng and attempted to assume his mannerism or appearance. As a matter of fact, people were very apt to identify persons of peculiar behaviour with Chang San-feng. For example, in the 1594 edition of the *Ching-chou fu chih* 荆州府志, compiled by Kuo Wei-hsien 郭維賢, there is the account of a person called Lei Chiu-kung 雷九功. The following is his story:

Lei Chiu-kung of this (Ming) dynasty, was a native of I-ling 英陵 (Hupeh). He was born with a strange appearance, with his hands

112 *Ying-chou chih*, hsia/82a-b.

113 In some other places, Chang Ku-shan was treated as a different person. For instance, the *An-hut t'ung-chih* 安徽通志, compiled by Ho Shao-chi 何紹基 (1799-1873) (1877 revised ed., Taipei reprint, 1967), relates that Ku-shan was a disciple of San-feng. 'It was said that when Chang San-feng went to travel in Ying-chou, Ku-shan sought instruction from him and was taught his skill.' See 348/15b-16a.
extending beyond his knees. He was not clever when young. One day, a Taoist priest by the surname Chang came and called out his nickname. Kung then followed him and went travelling with him. [The Taoist priest] led Kung into a hall where they had food and drink and enjoyed songs and dances that could not be found in this world. One day, as they were setting off for Ch'ang-yang 長陽 (Hupeh), [Chang] asked Kung to close his eyes. Kung could only hear the sound of the wind. After a short while, they arrived at their destination. On their return journey, as they passed by Shih-men 十門, the Taoist priest wrote on mud the four characters 'Yueh-hsia Chang-hsien' (Immortal Chang of the Moon Pass), which still remain at the present time. After a long time, the Taoist priest bade farewell to Kung and left him a poem. Kung then returned to his native place and henceforward he was able to foretell forthcoming events. Once he said, 'I will pass away on a certain day.' When he died he had just gone through the ceremony of capping (i.e. twenty years of age). At that instant, a strong wind pulled up a tree, and the poem left by the Taoist priest was suddenly lost. Someone was heard talking in the air, and Kung's body was pliable and he looked as if he was alive. People thought that it was Shih-chieh 詩赭. 114 Thirty-five days after Kung's death, a light came out from his room, and when people went inside to look at it, they found a valedictory poem written by Kung to his family. It is all because Kung had studied under the Taoist priest and learned the esoteric method which was not known by other people. Some said that the Taoist priest was Chang San-feng. 115

The whole story of Lei Chiu-kung is quoted in an effort to show how people usually mistook extraordinary persons for San-feng. Throughout the account, there is no indication that the Taoist priest was San-feng. It is merely coincidental that he had the same surname as San-feng and thus people took him for the well-known Taoist Chang San-feng.

Another illustrative example displaying the preoccupation of the people as well as of compilers of local histories in dealing with Chang San-feng is to be found in the 1619 edition of the Ssu-ch'uan tsung-chih.

In this record there is an entry on San-feng which reads:

In the Yung-lo period, [Chang] travelled in Nei-chiang 内江 (Szechwan) and stayed in the house of a Taoist priest, Ming Yu 明玉. He lied that his surname was P'ang 庞 ... He lived there for a year or so. At that time Hu Ying was travelling around in search of [Chang San-feng], and the latter managed to see Hu through the arrangement of Yu. Afterwards nobody knew where he had

114 Shih-chieh is a Taoist term which means 'the separation by discarding the false corpse'.

115 Ching-chou fu chih (1594 ed.), 5/59a-5.
In fact, this man by the surname P'ang never claimed that he was San-feng but he was mistaken for the Taoist whom the Emperor aspired to see. Therefore, the deeds of this P'ang, who might or might not exist, were attributed to San-feng, enriching the wealth of legends that surround the figure. To sum up, deliberate or unintentional impersonation by several persons and inadvertent and obsessive mistaking of other persons for San-feng account for the appearance of the name of San-feng in the local histories of so many districts. A similar view is held by Dr. Anna Seidel in her article on the figure.\textsuperscript{117}

Another interesting point concerning Chang San-feng is that there are varying accounts of what was his native place. Most of the records regard him as coming from I-chou 誡州 or I-chou 恆州 of Liaotung (present Liaoning),\textsuperscript{118} but in some sources he is said to be a native of Pao-chi (Shensi),\textsuperscript{119} or of T'ien-mu 天目 (Chekiang),\textsuperscript{120} or of Fukien,\textsuperscript{121} or of P'ing-yang 平陽 (Shansi),\textsuperscript{122} or of I-shih 魁氏.

116 Ssu-ch'uan tsung-chih (1619 ed.), 8/85a. The same is also mentioned in Chang Shih-yung compiled, Ch'eng-tu fu chih (1621 ed.), 29/16a, and in the Nei-chiang hsien chih 内江縣志, compiled by P'eng T'ai-shih 彭泰士 and Chu Hsiang-yu 車象廬 (1905 ed., revised in 1925 by Tseng Ch'ing-ch'ang 曾慶昌, Taipei reprint, 1968), 8/1b-2a.


118 For example, in Kao-p'o i-tzuan, shang/2a, Liao-tung chih (1537 ed.), 6/473, Chin-yen, 3/12a, Hoiao-yao-hsi ching, TT 1081, 2/33b, Ming-shan-ts'ang, 7/3b, Ming-shih kao, 175/7b, and MS, 299/741, Chang is said to be a native of I-chou 誡州. In Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao, hsiu-kao, 4/802, Huang Ming yung-hua lei-pien, 131/9a, and Ming-shu, 160/3162, he is depicted as from I-chou 恆州.

119 See Ch'ing-ch'ii hsiao-pi, p.8a, and Yu-t'ang man-pi, p.7b.

120 See Ssu-ch'uan tsung-chih (1619 ed.), 8/85a.

121 See Ch'ien-shu, 3/32a.

122 Shan-hei t'ung-chih (1892 ed.), 160/10a.
A possible explanation for the discrepancy in his native place is similar to the reason for his name being mentioned in many local histories, that biographers of San-feng accidentally or otherwise took the native places of other personalities who resembled San-feng in their behaviour or appearance to be the native district of San-feng, therefore his alleged native place varied in different accounts. In like manner, the figure was ascribed many aliases. According to the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, possibly one of the earliest sources for the biography of San-feng, he was called Ch'üan-i and his tsu was Hsüan-hsüan, while San-feng was his hao. This is simple enough. However, in later records, he was given many other names, such as San-feng (P'ing which means 'peak' is a homonym of Feng which has the meaning of 'luxuriant'), San-feng tun-lao, T'ung, Hsüan-i, Ch'un-shih, Ch'un-pao, Chu-pao, and K'un yang. 

123 Ibid.
124 See Te-an fu chih (1517 ed.), 7/6a; and Ying-chou chih (1608 ed.), hsia/79a.
125 See Yeh-chi, p.57a.
126 See Yu-t'ang man-p'ii, p.7a.
127 See Huang Ming yung-hua lei-pien, 131/9a; Ssu-ch'wan tsung-chih (1619 ed.), 8/85a; and Ming-shu, 160/3162.
128 See Lioo-tung chih (1537 ed.), 6/473; Chin-yen, 3/12a; Huang Ming yung-hua lei-pien, 131/9a; Ssu-ch'wan tsung-chih (1619 ed.), 8/85a; and Ming-shu, 160/3162.
129 See Hsiang-yang fu chih (1584 ed.), 41/12a; Ying-chou chih (1608 ed.), hsia/79a, hsia/81b; Ming-shan-te'ang, 7/3b; Ming-shih kao, 176/7b; and MS 299/741.
130 See Hsiao-yao-hsu ching, TT 1081, 2/39b.
131 See Li-t'ai shen-haien t'ung-chien, orally transmitted by Hsu Tao and collated by Chang Chi-tsung 張繼宗 (d. 1715) and Huang Chang-lun 韋翠 (Sheng-sheng-kuan 生生館 wood-block ed., 1700), 21/6/3b.
Pao-ho jung-jen San-feng-tzu 保和容忍三丰子, 132 Pao-ho jung-jen San-feng-tzu 保合容忍三丰子, 133 and variant forms of La-t'a 遇。134

With the prevalence of the cult of Chang San-feng, particularly during the Yung-lo era, his name could not easily escape the hands of authors of biographies of immortals. Thus he occupied a place in collections of such nature, for instance, he was included in Hung Ying-ming's Hsiao-yao-hsu ching, 135 also known as Hsien-fo ch'i-tsung 仙佛奇踪, which was completed in 1603, and in the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien 歷代神仙通鑑, 136 also known as Shen-hsien t'ung-chien 神仙通鑑, by Hsü Tao 徐道 (preface 1700). As both of them are collections of the biographies of immortals, it is therefore perceptible that their accounts of San-feng are primarily miraculous legends and have to be viewed most cautiously.

In fact, as early as in the Wan-li period the legends of Chang San-feng were used as plots in popular fiction. For instance, in the novel entitled San-pao t'ai-chien hsia hsii-yang chi 三寶太監下西洋記, 137 in 100 hui, composed by Lo Mao-teng 羅懋登 (fl. 1597),

132 See Liao-tung chih (1537 ed.), 6/473; Chin-yen, 3/12a; and Ming-shan-ke'ang, 7/3b.
133 See Ming-shu, 160/3162.
134 This designation of San-feng can be seen in almost all of his records, only in variable forms which are homonymic words of La-t'a (Slovenliness).
135 Hsiao-yao-hsu ching, TT 1081, 2/39b-40a.
136 Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, 21/6/3b-5b, 21/9/2b-3a, 21/9/6b-7a.
137 This fiction is also known as Hsii-yang t'ung-su yen-i 西洋通俗演義, 100 hui in twenty ch'uan. A copy of the engraved edition printed during the Wan-li period is kept in the British Museum. Also, according to the Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu 國立中央圖書館善本書目 (Taipei, 1957), the original 1597 edition is housed in the National Central Library in Taiwan. For an annotation to this fiction, see Liu Ts'un-yan, Chinese popular fiction in two London Libraries, pp. 276-7. This
part of the fifty-sixth hui and fifty-eighth hui and the whole of the fifty-seventh hui have San-feng as a stellar figure, thus reflecting the wide currency of the name of Chang San-feng during the Wan-li period.

In its hui 56 the novel states:

Buddha asked, 'What is the name of that immortal?' God Ch'eng-huang answered, 'The immortal is called Chang Shou-ch'eng, 張守成, his Taoist title is Chang San-feng 張三峯, and he has a nickname Chang Lieh-t'a 張履踏.' Buddha said, 'Where is that immortal at present?' God Ch'eng-huang replied, 'He is now staying in the Ch'iumg-hua 撣花 Monastery in Yang-chou 扬州.' Buddha again asked, 'How do you know that he is there?'' God Ch'eng-huang answered, 'Yesterday he wrote a poem in the Ch'iumg-hua Monastery...so that I know he is in the city of Yang-chou, '139

The caption title for hui 57 of the novel is 'Chin Pi-feng 金碧峰 went to the city of Nanking and Chang San-feng met the Emperor' 金碧峰轉南京城，張三峯見萬巖, and it describes the meeting of San-feng and Emperor Ch'eng-tsu. 金碧峰

In this chapter, the biographical accounts of San-feng, most of which were written during the Ming dynasty, have been reviewed. Apart from these, a seemingly important primary source, the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, the complete works attributed to the Taoist, must be

137 (cont'd) fiction, according to Professor Liu, has preserved to a certain extent some of the primary sources relating to the maritime expeditions of Cheng Ho 郭 and (fl. 1402-1426) to the western ocean. Mr. Walter Goode, Lecturer at the University of New South Wales, is researching on this work, and the title of his doctoral dissertation at the Australian National University is 'On the San-pao t'ai-chien hsia hsi-yang chi (A voyage to the western ocean) and its sources'.

138 Ch'eng-huang is the patron god of a city. The worship of the tutelary deity was quite popular during the Epoch of Division between North and South, albeit it is still hard to ascertain, see the Biography of Ku-jung Yen 廖宗典 in Pei-chi shu 北寄書 (Yeh-shih-wu shih ed.), 20/27, and in Pei-shih 北史 (Yeh-shih-wu shih ed.), 53/182. There is a treatise relating to this god entitled 'T'ai-shang tao-chin shuo ch'ing-huang hsiao-ying hsiao-t'ai chi-fu miao-ching' 天上老君說 懷皇孝靈孝太帝福妙經, TT 1063. See also Chao I 趙嘉 (1727-1814), K'ai-yü ta'ung-k'ao 報優書 (1790 ed., Taipei reprint, 1950), 35/26a-27b, under the entry Ch'eng-huang shen 城隍神.

139 San-pao t'ai-chien hsia hsi-yang chi (Taiwan, 1963), p.325.
mentioned. Theoretically this collected works should be significant in the study of San-feng. However, it has the great drawback that its contents are interwoven with doubtful elements and the authenticity of the works in the compilation is in question. Therefore it is necessary to investigate deeply and thoroughly the works included in this compendium to determine their authorship. Part II of this thesis is devoted to this purpose. Meanwhile, it is worth going over the six biographies of Chang San-feng included in ch'uen 1 of this complete works. 140

The first biography, although the author and source are not indicated, is evidently taken from the Biography of Chang San-feng in the Ming-shih. The second biography written by a Ch'i-yuan chu-shih who cannot be identified, is alleged to be taken from a book entitled the Wei-i lu which is not cited in available bibliographies. 141 The information concerning San-feng as given therein is found in other earlier sources discussed in the preceding sections. Lang Ying 142 was the writer of the third account included in the Chang San-feng ch'uen-chi. This biography is extracted from his work, the Ch'i-hsiu hsü-kao, the sequel to his Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao, a collection of notes dealing with historical and political matters from the beginning of the Ming dynasty up to the middle of the sixteenth century and was completed after 1566. The compiler of the Chang San-feng ch'uen-chi mistakenly indicates that the biography was to be found in the Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao. Lang's biographical account of Chang San-feng should be treated with great care as his narrative is not corroborated by

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140 The biographies are in CSPCC, 1/4a-12a (7648-52).

141 However, as his work is placed before that of Lang Ying (d. 1487) in the CSPCC, so he may have flourished in the sixteenth century as well.

142 A biography of Lang written by Hsu Ying-yuan (1506-1555) can be found in Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 115/82a-3.
reliable historical sources. For instance, he relates that 'In the third year of T'ien-shun (1459) [Chang] San-feng paid a visit to Emperor [Ying-tsung] (in fact, the Ch'i-heiu hsu-kao writes 'came again'\textsuperscript{143}).\textsuperscript{144} If this event did ever happen, it could not have escaped the pens of the historians responsible for the drafting of the official history and this episode would definitely appear in the Biography of Chang San-feng in the Ming-shih, for such an ingratiating with the sovereign would not be neglected by any traditional Chinese historiographer. However, the alleged encounter is not mentioned in the existing biography of San-feng in the official history of the Ming dynasty nor is it related in any other reliable sources, and apparently Leng Ying is the only author who writes about the Taoist's audience with Emperor Ying-tsung. This account may therefore be dismissed as a fabrication.

The fourth biography found in the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi is attributed to another distinguished Taoist of the Ming dynasty who maintained the amalgamation of the three teachings, Lu Hsi-hsing (1520-ca. 1601),\textsuperscript{145} and the biography is supposed to be derived from Huai-hai tsa-chi 淮海雜記, also ascribed to Lu. However, the authorship as well as the contents of the biography known as 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan' 張三丰列傳 may be treated with scepticism. The Huai-hai tsa-chi is not cited in any available bibliography, and

\textsuperscript{143} Ch'i-heiu lei-kao, hsu-kao, 4/802.
\textsuperscript{144} CSPCC, 1/6a (7649).
sources relating to Lu Hsi-hsing make no allusion to his having written such a work. Nevertheless, even if Lu really wrote the biography, what he depicted might not necessarily be true, for the source of his information was a most unlikely one:

Hua-ku tao-jen 花谷道士, the descendant to the sixth line of [Chang San-feng] and the grandson of Chang Ming-luan 张鳴鸾, is one of my Taoist friends. His home has the pleasant view of garden and grove, and the old immortal (i.e. Chang San-feng) had once come to his residence...Hua-ku has often related this event to me which fills me with admiration for the past.146

Even if Chang San-feng did really exist and had offspring, he could not live as long as to see his sixth generation; therefore, it was blatantly absurd for Lu to say that Chang San-feng had come to visit his descendant from whom the author is purported to have obtained the information about San-feng. It is very likely that the author was making a false claim.

Among the six biographies in the Chang San-feng oh'f'an-ohi, the fifth, which is entitled 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen chuan' 三真先生 水傳 and written by Wang Hsi-ling 汪錫齡 (1664-1724),147 the compiler of an early edition of the complete works, who always claimed that he was the immediate disciple of Chang San-feng, is the longest and most detailed. However, like the others, it is mainly an accumulation of legends, and as in the case of the previous work, his source of information was also unlikely. He recounts that he met Chang San-feng at Mount O-mein 萬眉 in Szechwan and was given several works written by the Taoist master himself.148 In describing how he obtained the information, he betrays the impossibility of his source:

I was fortunate to meet, among splendid mountains and uncommon waters, the master (i.e. Chang San-feng), who had observed my humble sincerity and invited me to follow the Great Way...I have attended

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146 CSPCC, 1/6b-7a (7649-50).
147 Wang was an important figure in the compilation of the CSPCC and he is discussed in greater detail in Part II, Chapter 3.
148 See CSPCC, 1/11a (7652).
to the master for a long while and am able to have a good knowledge of his origin. I therefore get rid of all my worldly desires and write with great respect the biography of the master, in an effort to relate [the origin of the master] to the future followers of our religion.  

The name of Chang San-feng began to attract the attention of Taoist devotees in the early years of the Ming dynasty, so it is ridiculous to assert that he would still be active in the Ch'ing period, even if his historical existence was authentic. It is crystal clear that Wang Hsi-ling had fabricated the alleged communication and consequently his biography is unreliable and should be viewed with the utmost care and reservation. The sixth and the last biography is a brief account written by Yuan-ch'iao wai-shih and is no more than a legendary anecdote. To sum up, these biographies included in the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi have advanced the myth surrounding Chang San-feng and aggravate the difficulties encountered in the study of the authenticity of the figure.

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149 Ibid. pp. 11a-b (7652).
The Biography of Chang San-feng in the *Ming-shih* concludes with an impressive remark, 'Eventually nobody knew when he died', and this reflects the unaccountable mystery that surrounds his name. Throughout his biographies in various sources perused in the previous chapter, Chang San-feng was described as a mysterious figure, or even an immortal, possessed of occult powers and characterized by his bizarre behaviour. The dating of his life varies in these sources, and no one is certain when his public life began nor is there any definite indication of the time when he passed from the scene. Furthermore, he is surrounded by a wreath of legends which multiplied with time. Among all these uncertainties, a very basic question arises, and that is, was Chang San-feng an historical figure or was he merely fabricated by the Taoist adepts. This unanswered question preoccupied my mind when I was engaged in collecting material for a study of this famed Taoist whose cult prevailed in the early Ming period and continued into the later years of the Ch'ing dynasty, when some of his admirers established sects under his name.

It was only after long and painstaking work that I was able to gather comparatively reliable information from among the large quantity of complex and unreliable source material relating to San-feng and arrive at a preliminary conclusion that he may have been an historical figure.

In fact, it is difficult, at least at the present stage, to adduce positive evidence to prove the historical existence of Chang San-feng, for leaving aside all those alleged vestiges found in different places, he has transmitted to us virtually nothing substantial that could prove his existence. Even the so-called *Chang San-feng ch'uan-ohi*, the

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150 *MS*, 299/741.

151 See discussion in the last part of this chapter.
collected works that come under his name, certainly are largely and may be entirely spurious. The possibility that they were fabricated by some Taoist devotees in the Ch'ing dynasty is discussed at length in Part II of this thesis. The sole evidence for the existence of Chang San-feng is therefore contained in accounts from other hands. Thus, the evidence which has come to light is secondary and indirect. However, at present, making use of subsidiary sources appears to be the only feasible way of considering the question of San-feng's existence.

A salient point in the accounts of Chang San-feng is that he was the object of an earnest and incessant search mounted by Emperors T'ai-tsu and Ch'eng-tsu. This search is apparently an ascertainable historical event, therefore, it is hoped that by analysing the accounts relating to this episode it may be deduced whether San-feng existed. In the first instance, in as early a source as the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, it is recounted that in 1391 Emperor T'ai-tsu sent some Taoist priests to look for Chang Hsuan-hsuan (an alias of Chang San-feng). The same is mentioned in other later sources, for example, in Ho Ch'iao-yuan's Ming-shan-ts'ang:

In his old age Emperor T'ai-tsu heard of [San-feng's] name and tried to seek [San-feng], but was not successful. This shows that the Emperor who was in his old age was informed about the existence of such a Taoist. Here we see an allusion to the possible existence of San-feng, for if he had not existed or if no one had suggested that there was such a figure, Emperor T'ai-tsu would not have conceived the idea of inviting him to court.

The reasons why the old Emperor should seek San-feng are not disclosed in any available source, but we can surmise two possible

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152 See T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih (Hand-copied volume), 6/15a. For translation of the passage, see Chapter 1, pp. 3-4.

153 Ming-shan-ts'ang, 7/4b.
grounds. Firstly, the search might have stemmed from curiosity on the part of the Emperor who was attracted to the fame of the Taoist. The second explanation is that the aged sovereign wanted to obtain the elixir of life which generally was believed to be produced or transmuted by Taoists, and as San-feng was regarded as an immortal and was said to possess extraordinary power, the Emperor thought that San-feng would be the source for the medicine which would grant him immortality or at least longevity. This possibly led to the Emperor's aspiration to see the Taoist. I think the second possibility is more likely, for in his advanced age Emperor T'ai-tsu was prone to take without second thoughts the medicine which was believed to be life-prolonging and was prescribed by sorcerers who served at his court. In the 'Yu-chih Chou Tien hsien-jen chuan' 御製周顓仙人傳, the biography written by the Emperor himself, of another well-known Taoist immortal who flourished at the dawn of the Ming empire, Chou Tien 周顓, the monarch depicted how he obtained the medicine from Chou Tien:

[In the year 1392] I had a fever and was almost dead. Suddenly a barefooted Buddhist monk came and told me that the T'ien-yen tsun-che 天眼尊者 and Immortal Chou Tien had sent him to bring me the medicine...I then took it. That very night I recovered from my sickness and I felt better day by day. After having taken the same prescription three times, I was told of a kind of herbal plant, known as oh'ang -p'u-hsiang 葉蒲香. At the centre of its flower there is a residue of cinnabar which is bright red in colour, very different from common ones...155

The Emperor also composed a poem called 'Yu-chih ch'ih-chiao-sang shih' 御製赤腳僧詩 in memory of the barefooted Buddhist monk,

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154 Chou Tien (Crazy Chou) was closely associated with Emperor T'ai-tsu and was said to have recognized the Emperor, before his coming to power, as a new sovereign. For the biography of Chou, apart from the one composed by the Emperor which is an account of his dealings with the crazy Taoist (see Note 155), see also Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 118/93a-103b, Ming-shu, 160/3159-60, and M5, 239/741.

155 'Yu-chih Chou Tien hsien-jen chuan', included in Chi-ju hui-pien, 6/5a-b.
in which there are the following two lines:

Providence has mercy on the people so he prolongs my life.
The tan-ni 丹裨 is sent to heal my chronic disease.\textsuperscript{156}

Here the tan-ni refers to the medicine prescribed by the immortals and
cinnabar is often regarded as one such drug. Just as Ko Hung 葛洪
(283-343),\textsuperscript{157} the famous Taoist alchemist of the Chin 晉 dynasty, said
in his celebrated work on alchemy, the Pao-p'iu-tsu 抱朴子:

At the top of the genii's pharmacopoeia stands cinnabar, second
comes gold; third, silver; fourth, excrescences...\textsuperscript{158}

Thus there is a strong possibility that the ailing Emperor T'ai-tsu,
keenly interested in the elixir, sought the presence of the Taoist
Chang San-feng.

Almost in all the biographies of San-feng it is recorded that the
Emperor's efforts were fruitless.\textsuperscript{159} The failure of the search is
mentioned in such sources as the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, Ming-shu,
Ming-shih kao and Ming-shih. The Biography of Chang San-feng in the
Ming-shu reads:

In the following year (i.e. twenty-fourth year of Hung-wu, 1391),

\textsuperscript{156} Ibid., p.68.

\textsuperscript{157} For a reliable account of Ko, see Ch'en Kuo-fu 陳國符, Tao-tsung yeh-lü k'ao 道藏源流考 (Peking, 1963), Vol.1, pp.95-98; cf. also J.R. Ware, Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of A.D. 320 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

\textsuperscript{158} For the original text, see Pao-p'iu-tsu (Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng 諸子集成 ed., Shanghai, 1935), p. 44. For the quotation cited, see J.R. Ware, ibid., p.178.

\textsuperscript{159} However, the biography of Chang in Shan-hsi t'ung-chih 山西通志 reads, 'Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Ming dynasty enquired [San-feng] about administration of the state affairs, while [San-feng] answered,
"Just to follow the principles of loyalty and filial piety will do."
It seems to suggest that San-feng had presented himself before
Emperor T'ai-tsu, but this is not attested by other earlier and reli-
able sources. The Shan-hsi t'ung-chih is quoted in Ku-chin t'ü-chu chi-ch'eng, Shen-i tien, to'e 509, 256/62a. The year of completion of the work is not known but possibly before 1726 when the Ku-chin t'u-chu chi-ch'eng was completed. The same is also mentioned in the
1892 edition of the Shan-hsi t'ung-chih compiled by Wang Hsüan, see
160/10b.
Emperor T'ai-tsu dispatched the san-shan Taoist priests to invite [Chang] Hsüan-hsüan to court, but eventually he was not to be seen.\textsuperscript{160}

The \textit{Ming-shih kao} records thus:

Emperor T'ai-tsu had thus heard about his name, and in the twenty-fourth year of the Hung-wu period delegates were sent to seek him everywhere, but could not find him.\textsuperscript{161}

A similar statement is given in the \textit{Ming-shih}.\textsuperscript{162} Hence it is an historical fact that the Emperor sought for the Taoist, but in vain. This unsuccessful endeavour does not exclude the possibility that San-feng did really exist. On the contrary, the efforts made by Emperor T'ai-tsu to search for San-feng reflect that, at least in the Hung-wu period, he was believed to be active and held pride of place in the Taoist religion.

Another incident relating to San-feng that has drawn the attention of almost all the biographers of the Taoist figure is the earnest search for him by another emperor, Ch'eng-tsu. The search has generally been regarded as precipitated by a purely political motive, a view echoed and reechoed in many Ming and Ch'ing historical writings. It was thought that Emperor Ch'eng-tsu used the search for San-feng as a pretext to cover his real intention of investigating the whereabouts of his deposed nephew, Emperor Chien-wen,\textsuperscript{163} the grandson of Emperor T'ai-tsu. He ascended the throne after the demise of his grandfather in 1398. In less than four years he was ousted from the imperial office by his uncle, Prince of Yen, later Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, who started a campaign, known

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{160} \textit{Ming-shu}, 160/3162.
\item \textsuperscript{161} \textit{Ming-shih kao}, 176/8a.
\item \textsuperscript{162} MS, 299/741; cf. also Chapter 1, p.49.
\item \textsuperscript{163} The temple title of Emperor Chien-wen was 'Kung-min hui huang-ti', given to him in 1736 by Emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 (reigned 1736-1795) of the Ch'ing dynasty. See Basic Annals of Emperor Kung-min-ti, MS, 4/18.
\end{itemize}
to history as 'the expedition to pacify internal disorders.'

This rebellion, which flared up as soon as Emperor Chien-wen was enthroned, was in fact the culmination of the endless manoeuvres of Prince of Yen to seize the throne, and was precipitated by the young Emperor's hasty action in eliminating feudal states. For Emperor Chien-wen, following the counsels of his ministers Ch' i T'ai (1388 chin-shih, d. 1402) and Huang Tzu-ch'eng (1385 chin-shih), abolished the noble titles and rights of the Princes of Chou 周王, Ch'i 齊王, Tai 代王 and Min 副王 as the first step towards consolidating the central government. Alarmed by this action, Prince of Yen, the strongest and the most formidable of all the princes, accepted the advice of his chief counsellor, Yao Kuang-hsiao 姚廣孝 (1335-1418) and started the long prepared usurpation. Before that, Emperor Chien-wen had posted Chang Ping 張昺 as Administrative Commissioner and Hsieh Kuei 謝貴 and Chang Hsin 張晉 as the Regional Commissioners of Peking to put under surveillance the ambitious Prince of Yen. When the Prince launched the campaign in the seventh month of 1399, Chang Hsin was one of the first to turn rebel and divulged the plans of the Emperor to the Prince who then plotted to kill Chang Ping and Hsieh Kuei. The Prince went on to brand Ch' i T'ai and Huang Tzu-ch'eng as treacherous ministers and he forwarded a memorial demanding the execution of these

164 Biography of Ch' i, MS, 141/339.
165 Biography of Huang, ibid.
166 Yao was a Buddhist monk. He was formerly called Monk Tao-yen 道衍, and was given the present name by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu in 1404. For his biography, see MS, 145/346. For a study of his role in the usurpation, see David B. Chan, 'The Role of Monk Tao-yen in the Usurpation of the Prince of Yen', SinoLOGica, VI (1959), pp. 83-100.
167 Biography of Chang Ping, MS, 142/341.
168 Biography of Hsieh, ibid.
169 For the biography of Chang Hsin, see Note 23.
advisers whom he pledged to subdue with his campaign. It was four years before the rebellious troops approached the capital city, Nanking, and Li Ching-lung, the formerly appointed commander of the Emperor's army to quash the revolt, opened the city gate to let them in, thus brought to an end the short-lived reign of Emperor Chien-wen. During the chaos and disorders that marked the fall of the capital, the ill-fated Emperor disappeared when a fire broke out in the palace and no one knew where he had gone. It was rumoured that he had escaped through a tunnel.

The whereabouts of Emperor Chien-wen then preyed on the mind of Emperor Ch'eng-ts'ui, and in order to dissipate his doubts, the victorious Emperor dispatched Cheng Ho, the noted eunuch, to head the maritime expeditions in search of his nephew. At the same time, Hu Ying, the Chief Supervising Secretary who was censured for recommending Kung Ch'ien 襲謙, a sorcerer, and Yang Mi-kao 仰彌高 (a pseudonym taken from Confucius' Analects 論語), a Taoist priest, to the court, was entrusted with the formidable task of perambulating around the

170 For the biography of Li, see Note 79.
172 Biography of Cheng, MS, 304/755.
173 Biography of Hu, MS, 169/394.
country to trace the deposed monarch. On this, Li Hsien remarks in his 'Li-pu shang-shu chih-shih tseng t'ai-pao shih Chung-an Hu-kung Ying shen-tao pei-ming', the epitaph of Hu Ying:

In the cyclical year ting-hai (i.e., fifth year of Yung-lo, 1407), His Majesty (i.e. Emperor Ch'eng-tsu) observed that among all the courtiers only Master [Hu Ying] was loyal and trustworthy, so His Majesty ordered Hu to tour the empire with the ostensible reason of searching for the eccentric Taoist, but in effect he was to investigate the public attitude towards [the Emperor's regime].

This passage reflects the common view shared by many Ming writers that the expedition led by Hu was a means to collect information about the attitude of the masses to see if they were still inclined towards the former emperor, or to be more precise, to track down the whereabouts of Emperor Chien-wen.

A similar opinion is maintained by Wang Ao 王鏊 (1450-1524), a younger contemporary of Li Hsien, who says in his Chen-tse chi-wen 露澤紀聞:

When the troops of Emperor T'ai-tsung (i.e. Emperor Ch'eng-tsu) crossed the river and besieged the capital, Emperor Chien-wen and all his attendants burned themselves to death. But it was said that he had escaped during the fire, and there was another rumour maintaining that the troops of the Prince of Szechwan came to the rescue of the Emperor and brought him away in secret. [Emperor T'ai-tsung] was suspicious of these sayings, so he sent Hu Ying to tour the empire with the pretext of searching for the Immortal Chang. In fact it was Emperor Chien-wen for whom he searched.

Cheng Hsiao also expresses the same view in his Chin-yen, as he writes:

Emperor Ch'eng-tsu sent Hu Ying, the Chief Supervising Secretary of Rites, under the pretext of looking for Chang La-t'a, to search for the former emperor.

The above quotations serve to show that Ming writers generally averred that the mission of Hu was solely to discover the former emperor and the search for the strange Taoist, Chang San-feng, was

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174 See Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 33/17b (cf. Note 28).
175 Chen-tse chi-wen (1551 ed.), 1/3b-4a.
176 Chin-yen, 3/12a.
merely a cover, but I think that this is not entirely true. Hu's
delation was aimed at more than one goal. In this regard the Ming-
shih presents a more objective view as the Biography of Hu Ying shows:

After the death of Emperor Hui-ti (i.e., Emperor Chien-wen) in a fire (in 1402), there was some rumour maintaining that he was still alive and was in refuge with a large number of his former ministers. The Emperor (Ch'eng-tsu) was suspicious about this. In the fifth year of Yung-lo (1407), [the Emperor sent Hu] Ying to go through all main cities, towns and villages to issue copies of imperial publications and to seek the immortal Chang La-t'a, while secretly investigating the whereabouts of Emperor Chien-wen.177

It is disclosed here that there is a threefold purpose for Hu's tour of many years. First and foremost, his chief concern was to collect information about Emperor Chien-wen; secondly, he was to look for the immortal Chang San-feng; and last of all, he was responsible for promulgating the books issued by the Emperor.178 Of course, the third was only a subsidiary end. Like the expeditions of Cheng Ho, which utilized excessive amounts of resources, Hu's mission carried more than one aim. One of the prime but not necessarily the sole reason for Cheng Ho's being sent to the Western Ocean (which refers to present South-east Asia), was to ascertain whether the deposed Emperor Chien-wen had sought refuge overseas as was rumoured, while his other errand was to make a show of the magnificent power and riches of the Ming empire to neighbouring states for political as well as economical purposes.179 All these

177 MS, 163/394.
178 The issuance of the books proclaimed by the Emperor is also mentioned in the 'Li-pu shang-shu chih-shih tseng t'ai-pao shih Chung-an Hu-kung Ying shen-tao pei-ming', the epitaph of Hu Ying composed by Li Hsien, which reads, 'At that time there was a book called Hsing-li ta-ch'uan 性理大全 issued by the Emperor, which is a collection of stories about performing virtues and examples of retribution and filial piety. When it was completed, [the Emperor dictated] Master [Hu Ying] to go to preach moral exhortation to the people basing on that book', see Kuo-ch'ao hsien-ch'eng lu, 33/17b-18a.
179 For a comprehensive account of the maritime expeditions of Cheng Ho, see Paul Pelliot, 'Les grandes voyages maritimes chinois au début de XVe siècle', T'oung-pao, XXX (1933), pp. 237-452. This article was translated into Chinese by Feng Ch'eng-ch'un 風承權 with the
are clearly indicated in the Biography of Cheng Ho in the Ming-shih which contains the following passage:

Emperor Ch'eng-tsu suspected that Emperor Hui-ti had absconded overseas, so he tried to trace the latter's whereabouts, [at the same time] he wished to display the military strength of the empire to foreign states and to manifest the prosperity of China. In the sixth month of the third year of Yung-lo (1405), Cheng Ho and his peer Wang Ch'ing-hung were ordered to act as envoys to promote relations with the countries in the Western Ocean.180

Likewise, I maintain that Hu's long-standing search for Chang San-feng was not merely an empty pretext as is often claimed, for the source material at hand indicates that Emperor Ch'eng-tsu was sincere in extending his invitation to San-feng to come to court. In the T'ai-yehe-t'ai-ho-shan chih, compiled by Jen Tzu-yuan, we have already seen how Emperor Ch'eng-tsu displayed his admiration of the Taoist by sending incense and an imperial letter to the latter.181 Apart from Hu Ying, the Emperor dispatched other delegates to carry out the mission, as has already been shown in the discussion of Lau Tien's 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan' in Chapter 1, Chu Hsiang, a palace attendant, was to accompany Hu in his tour to search for San-feng.182

179 (contd)

The title, Cheng Ho hsia hsi-yang k'ao and other studies on the topic, see Hsiang Ta, 'San-pao t'ai-chien hsia hsi-yang ti chi-chung tsu-liao' and Ta-yehe-men hsiao ching, compiled by Jen Tzu-yuan, in the translation of the passage, see Chapter 1, p.4.

180 MS, 304/755.

181 See T'ai-yehe-t'ai-ho-shan chih (Hand-copied volume), 6/15a-b. For translation of the passage, see Chapter 1, p.4.

182 See Kuo-oh'ao hsien-cheng lu, 118/110a; cf. also Mano Sentyu, 'Mindai no Butōzan to Kangan no shinshutsu' in Sho wa no Yosan, No.22 (Tokyo, 1963), pp.29-44.
Lu Shen's Yu-t'ang man-pí, others who joined the company of Hu included Chang Ch'ao-yung, the Chan-shih-fu chu-pu 詹事府主簿 (Secretary of the Supervisorate of Imperial Instruction) who is also mentioned above in a legendary account of San-feng. In Yang I's Kao-p'o i-tsuan, more names are mentioned: Jen I-yü, the Tao-Lu 道錄 (Taoist Registrar), and Yang Yung-chi 揚永吉, the Commander of Min-chou-wei 城州衛 (Kansu). According to the Biography of Hu Ying in Ming-shih, Hu began his repeated tours in 1407 and continued for ten years until 1416, but finally failed. The Emperor, however, was not to relinquish his hope, in the following year in 1417, he again sent Su Ch'ìn 蘇欽, a medical officer of Pao-chi to bring along incense and an imperial letter to travel among celebrated mountains to look for San-feng. At the same time, some Taoist priests from Mount Lung-hu 龍虎山 were also dispatched to implement the imperial will. In fact, according to Yu-t'ang man-pí, as early as in 1405 Emperor Ch'eng-tsu had already sent Wang Tsung-tao 王宗道, a native of Huai-an 淮安, Kiangsu, who claimed to be an acquaintance of San-feng, to go in search of San-feng for ten long years. If this information is reliable, Emperor Ch'eng-tsu started to search for San-feng even before he sent Hu Ying to carry out his tours with their two-fold or threefold purpose in 1407. In addition, at the same time that Hu Ying was touring the empire, another religious leader, Chang Yu-ch'u

183 Yu-t'ang man-pí, p.9a. The legend which associates San-feng with Chang Ch'ao-yung is found in pp.7b-8a of the work. For rendering of the account, see Chapter 1, p.17.
184 Kao-p'o i-tsuan, shang/2a.
185 MS, 169/394.
186 Yu-t'ang man-pí, p.8a.
187 Ibid., p.8b.
張嵩初 (d. 1410),\(^{188}\) the forty-third Celestial Master of the Cheng-i 正 sect,\(^{189}\) was also entrusted with the task of looking for the mysterious figure. It is recorded in the Han t'ien-shih shih-chia\(^{190}\) which includes the biographies of hereditary Celestial Masters, as the text runs:

In the cyclic year \(wu-tzu \) 子 (sixth year of Yung-lo, 1408), [Emperor Ch'eng-tsung] issued an imperial decree [to dispatch Chang Yu-ch'u to go] to invite the true immortal Chang San-feng [to court]. In the [following] year \(chi-chou \) 周 (seventh year of Yung-lo, 1409), [the Emperor] again ordered [Chang Yu-ch'u] to seek Chang San-feng.\(^{191}\)

In view of the many delegates, some sent simultaneously and including Taoist priests and leaders, dispatched to seek San-feng and summon him to the imperial audience, there is reason to believe that Emperor Ch'eng-tsung was sincere in his wish to meet the famed Taoist.

\(^{188}\) A biography of Chang is seen in the Han t'ien-shih shih-chia 漢天師世家, TT 1066, 3/27b-29b. There is also a short account of him under the biography of his father, Chang Cheng-ch'eng 張正常 (1335-1377), the forty-second Celestial Master, in MS, 299/742.

\(^{189}\) Cheng-i or Proper-One sect is the traditional and orthodox religious Taoism created by Chang Tao-ling 張道陵, the first Celestial Master, during the mid-second century. It was in 1304 that the title of Cheng-i chiao-chu 正一教主 (Patriarch of the Proper-One sect) was conferred upon Chang Yu-ts'ai 張與齊, the thirty-eighth Celestial Master, by Emperor Ch'eng-tsung 孫曾 (reigned 1295-1307) of the Yuan dynasty, see Yuan-shih, 202/455-6. For the study of the Cheng-i sect, see Ch'en Yü-k'o 陳履謙, 'T'ien-shih-tao yü pin-hai ti-yü chih kuan-hsi 天師道教淺海地域之關係, Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, Vol.3 No.4 (1933), pp.439-66; Sun K'o-k'uan 孫克見, Yuan-tai Tao-chiao chih fa-chan 元代道教之發展 (Tunghai University 東海大學, Taichung, 1968), pp.1-74; Holmes Welch, 'The Chang T'ien-shih and Taoism in China', Journal of Oriental Studies, Vol.IV Nos.1/2 (1957-8), pp.198-212.

\(^{190}\) Han t'ien-shih shih-chia, TT 1066, was initially compiled by Chang Cheng-ch'ang, including the biographies of the first to the forty-first Celestial Masters. The draft was collated and published by Chang Yu-ch'u who added the biography of the forty-second Celestial Master (i.e., Chang Cheng-ch'ang) to it. The Biographies of the forty-third to the forty-ninth Celestial Masters were added by Chang Kuo-hsiang 楊國祥 (fl. 1577-1607), the fiftieth heir to the patriarchship of the sect, in 1607.

\(^{191}\) Ibid., 3/29a.
These sentiments can further be gleaned from the imperial letter presented to Chang San-feng on the tenth day of the second month of the tenth year of Yung-lo (1412):

The Emperor respectfully presents this letter to the true immortal Chang San-feng: I have long admired the true immortal and aspire to have the privilege of your presence. I have therefore dispatched delegations going through every sacred mountain to present incense and a letter to you. With sincerity I beg to invite you to court. You, the true immortal, are high in virtue, surpassing all creations, and being mysterious and unfathomable, you can comply with the nature. As for myself, I am lax and lacking in special talents, and I have little virtue. However, I am sincere in my desire to see you and this aspiration never slackens by day or night. Now once again, I reverently send envoys to offer you incense and a letter to extend my whole-hearted invitation to you. Respectfully I shall await the crane chariot and wind carriage that will mark your arrival which will be an honour to me and which will satisfy my earnest aspiration. Hereby I forward with great respect the letter to you. 192

Also, the Emperor expresses similar sentiments in his poem dedicated to the Taoist priest Sun Pi-yün193 on the sixth day of the third month in the same year (1412) in which he delivered the imperial letter to San-feng. There are two lines in this poem which read:

If you meet the true immortal Chang who has attained high achievement in the cultivation of the Way (i.e. Chang San-feng), Tell him that I am longing for his arrival and always thinking of him.194

Apart from the above quotations, another endeavour of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu shows that he was sincere in the search of San-feng. In 1412 the Emperor demanded the building of a Taoist altar at Mount Wu-tang as a token of honour to San-feng, and once again, the incumbency fell on Sun Pi-yün. The order was stated in an imperial edict issued on the sixth day of the third month of the year:

192 See T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, 2/4b. The imperial letter is also included in Lan T'ien's 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan', op. cit., pp.100a-b; Yu-t'eng san-pi, pp.6a-b; Kuo-p'o t-tsuan, shang/3a; Huang Ming yung-hua lei-pien, 131/9b-10a; and Ming-shu, 160/3152.

193 For the biography of Sun, see Note 77.

194 T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, 2/6a.
I have heard that the Yü-chên Monastery at Mount Wu-tang is in fact the place where the crane carriage of the true immortal travels, so it needs to be much respected. Now I would like to establish an altar there in an effort to extend my sincere admiration [to the true immortal]. You (i.e. Sun Pi-yûn) please go there to investigate the site, study its dimensions and then set up a plan, and report to me all these things. I will divine a day to start the construction. You must observe thoroughly my desire and exert all your efforts to assist me in accomplishing this task...

This operation is also mentioned in other sources, for instance, in the T'ai-yüeh chih 太嶽志, compiled by Fang Sheng during the Chia-ching period, which states:

[Yü-hsû 玉虛] Monastery was on the former site of Yü-chên Monastery in the north of Chan-ch'i 來旗 Peak, and was the place where immortal Chang San-feng [stayed]. As Emperor Wen-huang 文皇 196 had searched for [San-feng] in every place but in vain, so he enlarged the Yü-chên Monastery which was then employed as a place for invoking blessings [from the immortal].

Therefore, as we have seen, the sincere wish of the Emperor to seek San-feng was genuine. But what prompted the search? Was it plainly fervent adoration on the part of the Emperor? This is the apparent reason as stated in the imperial letter and the poem given to Sun Pi-yûn. However, the matter is not so simple. After careful study of the circumstances, it may be deduced that two reasons accounted for the Emperor's costly action, namely, a desire to boost the worship of Hsûan-ti or the Dark God, and to search for the elixir of life. The following discussion elaborates these points.

The discussion in Chapter 1 of the renovation of the monasteries at Mount Wu-tang in 1412 198 has already made clear that Emperor

195 Ibid., p.5a.
196 Wen-huang is a shortened form of the temple title of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, which is 'T'ai-tsung wen-huang-ti', cf. Note 7.
197 See T'ai-yüeh chih, under 'Yü-hsû-kung liu-t'u shu' 玉虛宮六圖記, included in Ming-shan sheng-k'ai chi 山勝燕記 (1633 ed.), 28/10b.
198 See Chapter 1, pp.21-3.
Ch'eng-tsu was an ardent adorer of the Dark God, in fact, he had always professed that the stellar deity had helped in the founding of the Ming empire as well as in his revolt against the throne. Such an

There is no direct allusion to the legendary saying that Emperor T'ai-tsu was helped by the Dark God in records relating to the Emperor. Only in the Basic Annals of Emperor T'ai-tsu, I, MS, 1/12, there is the following account, 'In spring, the second month of the twelfth year of Chih-cheng (1352), Kuo Tzu-hsing 胡子興, from Ting-yuan (Anhwei), and his partisan Sun Te-yai 孫德崖 started a revolt in Hao-chou 滁州 (Anhwei). The Mongol general Ch'e-li-pu-hua 徵里不多 was scared and instead of sending troops to subdue the insurgents, he just arrested some innocent common people every day [and accused that they were rebels]. He was able to gain award by doing thus. At that time Emperor T'ai-tsu was twenty-four years old, and was making plans to run away from the disorders. But when he went to divine for the future, the sign showed that it was inauspicious for him to stay or leave. He then asked, "Does it mean that I have to raise troops and start a campaign?" This time the omen was auspicious, so he was very pleased...and went to see [Kuo] Tzu-hsing...'. But here there is not the faintest allusion to the Dark God. The story of the stellar deity helping Emperor Ch'eng-tsu in his revolt is mentioned in many places, for instance, Kao Tai 高泰 (1550 chin-saih) wrote in his Huang-yu lu 河獻錄, 'Emperor Ch'eng-tsu asked Yao Kuang-hsiao 姚光孝 many times the date to raise the troops, but Yao always said it was not yet time. Until the day before they started the campaign, [Yao] said, "There will be celestial troops coming tomorrow at the Wu hour (11 a.m. to 1 p.m.), then we can start the campaign." When the time came, all the Emperor's army could see that there were armoured troops marching up in the air and they were led by a commander who resembled the Dark God. Thereupon Emperor Ch'eng-tsu responded, he dishevelled his hair and took up the sword..." See Huang-yu lu (Ch'i-lu hui-pien, ed.), 7/10a. Also, the Biography of Yao Kuang-hsiao in the Ming-shu records, '[Emperor T'ai-tsung] then asked about the date to start the campaign, [Yao] said, "Not yet, we have to wait for my helper to come." [The Emperor] asked, "Who will come to help?" [Yao] answered, "My master." After several days, [Yao] came to the Emperor and said, "We can start the campaign now." Thereupon they plotted to invite Chang Ping and Hsieh Kuei to the banquet, during which they attacked Chang and Hsieh suddenly and killed them. Then Chang YU 崔 玉 and Chu Meng were sent to order the guards to capture the nine gates of the city of Peking. Afterwards the Emperor's troops went out to offer sacrifices to the banners (setting off ceremony), when they saw, among the numerous flags which covered the sky, someone up in the air who had his hair dishevelled. On seeing this, the Emperor asked, "What god is this?" [Yao] answered, "This is the master whom I mentioned before. He is God Hsuan-wu." Thus Emperor T'ai-tsung imitated the appearance [of the god] by disheveling his hair and wielding the sword..." see Ming-shu, 150/3156-7.
allegation is not uncommon in history. For example, Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 (reigned 627-649), the able ruler of the T'ang dynasty, was also said to have enlisted the assistance of the Vaisravana 昆沙門 or To-wen t'ien-wang 多聞天王, the God of the North, during the war of pacification in the founding of the T'ang empire. Moreover, in some Tantric texts, the deity was alleged to have appeared again when the city of Ar-hsi 安西 in Kansu was besieged by the troops of five states in 742 during the reign of Emperor Hsuan-tsung. Such legends had long been exploited by the ruling class to dramatize the establishment of a new regime or as propaganda to boast that they were favoured by Heaven. As for Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, his marked addiction to Taoist occult practices might have given Yao Kuang-hsiao, who was instrumental in instigating the usurpation, a ground to use magical craft to strengthen the future Emperor's will to start the revolt. Meanwhile, we can see that Emperor Ch'eng-tsu had either accepted the saying or himself had fabricated the anecdote in which the Dark God was said to have helped his father Emperor T'ai-tsu to override rival forces during the turbulent years at the fall of the Mongol empire, as he said in the epigraph, 'Yu-chih T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan tao-kung chih-pei' 衝模太嶽太和山道宮之碑, which he composed in memory of

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201 Emperor Ch'eng-tsu was very much infatuated with sorcerers. For instance, Chin Chung 金忠 was summoned to divine when the Emperor, then Prince of Yen, was about to raise his troops against the throne. See Biography of Chin, MS, 150/354. For an account of the Emperor's belief in divination, see Liu Ts'un-yan, *The Penetration of Taoism into the Ming Neo-Confucianist Elite*, *T'oung-pao*, Vol. LVII Nos. 1-4 (1971), pp. 31-102, in particular pp. 76-7.

202 This view is maintained by Yang Ch'i-ch'iao 杨啟樵, see his "Ming-tai chu-ti chih ch'ung-shang Fang-chu chi chi'i ying-hsiang" 明代諸帝王墓志方書及其影響, *New Asia College Academic Annual* 新亞書院學術年刊, Vol. IV (Hong Kong, 1952), p. 84.
the rebuilding of the monasteries on Mount Wu-tang:

My late father, T'ai-tsu kao-huang-ti (i.e. Emperor T'ai-tsu) conquered the country with a troop, and the deity (i.e. the Dark God) manifested his bright and magnificent divine power to help [the Emperor] in secret. When I raised the righteous troops to pacify the domestic disorders, the God also guided at my side...203

Also, in his inscription on the Chen-wu Monastery, entitled the 'Yu-chih chen-wu-niao pei 御製真武廟碑, he wrote:

Formerly my late father, T'ai-tsu kao-huang-ti, who was in his prime, just like the dragon on the wing, was able to pacify the empire. Apparently he was helped by competent and resourceful ministers and warriors, but in fact it was the God who supported him...205

In his devotion to the Dark God, which might also be a veil used to cover his triumphant rebellion and to appease the agitation of the people against his illegitimate rule, there would be a high possibility that Emperor Ch'eng-tsu was informed of the wide currency of the name of Chang San-feng who was said to be a worshipper of the Dark God as well.206 This might have prompted the Taoist inclined Emperor to seek San-feng, so as to boost the worship of the Dark God, their common idol, for this would surely impress the general public that he was sincere in

203 This epigraph is included in the Ta Ming hsuan-t'ien shang-ti jui-ying t'w-lu 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄, TT 608, p.2a.
204 This is derived from a line in the I-ching 易經, under the explanation of the separate lines of the Ch'ien 戰 hexagram. The full text is, 'In the fifth line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon on the wing in the sky. It will be advantageous to meet with the great man.' 九五: 龍在天, 利見大人 For this quotation, see James Legge, The Yi King, in Sacred Books of the East (Oxford University Press, Clarendon, 1882), Vol.XVI, p.57.
205 This inscription was composed in the eighth month of the thirteenth year of the Yung-lo period (1415) and is appended to the Ta Ming hsuan-t'ien shang-ti jui-ying t'w-lu. It has separate pagination. For the quotation cited here, see TT 608, pp.1a-8.
206 In some of the records, Chang San-feng was said to worship Hsuan-ti (the Dark God). For instance, the T'ai-yush-t'ai-ho-shan chih writes, 'In the early years of the Hung-wu period, [San-feng] arrived at Mount Wu-tang and worshipped the deity Hsuan-ti at T'ien-chu Penk.' See (Hand-copied volume), 6/14b.
his worship of the deity since he would respect anyone who had the same persuasion as himself. I think this is one of the two reasons why the Emperor was inclined towards San-feng.

Another reason why Emperor Ch'eng-tsu was so anxious to search for Chang San-feng is that, as he advanced in years, he was inflicted with chronic disease. It was therefore very natural that, with his penchant for Taoist practices, he would be under the illusion that Chang San-feng, a famous Taoist figure credited with extraordinary powers, could prescribe him some of the magical medicine that would prolong his life or at least release him from suffering. According to extant records, the Emperor began to fall sick in the fifteenth year of the Yung-lo period (1417), as Yang Shih-ch'i 楊士奇 (1365-1444), the renowned statesman who served as prime minister for three reigns, reported in his 'Liang Yung-ch'i mu-chien-ming' 梁用之墓碣銘, a tomb inscription of Liang Ch'ien 梁潛 (alias Liang Yung-ch' i 梁用之, 1366-1418), saying:

In the fifteenth year of the Yung-lo reign (1417), the carriages of the imperial tour were in Peking, while Emperor Jen-tsung 燕詠 (the conventional residence for the Heir Apparent) and took charge of the administration of the government in Nanking... As His Majesty (i.e. Emperor Ch'eng-tsu) was sick, and the two capital cities (Peking and Nanking) were several thousand li apart, so the sons of the royal concubines 景惠, Prince of Chao Chao, and Prince of Chao Chao Chao. (For both of them, see MS, 118/294). They were the Emperor's favourites, especially Kao-hsan, as he had contributed much to the success of the revolt against Emperor Chien-wen. There was a scramble for succession among the princes, and the younger two were in league with the eunuchs to frame the Heir Apparent, later

207 Biography of Yang, MS, 148/351-2.
208 Biography of Liang, MS, 152/358, under the Biography of Tsou Chi 鄭濟.
209 Emperor Jen-tsung, whose name was Chu Kao-chih 朱高熾, was the eldest son of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu and the Heir Apparent. He was enthroned in 1426 but died in the ensuing year. He was given the temple title 'Jen-tsung'. See Basic Annals of Emperor Jen-tsung, MS, 8/22.
210 These refer to Emperor Cheng-tsu's other two sons, Chu Kao-hsan 朱高煦, Prince of Han 漢王, and Chu Kao-sui 朱高燧, Prince of Chao 郝王. (For both of them, see MS, 118/294). They were the Emperor's favourites, especially Kao-hsan, as he had contributed much to the success of the revolt against Emperor Chien-wen. There was a scramble for succession among the princes, and the younger two were in league with the eunuchs to frame the Heir Apparent, later
became disloyal and conspired [against the Heir Apparent]. Having
associated with the catamites in the court, they employed deceitful
means to undermine the position [of the Heir Apparent]... 211

Another mention of the grave condition of health of Emperor Ch'eng-
tsu after the fifteenth year of the Yung-lo reign is seen in the San-
ch'ao sheng-yu lu 三朝聖諭錄, also by Yang Shih-ch'i, and is a
record of imperial decisions made with the participation of the premier
himself during the reigns of Yung-lo, Hung-hai 洪熙, and Hsuan-te
宣德 (the latter two are reign titles of Emperors Jen-tsung and
Hsuan-tsung) which he served:

One day in the sixth month [of the third year of Hsuan-te (1428)],
after the morning audience was held, the Emperor (Hsuan-tsung)
summoned Yang Jung 楊景 (1371-1440) and myself to the Wen-hua
Hall 文華門. [The Emperor] ordered the kuang-lu 光禄
(Officer of the Imperial Entertainments) to confer food [on us],
and after that, His Majesty said, 'There is something that the three
of us should discuss. The capital ought to be the place of origin
of the practice of the virtue of uprightness, and the courtiers in
my ancestors' (i.e. former emperors) time were not crafty at all.
But in recent years avarice and corruption permeated the court.
What is the cause of this?' I then answered, 'Corruptible
practices began in the later years of the Yung-lo period, but it
is more severe nowadays.' His Majesty asked, 'What happened in the
Yung-lo period?' I replied, 'After the fifteenth or sixteenth
year of the Yung-lo reign, Emperor T'ai-tsung was in ill health and
often he did not attend court. Thus his retinue of officials
became unscrupulous, without any fear of the law, and requests for
special favours and bribery were carried out openly and recklessly.
... 212

Moreover, in other records it is apparent that Emperor Ch'eng-tsu
was prone to take the draughts as prescribed, so it was believed, by the
gods of the Ling-chi Monastery 靈濟宮. 213 This is mentioned in the

210 (contd)
Emperor Jen-tsung. See Basic Annals of Emperor Jen-tsung in MS, op.
cit.

211 This tomb inscription is included in the collected works of Yang,
Tung-li wen-chi 東里文集 (Chia-ching ed.), 17/6b-7a.

212 Quoted in Wang Ch'ung-wu, 'K'ing Ch'eng-tsu yü fang-shih' 明成祖
與方士, Chung-kuo she-hui ch'ing-chi shih chi-k' an 中國社會

213 At first the Ling-chi Monastery was built in honour of the Hsü
brothers in Fukien in 983. In 1417 when Emperor Ch'eng-tsu was
cured by the medicine prescribed by the gods of the monastery, he
Biography of Yuan Chung-ch'e 袁忠徹 (1376-1458), who was versed in physiognomy, in the Ming-shih which reads:

Chou Na (周納), a Li-pu Lang-chung (禮部郎中) (Director of a bureau of the Ministry of Rites), returned from Fukien and reported that the local people there worshipped the [Hsü] brothers, Hsü Chih-o 徐知誨 and Hsü Chih-hui 徐知誡 (Hui should read Cheng [執]) 214 who were very powerful. The Emperor (i.e. Ch'eng-tsung) then ordered Chou to go once again [to Fukien] and bring back the shrine of the gods and invite the abbot [of the monastery there in Fukien] to come to [Peking]. Another Ling-chi Monastery was built in the capital to worship the Hsü brothers. Whenever the Emperor fell sick, he would send officers to ask the gods about his disease. The abbot forged a prescription and lied that it was from the gods and forwarded it to the Emperor. As the medicine so prescribed contained mostly high temperature elements, when the Emperor took it, phlegm blocked his windpipe and caused malfunction of his respiratory system. He became violent in temper and eventually lost his voice. But no one from inside or outside the court dared to forward admonition about this. One day, [Yuan] Chung-ch'e came to attend the Emperor and he remonstrated, saying, 'That the fire of the phlegm goes empty and reverts in the yang direction is in fact a symptom caused by the medicine [prescribed by the gods].' [On hearing this], the Emperor was angry and said, 'Should I not take the medicine prescribed by the gods and yet take those ordinary drugs?'...215

It appears that Emperor Ch'eng-tsung had full confidence in the curative power of the medicine prescribed by spiritual communication, as the Hung-en ling-chi ch'en-ch'un shih-shih 洪恩靈濟真君事實 contains works by him in which he lavishes praises on the powers of the gods worshipped in the Ling-chi Monastery. For example, there is an

213 (contd)
ordered to build a Ling-chi Monastery in Peking which modelled on the one in Fukien. For a short history of the construction of the Ling-chi Monastery in Peking, see T'ai-tsung shih-lu, under the entry for the hsün-ah'ou 月 火 day of the third month of 1417 (Ming-shih-lu ed.), 186/3a-b.

214 The Hsü brothers were the sons of Hsü Wen 徐温 (d. 927), a warlord during the Five Dynasties. The brothers were dispatched to Fukien on a military expedition. They were worshipped by the people there after their death as their gods were regarded as efficacious. They were officially canonized during the reign of Emperor Li-tsung of the Souther Sung, see Hsü-hsien ch'en-zi 徐仙真錄, a book dealing with these gods, SS 1086, 1/14b and 1/18a. For other works relating to the Hsü brothers in the SS, see Nos. 264-5, 1011, 1012 and 1063-5. For the worship of the Hsü brothers, see Liu Ts'un-yen, 'The Penetration of Taoism into the Ming Neo-Confucianist Elite', pp. 48-9.

215 MS, 299/741.
inscription, composed by the Emperor himself in 1417, entitled the 'Yu-chih ling-chi kung pei' 御製靈濟宮碑:

Formerly I was not feeling well, and had taken all sorts of medicine but in vain. [Fortunately] the gods had in secret exercised their divine power to safeguard my body without deserting me for even an instant. Whenever I invoked help there would be a response, and the proofs of efficacy were many. [For by taking] the spiritual charms and heavenly medicine granted to me, I recovered from a critical state, I fell and yet I was raised again. The gods had revived me and the graces bestowed on me were indeed grand and abundant.216

This may be sufficient to show that the ailing Emperor was strongly addicted to the drugs prescribed by the gods. As the name of Chang San-feng enjoyed wide currency and he was said to have possessed supernatural power, the Emperor would certainly be interested to see him since he would hope to obtain from him the elixir of life or some magical medicine that was efficacious. I think this is possibly one of the grounds for the Emperor's wish to summon the Taoist to court, albeit there is no direct indication in historical statement. According to Lu Shen's Yu-t'ang man-pi, in the year 1417, the Emperor sent a medical officer of Pao-chi, Su Ch'in, to go over the sacred mountains to look for Chang San-feng (see p.53). The fact that the very year for the dispatch is that year in which the old sovereign began to be afflicted with chronic disease and that the person he chose was a medical officer should merit attention. This must be more than mere coincidence and I venture the guess that the expeditions to seek San-feng, especially those forwarded around 1417, partly originated from his disease and his search for the elixir.

In spite of his continuous efforts, the Emperor never received in audience the famous Taoist. This has already been pointed out early in

the Biography of Chang San-feng in the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih. However, in some of the later accounts it is recorded that San-feng did make his appearance before the hopeful monarch, for example, Hsu Chen-ch'ing recounts the meeting in his I-lin, and the 1576 edition of the Nan-yang fu chih states:

At that time Emperor Yung-lo reigned and showed great respect in inviting [San-feng] to court. [San-feng] came to visit the Emperor and then left suddenly.

In the Ying-chou chih (1608 edition), there is a biography of Chang San-feng which reads:

When Emperor Yung-lo was [raising the troops] to pacify the internal disorders, one day [San-feng] was washing his cassock himself and as he washed he yelled aloud, saying, 'The invitation is coming, the invitation is coming!' All the other people laughed and thought that he was out of his mind. Next day, the invitation [from the Emperor] really came, and San-feng met the Emperor in Hsi-chou (Kiangsu). Five years [after their meeting], the Emperor sent Hu Ying to seek San-feng, because he longed to see him.

But care must be taken in using records which appear after the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, as they are full of fictitious embellishment and the reliability of the information given therein is in question. The dynastic history of the Ming period, Ming-shih, was completed in 1736 at a much later date than the above quoted local histories were compiled, and very possibly the compilers of the Ming-shih came across the

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217 T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih (Hand-copied volume), 5/15b; cf. also Chapter 1, p.4 for the translation.

218 See Note 84 for translation of the passage in I-lin which depicts the meeting of San-feng and Emperor Ch'eng-tsu. The original text is in I-lin, pp.8a-b.


220 Ying-chou chih (1608 ed.), hsia/80a.

221 This refers particularly to I-lin and Ying-chou chih. As has already been pointed out in Chapter 1, the account of San-feng in I-lin is full of discrepancies (see Note 84). The Ying-chou chih, also discussed earlier, is even less reliable as there is a strong possibility that the biographer mistook a certain Chang Ku-shan for Chang San-feng. For greater detail, see discussion in pp.32-3.
aforementioned sources, and yet they did not endorse the allegation that San-feng met the Emperor. Thus serious scholars did not believe the narrative was true.

To recapitulate the foregoing discussion on the search for San-feng by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, we have grounds to believe that when Emperor Ch'eng-tsu was dispatching his officers to collect information about Emperor Chien-wen, who was rumoured to have fled after the capital fell to the rebellious troops, at the same time, the Emperor was also looking for Chang San-feng. There is also the possibility that the Emperor was sincere in inviting the Taoist figure, for he had special purposes in doing so, and therefore the expeditions headed by Hu Ying were not solely concerned with Emperor Chien-wen as many Ming writers openly state or implicitly suggest. It is indisputable that Emperor Ch'eng-tsu exerted great efforts to search for San-feng. However, this does not necessarily imply that the figure really did exist. For there is a possibility that Chang San-feng was merely a legendary figure and Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, who was strongly fascinated by Taoist practices and sorcerers, was misinformed or misled into believing that there was such a figure. But on the other hand, as there are so many records, most of them written by Ming authors, that depict the search for San-feng, then the possibility that this disputable figure, Chang San-feng, existed cannot be dismissed. Otherwise why would the sovereign have spent so much time and resources to look for him? Since it is as difficult to confute the historical existence of Chang San-feng as to prove his authenticity, after careful consideration of the medium of reliable sources at hand, it is safe to conclude for the present that there is a possibility that Chang San-feng

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222 The Biography of Chang San-feng in MS reads, 'They travelled all over the remote border areas, yet could not find him after several years of search.' See 299/741; cf. also translation of the biography in p.20.

223 See Note 201.
was an historical figure.

This possibility leads to another question. If Chang San-feng did really exist, when did he flourish? In the records we are confronted with various interpretations of the dating of his life. At the earliest, he is said to flourish in the Sung period, as Hsieh Chen-ch'ing asserts that in his I-lin.\textsuperscript{224} As shown in Chapter 1, the account in I-lin is indiscriminate and abounds in discrepancies, for San-feng (the designation Chang La-ta is used in the account) is said to be active in the Sung dynasty, while on the other hand he is alleged to have revealed himself in the early Ming period.\textsuperscript{225} Thus the statement in question is also unreliable.

It is interesting to see that more than a century after the death of Hsü in 1511, the eminent scholar, Huang Tsung-hsi 張宗義 (1610-1695), mentioned in his 'Wang Cheng-nan mu-chih-ming' 王征南墓誌銘 that there was a person by the name of Chang San-feng 張三 峯 (Feng 峯 means 'peak') who was skilled in boxing and flourished in the Sung dynasty. The following passage in the epitaph is noteworthy:

[In the art of boxing] there is the esoteric school which emphasizes the skill of subduing the movement of your opponent by remaining in repose, so that your opponent will collapse as soon as you lay your hand on him...This was originated by Chang San-feng of the Sung dynasty. San-feng was a Taoist priest at Mount Wu-tang. He was summoned by Emperor Hui-tsung to court. On his way he was confronted with obstructions and could proceed no further. [He stopped for the night] and dreamed of the Dark God who imparted to him the skill of boxing. In the following day, he was able to kill...

\textsuperscript{224} Besides I-lin, the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien also alleges that San-feng was born in the Sung period, as it reads, '...During the Yen-yu 逆胡 period (1314-1320), I (i.e. Chang San-feng) was sixty-seven years old...', see 21/6/4a. It implies that he was born around the 1250's, during the reign of Emperor Li-tsung of the Southern Sung. But since this collection of biographies of immortals is full of fabulous legends, the reliability of the aforementioned saying is in question.

\textsuperscript{225} See Note 64.
over one hundred bandits single-handed.\textsuperscript{226}

Also, the Biography of Chang Sung-ch'i 張松溪, who was skilled in boxing technique and flourished during the Chia-ch'ing period, contained in the\textit{Ning-po fu chih} 寧波府志,\textsuperscript{227} compiled by Ts'ao Ping-jen 曹秉仁 and others, attributes Chang San-feng with hand-to-hand fighting skill:

Chang Sung-ch'i, of the district of Yin 鄉 (present Ningpo, Chekiang) was versed in the skill of boxing, which he learned from Sun shih-san-lao 孫十三老 whose technique originated from Chang San-feng of the Sung dynasty. San-feng was a Taoist priest at Mount Wu-t'ang. He was summoned by Emperor Hui-tsung to court. [On the way] he was obstructed and could not proceed any further. [He stopped for the night] and dreamed of the Dark God who taught him boxing technique. The next day, he was able to kill a hundred bandits single-handed, and ever since then he was known far and near for his excellent boxing technique.\textsuperscript{228}

In the biographical accounts of the Taoist Chang San-feng, there is no direct statement that he was versed in boxing technique, though in some popular fictional accounts he was associated with\textit{T'ai-chi ch'uan} 太極拳 and was regarded as the founder of the school. But according to serious studies by contemporary scholars, there is no concrete evidence to vindicate the latter saying.\textsuperscript{229} As for the allegation that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{226} The epitaph of Wang Cheng-nan(d. 1669), who was a boxer, can be found in Huang Tsung-hai's \textit{Man-pei wen-t'ing ch'ien-chi} 南雷文定集 (Li-chou i-shu hui-k'ung 梨洲遺筆錄刊 ed., Shanghai, 1910), 8/2a.
\item \textsuperscript{227} Biography of Chang Sung-ch'i, \textit{Ning-po fu chih} (1741 revised ed., Taipei reprint, 1974), 31/12a-b. In the 1560 ed. of the \textit{Ning-po fu chih}, compiled by Chou Hai-che 周泰哲 and Chang Shih-ch'ie 張時徹, there is no information on Sung-ch'i.
\item \textsuperscript{228} Ibid., 31/12a.
\item \textsuperscript{229} See Tseng Chao-jan 曾昭箴,\textit{T'ai-chi ch'uan ch'uan-shu} 太極拳全書 (Hong Kong, 1965), pp.35-7; Chuang Shen 莊, 'Chung-kuo ku-t'ai t'ie-yu yun-tung hsu-t'ao' (hêa) 中國古代體育運動總論 (下), \textit{The Continent Magazine} 大陸雜誌, Vol.12 No.3 (1955), p.20; T'ang Hao 唐豪, and Ku Liu-hsing 劉錦生, \textit{T'ai-chi ch'uan yen-chiu} 太極拳研究 (Shanghai, 1963 ed., Hong Kong reprint), pp.14-6. It is asserted that \textit{T'ai-chi ch'uan} is equivalent to the esoteric school of boxing technique, see Chang San-feng \textit{wu-shu hui-t'ang} 張三丰武術淵源, edited by Hsiu Yung 許隆, (Taipei, 1968), p.3. However, Tseng Chao-jan and
San-feng was a prominent boxer in the Sung dynasty, Dr. Anna Seidel has suggested an explanation in her article on Chang San-feng. It was Chang Sung-ch'i, according to Dr. Anna Seidel, who fabricated the saying, in order to boost his esoteric school in its rivalry with the Buddhist boxers of the Shao-lin 少林 branch who traced their tradition back to Bodhidharma 達摩 (fl. 527-535). He therefore chose Chang San-feng whose cult prevailed in the early Ming period to be the patron saint of his school. There is of course another possibility that Chang San-feng was in fact a fabricated figure and he was identified with someone who had gained a pride of place in boxing circles during the Sung dynasty. However, since the existence of a boxer by the name of Chang San-feng cannot be attested in historical works written between the Sung and Ming periods, the explanation proposed by Dr. Anna Seidel may be accepted.

Chang San-feng is also said to have been born in the Chin period and studied together with Liu Ping-chung, the remarkable versatile statesman who was a close confidant of Khubilai Khan, during early Yuan times. After analysing the available sources which associate San-feng with Liu, it was concluded in Chapter 1 that Lu Shen was probably the first to assert the connection in his Yu-t'ang man-p". This was subsequently accepted by Ming-shan-ts'ang and later recorded in the

229 (contd)
ChuangShen have clearly expressed in their works that there is no definite relation between T'ai-chi Ch'uan and the esoteric school, no matter viewing from historical or technical standpoint.

230 See Anna Seidel, 'A Taoist Immortal of the Ming dynasty: Chang San-feng', p.505.

231 For biographical information on Liu, see Note 43.

Ming-shih kao and Ming-shih, only with much doubt, and in the local histories of the Ch'ing period, for instance, Shan-hsi t'ung-chih (1735 edition) and Feng-heiang fu chih (1766 edition). The assumption that San-feng flourished in the Chin and early Yuan periods hinged on the alleged association between him and Liu Ping-chung who was an historical figure with ascertainable dates. As already pointed out in Chapter 1, the association between the two figures is unfounded. It was very likely that Lu Shen derived the idea from Chu Yün-ming's Yeh-chi and made up the saying about San-feng and Liu. Thus the assumption that San-feng flourished in Chin and early Yuan times is also unlikely, just as the Ming-shih remarks, 'But all these facts cannot be verified.' However, it is interesting to find in some accounts, such as the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan' attributed to Lu Hsi-hsing, and 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan' composed by Wang Hsi-ling, the Taoist advocate of the Ch'ing period, that there are stories elaborating the activities of San-feng in early Yuan. Obviously these are attempts by the

233 The rendering of the relevant passages found in these three sources is seen in Chapter 1, p.16. For the original text, see Ming-shan-ts'ang, 7/3b; Ming-shih kao, 178/8b; and MS, 299/741.

234 Shan-hsi t'ung-chih (1735 ed.), 65/52b.

235 Feng-heiang fu chih (1766 ed.), 7/89b.

236 See discussion in Chapter 1, pp.13-6.

237 MS, 299/741.

238 The story in the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan' reads, '[Chang San-feng] when young was endowed with special qualities. When he grew up to be a man of many talents and skills, he went to travel in Yen-ching (present Peking) [where he met] his old friend, Liu Ping-chung, who upon seeing him was impressed [by his capabilities] and said, "You are really attributed with the qualities of an immortal!" Secretly he recommended [Chang San-feng into officialdom] and after a long period, [Chang] was appointed a magistrate of the impoverished and cold Chung-shan district (Hopeh)." See CGFCC, 1/6b (7649). The 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan' by Wang Hsi-ling relates the story of San-feng and another eminent statesman of the early Yuan period, Lien Hsi-hsien (first of the cyclical year, 1264)
biographers to strengthen the assertion that San-feng flourished at that
time and therefore should not be taken seriously.

It should also be pointed out that in Yang I's Kao-p'o i-teuan,
Jen Lo's Liao-tung chih and Teng Ch'iu's Huang Ming yung-hua let-pien,
Chang San-feng is said to be the fifth son of a person called Chang Chung-an.
We can see in Liu Ch'i's Kuei-chen-chih, his Hsüeh-ch'in-tsuan,
Jan Lo's Yoo-chung chih, and Teng Ch'iu's Huang Ming yung-hua tei-pien,
Chang San-feng is said to be the fifth son of a person called Chang Chung-an.

239 (contd)
of the Chih-yüan period, [Chang San-feng] went to travel in Yen-ching.
At that time the Mongols were establishing their government in the
Yen region (present Hopeh), and an imperial decree was expedited,
saying, "Those who have formerly been enlisted as the wen-hsueh is'ai-shih 文學才識 should wait for recruitment". [Thereupon] he
sojourned in the city of Yen and his fame grew as time went by.
Eventually he came to the acquaintance of Lien Hsi-hsien, the P'ing-chang cheng-shih 平章政事 (Chief Administrator in the
Secretariat), who was impressed by his talent and memorialized the
court recommending [San-feng] to fill a vacancy as the district
magistrate of Po-ling in Chung-shan. So [San-feng] set off
to take up the post. See CSPCC, 1/85 (7650).

238 There is a tendency among the Ch'ing admirers of Chang San-feng, such
as Wang Hsi-ling, to claim that San-feng was a few hundred years old,
so as to enhance his prestige. The saying started by Lu Shen was a
convenience to them, and the stories quoted in Note 238 were
fabricated to serve the purpose of mythicizing Chang San-feng.

240 It has already been pointed out when discussing the biographical
accounts of San-feng in Chapter 1 that the source of information of
the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan' and 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan' is extremely unreliable and these works should therefore be viewed
with utmost care and reservation, see Chapter 1, pp.41-2.

241 For this saying, see Kao-p'o i-teuan, shang/2a; Liao-tung chih (1537
ed.), 6/473; and Huang Ming yung-hua let-pien, 131/9a.

Chang Chung-an, the Hanlin scholar, whose tsu was Chin-ch' en It, was a native of Yen-shan (Hopeh). He came first in the subject ta' u-fu (writing of poems) [during the State Examination] in the sixth year of the Chen-yu period of the reign of Emperor Hsuan-tsung (reigned 1213-1223) of the Chin dynasty. He was modest and discreet and observed [Confucian] principles, so he was praised by his contemporaries. His prose writing was lucid and precise, and he was especially good at composing poems. He was already a well-known figure when he was a student at the national university, and [after the State Examination] he served in the Hanlin Academy. But he passed away before he completed his term there and the scholars felt pity for the loss.244

So Chang Chung-an was a scholar in the Chin period, and if he was really the father of Chang San-feng, as is alleged in the Kao-p'o i-tsuwan and other records, then it is a strong support for Lu Shen's assertion that San-feng flourished in the Chin and early Yuan times. However, the reliability of the saying is doubtful, as a perceptible discrepancy exists in the three records in which the saying is mentioned, as can be shown by using Kao-p'o i-tsuwan as an example.245 First of all, the alleged resurrection of San-feng is also recorded here thus:

During the late Yuan period, [San-feng] stayed at the Ch'in-t'ai Monastery in Pao-chi. Suddenly [one day] he left behind a hymn and passed away.246

Secondly, the author writes several lines after the above quotation:

243 The Chen-yu period (1213-1216) lasted for only four years. But in the Ku'i-ch'ien-chih it says the 'sixth year', there may be typographical error in the numerical figure.

244 Ku'i-ch'ien-chih (Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kwan 筆記小說大觀 ed., Shanghai), 5/1b.

245 The account of San-feng in Kao-p'o i-tsuwan is based on that in the I-chou chih which may no longer be extant (see Note 34), and very possibly Liao-tung chih which was revised in 1537 also obtained information from the same source as Kao-p'o i-tsuwan. As for the Huang Ming yung-hua lei- pien which appeared much later than the above two records in 1570 was evidently a combination of the information found in the T'ai-yeh-tai-ho-shan chih and Kao-p'o i-tsuwan.

246 Kao-p'o i-tsuwan, shang/2a. In other records, the alleged resurrection is said to occur during the twenty-sixth year of the Hung-wu period (1393), see Lan T'ien, 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan', op. cit., p.110a; Ming-shih kao, 176/8a; and NS, 299/71.
In the later part of the T'ien-shun period, sometimes he hid and sometimes he showed himself. It is sheer absurdity to assert that someone could live from the Chin to the T'ien-shun period of the Ming dynasty, as more than two centuries elapsed in between. Since the author was irrational in recording this discrepancy, it is justified to raise doubts regarding the verity of his statement concerning Chang Chung-an and San-feng, which might well be another unfounded allegation. Moreover, San-feng was generally regarded as coming from I-chou of Liaotung, whereas, according to the Kuei-ch'ien-chih, Chung-an was a native of Yen-shan in Hopeh. There is not the slightest allusion in the available records relating to San-feng to his also being a native of Yen-shan. Thus as far as native place is concerned, it seems that the two are not in any way related.

The foregoing shows that the allegations that San-feng flourished in the Chin and early Yuan periods or even in the Sung dynasty are unfounded. Hence, the general view as maintained by the more serious sources such as the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, Ming-shih kao and Ming-shih that San-feng lived in early Ming may be accepted. Having analysed the material at hand, I shall venture to suggest approximate dates for San-feng, of course basing my endeavours on the assumption that Chang San-feng did exist. According to the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, Chang San-feng was said to have five disciples, namely Ch'iu Yuan-ch'ing, Lu Ch'in-yin, Liu Ku-ch'üan, Yang Shan-ch'eng and Chou Chen-te. The same source for the variant sayings regarding the native place of San-feng, see Chapter 1, pp.35-6.

247 Ibid.
248 See Note 118.
249 For the variant sayings regarding the native place of San-feng, see Chapter 1, pp.35-6.
250 See the biography of Chang San-feng in the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih (Hand-copied volume), 6/14b; cf. also Chapter 1, p.3 of this thesis for translation of the text. For the biographies of Ch'iu, Lu, Liu and Yang, see T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, 7/2a-b, 7/3a, 7/1a, and 7/1a-b respectively.
records that Ch'iu died in the twenty-sixth year of Hung-wu (1393), 251 and Lu passed away in 1410. 252 If therefore Jen Tzu-yuan, the compiler of the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, who served as T'i-tien at Mount Wu-tang in 1411 253 and who was a contemporary of Ch'iu and Lu, gives reasonably accurate information about San-feng, there is reason to believe that San-feng was born a little earlier than his disciples. Again, the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih recounts that San-feng went to practise cultivation at Mount Wu-tang at the beginning of the Hung-wu reign and began to recruit followers. 254 The Taoist was therefore unlikely to be very young and might be quite advanced in age at that time. So it is not illogical to assume that he was already alive as early as the end of the Yuan dynasty.

251 His death date is not indicated in his biography in the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih. But according to the same source, Emperor T'ai-ts'u sent Chang Chih 曾智, the Right Vice-Minister of Rites, to offer sacrifices to the spirit of Ch'iu in 1393, see 2/1b. His death is mentioned in the T'ai-ts'u shih-lu 太祖實錄 (Ming-shih-lu ed.), as there is a short account of Ch'iu under the entry of the k'ang-yin 康年 day in the second month of 1393, saying, 'Ch'iu Hsüan-ch'ing, Assistant Minister at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, died. Hsüan-ch'ing was from the province of Shensi. When young he was a Taoist priest at Mount Wu-tang in Ch'un-chou. He followed the teaching of the Ch'üan-shen 全真 (see Note 270 below) sect. Usually he went travelling around the regions of Rivers Han 漢水, Mien 淄水, Huang-ho 黃河 (Yellow River) and Lo 洛水 (around the provinces of Shensi, Kupeh and Honan). When he was at the age of fifty his administrative competence impressed the civil authorities, and he was recommended to the central government. At first he was appointed an Investigating Censor, later he was promoted to Assistant Minister at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. He was grave and staid and was a man with high principles. His Majesty (i.e. Emperor T'ai-ts'u) once proposed to present him a beautiful woman, but he firmly refused to accept. His Majesty respected him even more. But then he succumbed to sickness.' 225/2b.

252 See the biography of Lu in the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, 7/3a.

253 See the biography of Jen in the T'ai-yueh chih-lu, 2/11a. The biographer makes a mistake in saying that Jen died in 1430. But actually Jen forwarded an address to Emperor Hsüan-ts'ung concerning the work, T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, in 1431. See his 'Ch'in T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih piao' 隱士嶽太和山志表 which is at the beginning of the T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, pp.1a-2b.

254 T'ai-yueh-t'ai-ho-shan chih (Hand-copied volume), 6/14b. Cf. also Chapter 1, p.3 for the rendering of the text.
But when did he pass away? It is recorded in Lan T'ien's 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan', Ming-shih kao and Ming-shih as quoted above in Chapter 1 that in the year 1393 Chang San-feng died on the day he predicted, but later he came back to life again. There is a possibility that he did really succumb on that occasion and that the alleged revival was in fact a fabrication. Nevertheless, as has been pointed out before, the said resurrection is not entirely inconceivable if we view the pseudo-death as a stage in Taoist cultivation, hence there also exists the possibility that San-feng lived after 1393. In addition, since Lu Ch'iu-yün, who was said to be one of San-feng's disciples, did not die until 1410, while three years before in 1407 Emperor Ch'eng-tsu had already dispatched Hu Ying to tour the country in search of San-feng. It is possible that San-feng was still alive at that time. For before the Emperor sent delegates to seek San-feng, naturally he would first consult the disciples of the Taoist, as to whether San-feng had already passed away, and the disciples would surely advise the Emperor of that. The fruitless mission of Hu Ying lasted for ten years and up till 1417 the search for San-feng was still in operation, so again it might have been the general belief that he was still alive at this time. Moreover, a medical officer called Su Ch'ın was sent to invite San-feng to court in 1417. But after 1419 it appears that the search for San-feng had already grounded to a halt, as is attested in the Biography of Hu Ying in the Ming-shih:

...In the seventeenth year [of Yung-lo] (1419), [Hu Ying] went again

255 Cf. Note 246. For translation of the passages in question in the first and third sources, see Chapter 1, p.5, 19 respectively. The resurrection is antedated to the late Yuan period in the Kao-p'o i-tsu-an, shang/2a; Liao-tung shih, 6/471, and Huang Ming yung-hua lei-pien, 131/9a-b.

256 See Note 13.

257 Same as Note 186.
to tour around the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Hupeh and Hunan, and came back to the court in the twenty-first year (1423). As soon as he returned he hurried to audience with the Emperor (Ch'eng-tsu) at the Hsuan-fu Palace. The Emperor had already retired to bed, but when he heard of the arrival of [Hu] Ying, he rose in haste and summoned the latter in. Ying then reported all the information that he had collected [and stayed in the palace] till the hour glass showed the fourth watch and then he left. Shortly before Ying returned, there was a rumour maintaining that Emperor Chien-wen had fled overseas, so Emperor [Ch'eng-tsu] dispatched Cheng Ho and some other eunuchs to sail across the sea to the western ocean [to look for Emperor Chien-wen]. [But after he had heard of the report from Hu], his doubt was dispelled.258

In the preceding discussion on the historical existence of San-feng, it was suggested that Hu Ying's repeated expeditions were aimed at, firstly, collecting information about Emperor Chien-wen, secondly, seeking San-feng and inviting him to court, and lastly, issuing the books proclaimed by the Emperor.259 But the above quotation shows that Hu's tour which took place between 1419 and 1423 focused on the traces of Emperor Chien-wen. In other words, there is a possibility that after the seventeenth year of Yung-lo (1419) the Emperor was informed that Chang San-feng was no longer alive, and so the sovereign relinquished his hopes and concentrated his efforts in searching for the deposed Emperor Chien-wen whose whereabouts remained a weight on his mind. Also, there is no record in available sources that the Emperor sent any other delegates to search for San-feng after 1419. In view of this, I shall boldly assert that Chang San-feng passed away or ceased to be active around 1419.

As regards San-feng's birth date, the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih states that Ch'iu Hsüan-ch'ing, one of the followers of San-feng, died at the age of sixty-seven in 1393, and was born at the fourth year (1327) of the reign of the Mongol Emperor T'ai-ting (reigned 1324-1328). Since the master was generally older than his disciples, so I surmise that San-feng was born before 1327. However, owing to lack of sources

258 MS, 169/354.

259 See discussion in p.51.
regarding his activities before the Hung-wu period, I cannot make a more specific deduction. Assuming that he would not live over one hundred years, his birth date would fall within the Yen-yu period (1314-1320) of the reign of Emperor Jen-tsung (reigned 1312-1320) of the Yuan dynasty, taking for granted that he died or retired from public life around 1419.

But in some records San-feng is said to have appeared during the T'ien-shun period of Emperor Ying-tsung. For example, Lang Ying in his Ch'i-hsiu hsiu-kao says, 'In the third year of T'ien-shun (1459), [San-feng] came again to visit Emperor [Ying-tsung].'260 Doubts have already been raised regarding the veracity of this episode in the discussion of the account of San-feng included in the Ch'i-hsiu hsiu-kao in Chapter 1,261 on the grounds that the alleged meeting was not mentioned in serious historical works like the Ming-shih.262 Other records such as the Kao-p'o i-tsean, Liao-tung shih, Huang Ming yung-hua lei-pien, Ming-shan-tse'ang, and Ming-shu are rather uncommittal in describing the appearance of San-feng in the T'ien-shun period, and usually resort to the vague expression, 'Sometimes he hid and sometimes he showed himself'.263 It is clear that the authors of these works were not certain about this episode themselves. Their assumption that San-feng might

260 Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao, hsiu-kao, 4/802.
261 See discussion in p.40.
262 Instead, the meeting is mentioned in some unreliable records. For example, Wang Hsi-ling includes this saying in his Yin-ch'ing pien-nien, which is found in the CSPCC and is a chronology of events alleged to be related to San-feng. To make the alleged meeting more colourful, Wang adds fabulous embellishment by saying that San-feng was moved by the sincerity of Emperor Ying-tsung and so 'revealed his divine form to visit the Emperor'. See CSPCC, 8/78a (7833).
263 See Kao-p'o i-tsean, shang/2a; Liao-tung shih, 6/474; Huang Ming yung-hua lei-pien, 131/10a; Ming-shan-tse'ang, 7/6a; and Ming-shu, 160/3163.
still exist during the T'ien-shun period possibly stems from the imperial decree issued by Emperor Ying-tsung in 1459 canonizing the Taoist as the 'Immortal of Penetrating Mystery and Revealing Transformation' which is mentioned in the Ming-shih.264 The following is the rendering of part of the edict as found in Lan T'ien's 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan':

...You, Master Chang San-feng, the true immortal, have extraordinary disposition and lofty principles. You can concentrate on meditation and are firm in practising cultivation. Thus you are able to obtain the precious method [of cultivation] from the divine manual and take the efficacious medicine transmuted in the golden tripod. Your name is among the list of immortals in the tan-t'ai (dwellings of immortals) and your spirit can travel to the hsi-an-pu (hanging gardens that lead to Heaven)...Now as a token of honour to you I bestow on you the title 'Immortal of Penetrating Mystery and Revealing Transformation'.265

This edict in which the pronoun 'you' is often used might have given the incorrect impression to some Ming writers that it was enounced to him in person and thus led them to assume that San-feng was still alive during the reign of Emperor Ying-tsung. This is possibly a mistake, for if Chang San-feng did really exist, he had already gained high fame in the Hung-wu period and it is very likely he was already a man of advanced years. By the T'ien-shun period, therefore, he would be well over a hundred years old. Though it is not impossible for someone to sustain at such an old age, I have reservations regarding this possibility.

Meanwhile, Wang Hsi-ling recorded in his Yin-shing pien-nien that in 1486 Emperor Hsien-tsung (reigned 1465-1487) also bestowed

264 MS, 299/741. This is also mentioned in other sources, such as Kao-p'o i-tuan, shang/2a; Lan T'ien, 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan', op. cit., p.111b-112a. In the ku-tang shan chih quoted in Ku-ching t'u-shu chi-ch'eng, the canonization is antedated to the first year of the Cheng-t'ung period (1436), see Shen-t'ien, te's 503, 256/61b. But this date is not recorded in other accounts relating to San-feng.

265 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan', op. cit., pp.111b-112a. This edict is also included in the T'ai-yush chih-lush, 1/9a-b, and in CSFOC, 1/1a-b (7647).
honour on the Taoist Chang San-feng by conferring on him the title 'T'ao-kuang shang-chih chen-hsien' (True Immortal of Hidden Light and Lofty Principles), Emperor Shih-tsung (reigned 1522-1566) canonized him as 'Ch'ing-hsiao yu'an-miao chen-chün' 清虚无妙真君 (Immortal Master of Pure Emptiness and Primal Mystery), while Emperor Hsi-tsung (reigned 1621-1627) was said to have given additional honour to San-feng by creating him as 'Fei-lung hsien-hua hung-jen chi-shih chen-chün' 飛龍顯化宏仁濟世真君 (The flying dragon like Immortal Master of Revelation, Benevolence and Salvation). All these honours cannot be verified in other sources and very possibly were fabricated by Wang Hsi-ling himself who, in fact, was responsible for a large part of the spurious works found in the Chang San-feng ch'ian-ehi.  

Some of the sayings relating to Chang San-feng will also be discussed here. For example, Chiang Shao-shu 姜昭書 (seventeenth century) in his Wu-sheng shih-shih 無聲詩史 mentions San-feng's association with the celebrated landscape painter of the Yuan dynasty, Huang Kung-wang 黃公望 (1269-1354): 

[Huang Kung-wang] travelled around the three Wu三呂 regions (i.e. Soochow, Ch'ang-chou 蘇州 and Hu-chou 湖州) and was acquainted with Ts'ao Chih-pai 曹知白 (1272-1355) and some Taoist friends, namely, No Yueh-ting 莫月鼎, Leng Ch'i-ching (i.e. Leng Ch'ien) and Chang San-feng.  

265 See CSFCC, 8/78b-79a (7833).  
266 See discussion in Part II.  
267 For the biography of Huang, see Hsin Yuan-shih, 238/455. For the study of his life and attainments in art, see among others, Wen Chao-t'ung 温肇潤, Yuan-chi sau-ta hua-chia 元初畫史畫家 (Shanghai, 1945); Huang Kung-wang shih-liao 黃公望史料 (Shanghai, 1963); Hsü Pang-ta 徐邦達, 'Huang Kung-wang ho t'a-ti Fu-ch'ien-shan-shih-ch'i'u' 黃公望祖述, 《富春山居圖》, Wan-wu ts'un-k'ao tau-liao 文物叢談資料, 1958 No.6, pp.32-33; P'an T'ien-shou 譚天壽 and Wang Po-min 王伯敏, Huang Kung-wang yu Wang Meng 黃公望與王蒙 (Shanghai, 1958).  
268 Wu-sheng shih-shih (Hua-shih to uan-shu 華史叢書 ed., Shanghai, 1963), 1/2.
Huang was one of the four great painters of the late Yuan period (the other three are Wang Meng 王蒙 (d. 1385), Wu Chen 吴镇 (1280-1354) and Ni Tsan 倪瓒 (1301-1374)), and his attainments exerted far-reaching influence on the followers of the school of landscape painting in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. He was versed in the teachings of the three religions, and when he was in his sixties he and Ni Tsan joined a new Taoist society, then growing in its members, Ch'üan-ch'en sect, and set up a San-chiao Temple (Temple of the Three Religions) at Wente-ch'iao 文徳橋 in Soochow. In the Tao-tsang exist three Taoist treatises, compiled by Ch'en Yüeh-yen 金月巓 and transmitted by Huang-Kung-wang, entitled Ch'ih-chou hsien-sheng chin-tan chih-chih 紙舟先生金丹直指, Pao-i-tsu San-feng Tz'-yen tan-ch'üeh 抱一子三峰老人丹訣 and Pao-i han-san pi-chüeh 抱一函三秘訣, all dealing with the doctrine advocated by the Ch'üan-ch'en sect. Thus it is possible that Huang Kung-wang, who was involved in Taoist studies and practices, would befriend Chang San-feng, and there is no discrepancy between the dates of Huang and that of Chang as deduced by our study. However, their friendship is not corroborated by other sources and therefore is still open to investigation.

270 The Ch'üan-ch'en sect was one of the most influential societies in the socio-political sphere in Northern China during the Chin and Yuan dynasties. For the study of this Neo-Taoist sect, see Ch'en Yüan 閔, Lan-Sung ch'u Ho-pe' hsien-tao-chiao k'ao 南宋初河北新道教考 (Peking, 1962), ch'üan 1 and 2, pp. 1-80; Ch'ien Mu 錦織, 'Ch'in Yüan t'ung-chih-hsiia chih hsien-tao-chiao' 金元統治下之新道教, Jen-sheng 人生, Vol. 31 No. 3 (Hong Kong, 1966), pp. 2-5; Nagami Shunsui 特上俊輝, 'Zenshinkyō hassei no ichi kōatsu' 全真教抄生の一考察, in Ryō kō no bukkō 野岳 innocent 仏教 (Tokyo, 1953), pp. 264-74; Sun K'o-k'üen, 'Ch'üan-ch'en chiao k'ao-lîshu' 全真教抄略, The Continent Magazine, No. 3 (1954), pp. 309-13. Cf. also P. Demiéville, 'La situation religieuse en Chine au temps de Marco Polo', Oriente Poligno (Rome, 1957), pp. 195-7; Igor de Rachewiltz, 'The Hsi-yüli 西遊錄 by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 鄭材', Monumenta Serica, XXI (1962), pp. 1-128.

271 This event is mentioned in Chu Mou-yin 朱穆異, Hua-shih hui-yao 畫史會要 (Ssu-k'ü ch'üan-shu chen-yen, 2nd Series, ed., Taipei, 1970), 3/405.

272 See TT 114, 134, 321 respectively.
There follows a discussion of the persons mentioned in the Wu-shang shih-shih as friends of Huang Kung-wang to see if there is any possibility that they were also associated with San-feng. Of course, the acquaintances of Huang might not necessarily have relations with San-feng. First is Leng Ch'ien who is not unfamiliar. He served as the Composer of Music in the court during the early years of Hung-wu period and is known to have lived approximately between 1310 and 1371,\(^{273}\) so there is no anachronistic error in assuming that he was a friend of Huang Kung-wang or San-feng. However, I would not take his association with the latter too seriously.\(^{274}\) The second person is Ts'ao Chih-pai who was also a noted landscape painter, though his fame could not vie with that of Huang Kung-wang.\(^{275}\) There is no trace of any association between him and San-feng. As for Mo Yu-sh-ting, he was a well-known Taoist priest in Yuan times. There is an account of him in Chao Tao-i's Li-shih ch'en-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien hsü-pien 历世真仙體道通鑑編編, in which there is a passage depicting how the people regarded Mo:

In the cyclical year ting-hai (twenty-fourth year) of the Chih-yüan period (1287), Mo was summoned to see the Emperor (Khubilai Khan). He then manifested his power and charm and could call the thunder and lightning as he pointed his finger and glanced with his eyes (i.e. at great speed). Very soon his name struck the capital and those who came successively to ask him for service were fast as the floating of the clouds and so numerous that they could form a wall. Some of them even came from a thousand li away to seek the cultivation of the Way.\(^{276}\)

According to the same source, Mo died in the kong-yin year of

\(273\) For biographical information on Leng, see Note 44.

\(274\) Cf. discussion on the relation of Chang San-feng and Leng Ch'ien in pp.12-6.

\(275\) For the biography of Ts'ao, see Haia Wen-yen 華元, T'u-hui pao-chien 圖編圖鑑 (Chin-tai pi-shu 津達秘書 ed., Shanghai, 1922), 5/11a.

\(276\) Li-shih ch'en-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien hsü-pien, TT 149, 5/14b.
Yen-yu at the age of seventy-four. But there is no keng-yin year in the Yen-yu period. Perhaps it is a mistake for chia-yin (1314) or keng-shen (1320). Anyhow, it is known that he passed away during the Yen-yu period, whereas, Chang San-feng, if he really did exist could not possibly have been born earlier than Yen-yu, according to my deduction. Therefore, it is very unlikely that the two could have any association as Mo was much senior to San-feng in age.

Another Taoist friend of Huang Kung-wang I would like to point out here is Chin P'eng-t'ou 金蓬頭 (Chin, the uncombed hair, d. 1335). Sun Ch'eng-tse 孫承澤 (1593-1675), a scholar-official best known to lovers of art as the writer of Keng-tzu hsiao-hsia chi 庚子趙夏記, mentions in his work about Huang Kung-wang and his friends:

In the late Yuan period there were some persons who had lofty principles and who did not want to enter into officialdom, like Chin P'eng-t'ou, Mo Yüeh-ting, Leng Ch'i-ch'ing, and Chang San-feng. They were either friends or teachers of [Huang Tzu-chiu (黃子久, i.e. Huang Kung-wang).  

According to the Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien hau-pien, Chin P'eng-t'ou was a Taoist priest of the Ch'oun-chen sect and was the second generation disciple of Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 (1193-1258). He enjoyed great fame during his lifetime, as the Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien hau-pien recounts:

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277 Ibid., p.15a.


280 Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien hau-pien, TT 149, 5/15b-16a.

281 Li was the immediate disciple of the second patriarch of the Ch'ien-chen sect, ch'iu Ch'u-chhi 丘處機 (Hao Ch'ang-ch'un-tzu 長春 子, better known as Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un 長春 子, 1148-1227, see Note 577). Li was well remembered for his record of his master's journey to meet Genghis Khan (1162-1227), which was entitled Hsi-yu chi 西遊 記. For a translation of the work, see Arthur Waley, The Travels of an Alchemist (London, 1931). For a biographical account of Li, see Wang O 王 㷞 (1190-1273), 'Chen-ch'ang chen-jen
People from the four corners heard about his attainments, and whenever they were sick they would go to him from far and near. [Chin] always responded to their call. He offered them sacrificial fruit and after they had taken the fruit they were healed. Those who came to pay homage increased as days went by.

This noted Taoist who was said to possess magic power passed away in the second year of Chih-yuan (1336). A relation between him and San-feng is not cited in any other source beside the K'eng-tzu hsiao-hsia chi. In fact, 'P'eng-t'ou' seems to be a common name attributed to bizarre Taoists or hermits. For instance, in the Wang Yang-ming ch'uan-chi 王陽明全集, the collected works of the celebrated philosopher, Wang Shou-jen 王守仁 (1472-1528), there is the mention of one Ts'ai P'eng-t'ou 蔡遵頭 who was a Taoist priest of high attainments.

281 (contd)
Li Chih-ch'ang tao-hsing-pei 真常真人李志常道行碑, contained in the K'An-chih hsien-yuan lu 甘泉仙環録, compiled by Li Tao-ch'ien 李道賢, TT 611, 3/16b.

282 Same as Note 280.

283 Ibid., p.16b. As has been pointed out before, there are two Chih-yuan periods in the Yuan dynasty (see Note 46), both include a ping-tzu 萍子 year, i.e., 1276 and 1335. As Ch'in was said to be a friend of Huang Kung-wang who lived between 1259 and 1354, so I suppose that the Chih-yuan period cited in the Li-chih ch'en-hsien t'ie-tao t'ung-chien hsii-pien refers to the first era of the reign of the Mongol Emperor Shun-ti, i.e., 1335-1340.

284 See Wang Yang-ming ch'uan-chi (Sao-yeh-shan-fang 島嶼山房, Shanghai, 1935), 32/fu-lu 附錄 4b. It records that Wang went to Mount Chiu-hua 九華山 (Anhwei) to look for a Taoist priest called Ts'ai P'eng-t'ou. At that time (1501) there was a Ts'ai P'eng-t'ou who was good at discourse of attaining immortality. [Wang] treated him courteously as an honoured guest and asked him about the cultivation of the Way. Ts'ai answered, "It's not yet time [for me to tell you]." After a short while, Wang ordered his retainers to retire and invited [Ts'ai] to the rear pavilion and showed respect to him by bowing. Once again Wang enquired [about cultivation]. Ts'ai replied, "Not yet." When asked over and over again, Ts'ai said, "It is very courteous of you to invite me to your rear hall and rear pavilion, however, you still cannot deprive of the air of an official." With a smile on his face, he then left. Wang Yang-ming was closely associated with Taoist practitioners and he himself was deeply addicted to Taoist methods of cultivation. For details, see Liu Ts'un-yan, 'Wang Yang-ming yu tao-chiao' 王陽明與道教, Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報.
Chin P'eng-t'ou might be the teacher of Huang Kung-wang, who had composed a four-syllable-line eulogy on Chin's portrait, entitled 'Chin P'eng-t'ou hsien-sheng hsiang-ts'an' 金蓮頭先生像贊 and is as follows:

The Way of the Master is great,  
Now that his traces are shown,  
I wish that all students of the Way,  
Can model themselves on his example.  

Here it is uncertain whether the term 'master' implies 'teacher' or merely an address of courtesy. Some contemporary scholars have held that Chin P'eng-t'ou was identical with Chin Yüeh-yen who was the compiler of the three Taoist works listed before. But the real name of Chin P'eng-t'ou was Chin Chih-yang 金志陽 and he had a hao Yeh-an 訾庵, and because he often left his hair uncombed so he was given the designation 'P'eng-t'ou'. There is no indication in any source that he had the name Yüeh-yen 月巖, whether it be tsu or hao, so I suspect that the two Chin's were in fact different persons.

There is an allegation in the T'ai-yeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih that Chang San-feng was the descendant of Chang Liang, the able strategist of the Han dynasty. The compiler of the record chose to use the wording, 'was said to be the descendant of the Marquis of Liu', which reflects

284 (contd)
Vol.3 No.2 (Sept. 1970), pp.489-509; also Liu's unpublished article (in English), 'Wang Yang-ming and Taoism'; also Liu, 'Taoist self-cultivation in Ming thought', in de Bary, ed., Self and Society in Ming thought, pp.291-330.


286 This view, for instance, is held by Wen Chao-t'ung, see his Hsü-chi ssu-ta hua-chia, p.5, and his Huang Kung-wang shih-liao, p.4.

287 See Li-shih chen-hsien t'ie-t'ao t'ung-chien hsü-pien, TT 148, 5/15a-b; also Chang Yu-ch'u, Hsien-ch'üan chi 墨泉集, TT 1019, 4/9a.

288 T'ai-yeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih (Hand-copied volume), 6/13b.
his uncertain attitude with regard to this saying. It is difficult to verify. Moreover, it was claimed from Ming times onwards that the Celestial Masters of the Cheng-i sect were descended from Chang Liang. Notable scholars such as Sung Lien 史源 (1310-1381), Su Po-heng 蘇伯衡 (fl. 1390) and Yü Wen-wei 喻文偉 (fl. 1597) advanced this view in their prefaces to the Han t'ien-shih shih-chia, and this may have inspired some Ming writers, such as Lu Shen and Ho Ch'iao-yan to assert that San-feng was in the line of descent of the hereditary Celestial Masters. Lu Shen said in the Yü-t'ang man-pi:

Chang San-feng, whose name was T'ung 頤, hao Hsüan-hsüan, was the descendant of Chang T'ien-shih (Celestial Master).  

In the Ming-shan-t'sang, Ho Ch'iao-yan also wrote:

Chang Chih-pao, tsu Ch'uan-i, also tsu Hsüan-hsüan, and hao Pao-ho jung-jen san-feng-tzu, was a native of I-chou of Liaotung. He went to stay in the district of An-tung 安東 in Huai-an (Kiangsu). He was the descendant of Chang T'ien-shih of the Han dynasty. The same is also mentioned in other sources. However, there is not the faintest allusion to the alleged relationship of San-feng with the Celestial Masters in the Han t'ien-shih shih-chia. The name of San-feng appears in the family records of the Celestial Masters only on the occasion when Chang Yu-ch'u, the forty-third Celestial Master, was dispatched by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu to extend the imperial invitation to

289 See TT 1066, 1/1b, 1/10a and 1/13a.
290 Yü-t'ang man-pi, p.7a.
291 Ming-shan-t'sang, 7/3b.
292 For instance, it is mentioned in the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan', attributed to Lu Hsi-hsing, which says, 'The old immortal San-feng, was the descendant of the Celestial Master of Mount Lung-hu (in Kiangsi, the sacred mountain of the Cheng-i sect)', see CSFCC, 1/6a (7649). Wang Hsi-ling shared similar view in his 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan', see CSFCC, 1/8a (7650). In both biographies a detailed account of San-feng's family is given, however, these two records are not reliable at all.
San-feng. Apart from that, no other information on San-feng can be deduced from the Han t'ien-shih shih-chia. Therefore, it is highly probable that the saying was merely an unfounded adulation on the part of the Ming writers to add embellishment to the biography of the famed Taoist.

It should also be pointed out that although the name of Chang San-feng gained wide currency during the Hung-wu and Yung-lo periods, because advocates of Taoism and writers regarded Chang as an immortal rather than a religious leader, so he was not recorded as having ever founded a sect. Nor was there any established under his name throughout Ming times and the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty. It was only late in the Tao-kuang period (1821-1850) that a sect called the Yin-hsien sect (Hidden immortals), or Yu-lung sect (Dragon like), emerged. It was set up, under the name of Chang San-feng.

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293 See quotation cited in p.54 (Note 191).

294 The naming of this sect might be influenced by Wang Hsi-ling, as he often emphasized the quality of *yin* (hidden) in San-feng. He said in the preface to the CSFCC, *hau-yeh*, pp.1a-b (7641), 'All through ancient times to the present, only the perfect man has been able to hide and show himself to the world without deviating from the right way. For he who can hide but cannot manifest is too indifferent to [worldly affairs] and brings no good to mankind. Whereas, he who can manifest but cannot hide spends too much time and energy on [mundane affairs] and he will not achieve much in the cultivation of the Way...A true immortal hides himself from the world but at the same time brings salvation to mankind. He shows himself to man but he will not allow himself to be entangled by worldly affairs. This is indeed the mystery of hiding and manifesting. Chang San-feng, my master, has perceived with intelligence the mystery [of the universe], and has embodied in himself the principles of righteousness. As a follower of Confucian principles, he can advance and retire whenever it is necessary. As one gifted with the qualities of an immortal, he can fly and at the same time he can conceal...'. Again, Wang said in the 'San-feng hsiien-sheng pan-chuan', CSFCC, 1/10b (7651), 'My master, my master, he was indeed the hidden immortal!' Therefore, it is highly possible that Li Hsi-yueh and his fellow advocates derived this notion from the works of Wang Hsi-ling and called the sect Yin-hsien.

295 This sect regarded Lao-tzu (see Note 302) as its first patriarch (see discussion which follows) and the term *yu-lung* is often used to describe Lao-tzu. Li Hsi-yueh explained why the sect was so called, 'Confucius (551-479 B.C.) said, "Lao-tzu, I can only compare
by Li Hsi-yüeh and his fellow advocates of Taoism. Most of them were natives of the district of Lo-shan 山 in Szechwan which then became a centre of Taoist practices throughout the Tao-kuang period.

Besides formally establishing a sect, Li Hsi-yüeh and his friends even claimed a tao-t'ung 道統 or line of transmission of the sect, in which some notable Taoist figures were their remote patriarchs. Li clearly set out the line of transmission of the Yin-hsien sect in the section "Tao-p'ai 道派 in the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi:"

The Great Way originated from Lao-tzu who transmitted the teaching to Yin Wen-shih 墨文始 (i.e. Yin Hsi-ying). Wen-shih transmitted the teaching to Ma-i 麻衣 who in turn transmitted it to Hsi-i 喜夷 (i.e. Ch'en T'uan 鍾撰 (872-989)). Hsi-i then transmitted it to Huo-lung 火龍, and Huo-lung to San-feng. This sect is called Yin-hsien, [because each patriarch led the life of a recluse.] Wen-shih hid as a guardian of the entrance pass of Han-ku 胡谷 and also lived as a hermit on Mount Tai-pai 太台山 (another name of Mount Chung-nan 鍾南山, Shensi). Ma-i led a secluded life on Mounts Shih-t'ang 石堂 mountain and Huang-shan 黃山 (Shensi); Hsi-i on Mount Tai-hua 太華山 (i.e. Mount Hua-shan 華山, the western sacred mountain); Huo-lung on Mount Chung-nan; and the master (i.e. Chang San-feng) on Mount Wu-tang. This is how the name of Yin-hsien sect originated. For every immortal is inclined to hide, and the immortals of this sect are particularly devoted to the life of a recluse."

295 (contd) him to the dragon." He was referring to the unfathomable subtlety of Lao-tzu. So [this sect] is also called the Yu-lung sect. See CSFCC, 1/13a (7653). The quotation from Confucius cited by Li Hsi-yüeh is possibly taken from the Lao, Chuang, Shen, Han lüeh-chuan 老莊申韓列傳 in Shih-chi. There is a passage depicting the meeting of Confucius with Lao-tzu in which the former says, 'I know how birds can fly, fishes swim, and animals run. But the runner may be snared, the swimmer hooked, and the flyer shot by the arrow. But there is the dragon: I cannot tell how he mounts on the wind through the clouds, and rises to heaven. To-day I have seen hao-tzu, and can only compare him to the dragon.' For this translation, see the 'Introduction' in The Texts of Taoism translated by James Legge (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXIX), pp. 34-5. For the original text, see Shih-chi, 63/180. During the Sung period, Chia Shen-hsiang 謝緒翔 (fl. 1086-1100) wrote a biography of Lao-tzu, which instead of being called 'Lao-tzu ch'uan', was entitled Yu-lung chuan 禹龍傳, six chuan, see TF 555. This is a good example to illustrate that writers took the term as a designation of Lao-tzu.

296 Li was chiefly responsible for the revision of the CSFCC. He is discussed in greater detail in Part II, Chapter 3.

297 CSFCC, 1/13a (7653).
Here Li Hsi-yüeh introduces the line of transmission of the Yin-hsien sect. He wrote a biography for each of them in the section 'Ch'ien li-tau chuan' in the Chang San-feng chüan-chi. Possibly his idea derived from some earlier Taoist writings such as the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien and the works of Wang Hsi-ling. But Li was the first to link the Taoist figures and claim them as patriarchs of the Yin-hsien sect. However, a careful study of the biographical accounts of the alleged patriarchs, that is, Lao-tzu, 

298 The mention of the line of transmission is also found in a scripture called 'Tung-hsüan tu-jen pao-ch'en chu-t'ien wu-shang chên-ching' which has been fabricated by Li Hsi-yüeh and his fellow advocates of Taoism. See discussion in Chapter 6, pp. 218-9.

299 CSPCC, 1/13b-15a (7553-4).

300 The biography of Chang San-feng in the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien says, '...During the Yen-yu period, I (i.e., Chang San-feng) was sixty-seven years old, and I began to feel perturbing. [since I did not know what to do]. Fortunately Heaven had mercy on me, [so that] when I first came to Mount Chung-nan, I was able to meet Master Hsiao-lung who was the favourite disciple of Master T'u-nan. (i.e. Ch'en T'uan).' 21/6/4a. Here the author alleges the relationship between Ch'en T'uan, Hsiao-lung and San-feng. Wang Hsi-ling also mentions the alleged relationship between San-feng and Hsiao-lung and Ch'en T'uan. See 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan', CSPCC, 1/9a (7551), and 'Ch'en Hsi-i T'uan' (a poem attributed to Chang San-feng, but possibly had been fabricated by Wang, see discussion on the authorship of the Yun-shui chien chi in Part II of this thesis), CSPCC, 5/30b (7766). Also, the relationship between Ma-i and Ch'en T'uan is mentioned in Ma Tuan-Lin's Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao, 176/152a, under the entry 'Cheng-i hsin-fa 正易心法 , one of the works written by Ma-i tao-che 師華道者'. Ma quotes the words of Chang Nan-hsien 張南顯 , 'Hsi-i yin-chün 希夷隱君 (i.e. Ch'en T'uan) received the teaching from him (i.e. Ma-i tao-che)'. Therefore, the line of transmission from Ma-i to Ch'en T'uan, Ch'en to Hsiao-lung and Hsiao-lung to San-feng was already mentioned in earlier records, but Li was the first to link them together.

301 The earliest historical work which contains a biography of Lao-tzu is Su-ma Ch'ien's Shih-chi, 63/180. Lao-tzu was traditionally regarded as an older contemporary of Confucius and flourished in the sixth century B.C. Some scholars have raised doubts on the historical existence of the figure, for instance, D.C. Lau in 'The Problem of authorship', an appendix to his translation of Lao Tzu (Tao Teh Ching) (London, 1963), pp. 147-52, see in particular p. 162. As early as the Later Han dynasty, Lao-tzu was regarded by Taoist followers as the first patriarch of religious Taoism and his classic work Tao-te ching was taught among the advocates of the Wu-tou-mi tao 五斗米道.
Yin Hsi (also known as Kuan-yin-tzu 关尹子), 302 Ma-i, 303

301 (contd)
or T'ien-shih tao 天師道, later known as Cheng-i sect. See Biography of Chang Lu 张魯, in San-kuo chih 三國志 (Er-shih-wu shih ed.), Wei-shu 魏書, 8/28. After Shih-chi, the biography of Lao-tzu appeared in many other compilations, and legends centering around him multiplied as time went on. For instance, there is an account of the figure in Liu Hsiang 劉向 (77-6 B.C.), Lieh-haien chuan 老子傳, TT 138, shang/4a; Wang Fu 王符, Lao-tzu hua-hu 老子化胡, of which only chuan 1 and chuan 10 are extant, is included in Lo Chen-yi's 羅振玉 (1856-1940) Tun-huang shih-shih l-shu 敦煌石室遺書 (Lo Hseih-t'ang hsiien-chin-shang ch'un-chi 羅雪堂先生全集, 3rd Series, ed., Vol.6, Taipei reprint of 1909 ed., 1970), pp.2225-53; Ko Hung, Shen-haien chuan 神仙傳 (Tao-tsang ching-hua lu 道藏精華錄, ed., Shanghai, 1922), 1/la-3b; and Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572), Wei-shu Wei 經 (Er-shih-wu shih ed.), 114/299. More biographies of Lao-tzu appeared during the T'ang and Sung periods when imperial honours were bestowed on the Taoist master. They include the Hsiien-yuan huang-ti sheng-chi 玄元皇帝聖紀, ten chuan, compiled by Yin Wen-ts'ao 尹文操 (d. 588), cited in Ku-lou-kuan tsu-yun yen-ch'ing chi 歌羅庫刊元尊清集, edited by Chu Hsiang-hai 車象海, TT 605, shang/4b-9b; T'ai-shang Lao-chun yien-pu yao-lüeh 天上君君年請要略, one chuan, TT 554, T'ai-shang hui-yuan Lao-tzu shih-lüeh 天上混元老子略, three chuan, TT 554, and Hui-yuan shih-chi 混元正紀, nine chuan, TT 551-3, all written by Hsieh Shou-hao 謝守齋 in the Sung dynasty; and the Yu-t'ang chuan, six chuan, by Chia Shan-hsiang.

302 The name of Yin Hsi appears in some early records, such as the Lao Chiang, Shen, Han Lieh-chuan, Shih-chi, 63/180. He is reputed to have asked Lao-tzu to write him a book and this is how the relationship between the two originated. He became the subject of legend in later records, and his biography can be found in Lieh-haien chuan, TT 138, shang/5a; Hsiien-yuan pien-chu 歌羅元篇補, TT 329, shang/4b; San-tung ch'in-haien lu, TT 992, 3/7b and 993, 7/9b; Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322), Hsiien-yuan chiu-shu-t'u 玄元全書圖, TT 77, p.1a; Huang Ying-yen 黃應炎, Ch'ing-wei hsiien-pu 清微仙譜 (preface 1293), TT 75, p.10a; Chao Tao-i, Lii-shih chen-haien t'ie-tao t'ung-ch'ien 論世真仙體通鑑, TT 140, 8/14a; Chao-miao shou-ching-t'ai li-tai chen-haien pei-chi 錦南說經真仙碑記, compiled by Chu Hsiang-hai, TT 605, pp.1a-3a; Hsiao-yao-hsiu ching, TT 1081, 1/8a. It is clear that Yin Hsi had already been given the title Master Wen-shih 文始先生 during the T'ang period, as the title appears in the 'Ta T'ang tsung-sheng kuan chi' 大唐崇聖章記 written by Ou-yang Hsün 欧陽詢 (557-641) in 625. This essay is included in Ku-lou-kuan tsu-yun yen-ch'ing chi, TT 605, shang/1a-4b. The book Ku-yin-tzu 開尹子, attributed to Yin Hsi, was given the title Wen-shih chen-ch'ing 文始真經 at about the same time, but the extant edition is probably a spurious work written by Sun Ting 孫庭 during Southern Sung times, see Yu Chia-hai 余嘉锡, Ssu-k'fu ti-yao pien-cheng 四庫提要辨證 (Peking, 1938), 15/1184-9.

303 According to Li Hsi-yleh, the real name of the Taoist Ma-i whom the Yin-haien sect regarded as the third patriarch was Li Ho 李霍. He had the alias Ma-i-tzu 麻衣子. A biography of Li Ho, alias
Ch'en T'uan and Huo-lung is only a fabrication, for it is impossible that Yin Hsi and Ma-i could have had any relationship. Yin Hsi is generally regarded as having flourished in the sixth century B.C., while Ma-i, according to the 14th edition of the Nan-yang fu chih, lived between 357 and 457. This is the first obvious discrepancy in the line

Ma-i-tzu, can be found in the 14th edition of the Nan-yang fu chih, compiled by K'ang K'ung-kao 康孔高 and Chin Fu 金福 (14th ed., Library of Congress Microfilm No. 335 of National Peiping Library's Collection of Rare Books, 9/1b-2b. It says that Li Ho was born on the fifteenth day of the third month of the first year of the Sheng-p'ing 升平 period (357) of the reign of Emperor Mu-ti 慕帝 (reigned 345-361) of the Chin 晉 dynasty. Li's biography is also seen in the 15th edition of the Nan-yang fu chih compiled by Li T'ing-lung 絆庭隆 and others, 18/25b-26a. There are other Taoist or Buddhist figures called Ma-i. For example, there was a Ma-i tao-ya 墨衣道亚 and a Buddhist monk called Ma-i tao-che 墨衣道差 recorded in Chang Lu's Zhang T'ai-hua hsii-i chih 大孝帝廣志, TT 160, shang/7a-b and hsia/1b-2a. These two Ma-ils were related to Ch'en T'uan (see Note 304). Also, Chao Tao-i's Li-shih chen-hsien t'ao-tao t'ung-chien han-pien 當時趙孝達, compiled by K'ang K'ung-kao and others, 18/25b-26a. There is also recorded in Chang Lu's Nan-yang fu chih (1071-1123), Leng-chai yen-hua 梁隋麻葛 (Pl-chi hsiao-shen su-kwan ed.), 8/3a; Ma-i chan-shih 墨衣釋, who flourished in the Chung-ho 中和 period (881-884) of the reign of Emperor Hsi-tsung 唱宗 (reigned 874-888) of the T'ang dynasty, see An-hui t'ung-chih (1877 ed.), 4/3a-b. Other persons called by this sobriquet are Ch'en T'uan, see TT 147, 4/3a-b. These two Ma-ils were related to Ch'en T'uan (see Note 304). Also, Chao Tao-i's Li-shih chen-hsien t'ao-tao t'ung-chien han-pien carries an account of another Chao Ma-i who was a contemporary of Ch'en T'uan, see TT 147, 4/3a-b. Other persons called by this sobriquet are Shih-tsung 史宗 of the Hsu-chia 湖劫 period who was called Ma-i tao-che, see Monk Hui-hung 魏惠洪 (1071-1123), Leng-chai yen-hua 梁隋麻葛 (Pl-chi hsiao-shen su-kwan ed.), 8/3a; Ma-i chan-shih 墨衣釋, who flourished in the Chung-ho 中和 period (881-884) of the reign of Emperor Hsi-tsung 唱宗 (reigned 874-888) of the T'ang dynasty, see An-hui t'ung-chih (1877 ed.), 4/3a-b. Chien 前 of the Yuan 永 period had an alias Hsi 衆, quoted in Ku-chin t'u-shu 蒸全, Shen-tien 十一, ta'ie 593, 255/57b. There was another Chao Ma-i in the Ming dynasty, see Lai-chou fu chih (1604 ed.), 6/71a.

For Ch'en T'uan's biography, see Sung-shih 墨史 (Erh-shih-yu shih ed.), 457/1166. Accounts of his life can also be found in Taoist writings, such as Li-shih chen-hsien t'ao-tao t'ung-chien, TT 147, 47/1a-14b; T'ai-hua hsii-i chih, TT 160; and Hsiao-yao-hua ching, TT 1081, 2/29a-31b.

Huo-lung is most probably a legendary figure. The biography of Li Tung-pin (see Note 307) in the Hsiao-yao-hua ching, TT 1081, 2/1a-4a, mentions about one Huo-lung. It is said to be one of the masters of Li and bears no relation to Ch'en T'uan. Meanwhile, in records relating to Ch'en T'uan there is no mention of his relationship with Huo-lung.

As already pointed out in Note 303, there are many persons called Ma-i, but the Ma-i referred to by Li Hsi-ying in his biography of the third patriarch of the Yin-hsien sect was Li Ho who flourished in the Chin dynasty. The reason why Li chose this Li Ho instead of other persons of the same name who lived at about the same time as Ch'en T'uan is possibly because the late history of Li Ho was more colourful than the other Ma-ils.
of transmission. The second is that since Ma-i flourished in the Chin
dynasty, it is also impossible that he could have communication with
Ch'en T'uan, the famous hermit of the early years of Northern Sung.
Moreover, the relationship between Huo-lung and San-feng is possibly an
imitation of the story about the meeting of Lü Yen (better known
as Lü Tung-pin or Lü-tsu (Patriarch Lü)) and
Cheng Huo-lung 褚火龍, which is also legendary. Therefore, the

307 Lü was one of the popular eight immortals in Chinese mythology. He was
probably an historical figure but was transmuted into an immortal by
writers of popular fiction. According to Professor Lo Hsiang-lin
羅香林, Lü might have been born during the Ch'ang-ch'ing 長慶
period (821-824) of the reign of Emperor Mu-tsung 穆宗 (reigned
821-824) of the T'ang dynasty. See Lo, T'ang Yuan erh-tai chih ching-chiao
唐元二代之景敤 (Hong Kong, 1956), pp.141-2. For an
account of the miraculous deeds attributed to Lü, see Hu Ying-lin 霍
應麟 (f. 1590), Shao-shih-shan-fang pi-ts'ang 少室山房筆雜
(Peking, 1939), pp.607-8. For the study of Lü, see Saki Toshihiko
佐伯好郎, 'Roso zensho kō' 吕祖全書考 (The Complete
Works of Lü Yen), Tôhô Gakuhô 東方學報, No. 5 (Dec.
1934), pp.87-160; also C.E. Couling, The patriarch Lü, reputed founder of
the Chin Tan chiao, Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal
Asian Society, 58 (1927), pp.157-71. Cf. also Saki, 'Tai shin ji
no shobun ichi tsuite' 大興寺の所在地址について
(The Identification of Old Sites of the Four Nestorian Temples), Tôhô
Gakuhô, No. 3 (Dec. 1932), pp.135-8; The Nestorian Documents and Relics
in China (Tokyo, 1951), pp.398-411; Kekyö no kenkyû 景敤の研究
(Tokyo, 1935), pp.729-1; Hsiang Ta 韋相, T'ang-tai Ch'ang-ch'ing
For the study of the eight immortals, see P'u Chiang-ch'ing 濟江清, 'Pa-haien k'ao' 八仙考, The
Tsing-hua Journal, Vol.11 No.1 (1936) pp.89-136, for Lü, see section 4
(this article has been included in P'u's P'u Chiang-ch'ing wen-lu 济
江清文錄 (Peking, 1958), pp.1-46; Perceval Yetts, 'The Eight
Immortals' and 'More notes on the Eight Immortals', Journal of the
Royal Asiatic Society, 78 (Oct. 1916), pp.773-807 and 84 (1922),
pp.397-426 respectively; Chao Ching-shen 趙景深, 'Pa-haien ch'uan-shuo' 八仙傳說, The Eastern Miscellany 東方雜誌, Vol.30
No.21 (1933), pp.52-63; Richard Yang, 'A Study of the Origin of the
Legends of the Eight Immortals', Oriens Extremus, Vol.5 No.1 (1958),
pp.1-22.

308 According to Huo Hsi-ylueh 火西月 edited, Hai-shan ch'i-yü
海山奇遇, also known as Lü-tsu ti'en-p'u 吕祖年譜 (1846
1/5b-6a, the meeting of Lü Yen and Cheng Huo-lung is mentioned in the
Tao-yuan hsi-lu 道緣鵲錄 attributed to Hu Lai-hsing. But the
Tao-yuan hsi-lu (cited in ch'uan 1 ) says that Cheng Huo-lung was
Cheng Scu-ylueh 郭思遠, alias Cheng Yin 鄭隱. Cheng was the
master of the Taoist alchemist, Ko Hung, in the Chin dynasty, see Ko's
Pao-p'ei-ts'ao, Hsü-han p'en 道學筆箴, pp.96-5; see also the
For the biography of Cheng, see Hsüen-ylueh pien-chü, TT 329.
so-called line of transmission was only fabricated by Li Hsi-yüeh to enhance the prestige of the Yin-hsien sect by claiming that the teaching of San-feng whom he and his group regarded as their immediate master originated from Lao-tzu.

Apart from the Yin-hsien sect, there were other sects established in the name of Chang San-feng which flourished during the late Ch'ing period. These might be branches of the Yin-hsien sect. According to the Chu-ch'en tsung-p'ai tsung-pu 諸真宗派總簿, a record of the names of Taoist sects, that were popular in the later years of Ch'ing, held in the Pai-yun 白雲 Monastery in Peking, there are eleven sects which regarded San-feng as their first patriarch. Three of them bear the identical name of San-feng 三丰 sect. However, Yoshioka Yoshitojo 吉岡義豐 in his Dōkyō no kenkyū 道教の研究 gives the names of ten sects. These names do not correspond with those listed in the Chu-ch'en tsung-p'ai tsung-pu. Combining the two lists and eliminating the identical names there are the names of fifteen sects: La-t'a 通遇 sect, Hsin-tsung 新宗 sect, T'an-t'a 禪塔 sect, Tzu-jan 自然 sect, San-feng tsu-shih tsu-jan 三丰祖師自然 sect, San-feng 三丰 sect, San-feng tsu-shih jih-hsin 三丰祖師

303 (contd)
shang/7b-8a; Li-shih ch'en-hsien t'ie-tao ch'ung-chien, TT 143, 24/1a-b; and Ch'ing-wei hsien-p'u, TT 75, p.9b. Hence, Cheng could not have had any relationship with LU and their meeting was fabricated by advocates of Taoism.

309 This record is included in Koyanagi Shigeta 小柳司憲太, Hakunankan shi 法雲讃志 (Tokyo Kenkyūso 東京研究所, Tokyo, 1934), pp.91-121.

310 The names of the eleven sects are: La-t'a sect, Hsin-tsung sect, T'an-t'a sect, Tzu-jan sect, San-feng tsu-shih tsu-jan sect, San-feng sect (there are 3 of this name), San-feng tsu-shih jih-hsin sect, Jih-hsin sect, San-feng tsu-shih p'eng-lai sect. See Koyanagi Shigeta, Hakunankan shi, pp.113-4.

As pointed out before, there are three sects that bear the name San-feng sect, so altogether there are seventeen sects. Some of these sects may be the same society under variant names, but with the meagre sources available this is now difficult to ascertain. It should however be noted that the Chu-ch'en tsung-p'ai tsung-pu mentions that eight out of the eleven sects listed therein have their own p'ai-shih 彌詩. This serves to show that they are different sects. Not much is known about these sects except that they all flourished during the late Ch'ing period. Perhaps they can be regarded as a continuation of the cult of Chang San-feng from Ming times.

312 P'ai-shih is a poem which embodies the doctrine of a sect. Each sect has a different p'ai-shih, so that when several sects share the same name but have different p'ai-shih, they should be regarded as different sects. P'ai-shih is also called tsung-p'ai tsu-p'u 附説, and lists the names of the Taoists in the line of succession of the sect. For more information on p'ai-shih, see Yoshioka, tokyo, pp.227-8.
PART II
INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE
CHANG SAN-FENG CH'UAN-CHI
(The Complete Works of Chang San-feng)
CHAPTER 3  THE COMPILATION OF THE CHANG SAN-FENG CH’UAN-CHI

In the study of a historical figure, especially one like Chang San-feng, whose biographical profile has been blurred by a wealth of legends and whose true image is distorted by the adulation of later writers, there is need for extreme caution in the selection and use of source material in making an objective appraisal of the man and his role. Usually as a matter of course, attention focuses on the works of the person himself as the foremost primary source, always assuming he has left any works to posterity. For often a man’s writings reflect in one way or the other his ideas, activities and to some extent the spirit of the age in which he lived. Thus the Chang San-feng ch’uan-chi attributed to Chang San-feng should occupy the most important place in the study of the hagiography of this eccentric Taoist who was the subject of legend and whose cult prevailed in the early years of the Ming dynasty. However, a great drawback exists in that its contents are interwoven with doubtful elements, which instead of contributing a clear picture of the man and his milieu, erode further understanding of this figure shrouded by mystery. This part of the thesis is therefore concerned with examining the authenticity of the compendium generally, although not universally, attributed to Chang San-feng, with the object of separating gold from dross, if indeed there be any gold at all.

The most common edition of the Chang San-feng ch’uan-chi is the one included in the Tao-teang chi-yao, a collection of Taoist manuals compiled by Ho Lung-hsiang 賀龍騫 and P’eng Han-jan 彭瀚然 and published by the Erh-hsien 二仙Monastery in Chengtu, Szechwan in 1906. This compendium of Taoist writings, also known as Ch’ung-k’an tao-teang chi-yao 重刊道教輯要, has been re-edited several times by different people, the present Erh-hsien Monastery edition being by no means the first. Hence it is interesting to discover exactly when the Chang San-
feng ch'uan-ch'i was first included in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, for which purpose a summary of the history of its compilation may serve.

The initial compilation of this small-scale Taoist canon has been ascribed to P'eng Ting-ch'iu 彭定求 (1645-1719), and it is under his name that it is mentioned by Ho Lung-hsiang in his *Ch'in-ting tao-tsang ch'uan-shu tsung-mu hsiu* 鈞定道藏全書總目序. 313: I humbly read the *Tao-tsang ch'uan-shu tsung-mu* 道藏全書總目, promulgated by Sheng-tsu jen-huang-ti 聖祖仁皇帝 (i.e. Emperor Sheng-tsu 靖祖 of the Ch'ing dynasty, reigned 1662-1722), which follows entirely the Ming edition and is detailed and careful [in its compilation]. As for the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* compiled by the premier P'eng Ting-ch'iu, it is partly derived from the imperial edition and partly taken from current versions, which although pure and refined in their contents, are not included in the *Tao-tsang*. Now the Erh-hsien Monastery of Chengtu has reprinted the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, so I place the *Tao-tsang ch'uan-shu tsung-mu*, which the sovereign of this dynasty has ordered to be circulated, at the end of this collection, to let whoever reads it discern its origin. 314

Here P'eng Ting-ch'iu is alleged to be the compiler of the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* and for the sake of consistency, his name has been recorded in the Erh-hsien Monastery edition as the editor. P'eng, who in his philosophy advocated that different schools are fundamentally the same, was a Sub-expositor during the reign of K'ang-hsi. 315 If Ho Lung-hsiang is correct in stating that P'eng really was the compiler of the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, then this collection of Taoist works must have been completed between the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

However, after profound study, Professor Liu Ts'un-yen has revealed a different picture. He has detected discrepancies in the records regarding the compiler of the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* and concludes that it is highly

313 This passage is included in the *Tao-men i-ch'ien-ch'ing tsung-mu* 道門 - 道藏總目 (Tao-tsang chi-yao, 1906 ed.) 2/1a-b.
314 Ibid., p.1b.
315 A biography of P'eng written by Rufus O. Suter is found in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, pp.516-7. But there is not the faintest allusion to his compilation of the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*. 
probable that its compilation was not the work of P'eng or any contemporary of his. The earliest extant edition of the Tao-tsang chi-yao is the one edited by Chiang Yu-p'u 程子蒲 (1755-1819), published between 1796 and 1820, but this version is very hard to obtain and it is only mentioned by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo in his Dōkyō kyōten shiron 道教經典史論. According to this Japanese scholar, it is a compendium of 173 works on Taoism, all of which can be found in the Tao-teang and contains no additional material. During the period 1821 to 1900 the Tao-tsang chi-yao was published twice, with the addition of ninety-six more works than were originally included in the Tao-teang. In the year 1906 the Erh-hsien Monastery edition became available for circulation, since it included eighteen additional treatises, the total number of works in the collection was raised to 287, contained in 245 ts'e.

If the Tao-tsang chi-yao compiled and published by Chiang Yu-p'u is assumed to be the earliest version of the modern edition, those editions engraved in the years 1821 to 1900 are its second and third versions, and the present edition, printed in 1906 by the Taoist Monastery in Chengtu, should be the fourth. The present study is concerned to establish in which edition the Chang San-feng ch'ian-chi made its first appearance. As already stated, it appears that the contents of the first edition of the Tao-tsang chi-yao as edited by Chiang are substantially the same as those of the modern Tao-teang and there is no trace in this


317 A biography of Chiang is found in the Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-ch'ang ch'u-pien 鄉耆耆獻類徵初編, compiled by Li Huan 李桓 (1827-1891) (1890 ed., Taipei reprint, 1966), 94/355-37a.


319 Ibid., pp.175-6; see also Liu, ibid., p.108.
collection of any of the works attributed to Chang San-feng. With limited information as to the dates of publication, contents and inclusion of new material in the second and third editions, it is difficult to reach a definitive conclusion as to whether the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi was ever included in either of these versions. However, it is absolutely certain that the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi included in the Tao-tsang chi-yao was revised by Li Hsi-yueh in the twenty-fourth year of the Tao-kuang period (1844) of the reign of Emperor Hsian-tsung (reigned 1821-1850),\textsuperscript{320} which fixes 1844 as the earliest date that the complete works of Chang San-feng could be included in any edition of the compendium. Moreover, Ting Fu-pao 丁福保 (alias Shou-i-tzu 守一子, 1874-1952), the compiler of another compendium of Taoist writings entitled the Tao-tsang ching-hua lu, which in fact is the Tao-tsang in an abridged form, included in his collection a general table of contents to the Tao-tsang chi-yao, the 'Tao-tsang chi-yao tsung-mu' 道藏經要總目, and in the explanatory notes to the title, he gives the following account:

This book was compiled by the Vice-Minister Chiang Yüan-t'ing 蕭元庭 (i.e. Chiang Yü-p'u) during the Chia-ch'ing 晉成 period (1796-1820) of the Ch'ing dynasty. The blocks for printing were first kept in his residence in the capital (i.e. Peking), and later he delivered the blocks back south. Then again he made a northbound trip to the capital where he subsequently died. Thus there are only a few copies in circulation outside.\textsuperscript{321}

In the tsung-mu or table of contents are listed 279 titles of Taoist treatises, some of which like the works written by the noted Taoist and acclaimed patriarch of the Wu-Liu 伍柳 sect, Wu Shou-yang 伍守陽 (ca. 1563 - ca. 1632)\textsuperscript{322} and annotated by his brother Wu Shou-hsiu 伍守修, are generally considered as the patriarchs of the Wu-Liu sect. Professor Liu Ts'un-yun has written a biographical account of Wu in his Wu Shou-yang, the Return of the Ethereal ch'i' which is not yet published.

\textsuperscript{320} It is clearly indicated in the chüan-shou 欠首 of the GSFCC that the collected works were revised by Li Hsi-yueh, see 1/1a (7647). Li's preface was dated 1844, so I postulate this as the year of completion, see hsc-yeh, p.5b (7648).

\textsuperscript{321} 'Tao-tsang chi-yao tsung-mu' (Tao-tsang ching-hua lu ed.), p.1a.

\textsuperscript{322} Wu and Liu Hua-yang 柳守陽 (fl. 1790) are generally accepted as the patriarchs of the Wu-Liu sect. Professor Liu Ts'un-yun has written a biographical account of Wu in his 'Wu Shou-yang, the Return of the Ethereal ch'i' which is not yet published.
bear the titles Hsien-fo ho-tsung yü-lu 仙佛合宗語錄，
Wu ch'en-jen t'ien-hsien ch'eng-li chih-lun tseng-chu 伍真人天仙
正理直論增註，and Wu ch'en-jen t'ien-hsien ch'eng-li ch'en-shuo
tseng-chu 伍真人天仙正理淺說增註，are not to be
found in the two collections of the Tao-tsang. In other words, these
works are new additions to the Tao-tsang chi-yao. This table of contents
therefore does not refer to the first engraved edition but to the second
or the third. However, it still remains a moot question why the total
number of works mentioned by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo conflicts with that which
appears in the aforesaid table of contents. According to Yoshioka, the
second and third editions carry ninety-six titles that were not originally
included in the Tao-tsang, making together with those already in the canon
a total of 269 works, ten titles less than are shown in the table of con-
tents under discussion. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Chang San-feng
ch'üan-chi is not listed in the enumeration. In the present Erh-hsien
Monastery edition of the Tao-tsang chi-yao the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi
is found in the section hsü pi-chi 續畧集, but no such section ap-
ppears in this table of contents. It may therefore be asserted that the
hsü pi-chi was interpolated for the first time in the current edition with
the sole purpose of accommodating the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi. Further
evidence in the table of contents sustains this assumption. In the list
of titles, immediately following the entry Wu ch'en-jen lun tan-tao chiu-
p'ien 伍真人論丹道九篇 placed in the pi-chi 禪集 6, is the Chen-
kao 真詁, twenty chüan, written by T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 (452-
536),

323 For the biography of T'ao, see Liang-shu 莊書 (Erh-shih-wu shih ed.)
51/73; also Nan-shih 南史 (Erh-shih-wu shih ed.), 76/183. His
biography can also be found in the TT, entitled Hua-yang T'ao Yin-ch'i
chuan 華陽陶隐屵傳, written by Chia Sung 賈昇, see TT 151;
and his biographical account is also seen in Liu Ta-pin 劉大彬, T'ao-
shan chih 諡山志, TT 154, 10/13a; Hsiao-yao-hsi ching, TT
1081, 2/13b.

324 For a quick reference to the history of this sect, see Ch'en Kuo-fu,
(502-557) during the Epoch of Division between North and South, which occupies the *tsu-chi* 誠集 1 and 2, while in the Erh-hsien Monastery edition the *Chang San-feng ch’uan-chi* is inserted between the above two works, in the sections *hsü pi-chi* 7 to 12. This may serve to prove that the current edition of the complete works of Chang San-feng appeared for the first time in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* published in 1906.

There seems little doubt that the *Chang San-feng ch’uan-chi* was revised by Li Hsi-yleh about whom scarcely any information exists outside the compendium itself. He had several sobriquets, such as Ch’ang-i shan-jen 長乙山人 and Han-hsu-sheng 涛虚生 or Han-hsu-tzu 涛虚子. 325 His preface to the revised edition of the *Chang San-feng ch’uan-chi* was dated 1844, so he probably flourished during the Chia-ch’ing and Tao-kuang periods (1796-1850). Li was usually regarded by Taoist writers of later times as the paramount figure in the Hsi-p’ai 西派 (West sect) of the Taoist religion. 326 This Hsi-p’ai is always contrasted with the Tung-p’ai 東派 (East sect) 327 which has as its leader the distinguished

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324 (cont’d) Tao-tsang yuan-lü k’ao, Vol. 2, pp.274-6; Sun K'o-k'uan, Yuan-tai tao-chiao chih fa-chan, pp.75-155.

325 The reviser of the CSFCC signed, 'Revised by Ch’ang-i shan-jen Li Hsi-yleh 長乙山人李西湖重編', see l/la (7547), and the preface was written by 'Ch’ang-i shan-jen Han-hsu-sheng 長乙山人漢虛生'. It shows that Li Hsi-yleh was also called Ch’ang-i shan-jen and Han-hsu-sheng. His other alias Han-hsu-tzu can be found in the section *Shui-shih hsien-t’an* 水石間談 in the CSFCC, 8/51a (7819).


327 The centre of activities of the Hsi-p’ai was in Szechwan, while the Tung-p’ai prevailed along the coastal provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang. That is why they are so called, Hsi (west) and Tung (east). The basic difference between the teachings of the Hsi-p’ai and Tung-p’ai is that the former emphasizes on *tan-hsiu* 塔修 or self-cultivation regarding the cultivation of nature and life, while the latter advocates *shuang-hsiu* 聲修 or dual cultivation (between male and female).
Lu Hsi-hsing of the Ming dynasty. It is not without relevance to point out the striking similarities in their names which have prompted later generations to pair them. Lu was named Hsi-hsing (western star) while Li called himself Hsi-yüeh (western moon). Lu had an alias Ch'ien-hsü 潛虛 (secluded emptiness) and similarly Li bore an anonym Han-hsü (to embody emptiness). This might be a conscious attempt on the part of Li Hsi-yüeh to follow the style of his predecessor in order to boost his own image and add lustre to the reputation of his religious sect.

The Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi also contains a description of a person by the name of Li Yuan-chih 李元植, alias P'in-ch'uan 蒲蒔, a native of Lo-shan district in Szechwan. What merits our attention is that he had a studio name Ch'ang-i shan-fang 長乙山房 which instantly recalls the hao of Li Hsi-yüeh, the Ch'ang-i shan-jen. Like Li Hsi-yüeh, Yuan-chih was also an enthusiastic advocate of Taoist practices, and a poem exhibiting his passionate admiration for the Taoist Chang San-feng is included in the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi. These two threads appear to tie the two figures together as one, or at least to suggest, though no conclusive evidence can prove, that the two might be the same person.

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328 For Lu, see Note 145.
329 There is a short biographical note on Li in the section Ku-chin t'i-tseng 古今題贈 in CSEPCC, 8/73a (7830).
330 Ibid.
331 Hsu Hai-yin 徐海印, a contemporary Taoist devotee, maintains that Li Hsi-yüeh was formerly called Li Yuan-chih. But he cannot ad-duce substantial evidence to prove his assumption. See his 'Li Han-hsü ch'en-jen hai'ao-ch'uan' 李涵虛真人小傳, in his Hai-yin shan-jen t'an-tao chi 海印山人傳道集 (Taipei, 1968), pp.139-45. It should also be pointed out that the Lo-shan haien chih 古山縣志, compiled by Huang Jung 黃肱 and others (1934 ed., Taipei reprint, 1967) includes the account of a person called Li P'ing-ch'uan 龔平權, hao Han-hsü 涵虛. He was a native of Lo-shan and studied under Li Chia-hsü 李嘉秀 (see Note 332). He wrote a book bearing the title Ku-ken-shu 無根樹. See 9/6a-b. It therefore appears that Li P'ing-ch'uan is identical with Li Hsi-yüeh. First of all, they had the same hao; secondly, Li Hsi-yüeh, as
Besides Li Hsi-yleh, two other persons contributed to the compilation and publication of the collected works of Chang San-feng. The prefaces to the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi state that they are Tun-yüan chü-shih and Liu Cho-an, their real names being unable to verify. The preface by Li Chia-hsiu presents the following information:

Ch'ang-i shan-jen and Tun-yüan chü-shih are people who are impervious to fame and riches, and they have acquired the work of the master (i.e. Chang San-feng) from the house of Wang T'an, the sixth descent to the line of Wang Hsi-ling, to be discussed later. Seventy to eighty percent of the total work is extant, and to make them complete collected material from other works and added them to Wang's edition.

In his own preface, Li Hsi-yleh also mentioned the benefactor who sponsored the publication of this voluminous work:

Mister Liu Cho-an has obtained Wang Hsi-ling's edition of the [Chang San-feng hsien-sheng ch'uan-chi] which he supplemented with additional material and published for transmission.

The passages above serve to shed much light on the role played by Tun-yüan chü-shih and Liu Cho-an in bringing to light the collected works attributed to the eccentric Taoist, Chang San-feng. It is probably that all the honours were attributed to Li Hsi-yleh, while the others remained obscure.

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331 (contd)

is seen from the CSFCC, was closely associated with Li Chia-hsiu; and lastly, Hsi-yleh had paraphrased a work entitled Wu-ken-shu, generally attributed to Chang San-feng. Li's commentary is found in the appendix of the CSFCC. Thus it is not without reason to suspect that Li P'ing-ch'üan and Li Hsi-yleh might be the same person. But this assumption requires further proof and is still open to investigation.

332 Li Chia-hsiu was formerly called Chia-hsiu. He became a chin-shih in 1819. His name appears in the list of chin-shih of the Ch'ing dynasty, see Tseng-chiao Ch'ing-ch'ao chin-shih ti-ming pei-tu and enlarged and re-edited by Fang Chao-ying and Tu Lien-che (Harvard Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supp. No.13, Peking, 1941), p.27. There is also a biographical account of Li in CSFCC, 8/69b (7828).

333 CSFCC, hsii-yeh, pp.4a-b (7642).

334 Ibid., p.5b (7643).
because Li Hsi-yüeh had made the greatest effort in carrying out the task of compiling the collection, or perhaps because he was the more famous figure in Taoist circles during the Chia-ch'ing and Tao-kuang periods. In a preface written by Tung Ch'eng-hsi, Li is depicted as the sole editor, and no recognition is made of the contribution of the other two persons:

I have obtained, in the studio of Mister Li, the *San-feng ch'uan-chi* 夢用全集 which was in the possession of the late Mister Wang Meng-chou, a Kuan-ch'uan (Intendant) of Chien-nan [Circuit] 建南(四川). Mister Li thought that the book had been kept for such a long time that it was worn out and had become unfit for reading; thus he was anxious to have the work engraved in order to preserve it. Meanwhile, he also collected other works that had been engraved on blocks and kept in renowned mountains, or hand-copied volumes preserved in Taoist monasteries. All these he used to supplement the missing parts of the *San-feng ch'uan-chi* which is voluminous and appears to be the work of a master.

Obviously the Mister Li mentioned in the above passage is Li Hsi-yüeh who masterminded the whole operation.

Also, Tung Ch'eng-hsi's words indicate that there existed, before Li Hsi-yüeh, an earlier version of the collected works of Chang San-feng which was held in the possession of Wang Hsi-ling who left the work to one of his descendants, Wang T'an. There is scarcely any material on the life of T'an but for his ancestor, Hsi-ling, a modicum of biographical information can be gleaned from some of the works included in the *Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi*. Apart from the works written by Wang himself, such as

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335 Tung, whose biography can be found in *CSFCC*, 9/69b (7638), became a chin-shih in 1817. His name appears in the list of chin-shih, but 'Hsi' reads 'Hsi'-yüeh, see Tseng-chiao Ch'ing-ch'ao chin-shih t'ai-ming pei-lu, p.147.

336 *CSFCC*, Hsi-yüeh, p.3a (7642).

337 His name appears in the 1816 edition of the *Sou-ch'uan t'ung-chih* 南園總集 in the section 'Officials' under the column 'Kuan-ch'uan', the entry reads, 'Wang Hsi-ling, a chien-sheng 聘生 (national university student) from Chiang-tu 江都, Kiangsu. He was appointed [a Kuan-ch'uan] in the fifty-fifth year of the K'ang-hsi period (1715).' See *Sou-ch'uan t'ung-chih*, compiled by Yang Fang-ts'uan 楊芳鬆 (1754-1815) and others (1816 ed., Taipei reprint, 1957), 103/24a.
the 'San-feng tsu-shih ch'u-lan-chi hsi'u' 二手房師全集序, 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan', 'Ts'ang-shui-chü chi' 藏跡居記 (Record of a hidden life), and his two forewords to the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi and Yun-shui hou-chi 雲水後集,338 which serve to sketch the profile of this official of Taoist bent, there are other works that shed light on his life, for instance, the 'Wang Hsi-ling chuan' 汪錫齡傳 (The biography of Wang Hsi-ling), by Ts'ang-yai chü-shih 藏涯居士,339 and 'Tu Wang Meng-chiu' 唐汪夢九 (On the conversion of Wang Hsi-ling), probably from the hand of Li Hsi-yueh.340 However, as these accounts abound in legendary and fictitious embellishments, instead of helping us to understand the man they only supply misleading information. Nevertheless, leaving aside what is obviously legendary, a picture of the life of this advocate of Taoism of early Ch'ing times still emerges.

According to the records written by himself and other authors, Wang was born in 1664, the third year of the K'ang-hsi reign, and died at the age of sixty in 1724, during the period when Emperor Shih-tsung 世宗 (reigned 1723-1735) was the sovereign.341 In his 'Ts'ang-shui-chü chi', Wang gives a short description of himself:

338 See CSECC, hsiu-yeh, pp.1a-b (7641); 1/8a-11b (7650-2); 1/43a-b (7688); 5/1a (7751); and 5/12a (7757) respectively.
339 Ibid., 1/17a (7655).
340 Ibid., pp.41b-43a (7667-8).
341 The date of his birth is mentioned in Ts'ang-yai chü-shih's 'Wang Hsi-ling chuan', '[Wang] was born at the shen 申 hour (i.e. about 4 p.m.) on the eighteenth day of the tenth month in the third year of K'ang-hsi (1564)', see Note 339. His death date is recorded in a short note in 'Tu Wang Meng-chiu' which reads, '[He] ascended to heaven (i.e. died) at the ch'ou 正 hour (i.e. from 1 to 3 a.m.) on the seventh day of the second month of the second year of Yung-cheng 興宗 (1724)', see Note 340.
My name is Hsi-ling, tsu Meng-chiu and hao YIan-t'ung. Originally a native of Mount Shui-chia in Shehsien, I later transferred and resided in the Chiang-tu district of the prefecture of Yang-chou. I have held successive posts as Pieh-chia (Assistant Magistrate of a subprefecture), Chou-mu (Subprefecture Magistrate), and served in the ministries of Revenue and Works, and eventually I was appointed a Xuan-ch'a of Chien-nan [Circuit]. Then I received from Master Chang San-feng the esoteric method of cultivation.

It is inconceivable that Wang Hsi-ling of the Ch'ing dynasty could have sought enlightenment directly from Chang San-feng, a popular figure in the early decades of the Ming regime, unless this saying is interpreted to mean that through fervent admiration of Chang San-feng, Wang cultivated himself in the style generally attributed to Chang. In fact, apart from the part of his biographical account just quoted, which may be close to historical truth, all other narratives relating to him, whether written by himself or by other hands, turn Wang into a man ensnared in a net of miraculous stories. For example, Wang himself was perfectly serious in claiming that he had met Chang San-feng in person. In the preface to the Chang San-feng ch'ian-chi, he gives a vivid description of their encounter:

"It was indeed fortunate for me to have met the patriarch (i.e. Chang San-feng) who admonished me with sententious words, and summoned me to his presence to talk to him... again I had the privilege of being instructed in person by the patriarch..."

His association with Chang San-feng is treated in greater detail in his account of the Taoist master, 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan'.

Again, in his preface to the Yün-shui hou-chi, Wang recounts his affiliation with the master, Chang San-feng:

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342 CSFCC, 1/43a (7669).
343 Ibid., hsü-yeh, pp. la-b (7641).
344 Ibid., 1/11a-b (7652). For translation of the passage, see Chapter 1, p.41-2.
The master travelled like a god above the skies and across the seas. Occasionally he would come to see me at my office of Intendant of Chien-nan Circuit. Each time he would show me some of the poems that he had newly composed.

This inconceivable communication between two persons of two distant periods is also mentioned in other places. Ts'ang-yai chü-shih, whom we are unable to identify, writes thus in the biography of Wang Hsi-ling:

[Wang] met the master at Mount O-mei and had perceived the essence of the Way... after he had accomplished the cultivation of the pill, his spirit then departed from his body (i.e. a Taoist way of death).

Furthermore, in the section Hsien-chi which is a collection of records of the appearances of Chang San-feng occurring at different times and in different places, there is an entry depicting the conversion of Wang Hsi-ling by the master himself. This passage entitled 'Tu Wang Meng-chiu' which is alleged to have been written by Li Hsi-yueh, presents a narrative that brings Chang San-feng, Wang Hsi-ling and another character by the name of Shen Wan-san into the scene:

Unexpectedly he (i.e. Wang Hsi-ling) met the sage, Master Chang San-feng, who came for a visit, at Mount O-mei, and upon first sight they got together like old friends... He thus apprehended that he was originally derived from the spirit of Shen Wan-san and had come to stay in this world. He also learned that [Chang] San-feng was his gracious master, so he invoked further instruction and salvation. The master then imparted to him the principles [for the cultivation] of the golden pill... He usually had contacts with the master during night-time... Again he met the master who taught him the esoteric method [of cultivation]... And his sickness became even more serious, for over a month he had not taken a single pain, yet his face grew red and looked invigorated. One day he [bade farewell] to his brother, saying, '[Henceforward] you have to serve our father kindly, for I have to go soon'. Then he applied incense to his body, cleaned himself and had his garments adjusted. [When all was ready], a veil of faint colourful clouds enshrouded him, when suddenly a stream of vapour was seen emitting from the top of his head, then he passed away. When the corpse was lifted to be put into the coffin, it was as light as the husk of the cicada. Hence they knew he had attained the Way and became an immortal... Thereafter, a woodcutter from Pa-nan (South Szechwan) saw him at Mount O-mei where he followed an extraordinary Taoist priest scudding among the steep cliffs. He appeared

345 Ibid., 5/12a (7757).
346 'Wang Hsi-ling chuan', see Note 339.
the same as in those days when he was alive, wearing his moustache and beard gracefully as before.\footnote{347}

Of course, this account is entirely grotesque since it is contrary to the law of nature for two persons living in two different dynasties to have communication. Rational explanations for the contact between Wang and the master might be, firstly, the outcome of hallucinations stemming from his intense devotion to Chang San-feng; secondly and more probably, all the alleged meetings were the product of a popular Taoist practice of communicating with immortals generally known as fu-chi扶箕 or planchette writing. The performance of this occult practice, during which the planchette is held either by one or more participants and both the adherents' questions and answers supposedly given by the spirits invoked are written on sand prepared beforehand for the occasion, has a history going back to the Sung Kingdom (420-478) during the Epoch of Division between North and South.\footnote{348} It became a vogue in the Ming and Ch'ing periods, especially among the literati.\footnote{349} At that time, the practice was exploited for many purposes, namely, to enquire about one's fortune or as

\footnote{347} 'Tu Wang Menc-chiu' (see Note 340), pp.42a-43a (7557-8).

\footnote{348} The late Professor Hsiü Ti-shan許地山 had made a study of the prevailing practice of planchette writing during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties in his Fu-chi mi-hsin ti yen-chiu扶箕迷信研究 (Shanghai, 1941), which has become a pioneering work on the topic. According to Professor Hsiü, the first mention of the practice in extant records is found in Liu Ching-shu's 劉敬叔 (fl. 426) I-yüan異苑 (Chin-tai pi-shu ed.), 5/5b-6a. It relates that a female immortal Tzu-ku shen 臧姑神 was invoked to the practice. For a review of Hsiü's work, see Liu Ts'un-yan, 'Hsiü Ti-shan chu Fu-chi mi-hsin yen-chiu'許地山著「扶箕迷信研究」, Ta-feng大風, 93(July 1941), pp.3141-3.

\footnote{349} In many miscellaneous notes written by Ming and Ch'ing writers, such as Lang Ying's Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao, Yuan Hsi's 袁紹 (1716-1758) Ts'ai-pu-ya子不語, Chi Yün's 翟駝的 (1724-1805) Yüen-wei ts'ao-t'ang p'i-chi 越微草堂筆記, etc., there is mention of this popular practice.
often as not to ask about the examination paper and the result in the state examinations, which were then the ladder to success. Occasionally, the spirits invoked, which included immortals and famous historical figures, would exchange verses with the scholars attending the performance. During the Ch'ing epoch, altars for performing this practice were established in almost every town, city, district and prefecture, especially in such regions as Chekiang and Kiangsu where most of the literati of that time centred and most of the cultural activities were carried out. According to records, some ranking officials in the Manchu regime were accustomed to settle their queries regarding administration through the help of the spirits through this practice. It was said that even the celebrated Tseng Kuo-fen (1811-1872), a model Confucian statesman and scholar who was honoured by his contemporaries and remembered by posterity for his ability in military leadership, literary attainments, and above all, for his reintegration of the Manchu monarchy challenged by the Taiping rebels and upholding of the Confucian heritage in an era when the Chinese tradition was at stake, was amazed by the prediction obtained through planchette writing.

350 Ch'en Ch'yi-yuan 陈其元 (b. 1812) recorded in his Yung-hsien-chai pi-chi 輔聞掌記 (Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan ed.) that T'ang Ya-t'ing 胡駸亭, a magistrate of Tz'u-ch'ı 漳池, Chekiang, would consult the spirits through planchette writing whenever he had to make any decision on the administration of the district, see 2/8b.

351 For the biography of Tseng, see Ch'ing-shih kao 清史稿, compiled by Chao Erh-hsin 趙爾巽 (1844-1927) and others (Peking, 1927), 4/1/1-7; see also Tseng's biography written by Teng Ssu-yü 鄧嗣禹, in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, pp. 751-6.

352 Hsiieh Pu-ch'eng 謝嶽成 (1838-1890) recounts in his Yung-an pi-chi 輔聞掌記 that Tseng, despite his disbelief of this superstitious practice, was greatly astounded by the prediction produced through planchette writing which said that there would be bad news for the Ch'ing army. Subsequently the Emperor's troops were defeated by the Taiping rebels at San-ho 孫河, Anhwei, (in 1858). See Yung-an pi-chi (Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan ed.), 6/3b-4a.
To return to Wang Hsi-ling, it appears that he was merely recalling what he had seen during the performance of this much favoured practice when he professed that he had direct and regular contacts with Chang San-feng. In fact, throughout his works we witness his reminiscences of his anomalous communications with the master and other Taoist figures which can only be accounted for by equating them with planchette writing.

Therefore, when Wang Hsi-ling claimed that he was the reincarnation of Shen Wan-san, he was again referring to his experience through practising planchette writing. Shen was an affluent merchant who flourished in the early years of the Ming dynasty and whose excessive wealth was the prime reason for his disfavour with Emperor T'ai-tsu who regarded his riches as a menace to the state. It was only through the intercession of Empress Ma that Shen was able to escape the ill fate of a heavy penalty. Instead he was banished to Yunnan. It is a sheer impossibility that Wang Hsi-ling could have had any communication with this wealthy man of the Hung-wu period of the Ming dynasty.

Shen Wan-san is mentioned in various places in the MS. For instance, the Biography of Empress Ma records, Shen Hsiu 沈秀 was a rich merchant from Wu-hsing 鄉興 (Chekiang). After having helped in the building of one third of the walls of the capital, he proposed to distribute money to the Emperor's troops for consolation. [To this] the Emperor was enraged and reproached him, saying, "An ordinary man who tries to distribute money to the soldiers of the Son of Heaven (i.e. the emperor) is a rebel and must be executed." The Empress remonstrated, saying, "I have heard that the law was made to punish the unlawful but not to execute an inauspicious person. Now that your subordinate is so wealthy that he has become a rival to the state, then he is inauspicious. For those who are unlucky, we beseech thee. Why do Your Majesty bother to kill him?" Hsiu was then discharged and banished to Yunnan.  

MS, 113/281. Also, Shen is mentioned in the Biographies of Chi Kang 詹 Kang (fl.1339-1403) and Wang Hsing 王行 (1331-1395), in MS, 307/769 and 285/706 respectively. According to these records, Shen was active in the Hung-wu period. Lang Ying had written a biographical sketch of Shen in his Chi-hsiu Lai-kao, 6/126. For recent studies on this figure, see, among others, Huang Chih-kang 黃芝閔, 'Shen Wan-san ch'uan-shuo k'ao' 沈範传説考,  

The foregoing is an attempt to show how the biographical accounts of Wang Hsi-ling are a confusion of historical truth and legend. What is important to the present study is that they confirm that Wang was the man responsible for the initial compilation of the extant *Chang San-feng ch'\'an-chi*. The meagre sources do not shed much light on the original contents of Wang's version completed in 1723, however, a vague idea of its outline can still be gathered from material found in the present edition revised by Li Hsi-yüeh. For Li, when carrying out his revision, endeavoured to preserve all the prefaces written by Wang Hsi-ling, and from such fragments a partial reconstruction of Wang's edition can be made.

First of all, in his introduction to the *Chang San-feng ch'\'an-chi*, Wang made the following statement:

So I took the *Tan-ching* 丹經 (Book on the golden pill), two chüan, and a number of poems and prose pieces written by the patriarch, and read them from morning till night in order to seek relief from the [mundane world]...I then record thirty odd entries about the revelations of the patriarch in order to preserve them.355

Elsewhere, in his biography of Chang San-feng, Wang Hsi-ling relates the transmission by the master of the 'Tan-ching pi-chüeh' 丹經秘訣 (Secret methods of the cultivation of the pill), one *chüan* 餘, and the entire *Ch'ien-yao p'ien* 接要篇 (On the prompt principles) consisting of two chüan.356 Meanwhile, he also furnishes further detail regarding his acquisition of the works which he took to be written by Chang San-feng whom he ardently adored. In his preface to the *Yun-shui ch'ien-chi*, he recalled:

*Yun-shui ch'ien-chi* was written by Master San-feng in the interim period between the Yüan and Ming dynasties...I obtained this work in a book-shop at Yang-chou in the fifty-ninth year of the K'ang-hsi period (1720), and I treasure and preserve it...357

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354 Wang's preface to the *CSFCC* was dated 1723, see *hsü-yeh*, p.2a (7541).
355 *CSFCC*, *hsü-yeh*, p.1b (7641).
356 Ibid., 1/11a (7652).
357 Ibid., 5/1a (7751).
According to this remark in his own preface to the *Yun-shui hou-chi*, the work was imparted to him by the master himself, as he wrote:

*Yun-shui hou-chi* was written by the master after our meeting. The master travelled like a god above the skies and across the seas, and was fond of chanting loudly. Occasionally he came to visit me at my office of Intendant of Chien-nan Circuit. Each time he would show me some of the poems that he had newly composed, which I gathered and transcribed. There are so many of them that they form a full volume. Sometime later they will be published together with the *Yun-shui* *ch'ien-chi*, as a record of the vestiges of the master, which will reveal the splendour and mystery of my master.358

Apart from Wang's own claims, the accounts of others illustrate the part played by Wang in bringing about the completion of the first version of the *Chang San-feng ch'ian-chi*. In the first place, Ts'ang-yai chu-shih, when recounting the biography of Wang, remarked about the compilation:

[Wang Hsi-ling] collated the *Hsuan-yao p'ien* 玄要篇 and wrote the 'San-feng pen-chuan' 三峰编篇, *Hsien-chi* and other works which are transmitted to posterity.359

Secondly, Li Hsi-yüeh who revised the *Chang San-feng ch'ian-chi* according to Wang's version, points out the source for some of the works that were attributed to Chang San-feng and were found in the initial compilation. He says:

The patriarch wrote many works during Yuan and Ming times. His collected poems appear under the name *Yun-shui chi*, and he had a number of prose writings. All these are to be found in the version kept by Meng-chiu (i.e. Wang Hsi-ling).360

Similarly, in another passage by Li Hsi-yüeh, the 'Tu Wang Meng-chiu', Wang Hsi-ling is alleged to have obtained the *Chin-tan yao-ehih* 金丹要旨 from Chang San-feng.361 But it is unclear whether this term is the title of a book or merely means 'the principles of the cultivation of the golden pill'. In the *Fan-li*卷 (Editorial notes) of the *Chang San-feng

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358 Ibid., p.12a (7757)
359 Same as Note 339.
360 Ibid., 1/22a-b (7657).
361 Ibid., p.42a (7667); cf. Note 340.
ch’i’an chi are mentioned the Ta-tao lun 文道論 (On the Great Way), Hsüan-chi chih-ch’iang 玄撰真講 (On the mysterious mechanism) and Hsüan-yao p’ien (On the mysterious principles) the titles of which, according to the compiler, were chosen in compliance with the will of Wang Hsi-ling, thus we know that these three works were originally included in Wang’s edition.

To sum up, the following rough picture of the contents of the supposed first edition of the extant Chang San-feng ch’i’an chi emerges:

1. Works on the cultivation of the pill: i) Tan-ch’ing, two chüan (probably identical with the Ta-tao lun and Hsüan-chi chih-ch’iang)  
   ii) 'Tan-ch’ing pi-chih-ch’ih', one chüan.  
   iii) Chin-ten yao-chih

2. Poems:  
   i) Yün-shui ch’ien-chi  
   ii) Yün-shui hou-chi  
   iii) Chieh-yao p’ien, two chüan (also known as Hsüan-yao p’ien or Chieh-yao p’ien 魂要篇 363)

3. Prose works: contents unknown.

4. Biography: i) 'San-feng pen chuan'

5. Revelations: Over thirty entries.

It is certain that the last two items, that is, the biography and revelations were composed by Wang. The treatises, poems and prose writings on the other hand were attributed to Chang San-feng. However, a careful reading of Wang’s description of his acquisition of these works sheds much light on the problem of authorship, the core of the present study. Wang Hsi-ling himself gave a full account of how he came into the possession of

362 Ibid., Fon-li, p.2a (7644).

363 In the preface attributed to Chang San-feng to Hsüan-yao p’ien, there is a passage reading, 'I, [Chang] Hsüan-su 許玄素 (one of his aliases), am favoured by Providence to have attained [the Way]. Though I dare not divulge ruthlessly the truth [that was imparted to me], yet I am afraid to remain silent and obstruct the spread of the Way. Therefore, I have composed some songs, essays, poems and ts’u 題 poems on the subject of the cultivation of the internal pill and external pill and compiled them together in order to enlighten the students. These works are entitled Hsüan-yao p’ien.' See CSFCC, 2/19b (7679). Immediately following the words 'Hsüan-yao p’ien' there is a short note reading, 'also known as Chieh-yao p’ien'. It is not known who added this note, but there is a strong possibility that the preface was fabricated by Wang Hsi-ling himself. The authenticity of these works is discussed in the following chapters. It is indicated elsewhere in the CSFCC that the Chieh-yao
the *Pan-ch'ung* in two *ch'uan* and other poems and discourses ascribed to Chang San-feng. Wang's preface to the *Chang San-feng ch'un-ch'i* contains a passage depicting the meeting between Wang and the master which has a bearing on this question:

I, Hai-ling, am an ordinary official among the winds and dust [of the mundane world], without knowledge of the origin of myself. When young I studied the Confucian classics with the hope of serving the state, but now I am extremely tired [of worldly matters] and I am going to seek a permanent abode in Yün-shan 延山 (Szechwan) where I can travel along with An-ch'i 安期 and Haian-men 會門. Formerly I served as an official in Chien-nan and later was transferred to a post in the district of Yung-pei 永 (Yunnan). The career of an official is like the fluctuation of the waves and I was worried and exhausted [struggling] in the sea of dust (i.e. the world). It was indeed fortunate for me to have met the patriarch (i.e. Chang San-feng) who admonished me with sententious words, and summoned me to his presence to talk to him. He said, 'Now that the sage ruler is ruling from high, working under him there are virtuous premiers, famous dukes and ministers who will assist in the governing of the state. [He has no need of you]. You must not forget the time when we stayed together at Mount P'eng-shan 彭山 (Szechwan)! I then retreated and pondered and began to apprehend the truth...So I took the *Pan-ch'ung*, two *ch'uan*, and a number of poems and prose pieces written by the patriarch and read them from morning till night in order to seek relief from the [mundane world]....

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363 (contd)

*p'ien* is the same as the *Hsian-yao p'ien* or *Chieh-yao p'ien* 仙藥篇. For instance, an entry in the *Fan-li* reads, 'The list of Taoist books in the section *Wen-hen* 文軒 of the Ming-shih 明史 (actually there is no such section in MS, possibly the compiler refers to the *I-wen chi* 文志 or bibliographical section) includes the master's *Ch'ian chih-chih* 山川 and *Ch'ian-chih pi-chi* 仙川 one *chüan* and *Ch'ien-tan pi-chi* 仙川 one *chüan*, which are equivalent to the extant *Tsao-foo lin* 草foo 棍, *Hsian-yao chi* 仙藥志 and *Hsian-yao p'ien*. *Hsian-yao p'ien* is also called *Chieh-yao p'ien* 仙藥篇 or *Chieh-yao p'ien* 仙藥篇. All these titles are mentioned in the *Shen-hsien t'ung-chien*. [As these works have variant titles], I name them according to the Wang's version which was collated by the master himself, and make no further alterations'. *Fan-li*, p.2a (7644).

364 An-ch'i and Haian-men are the surnames of two immortals. Haian-men was said to flourish in the Ch'in 秦 dynasty (221-207 B.C.). Emperor Shih-huang 始皇 (reigned 221-210 B.C.) sent an expedition led by Lu-shang 魯勝 to seek the immortal. See Basic Annals of Emperor Shih-huang, *Shih-chi*, 6/25. An-ch'i, also known as An-ch'i-sheng 安期生 or Ch'ien-sui-kung 千歲公, was alleged to reveal himself in the Han 漢 dynasty when Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 (reigned 140-87 B.C.) also tried to search for him but in vain. See Basic Annals of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝, *Shih-chi*, 12/43.

As was pointed out before, the only reasonable explanation for Wang's alleged rendezvous is that he was able through the practice of plan-chette writing to exchange conversation with the Ming Taoist master, and consequently those works which he claimed were imparted to him by the master were in fact written by his own hand. In other words, the scripture on the cultivation of the pill, which is item (i) in category (1) in the reconstructed table of contents of Wang's version of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, and the poems and prose works in categories 2 and 3 are spurious. Furthermore, according to the prefaces written by Wang himself and by Li Hsi-yüeh, the "Tan-ching pi-ch'ien" and Ch'un-tan yao-chih (in category 1) were also transmitted to Wang from the hand of the eccentric Taoist, Chang San-feng.\footnote{366} Once again, this claim is only a deception to conceal the true authorship, clearly these works were not written by Chang San-feng.

In his preface to the Yun-shui hou-chi, Wang Hsi-ling stated plainly that this work was written by the master after their encounter which, according to Wang, took place when the master arrived at his office during the latter's ecstatic excursions. Each time they met, Chang San-feng presented newly composed poems to Wang, who collected and recorded them. This is how the collected poems in Yun-shui hou-chi attributed to Chang San-feng originated, according to the words of Wang.\footnote{367} Since a meeting of Chang San-feng and Wang Hsi-ling who was alleged to be his favoured disciple is inconceivable, likewise the authenticity of the Yun-shui hou-chi is dubious. It was probably made up by Wang himself. However, at least here he was candid in his presentation, as he explicitly disclosed his ingenious explanation of how these poems were composed. Not so when he remarked on the composition of the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi, the preceding

\footnote{366} See p.108, 109 and Notes 356 and 361.  
\footnote{367} Cf. the passage quoted in p.109 (Note 358).
volume of the aforementioned collected poems. In this case he attempts to impress on the reader the fact that these poems were really the literary products of Chang San-feng. This intention is made clear in his preface which includes the following passage:

_Yun-shui ch'ien-chi_ was composed by my master San-feng during the interim period between the Yuan and Ming dynasties. It was included in the Ta-tien 太典 (i.e. Yung-lo ta-tien 永樂大典) by Hu Kuang 胡應 唐 (1370-1418) during the Yung-lo era, and only a few copies were circulated outside. When an imperial decree was issued to seek for Taoist books during the Chia-ching period, the same work was extracted from the Ta-tien, published for wide circulation, and promulgated for distribution among [such people] as the Kuo-shiu 經師 (Instructor of the state) etc. [1]. Hsi-ling, obtained this work at a book-shop in Yang-chou in the fifty-ninth year of the K'ang-hsi period (1720). I preserve with the greatest care this book which was originally held by Hua-ku 華谷. If anyone of later generations can publish and help in the circulation of this work, it is certain that the cult of the master will be transmitted, and by reading his poems one will perceive that his pure disposition and lofty principles are beyond our reach. 368

Here Wang Hsi-ling tries to convince the reader that Chang San-feng was the author of these works, so he antedates their year of composition to the period between the latter part of the Mongol regime and the rise of the Chu house, for it was generally believed that the public life of Chang San-feng spanned nearly half a century from the downfall of the Yuan dynasty to the Yung-lo period. 369

The statement that the _Yun-shui ch'ien-chi_ had been incorporated into the Yung-lo ta-tien by Hu Kuang is by no means convincing, though there is no concrete evidence to contradict this. But it should be stressed that this voluminous encyclopedia which was compiled during the years 1403-1408 was not accessible to ordinary scholar-officials. Not until 1773 when Emperor Kao-tsung of the Ch'ing dynasty ordered the establishment of the Ssu-k'u ch'uan shu kuan 四庫全書館 (The Office for the compilation of the Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu 四庫全書) and launched the massive

368 Cf. CCSFCC, 5/1a (7751).

369 For discussion of the dates of the life of Chang San-feng, see Chapter 2, pp.65-78, especially pp.75-6.
project of compiling a *ts'ung shu* divided into the categories of classics, history, philosophy and literature, were the Hanlin scholars participating in the operation given access to the second transcribed copy of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*. Nevertheless, of its original 22,877 ch'üan, 2,422 were lost during the many years of confusion and chaos at the fall of the Ming dynasty. Wang Hai-ling lived in the period between 1654 and 1724, and, being alow ranking official posted in the outer provinces, it is improbable that he could have had the privilege of reading the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, which was housed in the Hanlin Academy in the capital. Also, in the general table of contents of this encyclopedia, the *Yung-lo ta-tien mu-lu* in sixty ch'üan, which is arranged according to a rhyme scheme, there are no traces of works attributed to Chang San-fung. Therefore, Wang Hai-ling was probably mistaken in his assertion. The passage quoted above also contains mention of the search for Taoist treatises during the Chia-ching period. This is a historical fact, for the campaign was motivated by the penchant for Taoism of Emperor Shih-tsung who was under the influence of many Taoist

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370 When first completed the *Yung-lo ta-tien* was to contain 22,877 ch'üan in 12,000 ts'ie. The Cheng-pen (original copy) was first housed in Peking and was transcribed into two Fu-pen (duplicate copies) in 1667. Then the original copy was transferred to Nanking, the first duplicate copy was kept in Wen-yan ko (Palace Library) and the second in Huang-shih-ch'eng (Imperial history archives). The original copy was completely destroyed during the turbulent years at the end of the Ming dynasty. For the duplicate copies, the first was transferred to the Ch'ien-ch'ing Palace Palace by the order of Emperor Shih-tsung who reigned 1644-1661 of the Ch'ing dynasty, while the second was moved to the Hanlin Academy. It was used by the editors of the *Su-k'u ch'ien-shu* during the Ch'ien-lung period. But then, of the whole, 2,422 ch'üan were lost. Again, many volumes were dispersed after the 1911 revolution and now there are only about 200 ts'ie extant. Among numerous studies on the history of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, see Kuo Po-kung, *Yung-lo ta-tien k'ao 永樂大典考* (Taipei reprint, 1952), especially the part on the discussion of the condition of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* in the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty, see pp. 121-5.

371 In fact, he might derive his idea from the *Li-tai shen-haien t'ung-chien* which states that Hu Kung had submitted some of Chang San-fung's works to Emperor Ch'eng-tsu. See 22/3/32. Wang Hai-ling was possibly prompted by this saying to assume that those works were also included in the comprehensive *Yung-lo ta-tien*.
priests such as T'ao Chung-wen 陶仲文 (d.1560). 372 The Basic Annals of Emperor Shih-tsung in Ming-shih record, 'On the i-yu 乙酉 (fifth day) of the eleventh month of the forty-first year of the Chia-ching reign, (1562), [Emperor Shih-tsung] dispatched censors to seek treatises of fang-shih 方士. '373 Perhaps it is this historical statement which inspired Wang Hsi-ling to make his unfounded assumption that the works attributed to Chang San-feng were extracted from the Kung-lo ta-tien for publication at this time.

The foregoing passage quoted from the preface by Wang Hsi-ling mentions 'Hua-ku' as the original owner of the Yün-shui ch'ien-ohi. As has been pointed out when discussing the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan' attributed to Lu Hsi-hsing in Chapter 1, Hua-ku was alleged to be the sixth generation descendant of Chang San-feng.374 Chang was said to visit his descendant who, according to the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan', was a friend of Lu:

...The old immortal (i.e. Chang San-feng) once came to his (i.e. Hua-ku) residence. [During their conversation], in reply to an enquiry about his anecdotes in past years, [Chang] wrote several poems in memory of his roaming life. He also composed a few chang of Pao-kao 布貼 (patents) and one han 丹 (wrapper) of Tan-chi 茶計. He ordered [Hua-ku] to preserve these works with great care.375

The poems, which Chang wrote 'in memory of his roaming life', cited in the quotation above refers to the Yün-shui ch'ien-ohi. On comparing Wang Hsi-ling's preface to the Yün-shui ch'ien-ohi and the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan', a striking discrepancy appears. In the latter it is remarked that when Chang San-feng was composing his poems, he would draft them 'on the bark of trees, mosses or rocks, or between tea, soup, spoon and chopsticks

373 MS, 18/34.
374 See Chapter 1, p.41.
375 CSFCC, 1/6b-7a (7649-50).
(i.e., during meals). Even after several decades he could still memorize [what he had written before], yet he had never recorded them [properly] to show to others. Thus he was not known to the literati of the Yuan dynasty. If what is said here is reliable, then the works of Chang San-feng, always supposing he composed any, were not known to the world during the Yuan dynasty, and there is no evidence to suggest that his works had been collected into volumes in the course of the early decades of the Ming regime. Thus it is improbable that they could have been included in the Yung-lo ta-tien which comprised books hitherto published.

However, Wang Hsi-ling claimed that the Yün-shui ch‘ien-ch‘i contained in the collection of Hua-ku, was extracted from the all-comprehensive encyclopedia, Yung-lo ta-tien, when Emperor Shih-tsung strove to bring all Taoist texts to his notice during the Chia-ching period. According to Wang, therefore, the Yün-shui ch‘ien-ch‘i had been printed at that time and was circulated among interested parties. If Wang's claim were true, Hua-ku and the alleged author of 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan', Lu Hsi-hsing, who lived in the Chia-ching period, would know of the circulated edition. In that case, Lu would not have displayed such amazement and rapture when relating the meeting between Chang San-feng and his descendant during which the master was said to have left some of his works. Therefore it is unlikely that a printed version of the Yün-shui ch‘ien-ch‘i existed at the time alleged by Wang. Of course, the revelation of the aged master to his descendant who lived a century later as depicted in the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan' is again grossly absurd, and can only be explained as the outcome of the practice of planchette writing, during which the noted Taoist was invoked. The identity of his alleged descendant, Hua-ku, is yet another problem, insufficient information is available to verify his relationship to Chang San-feng. Furthermore, as has been pointed out

376 Ibid., p.6b (7649).
before, the authorship of the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan' is also
doubtful.377 If this biography of Chang San-feng is spurious, which is
very possible, it serves to strengthen the assumption that the Yun-shui
ch'ien-chi was not published for circulation in the Ming dynasty but was
composed by later hands, most probably by Wang Hsi-ling himself, while the
biography was written to reinforce the fabrication.

It may further be surmised that the Chieh-yao p'ien or Huw-yao p'ien
(item iii of category 2 in the reconstructed table of contents of Wang's
edition of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, which like the Yun-shui ch'ien-
chi and Yun-shui hou-chi is also a collection of poems, is another work
fabricated by Wang Hsi-ling, for he boasted in his preface to the Chang San-
feng ch'uan-chi that he obtained the work from the very hand of the
master.378 But it is unclear whether he was responsible for the whole
volume or only for part of the collection.

The account of Chang San-feng included in the Li-tai shen-heien t'ung-
chien (preface 1700) contains the following paragraph:

The minister Hu Kuang remarked that Chang San-feng did really possess
the [uncomy] techniques of a Taoist and was supreme in his magic
power. [Hu then] recorded [some of the master's works] such as 詹 (should read as chieh 擬) yao-p'ien and Wu-ken-shu (The rootless
tree) in twenty-four chih 貢 (should read as shou 守), 'Chin-i
huan-tan ko' 皇漢遺丹歌, 'Ta-tao ko' 大道歌, 'Lien-
ch'ien ko' 釱鑄鍊歌, 'Ti-yan chen-heien Liao-tao ko' 地元真
仙了道歌, 'T'i li-ch'en yüan' 蔡麗春院 in two ch'ueh 篇
(stanzas), 'Ch'ung-hua shih' 瓊花詩, 'Ch'ing-yang kung liu-t' i'
青陽常留題, etc., which he forwarded to His Majesty (i.e.
Emperor Ch'eng-tsu) for perusal...379

Here the Chieh-yao p'ien is mentioned in a work published about twenty-
three years before Wang Hsi-ling had completed the compilation of the Chang

377 Cf. Chapter 1, pp. 40-1.
378 Same as Note 356.
379 Li-tai shen-heien t'ung-chien, 22/3/3b.
San-feng ch'üan-chi in 1723. This suggests the possibility that Wang could have seen the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, from which he obtained the information which prompted his fabrication of a work bearing the same title. Owing to the scarcity of sources, the exact contents of the Chieh-yao p'ien, two chüan, included in Wang's edition of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi are unknown. However, there is a useful exposition of this point given by Li Hsi-yüeh in the section Cheng-o 正點 (Correcting errors):

Also in the Shen-hsien t'ung-chien it is recorded that Hu Kuang forwarded [to the Emperor] a collection of the patriarch's poems entitled the Chieh-yao p'ien. Included in it are the 'Wu-ken shu', 'Ta-tao ko', 'Lien-ch'ien ko', 'Chi'ung-hua shih', 'Li-ch'un yulan' two chüeh, 'Ch'ing-yang kung liu-t'li', 'Chin-i huan-tan ko', 'Chen-hsien liao-tao ko', etc. The other versions [of this work] circulating outside lately are indiscriminately arranged. This edition is comprehensive in its contents, and I collate it according to the genuine version of [Wang] Meng-chiu, in order to restore it to its original form.381

In this passage Li Hsi-yüeh suggests that the Chieh-yao p'ien found in the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi compiled by Wang Hsi-ling contains such poems as the 'Wu-ken-shu', 'Ta-tao ko', etc. which were referred to earlier in the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien.382 This may serve as further proof to support the view that Wang exploited the account in this collection of biographies of Taoist figures as the basis for his fabrication. Meanwhile, these various works are included in the Hewan-yao p'ien, which is equivalent to Chieh-yao p'ien,383 in the extant Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi revised by Li Hsi-yüeh. Since Li claimed that he tried to preserve the original

380 See Note 354.
381 CSPCC, 1/22b (7657).
382 It is not known where did the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien obtain the information which says that some of Chang San-feng's works were submitted to Emperor Ch'eng-tsu. This saying is not substantiated by the Biography of Hu Kuang in MS, 147/350-1.
383 See Note 363.
order of Wang's version, most likely it was so arranged previously.

The foregoing is an attempt to sketch how the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi looked when it was first compiled by Wang Hsi-ling, as based on the information gleaned from his works and those of later authors such as Li Hsi-yu. Of course, what Li perused was only the version kept by Wang T'an, the descendant of Hsi-ling, and since over a century had elapsed before Li came into possession of the collected works ascribed to Chang San-feng, alterations and interpolations might have been made by unknown and unscrupulous writers. However, until further evidence to sustain this view can be produced, it must be assumed that the version of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi ex libris of Wang T'an is very close to the original form.

Wang's version was never published as is evident from the words of Li Chia-hsiu who in his preface to the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi said:

[Wang] Meng-chiu kept the old editions [of the master's works] and gathered other lost works [that were ascribed to Chang San-feng], and was about to have them published. Also, he was going to join with the provincial governor to memorialize the throne to ask for the building of a temple [in honour of Chang San-feng], but all his attempts were in vain. 385

Several examples can be found in the *Hsuan-yao p'ien* to illustrate that Li Hsi-yu based on Wang's version to revise the *CSFCC*. For instance, the short note in the poem 'Fang-ku erh-chang' (In the style of some old poems) reads, 'These two chang are normally treated as one in the current editions and bears the title 'Chin-tan nei-wai hou-hou tsung-lun'金丹内外火候總論. I always think that it is wrong. After I have procured the version kept by the immortal Wang [Hsi-ling], I realize [that my assumption is right].' See CSFCC, 4/2a (7715). Again, the annotation to the 'Chin-tan shih erh-shih-ssu shou' (Twenty-four poems on the golden pill) says, 'These twenty-four poems are on the golden pill...now I collate them according to the genuine version of the immortal Wang [Hsi-ling], so as to restore them to their original form...', Ibid., p.23a (7726). One more example can be found in the brief note in the title of the poems 'T'an ch'u-chia tao-ch'ing ch'i-shou' (Seven poems on leading a secluded life) which remarks, 'These seven poems are on the theme of "ch'u-chia" (to lead a secluded life)...Thus it is certain that they were transmitted by the master. My assumption is substantiated by Wang's edition.' Ibid., p.58a (7743).

384 See CSFCC, hsu-yeh, p.4a (7642).
So what Li Hsi-yueh acquired during the Tao-kuang period was in fact a manuscript copy which provided the broad contour for his revision of the *Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi*.

Apart from the Wang's and Li's editions which are under discussion, other versions of the collected works ascribed to Chang San-feng were circulating during the Tao-kuang epoch. A general survey of them will be given before proceeding to review Li's revised edition. First of all, the collection of verses entitled *Hsüan-yao p'ien* existed in several editions other than that of Wang which was so much praised by Li Hsi-yueh:

The other versions [of this work](i.e. *Hsüan-yao p'ien*) circulating outside lately are indiscriminately arranged. For instance, the one engraved by Chang Ling-chi and Teng Ling-mi at Hsiang-ylin tung-t'ien [is quite different from] the old edition which contains a set of thirty-six poems on the theme of the golden pill, symbolizing the three hundred and sixty degrees. [The edition engraved by Chang and Teng contains] only sixteen of these poems and the others are scattered and arranged in a disorderly fashion. All the tao-ch'ing (lyrics and songs with a theme on religious matters) are omitted. [The contents of this edition are so poor], because [Chang and Teng who engraved it] had not seen this [Chang San-feng]ch'uan-chi. Some of the ordinary hand-copied volumes [of the *Hsüan-yao p'ien*] are more comprehensive than the engraved edition of Chang and Teng, but there is a drawback as most of them have poems by Patriarch Lu (i.e. Lu Tung-pin) interpolated in them.

It is clear that the printed edition and the hand-copied volumes of the *Hsüan-yao p'ien* as referred to in the above quoted passage existed before the time when Li Hsi-yueh took up the task of revising the *Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi* and that he had made a good use of these existing versions. He professed that he had collected as many editions as he could and had compared and collated them with Wang's version which he regarded as the best. As for the engraved edition of Chang and Teng, which was referred

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386 Same as Note 381.

387 Ibid.
to more than once by Li in the *Hsuan-yao p’ien*, only meagre information exists in its preface which is perhaps the only extant part. In it there is a paragraph which merits attention, since it reads, 'This work (i.e. *Hsuan-yao p’ien*) was handed down from the patriarch Chang San-feng...over a long period of time has remained unprinted. [I] am afraid that the hand-copied volumes are full of blunders, such as confounding the word 'hai' 爲 for 'shih' 聲 (i.e. typographical errors) and that [the pages] become putrid and the [characters] indecipherable after a long time, therefore I send it to be printed so that it will be transmitted in perpetuity...'. Here Chang and Teng do not seem to be affirming that Chang San-feng was the author of the work, as they use the ambiguous word 'handed' which may serve to disclose their doubt about its authenticity. Also this preface shows that the *Hsuan-yao p’ien* was not printed until a long period of time had elapsed and it was very hard to obtain, which is why Chang and Teng carried out the task of publishing it.

Apart from Chang and Teng's printed edition, there existed another selected version of the *Hsuan-yao p’ien* which was referred to by Li Hsi-yuèh in a note to a *tz'u* poem to the tune of *I-chih-hua* 技花 when he said, '...this *tz'u* poem was collated according to the selected version of P'eng Hao-ku 彭好古, the printed edition of Chang and Teng.

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388 For instance, the note following the *tz'u* poem to the tune of *T'ien-hsien-yin 天仙引* reads, '...[originally] this *tz'u* poem should not be divided into stanzas. Now I divide it into two stanzas because I think that it can be divided at that point. In the engraved edition [of the *Hsuan-yao p’ien*] printed by Chang and Teng, this *tz'u* poem is divided into three stanzas: the first is called *Ch'ueh-ch'iao hsien 悇情仙*, the second bears the title *Hsuan-yao-p'ei 輿霞詩* and the third is *Wei-sheng 偉聲* . [They are divided in the way] as those who sing the *tso-ah'ing* use to do. The *ch'ueh-ch'iao* and *yü-md* 雲幡 are tune titles of earlier times. But the master (i.e. Chang San-feng) [when he wrote his verses] did not follow exactly the standard patterns, so what is the point of giving [each stanza] a title? Now I correct it according to Wang’s version.' See CSPCC, 4/34a-b (7731).

389 See 'Wu-ch'en hsian-ch’un tung-t’ien k’o hsüan-yao p’ien hsü' 此鎮普雲間天刻玄要篇序, written by Chang Ling-chi and Teng Ling-mi, in CSPCC, 8/93a-b (7840).
and the [Li t'ai] shen-hsien[t'ung]-chien.\textsuperscript{390} P'eng Hao-ku (alias P'eng Po-chien 郭伯義 ), of Ma-ch'eng 麻城, Hupeh, became a chin-shih in the fourteenth year of the Wan-lí period (1586) of the reign of Emperor Shen-tsung 神宗 (reigned 1573-1620), and served in the Censorial Office.\textsuperscript{391} Hence, his selected edition of the Hsüan yao-p'ien might have been completed during the Wan-lí period.

In addition, some of the poems included in the extant Hsüan-yao p'ien are to be found in other collected works. For example, the Hsing-tao ya-yen 體道雅言 (Elegant talks on the enlightenment of the Way), a collection of poems attributed to some Taoist figures, as compiled and published by Liao Fu-sheng 廖復盛, was said to carry the set of poems entitled 'Chin-tan shih erh-shih-ssu shou'. Li Hsi-ylüeh remarked on this in his annotation to the poems:

These twenty-four poems on the theme of the golden pill are emblematic of the twenty-four periods of the year. [The edition] printed and published by Liao Fu-sheng of Lu-chou 濁州 (Szechwan) is defective, since he tried to fish for praise by poaching the works of others. He once collected in a single volume the songs attributed to the immortals of olden times and called it the Hsing-tao ya-yen. But he left out most of the names of the immortals in an effort to make [reader] who had not seen such works before think instead that he was the author... Now I collate it according to the genuine version of the immortal Wang [Hsi-ling] in order to restore it to its original form, lest those who are devoted to the search of the Way should be misled.\textsuperscript{392}

It is regrettable that information, other than that contained in the words of Li Hsi-ylüeh, on Liao Fu-sheng and his Hsing-tao ya-yen cannot be obtained. However, more material regarding the editions of the Hsüan-yao

\textsuperscript{390} CSFCC, 4/34b (7731).

\textsuperscript{391} A short biography of P'eng can be found in Ho Ch'u-kuang and others, Lan-t'ai fa-chien lu, 20/32b. P'eng was a censor in the Shansi Circuit in 1591. He joined the Hsin-yao 煉藥 (a censorial commission for salt control) in Ch'ang-lu 長蘆, Hopeh, in the following year. In 1593 he was promoted to the Ch'ien-shih 聞名 (Assistant surveillance commissioner) of Szechwan.

\textsuperscript{392} CSFCC, 4/23a (7726).
p‘ien and other works ascribed to Chang San-feng can be collected from the extant Chang San-feng ch‘uan-chi.

Once again, the Hsuan-yao p‘ien itself contains the allusion to another edition of the work - the copies transcribed by Taoist priests. The explanatory note to the title of the song 'Hsuan-chi wen-ta' 玄探問い (Dialogue on the mystery of the universe) runs, 'I have formerly come across in the hand-copied volumes transcribed by Taoist priests two entries entitled 'tzu-wen' 自問 and 'tzu ta' 自答 ...'.\footnote{Ibid., p.69a (7747).} It was a conventional practice of long-standing for educated Taoist priests or Buddhist monks, besides their regular religious exercises, to devote their time to the copying of books. For at times when the circulation of books was gravely hampered by the poorly developed system of communication in the vast country, books were produced at very high cost. The ability to acquire one's private library was confined then to specially privileged classes such as the high ranking officials or wealthy esteemed families, and was far beyond the financial bounds of the masses. The most economical and feasible way for the ordinary people to possess their own books was to transcribe by brush and ink. Naturally, the Taoist priests or Buddhist monks who led a secluded life would have much more leisure time than lay people who had to attend to secular affairs, so very often the task of copying books was entrusted to them. Moreover, it was deemed an act of great virtue to transcribe a book that would help in the dissemination of the doctrine, and they were more than delighted to carry out such a labour. Most probably the hand-copied volumes of the Hsuan-yao p‘ien transcribed by Taoist priests were produced after this fashion.

It appears that Taoist priests also helped in the copying of other works attributed to Chang San-feng, apart from the Hsuan-yao p‘ien. Such
information is obtained from an entry in the section Chang-o of the Chang San-feng ch'lan-chi, which says, 'there is a short essay entitled] "San-feng kung-chuang" 三丰供状 Included in the works hand-copied by the Taoist priests.' The 'San-feng kung-chuang' which is quoted in the same entry is a memorial, ascribed to Chang San-feng, addressed to Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, invoking the sovereign to favour the Taoist religion. As it is not a verse, it does not belong to the Hsuan-yao p'ien which is a collection of metric works, but pertains to the collection of prose works. In view of this, it may be concluded that there were various editions of the collected works, prose or poems, attributed to Chang San-feng, circulating before and during the Tao-kuang period. Perhaps the Hsuan-yao p'ien was one of the best known titles among the works associated with the name of this famous Taoist, with the result that it appeared in so many versions.

Another collection which was said to have included works attributed to Chang San-feng is the Ch'uan-chen chu-hu 全人矩敍, compiled and published by Sun Nien-ch'ü 孫念劬 (b.1742). One sentence note to the prose passage 'Chieh-yin p'ien' 衣進篇 in the section T'ien-k'ou p'ien 天口篇, goes thus: 'This [Chieh-yin p'ien] is the original work which was included by Sun Nien-ch'ü of Ch'ang-chou in the Ch'üan-jen chu-hu. The Ch'üan-jen chu-hu, which is mentioned in Sun's biography, and which judging from its title, may have been a book on moral exhortation, might have been published during the Ch'ien-lung period in the course of which Sun flourished.

394 Ibid., 1/21b (7657).
395 This memorial is seen only in the section Chang-o. It is not included elsewhere in the CSFCC, because Li Hsi-yüeh thought that it was fabricated by other Taoists and therefore should not be put together with works which he regarded as authentic. Cf. Note 393.
396 A biography of Sun (tzu Shu-fu 追甫, hao Chieh-ch'ai 樑齋) can be found in Chao Huai-yü 趙懷玉 (1747-1823), I-yu-sheng-ch'ai wen-kih 亦有生齋文集 (1815 ed.), 14/2b-3b.
397 CSFCC, 6/82b (7792).
Further allusion to the existence of other editions of the works ascribed to Chang San-feng can also be seen in the preface by Li Chia-hsiu to the Chang San-feng ch'Uan-chi which states, 'His (i.e. Chang San-feng) works were first published in the Yung-lo period of the former Ming dynasty, and after a long period of time the printing blocks were worn out. However, quite a number of his works are incorporated and preserved in other collections.' Of course, Li's statement that some of the works of Chang San-feng were published in the Yung-lo era is merely an echo of Wang Hsi-ling's unfounded assertion that the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi was included in the voluminous encyclopedia, the Yung-lo ta-tien, and later was extracted to be reprinted during the Chia-ching era. Both these claims are, in fact, mere vague assumptions without weighty evidence to support them. The earlier part of this chapter has already discussed the validity of Wang's view, which need not be repeated. As for the 'other collections' mentioned in Li's preface, most probably they refer to the Hsing-lou yu- yen or Ch'Man-fen chu-hu, for being a contemporary of Hsi-yüeh, Chia-hsiu could also have known of those collections that contained works attributed to Chang San-feng and which had been utilized and described in the Chang San-feng ch'Uan-chi by Hsi-yüeh.

Also, Li Hsi-yüeh mentioned some 'current editions' in the note to the poem 'Fang-ku erh-chang', 'These two chang are normally treated as one in the current editions...'. In this case it is not known exactly which edition he was implying, for 'current editions' may refer to the printed editions, copies transcribed by Taoist priests or any one of the editions that have been mentioned in the foregoing discussion. All in all, the impression is given that during the Tao-kuang period a considerable number

398 Ibid., hou-ye6, p.4a (7642).
399 Ibid., 4/2a (7715), Cf. also the first part of Note 384.
of these 'current editions' were circulating in the book market, and the contents of such editions were so poor that Li Hsi-yüeh vehemently denounced them. It was most probably this reason which motivated him to take up the task of revising the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi in an effort to restore it to its original form.

The Fan-li or editorial notes preceding the text of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi also yield further bibliographical information as regards works generally attributed to Chang San-feng. It is appropriate to quote these notes, and for the sake of convenience, a number is given to each entry as follows:

1) Other printed editions and copies transcribed by Taoist priests of this book (i.e. Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi) are full of errors, and Wang's version is the only one that is close to perfection. In the present edition, all the works that were originally included in Wang's version are inscribed with the line, 'from the collection of Yulan-t'ung tao-jen' to indicate the source.

2) In the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi...[all those poems] that are scattered in the biographical section of various provincial histories have been included in this collected works. The source from which the poem is derived is not indicated.

3) In the large printing blocks of other editions of this work (i.e., Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi) that were engraved earlier, the critical notes at the top of the page in many volumes are missing, while the order of some pages has been changed. Included in it is the Yun-shui shih-chi, which is not legible and hard to collate. [Therefore], recently Chang Chih-tung, who serves as Director of Education in Szechuan, donated money to recarve it into a hsia-chuan edition which is carefully compared and collated to avoid any error. It is convenient to put in the satchel when travelling. All the supplements to this work (i.e. Yun-shui shih-chi) have been included in this [pocket] edition.

4) In the other printed editions of the Hsiian-yao p'ien, the shih-ku and tao-ch'ing are put together in one ch'uan. Now I separate the shih-ku and tao-ch'ing as shang ch'uan and heia ch'uan, according to the edition kept by the immortal Wang [Hsi-ling].

Note no. 1 gives the impression that there were other editions of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi circulating before Li Hsi-yüeh revised the work,

400 Ibid., Fan-li, pp. 1b-2a (7643-4).
the contents of which were at variance with the version obtained by Li from Wang T'ian, the descendant of Wang Hsi-ling. Naturally enough, those works written by Wang himself, like the prefaces to the Chang San-feng ch'Yan-chi, Yun-shui ch'ien-chi and Yun-shui hou-chi, and the biography of Chang San-feng ('San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan') would not appear in other editions, for Wang's version had never been published. Moreover, it is very unlikely that the compilers of the other editions of the collected works of Chang San-feng could have seen his manuscript copy. Owing to the scantiness of the sources at hand, no more information is available regarding the date of completion of the editions other than Wang's, so it is not clear whether Wang's manuscript version appeared before or after the printed editions.

In Note no. 2 it is alleged that some of the works included in the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi are to be found in various provincial annals. According to the sources available, a number of the works ascribed to Chang San-feng were included in some local histories, but these works are not related to the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi. For instance, there is the inclusion of the poem entitled 'Ch'ung-hua' (On the hortensia) in both the 1537 edition of the Liao-tung chih and the 1892 edition of the Shan-hsi t'ung-chih. 401 However, this poem belongs to another collection of verses, the Hsiao-yao p'ien in the Chang San-feng ch'Yan-chi. 402 Also, the Kuei-chou t'ung-chih (1741 edition) records that Chang San-feng wrote the "Liao-tao ko" and "Wu-ken-shu tz'u", 403 yet these metrical works bear no direct connection with the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi, but, once

402 See CSFCC, 4/28a (7728).
403 See Kuei-chou t'ung-chih compiled by O-er-t'ai (1689-1745) and Ching Tao-mo (1741 ed., Taipei reprint, 1958), 32/11b.
again, pertain to the *Hsuan-yao p'ien*. As the editor only vaguely stated in the note that the works of the *Yün-shuı oh'ien-chı* are to be found in the provincial annals, without specifying the particular gazetteer, this statement cannot be contrasted unless the impossible task of going over all the local histories ever published is undertaken. However, as he fails to adduce substantial evidence to corroborate his statement, and he has displayed an irresponsible and high-handed attitude in stating that the source of each poem is not to be indicated even when known, the reliability of the statement is very doubtful.

Note no. 3 reiterates that there were other editions of the collected works attributed to Chang San-feng existing before the completion of the revised version, and that they were in a very poor condition. This note hinges on the contribution of Chang Chih-tung, a noted scholar-official and reformer who played an active role in the political arena of China at the close of the Manchu regime. He reprinted the pocket edition of the *Yün-shuí shih-chi* when he was serving as Director of Education in Szechwan. However, Chang was in Szechwan in the years 1873 to 1877 when he set up a printing office for issuing the classics and the dynastic histories, and a span of thirty odd years intervened between the completion of the revised edition of the *Chang San-feng oh'Han-chı* in 1844 and his sojourn in the western province. Therefore, it is impossible that Li Hsi-yüeh could have predicted the efforts of Chang Chih-tung thirty years earlier. I very much suspect that this note was added by someone living after Li Hsi-yüeh, very probably by the compiler of the Erh-hsien Monastery edition of the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, that is, Ho Lung-hsiang or P'eng Han-jan.

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404 'Liao-tao ko' is found in the *shang-chuan* of the *Hsuan-yao p'ien*, CSFCC, 4/5a-b (7717). The 'Wu-kuı-shu ts'u' which is a set of twenty-four *ts'u* poems is found in the *hsia-chüan*, ibid., pp. 41b-46b (7735-7).

405 See Chang's biography written by Meribeth Cameron, in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, p.27.
Note no. 4 suggests that, as has been pointed out in the foregoing discussion, the *Hsien-yao p'ien* had many other editions besides that of Wang Hsi-ling. Apparently all these were used by Li Hsi-yueh when he was revising the *Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi*, as all the editions dealt with in the preceding paragraphs, apart from the pocket edition engraved by Chang Chih-tung, were probably published before or during the Tao-kuang period.

The revision work of Li Hsi-yueh came to an end in the twenty-fourth year of the Tao-kuang period (1844) and through the generous donation of the devotee Liu Cho-an, the publication of the *Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi* was made possible. More than sixty years later in 1906 this work was printed for the second time, this time by the Erh-hsien Monastery in Chengtu, and was included in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*. Financial support for the engraving this time was given by Chu Tao-sheng 朱道生. Since more than half a century elapsed between the first and subsequent printing, so it is very possible that some unscrupulous individuals made alterations or meddled with the texts. Moreover, the compilers of the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, Ho Lung-hsiang and P'eng Han-jan, might also have introduced changes to the arrangement or even the contents of the revised edition. At least it is evident in the editorial notes that one or more entries have been added by later hands as pointed out when discussing Note no. 3. However, the contents of the two editions, that is, the original revised edition of Li and the one included in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, that is to say the extant *Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi*, should be more or less the same.

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406 It is thus indicated at the beginning of every *ch'üan* in the *CCTCC*. 'Respectfully printed by Chu Tao-sheng, alias Wan-ch'eng-tzu 晉成子, from Lang-chung 延中, Szechwan.'
Throughout this and the following chapters, Li Hsi-yüeh's revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi as found in the Tao-tsang chi-yao published in 1906 by the Erh-ehsien Monastery in Chengtu serves as the pivot of investigation, as no other earlier edition is now available. A look in the general table of contents gives a panoramic picture of the works contained in the extant Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi as follows:

chüan 1  Heü (Prefaces), Kao 謖 (Eratists), Chüan 傳 (Biographies), Haisten-p'ai 天 (Taoist sects), Cheng-o (Correcting errors), Haisten-chi (Manifestations).

chüan 2  Ku-wen 古文 (Prose writings), Yün-chien 圓鑑 (Hidden admonitions).

chüan 3  Ta-tao lun (On the Great Way), Hstsan-chi chih-ohiang (On the mysterious mechanism), Tao-yen ch'ien-chin 道言近 (Simple talks on the Way).

chüan 4  Hstsan-yao p'ien(shang)(On the mysterious principles, part 1), Hstsan-yao p'ien(hsia)(On the mysterious principles, part 2), Fu-i 福道 (Supplement).

chüan 5  Yün-shui ch'ien-chi (Clouds and waters, volume 1), Yün-shui hou-chi (Clouds and waters, volume 2), Yün-shui san-chi 雲水 三集 (Clouds and waters, volume 3).

chüan 6  T'ien-k'ou p'ien (Words from Heaven), Hstsin-shih wen 偉世文 (To admonish mankind).

chüan 7  Chü-huang ching (Scriptures of the nine emperors), San-chiao ching (Scriptures of the three religions), Tu-jen ching 度人經 (Scriptures for the salvation of man), P'u-t'i ching 菩提經 (Scriptures of Bodhi), Chung-chih 鐘偈 (Gāthā).

chüan 8  Shü-shih haien-t'ou 水石開設 (Leisurely talks among water and rocks), Khu-chin t'i-tseng 孝今題贈 (Poems by past and contemporary authors), Yün-ching 頤鏡 (Mirror of seclusion), Hsi-oh-chi 番記 (Collected records).

These eight chüan are bound in four ts'e of two chüan each and occupy the sections hsü pi-chi 7 to 10 in the Tao-tsang chi-yao. But altogether the Chang San-feng chüan-chi has six ts'e, the fifth being the Chang San-feng tsu-shih wu-ken-shu ta'u chu-chiēh 張三丰祖師無極道詞譯解, explained by Liu Wu-yüan 劉悟元 (fl. 1802) and paraphrased by Li
Hsi-yleh, while the last ts'ê (hsü pi-chi 12) is a collection of scriptures and amulets. The last two ts'ê are not included in the general table of contents.

In fact, a further examination of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi provides ground for a reclassification of the contents into two very general categories, that is, the works that are attributed to Chang San-feng and those composed by later hands. First to be investigated are the parts of the collection which contain works produced by other writers, including the Hsi, Kao, Chuan, Hsien-p'ai, Cheng-o, and Hsien-chi in chüan 1, the Ku-chin t'i-teeng, Yin-ching and Hui-chi in chüan 8, and the Wu-ken-shu ts'ê chu-chiêh in ts'ê 5.

To begin with, there are the four prefaces written by Wang Hsi-ling (dated 1723), Tung Ch'eng-hsi, Li Chia-hsiu and Li Hsi-yleh (here he used his Kao Han-hsü-tzu and dated the preface 1844) respectively. These four advocates of Taoist teachings and practices flourished in the Ch'ing dynasty and little is known about their lives. However, there seems little doubt about the authorship of these prefaces. Immediately following the preambles are the twelve entries of editorial notes, Fan-li, four of which yield information regarding the various editions of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi and have already been discussed in the previous chapter. Here the mention of the 'Ling-pao pi-fa tan-ching' 灵寳丹經 in one of the entries merits attention:

Included in this work (i.e. Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi) is the 'Ling-pao pi-fa tan-ching' which shows a short cut to attain immortality. Whoever reads this scripture and puts all his heart into cultivating his mind will find no difficulty in attaining the great Way of the golden pill.\(^{407}\)

But there is no such work in the extant Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi. In

\(^{407}\)CSFCC, Fan-li, p.2a (7644).
fact, this scripture was generally attributed to Chung-li Ch'Uan 鍾離 (408) and was said to be paraphrased by Li Tung-pin. It is included in such voluminous collections of Taoist treatises as the Tao-tsang and Tao- 

409 tsang chi-yao, (409) but no trace of this scripture can be detected in the present compilation of works attributed to Chang San-feng. This discrepancy may be accounted for by the fact that there was initially such a scripture when Li Hsi-yüeh revised the Chang San-feng ch'Un-chi, but it was taken out later by Ho Lung-hsiang or P'eng Han-juan who was responsible for editing the Tao-tsang chi-yao which was reprinted by the Erh-hsien Monastery and through remissness this note was retained. I strongly maintain the view that this note as well as the scripture were included in Li's original revised edition, and was not added by the compilers when the revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch'Un-chi was being prepared for printing in 1906. For if such was the case, then the compilers concerned would also have inserted the scripture. It is illogical that they should add such a note while inadvertently leaving out the scripture to which it referred. All the editorial notes, except the one which relates the printing of the pocket edition by Chang Chih-tung, (410) were written by Li Hsi-yüeh, for in many instances there are statements in which the compiler claims that the revised edition was based on the one completed a century

408 Chung-li Ch'Uan, better known as Han Chung-li 鍾離, was also one of the eight immortals. He was said to be the patriarch of the Ch'Uan-chen sect. He was merely a legendary figure, as there is no concrete evidence to prove his historical existence. His hagiography is a combination of the legends of several persons by the name of Chung-li who flourished during the Han dynasty. He was generally regarded by the Taoist writers as the first disciple of Tung-hua ti-chün 端華帝君 and the master of Li Tung-pin (see Note 307). The legends of this immortal started in the Northern Sung dynasty. For the study of this figure, see P'u Chiang-ch'ing, 'Fa-hsien k'ao', section 5, and the works listed in the last part of Note 307.

409 See TT 874 and Tao-tsang chi-yao 103. The full title of this scripture is 'Pi-ch'Uan cheng-yang chen-jen ling-pao pi-fa' 私傳正陽真 人豐寳法, and its shortened form is 'Ling-pao pi-fa' 王 410 See Chapter 3, p.128.
ago by Wang Hsi-ling.  

This helps to rule out or at least minimize the possibility that such editorial notes came from the very hand of Wang Hsi-ling.

After the prefaces and editorial notes, there come four pictures vividly displaying the Taoist figure, Chang San-feng, in the postures of standing, sitting, walking and sleeping. All these illustrations are accompanied by four-syllable metrical lines.

As an eccentric Taoist, Chang San-feng had attracted the curiosity and favour of the Taoist inclined emperors of the Ming dynasty. Like his predecessors, Emperor Ying-tsung who was taken prisoner by the Tartars as a result of his precipitant expedition in 1449, also strove to gain the presence of this noted Taoist at his court. An imperial decree was issued by Emperor Ying-tsung in the third year of the T'ien-shun period (1459) to honour Chang San-feng. This episode is mentioned in the laconic biography of the Taoist in Ming-shih, and as has already been pointed out, the imperial order is also included in the Kao section of the present Chang San-feng ch'uan-ehi. In fact, the whole section comprises one chih-feng (order), five kao (imperial edicts) and the 'Ts'an-li ju-lai hsüan-tz'u fo-hao ping-tsan'参禮如來宣號佈善之記, all coming under the collective title of 'Ming T'ien-shun huang-ti ch'ih-feng kuo-ming' 明天順皇帝勅封諡命 (The imperial edicts promulgated

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411 There are three entries in the Fan-li which contain this statement, see Fan-li, pp.1b-2a (7643-4). For translation of these entries, see last part of Note 363 and the editorial Notes nos. 1 and 4 cited in p.126.

412 Actually the pictures are arranged in the order of walking, standing, sitting, and sleeping, while in the editorial note the order is given as standing, sitting, walking and sleeping, see Fan-li, p.1a (7643). For the pictures, see pp.1a-4a (7645-6).

413 See Note 264.

414 The edict has been included in earlier sources, see Note 265.
by Emperor T'ien-shun (Ying-tsung) of the Ming dynasty. The imperial order which heads the section and which, most probably, is extracted from Ien T'ien's 'Chang San-feng ch'en-jen ch'uan' (see p.77) reflects the long cherished aspiration of the sovereign to meet the mysterious Taoist master.

As for the other five edicts and one eulogy in this section there is a high probability that they were fabricated by Li Hsi-yueh or his contemporaries.415 One reason for believing this is that these works are not cited in other sources nor did Wang Hsi-ling allude to having collected such edicts and eulogy. Secondly, the terms appearing in these edicts give some clue to the authorship or at least the time when these works were written. For example, the designations 'Wen-shih ch'eng-ch'uan' 文始正傳416 (The orthodox transmission of Wen-shih, i.e. Yin Hsi417) and 'Yu-lung liu-tsu' 魚龍六祖 418 (The sixth patriarch of Yu-lung sect) that are to be found in the fourth and fifth edict respectively, merit attention. The appellations denote the notion of the line of transmission of the Yin-hsien sect, a religious sect actually founded in the Ch'ing dynasty but established under the name of Chang San-feng who was acclaimed as the sect's immediate master and the successor of many well-known Taoist masters in history.419 Lao-tzu and Yin Hsi were regarded as

415 The 'Ts'en-li ju-lai hsüan-tzu fo-hao ping-tsan' is possibly extracted from a scripture called 'P'u-t'í yüan-miao ching' 培台經妙經 in shan 7 of CSFCC. This 'P'u-t'í' scripture might be fabricated by Ju-chan shang-jen 如善真, a Buddhist monk who flourished during the Tao-kuang period. The authorship of the scripture will be discussed in Chapter 6.

416 See CSFCC, 1/2b (7647).

417 For biographical information on Yin Hsi, see Note 302.

418 The designation is found in CSFCC, 1/3a (7648). For an explanation of the term 'yu-lung', see Note 235.

419 For the discussion of the Yin-hsien sect and the line of transmission of this sect, see Chapter 2, pp.85-91.
the first and second patriarchs of this sect. It was Li Hsi-yleh who
with his fellow advocates brought forth and consolidated the concept of
the tao-t'ung of the sect. In other words, not even Wang Hsi-ling who
lived more than a century earlier than Li Hsi-yleh would have entertained
or disclosed in his works such an idea of bringing Lao-tzu and Yin Hsi
into the line of transmission of a religious sect which had not yet come
into being during his time. Therefore, it is evident that those edicts
must have been written by Li Hsi-yleh or some of his contemporaries in the
course of the Tao-kuang period. Bearing in mind the account in the 'Chang
San-feng lieh-chuan', attributed to Lu Hsi-hsing, of Chang San-feng's
visit to his descendant, Hua-ku tao-jen, and his enjoining the latter to
keep with great care a number of his poems, a few chang of pao-kao(patents)
and one han of tan-chush, it may be maintained that this anecdote promp-
ted Li Hsi-yleh or his contemporaries to forge the edicts in order to make
the contents of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi comply with what had been
recorded.

There are six biographies of Chang San-feng in the section Chuan in
chüan 1 and they have already been examined when discussing the biographi-
cal accounts of Chang San-feng in Chapter 1. There is no need to re-
peat the discussion here, however, I have to add a few words about Yuan-
ch'iao wai-shih, the author of the sixth biography in this section. In
his short sketch of Chang San-feng, he has associated a certain Yüan-t'ung
chen-jen 圆通真人, which in fact is the hao of Wang Hsi-ling, with
the famous Taoist master. This provides a clue to the author who cannot be
identified. He might be a younger contemporary of Wang Hsi-ling. Also,
among the various immortals included in the Hou lieh-hsian chüan 後列仙

420 Cf. the quotation cited in Chapter 3, p.115 (Note 375).
421 See pp.39-42.
(Biographies of the immortals living after the time of Chang San-feng) attributed to Ts'ang-yai chu-shih, another unidentified Taoist adept, there is one that has the designation Pai-pai hsien-sheng 白白先生 who was said to have composed the Yián-ch'iao nei-p'ien 圓嶠內篇. In the same collection of biographies of the immortals, there is the description of another Taoist advocate by the name of Pai-pai-tzu 白白子 who was also the author of several works, among which are the Yián-ch'iao wai-shih tao-ch'iao t'ān 圓嶠外史道義談 and Wu-chén ts'an-t'ung tsa-ch'ieh 悟真參同雜解. Here the designation 'Yián-ch'iao' serves as a common factor which may link Yián-ch'iao wai-shih, Pai-pai hsien-sheng and Pai-pai-tzu. However, not much is known about Pai-pai hsien-sheng or Master Pai-pai except that he alleged to have enjoyed the presence of Chang San-feng and Lu Tung-pin, which of course is a sheer impossibility. As for Pai-pai-tzu, it is known that he was a contemporary of Li Hsi-yüeh who flourished during the Tao-kuang period, and like Li, he was an enthusiastic member of the Yin-hsien sect. It is also clear that he engaged in the practice of planchette writing since he was said to have met and communicated with Lu Hsi-hsing of the Ming dynasty. In view of the similarities in their religious belief and activities and the fact that both were active at about the same period, I venture to guess that the two, Pai-pai hsien-sheng and Pai-pai-tzu, might be the same person, but it still remains questionable whether all three are identical or not.

422 CSFCC, 1/17b (7655).
423 Ibid., 8/59b (7823).
424 Ibid., 1/17a-b (7655).
425 It is alleged that Lu Hsi-hsing had composed a poem on the Tung-lai cheng-i 崇來正義 which was written by Pai-pai-tzu, see CSFCC, 8/59a-b (7823).
Following the section of the biographies of Chang San-feng is the *Hsien-p'ai*. This term is not used in the text but appears only in the general table of contents. It includes five parts, namely, 'Tao-p'ai' (Line of transmission of the sect), 'Ch'ien li-tsu chuan' (Biographies of the patriarchs), 'Hou lieh-hsien chuan', 'Lieh-hsien p'ai-yen' (Biographies of persons relating to the immortals) and 'Ch'uan-chi p'ai' (The school of boxing). The 'Tao-p'ai' is a general account of the forerunners of the religious sect established by Li Hsi-ylieh and his comrades. Here Lao-tzu is claimed as their first patriarch, followed by Yin Hsi, Ma-i, Ch'en T'uan, Huo-lung and Chang San-feng. However, as has already been pointed out when discussing the line of transmission of the Yin-hsien sect, the relationship between these Taoists is only a fabrication. The 'Ch'ien li-tsu chuan' carries the biographies of Lao-tzu and the other Taoist figures aforementioned as they were regarded as the pathfinders of the sect established under the name of Chang San-feng, while the 'Hou lieh-hsien chuan' contains the accounts of twelve Taoist adepts who were alleged to be the immediate disciples of Chang San-feng. They are: Shen Wan-san,

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426 For biographical information on Ma-i, Ch'en T'uan and Huo-lung, see Notes 303, 304 and 305 respectively.

427 See Note 419.

428 The Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien was the first to mention the relationship between Chang San-feng and Shen Wan-san, see 21/5/3b-5b and 21/9/6b. But this saying is unfounded as it is not substantiated by the more reliable sources. The name of Shen Wan-san does not appear in the biographical accounts of Chang San-feng written by Ming writers. It is therefore very likely that the alleged relationship was fabricated. As both of them were famous persons in the early Ming period, Chang San-feng was a noted Taoist whom Emperor T'ai-tsu tried to invite to court, while Shen was a rich merchant whose impressive wealth provoked the suspicious Emperor (see Note 353). Also, there was a saying that Shen became rich by utilizing an alchemical method. Naturally these sayings provide grounds for imaginative writers to link the two persons and asserted that they were master and disciple.
Ch’iu Yuan-ch’ing, Lu Ch’iu-yü, Chou Chen-te, Liu Ku-ch’u, Yang Shan-ch’eng, Ming Yu 玉明, Wang Tsung-tao, Li Hsing-chih 李性之, Yang Hsi-ling and Pai-pai hsien-sheng. The subjects of all the biographies in the ‘Hou lieh-hsien chuan’ were depicted as having met met

429 For the biographies of Ch’iu, Lu, Liu and Yang, see Note 250.

430 The association between Ming Yu and Chang San-feng is first mentioned in the San-ch’uan tsung-chih (1619 ed.), 8/85a. But there is not the slightest allusion to Ming Yu being a disciple of San-feng. (Cf. translation of the passage in Chapter 1, p.34) The CSFCC includes three other works, besides the biography written by Ts’ang-yai chli-shih in the ‘Hou lieh-hsien chuan’, relating to Ming Yu. They are: ‘Tao-shih Ming Yu’ 道示明玉, 1/29b (7661); ‘Yu Ming Ping-hu tao-fa hui-t’ung-su 呂明法會同疏, 2/13a-14a (7676); and ‘Pa tao-fa hui-t’ung-su hou’ 跋道法會同疏後, 2/14a-b (7676), possibly all had been written by Wang Hsi-ling. But there is no mention of the master disciple relationship between Chang San-feng and Ming Yu. It shows that Ming Yu was not regarded as a follower of San-feng by Taoist advocates in the early years of the Ch’ing dynasty. It was only when Ts’ang-yai chli-shih wrote the biography of Ming Yu, then he fabricated their relationship.

431 Wang Tsung-tao was said to have sought instruction from San-feng in Lu Shen’s Ru-t’ang man-pi, p.8b, and Ho Ch’iao-yuan’s Ming-shan-t’a ‘t’ang 睿山堂, 7/5b. However, the reliability of this information is doubtful.

432 Li Hsing-chih is not mentioned in sources other than the biography found here in the ‘Hou lieh-hsien chuan’. However, it should be pointed out that the account of a person called Fu-tzu Li 孫子李 found in Wang Ch’iu’s 王圻 (1565 chia-shih) Hsü wen-hsien t’ung-k’ao 素文獻通考 (quoted in Ch’en Chiao-yu 陳耿友, Ch’ang-ch’uan tao-chiao yu’an-liu 長春道教源流, ed., 1929, 7/24b-25a) is almost identical to the biography of Li Hsing-chih included here in the CSFCC. The Hsü wen-hsien t’ung-k’ao was completed in 1586, whereas, the biography of Li Hsing-chih was composed by Ts’ang-yai chli-shih who was probably a contemporary of Li Hsi-yueh and flourished during the Tao-kuang period (see discussion which follows). It therefore appears that Ts’ang-yai chli-shih had made use of the account of Fu-tzu Li in the Hsü wen-hsien t’ung-k’ao and fabricated a person called Li Hsing-chih whom he alleged to be the disciple of Chang San-feng. According to the Hsü wen-hsien t’ung-k’ao, Fu-tzu Li flourished during the Cheng-te 正德 period (1506-1521) and had practised cultivation on Mount T’ai-ho. This may prompt Ts’ang-yai chli-shih to link Li with Chang San-feng, for Mount T’ai-ho or Mount Wu-t’ang was generally regarded as the place where Chang San-feng lived as a recluse.
the master in person and were treated as his immediate disciples.\footnote{433}

Following the title 'Hou lieh-hsien chuan' is a short note which reads, 'The following eleven entries are recorded by Ts'ang-yai chhu-shih.'\footnote{434} A count shows that there are altogether eight entries in the 'Hou lieh-hsien chuan' and three in the 'Lieh-hsien p'ai-yen', which includes the biographical sketches of Yu Shih-she \\endnote{435} Lu Te-yuan 隆德原,\footnote{436} and Liu Kuang-chu 劉光燭,\footnote{437} all alleged to be the second generation disciples of Chang San-feng. Their total complying with the number indicated in the note. Thus it may be assumed that the eleven entries separated into two parts were written by Ts'ang-yai chhu-shih as is

\footnote{433} However, it is unlikely that the abovementioned figures, except Ch'iu, Lu, Chou, Liu and Yang, were the disciples of Chang San-feng. It is even more absurd to claim that Wang Hsi-ling and Pai-pai hsien-sheng were the immediate disciples of Chang, for they were Taoist devotees in the Ch'ing dynasty.

\footnote{434} CSFCC, 1/15a (7654).

\footnote{435} In this biography written by Ts'ang-yai chhu-shih found here in the 'Lieh-hsien p'ai-yen', Yu Shih-she was alleged to be the disciple of Shen Wan-san and the second generation disciple of Chang San-feng. However, Yu was generally regarded as the son-in-law of Shen Wan-san, see Lang Ying's Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao, 8/127, and Li-tao shen-hsien t'ung-chien, 21/9/6b. Even in Yu's biography composed by Wang Hsi-ling which is also included in the CSFCC, 2/8b-9a (7673-4), he was said to be the son-in-law of Shen. It therefore appears that Ts'ang-yai chhu-shih was the first to say that he was the disciple of Shen. Nevertheless, even if he was really the disciple of Shen, he would not be the second generation follower of Chang San-feng, as Shen Wan-san was not the disciple of Chang (see Note 428).

\footnote{436} There is scarcely any information on the relationship between Lu Te-yuan and Shen Wan-san other than the biography of Lu written by Ts'ang-yai chhu-shih included in the section 'Lieh-hsien p'ai-yen'. Just like Yu Shih-she, he would not be the second generation disciple of Chang San-feng as claimed by Ts'ang-yai chhu-shih even if he was related to Shen Wan-san.

\footnote{437} Liu Kuang-chu was the elder brother of Liu Tun-yuan who joined with Li Hsi-yleh to acquire the Wang's edition of the CSFCC (see Chapter 3, p. 106, Note 333). The relationship between Kuang-chu and Tun-yuan is mentioned in CSFCC, 1/18a-b (7655), which says, 'The master Ming-yang 莊明陽, his surname was Liu 劉 and Kuang-chu 劉光 were his given names... [He] studied under Pai-pai-tzu... He had written a number of poems called the "Chin-tan shih:" 金丹詩 which are still kept in his brother Tun-yuan's place'. Kuang-chu was a contemporary of Li Hsi-yleh and therefore it is absurd to allege that he was the second generation disciple of Chang San-feng.
mentioned. The same person, was also the author of the biography of Wang Hsi-ling, 'Wang Hsi-ling chuan'.\(^{438}\) He wrote some poems in company with Li Hsi-yüeh and Yang P'an-shan (fl. 1844), another Taoist practitioner, in reply to the verses attributed to Chang San-feng, included in the *Yun-shui san-ohi* in the present *Chang San-feng ch'uan-ohi*.\(^{439}\) Evidently he lived at the same time as Li Hsi-yüeh and belonged to the corps of fervent admirers of Chang San-feng of which Li was a leading figure.

The last part in this section is the 'Ch'uan-chi p'ai' which quotes the words of Wang Shih-chen 王士祯 (alias Yu-yang shan-jen 湣洋山人, 1634-1711), a literary prodigy whose achievement in poetry deserves the attention of future generations and overshadows his other achievements. He was regarded as a prolific writer in the school of shen-yun 神韻 or mysterious spiritual harmony by later critics.\(^{440}\) Here Wang maintained that Chang San-feng had a close affinity to the esoteric school of boxing.\(^{441}\)

All the parts in the section *Hsien-p'ai*, except the 'Hou lieh-hsien chuan' and the 'Lieh-hsien p'ai-yen' which are clearly indicated as having been written by Ts'ang-yai chu-shih, were possibly from the hand of Li Hsi-yüeh, who was the mastermind of the re-editing of the entire *Chang San-feng ch'uan-ohi*. Although since both Wang Hsi-ling and Li contributed to the compilation of the collected works attributed to Chang San-feng, the former

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\(^{438}\) See Chapter 3, p.102 (Note 339).

\(^{439}\) See 5/42a-43b (7772).

\(^{440}\) For the biography of Wang, see *Ch'ing-shih kao*, 272/6a-7a. See also his biography written by Fang Chao-ying, in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, pp.831-3.

\(^{441}\) In fact, Wang Shih-chen was not the only writer to relate San-feng with the esoteric school of boxing. As has already been pointed out in Chapter 1, Huang Tsung-hsi also asserted this view in his 'Wang Cheng-nan mu-chih-ming'. For greater detail, see discussion in Chapter 1, pp.66-8.
being the initiator while the latter was the reviser, either could have written the biographies of the patriarchs and immortals. But the Yin-hsien or Yu-lung sect was not yet established in the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty, that is, during Wang's time, so Wang could not have written those biographies to show the line of transmission and indeed never alluded to it. This is why I think that Li Hsi-yueh was responsible for most of the works in the section Hsien-p'ai.

Another section in ch'uan 1 of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi which contains works of other writers is the Cheng-o, which includes eleven short paragraphs, all on the life and teaching of Chang San-feng, together with some bibliographical sources relating to works generally attributed to him. The last entry is inscribed as 'Respectfully recorded by Ch'ang-i 長乙'. Ch'ang-i is the hao of Li Hsi-yueh, so the authorship of this entry is apparent. Though the other ten entries remain anonymous, Li might be the author of them all since he was the reviser of the entire collected works. Moreover, since Wang Hsi-ling is mentioned in many of these notes, the possibility that he produced these critical annotations is eliminated. The title of this section, Cheng-o, by which the compiler purports to combat all errors, is in fact a misnomer in some instances. For example, in the third entry, the author held that the birth date of Chang San-feng was the ninth day of the fourth month of the second year (1247) of the reign of Emperor Ting-tsung (reigned 1246-1248) of the Yuan dynasty, a date put forward by Wang Hsi-ling in his 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan'. The dating of Chang San-feng has been fully discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis and the aforesaid view in which the

442 CSFCC, 1/19b-20a (7656).
443 Ibid., p.8a (7650).
figure has been antedated is fallacious according to this study.  

Most of the records of Chang San-feng attributed to him some occult power which is manifested in the thirty odd entries in the section \textit{Hsien-chi}, the last section in \textit{chilan} 1. Wang Hsi-ling was held responsible for the first thirty-two entries, as he writes in his preface to the \textit{Chang San-feng ch'\text{\textilan}an-chi}, 'I then recorded thirty odd entries about the revelations of the patriarch in order to preserve them.' Almost every entry is followed by a commentary note, and in most cases the commentator is designated as Yüan-t'ung-tzu 圆通子 which is known to be the alias of Wang Hsi-ling, thus adding weight to the argument that these entries recounting the revelations of Chang San-feng were transmitted from Wang Hsi-ling. Some other appendant critical notes are claimed to be derived from the \textit{Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien} which appeared before Wang had completed his manuscript copy of the \textit{Chang San-feng ch'\text{\textilan}an-chi}, but it is unclear whether these extracts were added by Wang or his successor, Li Hsi-yüeh.

Apart from the thirty-two entries in this section which contain descriptions of the manifestation of the power of Chang San-feng, there are four other supplementary entries which, most probably, were appended by Li Hsi-yüeh, and among which there is one entitled 'Tu Wang Meng-chiu'. This is a long account of the life of Wang Hsi-ling, and above all is the portrayal of his encounter with the master who then converted this keen official to the Way. The account concludes with a remark by Li Hsi-yüeh who used his alias Ch'ang-i-tzu 长乙子 on this occasion:

\footnote{\textit{Same as Note 369.}}

The title of this passage is 'Tu Wang Meng-chiu', yet it is like a brief account of the life of Mister [Wang] Meng-chiu. Why? It is because Mister [Wang] had served as an Indendant in Chien-nan Circuit, and his reputation for good administration is still remembered and praised by the people today. In addition, he had the foundation needed in the pursuit of immortality and the capacity essential to the cultivation of the Way, and he was able to attain both loyalty and filial piety. In view of this, the patriarch was anxious to instruct and convert him, in order to defend our Way. In this work [1] I have collected anecdotes, gathered traditional accounts, and recorded according to the inscriptions in [Wang's] tomb epitaph and epilogue, with a purpose of manifesting the endeavours of the patriarch to bring salvation to the world, while at the same time relating the biography of [Wang] Meng-chiu.446

This clearly indicates that Li was the author of the passage. Though the name of another character, Hsü-chou-tzu 盪舟子, appears in the note to the last supplementary entry entitled 'T'ai-an hun-chi' 桑安溝跡, which depicts a filthy and bizarre wanderer by the name of Chang, I still hold the view that the passage itself, like the other three supplements, was written by Li Hsi-yüeh, and the note inscribed by Hsü-chou-tzu was interpolated by later hands. As six decades passed between the first and second printing of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi, it is inevitable that alterations and additions were made.

Having examined the works apparently written by some Ch'ing writers in chüan 1, the last chüan which also abounds with poems and prose works not attributed to Chang San-feng will be considered. Obviously, the works of some very prominent personalities of the Ming and Ch'ing periods are included in the section Ku-chin t'ü-tseng which is a collection of verses. Here we discern such authors as Chu Ti 朱棣, in other words Emperor Ch'eng-tsu of the Ming dynasty, who yearned to summon the master Chang San-feng to his court. Also included are poems by notable princes of the Chu house, namely, Chu Ch'un, Prince Hsien of Szechwan 蘇獻王 to whom San-feng was said to have paid respect when the latter visited Szechwan;  

446 Ibid., 1/43a (7668).
447 Ibid., p.45a (7669).
448 See Chapter 1, pp.6-7. For biographical information on the prince, see Notes 14 and 18.
Chu Po 朱柏 (1371-1399), Prince Hsien of Hunan 衡献王; Chu Ch'u'an 朱禟 (1378-1448), Prince Hsien of Ta-ning (Hopeh) 思献王, who was endowed with literary talent and is remembered for his achievements in Chinese drama; Chu Yu-k'ai 朱友垓 (d.1463), Prince Ting of Szechwan 蜀定王, and Chu Shen-chien 朱申墳 (d.1493), Prince Hui of Szechwan 蜀惠王. Hu Ying 胡英 who was entrusted with the formidable task of searching for the eccentric Taoist, Chang San-feng, for ten years, is also one of the many authors whose works appear. Other poets include such distinguished scholars as Cha Shen-hsing 楚慎行 (1650-1727), Ch'ien Ch'en-ch'Un 潮存群 (1686-1774), Chao I, an outstanding poet and historian of the Ch'ien-lung period, and Li Tiao-yuan 李調元 (1734-1803), a scholar and bibliophile noted for his extraordinary prolific literary production, and their poems relating to Chang San-feng are found in this section. The poems attributed to some Taoist figures such as Shen Wan-san and Wang Hsi-ling and those of strong Taoist bent such as Chang Wen-an 張問安 (1788 詩-ian), a poet and brother of the celebrated poet, Chang Wen-t'ao 張問陶 (1764-1814), are also recorded here. Other

449 For the biography of Cha, written by Fang Chao-ying, see Arthur W. Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period, pp. 21-2; biography of Ch'ien, written by Fang Chao-ying, ibid., pp.146-7; biography of Chao, written by Tu Lien-che, ibid., pp.75-6; biography of Li, written by J.C. Yang, ibid., pp.486-8.

450 The poems of Cha Shen-hsing, Chao I and Li Tiao-yuan which appear in the section Ku-chin t'i-ting can be found in their respective collected works. Cha's poems, which has the full title 'Li-o-ch'eng-pei fu-ch'Uan shan Chang San-feng li-tou-t'ing shang-ts'un' 立峨城北福泉山張三丰禪帝尚存, is included in his collected poems, Ching-yeh-t'ang shih-chi 敬業堂詩集 (Ssu-pu ta'ung-k'an 四部類刊, ch'i-pu 集部, ed., 1929), 4/2b-3a. For Chao's work entitled 'Chang San-feng li-tou-t'ing' 張三丰禪帝 is found in his collection of poems, Ou-pei shih-ch'ao 欧北詩鈔 (included in the Ou-pei shih-chan shih 遠山詩集, ed.), under the section ch'i-yen 七言律, 2, p.22a. For Li's poem which bears the title 'Hsiao-fu-ssu tu Ming Hu Ying fang Chang San-feng shih pei yin he ch'i-yen shih hu' 釋符序明胡 胡英 放常三丰詩碑 因和其詩幀序, see his T'ung-shan shih-chi 黃山詩集 (included in Han-k'ai 函海, Vol.141-8, 1782 ed.), 26/12a-b.
names included in this section are Chang Chun-jui 張君瑞, Tung Ch'eng-hsi, Li Chia-hsiu, Chang Chi-hsiang, Wang Yün 王筠, Tung Chiang 董江, Yang Chung-t'ao 楊鐘濤, Li Ch'ao-hua 李朝華, Li Ch'ao-pa 李朝伯, Liu Kuang-tse 劉光澤, Chang Sheng-hung 張昇鴻, Li Yuan-chih, Yang T'ing-chün 楊廷峻, all of whom flourished in the Tao-kuang period.

Altogether there are twenty-nine authors who are alleged to have composed poems or works of other literary style in reply to Chang San-feng. Most of the works attributed to writers who lived after Chang San-feng are plainly expressions of the authors' strong admiration and respect for the master who was extolled to the skies. Also in this section is found the imperial letter delivered to the noted Taoist by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu. Furthermore, the source of the poem attributed to Shen Wan-san (his alias Shen Yuan-hsiu is used in the text), entitled 'Lien-tan huai San-feng shih' (In memory of the master San-feng when cultivating the pill), can be traced to another couplet attributed to Shen, which is found in the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien. The couplet runs like this: 'Eight hundred fiery bulls are ploughing under the moon, and three thousand beautiful ladies are smiling in the vernal breeze.'

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451 According to the short biography of Chang in the CSECC, his tsu was Chi-wu 藝五, hao Feng-chou 恩州. He was an instructor in prefectural school in K'uei-chou 恩州, Szechwan, before he retired, see 8/69a (7828). It is also found in the 1934 ed. of the Lo-shan hotsen chih, 3/26b-28a, the account of a person called Chang Jui 張瑞 which is identical to that of Chang Chun-jui. They had the same aliases and were said to hold the same post. It appears that Chang Jui and Chang Chun-jui are in fact the same person. According to the Lo-shan hotsen chih, Chang Jui retired from the post of K'uei-chou chiao-shou 恩州教授 (Instructor in prefectural school in K'uei-chou) at the age of eighty in 1830. Also, there is an entry relating to Chang Jui in the 1816 ed. of the Ssu-ch'uan t'ung-chih, under the section hotsen-chih chih 選舉志, 129/59a, which says, 'He became a chu-jen in the thirteenth year of the Chia-ch'ing period (1808). He was a native of Lo-shan, and a Chiao-yu 教諭 (An instructor in county school) of Hua-yang 华陽 (Szechwan).'

452 The imperial letter is included in earlier sources, see Note 192.

453 Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, 21/6/5b.
for the works attributed to other authors, especially those who flourished in the Ming dynasty, it is difficult to verify their authenticity as the collected works of most of these men are hard if not impossible to obtain. However, the attribution of the poems written by the group of ardent advocates of Taoist practices who were contemporaries of Li Hsi-yüeh may be considered reliable since Li, being their fellow devotee, could easily collect their works and need not resort to fabrication.

The section after the Ku-chin t'i-ting is the Yin-ohing, with the full title Yin-ohing pien-nien (A chronology of events relating to the secluded life of the master that serves as a mirror). Prefixed to the heading of the section is the name of one Liu Yuan-cho 劉元燁. This should suggest that he is the compiler of the corresponding section, but a statement to the contrary is given at the beginning of the text:

Wang Meng-chiu once said, 'Many know that the master (i.e. Chang San-feng) is the true immortal, but few realize that he is a recluse as well. [Once when I] had finished my work and felt tranquillity at heart, just then the gentleman Chin Shih-hsun 劉志訓 came to visit me and we held conversation, amid burning incense, on the mysterious events surrounding the master. The gentleman then said, "Sir, why don't you record with your pen the secluded life of the master in order to mirror his principle?" [I], Hsi-ling, answered, "Good". Thus I recorded [the events] in the style of the annals and called this the Yin-ohing pien-nien, in which I stress the verity of the events. Thus, all the hidden events connected with the master and his chronological biography are included here in this record. Comrades ten thousand years after please carry on recording [the events].

This gives us the impression that Wang initially compiled the Yin-ohing as a chronological account of the deeds of Chang San-feng. The gentleman Chin Shih-hsun 劉志訓 mentioned in the above quoted passage also occupies a place in this section, as his name, here shortened as 'Chin shih' 金氏, appears in the remarks following the k'ang 章 or text and the mu 目 or

454 CSFCC, 8/75b (7831).

455 It is recorded in the 1934 ed. of the Lo-shan hsien chih, under the section kuan-shih 廈, 8/14a, that Chin was a Manchu of the Plain White Banner and was a student of the national university. He was appointed the Subprefecture Magistrate of Lo-shan in 1723.
commentary. Liu Yuan-cho might possibly be the writer of the three other entries called the *fa-ming* 发明 (elucidation). Liu might be an elder contemporary of Li Hsi-yueh and have kept in his possession the *Yin-ching pien-nien* to which he added his personal views in the form of elucidations. All these materials were later transmitted to the hands of Li through the goodwill of Liu or by other means, so when the former edited the *Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi* he placed the latter's name right at the beginning as a token of acknowledgement of his contribution, for Liu was the owner and had paraphrased these materials. This may be the only rational explanation to account for the present situation in the extant *Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi* in which Liu was treated as the compiler of the *Yin-ching pien-nien* while Wang Hsi-ling was actually responsible. The elucidations brought forward by Liu are in some cases lucid and precise and serve to elaborate the text proper, albeit the text itself may not be totally reliable. The following example illustrates this:

To inscribe [Chang San-feng] with the designation 'Ku YUan t'ui-lao' 故元退老 (Old man of the defunct Yuan dynasty in retreat) is to show his loyalty [to the Yuan dynasty]; to write 'i-pai san-shih-ch'i sui lao-jen' 一百三十七歲老人 (Old man of one hundred and thirty-seven sui) is to evince respect for his old age; to pen 'Wu-tang shan yin-shih' 武當山隱士 (The recluse of Mount Wu-tang) is to reveal his lofty principles and pure temperament which can stand as examples to hundred succeeding generations.456

The *Hui-chi* which carries miscellaneous records is the last section in *chuan* 8 and covers six parts which are: 'Shih-ti' 時地 (time and place), 'Ming-hao' 名號 (appellations), 'I-chi' 遺蹟 (vestiges), 'Shih-ti pu' 時地補 (supplement to time and place), 'Tao-t'an chi' 道壇記 (records of the Taoist altars), and 'HsU-chuan wai-chi' 序傳外記 (unofficial prefaces and biographies). The first part discusses the chronology of Chang San-feng's life and his place of origin. Here the author shares the general view maintained by early biographers that this

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456 CSFCC, 8/76a (7832).
Taoist figure was a native of I-chou, Liaotung, but he holds that Chang was active as early as the beginning of Mongol rule. In this he cherishes the same belief as Wang Ysi-ling, which is not attested by trenchant evidence. The aliases of Chang San-feng are given in the section on his appellations. According to the record, his names were: T'ung, Chin 金, Ssu-lien 恩廉, Hsüan-su 玄素, Hsüan-hua 玄化, while his tzu were: Hsüan-hsüan, Shan-feng 山峯, San-feng, Ch'ün-shih, Hsüan-i 詒一, Ch'üan-i, San-feng, and his hao was K'un-yang. The miraculous deeds attributed to the Taoist as taken from local histories, miscellaneous notes and other sources are included in the section 'I-chi'. There is also a supplement to the section on the dating and native district of Chang San-feng, which carries two entries dealing solely with problems connected with locations.

What attracts attention is the description of the sacrificial altar upon which Chang San-feng was invoked to communicate with his devotees. Altogether there are eight entries, the first two acting as an introduction in which the author writes:

The altar is called 'Tao' 道 (Way) to show respect to the origin. All the immortals come from the Way, and if we invoke them by referring to the Way, they will surely descend upon us likewise. The setting up of the altar and the invocation of the immortals have often confounded scholar-officials. Among all the predictions thus made, some are believable while others are incredible. If the performer of the practice is upright then [the prediction] is reliable, if he is crooked then [the outcome] is hardly believable. If he is sincere, then [the answer] is reliable, [if he is] guileful then it is unlikely to be true. [If he is] pure and elegant then [the communication] is reliable, [if he is] base then it is not trustworthy....

Here the author frankly admits that planchette writing was practised and contrives to lay down the conditions under which the act of divination

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457 See Note 443; cf. also Note 369.

458 Cf. Chapter 1, pp. 36-7, for the various names of Chang San-feng appeared in records relating to him. It is very likely that some of his aliases mentioned in this section were fabricated by the Ch'ing Taoist devotees.

459 CSFCC, 8/29a (7838).
would be most efficacious.

The last part 'Hsü-chuan wai-chi' covers an anonymous 'San-feng hsien-sheng chuan' (Biography of Chang San-feng), two prefaces entitled 'Wu-chên hsia-hung tung-t'ien k'o hsüan-yao p'ien hsü' and 'Yüeh-yun-t'an hsü' respectively. The first preface is taken from Hsüan-yao p'ien published by the Hsiang-yun tung-t'ien and was written by Chang Ling-chi and Teng Ling-mi. All the parts in the section, except the 'Tao-t'an chi', have the name of the author or the source from which the piece was derived clearly indicated, and obviously it was Li Hsi-yüeh who brought them together under separate categories. As for the 'Tao-t'an chi', judging from what is disclosed in one of the entries included in this section, I surmise that Li Hsi-yüeh is its author. Here I quote the passage to support my view:

In the severe cold in early winter, when the morning snow was beginning to clear, the master (i.e. Chang San-feng) descended upon the mountain to preach to his disciples in an effort to help them drive away the cold. Then he said, "Now I am going to walk and chant in the snow, is there anyone who will join me?" All of a sudden a Buddhist novice came and reported that there was a Taoist priest at the door, wearing a coir raincoat and walked like one flying. [On hearing this], Han-hsü-sheng ran in pursuit [of the Taoist] but was too late[to catch up with him], so he recorded this incident with a poem...460

Han-hsü-sheng is the alias of Li Hsi-yüeh. The foregoing is his personal narrative of his communication with the master through planchette writing, though he does not express it plainly. In the same way, Li would also have penned the activities of his fellow Taoist adherents in Lo-shan district, emphasizing their association with the master, which, of course, would be impossible save through the same occult practice. On these grounds, it may be assumed that Li recorded with his own hand the 'Tao-t'an chi'. The Yün-shui san-ohi which is going to be investigated thoroughly in Chapter 6 is full of such narratives.

460 Ibid., p.90a (7839).
461 Ibid., 5/38a-61b (7770-81).
Ts'e 5 of the extant Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi, which does not appear in the general table of contents, is occupied by the commentary written by Liu Wu-yüan on the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u', a set of twenty-four tz'u poems attributed to Chang San-feng. Liu's commentary is followed by the supplementary illuminations from the hand of Li Hsi-yüeh under the alias of Li Han-hsü. Liu's paraphrase is dated 1802, and was originally known as the Wu-ken-shu chieh, a collection of twelve Taoist treatises. Evidently, his commentary appeared before Li Hsi-yüeh completed the revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi, and was acquired by the latter at a late stage in the compilation. Li thought that the subtle meaning of the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u' had not been fully elaborated, so he gave his additional elucidation. His motive is expressed in the words of Ho Hsi-fu 何西僊, a confére of Li, who wrote the preface to the commentary:

[Li Hsi-yüeh] had long aspired to paraphrase the [Wu-ken-shu tz'u] to make it widely known, but regretted that he lacked some Taoist friends who cherished the same desire with him. Li Wu-yüan of Mount Ch'i-yüan 接雲山, with his erudite knowledge and great eloquence had written scores of works that were transmitted to the world, among them the Wu-ken-shu chu-chieh 無根樹注解. Having obtained this book and read it, Han-hsü (i.e. Li Hsi-yüeh) found that the commentary was lucid and the reasoning complete and penetrating, thus he became enraptured for he was delighted to find that this commentary embodied all that was deep in his mind. In some cases the meaning was not fully expressed, so Han-hsü supplemented his illuminations...

This preface is dated 1847, three years after the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi was published for the first time, so Liu's commentary was added to the other parts of the complete works after Li Hsi-yüeh had finished the revision. In other words, it only appeared in the edition of the Chang San-

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462 Ibid., hsü pi-chi 11, p.1a (7845).
463 The full title is Ching-yin tao-shu shih-erh chung 瑞印道書十二種 (Shanghai, 1913).
464 CSPCC, Wu-ken-shu tz'u chu-chieh, hsü, pp.1a-b (7843).
that was published in 1906, which in fact is the present version.

In the present commentary on the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u', the foreword by Ho Hsi-fu is followed by two tz'u poems both entitled 'Tzu-t'\textasciitilde i wu-ken-shu tz'u' (Personal inscription on the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u') to the tunes of Che-ku-t'\textasciitilde ien 鶴鶴天 and Mei-hua-sheng 曼花聲 respectively, both attributed to Chang San-feng. At the end of these works is an inscription which reads, 'The old man of the former great Yuan dynasty, Chang San-feng, wrote in the thatched hut at T'ien-chu Peak on Mount Wu-tang on the day of the Chung-ho \textasciitilde festival (i.e., the first day of the second month in the lunar calendar) in the seventeenth year of the Hung-wu period of the Ming dynasty (1384), also the sui of chia-tzu of the cyclical year'.\textsuperscript{465} But this inscription is not found in the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u' included in the \textit{Hs\textasciitilde an-yao p'\textasciitilde ien} of the present Chang San-feng ch'\textasciitilde ian-chi,\textsuperscript{466} nor is it seen in the Tao-shu shih-erh chung edition of the same commentary. Hence, there is a strong possibility that the inscription was added by Li Hsi-\textasciitilde ieh.

Prefixed to the commentary proper, apart from the preface and the two tz'u poems mentioned above, are three other passages, the first being the biography of Chang San-feng, the second the letter issued by Emperor Ch'\textasciitilde eng-tsu to summon the Taoist to the royal audience, which has already been discussed in connection with the section Ku-chin t'i-tsang in ch\textasciitilde ian 8,\textsuperscript{467} and the last an alleged reply by Chang San-feng presented to the sovereign by another Taoist, Sun Pi-y\textasciitilde n. All these works were originally

\textsuperscript{465} Ibid., p.2b (7843).
\textsuperscript{466} Ibid., 4/4la-46b (7735-7).
\textsuperscript{467} Cf. p.145 (Note 452).
included in the *wu-ken-shu chieh* of the *Tao-shu shih-erh chung*, in which there is another inscription at the end stating, 'Yang Ch'un-ho 楊春和, alias [Yang] chieh-an 楊介庵, of Kao-i 龢邑, inscribed this at the Lung-shan shu-wu 龍山書屋 in the second month of spring in the fourth year of Chia-ch'ing (1799). But once again the aforementioned inscription is not found in the present *Chang San-feng ch'Uan-chi*. However, it suggests that the three passages at the beginning of the commentary were actually compiled by Yang Ch'un-ho and were at a later period included in the commentary on the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u', and the name of the initial compiler remains obscure.

Also, it is necessary to point out that in the first passage, which is an account of the life of Chang San-feng, 'San-feng chen-jen yüen-liu' 真人源流, there is a line explicitly indicating that the whole work was 'included in the *Hsien-chien* 仙鑑'. Here the *Hsien-chien* refers to the *Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien*. If the corresponding biography included in the *Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien* is compared with the present work, it may be observed that there is some variation in content as well as in literary expression. For example, the following paragraph which enlarges on the restoration of the monasteries in the celebrated Mount Wu-tang by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu does not appear in the *Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien*. It reads in full as follows:

In the Yung-lo period when the Emperor promulgated an imperial decree to rebuild the [monasteries] in Mount Wu-tang, the Immortal (i.e. Chang San-feng) hid himself among the workers and toiled industriously, and no one save the immortal [Sun] Pi-yûn knew about this. At that time Sun Pi-yûn was the abbot of the [monastery] in Mount Wu-tang and often went along with the Immortal from whom he very much benefited.

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470 'San-feng chen-jen yüan-liu' is derived from *Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien*, 21/6/3b-5b and 21/9/2b-3a.

The other two passages, the imperial letter and the reply of Chang San-feng, can also be found in the *Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien*,\(^{472}\) the contents being unaltered.

Under the title 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u' there are altogether twenty-four *ts'u* poems, to which both Liu Wu-yüan and Li Hsi-yüeh furnished commentaries. Though Li passed favourable comments on Liu's commentary, in many cases he could not agree with him. These two Taoist advocates had maintained conflicting views regarding the principal meaning of this set of *ts'u* poems, therefore they expressed divergent opinions in elucidating these works. A good illustration of their contrasting interpretations is cited in the following examples. For instance, Liu regarded the main theme of the first *ts'u* poem as 'lamenting the world', while Li thought that in this work the master was trying to 'inculcate the masses to grow *yu-hua* ('美花')'.\(^{473}\) Again, in the case of the second one, Liu attributed it to the master's admonition of urging 'everyone to do his best to be a perfect man', but Li held a different view. He asserted that the sole purpose of the work was to 'encourage people to practise the method of grafting in cultivation'.\(^{474}\) Similarly, they dissented in their explanation of the eighth *ts'u* poem which Liu paraphrased as on the 'advancing and retreat of the *yin* and *yang* elements' 进退陰陽, while Li related the work to the process of 'reviving the pill in temperate temperature' 溫養還丹.\(^{475}\) Here Li was outspoken in criticizing Liu as being incorrect in his exposition. He said, 'The commentary by [Liu] Wu-yüan is good in its reasoning, yet it is not the original meaning of this work.'\(^{476}\)


\(^{473}\) *CSFCC, Wu-ken-shu ts'u chu-ch'ieh*, p.2a (7845).

\(^{474}\) Ibid., p.4b (7846).

\(^{475}\) Ibid., p.13b (7851).

\(^{476}\) Ibid., p.14b (7851).
In fact, all their contrary ideas stem from their different interpretation of the term 'wu-ken-shu' as may be shown by a close examination of how the two commentators explain this controversial term.

To Liu, the 'wu-ken-shu', or rootless tree, symbolizes the life of man:

Every tree has roots in order to grow. If a tree has no root then it cannot sustain itself. And a man living in this world has to go through the various stages of life, that is, birth, old age, sickness and death. At one time he is alive but all of a sudden he succumbs, so a hundred years of time is transient, like the spark which comes from the clashing of stones or like a flash of lightning, and resembles a tree that has no root. The Immortal (i.e. Chang San-feng) called his set of twenty-four ts'u poems the 'Rootless tree', for he intended to awake the masses to lead them to perceive that life is as illusory as a dream, and to [encourage them to] start betimes to cultivate their nature and life. 477

Whereas, to Li, the rootless tree equates with the ch'i (vital breath) upon which the human life relies:

In terms of the human body, the rootless tree is like the ch'i. As a human body has a hundred veins which come forth from the ch'i which in turn germinates from the state of emptiness, so it is called 'rootless'. As the alchemists bring forth roots from the state of emptiness, whether former heaven or latter heaven, all are produced from nothingness, so 'rootless' is in fact the root of the root... These twenty-four chang comply with the twenty-four seasons in a year, [and the author] is trying to induce people to keep a constant eye on the flowers (i.e. vital force) beneath the rootless tree. This is how this tao-ch'ing (i.e. ts'u poem) can attain perfection in beauty and virtue. 478

Despite their different interpretations, they share the same opinion on one point which is a major issue. Neither of them endorses the view that these twenty-four ts'u poems pertain to the practice of dual-cultivation between male and female or the technique of capturing and fighting (i.e. sexual intercourse), 479 a standpoint contrary to the view generally held by

477 Ibid., p.1a (7845).
478 Ibid., pp.1a-b (7845).
Taoist writers. In other words, according to Liu and Li, these tz'u poems on the rootless tree bear no implication of the sexual activities of men and women as they apparently suggest.\textsuperscript{480}

Here no attempt will be given to delineate the commentaries on the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u'. However, it is interesting to look at the actual text of these arbitrary works which are of a nebulous nature. The following two will give the reader an idea of their content and why some commentators attribute them to dual-cultivation:

\textsuperscript{480}Among the twenty-four tz'u poems in the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u', a few of them are seemingly connected with dual-cultivation between male and female, but Liu and Li treated them as metaphors. For instance, to explain the fourth work starting with the line, 'The rootless tree, a single flower has it', Liu says, 'Again, it is like a woman without husband, or a man without wife, how can she or he reproduce?' Maintaining similar view, Li says, 'The same applies to man and woman, husband and wife. If a woman has no husband, single yu will not spring up and she will become a grievous spinster. If a man has no wife, then single yang will have no nourishment, and he will turn up to be a miserable bachelor.' CSCPCC, Wu-ken-shu tz'u chu-chieh, pp. 7b-8a (7848). Also, in the commentary, Liu decries the other Taoist writers who interpreted the two terms, chung-chien (medial part) and tien-tao (inverse) in line with dual-cultivation. When explaining these terms which are found in the fifth tz'u poem beginning with the line, 'The rootless tree, a leaning flower has it,' Liu says, 'Alas! The meaning of chung-chien is not easy for people to understand, and tien-tao is also hard for them to comprehend. The advocates of the theory of "capturing and fighting" have held that chung-chien is the point of intercourse between man and woman, while tien-tao implies the male capturing the blood of the female... these people are those who originated the immoral practice, how can they understand the true meaning of chung-chien and tien-tao of the immortals?', ibid., p.9b (7849). Li was even firmer in maintaining the view that these tz'u poems have nothing to do with sexual intercourse. His argument is shown in the words of Ho Hsi-fu who says in his preface to the Wu-ken-shu tz'u chu-chieh, '...Master Chang San-feng of Liaoyang had written twenty-four pieces of "Wu-ken-shu tao-ch'ing" when he was in Mount Wu-tang... some have attributed these works to the capturing and fighting process in the furnace fire (i.e., symbolic of sexual intercourse). [To this Li] Han-hsiu deplored and said, "That the Way does not prevail ensues from the fact that it is not understood!" ',ibid., hsü-yeh, p.1a (7843).
The rootless tree, a single flower has it,
May I ask does the yin harmonize with the yang?
The hen's egg alone,
Cannot bring forth chickens,
For it is violating the yin and yang rule of the furnace for creation.
Grievous is a woman who has no spouse,
Man without wife a bachelor he is.
Here I lament for the bewildered advocates,
So hazy are they,
Quietly they sit and singly they cultivate, thus making the breath
turn dry.481

The second runs:

The rootless tree,
A leaning flower has it,
The Way is imperfect if it deviates from the rule of yin and yang.
Cold is separated from wood,
And mercury from lead,
Side by side the single yang and lonely yin rest.
[It is the same] with human beings, for man pairs with woman, as yin
goes with yang,
Sons and grandsons are thus brought forth, transmitting generation
after generation.
To follow nature is human,
To go against the normal rule is immortal,
[All these] depend on [how he] inverts in the medial point.482

In view of the expressions in the above ts' u poems, it is hard to confute
the argument that the author implies dual-cultivation by his words, albeit
not all of the twenty-four pieces are so explicit and exoteric as the two
above quoted. It should be recalled that even one of the most important
Taoist treatises, Chou-i ts'an-t'ung-ch'i 周易参同契483 by Wei
Po-yang 魏伯陽 (fl. 121 A.D.), a noted Taoist philosopher and al-
chemist of the Han dynasty, was treated as a book on dual-cultivation by Lu
Hsi-hsing in his commentary on the work,484 though the presentation is

481 CSFCC, Wu-ken-shu ts'u chu-chieh, p.7a (7848).
482 Ibid., p.8b (7848).
483 For English translation of the Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i, see Wu Lu-ch'i ang
and Tenney L. Davis, tr., 'An ancient Chinese Treatise on
Alchemy entitled Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i', Isia, Vol.8 No.2 (1932), pp.210-89.
484 His view is clearly shown in his commentary on the Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i,
see Lu, Fang-hu wat-shih 方霍外史 (Taipei reprint, 1957), hsia,
pp.409-530. See also Liu Ts'un-yan, 'Lu Hsi-hsing and His Commen-
taries on the Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i', op.cit.
elusive. Therefore, it is really difficult to concede that none of the 'Wu-ken-shu' tz'u poems are related to sexual intercourse when the diction in some of them so clearly points to it. There is a strong possibility that these works are solely concerned with the theme of dual-cultivation, but the most objective view is to maintain that they carry a twofold meaning.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁵ See Anna Seidel, 'A Taoist Immortal of the Ming dynasty: Chang San-feng', p. 524 and Note 84 of the article.
In the extant Chang San-feng ch’uan-chi, the works attributed to Chang San-feng are those contained in ch’uan 2 to 7 inclusively, plus the Shui-shih hsien-t’an in ch’uan 8 and a number of scriptures and amulets in tse’e 6.

Ch’uan 2 comprises two sections, namely, the Ku-wen and Yin-chien. Discussion will begin with the former which may correspond to the section Wen in Wang Hsi-ling’s unpublished compilation. Grave doubts have already been expressed regarding the authenticity of most of the works in the part of Wen when dealing with the contents of Wang’s edition of the Chang San-feng ch’uan-chi in Chapter 3, and a careful study of these nineteen pieces of prose strengthens the argument that most of these works were not written by Chang San-feng.

In the first place, the various works which are obviously spurious will be discussed. For example, the third prose entitled Wan-p’u-tzu lieh-chuan, which is a biography of Wan-p’u-tzu, the alias of Ch’eng Yao, who, as depicted in this essay, was audacious enough to show contempt to Chu Kao-hsü, Prince Han of Yunnan and the second son of Emperor Ch’eng-tsu, and Yao Kuang-hsiao.

487 The name of Ch’eng Yao appears in the MS, under the Biography of his grandson, Ch’eng Shao 楊昭 (1589 chin-shih), 242/589. Yao was the Right Administrative commissioner of Kiangsi. A more detailed biography of Yao can be found in the Chi-nan fu chin-shih 江南府志, compiled by Wang Tseng-fang 王鈳芳 (1782-1849) and Ch’eng Kuan 成瓘 (1840 ed., Taipei reprint), 52/37b-38a. But it is recorded that Ch’eng Yao became a chin-shih in 1532, so he is not the same person referred to in the Wan-p’u-tzu lieh-chuan who flourished in the Yung-lo period. It is just a coincidence that the two bore the same name.
488 For the biography of the prince, see Note 210.
489 For Yao, see Note 166.
Both of them were major figures in the usurpation of the Prince of Yen during the years 1399 to 1402.\textsuperscript{490} The following is the rendering of a part of the long text:

Just [after he (i.e. Wan-p'u-tzu) had insulted them (i.e. Chu Kao-hsiu and Yao Kuang-hsiao)], the Taoist Chou Yin-yao (周隐遜) came to visit him. Being astonished, [Chou] asked, 'The Prince of Yen is the ruler born in response to the times, why do you thwart him?' Wan-p'u-tzu answered, 'Sir, you are wrong. The Prince of Yen, [Chu] Ti, of nowadays is identical to the princes of Kuan 輔 and Ts'ai 采 [in the past], only that now we have no Duke of Chou (周公)\textsuperscript{491} [able to help administer the state]. Thus the Prince of Yen is able to act according to his voracious desires. And yet, sir, you claim him as a ruler born in response to the times. If this is so, then whenever the powerful feudal princes rebel against the central government, it would be likened to an answer to the need of the times, and henceforward, the constant principles of human relationship [between the emperor and his ministers] and the cardinal virtues would become decadent. A minor person like me, in view of this, dare not court common favour [and agree to it]. So I have twice humiliated [Yao] Kuang-hsiao and disgraced three times [Chu] Kao-hsiu, with the desire of fostering the promulgation of the cardinal principles of human relationship and upholding the obligations and teachings [of the sage (i.e. Confucius)], so that people after a thousand years will still realize that the campaign of the Prince of Yen is not tolerated by the Taoists [who live] among the mountains and forests, and he is not a master born in response to the times.\textsuperscript{492}

After having condemned the act of the Prince of Yen in rebelling against his nephew, the Emperor, the author went on to praise the sage rulers, saying:

From ancient times, when a perfect man emerged, he would eradicate the cruel and eliminate the tyrannical. The emperors in early times, such as King T'ang 湯 [of the Shang dynasty], King Wu 武王 [of

\textsuperscript{490} For greater detail, see Chapter 2, pp.47-9 (Note 171).

\textsuperscript{491} The Duke of Chou, whose name was Chi Tan 周宣公, sometimes also called Chou-kung Tan 周公, was the brother of the exemplary King Wu of the Chou dynasty. He was a great administrator who helped his nephew, the young King Ch'eng-wang 成王, to govern the state. He is well remembered for his service to the Chou dynasty which was the longest regime in Chinese history to have sustained for 800 years. Princes Kuan and Ts'ai were the uncles of King Ch'eng-wang. They rebelled against the sovereignty but was quashed by the Duke of Chou. For the biography of the Duke of Chou, see Shih-chi, 33/126-7. Also, E. Chavannes, Les mémoires historiques de Se-mu Ts'ien, IV (Paris, 1901), p.84 ff.

\textsuperscript{492} CSFCC, 2/4a (7671).
the Chou dynasty], and others who came after, such as Emperors Kao-tsu and Kuang-wu 張旭 (reigned 25-57 A.D.) [of the Han dynasty], could be called sage rulers who were born as a response to the times. Recent emperors like Emperor T'ai-tsu who founded the [Ming] empire, subdued the insurgents, and ruled in succession to the great Yüan [dynasty], can also be said to rise to the needs of the age. Since Providence has bestowed the empire upon the King [sovereign], all should respect what is handed down by the ancestors and regard it as a mandate from Heaven. If the Prince of Yen had not appropriated the throne [from his nephew], there might be some [able] successors to the line of Emperor Chien-wen. How could [the Prince of Yen] predict [that could not happen?] Besides, even since Emperor Chien-wen ascended the throne, he has taken care to maintain the [virtues] of benevolence and filial piety, and Heaven does not have the intention of changing the sovereign, yet, the Prince of Yen, being powerful, tried to oppress the weak. This is likened to a countryman who tries to appropriate the property of his fellow clansman by force. What has it to do with the mandate from Heaven? And now, [Chu] Kao-hsiu is a cruel creature who has helped his father in raising the campaign, and Monk Tao- yen, the wicked follower, has assisted [the Prince of Yen] to fulfill his aspiration [for power]. Even the less learned can realize that injustice has been done to [Emperor Chien-wen], how much more acutely will those who have outstanding talent feel!493

Throughout this passage is distilled the sympathy of the author for the deposed Emperor Chien-wen whose whereabouts after being dethroned had provoked much speculation as he became the subject of numerous popular fictions. It is quite improbable that Chang San-feng would express openly this sympathetic feeling towards the ousted monarch during the time when the mighty usurper, Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, imposed a high-handed policy to repress all ministers and officials loyal to the former Emperor and to eradicate any dissident opinion regarding his act of usurpation which he pledged to carry out for the benefit of his nephew and the state.494 It is highly unlikely that the Emperor would allow

493 Ibid., pp.4a-b (7671).

494 Emperor Ch'eng-tsu staged extensive and brutal execution of the ministers loyal to Chien-wen or other recalcitrants of his rule. For details, see the biographies from chuan 141 to 143 of the MS, in particular the accounts of Fang Hsiao-ju 方孝孺 (1357-1402) and Ching Ch'ing 蔡清 (1384 cheng shih), MS, 141/339-40. Fang, a Reader-in-Waiting during the reign of Chien-wen, was a tenacious scholar who refused to draft a proclamation to endorse the usurpation. Consequently he and his family plus the families of his nine generations, and those of his students and friends, were annihilated. Ching, who served under Chien-wen as the Censor-in-Chief, tried to
Chang San-feng to brand his accession as illegitimate without laying hands on the Taoist. However, as has been pointed out in the discussion in Chapter 2, the Emperor was sincere in inviting the Taoist to court and imperial honours were bestowed on him. The Emperor would not have done so if Chang San-feng had really written such a work. For it is known that the Emperor tried by all means to erase the reign of Chien-wen from the memory of his people. All the official records relating to the sovereignty of his nephew were destroyed, and strict censorship was enforced, prohibiting even the possession of literary works of supporters of the deposed monarch. The reign title of Emperor Chien-wen was struck off the dynastic temple records after the Prince of Yen was enthroned as the third emperor of the Ming regime in 1402, and the inquisition was not slackened until the Chia-ching period of the reign of Emperor Shih-tsung. It was only in 1595, the twenty-third year of the reign of

494 (contd)
assassinate Emperor Ch'eng-tsu at the court. But his plot was disclosed and he and his family and the families of his parents and his wife were put to death.

495 See pp.51-6.

496 It is recorded in the *T'ai-tsung shih-lu*, 11/6b, that on the ping-yin 丙 辰 day of the eighth month of the thirty-fifth year of Hung-wu (i.e., the fourth year of the reign of Chien-wen, 1402), Emperor Ch'eng-tsu ordered that all the official records for the reign of Emperor Chien-wen, which were obtained from the palace in Nanking, had to be destroyed, only the account records were retained. This event is also recorded in the Biography of Wang Ken 王艮 (d. 1402) in *MS*, 143/343. Also, Emperor Ch'eng-tsu ordered the re-writing of the *T'ai-tsung shih-lu*, the veritable records for the reign of Emperor T'ai-tsu, which were completed during the reign of Emperor Chien-wen. For in these records Emperor Chien-wen was declared as the rightful successor to the throne, in other words, Emperor Ch'eng-tsu himself would appear as a rebel. Thus he was anxious to have them re-written. All these endeavours were made in an effort to proclaim the legitimacy of his rule. Therefore, he would not tolerate any writings condemning him as an usurper.

497 It is recorded in the Biography of Fang Hsiao-ju, *MS*, 141/339, that during the Yung-lo era those who kept the collected works of Fang Hsiao-ju were under the penalty of death. It is also related in the Biography of Yang Shan 阳善 (1384-1458), *MS*, 171/398, that a Hanlin Bachelor, Chang P'u 张 樽, was put to death because he possessed some of the works of Fang Hsiao-ju.
Emperor Shen-tsung, that through sustained efforts and cries of many ministers, such as Shen Li 沈 龍 (1531-1615), Wang Shih-mao 王 世 懇 (1536-1588) and Yang T'ien-min 揚 天 民 (1589 ch'ien-shih),
498 the reign title of Emperor Chien-wen was restored. 499 But this is nearly two centuries after the occurrence of the usurpation which took four years. Hence, I think it is more appropriate to associate the foregoing passage, 'Wan-p'u-tzu lieh-chuan', with authors living after the mid-Ming epoch when the tide had changed, and it is rational to uphold the view that Chang San-feng is not responsible for the intellectual contents of such an essay which would provoke political turmoil.

Similar resentment against the personality and achievements of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu is disclosed in another prose work in the section Ku-wen. This time the author disparages the compilation of the comprehensive encyclopedia, Yung-lo ta-tien. The following short essay entitled the 'Yung-lo ta-tien chi' 永樂大典記 shows the denunciation of this historic compilation:

A scholar of the past once said, 'When reading it is better to be selective than exhaustive. This method of learning can apply to all, from the Son of Heaven (i.e. the Emperor) to ordinary folk.' At the beginning of the Yung-lo era, the sovereign ordered Hu Kuang, the minister, and Wang Hung 王 洪, the Expositor-in-Waiting, to compile a compendium known as the Ta-tien. This compendium has a total of 22,877 chüan in 11,095 ts'ê, including a general table of contents in sixty chüan. The ministers' memorial [with regard to this compilation] can be found in the Ch'än-ch'ing-ch'uan 漢經大全. But the [T'ai-p'ing] yu-lan [ 太 平 ] 現 獻 本 and the [Ts'e-fu] yuan-kuei [御府] 元 基 are only in 1,000 chüan. 500 These are the two standard encyclopedias. The T'ai-p'ing yu-lan, 1,000 chüan, table of contents fifteen chüan, was compiled under the imperial auspices by Li Yang 李 炳 (925-996) and others and was completed in 983. As for the Ts'e-fu yuan-kuei, 1,000 chüan, table of contents ten chüan, also compiled under the supervision of the

498 Biographies of Shen, Wang and Yang, MS, 217/527, 287/712, 233/567, respectively.


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is so voluminous, as it comprises more than ten thousand ch'uan, [that looking at it is just like] viewing a broad expanse of the ocean and sigh.

It is unreasonable to suggest that Chang San-feng, who flourished during the Yung-lo era, staged such a bitter attack on this prodigious project which Emperor Ch'eng-tsu regarded as a masterpiece. The Yung-lo ta-tien was compiled under the direction of the Buddhist monk Yao Kuang-hsiao. It was 'commenced in the fall of the first year [of Yung-lo] (1403) and completed in the winter of the sixth year [of Yung-lo] (1408), and purported to 'comprise everything in the universe, collecting and consolidating the variant [sayings and teachings] of the past and present, [and all things], no matter big or small, refined or rough, are complete [in this compilation] in a glamorous manner.

Thus Yung-lo ta-tien is a compendium in which books dealing with all subjects, namely, astronomy, geography, divination, medicine, Buddhism, Taoism, technology, arts, etc. are incorporated and classified under...

500 (contd)
sovereign with Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 (d. 1025) and Yang I 楊億 (1014-1020) as its chief compilers, was completed in 1013.

501 望洋之嘆 is originated from Ch'iu-shu, a chapter in Chuang-tzu; (Note 102), see James Legge's translation, 'The Writings of Kuan-woo', Part II, p.374. The complete text in English reads, 'Along the course of the river, he (i.e. Earl of the Ho 河) walked east till he came to the North Sea, over which he looked, with his face to the east, without being able to see where its waters began. Then he began to turn his face round, looked across the expanse, (as if he were) confronting 20 海 , and said with a sigh, "What the vulgar saying expresses about him who has learned a hundred points (of the Tao), and thinks that there is no one equal to himself, was surely spoken of me..."'.

502 CSFCC, 2/17a (7678).

503 See the preface to the Yung-lo ta-tien by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, 'Ch'eng-tsu Wen-huang-ti yu-chih Yung-lo ta-tien hsü' 成祖文皇帝御制永樂大典序, in T'ai-tsung shih-li, 73/4a; also in ch'ien-shou 繪首 of the Yung-lo ta-tien mao-lu 永樂大典目録 (1848), p.2a.

504 Ibid.
different categories and are arranged according to the rhyme of the last word of the term or phrase concerned. It is the largest encyclopedia that had ever been compiled in China, but save for a few hundred odd volumes, it is no longer extant. It is an undisputed historical fact that the prime motive for the Emperor to launch such a grand project was to channel the efforts of Chinese literati away from the political arena where they often held a prominent position into doing paper work, thus distracting their attention and weakening their opposition to his illegitimate rule. However, this compilation was invaluable in the preservation of Chinese culture, as many lost books and rare editions of works written and published before the Sung and Yuan dynasties were restored by the compilers of the Yung-lo ta-tien and preserved therein.

To go back to Chang San-feng, he was not in the position to decry the value and importance of the encyclopedia. Had he done so he would not have won the passionate favour of the Emperor who had exerted great efforts to seek the eccentric Taoist. Therefore, it is assumed that this prose piece, 'Yung-lo ta-tien chi' was written by an author in the late Ming period, who sought to give vent to his sympathy for the defeated and deposed Emperor Chien-wen and his resentment towards the victor, Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, by vehemently attacking the Yung-lo ta-tien. The same author might also have written the other prose work, the 'Wan-p'u-tzu lich-chuan', which was quoted above. This assumption is based on the grounds that time and milieu do not warrant Chang San-feng's making such a daring presentation.

Besides the above two essays, there is another entitled the 'Tzu-t'i ch'ih-feng t'ung-wei hsien-hua chen-jen kao-ming hou-pa' 自題 勃封 通 微 顯 化 真 人 諂 命 後 足, which is an epilogue, attributed to Chang San-feng, to the imperial edict canonizing him as the 'Immortal of Penetrating Mystery and Revealing Transformation'. This is obviously a spurious work. First of all, it is highly unusual to write an epilogue
to the imperial decree which favours oneself with an honorary title.

Secondly, disrespectful expressions are used throughout the essay, in which the author boasts of his own personality, and it is indecorous for a person upon whom honour has been bestowed to react in such an arrogant manner. For example, the following lines give the reader the impression that the author was praising someone else instead of writing of himself:

'From ancient times, he who deserves to be called the Chen-jen 真人 (immortal), externally he has known how to regulate the true ch'i, internally he has embodied a true mind, going in he has had real disposition, and going out he has possessed honest integrity...'.

Thirdly, a more trenchant argument against the authenticity of this essay is furnished by the appearance of certain personalities and the depicting of certain historical facts which can be seen in the following paragraph:

During the Ch'eng-hua and Chia-ching periods, there was a foreign monk called Cha-pa (fl. 1465-1485) and an evil priest called Chi Hsiao (fl. 1465-1485). They were given the titles kuo-shih and chan-shih 禪師 respectively. [At the same time], there were a number of necromancers such as Teng Ch'ang-en 鄧常恩 (fl. 1481-1485), Li Tzu-hsing 李孜省 (d. 1487), Shao Yuan-chieh 邵元節 (1459-1539), T'ao Chung-wen, T'ang Chih 唐吉 (fl. 1564), Liu Wen-pin 劉文彬 (fl. 1554) and several hundred Taoist priests, all of them were flattering, wicked, avaricious and crafty evildoers. Unscrupulously they called themselves fa-shih 法師 (teaching-priests). Also, everyone of them was named chen-jen. Their deeds exceeded moral bounds and they would be criticized in historical works... Eventually some of these people were executed, some were banished, and some were deprived of their honorary titles. Not even one could escape or abscond [from the penalty]. How cheering this is!'

The persons who were subjected to a stream of invectives by the author are historical figures whose biographies can be found in the official history of the Ming dynasty. However, all of them were active
during the Ch'eng-hua and Chia-ch'ing periods, almost a century after what is generally recognized as the time when Chang San-feng flourished. He would therefore be unable to get to know this group of people who ingratiated themselves with the various emperors who reigned within this period. Evidently this essay could not have been written by Chang San-feng. On the other hand, there is a remote possibility that it was composed by admirers of San-feng in the Ch'ing dynasty, such as Wang Hsi-ling or Li Hsi-yeih, although it is quite certain that they had produced many works under the name of the Taoist. Owing to the literary inquisition imposed by the Manchu Emperors, very few Ch'ing scholars, save some who dominated the academic scene at the dawn of the Manchu regime, dared to devote their attention to the study of the defunct Ming dynasty, in fear of attracting political repercussions for criticism of the sovereignty. The study of the Ming period in Chinese history was therefore long neglected until the close of the Ch'ing dynasty. Hence, when Ch'ing

507 (cont'd)
Ch'ang-en is included in that of Li Tzu-hsing, MS, 307/769. For the biography of T'ang Chih, see under the Biography of Ku K'o-hsiueh 顧可贒 (1505 chin-shih, d. 1560), MS, 307/772. For an account of Liu Wen-pin, see under the Biography of T'ao Chung-wen, MS, 307/772 and also under that of Ku K'o-hsiueh, op. cit. For the biography of T'ao Chung-wen, cf. Note 372.


509 Chin Wu-fu 金毓黻 suggests, in his Chung-kuo shih-hsiu shih 中國史學史 (Peking, 1962), pp.252-72, that the trend of development of historiography in the Ch'ing dynasty falls into three stages. The first stage covers the early years of the Manchu rule. Prominent historians in this stage such as Huang Tsung-hsi, Wan Ssu-t'ung 溫斯同 (1638-1702), Wu Yen 魏炎 (d. 1663), P'an Ch'eng-chang 潘承望 (d. 1663) and Ch'uan Tsu-wang 乾祖望 (1705-1755) steeped their mind in the study of the history of the former dynasty. But Wu and P'an who collaborated on a history of the Ming period and on an historical account of the era in poetical form, were involved in the literary inquisition of the Ming-shih chi-lu 王史籍略, written by Chuang T'ing-lung 蕭廷瓊 (d. 1660),
devotees of Chang San-feng, like Wang and Li, invented stories about Chang San-feng, they either recorded their incredible communications with the master or events relating to San-feng which happened during the period between the downfall of Mongol rule and the establishment of the Ming dynasty. Very rarely would they touch on happenings in the Ming period. This indicates that this essay which denounces historical persons who flourished in the middle years of the Ming dynasty might have been written by someone in the late Ming epoch.

At the end of the prose passage is an inscription reading, 'Written by [Chang] San-feng, the Taeist and surviving old man of the great Yuan dynasty'. This contradicts the contents of the essay in which historical persons of the Chia-ch'ing period are mentioned, for if Chang San-feng was born in the Yuan dynasty, he would be more than two hundred years old in the years of Emperor Shih-tsung's reign. A further discrepancy can be found in this epilogue to the imperial decree, which as recorded in the Ming-shih, was issued in the third year of T'ien-shun of the reign of Emperor Ying-tsung (1459). There is a line reading,

509 (contd)
which was banned by the Court. Wu and Plan were arrested and subsequently put to death because their names appeared as assistant compilers in the proscribed book. When the case was closed a total of some seventy persons were executed and a large number were banished. This incident dealt a heavy blow to the historians and henceforward, to avoid troubles, they shifted their scope of interest to history before the Sung period. The second stage extends from the latter part of the K'ang-hsi period to the Ch'ien-lung reign, and the historians worthy of note are Ch'ien Ta-hsin 前大昕 (1728-1804), Wang Ming-sheng 王鳴盛 (1722-1798), Chi Yün, Chao I and Chang-Hsüeh-ch'eng 資學政 (1738-1801). The third stage starts from the Chia-ch'ing period and lasts till the end of the dynasty. At this time China was facing increasing menace from foreign powers, so historians began to devote their efforts to the study of the history of Manchuria, Sinkiang, Mongolia, etc. Scholars of this period such as Hsu Sung 鄧敦 (1781-1849), Chang Mu 張穆 (1805-1849) and Hung Chün 洪鍾 (1840-1893) had made remarkable achievements in this field.

510 CSFCC, 2/13a (7676).

511 See Note 264.
'His temple title was Ying-tsung'. However, the temple name was only given to the Emperor by his successor, Emperor Hsien-tsung, after his demise in 1464. This therefore is another piece of evidence to show that this passage was written after 1464. By that time Chang San-feng had already passed away nearly half a century before.

As has already been pointed out in Chapter 1, Chang San-feng is associated with Leng Ch'ien in some records. It was alleged that Leng painted a picture of the immortals playing wei-ch'i in the Island of P'eng-lai, called the 'P'eng-lai hsien-i t'u', for which Chang San-feng was recorded to have written a colophon. The colophon in question is also included in this section Ku-wei. However, as early as the Ming dynasty some scholars already raised question on the authenticity of this colophon. Among them Lang Ying was one of the first to challenge, in his Ch'i-heiu hou-kao, the attribution of both the painting and the colophon. On this point, he argued:

It must be some specious flatterers who forged the picture and colophon and claimed them to be painted by Leng [Ch'ien] and written by Chang [San-feng respectively]. The whole thing was handed down by [Ch'iu Fu], Duke of Ch'i-kuo. As it was something unusual, it was sold at a high price. At that time, some noted scholars were unaware of [its spuriousness] and recorded it as extraordinary and even composed poems on it.

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512 GSPCC, 2/12b (7675).
513 See Basic Annals of Emperor Ying-tsung, MS, 12/26.
514 When discussing the dates when Chang San-feng flourished, I have surmised that he passed away around 1419. See Chapter 2, pp.74-5.
515 For Leng Ch'ien, see Note 44.
516 For instance, in Chu Yün-ning's Yeh-ch'i, pp.56b-57a; Lu Shen's Yu-t'ang man-pi, p.7b; Yang I's Kao-p'o i-t'suan, sheng/3b-4a; and Ho Ch'iao-yuan's Ming-shan-chen, 7/3b. For details, see Chapter 1, pp.12-7.
517 The colophon was first mentioned and part of it appeared in Yeh-ch'i, ibid., its full text is included in the Kao-p'o i-t'suan, ibid. Cf. Chapter 1, p.15.
518 Same as Note 54.
Lang Ying tried to confute the authenticity of the painting and the colophon by adducing six doubtful points relating to the author and the work.519

In the colophon the author claims that the 'P'eng-lai hsien-i t'u' was painted by Leng Ch'ien on behalf of Chang San-feng who subsequently presented the painting to Ch'iu Fu who was enfeoffed the Duke of Ch'i-kuo as a reward to his merit in bringing to a successful conclusion the usurpation of the Prince of Yen.520 A paragraph in the colophon is worthy of notice:

This scroll was painted on my behalf on the fifth day of the fifth month in the sixth year of the Chih-yuan period (1340). I prize it as a jade that is worth a ransom of many towns, and seldom show it to anybody. Now I am going to pay homage to Mister Leng at the shih-chou 十洲 (ten islands) and san-tao 三島 (three islands),521 and I am afraid that posterity will have no knowledge of the imaginative vision of the mind of Mister Leng and the secrets that can only be seen by experts [like Mister Leng], or being unaware that [this painting] is an outstanding work of an immortal, will confuse it with other common pieces. Thus I write this colophon which I present together with the painting to Mister Ch'iu, the aged Grand Preceptor and the Duke of Ch'i-kuo...Written by San-feng, the secluded old man, on the third day of the first month in spring in the tenth year of the Yung-lo period (1412).522

Here Chang San-feng is alleged to have written the colophon for Ch'iu Fu in the year 1412. However, according to the Biography of Ch'iu Fu in the Ming-shih, in the seventh year of Yung-lo (1409), Ch'iu Fu, the old campaigner, was appointed the generalissimo of the punitive expedition against the Tartars. This veteran warrior made the fatal mistake of underestimating the strength of the opposing forces, thus bringing upon

519 Ibid.

520 For the biography of Ch'iu, see MS, 145/347.

521 These are legendary places where immortals were said to reside. The names of the shih-chou or ten islands are: tsu 祖, ying 翩, hsuan 宣, yen 要, ch'ang 長, yuan 元, liu 流, sheng 生, feng-lin 紳林, and chu-ku 祇库, see Shih-chou chi 十洲記, attributed to Tung-fang 等方 (ca. 161–ca. 87 B.C.), TT 330, p.1a. San-tao is the same as san-shan, see Note 6.

522 CSPCC, 2/15a-b (7677).
his army total defeat and leading to his own death as well as the
deaths of many other generals. The deceased was then deprived of his
title of Duke of Ch'i-kuo by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu in a fit of rage. The
Emperor subsequently led the expedition himself. This Ch'iu Fu had
already passed away three years before 1412, but in the colophon the
author still says, 'I write this colophon which I present together with
the painting to Mister Ch'iu, the aged Grand Preceptor and the Duke of
Ch'i-kuo.' Here the author has neglected this salient discrepancy in
date. However, Chu Yun-ming in his Yeh-ohi, which is possibly one of
the earliest sources to mention about the painting and the colophon,
gives another date for the writing of this colophon. He points out that
Chang San-feng presented the painting to Ch'iu Fu in the second year of
Yung-lo (1404), and wrote a colophon relating the antecedents of Lang
Ch'ien. There is a difference of eight years between the date given
by Chu Yun-ming and that recorded in the colophon as now seen in the
Chang San-feng ch'ian-ohi. Li Hsi-yueh, the reviser of the collected
works attributed to Chang San-feng, also mentioned the presentation of
the painting by Chang San-feng in the year 1404 as seen in the Yeh-ohi.
Nevertheless, he did not elaborate on the disparity in date. Perhaps
he also overlooked this important point. No matter how hard Li tries to
convince the reader with his flimsy arguments that this colophon was
actually from the hand of Chang San-feng, it is certain that this is an
apocryphal work. In addition, it is certain that this was not the
product of any Taoist devotee in the Ch'ing dynasty, for it was already

523 See the Biography of Ch'iu (Note 520).
524 See the quotation cited in Chapter 1, p.14 (Note 50).
525 CSFCC, 2/15b-16a (7677).
526 The date given by Kao-p'o i-tsun regarding the presentation of
the colophon to Ch'iu Fu by Chang San-feng is 1412. Cf. Note 517.
mentioned by Chu Yün-ming, who lived between 1460 and 1526, in his Yeh-chi.

Another illuminating example of forgery is the 'Hu-nan shan-chung yü Hu chi-shih yeh-hua' 湖南山中異事夜話, the nineteenth work in the section, which describes the encounter between Chang San-feng and Hu Ying, at a monastery at Mount Tsou 阳山, Hunan, where Hu was spending the night. Prefixed to the work is a short note by Wang Hsi-ling who gave the following account of the origin of this piece:

In the ninth year of Hu Ying's search of [the master Chang San-feng], he arrived at Hunan and sought lodging at Mount Tsou. One night, at the time of the third watch when everyone was [at rest] and quiet, his tea turned cool and the lamp [gave out] a clear [light]. All of a sudden [Hu Ying] heard someone knocking at the door. Instantly, the door opened by itself. [Thereupon Hu] saw a Taoist priest who resembled the master [Chang]. [On seeing him], Hu wanted to cry out [in joy], but the master immediately covered Hu's mouth with his hand. [Hu then brushed the dust] off the table and the two had a good talk after which the master left. No one in the Ming dynasty ever knew about this event. It was related to me by the master who came to my office yesterday. Therefore I moisten my pen and record it.527

Here Wang Hsi-ling inadvertently communicates to the reader how he obtained the essay which was undoubtedly the product of the transcendental tricks in which spirits were said to be invoked to participate. However, no matter what Wang purported to be the source of this work, it is certain that it was not written by Chang San-feng.

In the previous chapter in discussing the commentary on the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u', it was pointed out that the three passages which precede the elucidation are actually extracted from the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien. More such examples can be found in three of the essays in this section Ku-wen, their titles being 'Shen-Hsien-yang hsiao-chuan' 沈縉陽小傳, 'Yü-shih fu-nü chuen' 余氏父女傳 and 'Lu-t'ing

527 CSFCC, 2/20a (7679).
528 See Chapter 4, p.152.
If the first is compared with the relevant passage in the *Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien*, which is also a biography of Shen Hsien-yang who was said to be the eldest daughter of the affluent merchant, Shen Wan-san, it is found that there are not only striking similarities in content, but also close correspondence in the literary expression between the two works. It is necessary to quote both passages in order to compare them. The following is from the *Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien*:

In that autumn, [Chang] San-feng fulfilled his promise and came to meet Shen Wan-san with whom he cultivated the *jen-yuan ju-shih ta-yao* (grand pill for the cultivation of the essence of man) and it was completed in the ensuing year. Before, Wan-san had an eldest daughter who disappeared when she was three years old and it was over thirty odd years [since she left]. Suddenly she came home and said, 'When young, I, your daughter, met the immortal Hsieh Chen-yang 許真陽, who has changed her name to come to my salvation. She called me Yu-hsia 玉霞, with the hao Hsien-yang 謝真陽, [and enjoined me] to keep charge of the esoteric methods of cultivation that were preserved in the jade case, and to lift for her the magic sword. The *ling-t'ung ta-tao* (great way of communicating with the immortals) was then imparted to me. I was told to return [home] to take the transmuted pill, and to gain merits by bringing relief to mankind.' Instantly [Shen] Wan-san produced the pill which was subsequently taken together by the whole family. [Thereupon] all of them ascended to heaven. Yu-hsia used to have a virile voice and a herculean build, without any feminine characteristics in her looks. With a warm heart, she strove to bring salvation to all men, and she sighed, saying, 'To practise the virtue of restraint inures to the benefit of the cultivation of the Way, while fondness for killing will certainly ruin the essence of the state.' Hence she went with her father to roam around the country bringing salvation whenever necessary. 530

Below is the passage found in the present *Chang San-feng oh't'yan-shi* which takes the similar tale as its framework:

Shen Hsien-yang was the eldest daughter of [Shen] Wan-san. With a virile voice and herculean build, she was not feminine at all in her looks. She disappeared at the age of three, and nobody knew where she had gone. After [Shen] Wan-san was banished to Yunnan, I (i.e.

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529 These essays can be found in *CSPCC*, 2/8a-10a (7673-4). For corresponding accounts in the *Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien*, see 21/9/6b-7a and 21/6/4a-5a. The latter account relates Shen Wan-san with Chang San-feng.

530 Ibid.
Chang San-feng) went to see him at Tien-shang (i.e. Yunnan) where we cultivated the *t'ien-yuan ta-yao* 天元大藥 (the great pill for the cultivation of the essence of heaven) and transmuted it the ensuing year. One day, Hsien-yang came to see [us], and it was thirty odd years [since she vanished]. On meeting, the father and daughter could not recognize each other. It was only after careful enquiries then [Wan-san] knew that she was his eldest daughter. She had left her parents when small, and this parting was almost for good, but then she was of tender years and was not aware of it. At the time when she left her outer and inner quarters (i.e. parents) she met Hsueh Chen-yang who was known in ancient times as Chung-t'iao hsüan-mu. [Hsueh Chen-yang] called her Yu-hsia and gave her the hao Hsien-yang, and enjoined her to keep charge of the magic sword, at the same time guarding the esoteric methods that were preserved in a jade case. The *ling-t'ung ta-tao* was then imparted to [Hsien-yang]. When Wan-san and I were cultivating [the great pill] for the essence of heaven, she came over to Yunnan to take the transmuted pill with the family. All this was instructed by Chen-yang. In great joy, Wan-san produced instantly the transmuted elixir which was taken together by the whole family, [and thereafter] they all ascended to heaven. Hsien-yang had firm determination and deep compassion [for mankind]. With a warm heart she strove to bring salvation to all men. She once said, 'To practise the virtue of restraint inures to the benefit of the cultivation of the Way, while fondness for killing will certainly ruin the essence [of the state].' She then went with her father roaming around the four corners, bringing salvation whenever necessary. Oh, she is indeed a heroine among immortals!\(^{531}\)

We can see that both passages coincide in spirit and wording. The same applies to the other two essays dealing with Yu Shih-she,\(^ {532}\) who was said to be the son-in-law of the wealthy Shen Wan-san, and his daughter. As the *Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien* was assembled prior to the compilation and publication of the *Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi*, it is very likely that either Wang Hsi-ling or Li Hsi-yüeh, or both, had access to the *tung-chien* and extracted the corresponding passages and attributed them to Chang San-feng after slight abridgement. Li once said that 'several of [Chang San-feng's] prose works are to be found in Meng-chiu's (i.e. Wang Hsi-ling) edition',\(^ {533}\) so there is a strong possibility that Wang Hsi-ling adapted these essays.

Among the nineteen essays in the section Ku-wen, eight have been

\(^{531}\) CSFCC, 2/8a-b (7673).

\(^{532}\) For Yu Shih-she, see Note 435.

\(^{533}\) CSFCC, 1/22a-b (7657).
scrutinized so far and weighty argument suggests they are forgeries. As for the remaining works, although sufficient proof is lacking to denounce their authenticity, in view of the very fact that they are mixed together indiscriminately with the forged ones, very naturally the reliability of their attribution is at issue. Until any firm conclusion regarding their authorship can be arrived at, their authenticity must be treated as doubtful.

Following the section Ku-\textit{wen} comes the collection of biographies of some 104 retired scholars and hermits who were inclined to Taoism in varying degrees. For this reason this section is known collectively as \textit{Yin-chien}. Among the 104 persons whose lives are portrayed here, thirty-six flourished in the Yuan dynasty, fifty-three were active in the Ming era and the remaining fifteen existed in the Ch'\text{"}\text{ing} period. It is clear that the cult of Chang San-feng was most popular in the Hung-wu and Yung-lo eras when the Emperors exerted continuous efforts to gain San-feng's presence, therefore, no matter how successful he was in attaining longevity, according to the law of nature, it would be impossible for the figure to remain active in the Ch'\text{"}\text{ing} dynasty. Thus it is absolutely certain that the biographies of the fifteen recluses who lived under the Manchu rule are not his works, but, once again, were fabricated either by Wang-Hsi-ling or Li Hsi-y\text{"}eh. However, it is also known that Wang died in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724), so it is equally clear that the accounts of such scholars as Li Kuo 李果 (1679-1751), Chao I, Yin Ju-mei 殷如梅 (fl. 1780), Wu Wei-kuang 吳蔚光 (1743-1803), Lo F'\text{"}ing 羅聘 (1733-1799), and Weng Ch'un 翁春 (1736-1797), 534 who lived after the Yung-cheng reign, were not written by Wang but by Li Hsi-y\text{"}eh. Of course, this is not to suggest

534 The biographies of these persons can be found in other more reliable sources. For Li Kuo, see Ch'\text{"}\text{ing}-shih lieh-ch\text{"}uan 清史列傳, compiled by Ching-shih-kuan 清史館 (Shanghai, 1928), 71/54b; Chao I, ibid., 72/19b-21a, cf. also Note 448. For Yin Ju-mei, see Kuo-ch'\text{"}ao
that all the other biographies of the figures existing before the Yung-cheng era were certainly from the hand of Wang Hsi-ling. In fact, both of them were possible authors. Wang might have been responsible for some of the biographies of Ch'ing scholars, while Li added the others.

Nonetheless, it is very unlikely that Chang San-feng was the author of the biographical accounts of hermits who lived in the Yuan and Ming dynasties. Evidence can be gleaned from the biographies themselves to support this standpoint. For instance, in the biography of a certain Wu-ku hsien-sheng (Mister Nothingness) who was supposed to have lived in the Yuan dynasty, an anachronistic description again appears. It states:

Mister [Wu-yu], was a surviving subordinate of the great Yuan dynasty. As his past records cannot be known, and [he] may or may not exist, so [Wu-yu] is used as his hao. [He] was born in the Yuan dynasty, travelled around in Ming times and roamed like a god in the Ch'ing period. For six hundred years, [his body] did not decay as all living things do...535

Evidently, this Wu-yu hsien-sheng is merely an imaginary figure, and leaving aside the very absurd allegation of his six centuries of life, Chang San-feng could not have known that this Mister Nothingness would roam about in the Ch'ing dynasty, even supposing such a person ever did exist, for Chang lived in the early years of the Ming regime. Hence, this biography which suffers from contradictory and nonsensical reasoning is transparently a forgery.

534 (contd)

shih-jen ch'eng-lueh ch'u-pien 國朝詩人微略初編, compiled by Chang Wei-p'ing 張維屏 (1780-1853) (Ch'ü-hua-ch'al 翰林院 ed., Canton, 1830), 42/3b-4a. For Wu Wei-kuang, see Pu-chuan-ch'i pu 碑傳集録, compiled by Min Erh-ch'ang 閔爾昌 (1923 ed., Taipei reprint), 11/5b-7b. For Lo P'ing, see Wu Hsi-ch'i 吳獻之 (1746-1818), 'Lo Liang-feng mu-chih-ming' 羅頒峰墓誌銘, included in the Pu-chuan-ch'i pu, 55/11a-13a. A biography of Weng Ch'un written by Wang Ch'i-sun 王芝孫 (1755-1818) is found in the Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng ch'u-pien, 440/25b-27a.

535 CSFCC, 2/22b (7680).
Also, the biography of another hermit, Mister Wang, sheds light on the biographer who would possibly be someone living in late Ming period. A strong feeling of sympathy is distilled through this biography which contains the following paragraph:

The wise man Mister Wang, concealed his name because of his loyalty [to Emperor Chien-wen]. In the early years of the Yung-lo period, he settled at Mount Tung-shan in the Tung-yang district of the Chin-hua prefecture (Chelang), and called himself Ta-tai-tzu (The big simpleton)... Day by day he used to linger in the villages at the foot of the mountain, singing passionately to please himself. All those who went along with him at leisure did not know his name, but when he was together with the Wang's, he would call them the elder clan brothers. Thus people hailed him as Mister Wang. He once said to the villagers, 'One day when I die, I only pray that you will clothe my corpse in a shroud and let it hang at the tip of the tree, and that will be enough for me.'... On hearing this, Chang San-feng sighed and said, 'He was indeed the surviving minister of Emperor Chien-wen!'

The author, in eulogizing the devoted supporter of the dethroned Emperor, was implicitly passing judgement on the ambitious Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, and, as pointed out before, no one would be permitted to give vent to such a passionate feeling at that time. Still less would someone like Chang San-feng, who was the object of public veneration and who was much favoured by the court, attempt or afford to run the risk of enraging the hot-tempered sovereign. Once again, this work should be ascribed to an anonymous author of the late Ming period, who deeply sympathized with Emperor Chien-wen on whom injustice had been done.

It can also be proved that the biographies of the retired scholars and officials who flourished in late Ming and Ch'ing times were not written by Chang San-feng. The following examples speak for themselves. The sketch of the life of Lin Ming-chün in (fl. 1644) reads:

[Lin] once practised planchette writing in P'ing-tu (Szechwan). Incidentally I descended upon his planchette, and upon him I conferred the four words [description] of 'iron liver and stony gall' (i.e. firm and brave).}

536 Ibid., p.33a (7686).
537 Ibid., p.45b (7692).
The biography of Yin Ju-mei writes:

I saw him (i.e. Yin Ju-mei) during my ecstatic excursion, when I told him frankly that he was a recluse.\(^{538}\)

The account of Lo P'ing, the distinguished painter particularly remembered for his talent in his vivid painting of elves, runs:

I then travelled to the studio of Liang-feng 來 (i.e. Lo P'ing), all the spirits stood up and bowed to me. [I think] it is really peculiar!\(^{539}\)

When describing the personality of Weng Ch'un, the author says:

I was just roaming in a leisurely way in the form of an old Taoist priest...\(^{540}\)

Hsü Ta-ch’un 徐文樑 (tzu Ling-t'ai 禮胎, 1693-1771),\(^{541}\) a famous physician in the K'ang-hsi period and a leading figure in the traditional school of Chinese medicine of his time, is the central figure of one of the biographies in this section, in which the author remarks:

I saw him (i.e. Hsü Ta-ch’un) while I was on my ecstatic excursion.\(^{542}\)

All the above quotations simply serve to show that the actual author who attributed his works to Chang San-feng was also fully aware of the contradiction in time which renders it impossible for the latter to have associations with the subjects of these biographies, so in every instance their encounter was described as a scene in which Chang San-feng was wandering in another dynasty. This is but a quirk of fancy on the part of the author to camouflage the gross absurdity of alleging San-feng to be the author of the accounts of persons living after his time. Therefore, it will not be far from truth to assume that all or at least a

\(^{538}\) Ibid., p.408b (7693).

\(^{539}\) Ibid., p.49a (7694).

\(^{540}\) Ibid.

\(^{541}\) For the biography of Hsü, see Ch'ing-shih kao, 507/7b-8b. Also a biography of the figure written by J.C. Yang can be found in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, pp.322-4.

\(^{542}\) CSPCC, 2/49b (7694).
large part of the biographies in the section Yin-ch-ien were from the hands of either Wang Hsi-ling or Li Hsi-yueh.

Throughout this chapter I have been dealing with works attributed to Chang San-feng, which relate historical facts or personalities, I now come to some purely theoretical writings, such as those in ch'uan 3 of the present Chang San-feng ch'ian-chi. The first part in this ch'uan bears the title Tu-tao lun, and contains three chapters, shang, chung and hsia. The purport of each chapter is explicit, and quote literally, the shang-p'ien 上篇 is 'first to perceive the origin of the Way, and then discourse on the basic principles of mortality and the causes of birth, old age and sickness';\(^{543}\) as for the chung-p'ien 中篇, it is a treatise 'dealing especially with the cultivation of the golden pill which is used as the wai-yao 外藥 (external medicine), at the same time elucidating the preparation of the chin-i 金液 (liquefied gold) which is regarded as the nei-yao 內藥 (internal medicine)\(^{544}\);\(^{545}\) and as its main

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\(^{543}\) Ibbid., 3/5b (7697).

\(^{544}\) Wai-yao or wai-tan 外藥 (external pill) and nei-yao or nei-tan 內藥 (internal pill) are two different schools of thought regarding cultivation, which developed about the time of the Five Dynasties. For an account of these methods, see Joseph Needham, Science and Civilisation in China (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1959), Vol.2, pp.139-52; cf. also Ho Peng Yoke, 'The Search for Perpetual Youth in China, with special reference to Chinese Alchemy', Papers on Far Eastern History, Vol.7 No.7 (Canberra, Mar. 1973), pp.1-20; also Ho, Cohn Thean Chye and Beda Lim, Lu Yu, The Poet-Alchemist (Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies, Occasional Paper, 13, Canberra, 1972), pp.34-6. For further information on the preparation of the elixir or external pill, see Ho and Needham, 'Elixir Poisoning in Mediaeval China', Journal, 48 (1959), pp.221-51; 'Theories of Categories in Early Mediaeval Chinese Alchemy', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 22 (1959), pp.173-210; 'The Laboratory Equipment of the Early Mediaeval Chinese Alchemists', Ambix, 7 (1959), pp.57-112. For more works related to the topic, see Nathan Sivin, Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

\(^{545}\) CSFCC, 3/8a (7698).
theme, the hsia-p'ien has 'to exhaust the essence of life and
to manifest the teachings of the sages and immortals'.

To sum up, these works deal with the development of nature, the realization of life and the cultivation of the elixir which was believed by
Taoist adherents to bring longevity. The second part of chüan 3 is a
treatise on the exaltation of the pill containing eight chapters which
come under a collective title, the Hsüan-chí chih-chiang. A similar
topic is dealt with in the third portion of chüan 3, only with a more
substantial approach, and this section is called the Tao-yen ch'ien-chin
shuo.

As all the essays in these sections are exclusively devoted to
the discussion of philosophical belief without the faintest allusion to the
author himself or his relation to other historical figures, it is
difficult to detect any traces, such as discrepancies in date, such as
have been discerned in the foregoing sections, which would prove Chang
San-feng is not their author. When discussing the contents of the Wang's
manuscript copy of the Chang San-feng chüan-chi, the suggestion was put
forward that the Ta-o-ching, in two chüan, might be identical to the
Ta-tao lun and the Hsüan-chí chih-chiang in the current edition. It
was also suggested that it was spurious, the grounds being explained at
length in Chapter 3. Hence, if this assumption is correct, the Ta-
tao lun and the Hsüan-chí chih-chiang are also apocryphal. As for the
Tao-yen ch'ien-chin shuo, the third part of chüan 3, which is a treatise
of similar nature to the other works in the same section, it might come
from the same source, that is, either it was forged by Wang Hsi-ling or

545 Ibid., p.11a (7700).
547 See the reconstructed table of contents of Wang's edition of CSPCC
in Chapter 3, p.110.
548 See pp.110-2.
was obtained through planchette writing. However, insufficient information exists to form a definite conclusion.

One of the editorial notes prefixed to the Chang San-feng ch'uan-ch'i makes allusion to the works attributed to Chang San-feng as cited in the bibliographical section of the Ming-shih, saying:

The list of Taoist books in the section Wen-han of the Ming-shih includes the master's Chin-tan chih-chih one ch'uan and Chin-tan-pi ch'ueh one ch'uan, which are equivalent to the extant Ta-tao lun, Hsuan-ch'i chih-chiang and Hsuan-yao p'ien. [Hsuan-yao p'ien] is also called Chih-yao [p'ien]. All these titles are mentioned in the Shen-hsien t'ung-ch'ien. [As these works have variant titles], I name them according to the Wang's version which was collated by the master himself, and make no further alterations.

The titles of the two Taoist books attributed to Chang San-feng cited in the section I-wen chih in the Ming-shih are Chin-tan chih-chih one ch'uan and Chin-tan pi-chih one ch'uan. But in the aforementioned editorial note the latter title has been changed to Chin-tan pi-ch'ueh. Putting aside the authorship of the two works as entered in the dynastic history of the Ming period, what attracts attention is the statement that the Ta-tao lun, Hsuan-ch'i chih-chiang and Hsuan-yao p'ien are equivalent to the two titles listed in the Ming-shih. The compiler did not elaborate the source of his information nor could he sustain his assertion with acceptable evidence. Therefore, the very statement, I suspect, is nothing but an affectation to lead the reader to believe that the works included in the Chang San-feng ch'uan-ch'i are genuine and were entered in the Ming-shih.

There is a note following the title line of the Hsuan-ch'i chih-chiang which reads, 'This was adapted by the patriarch (i.e. Chang

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549 Actually there is no Wen-han section in the MS, possibly the compiler is referring to the I-wen chih.

550 The same quotation has already been cited in Note 363.

551 MS, 98/229.
San-feng) from the works of his predecessors with an intention of showing it to other people. Therefore it is included in the [Chang San-feng] ch'\'an-chi. This again, by comparison with what has been learned through observation of the Chang San-feng ch'\'an-chi may be explained as plausible explanation, most probably by the actual adapter who might have been Wang Hsi-ling, to convince posterity of the authenticity of the work in question, but the opposite effect has been achieved.

To the Tao-yen oh\'ien-chin shuo is appended the San-feng hsien-sheng chi-shuo 三丰先生輯説, which includes the analogs of Chang San-feng, and judging from the diction of the entire work, it is very likely that this is another example of writing fabricated by later hands. It commences with the following passage:

The master said, 'The K'ung-ch'\'ing tung-t\'ien (i.e., the name of a Taoist altar) was often visited by the immortals who used to leave behind their formulas for the preparation of the pill. This ensued from their desire to save mankind and enlighten the world. So it is not necessary for people in the mountains (i.e., recluses) to seek further for precious plants [of the fairyland] or to pick any more magic flowers, for [these formulas] are just the amulet for life-saving and the elixir for longevity. I now particularly extract and record [these methods], so as to make them public to those who advocate the Way.'

It is rather unconventional, though not without precedent, for the author of any literary work to resort to third person speech such as 'the master said' if the author is giving his own words. Furthermore, this collection of sayings alleged to be compiled by Chang San-feng also includes the works by such notable Taoists as Lu Hsi-hsing and Li Hsi-yueh. Lu discoursed on the method of breath control in his Lun t'iao-hsi fa 論調息法 which carries three entries. As it is known that this distinguished Taoist philosopher and practitioner flourished between 1520 and 1601, it is impossible for Chang San-feng to have seen his works

\[552\] Same as Note 546.

\[553\] CSPCC, 3/36a (7712).
and included them in the analects. As for Li Hsi-yüeh, not much need be said about him, since it has already been made clear that he was the leader of a sect which centred its activities in Lo-shan, Szechwan, in the mid-Ch'ing period. In no circumstances could Chang San-feng foresee his eminence and note his works. The part in which Li was mentioned begins with lavish praise of his talent:

The master said, 'I discussed with Han-hsü-tzu (i.e. Li Hsi-yüeh) the "ch'i-fan ch'i" (should read as chiu hu) \textit{huan chin-i ta-kan chih-tao} (The cultivation of the pill by utilizing the seven rounds and nine turns liquefied gold method) when Han-hsü said, "What the master has said is all about the splendid use of the \textit{tao-ku} (originally a small measure for medicine, now applies generally to the practice of Chinese medicine)." Some other time I saw Han-hsü writing the \textit{wu-chi erh-t'u p'ien} (On the two earth elements of the pill, \textit{wu} and \textit{chi}), which complies deeply with my primary purpose, so I record it for transmission. Any scholar who wants to understand the way to longevity [cannot ignore it], for leaving this aside he will be unable to assimilate the mystery [of longevity].' \footnote{Ibid., p.38b (7713).}

Here Li Hsi-yüeh is exalted to the skies and it is very unlikely that anyone save himself would chant such a eulogy, for as the compiler of the \textit{Chang San-feng ch'\textquotesingle an-chi}, he was in a good position to make interpolations to his heart's content. In order to add weight to his prestige and bolster up his position as a leading figure in a Taoist sect, and, above all, to implant in the minds of the adherents the impression that he was a favourite disciple of the great master Chang San-feng, he would not hesitate to take this chance to brag about his own works and feats, even though by doing so he confused the issue of the authenticity of the complete works. There is every reason to believe that the passage quoted above was made up by Li. A bolder assumption is that he might be the writer of the whole appendix, the \textit{San-feng k\textquotesingle an-sheng chi-shuo}.

As to \textit{ch\textquotesingle an 4} of the extant \textit{Chang San-feng ch'\textquotesingle an-chi}, what is listed in the general table of contents about this \textit{ch\textquotesingle an} does not tally
with the text proper. According to the tsung-mu, this ch'üan consists of three parts, the Hsuan-yao p'ien shang, Hsuan-yao p'ien hsia and Pu-i (supplement), whereas, there is no supplement in the actual text. There are two possibilities to account for the absence of this portion. Firstly, the supplement may have been present when the Chang San-feng ch'Uan-chi was initially printed in 1844, but was removed, for some unknown reason, when the revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch'Uan-chi was printed for the second time in 1906. Alternatively, the supplement may have been incorporated into the other two parts of the Hsuan-yao p'ien due to some decision of the editor or editors. Another possibility is that originally there was no such section but the heading was added into the tsung-mu through a printer's error. The first possibility seems the most rational explanation.

The two parts, shang and hsia, of the Hsuan-yao p'ien were originally found in Wang's version of the Chang San-feng ch'Uan-chi. In sketching the contents of this unpublished edition in Chapter 3, I have already recapitulated the complex conditions under which the various passages included in the Hsuan-yao p'ien were brought into being.\(^{555}\) On the whole, Li Hsi-yüeh adhered to the framework set up by Wang Hsi-ling when revising the Chang San-feng ch'Uan-chi, and it is safe to assume that the contents of the works which appear in both editions were very much the same, despite possible minor alterations and additions made by Li Hsi-yüeh to meet his ends. The Hsuan-yao p'ien should not be an exception. In fact, the short notes found in the two parts, shang and hsia, of the Hsuan-yao p'ien reiterate that Wang's script serves as a basis for Li's revised edition,\(^ {556}\) so I believe that the extant Hsuan-yao p'ien preserves to a great extent the original form of the

\(^{555}\) See Chapter 3, pp.117-9.

\(^{556}\) See Note 384.
corresponding section in the initial compilation. Since it has already been pointed out in the foregoing chapter that the Hsuan-yao p'i'en in Wang's edition was not written by Chang San-feng, in the same way, I deem the present Hsuan-yao p'i'en a doubtful work.

Limited source material precludes the examination of the original contents of the Hsuan-yao p'i'en as included in Wang's version. However, they are well reflected in the corresponding section in the extant revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch'San-chi of Li which yields a modicum of useful information which helps cast doubt on the authorship. For example, in one of the poems entitled 'Shang t'ien-t'i' 上天梯 (Going up the ladder to Heaven), Chang San-feng is given the designation, 'The wanderer of the great Yuan dynasty' 大元流落客 .

Although, according to the deduction in Chapter 2 of this thesis, Chang San-feng might have been born around the Yen-yu period of the Yuan dynasty, however, he was much honoured by the Ming Emperors. Hence it would be illogical and irrational for Chang San-feng to profess himself the survivor of the fallen empire which would surely provoke the anger of the hot-tempered ruler. Therefore, the above poem, similar to the prose passages in the section Ku-wen, might possibly have been written by an author in the late Ming period, who had a deep affection for the dethroned Emperor Chien-wen against whom Emperor Ch'eng-tsu manoeuvred endlessly, eventually succeeding in robbing him of his regal office. According to the biographical accounts of Chang San-feng, he never responded to any royal invitation and this might have prompted the actual author of the Hsuan-yao p'i'en to take the Taoist favoured by the court for a tenacious supporter of the previous dynasty, a token, on

557 CSFCC, 4/2a (7715).
558 Same as Note 369.
559 Though some of the records allege that Chang San-feng had paid his respects to the Emperors, yet the reliability of this information is
the part of the author, to express his inveterate antipathy to the usurper, then the Prince of Yen. Of course, there is another possibility that this poem was composed by Wang Hsi-ling who always held that Chang San-feng was born in the early years of the Yuan dynasty, so Wang gave Chang San-feng the designation of a wanderer of the Yuan period.

A greater degree of discrepancy with regard to time can be seen in the short note following the poem entitled 'Ta Yung-lo huang-ti' which is supposed to be the reply given by Chang San-feng to the imperial call. A remark made therein reads, 'After this [work] there is another five-syllable-line verse beginning with the line: "The golden pill weighs a catty..." which was written by Patriarch Lu (i.e. Lu Tung-pin), for he wrote this as a response to Emperor Yung-lo at that time.' Most probably this note was added by Li Hsi-yueh who thought that the abovementioned poem included in Wang's edition was written by Patriarch Lu, therefore he indicated this in the note. However, it is an obvious blunder to associate Patriarch Lu of the T'ang dynasty with the third emperor of the Ming regime. The only acceptable explanation is that their communication was the age-old trick of necromancy, in which the spirit which claimed to be Patriarch Lu was conjured up to take part in the practice, and the poem was the product of the planchette normally held by the participants. An identical poem is also seen in the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, but Hsü Tao, the compiler of this collection of biographies of Taoist immortals, instead attributed this verse to Chang San-feng. Here it may be observed that Hsü Tao and Li Hsi-yueh

559 (contd)

doubtful. For greater detail, see Chapter 2, pp.46-7 and 53-5.

560 Cf. Chapter 4, p.141 (Note 442).

561 CSFOC, 4/3a (7716)

562 For Lu, see Note 307.

held conflicting views on the authorship of this particular poem. Moreover, the above quoted note helps reveal a more significant fact, namely, that Li Hsi-yüeh, as reviser of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, tolerated the inclusion, into this collection of poems attributed to Chang San-feng, works that were written by other Taoists, without making any effort to remove them. Accordingly, it can be deduced that other parts of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi are also filled with such fictitious and doubtful elements.

More tangible proof can be cited to uphold this argument. For instance, the note directly following the title of a set of seven poems, the 'T'ien ch'u-chia tao-ch'ing chi-i-shou 變出成道情七首 (Seven poems on the theme of leading a secluded life), reads:

These seven poems on the theme of leading a secluded life have been appropriated by some Taoist priests. Some people have attributed them to Lo Hung-hsien 魯洪先 (1504-1564). [In fact], it is wrong. In the last poem [of the set, there reads ], 'In fifty-two words, the principle of the mystery, is made known to thee, clearly and plainly'. This refers to the tao-ch'ing poems. In view of this, there should be no doubt that [these works] were transmitted by the master [Chang] San-feng. This [view] is further vindicated on reading Wang's version [of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi].

As is disclosed in this note, the authorship of the aforementioned set of poems was not yet determined, otherwise other Taoist priests could not treat them as their own works. The above quotation also shows that Lo Hung-hsien was claimed to be the author of these poems. Lo was a Confucian scholar, who had a bias towards Taoism, much influenced by the teachings of Wang Yang-ming. Lo's collected works which are entitled the Tung-yu chi 冬遊記 and Nien-an chi 念庵集 have been entered

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564 CSFCC, 4/58a (7743).

565 For the biography of Lo, see ME, 283/700-1. He had collated the Kao-shang yu-huang pen-heing chi ching chu 高上玉皇本行集經注, which is a commentary on a scripture, written by Chou Hsuan-ch'en 朱玄曾 (fl. 1368-1398), see TT 1060-2; also Tao-tsang chi-yao, 56-8.
in the Ssu-k' u ch' ian-shu tsung-mu 四庫全書總目, the annotated bibliography of the complete works of the Ssu-k' u ch' i an-shu. It is Li Hsi-yüeh's claim that Lo Hung-hsien could not possibly be the author of the set of seven poems. In proof of his assumption, he merely invoked a couple of lines in the last poem, which do not furnish any concrete evidence to substantiate his view. However, Li arrived at a precipitate conclusion and tried to convince the reader of the authenticity of the poems by saying that these predicant verses were to be found in the unpublished version of the Chang Sun-feng ch' ian-chi compiled by Wang Hsi-ling, which edition, unfortunately, is as unreliable as Li's. Li Hsi-yüeh always, deliberately or otherwise, accorded the earlier compilation a position which it does not deserve and thus hampered himself from disentangling the genuine works from the forged works which predominate in Wang's version.

The annotation to the twenty-four poems given the collective title 'Chin-tan shih erh-shih-ssu shou' 金丹詩二十四首 (Twenty-four poems on the theme of the cultivation of the golden pill) must not be neglected. This note has already been quoted in Chapter 3 when commenting on the various editions of the collected works attributed to Chang Sun-feng, so it will not be repeated here. Plainly, this short passage was written by Li Hsi-yüeh who intimated that the abovementioned poems were included in a collection of verses called the Hsing-tao ya-yen which was compiled by Liao Fu-sheng. As the Hsing-tao ya-yen is not entered in any standard bibliography and is therefore unable to be traced,

566 The Tung-yu chi is cited in Ssu-k' u ch' i an-shu tsung-mu (Shanghai, 1930), chuan 124, tsu 34, p.8a; and the Nien-an chi in chuan 172, chi 23, p.4b.

567 For the history of the compilation of the Ssu-k' u ch' i an-shu, see Kuo Po-kung, Ssu-k' u ch' i an-shu tsuan-hsiu k' ao (四庫全書纂修略) (Shanghai, 1937).

568 See quotation cited in p.122 (Note 392).
we have no idea of what its compiler, Liao Fu-sheng, thought about the authorship of the poems under discussion. Nor did Li Hsi-yüeh give any clear indication on this point. But since he remarked that he amended those twenty-four poems according to what he regarded as the genuine version of Wang Hsi-ling in an effort to restore the works to their original form, it sounds as if the author of the verses was not clearly indicated in the Hsing-tao ya-yen, otherwise Li would not have related that reader had mistaken Liao Fu-sheng as the scribe. The origin of these twenty-four metrical works, therefore, is hard to trace, but judging from the fact that they were once included in other collections prior to their inclusion into the present Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, it is probably that they were extracted from the collected works of unknown authorship and were attributed to Chang San-feng.

The descriptive note to another poem 'Hsian-chi wan-ta' should also receive attention, as the compiler writes:

"I have formerly come across in the hand-copied volumes transcribed by Taoist priests two entries entitled 'Tzu-wen' and 'Tzu-ta' which offer mysterious ideas. Some have thought that one of these pertains to a question posed by [Emperor] Yung-lo from afar, [and the other poem] is the answer [given by] the master (i.e. Chang San-feng), also from a great distance. This is but one of the sayings."\[570\]

Once again, the compiler admits in his own words that this collection of poems, Hsetan-yao p'ien, does not carry exclusively the works of Chang San-feng, in other words, this note offers another good example to illustrate that the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi or at least the Hsetan-yao p'ien now under discussion, is intermingled with works written by authors other than Chang San-feng.

To sum up, as the spurious works which can be detected in the Hsetan-yao p'ien are by no means rare, doubts about the authenticity of all the

\[569\] Ibid.

\[570\] CSPCC, 4/66a (7747).
works in the entire section are justified. Indeed the question of which works were actually written by Chang San-feng is still open to investigation. Although it was clearly stated in the Liaotung chih and Shan-hsi t'ung-chih (1892 edition) that Chang San-feng composed a poem on the hortensia entitled 'Ch'iuang-hua', while in the 1741 edition of the Kuei-chou t'ung-chih, he was said to be the author of the 'Liao-tao ko' and the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u'. All these poems have been included in the present Hsuan-yao p'ien. However, their authenticity is not endorsed, as the foregoing sources are not totally reliable, for in many places they contain merely the accumulation and transmission of legends, though comparatively speaking they are more acceptable than such Taoist records as the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien which completely mythicized the image of Chang San-feng. Moreover, no solid information is given in the abovementioned local histories. For example, the Kuei-chou t'ung-chih records only the titles of the works ascribed to Chang San-feng. It is very possible that the compiler had not seen the actual works himself. Even if he had viewed the literary products, it is not at all certain that what he read would be the genuine works. In view of this, the 'Ch'iuang-hua', 'Liao-tao ko' and 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u' which have been cited in the local histories and included in the existing Hsuan-yao p'ien as authentic works, must be treated with reservation.

571 See Notes 401 and 403.
The previous chapter treats the works in 章 2 to 4 of the Chang San-feng ch’üan-chi attributed to Chang San-feng. The rest of the compilation will be discussed at length in the present chapter.

章 5 is completely devoted to poems and comprises three parts each of which has an individual title, namely, the 瀛水前集, 瀛水後集 and 瀛水滄集. In Chapter 3 when deducing the contents of Wang’s manuscript so much treasured by Li Hsi-yüeh, it was suggested that the two parts of the 瀛水 chí were probably created by Wang Hsi-ling himself.⁵⁷² It seems most likely that the two collections of poems, 瀛水前集 and 瀛水後集 in the extant Chang San-feng ch’üan-chi preserve the original form of Wang’s efforts, since no blatant traces of interpolations that might be made by Li Hsi-yüeh can be detected.

Before proceeding to review the authorship of the two collections of poems, it must be pointed out, first and foremost, that the order of the extant 瀛水前集 and 瀛水後集 does not correspond to the description in the preface by Wang Hsi-ling. The 前集 and 後集 are reversed. According to the preface written by Wang to the 瀛水前集, this collection of verses was written by Chang San-feng during the interim period between the Yuan and Ming dynasties.⁵⁷³ However, the poems in the current version of the 前集 do not reflect the spirit of the age which they purport to represent, whereas, historical events and persons relating to the period appear more often in the 後集. Again,

⁵⁷² See Chapter 3, pp.112-7.
⁵⁷³ See quotation cited in Chapter 3, p.113 (Note 368).
according to Wang's preface to the Yun-shui hou-chi, which, as its title suggests, was sequel to the ch'ien-chi, the hou-chi was supposed to have been composed after Chang San-feng met Wang Hsi-ling who was then an Intendant of the Chien-nan Circuit in Szechuan. Therefore it is to be supposed that a large number of the poems in the hou-chi were associated with Wang Hsi-ling who claimed to have attended the master for a long span of time. Nevertheless, not a single word is devoted to Wang in the poems found in the present Yun-shui hou-chi, on the contrary, more than ten poems in the ch'ien-chi are directly related to this admirer of Chang San-feng. This serves to prove that the order of the ch'ien-chi and hou-chi has been reversed in the extant Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, probably a result of a printer's error.

In the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi, appearing as the hou-chi in the extant Erh-hsien Monastery edition of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, there are many works which are obvious forgeries. The following seven poems dedicated to the dignitaries of the pulpit and platform in the Yuan dynasty are obviously fabrications. Their titles are: 1) 'Ch'eng Lien ko-lao' (Forwarded to the Premier Lien); 2) 'Lien p'ing-chang i shu chien yu-ming yu Liu Chung-hui t'ai-pao kan erh yung-tz'u' (Premier Lien recommends me to the Grand Guardian, Liu Chung-hui, by a letter); 3) 'Sung Lien-kung chih Chiang-ling' (Farewell to Mister Lien who is on the way to Chiang-ling, Hupeh); 4) 'Po-ling shang Chung-hui hsiang-kung' (Submitting a poem to the minister, Liu Chung-hui, from Po-ling, Hupeh); 5) 'Ta Liu hsiang-kung shu' (A reply to the letter from Liu Chung-hui, the minister); 6) 'Yao-wan Liu Chung-hui hsiang-kung shih Chih-yuan shih-i nien

574 Part of the preface is quoted in Chapter 3, p.109 (Note 353).
tung-yüeh ch'u-hsien yeh' 透鏡劉仲晦相公時至元十一年冬月初旬也 (A distant tribute to the late minister, Liu Chung-hui, in the first ten day period of the eleventh month in the eleventh year of the Chih-yuan period, i.e. 1274); 7) 'Yen-chao hsien-yu wu Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'üan sui t'ung-yu Hsi-shan' 燕趙閒遊邸長春遊司遊西山 (When wandering in the Yen-chao region, i.e. Hopeh and Shansi, I encountered Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'üan and in company we visited Mount Hsi-shan, Hopeh).

In these poems Premier Lien refers to Lien Hsi-hsien and the Grand Guardian is Liu Ping-chung, while Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'üan refers to the prominent Ch'iu Ch'ü-ch'ü. Ch'iu was the second patriarch of the influential monastic Ch'üan-ch'en sect which had as its first founder the remarkable Taoist, Wang Che 王喆 (alias Wang Ch'ung-yang 王重陽, 1112-1170). Apart from his contribution to the promotion of religious Taoism, Ch'iu is well remembered for his encounter with the great Mongol Emperor, Genghis Khan, who summoned the notable Taoist to preach to him.

575 For the biography of Lien, see Yuan-shih, 126/309-10; also Hsin Yuan-shih, 155/319-20.
576 For Liu, see Note 43.
577 For Ch'iu Ch'ü-chü's biography, see Yuan-shih, 202/455; Hsin Yuan-shih, 243/452; Ch'in-ien cheng-tsung chi 金運正宗記, edited by Ch'in Chih Ch'en 杜志安 (alias Ch'ü-li tao-jen 隨齊道人) (prefaces 12417), TT 76, 4/7a-12b; Ch'in-ien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan hsien-chung-chuan 金運正宗仙院記, edited by Liu Chih-hsüan 劉志玄 (alias Liu T'ien-sü 劉天素) (prefaces 1326, 1327), TT 76, pp. 315-36a; Ch'i-chen nien-p'ü 七真年譜, edited by Li Tao-ch'üen, TT 76, pp. 4a-20a; Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien hsiu-pien, TT 149, 2/10a-22a; and Chi Chih-ch'en 姬志真, Yün-shan ch'i 雲山集, TT 784, 7/12a-17a. Cf. also Ch'en Yüan, 'Nan-Sung ch'u Hsü hsien-tao-chiao k'ao', op.cit.; and Ch'en Mu, 'Chin Yüan t'ung-chih-chü hsia ch'iin tao-chiao', op.cit. On the political career of Ch'iu Ch'ü-chü, see Yao Ts'ung-wu 湯從吾, 'Yüan Ch'iu Ch'ü-chü nien-p'ü' 元朝處極年譜, in his Tung-peh-shih lun-ts'ung 東北史論叢 (Taipei, 1959), pp. 214-276.
578 See Note 270.
579 For the biography of Wang, see Ch'in-ien cheng-tsung chi, TT 75, 2/1a-16a; Ch'in-ien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan hsien-chung-chuan, TT 75, pp. 18a-23a; Ch'i-chen nien-p'ü, TT 76, pp. 1a-9a; Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien hsiu-pien, TT 149, 1/1a-11b; Kun-shui hsien-yüan lu, TT 611, 1/2b-14a; and Yün-shan ch'i, TT 784, 7/1a-4a.
It was in the year 1227 that after a long and hazardous journey across Central Asia Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un met the Mongol ruler in Afghanistan, where the Taoist leader lectured to the ailing conqueror on the art of nourishing the vital spirit. Shortly after their meeting, in which the Emperor was very much affected and conferred upon Ch'iu great power in control of the Taoist community, both the ruler, in process of fulfilling his dream of conquering the middle empire, and the religious leader died. Thus it is improbable that Chang San-feng who was most active, according to historical records, at the dawn of the Ming dynasty had the privilege of associating with the leader of the Pei-tsung 北派 or the Northern school of the Taoist religion, Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, for it is impossible that his public life spanned nearly two centuries. Also, no trace of their association can be detected in the collected works of Ch'iu, the P'an-ch'i chi 諸溪集. Therefore, the extant poem, attributed to Chang San-feng, which recounts his dealings with Ch'iu Ch'u-chi is another instance of fabrication by the Taoist inclined officer, Wang Hsi-ling, either as the fruit of his imagination, or more prosaically, as a deliberate forgery.

580 On Ch'iu's encounter with Genghis Khan, see Arthur Waley, tr., The Travels of an Alchemist; and Igor de Rachewiltz, 'The Hsi-yu lu 西遊錄 by Yeh-lii Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材 ', op.cit; cf. also Kubo Noritada 翔義恕, 'Cho-shun shin-jin to sono seiyu' 真神真人とその西遊, in Memoirs of the Institute of Oriental Culture, No.29 (Tokyo, 1963), pp.21-76.

581 The emergence of the different schools in Taoist religion took place in the Sung and Chin periods, when Chang Po-tuan 張伯端 (fl. 1076-1155) founded the Nan-tsung 南派 or Southern school and Wang Che 建立了 the Pei-tsung 北派 or Northern school. They were called south and north because of their different centres of activities. They held different views regarding the method of cultivation. Wang Wei 王斡 (1322-1373) was one of the first writers to point out the features of these two schools in his Ch'ing-yen ts'ung-lu 青崖袁録 (Hsien-hai lei-pien ed.), p.7b, 'The southern school would cultivate nature [before life], while the northern school would cultivate life before [they cultivate nature].'

582 P'an-ch'i chi, six ch'tan, TT 797; also included in Tao-tsang chi-yao, 137.
There is another poem which bears the title 'Chia-chü wu-shih hu yu Ch'iu tao-jen chien-fang lin-pieh shih i tseng-chih' 有儒道人見詩以贈之, which is a valedictory poem to a certain Taoist priest by the surname Ch'iu which might also refer to Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, but there is no definite indication in the poem itself, and no conclusive answer can be given.

If Wang Hsi-ling was really the composer of the poem which connects Chang San-feng with Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, then he might have been inspired by a legend in which the two leading Taoist figures were coupled, regardless of the anachronism involved. To elaborate on this point, it is appropriate to quote a passage from the section Cheng-o in ch'üan 1 of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi:

In the Hsiang-shu-chai chi 姜樹齋集 written by Ch'ien Ch'en-ch'un, whose canonized title is Wen-tuan 倫端, there is a poem entitled 'Yen-chiu-jih Wang-hsin-chuang kuan-teng shih' 燕九日王新裁觀燈詩, in which there are two line readings, 'Hand in hand, the Immortal and La-t'a (The filthy) came to travel above the sky and across the blue sea, standing by the swing they gazed at the pí-hung 比 紅 (peach blossoms)'. The commentary remarks, 'Chang San-feng and Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un went to seek for the Way at the same time, and both attained immortality at a later period.' [I], the humble one, hereby comment: The master [Ch'iu] Ch'ang-ch'un began to seek for the Way in the Chin dynasty, and he started his secluded life a long time ago, so he was not the contemporary of the Patriarch Chang [San-feng]. But the Immortal Wang [Hsi-ling] in his biography of [Chang San-feng] said that when the Patriarch was observing the mourning period, there was a certain Taoist priest by the surname Ch'iu who came to pay him homage. After the Patriarch had attained immortality, once during the early years of the Chih-cheng period [of the reign of Kubilai Khan] when he was wandering around Mount Hsi-shan, he met Ch'ang-ch'un-tzu (i.e. Ch'iu Ch'u-chi). Sitting together intimately, they talked to their hearts' content. This time the Immortal Ch'iu came to spread the Way and bring salvation to the people of the Yuan dynasty, so indeed it was right to say that he and [the Patriarch Chang San-feng] manifested themselves at the same period, but it would be wrong to assert that they had sought for the Way in company.583

Here what merits attention is the first part of the passage which alludes to the poem of Ch'ien Ch'en-ch'un. Ch'ien Ch'en-ch'un, a renowned man of

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583 CSPCC, 1/20b-21a (7656-7).
letters living between 1686 and 1774 during the reign of the scholarly Emperor Kao-tsung who greatly favoured the former's poetic talent, was a younger contemporary of Wang Hsi-ling who died in the year 1724. Ch'ien left to posterity many of his metrical works, and the Hsiang-shu-chai shih-chi, eighteen ch'uan, as mentioned in the above quoted passage, is the first of his collection of poems, which was printed in 1751. It seems impossible that Wang could have read Ch'ien's poem which depicts Chang San-feng and Ch'iu Ch'u-chi travelling together. On the other hand, there is slight possibility that Ch'ien could gain access to Wang's unpublished edition of the complete works of Chang San-feng which Wang regarded as greatly to his credit. The only reasonable explanation to account for the coincidence of their both linking the two Taoists is that they acquired the information from a popular legend which prevailed in the early Ch'ing period, though such an episode is not mentioned, as far as can be seen, in any other sources save the Hsiang-shu-chai shih-chi, 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan' and Yun-shui ch'ien-chi. However, regardless of the origin of this story, it is certain that the poem or poems relating Chang San-feng with Ch'iu Ch'u-chi included in the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi cannot be authentic.

Another historical figure mentioned in the poems (nos. 2, 4-6) in the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi is Liu Ping-chung, who, as a confidant to Khubilai Khan, exerted considerable influence over the drafting of administration policies of the Mongol government in the vanquished Chinese territories, and acted as the mediator between the powerful Mongol ruling class on the one hand and the subjugated Chinese elite on the other. These outstanding features in his political career gave him lasting fame and confirm his significance in the history of Mongol conquest. The origin of the saying which connects

584 See Ch'ien's biography written by Fang Chao-ying, in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, p.147.

585 For an evaluation of the contributions of Liu, see Chan Hok-lam, 'Liu Ping-chung, a Buddhist-Taoist statesman at the court of Khubilai Khan', op.cit.
him with Chang San-feng has been discussed in Chapter 1, and it was pointed out that the allegation is unfounded. In addition, there is no allusion to his relationship with Chang San-feng in the extant portion of the Ts'ang-ch'ün chi, the collected works of Liu Ping-chung. In fact, Liu and Chang were two prominent figures who flourished in two distant periods, but the legend makes them contemporaries. Thus, it is clear that the abovementioned poems are spurious.

Lien Hsi-hsien is another outstanding personality whose name is found in some of the poems (nos. 1-3) in the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi. One reason why this premier, who served the Yuan court at the same time as Liu Ping-chung, was connected with Chang San-feng who, according to historical accounts, was active over a century after the demise of Lien in 1280, is that the editor of the collected poems attributed to Chang San-feng strove to reinforce the saying, such as that cherished by Wang Hsi-ling, that Chang San-feng existed in the early years of Mongol rule. As a matter of fact, the relationship of these two persons, who were active in two different periods, is reported nowhere but in the two unreliable biographies of Chang San-feng as found in the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, namely, the 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan', and 'San-feng hsien-sheng chuan', by Wang Hsi-ling and Yuan-chiao wai-shih respectively.

586 See Chapter 1, pp.13-6.

587 The first five chüan of the Ts'ang-ch'ün chi carry the works of Liu, including three chüan of seven-syllable-line lu-shih (regulation poetry), one chüan of seven-syllable-line chüeh-chü (verse form) and one chüan of yueh-fu (poems). Chüan 6 is a collection of biographical material on Liu. Cf. Note 43.

588 See CSFCC, 1/8b (7650). For translation of the passage, see last part of Note 238.

589 The text runs: 'At first Chang San-feng studied under the same master with Liu Ping-chung, later he was recommended by Lien Hsi-hsien into officialdom. It was in the Chih-yuan period when he resigned from the post of district magistrate.' See CSFCC, 1/11b (7652).
Another two poems that are clearly not the works of Chang San-feng are those dedicated to Wan-p'u-tzu and the hermit Mister Wang, the 'Tseng Wan-p'u-tzu chien-fang Wu-tang' and 'Tseng Wang hsien-sheng ko' respectively. These fictitious figures appeared earlier in the works in the sections Ku-wen and Yin-chien: in chuan 2. Just as the 'Wan-p'u-tzu lieh-chuan', the prose work which has as its hero Wan-p'u-tzu, reflects the antagonism of the author against Emperor Ch'eng-tsu and his trusted adviser Yao Kuang-hsiao, resentment is expressed in the poem addressed to the same figure. Moreover, the author chanted praise of the bold action of Wan-p'u-tzu in humiliating Yao Kuang-hsiao in the following lines:

He was really like a brave immortal.
To straddle a tiger and bestride a dragon, a courageous fellow he was!
Travelling beneath heaven and earth, he [was strong enough] to support the sun and moon,
Playing at the sword's end, he could invoke the clouds and thunder [to his presence].
Three times in the battlefield he thwarted [Chu] Kao-hsiu.
And twice he insulted, amidst laughter, the talented Yao Kuang-hsiao.

This poem, in a similar mood to the prose piece 'Wan-p'u-tzu lieh-chuan' is another example of the spurious works which abound in the extant Chang San-feng ch'un-ch'i.

Throughout the poem 'Tseng Wang hsien-sheng ko', Mister Wang, the loyal surviving supporter of the deposed Emperor Chien-sen is extolled:

Mister Wang, who attained both loyalty and righteousness...
In his drunkenness, would recall his former master,
With his eyes filled with tears, he cried to heaven.
Different from ordinary folks, were his clothes,
By throwing on hempen garments and wearing a bamboo rain-hat (in deep mourning), he tried to convey what was deep in his mind...
As pointed out when discussing the authenticity of the essay 'Wang hsien-sheng chuan', it is unlikely that Chang San-feng would compose such an invidious prose piece which would anger the monarch, Emperor Ch'eng-tsu. The same argument confutes the authorship of the above quoted poem.

Some other poems in the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi betray a strong dislike for the necromancers who often occupied a place of honour in the Ming court, since many Ming emperors, like Emperors Shih-tsung and Shen-tsung, who were addicted to Taoist practices, were devoted to them. For example, the third of a set of four poems entitled 'Nan-ching tao-kuan Ch'ung-ch'ing-ssu t'i-pi' (Inscribed on a wall at the Taoist Monastery Ch'ung-ch'ing in Nanking) runs:

The celestial net has already snared Shao Yuan-chih, T'ao Chung-wen has just been accepted by the inferno. If they have the elixir [of life], they should not pass away, No more can be said as now they all succumb.

Shao Yuan-chih and T'ao Chung-wen, who have been mentioned in Chapter 5, were the Taoist priests who won the favour of Emperor Shih-tsung. They died in 1539 and 1560 respectively, so the earliest possible date for the completion of the above poem is 1560, when T'ao met his death. As it is clear that Chang San-feng was no longer alive in the Chia-ching period, it is absolutely certain that he was not the author of this poem. The other three poems in the set were possibly written at about the same time, and might have been associated with the name of this popular figure, by accident or design, by the compiler of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi. Like many other works in the same collection, there is a strong possibility that these verses were produced by someone in the late Ming period who deeply despised the two noted Taoist priests for having induced the Emperor to indulge in the practice of occult crafts in order to seek for longevity, which pursuit led to his neglect of state affairs. It was recorded in the Biography

593 See last part of Note 590.
594 CSFCC, 5/345b (7768).
of T'ao Chung-wen in Ming-shih that Emperor Shih-tsung refused audience to his ministers and T'ao was the only person who was given the privilege of regular access to the Emperor. Here I have ruled out the alternative possibility that Wang Hai-ling was the author because being an advocate of Taoism himself, he would not heap scorn on the thaumaturges of the Ming dynasty.

Moreover, from the point of view of dating, the four poems which have a collective title 'Hsi-yüan kung-tz'u' 西苑宮詞 (Poems of the West Park) can hardly be accepted as genuine. The explanatory note printed in small type following the title betrays the discrepancies in dating, for it reads:

[Chang San-feng] commented [these poems] himself, 'During the Ching-te and Chia-ch'ing periods (1505-1566), I received honour by imperial edict. At that time the court was engaged every day in the practice in which the immortals were conjured to descend. Because of this I composed this poem to remonstrate with them, so that [people] would not say that immortals do not care for the prestige of the state.'

Planchette writing which had a time-honoured history was a popular practice among the emperors and their court attendants during the times of Emperors Wu-tsung and Shih-tsung. However, Chang San-feng could not have known of this, since it is impossible that he lived for such a long span of time. Therefore the set of poems cannot have been written by him but by an anonymous author who lived, perhaps, about or after the Chia-ch'ing period.

595 MS, 307/771.
596 CSPCC, 5/35a (7768).
597 Emperor Shih-tsung used to practise planchette writing with his courtiers, see Biography of T'ao Chung-wen, MS, 307/771. He even tried to solve unsettled problems relating to state affairs by consulting the spirits. For instance, he released the Censor, Yang Chüeh 杨瑞 (1493-1549), and two other ministers who offended him by remonstrating with him about indulging in Taoist practices because he was told to do so by the planchette. See Biography of Yang Chüeh, MS, 209/503. For a detailed account of the Ming Emperors' addiction to occult practices, see Liu Ts'un-yan, 'The Penetration of Taoism into the Ming Neo-Confucianist Elite', op.cit.
The author, whoever he might be, of the above poems attacked vehemently sorcerers who court the favour of the sovereign. A similar attitude is expressed in another poem, 'Ta Yung-lo huang-ti' 皇帝, which is supposed to be the reply, in the form of verse, of Chang San-feng to Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, who tried incessantly to summon this Taoist figure to audience. By way of preaching a moral exhortation, the author writes in the preface to the poem, 'It is better not to believe the words of the necromancers.' In view of the anti-Taoist or at least non-Taoist overtone perceived in these poems which are alleged to be from the voice of a Taoist adept, it may confidently be said that they are spurious.

Apart from an unknown author who may have flourished in the middle or late Ming period, another writer who might possibly be responsible for a number of the poems in the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi is Wang Hsi-ling. Very possibly, legends which revolve around Chang San-feng serve as the basis for the creation of those poems. For instance, Chang San-feng is referred to as the disciple of another eccentric figure, Master Huo-lung, both in the 'Chang San-feng lifeh-chuan' and Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, and their relationship is reflected in the poem bearing the title 'Chung-

598 CSFCC, 5/33b (7767).
599 See Note 305.
600 The 'Chang San-feng lifeh-chuan', attributed to Lu Hsi- hsing, says, '... then [Chang San-feng] decided to seek the Way and look for a master. There on Mount Wu-tang he heard the preaching of Huo-lung who discoursed on mysterious principles.' CSFCC, 1/6b (7643). The Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien reads, 'During the Yen-yu period, I (i.e. Chang San-feng) was sixty-seven years old, and I began to feel perturbative [since I did not know what to do]. Fortunately Heaven had mercy on me, [so that] when I first came to Mount Chung-nan, I was able to meet Master Huo-lung who was the favourite disciple of Master T'u-nan (i.e. Ch' en T'uan, see Note 304). His disposition was transcendent. I went on my knees and asked about the [cultivation] of the Way. I was greatly favoured by the master who observed my sincerity and imparted to me, first of all, the method of self-cultivation, then the formula for the preparation of the pill, and lastly the details regarding the control of the temperature of the fire [in the process of cultivating the pill]...' 21/6/4a-b.
Another noted person, Shen Wan-san, who was generally regarded as the disciple of San-feng by Ch'ing Taoist followers, and his daughter Shen Hsien-yang whose biography, also attributed to the same author, is found in the section Ku-wen in ch'tia 2, also become the central figures of some of the poems here in the Yun-shui ch'ien-chi. The titles of these poems are: 1) 'Yu Chin-ling tseng Shen Wan-san' 遐金陵贈沈萬三 (Addressed to Shen Wan-san during my trip to Chin-ling); 2) 'Pieh Wan-san' 割薌三 (Farewell to Shen Wan-san); 3) 'Chiang chih Yün-nan hsien chi ku-jen' 將之雲南先寄故人 (Before I set off for Yunnan, I send a poem to my old friend, Shen Wan-san); 4) 'Tien-nan hui Shen-tzu Sanshan chien-tseng ling-ch'ing YU Shih-she' 滇南會沈子三山兼贈令倩余十會 (On the meeting with Mister Shen San-shan (i.e. Shen Wan-san) in Yunnan and also dedicated to his son-in-law, YU Shih-she); 5) 'Tseng Shen Hsien-yang YU Fei-hsia liang nü-hsien' 贈沈線陽女飛霞兩女仙 (Dedicated to the two fairies, Shen Hsien-yang and YU Fei-hsia).

Most probably the story which forms the background of the above poems is derived from accounts in the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien in which the teacher disciple relationship between Chang San-feng and Shen Wan-san is depicted. Doubt about the authenticity of these poems is based on the following grounds. Firstly, when discussing the prose works in the section Ku-wen it was asserted that three of the works directly relating to Shen Wan-san and his daughter, namely, 'Shen Hsien-yang hsiao-chuan', 'Yu-shih

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601 See Note 428.

602 The title is 'Shen Hsien-yang hsiao-chuan', CSFCC, 2/8a-b (7673). Translation of the full text is given in Chapter 5, pp.172-3.

603 Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, 21/6/2b-5b.
fu-nü chuan' and 'Lu-t'ing yeh-hua' were extracted from the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien which appeared before the unpublished edition of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi was completed. It is also maintained that Wang Hsi-ling was responsible for that particular section.\(^{604}\) Secondly, in the section Hsien-chi in ch'uan 1 which was definitely written by Wang, there are two passages which have the titles 'Tu Shen Wan-san' (On the conversion of Shen Wan-san) and 'Tien-nan chien-yüeh' (To keep an appointment: and go to Yunnan), in which Shen Wan-san is again the central figure.\(^{605}\) Hence, it is reasonable to regard the present poems which are addressed to Shen Wan-san and his relatives as spurious works fabricated by Wang, just as he composed the prosepieces dealing with the same figures.

Two more obviously spurious works may be adduced. They are the poems presented to Lü Tung-pin and Chang Yü 張雨 (1277-1348), bearing the titles 'Tung-t'ing wu Lü Ch'un-yang hsien-sheng' (Encountering Master Lü Ch'un-yang (i.e. Lü Tung-pin) at Lake Tung-t'ing) and 'Yü chia Po-yü wai-shih Hang-chou jen' (Meeting Po-yü wai-shih who has the same surname as myself and is a native of Hangchow) respectively. It is sheer nonsense to state that Chang San-feng met Lü Tung-pin, who flourished during the T'ang dynasty. It may be argued that Chang, through his burning desire to meet Lü who was a household figure, would imagine the meeting. However, I think it is more likely that the poem was composed by Wang Hsi-ling who tried to enhance the prestige of the master whom he so admired by linking him with one of the popular eight immortals.

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\(^{604}\) See discussion in Chapter 5, p.173.

\(^{605}\) These two passages can be found in CSFCC, 1/23a-24b (7658) and 1/27b-28a (7660) respectively.
Such an inclination is disclosed in many instances in the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi. For example, in the section Hsien-chi, there is an entry headed 'Tao feng Lü-tsu' which depicts the encounter between Chang San-feng and Lü Tung-pin, though, as a subterfuge, Wang claims that the story originated from a certain book called the Chi-luan shu written by Ou Yang-chen. Had he not considered the implausible episode salient to the promotion of the cult of Chang San-feng, he would not have noted it down. In another passage in the same section, 'K'u-meii fu-sheng' which is the account of a miraculous deed done by Chang San-feng who was alleged to have resurrected a rotten plum tree. Originally there is no allusion to Lü Tung-pin in this episode, but Wang Hsi-ling, in his keenness to couple the two Taoist figures, added the following note, 'Patriarch Lü revived the camphor tree, Master Ch'iu Ch'ü-chi brought renascence to the cedar, [and] the master Chang [San-feng] restored the plum. It can be said that their benefits extended even to grass and trees.' As both Lü Tung-pin and Ch'iu Ch'ü-chi were popular personalities in Taoist religion, by purporting that San-feng was equivalent to them, Wang would surely help to boost Chang's image among the adherents. This accounts Wang's writing the above note.

The name 'Po-yü' mentioned in the poem 'Yü chia Po-yü wai-shih Heng-chou jen' is in fact the tsu of the illustrious Taoist poet of the Yuan dynasty, Chang Yu (hao Chü-ch'ü-wai-shih 周世外史). The

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606 CSFCC, 1/39b (7666). In the text the surname Ou is misprinted as ou. 'Tao-feng Lü-tsu' delineates the meeting of Chang San-feng with Lü Tung-pin in the early years of the Shun-chih reign (1644-1661). It ends with a note, 'This event was entered in the Chi-luan shu written by Ou Yang-chen'. Therefore, Ou Yang-chen might have flourished in the Shun-chih period, however, the book is not cited in standard bibliographies.

607 Same as first part of Note 606.

608 For Chang Yu's biography, see Hsin Yüan-shih, 238/455, under the Biography of Chang Hsien 張 (f1.1341).
concluding lines of this poem read, 'I, the elder brother, have nothing else to give thee, but the peace of mind that is unique to immortals.' Here Chang San-feng, the alleged author, addressed himself as the 'elder brother' of Chang Yu which gives the impression to the reader that he was much older than the poet. It is known that Chang Yu died at the age of seventy-two in 1348, so that if San-feng were the elder he must be over seventy-two in that year. In this case, fifty-nine years later in 1407 when Emperor Ch'eng-tsu dispatched expeditions to search for the eccentric, San-feng would be over one hundred and thirty years old. It is extremely unlikely, though not impossible that a person would remain active and arrest the attention of the court at such an advanced age. Furthermore, the collected works of Chang Yu, the Chu-ch'u wai-shih chi 周曲外史集, do not yield any substantial evidence to attest their friendship. Thus, this poem dedicated to Chang Yu should be treated as another work of dubious authorship.

As a matter of fact, the content of the preface written by Wang Hsiling to the Yun-shui ch'ien-ch'i suffices to prove that a large number of the poems in this collection were fabricated by Wang himself, and the foregoing discussion is an endeavour to gather further examples to substantiate this argument.

609 CSFCC, 5/25b (7763).

610 Chu-ch'u wai-shih chi 周曲外史集, three chüan, pu-i 稀遊, one chuán, and ch'i-wai shih集外詩, one chuán (Ssu-pu ta'ung-k'an ed.), is a collection of Chang's proses and poems. The part on poems has been included in the Yüan shih-heian 元詩選, compiled by Ku Ssu-li 窦嗣立 (1669-1722) (Taipei reprint, 1967), Jen-chi 善集, under the title Chu-ch'u wai-shih chi 周曲外史集. Another version of Chang's collected poems is published under the title Chu-ch'u wai-shih ch'en-ch'i 周曲外史餘集, (Hand-copied volume, Taipei reprint, 1971). Chang had written another work, the Hsüan-p'in lu 玄品錄, TT 559-9. This is a collection of biographies of Taoist immortals from the Chou dynasty to the Sung period and there is no mention of Chang San-feng.
Proceeding to the *Yun-shui hou-chi*, a sequential volume to the previous collection of verses, a reperusal of Chapter 3 of the present study shows that cogent evidence as gleaned from the very words of Wang Hsi-ling may be brought forward to disprove that this collection, in which many poems directly refer to Wang, was from the hand of Chang San-feng.\(^{611}\) Also, it has been surmised that Wang was the engineer of the entire fabrication. Of the sixty-four poems collected therein, eleven of them focus on Wang, their titles being: 1) 'Ta-o yü Meng-chiu kuan-ch'a k'ou-chan tseng-chih' 大哉遇夢九觀察口占贈之 (An impromptu poem to Meng-chiu, the Intendant, during our meeting at Mount O-mei); 2) 'Fang Meng-chiu Shih-t'ang-ch'i shang Ch'ing-hui-ch'ing-shhe' 訪夢九石堂溪上清級精舍 (Visiting Meng-chiu at the Villa Ch'ing-hui in Shih-t'ang-ch'i); 3) 'Kuo Yuan-t'ung ching-shih' 追圓通靜室 (A visit to Meng-chiu at his house of retreat); 4) 'T'i Meng-chiu tan-fang' 題夢九丹房 (An inscription on Meng-chiu's room for preparing elixir); 5) 'Tzu-shu yu Wang-tzu' 自述與江子 (A personal narrative dedicated to Mister Wang); 6) 'T'ing Meng-chiu tsu Ssu-min tu-shu' 聽夢九子思敏讀書 (Listening to the reading of Ssu-min, son of Meng-chiu); 7) 'Nieh-yun ko tz'u Meng-chiu' 滴雲歌賜夢九 (To bestow upon Meng-chiu a song entitled 'Ascending to the clouds'); 8) 'T'i Meng-chiu yuan chung' 題夢九院中 (Inscribed on the garden of Meng-chiu); 9) 'Shih Meng-chiu' 示夢九 (Instruction to Meng-chiu); 10) 'Yü Meng-chiu' 與夢九 (Dedicated to Meng-chiu); 11) 'T'ai Yuan-t'ung Ch'o-ch'o-shan-fang' 題圓通綽綽山房 (On the Villa Ch'o-ch'o-shan-fang of Yuan-t'ung). Meng-chiu and Yuan-t'ung are aliases of Wang Hsi-ling who said in his preface that the *Yun-shui hou-chi* was brought to light after the master visited him in the Intendant's office in Szechwan.\(^{612}\)

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611 See the preface to the *Yun-shui hou-chi*. For its translation see Chapter 3, p.109 (Note 368); for discussion of the authorship, see p.112.

612 Ibid.
The third section of ch'kan 5 is the Yun-shui san-chi, which, unlike the first and second volumes, is not featured in Wang's manuscript edition. Apparently this was added by a later hand and Li Hsi-yueh is the most likely though not necessarily the only possible compiler. This san-chi is preceded by an unsigned preface, and since Li was responsible for the revision of the complete works, it is highly probable that he was also the author of this preamble. By way of description of the compilation of the collection concerned, this preface contains the following passage:

The Yun-shui san-chi was written by the master [Chang San-feng] during his second visit to Chien-nan. In the course of the Yung-cheng period the master came to admonish Wang Meng-chiu, the Intendant. [At that time], the master had been roaming around the Mounts Kao-piao and Ling-yun (in Lo-shan, Szechwan). After the Intendant re-treated (i.e. died), the master also became hidden. Recently there appeared some people like [Li] Yuan-yang, the old man, [Liu] Cho-an, the retired scholar, and [Liu] Tun-yuan and [Yang] P'an-shan, rustic people, whose minds were inclined towards mountains and forests, and whose nature was fond of springs and rocks. With the coming of these hermits, the master came again...The master would not show his sacred form readily to common people. Even if he did reveal himself, people could not recognize him. [He liked] to use lofty phrases and mysterious words, and was exclusively devoted to the use of the pen for communication...Sometimes he would sing in an un-trammelled manner, and his voice could stop the moving of clouds and the running of water. For a long time [he had been engaging] in freely chanting verses all of which were recorded in ink and accumulated as days went by. [So now] I send them to be printed to preserve them, and to show people that the joy of an immortal is [nothing but] that. What is that to cause amazement?

The death of Wang is mentioned in the above passage, and as Wang Hsi-ling passed away in 1724, so this san-chi must have been compiled after that year.

Those persons mentioned in the preface such as Li Yuan-yang, Liu Cho-an, Liu Tun-yuan and Yang P'an-shan were contemporaries of Li Hsi-yueh who flourished in the Tao-kuang period (see discussion which follows). In other words, this collection must have been completed about that time. The author tries to justify his statement that Chang San-feng was still active in the Ch'ing dynasty by employing such empty devices as the claim that he would not reveal his form easily or, even if he did, the common people

613 CSFCC, 5/37a-b (7769).
failed to recognize him. Also, according to the pen of Li, the supposed author of the foreword, San-feng was a figure accustomed to communicate by writing. I think his explanation is tantamount to a confession that the communication between the master and the confraternity of devotees, most of them natives of Lo-shan district, was made possible by magic writing during which San-feng, among other spirits, was invoked to answer their questions or to exchange verses with them. In this light, this san-chi, like many parts in the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, is a collection of works produced as a result of the popular transcendental practice of planchette writing, and most probably, Li Hsi-yüeh gathered all these pieces and entitled it Yun-shui san-chi, a sequel to the first two volumes.

In addition to a few personal names, such as Li Yuan-yang, etc., which appear in the preface, there are others mentioned in the poems. (In fact, Liu Cho-an whose name is cited in the preface is not referred to in any of the verses.) Most of them are alluded to by their hao, and their real names cannot be verified, for example, P'an-shan 碧山, Jan-hsien 賴仙, Ts'ang-yai 藏崖, Li Hsi-lai 李西來, Pai-pai-tzu, Wang Ch'ih-p'ing 王持平, T'uan-yang 圓陽, Chu-sheng 朱生, Li-sheng 學生, Liu Pai-chiu 劉白衣, and Li Yü-ch'i 李思溪. At the moment only exiguous information exists regarding these characters who were alleged to carry on a poetic correspondence with San-feng. Li Hsi-yüeh is best known, and has been discussed before. As for Liu Cho-an, who had generously offered financial support to the printing of the revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, has also been mentioned in earlier discussion in Chapter 3 of the present thesis. 614 As for the other writers whose poems appear in the san-chi, Liu Tun-yüan, alian Tun-yüan chu-shih, who, according to the preface written by Li Chia-hsiu to the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, joined with Li Hsi-yüeh to acquire Wang's manuscript copy of the complete

614 For Li, see pp.98-3 (Note 331). For Liu, see p.100.
works attributed to Chang San-feng from Wang T'an, a descendant of Wang Hsi-ling. Ts'ang-yai is identified with Ts'ang-yai chü-shih who verified and recorded the eleven entries in the 'Hou lieh-hsien chuan' and 'Lieh-hsien p'ai-yen'. Li Hsi-lai is another name of Li Chia-hsiu, who has already been mentioned. As for Pai-pai-tzu, his name is not directly mentioned in any of the poems here in the san-chí, but there is a work entitled 'T'î Tao-te ching Tung-lai cheng-i' (Inscription on the book bearing the title Tao-te ching tung-lai cheng-i). Since the book Tung-lai cheng-i referred to in the poem is attributed to Pai-pai-tzu, he is indirectly related to the san-chí. Little is known about the rest of the characters whose names appear in some of the poems. However, it is likely that they were active in the Chia-ch'ing and Tao-kuang periods.

It seems that this group of like-minded Taoist devotees used to spend their time in exchanging verses, practising planchette writing and engaging in other Taoist rituals. Very possibly San-feng was one of their apotheosized immortals, so he was frequently requested to descend to officiate at their performance of planchette writing, and all the pieces which were alleged to be his answers or poems constitute a large portion of the present collected works. The question of the authenticity of the contents of the compilation is further complicated by the fact that the author has mingled the poems written by the adherents themselves with those attributed to the various spirits that were conjured to participate in the thaumaturgic practice. For example, to the two poems entitled 'Lao yu-hsien t'u' 老 游仙 (Note 333), p.4a (7642). See also the quotation cited in p.100 (Note 333).

615 CSPCC, hsü-yeh, p.4a (7642). See also the quotation cited in p.100 (Note 333).

616 See Chapter 4, p.139.

617 See CSPCC, 8/69b (7829); also see Note 332.

618 This is mentioned in CSPCC, 8/59a (7823). For Pai-pai-tzu, see Chapter 4, pp.135-6.
(On the picture of the old wandering immortal) and 'Lao yin-hsien t'u'
老隱仙侶 (On the portrait of the aged immortal leading a seclusive
life) both attributed to San-feng, are appended works in reply from Li Hai-
yüeh, Ts'ang-yai chú-shih and Yang P'an-shan.

What is more interesting and adds colour to the entire collection is
the inclusion of some of the works supposed to be produced by the spirits
that had, it was firmly believed by many at that time, come down to communi-
cate with their enthusiastic advocates, to give them advice on their future,
their examinations and many other matters. Some of their works are purely
literary pieces without a practical purpose, and they appear in the form of
ko-tao 和作 (exchanging verses, using the same rhyme-word) and lien-chu
聯句 (joint composition). The two poems ascribed to Lu Tung-pin in respon-
se to the 'Lao yu-hsien t'u' and 'Lao yin-hsien t'u' are good examples of
the first form, and there are four instances of joint composition in the
whole san-chi.

These poems were alleged to have been composed in collabora-
tion by well-known adepts and immortals in the Taoist pantheon, such as
Han Hsiang-tzu 韓湘子, a household name and one of the popular eight
immortals, the pre-eminent Ch'iu Ch'u-chi and Li Tung-pin who are al-
ready familiar figures in this thesis, Liu Hai-ch'an 劉海蟾 (fl. 1023-

619 CSFCC, 5/42b-43b (7772).

620 Ibid.

621 The titles of these four poems are: 1) 'Shuang-ch'ing-ko t'ung fai-
hsien lien-chu hsien shih-wu hsien yin' 夏清聞同飛仙聯句限
十二成韻 ; 2) 'Lien-chu'聯句 ; 3) 'Ch'ing-ch'eng-shan lien-
chü' 聯城山聯句 ; 4) 'Sung Lang-ch'ien Lang-shan kuei Lang-chung
t'ung Pi-ch'eng tao-jen lien-chü' 逢聞長山歸聞中同福城
道人聯句, see CSFCC, 5/47b-48b (7774-5), 5/50b (7776) and 5/60a
(7781) respectively.

622 Han-hsiang-tzu was called Han Hsiang 韓湘. It was often believed
that he was related to Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), the literary prodigy of
the T'ang dynasty. Hsiang was alleged to be Yu's grand-nephew or nephew.
For an account of Han-hsiang-tzu, cf. works listed in the last part of
Note 307 which deal with the eight immortals.
Pai Yu-ch' an (also known as Ko Ch'ang-keng 葛長庚, fl. 1195-1224), who was generally accepted as the fifth patriarch of the same school, and last of all Ma-ku, the legendary figure who was said to flourish in the Han dynasty. All these are supposed contributors to the Yun-shui san-chi.

To sum up, the Yun-shui san-chi carries works either ascribed to the Taoist genii or written by Ch'ing literati who were fervent devotees of Taoist practices and thinking. Apparently, there is not a single piece which was actually from the hand of Chang San-feng, and, the entire collection is nothing but a fabrication produced in his name. The compiler remarks in the Fan-li on the first volume of the collected poems, 'Yun-shui ch'ien-chi was composed by the master during his sojourn in the world', and of the sequential collections of poems, he wrote, 'As to the Yun-shui hou-chi, san-chi, one was written [by the master] when he came to convert the immortal Wang [Hsi-ling], the other was made when [the master] was residing in the K'ung-ch'ing Monastery...all are records of his miraculous excursions.' Since the first volume, according to the compiler, was written during San-feng's stay in the secular world, the

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623 The real name of Liu Hai-ch' an was Liu Ts'ao 劉操. For his biography, see Chin-lien cheng-tsung chi, TT 75, 1/3a-11b; Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yuan hsing-chuan, TT 76, pp.16b-18a; Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien, TT 148, 49/5a-7a; Hsiao-yao-hsu ching, TT 1081, 1/17b-18a. Liu was generally regarded by Taoist writers as the master of Chang Po-tuan, the founder of the Nan-tsung.

624 Pai Yu-ch' an was a noted Taoist priest who flourished in the reign of Emperor Ning-tsung 應聖 (reigned 1195-1224) of the Southern Sung. For his biography, see Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien, TT 148, 49/16b-18a; and Hsiao-yao-hsu ching, TT 1081, 2/36a-b. He had written a number of treatises and commentaries on Taoist classics, twelve of which can be found in the TT, nos. 50, 122(3), 127-9(3), 532, 592, 1016 (2), 1017.

625 For Ma-ku, see Note 100.

626 CSFCC, Fan-li, p.1b (7643).

627 Ibid.
implication is that the other two were completed after he had disentangled himself from the net of worldly things, but it is hardly likely that he could have carried out any literary activities after death. The term 'shen-yu' (miraculous excursions) is yet a device to camouflage this absurdity.

Ch'uan 6 confronts the reader with another example illustrating that the enumeration as given in the tsung-mu does not correspond with the text. According to the tsung-mu, this ch'uan should fall into two sections, namely, the T'ien-k'ou p'ien and the Heun-shih wen. However, all the twenty-nine prose pieces in the text are entered under the former heading, without the slightest trace of the latter. Of these twenty-nine works, the first twenty-five have the word 'p'ien' (essay) as part of their title, for instance, the 'Cheng-chiao p'ien' 正教篇 (An essay on the orthodox teaching), 'Ju-shu p'ien' 論著篇 (An essay on the Confucian classics), etc. As for the rest of the passages, all except the last carry the word 'wen' which also means 'essay' in the designation, the title 'Chieh-yin wen' 戒淫文 (To avoid fornication) being an example. The last work is entitled 'Ti-li shuo' 地理說 (Theory of geomancy). The first few passages are mostly devoted to discussion of the three teachings, while the others are merely general works discoursing on the philosophy of life, which coincide in spirit with those works of admonition which enjoyed wide currency such as the T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien 太上感應篇 (The T'ai-shang tractate of actions and their retributions) and Yin-chih wen 陰陽

628 The T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien, by unknown author, is composed in a lucid style and its purport is to elucidate the doctrine of retribution. Some scholars, for example, Hui Tung 惠棟 (1697-1758), in his commentary on the treatise, entitled T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien chien-chu 太上感應篇纂註, Tao-tsang chi-yao, 48, maintained that it was written by Ko Hung. Many commentaries have been written on this tractate, the one included in the TT 834-9, in thirty ch'uan, was commented by Li Ch'ang-ling 李長陵 (fl. 1233) and paraphrased by Cheng Ch'ing-chih 鄭清之 (1175-1251). Also, another commentary, entitled the T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien ch'i-chu 太上感應篇集註, one ch'uan, is found in the Tao-tsang chi-yao, 48. For English translation of this popular treatise, see, among others, James Legge, 'The Tai-shang Tractate of
(A treatise on the secret determination), the former being the most popular Taoist treatise on retribution. It is difficult to determine the authorship of these works, as no blatant blunders or obvious discrepancies in time and person can be detected in these grossly theoretical theses. Nevertheless, a short preface does shed much light on the authenticity of this chilan of exhortative essays. The following is the author's rendering of the meaning of the main heading T'ien-k'ou p'ien:

People in ancient times once said, 'The sage is the spokesman for Heaven'. I am not a sage, how can I speak on behalf of Providence? Now that the supreme deity on high, secretly determines [the blessings] of subjects below, [so] the blind is enlightened and the deaf be-stirred. [This happens] through the kind thought [of the supreme] to illuminate [the earth], and to exhort men to practise virtues and refrain from vices, and is [based on] the good motive [of Heaven] of bringing salvation to all. My tongue stammers and I am dull-witted, [but] I will not shirk [to speak]. All different kinds of people in the world, kindly listen to my words. Now I have composed a number of admonitory prose works and call them the T'ien-k'ou, in response to the good wishes of Pi-weng 貝翁 who has highly exalted me.630

This preface is signed with the name of Chang San-feng, who is here given an appellation 'Tung-hslian chen-jen' 洞玄真人, which merits

628 (contd)
Actions and their Retributions', in The Texts of Taoism, pp.235-46; also Suzuki Daisetsu 諏訪大次 and Paul Carus, T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien, Treatise of the Exalted One on Response and Retribution (Chicago, 1926).

629 Yin-chih wen is attributed to Wen-ch'ang ti-chün 文昌帝君, also known as Tzu-t'ung ti-chün 彌昌帝君. For the history of the work, see Sakai Tadao 酒井思夫, 'Inshitsu bun no asiritsu ni tsuite' 陰陽文の成立について, Toho Shūkyō, No.12 (1957), pp.1-15. A commentary on the work, entitled Wen-t'ieh yin-chih wen chü 文帝陰陽文註, is found in the Tao-t'ang chi-yao, 218. For English translation of this treatise, see Suzuki Daisetsu and Paul Carus, Yin Ch'üh wen, the Tract of the Quiet Way (Chicago, 1906). The god of Wen-ch'ang was originally a general called Chang Ya-tzu 張亞子 in the Chin 唐 dynasty. Later he was turned by Taoist priests into a god and he was canonized as Wen-ch'ang ti-chün during the Shao-hsi 賣熙 period (1190-1194) of the reign of Emperor Kuang-tsung 光宗 (reigned 1190-1194) of Southern Sung. The god was the Patron of State Examinations. For Taoist treatises related to this deity, cf. TT 27, 51, 73 and 74. Some of these works were products of planchette writing.

630 CSFC, 6/62a-b (7782).
attention. As far as can now be seen, this alias is not recorded in any of the accounts on San-feng written by Ming authors. Neither did Wang Hsi-ling mention it in his biographical account of the Taoist master. The earliest occurrence of this title is seen in the 'San-chiao ching' 三教經, a set of three scriptures purporting to syncretize the three teachings, which is found in chapter 7 of the present Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi. There is a strong possibility that these scriptures were composed by Li Hsi-yleh or one of his contemporaries, as will be elaborated in the latter part of this chapter. For the time being, it may be assumed that the foregoing pseudonym was invented and given to San-feng by Li Hsi-yleh or his fellow practitioners of Taoist observances who deeply venerated the master. If this is really the case, then all save one of the twenty-nine prose pieces in chapter 6 were fabricated by the very person who suggested the title 'Tung-hslian chen-jen', and most probably, this was Li Hsi-yleh himself, for he was chiefly responsible for revising this compendium and was at liberty to introduce any alterations or interpolations. The only passage that seems to have been written by a hand other than Li's is the 'Chieh-yin p'ien' 戒淫篇 (Admonition against immorality), for its concluding note suggests, 'This is an original work, which has been interpolated by Sun Nien-ch'ü of Ch'ang-chou into the Ch'üan-jen ohü-hu'. This note,

631 The titles of these three scriptures are: 1) 'Chüen san-chiao shang-sheng ling-miao ch'en-ching' 前三教上聖靈妙真經, in which the author uses the inscription, 'Tung-hslian Chang hsien-ch'ün' 洞玄張仙真, CSFCC, 7/11a (7800); 2) 'Chung san-chiao ta-sheng ling-ying ch'en-ching' 中三教大聖靈應真經, here the author is designated as 'Tung-hslian ch'üen-ch'ün Chang hsien-weng' 洞玄尊人張仙翁, ibid., p.17a (7803); 3) 'Hou san-chiao ta-sheng ling-t'üng ch'en-ching' 後三教大聖靈通真經, and here the appellation 'Tung-hslian ch'en-jen' appears, ibid., p.21b (7805).

632 This chüan has two essays that have more or less the same title, namely, 'Chieh-yin p'ien' 戒淫篇 and 'Chieh-yin wen' 戒淫文.

633 CSFCC, 6/82a (7732).
I presume, was added to the original text when Li Hsi-yüeh was revising the Chang San-feng ch'üan-ochi, and it suggests that the tract in question existed before the revised edition was published.

Ch'üan 7 is dominated by the Taoist scriptures, the titles of all of which appear in the taung-mu in short form, so it is appropriate to list their full names, which are as follows: 1) 'Tou-mu yüan-tsun chiu-huang chen-ching' 斗母元尊九皇真經 2) 'Ch'ien san-chiao shang-sheng ling-miao chen-ching'; 3) 'Chung san-chiao ta-sheng ling-ying chen-ching'; 4) 'Hou san-chiao ta-sheng ling-t'ung chen-ching'; 5) 'Tung-hsüan tu-jen pao-ch'an chu-t'ien wu-shang chen-ching' 天無上真經；6) 'P'u-t'i yüan-miao ching'; 7) 'Chung-chieh'. These scriptures are exclusive to the revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-ochi and cannot be found in Wang's unpublished version. In almost all cases, substantial evidence suggests that these scriptures, like most of the works in the collection, are apocryphal. The following is an individual investigation of the scriptures.

The first of the scriptures is the 'Tou-mu yüan-tsun chiu-huang chen-ching' which is alleged to be a sermon preached by the stellar deity Tou-mu yüan-tsun to San-feng when he was on the verge of being transformed into an immortal. The author describes this juncture as follows:

[Chang San-feng] worshipped the Dipper piously and waited for the adept [from Tou-mu] to ascend to heaven. [Seeing this], the kind-hearted Tou-mu was deeply moved... then she descended upon the altar where the immortal [Chang San-feng] was offering his veneration to the Dipper. She gathered colourful clouds, and let her throne hang high up in the air, and began to preach this 'Chiu-huang chen-ching'. Knocking and bowing his head, the immortal prostrated before the throne. 634

Another witness to the ceremony was the immortal Hsien-t'ien ch'un-yang shih fu-yu ti-chün 天純陽氏孚佑帝君 which in fact is the other designation of the popular Patriarch Li. 635 who was alleged to have

634 Ibid., 7/2b-3a (7795-6).
635 It is recorded in the Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yuan hsiang-ch'uan, TT 76, p.16a, that Patriarch Li was given the title 'Ch'un-yang yen-cheng.
Previously when I was expounding the 'Chan-hsing li-tou chang' to the adherents of the Han-san Monastery, I maintained that the order of the Dipper as transmitted from ancient times contains solely the rituals for worshipping, and is lacking in occult formulas. But now I read the 'Chiu-huang ching-tien' 经典 declared [as its predecessors] that the three vital forces (i.e., vital ch'i, vital spirit, and vital sperm 元気, 元神, 元精) manifested the supernatural powers of the primordial. As a successor to the other scriptures relating to the Wu-tou 五斗 (Five Dippers)637 preached by T'ai-shang (lao-chün) 太上老君,638 it reaches the same standard [as its predecessors]. If those advocates who are endowed with extraordinary qualities practise cultivation in line with this scripture, they will far excel ordinary people and attain immortality. If persons of mediocre talent assimilate it, they will also have their nature manifested and their mind brightened... 639

In this passage two discrepancies with regard to time are discernible. In the first place, the episode in which Patriarch Li was said to reveal himself to his many followers in the Han-san Monastery in Wuchang, is depicted in the collected poems attributed to Patriarch Li, the Ch'un-yang hsien-sheng shih-chi 绪陽先生詩集,640 but was alleged to have taken place

635 (contd)

The designation was later expanded to 'Ch'un-yang yen-cheng ching-hua fu-yu ti-chün' 續陽演正欽化孚育真君 by the Mongol Emperor Wu-tsung 武宗 (reigned 1308-1311).

636 This is an alias of Chang San-feng and is first seen in Wang Hsi-lîng's 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan', CSPCC, 1/4a (7651).

637 The scriptures relating to the Five Dippers can be found in the TT. For some of the treatises on the Pei-tou 北斗 or Northern Dipper, cf. TT 341(2), 527-9(3); Tung-tou 東斗 or Eastern Dipper, cf. TT 341; Chung-tou 中斗 or Central Dipper, cf. TT 341(2); Hsi-tou 西斗 or Western Dipper, cf. TT 341; Nan-tou 南斗 or Southern Dipper, cf. TT 341.

638 This is an honorific title bestowed on Lao-tzu by Emperor Chen-tsung 趙宗 (reigned 998-1022) of the Northern Sung dynasty. The full title is 'T'ai-shang lao-chün hun-yüan shang-te huang-ti' 太上老君混元上皇帝. It is mentioned in the Basic Annals of Emperor Chen-tsung, III, Sung-shih, 8/29; also appears in the 'Sung Chen-tsung yu-chih ch'ao-yeh t'ai-ch'ing-kung sung ping hou' 某真宗御製朝 清言䇿, which is included in Chia Shan-hsiang's Lu-lang shuan, TT 555, 6/13a.

639 CSPCC, 7/7b-8a (7799).

640 The episode is described in the preface, written by Huo Hsi-yüeh, to the 'Han-san tsa-yung ch'ien-chi', 韻三雜詠前輯, which is a
in the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty when the cult of Chang San-feng had already been current for more than three centuries. It is therefore impossible that the Taoist master had the foreknowledge to predict the occasion. Furthermore, the honorific title 'K'un-yang chen-chün' as mentioned in the foregoing passage, was a designation of Chang San-feng, created by his corps of enthusiastic adherents in the Ch'ing period. It was never seen before in any work attributed to or about San-feng, so it should not appear in a scripture which is alleged to be his work. Hence, it is clear that the 'Tou-mu yüan-tsün chiu-huang chen-ch'ing' is spurious.

A collective title, San-chiao ching, is given to the three scriptures that come directly after the 'Tou-mu yüan-tsün chiu-huang chen-ch'ing'. Its main theme is expounded in the explanatory note which acts as a prefix to the first piece in the set, 'Ch'ien san-chiao shang-sheng ling-miao chen-ch'ing', which commences with the following paragraph:

These three chen-ch'ing (scriptures) were composed after the style of the Huang-t'ing ch'ing, and their main purpose is to admonish the masses to venerate and worship the immortals and the sages, while the cultivation of the golden pill is also embodied in it. [We can] follow the teaching which is expressed openly or between the lines in the scriptures. Originally, I dared not utter a word, but since these were handed to me by the master (i.e. Chang San-feng) who ordered me to elucidate them, I retreated and commented on them...
The author of this annotation is not known. It might have been written by Li Hsi-yüeh or someone of his group. Here the author, in order to add weight to the scriptures, tries, once again, to resort to the favoured technique of attributing the works to the very hand of the patriarch whose cult was current in the Ming dynasty, but as is so often the case, his claim has the opposite effect, for the allegation is plainly ridiculous and betrays the authorship of these scriptures as unreliable.

In addition, these three scriptures which syncretize the three teachings are crammed with eulogistic descriptions of the power and feats of San-fung who is extolled to the skies. It is unlikely that San-fung would thus brag of his attainments. To cite a few examples, the 'Ch'ien san-chiao chung-sheng ling-miao chen-ching' states, 'At that time the immortal Chang [San-fung], alias Tung-hsüan 瞳玄, with a dragon carrying a brush [by his side], preached the chen-ching'; the 'Chung san-chiao ta-sheng ling-ying chen-ching' relates, 'The immortal Chang [San-fung], also known as Tung-hsüan chih-jen, descended from the vault of Heaven to transmit the efficacious scripture...'; while the 'Hou san-chiao ta-sheng ling-t'ung chen-ching' reads, 'Chang Hsüan-hsüan (i.e. Chang San-fung), who bears the title Tung-hsüan chen-jen, has been carrying along with him the scripture to promulgate to the world. Now he further expounds the treatises of the sages of the three religions (here the sages refer to Wen-ch'ang ti-chün of Confucianism, Bodhidharma of Buddhism, and Patriarch Li of the Taoist religion)...'). In like manner, the master was exalted throughout the scriptures which were most likely written by the adulator of

643 Ibid., p.11a (7800).
644 Ibid., p.17a (7803).
645 Ibid., p.21b (7805).
San-feng rather than by himself.

Traces of fabrication are even more obvious in the 'Tung-hsüan tu-jen pao-ch'an chu-t'ien wu-shang chen-ching', the fifth scripture in the section, which focuses on the excursions of Chang San-feng who brought salvation wherever he went and whenever necessary. Here San-feng is given another new designation, in addition to the title 'K'un-yang hsien-sheng' come across earlier, the 'Tung-hsüan ti-chün yü-hsü yü-hsiang ts'an-fa t'ien-shih'洞玄帝君玉虛右相參法天師.

Other persons are also mentioned in this work, such as Shen Wan-san and Wang Hsi-ling, and they are addressed by the author as chen-chün 真君 (immortal master) and chen-jen 真人 (immortal) respectively. 646 There are three discrepancies with regard to the appearance of these persons and their titles. First of all, as pointed out in previous discussion, 'K'un-yang' was the title given to San-feng by Wang Hsi-ling. 647 Thus it should not appear in the work of San-feng, who was active in the Ming dynasty. Secondly, Shen Wan-san, though generally regarded as the god of riches because of his notably great wealth, was not ranked as a chen-chün until late in the Tao-kuang period when Li Hsi-yüeh and his fellow advocates of Taoism considered him one of the patriarchs of the Yin-hsien sect, the very sect supported by Li and his confraternity. Thirdly and lastly, Wang Hsi-ling, an officer who served as Intendant in the early Ch'ing period, should not appear in the work of a Ming Taoist master. All these three points, therefore, suggest that this scripture was produced by someone, very possibly Li Hsi-yüeh, in the Ch'ing dynasty. At the end is an epilogue signed by Li who tries to explain the origin of the scripture.

646 Ibid., p.31b (7810).
647 See Note 636.
The following is the rendering of the whole passage:

This scripture, [its title shortened to] 'Tung-hsüan ching' 窮玄經, is the barque [which brings one] to salvation. What the scripture relates are the classical words of admonition [preached by] all the devas. My master [Chang] San-feng who preached according to this scripture, was able to manifest its abstruse meaning and reveal its subtle mystery, so he received [the title of] Tung-hsüan ti-chün 窮玄帝君. Therefore he expounded this 'Tung-hsüan chen-ching' 窮玄真經. [Whoever] has the opportunity of coming across this scripture, should treasure and respect it.648

Evidently this epilogue is a lie to cover another lie, for if the scripture was really written by San-feng then this short note which emphasizes the authenticity of the work is redundant and unnecessary. It is clear that every piece included in this compendium which bears the title Chang San-feng oh'uan-chi should be written by the author, unless Li was conscious that spurious elements occurred in the collection. Undoubtedly, here the compiler exposes in his own words the falsehood which he weaved.

The last but one scripture in the section is the 'P'u-ti yüan-miao ching' to which is appended an epilogue that gives the following information:

This scripture [which is entitled] 'P'u-ti [yüan-miao ching]' was obtained from the Buddhist monk Ju-chan of the Tz'u-ching 堆境 Monastery on Hsi-hu 西湖 ... Ju-chan kept it with great care for over twenty years. In the early years of the Tao-kuang period, he came to travel in Mount O-mei where he met our fellow advocates and got along very well with us. [On account of our compatible association], he showed us this scripture and remarked that there was a p'ü-ti 菩提 (i.e. Bodhi, which means perfect wisdom) in the Taoist religion and yet people were unaware of it. At that time such gentlemen as Messieurs Liu and Yang were collecting [material] to compile the complete works of [Chang Sun-Feng], and happened to acquire this scripture. So they recorded and preserved it with the greatest respect.649

The Mister Liu mentioned in this unsigned epilogue might either be Liu Cho-an or Liu Tun-yüan, because both of them participated in the compilation of the Chang San-feng oh'uan-chi. Mister Yang can be identified with Yang P'an-shan who was a contemporary of Li Hsi-yüeh and who was also a

648 CSFCC, 7/36b (7812).
649 Ibid., pp.45a-b (7814).
Taoist devotee and an enthusiastic practitioner of divination. As for Monk Ju-chan, the original owner of the scripture, he was, according to the Chang San-feng sk'uan-ch'i itself, the disciple of another noted monk and abbot of the Tz'u-chiang Monastery, Monk Yin-hsi. 651

It should be noted that the salient feature of this scripture is the predominance of Buddhist elements. It lacks the slightest Taoist appeal which would be expected to dominate a work supposed to be written by a foremost Taoist master. It is amazing that this scripture, although apparently Buddhist, should be treated as an intellectual product of San-feng. One reasonable explanation for this is that in the scripture Bodhidharma professes to have received the honorary title 'La-t'a ching-kuang fo' (The filthy Buddha of Tranquil Light). 652 On the other hand, in many of the biographical accounts of San-feng, he was described as unconcerned about his external appearance, so he was given the ordinary designation of 'Chang la-t'a' (Filthy Chang). Hence the two shared in common the description 'filthy' and perhaps this coincidence prompted Monk Ju-chan to merge the two different images into one. Thus San-feng was regarded as the writer of the scripture which in fact is a discourse on Buddhist doctrine. This, of course, is a grotesque blunder.

In the last of the seven scriptures, there is a short note printed in small type which follows the title. It is noteworthy because it includes the following remark, 'Adopted by the monasteries of the Yin-hsien sect'. 653 This suggests that the scripture entitled 'Chung-chieh' might

650 Some of his poems are included in the Yun-shui san-chi and he is also mentioned in the preface to the collected poems, see CSFCC, 5/37a-b (7769).

651 It is recorded in the same epilogue, p.40a (7814).

652 See CSFCC, 7/38b-39a (7813).

653 Ibid., p.42a (7815).
have been composed by adepts of the Yin-hsien sect and was widely used among its followers. As this sect was formally established under the name of San-feng by Li Hsi-yüeh and his group of friends, who venerated the noted Taoist master as their founder, this scripture was most likely also produced by them.

To recapitulate the discussion of the works in chüan 7, tangible proof from the scriptures combats the view that San-feng was their author. Furthermore, more than one argument can be adduced to maintain that Li Hsi-yüeh and his devoted comrades were responsible for drafting these scriptures which gained wide currency among those holding the same persuasion as they. It is therefore ascertainable that these works were entirely the very product of the Yin-hsien sect, and that they came into being after the establishment of this religious organization in the Tao-kuang period. Owing to the popularity of the cult of Chang San-feng who had captured the imagination of common people as well as Taoist adherents, the author or authors of these scriptures, which were used in conducting Taoist rites and practices in monasteries, had chosen to place them under the name of the notable figure, in order to add lustre to their works. Consequently, these manuals were included by the compiler in the complete works attributed to San-feng unintentionally or by design.

The Shui-shih hsien-t'an in the last chüan is a collection of random discourses and contains three parts, namely, 'Hsien-t'an' 閒談 (Random talks), 'Shih-t'an 詩談 (Talks on Taoist poems) and 'Chi-t'an' 乩談 (Talks on the practice of planchette writing). The contents of all three portions comply with their titles, as the first part, 'Hsien-t'an', carries notes dealing with topics of varied nature, while the second part, the 'Shih-t'an', as its title suggests, contains remarks on the style of the poems written by well-known Taoists ranging from as early as the T'ang dynasty to the latter part of the Ch'ing period. The last section, 'Chi-t'an', concentrates on the subject of planchette writing, a much favoured
practice among literati, especially those in the Tao-kuang period. A close look at each part gives enough evidence to prove that San-feng was not the author of this collection of discourses.

Throughout the section 'Hsien-t'an', mention is made of persons who lived in periods remote from that of San-feng. For example, there is a paragraph beginning, 'The master Chang said to Cho-an...'. It is quite clear that Master Chang here refers to San-feng, while Cho-an's full name is Liu Cho-an, the same benefactor who offered financial assistance to make the printing of the revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch'iao-chieh possible. Since he lived in the Tao-kung period, Liu could not have been acquainted with San-feng. Further examples of anachronism can be cited, as Cho-an is the central figure of another entry which reads, 'The master Chang went together with Yun-shih and Cho-an to ramble about the scattered mountains during the cold season of winter...'. Yun-shih cannot be identified on account of the meagre sources at hand. However, that he was a contemporary of Cho-an is clear. Needless to say, it is impossible that he had communication with San-feng.

Li Hsi-ylieh who played a key role in promoting the cult of San-feng among his fellow advocates comes on the scene again, his name being mentioned in one of the passages which runs:

[AAfter] Master Chang had roamed about the Yüeh-yün [Altar], he resided at the Yin-feng Hall, when he spoke to his followers, saying, 'Today the mountain is clear and quiet, and as my mind is free from worldly troubles, I have the feeling that the place is isolated. This is indeed a rare occasion. All of you please improvise new verses [to mark the occasion], and I shall ask Han-hsun-tzu (i.e. Li Hsi-ylieh) to play the [ch'in] and beat the drum to enhance the joy of chanting. Won't that be very pleasant?'

654 Ibid., 8/49a (7818).
655 Ibid., p.50a (7819).
656 Ibid., p.51a (7819).
Ytieh-ylin is the name of the altar set up by Li Hsi-ytieh and his group, and is referred to in the 'Hou san-chiao ta-sheng ling-t'ung chen-ching' which relates, 'Do not say that the immortals stay only in the Han-san [Monastery]. Nowadays [San-feng] has often descended upon the Ytieh-ylin Altar.' Ytieh-ylin is referred to in the tHou san-chiao t’eh-sheng ling-t'ung chen-ching which relates: 'Do not say that the immortals stay only in the Han-san [Monastery]. Nowadays [San-feng] has often descended upon the Ytieh-ylin Altar.' The same altar is also mentioned in the Yin-shui san-chi. Yin-feng Hall is another altar in which the sect of Li practised their Taoist rites. Most probably this was located in Lo-shan district, Szechwan. The Yin-shui san-chi makes allusion to this altar as well. All these venues of worship were set up in the Ch'ing dynasty.

Another person who flourished in Ch'ing times and who bore the name Li Yuan-yang is also cited in several entries which are rendered as follows:

Master Chang said to Yuan-yang-tzu...

Master Chang said, 'The Taoist interpretation of geomancy should conform to the principles of the cultivation of the golden pill, just as the area in which the I-yin shan-chuang, the residence of Yuan-yang-tzu, is located between two mountains.'

Master Chang chanted, 'The mountain is so quiet that it is congenial to talking about the supreme doctrine. The mind is so pure that I am particularly fond of the fragrance of the hot tea.' This is exactly the splendid view that lies before us. I have picked up these two lines by chance, and Yuan-yang completes the poem for me.'

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657 Ibid., 7/23b (7806).
658 In the Yin-shui san-chi, there are two poems entitled 'Ch'iu-wan chih Ytieh-ylin lou' (Arriving at the Ytieh-yun lou on one night in autumn) and 'Hsi[k] Kuang-yü lai Ytieh-ylin lou' (Glad that Li Kuang-yü has come to Ytieh-ylin lou). The 'Ytieh-ylin lou' mentioned in the titles is the place where the altar for worship was established. 'Ytieh' is used interchangeably with 'Ytieh' 憲. See CSFCC, 5/51b (7776) and 5/59a (7780) respectively.
659 The relevant poem in which the altar 'Yin-feng kuan' is mentioned is the 'Yuan-hsi hou i t'ung chu-tzu chi-t'ing Yin-feng kuan' 元/後一夕周語子集聽吟風館 (Gathering together with the disciples at the Yin-feng Hall on the night after the first full moon of the lunar year), CSFCC, 5/53b (7777).
660 CSFCC, 8/52b (7820).
661 Ibid.
662 Ibid.
Coming out from the region of Ch'ing-wei t'ien 天 (Heaven of purity and mystery), [the master] came to the distant mountains. Several of his disciples made tea from the spring water to entertain him. He said, 'Just for fun I now present the Hun-yuan-hsien-ch' u 仙曲 (Melody on the theme of primordiality) to Yuan-yang. Pupils please sing it for me, to add to the wealth of beautiful stories about the forests and springs.'

It is quite clear that the Yuan-yang and Yuan-yang-tzu mentioned in the above quotations is Li Yuan-yang, another fanatical advocate of Taoism who lived about the time of Li Hsi-yüeh.

The last of the above quotes is followed by a paragraph in which the names of some other figures are mentioned:

At that time, Li Shan-ch'iao 丘山樵 beat the chu 桹 (bamboo) to call the tortoise, and Yang, the retired scholar, played the ch' in to summon the phoenix, while Liu Yeh-jen 劉野人 struck together the clappers [which gave out a sound] that could stop the floating clouds, and they all sang for the master...

Further biographical information on Li Shan-ch'iao is lacking and his real name cannot be identified, but apparently he was a contemporary of Li Yuan-yang as he is mentioned in company with the latter. All in all, these people could not have been seen by San-feng who was active at least four centuries before. Obviously all the passages in which these persons of the Ch'ing period appear, were either obtained as a result of the shamanistic practice of magic writing, or, more simply, fabricated by someone such as Li Hsi-yüeh in the same way as his forgeries in the Yin-shui san-chi.

Once again, the characters appearing in the section 'Shih-t' an' disclose discrepancies in the dating. These figures include Ma-ku, Li Tung-pin, Ch'ing-i hsien-jen 清逸仙人 (i.e. Li Po 李白, 699-762), Shao Yung 稚翁 (alias Shao Yao-fu 郑俌夫, 1011-1077), and Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un (Ch'iu Ch'u-chi), to whom were attributed the poems entitled

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663 Ibid., p.53b (7820).
664 Ibid.
665 Shao Yung was a philosopher of Taoist bent who lived in the Northern Sung dynasty. For his biography, see Sung-shih, 427/1098-9.
'T'i Yüeh-yün t'an san chieh-chu’ 題嶽雲壇三絕句 (Three verses on the Yüeh-yün Altar), 'Ch'i-hsi yu Yüeh-yün hsien-yüan' 七夕遊嶽雲仙院 (A visit to the Yüeh-yün Altar on the seventh evening of the seventh month), 'Hsiu-hsi-chih chiang Shuang-ch'ing ko 修禊節降雙清閲 (Descending upon the Shuang-ch'ing ko at the Haifu-hsi festival in the third month of the year), 'Tseng Yüan-yang shan-jen' 聖圓陽山人 (Dedicated to Yüan-yang shan-jen), and 'Ch'ing-ch'iu kuo Yüeh-yün lou' 清秋過嶽雲樓 (Visiting Yüeh-yün lou at the Autumn Festival) respectively. All these noted Taoist leaders, philosophers and men of letters flourished before the Ming dynasty, but the altars described in the poems such as Yüeh-yün hsien-yüan, Yüeh-yün t'an, Yüeh-yün lou (all three refer to the same place), and Shuang-ch'ing ko 666 were established in the Ch'ing dynasty. Hence it is clear that these poems are spurious, and the critical notes dealing with these poems, which were attributed to San-feng, are also apocryphal, for both the poems and the notes were fabricated by Ch'ing writers.

This section also contains mention of some other popular figures in the Taoist religion to whom poems are attributed. For instance, Yü Fei-hsia, the granddaughter of Shen Wan-san and daughter of Yü Shih-she, is mentioned in the following entry:

The fairy Fei-hsia was the daughter of Yü Shih-she. She had taken the magic pill and ascended to heaven. She had once descended upon the Tzu-hsiang Monastery in Yunnan and left behind a poem [in the style of] chieh-chu with the inscription 'Fei-hsia' [on it]...667

Here the author is frank enough to admit that the immortal had descended upon their monastery, in other words, he concedes that the poem was produced during a performance of planchette writing, which means that it is not an

666 This is also the name of an altar. There are two poems in the Yun-ain san-chi which describes the appearance of Chang San-feng to his devotees in Shuang-ch'ing ko. The titles are: 'Shuang-ch'ing ko ho Jan-hsien yün-yün' 雙清閣和聖仙原韻 (To compose a poem in reply to that of Jan-hsien in Shuang-ch'ing-ko, using the same rhyme word), and 'Shuang-ch'ing ko t'ung Fei-hsien chien-chu hsien shih-wu hsien-yün' (To compose a poem jointly with Fei-hsien in Shuang-ch'ing ko, using only the rhyme words in the fifteenth hsien group), CSFCC, 5/40b (7771) and 5/47b (7774).

667 CSFCC, 8/59a (7823).
authentic work. Lu Hsi-hsing is another well-known Taoist figure who was said, in one of the entries in 'Shih-t'an', to have composed a verse on behalf of Pai-pai-tzu:

...Recently among our fellow followers there is one Pai-pai-tzu who has written a commentary on the Tao-te ching\textsuperscript{668} entitled the Tung-lai cheng-i 東來正義 , and [Lu] Ch'ien-hsay (i.e. Lu Hsi-hsing) writes an inscription [in the form of a poem] on his behalf\textsuperscript{669}

Pai-pai-tzu lived at about the same time as Li Hsi-yueh, so he could not have been in communication with Lu Hsi-hsing, a Taoist priest of the Ming dynasty. Moreover, Lu, who lived between 1529 and 1601, was active two centuries after San-feng, therefore it is equally improbable that the latter could have foreseen the existence of these persons and received their communication. This is a glaring error to place this obviously spurious work under the name of San-feng.

\textsuperscript{668} Tao-te ching by Lao-tzu is the principal classic in the thought of Taoism, and few ages have passed without producing some commentators on it. Among the numerous expositions, one of the best now extant is that by Wang Pi 王弼 (226-249), entitled the Lao-tzu chu 老子注 also known as Tao-te chen-ching chu 道德真經注 , TP 373, and is generally esteemed for its depth of thought and chasteness of diction. An earlier commentary on the Tao-te ching, which was written by Chang Tao-ling, the first Celestial Master, is called the Lao-tzu tao-ching hsiang-erh chu 老子道經想爾注 , two chuan. This commentary was found among the Tun-huang manuscripts. For the study and paraphrase of this commentary, see Jao Tsung-i 軍英, Lao-tzu hsiang-erh chu chiao-chien 老子想爾注校箋 (A study on Chang Tao-ling's Hsiang-er Commentary of Tao Te Ching)(Hong Kong, 1956). Moreover, three Chinese Emperors who were noted in history for their inclination towards Taoism had also produced commentaries on this Taoist classic, they are Emperors Hsuan-tsung of the T'ang, Hui-tsung of the Northern Sung and T'ai-tsu of the Ming. Their respective commentaries are found in TP 355, 359 and 354. For a comparative study of these commentaries written by the Emperors, see Liu Ts'ui-yen, 'Tao-tsangpen san-sheng chu Tao-te ching chih te-shih' 道藏本三説註道經之得失 , The Chung Chi Journal 東華學報, Vol.9 No.1 (Nov. 1968), pp. 1-9; 'Tao-tsangpen san-sheng chu Tao-te ching hui-chien' 道藏本三説註道經之得失 (A Comparative Study of the Three Imperial Commentaries on the Lao-tzu), so far two parts have been published in Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Vol. IV No. 2(1971), pp. 287-343, and Vol. V No. 1 (1972), pp.9-75. For the interpretations of the Tao-te ching in English language, see, among others, James Legge, 'The Tao Teh King', in The Texts of Lao-tsin, pp. 45-124; Arthur Waley, The Way and its power, A Study of the Tao Te Ching and its Place in Chinese Thought (London, 1956); John C.H. Wu, Lao Tzu (Tao Te Ching)(St. John's University Press, New York, 1961); and D.C. Lau, Lao Tzu (Tao Te Ching)(London, 1963).

\textsuperscript{669} CSPCC, 8/59a (7823).
The evidence gathered from the above passages should be strong enough to corroborate that the entire section 'Shih-t' an' is dubious. However, once again, the writer who fabricated this collection of notes dealing with Taoist poetry betrays his attempt to conceal the forged authorship by stating at the beginning of the section that all the poems included therein were collected by San-feng himself:

Master Chang said, '...I have often travelled with the immortals among the wilderness and roved amidst the fogs and mists. Whenever I saw the splendid lines composed by the immortals, I would bear them in mind and write them down to preserve them. They are included in such works as the Shui-shih hsien-t'an.'670 Of course, this statement is inconceivable and therefore unacceptable.

Similarly, the works in the last section, 'Chi-t' an', of shih 8 may be proved to be apocryphal. This section commences with a dialogue in which Chang San-feng was questioned about the practice of planchette writing:

Someone asked, 'The art of divination by writing on sand is but a trifling skill, yet there are so many who are fond of it, and so enthusiastically are the people talking about it. Whence did it really come? Is this method of divination reliable or not?' The master Chang answered, 'Formerly Hui-weng 胡Venta (i.e. Lü Tung-pin) tried to expose the mystery of this craft to various followers in the Han-san Monastery, but right until the end he could not complete [what he wanted] to say, so now I am going to expound it...671 Han-san Monastery is the place where the divining altar for worship of the Taoist immortals was located and was the venue where Patriarch Li was said to have descended many times in the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty. This place would not appear in the work if San-feng was really its author, and so it may be declared without doubt that this piece is spurious and that Li Hsi-yüeh and his group were responsible for its production. My assumption is based on the following grounds. Firstly, since other sections of the Shui-shih hsien-t'an contain traces of forged works created by Li and his

670 Ibid., pp.54a-h (7821).
671 Ibid., p.59b (7823).
companions, and this part which is also spurious is placed together with
the other doubtful works under a collective title, there is a strong
possibility that this was composed by the same person or persons. Secondly,
this section was not mentioned by Wang Hsi-ling, and apparently it was not
In other words, Wang played no part in the fabrication of the section.
Therefore there is good reason to regard Li or Li and his friends as the
most likely writer or writers of this part.

Last of all, there are the scriptures and amulets that are in the ts'e
6 of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi. This section is not cited in the tsung-
mu, but has an individual mu-lu 目錄 (table of contents) at the begin-
ning of this ts'e. According to the mu-lu, this ts'e is to be divided into
two ch'üan but it is not so in the text. Also, the titles appearing in the
table of contents do not always correspond with those in the text. The
following is a list of the full titles transcribed from the contents: 1)
'Wen-ch'ang ti-chün k'ai-hsin chou chu-shih' 文昌帝君開心咒詣
释, written by Chang Shih-lo 張世萼 2) 'Shou-cheng yüan-chi shen-huang
ching' 受正元鑒神光經, compiled by Wu Hai-yün 毛海雲 3)
'Chun-ti hsin-ching' 卯提心經, compiled by Wu Hai-yün; 4) 'Tou-
mu ta-fa-yü' 斗姥文法語; 5) 'Ta-pai shen-chou'大悲神咒,
copied by Wu Hai-yün.

At the beginning of the first amulet, there is a preface written by
Chang Shih-lo who says, 'Formerly there were no commentaries on this amulet.
Now I elaborate and paraphrase it...'. Nevertheless, three out of five of
the short incantations included in this spell, namely, 'Hsin-chou' 心咒,
'Tsung-ch'ih-chou' 總持咒 and 'Wu-chi chou' 無極咒 are not explained,

\[672\] Chun-t'í or Cundi is a vindictive form of Parvati, the wife of Shiva.
She is the 'Buddha-mother' (Po-mu 婆母) in many of the Tantric sutras.
For an account of the origin of Chun-t'í, see Liu Ts'un-yan, Buddhist

\[673\] CSFCC, ts'e 6 (hsii pi-chi 12), p.1b (27872).
while the other two, the 'K'ai-hsin fu' 開心符 and 'Tsung-ch'ih-fu' 總持符 are explained briefly. So what is claimed in the foreword does not in fact tally with the text. In view of this, this commentary on the incantation is treated as a work attributed to San-feng rather than one written by another author, albeit it is indicated that Chang Shih-lo was the commentator. Also, in this section, coming after the proper title and the preface is a variant title, 'Wen-ch'ang ti-ch'un k'ai-hsin shen-chou fu-lu' 文昌帝君開心神咒符錄, thus showing that the contents of this part are not systematically arranged. However, the core of my argument does not lie here.

Attention should be directed towards several points regarding this section. First and foremost, the table of contents of this particular ts'e, 'Ju-i pao-chu mu-lu' 如意寶珠目錄, is immediately followed by the general title Chang San-feng hsien-sheng ch'uan-chi. In the centre of each folio of the mu-lu, two titles, namely, San-feng ch'uan-chi and Ju-i pao-chu mu-lu, are engraved in more or less the same position with one coming after the other, separated by only a single space. For the rest of this section, the pan-hsin 扳心 (centre of the block) of each folio is inscribed with both the collective title San-feng ch'uan-chi and the title of each relevant chapter. This peculiar arrangement suggests that this ts'e is also called Ju-i pao-chu.

Another point that merits attention is that next to the title line of the second scripture, which bears the title 'Shou-cheng yuán-chi shen-kuang ching', is printed another title which is Chang San-feng hsien-sheng t'ie-chi 張三丰先生遺集, apparently suggesting that the scripture is included in the works of Chang San-feng published posthumously. Wu Hai-yün is clearly given as the compiler of this particular prayer, but the source from which this work was obtained is still a matter of doubt. Another two prayers, the 'Chun-t'ie hsin-ching' and 'Ta-pei shen-chou', which are closely related to Wu Hai-yün and are equally dubious in their derivation, do not
seem to have the faintest connection with San-feng at all, and these three scriptures and amulets appear to be foreign elements to this complete works.

Thirdly, in complete contrast to other ts' e of the Chang San-feng ch' uan-chi, the introductory inscription 'Li Hsi-yeh ch'ung-pien' which indicates that the present edition was revised by Li, and which is to be found in the first page of every ch' uan and section in the Chang San-feng ch' uan-chi, is absent here in this ts' e. The fourth noteworthy point is that some of the works in this section, for example, the 'Chun-t'i hsün-ch' ing' and the 'Ta-pe'i shen-chou' betray Buddhist belief and insight rather than Taoist inclination, a characteristic which is incompatible with the general tone of the entire collected works. In view of these controversial points, I suspect that this ts' e, in fact, does not belong to the revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch' uan-chi at all, but was inadvertently or deliberately appended to the present version by a later hand, most probably by the editors of the Tao-tsang chi-yao which includes the extant Chang San-feng ch' uan-chi engraved in 1906.

At the end of the 'Ta-pe'i shen-chou' there is an explanatory note by which the compiler attempts to elaborate the uses of the incantation:

...Whoever chants this amulet...[it] will be efficacious for anything sought, [he will] always have fine clothing and be replete with food. [He] will enlist the support of benefactors, whatever desired and asked for will be granted according to desire, and everything requested will be as sure as the echo of a sound. All will happen as one wants. This is really the ju-i chu. 

This is how the title of this ts' e, Ju-i pao-chu, was coined.

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674 Ibid., p.66a (7905).

675 In Taoist terminology the ju-i chu attributes to the cultivation of the pill, while in Buddhist texts this is explained as a pearl that can produce all treasures, clothing, food and can respond to every wish. It is mentioned in the sastra on the Greater Prajñā-pāramitā sūtra, 大智度論, ascribed to Nāgārjuna 龙树 and translated by Kimārajīva 喜金刚 in Tripiṭaka in Chinese 中華大藏經 (1309, Chi-sha 翰社 engraved ed., Taipei reprint, 1962-66, Vol.14), Ti-i-chi 第一部, p.10/11382 Chung.
CONCLUSION

My examination of evidence regarding Chang San-feng leads me to conclude that there is the possibility that Chang San-feng did exist, but that the Chang San-feng ch'Uan-chi, attributed to the Taoist, is spurious. The following is a résumé of my findings.

Part I is an examination of the biographical accounts of Chang San-feng. In it I show that the biography included in the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih is possibly the earliest extant and is somewhat more reliable than later records which abound in fabulous legendary accounts cloaking the true face of Chang San-feng in myth. Close analysis of the source material indicates that some of the claims made about Chang San-feng, such as his association with Liu Ping-chung, are unfounded. Moreover, the name of Chang San-feng appears in many local histories of different localities. It is my belief that compilers of these local gazetteers have attributed to San-feng the deeds of other persons, whose description resembled that of Chang San-feng generally found in earlier records. It is also possible that in some cases they were misled by impersonations of the famed Taoist.

I have made use of the biographical accounts of Chang San-feng and other source material to prove the possibility of the historical existence of Chang San-feng. The search for the Taoist by Emperor T'ai-tsu suggests that it was generally believed at the time that he existed, or at least that the Emperor was informed that such a Taoist figure was living as a recluse. The endeavours of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu to invite the Taoist to court are powerful evidence of his existence. Many Ming writers attributed the search for the eccentric Taoist to a political motive, explaining it as a pretext to veil the Emperor's actual search for the deposed Emperor Chien-wen. But, having scrutinized the material,
I argue that Emperor Ch'eng-ts'u was sincere in his search for the Taoist, and that it was a genuine motive in his dispatch of Hu Ying to tour around the empire, an expedition which took many years. The Emperor had special reasons for wishing to invite the Taoist Chang San-feng to court. Firstly, he wished to boost the worship of the Dark God which he adored piously. Secondly, there is a strong possibility that the Emperor, who suffered from chronic disease in his old age, was trying to acquire some extraordinary medicine from the popular Taoist in order to heal his sickness. Although both Emperors T'ai-tsu and Ch'eng-ts'u failed in their attempts to invite Chang San-feng to court, so many accounts of the search for the Taoist by the Emperors were written that it seems highly unlikely that Chang San-feng was merely an imaginary figure.

Not only is it possible to prove, almost without a shadow of doubt, that Chang San-feng did exist, but it can be deduced that Chang San-feng lived in the period between the Yen-yu reign (1314-1320) and 1419. Since it appears that the search for Chang San-feng grounded to a halt after 1419, there is reason to assume that in that year the Emperor was informed either that the Taoist had died or that he had retired from public life. As for his birth date, it is known that one of his disciples, Ch'iu Yuan-ch'ing, was born in 1327. Assuming that the master was older than the disciple, San-feng must have been born before 1327. It may also be assumed that he did not live longer than one hundred years old. Therefore calculating back from 1419, around which time he appears to have died, I postulate that he was born around the Yen-yu period.

There is a saying that Chang San-feng was a descendant of Chang Tao-ling, the first Celestial Master of the Han dynasty, but this is not attested by the biographies of the hereditary Celestial Masters, Han t'ien-shih shih-chia, and therefore should be viewed with reservation.
It has also been pointed out that in the Tao-kuang period a sect called the Yin-hsien or Yu-lung sect emerged. It was set up, under the name of Chang San-feng, by Li Hsi-yüeh and his like-minded friends. To enhance the prestige of their sect, Li Hsi-yüeh postulated a line of transmission of the sect, in which such Taoist masters as Lac-tzu, Yin Hsi, Ma-i, Ch'en T'uan and Huo-lung were claimed to be its remote patriarchs. However, an examination of the biographical accounts of these figures shows that this line of transmission contains serious chronological discrepancies and must therefore have been fabricated.

The theme of Part II of this thesis is a discussion of the authenticity of the Chang San-feng ch'ülan-chi. The extant edition of the complete works attributed to Chang San-feng was revised by Li Hsi-yüeh, working from an unpublished version edited by Wang Hsi-ling. A reconstructed table of contents of Wang's version based on information gathered from the extant Li edition is given.

The works in the sections Hsu, Hao, Chuan, Hsien-p'ai, Ch'ung-o, and Hsien-ch'i in chu-lan 1, the Ku-chin t'i-tseng, Yin-ch'ing, and Hui-ch'i in chu-lan 8, and the Wu-ken-chu ts'u chu-ch'ieh in ts'e 5 are clearly indicated as having been written by authors other than Chang San-feng and can therefore be dismissed from my argument regarding his works. In the remaining parts, I have brought to light many serious discrepancies which indicate that they are spurious works. I surmise that Wang Hsi-ling and Li Hsi-yüeh were responsible for a large proportion which in many cases were the products of planchette writing, while some other works were from the hand of an unknown author in the late Ming period, or were lifted from anonymous collections and attributed to Chang San-feng. The following are examples showing those discrepancies to be found in the works which betray the fact that they are forgeries.
Some of the works purporting to have been transmitted by the Taoist master in person are obviously spurious. For instance, the compiler claimed that some were written by Chang San-feng in the Ch'ing period, such as the *Yün-shui hou-chi* (*chüan* 5) which must either have been deliberately forged by Wang Hsi-ling himself or be a product of planchette writing. The *Yün-shui san-chi* (*chüan* 5) is also a transparent example of forgery since Li Hsi-yeleh claimed that it included works written by Chang San-feng during Ch'ing times. Since it is impossible that San-feng could still be alive in the Ch'ing period, all these works must be apocryphal. The same applies to the *San-feng hsien-sheng chi-shuo* in *chüan* 3.

The appearance of historical persons and the mention of historical facts also shed much light on the authorship of the works. For example, poems allude to communications between Chang San-feng and Li Tung-pin of the T'ang dynasty included in the *Yün-shui ch'ien-chi* (*chüan* 5) and some of the scriptures in *chüan* 7. Moreover, San-feng was said to have exchanged verses with some noted persons of the early Yuan period, such as Liu Ping-chung, Lien Hsi-hsien, Ch'iu Ch'u-chi and Chang Yu, but all these historical figures lived in periods remote from the lifetime of Chang, so it is impossible that they could have communication. Evidently all these poems included in the *Yün-shui ch'ien-chi* were fabricated.

The discrepancy becomes more obvious when Taoist priests, such as T'ao Chung-wen and Li Tzu-hsing, who flourished during the Chia-ching period, appear in some of the prose works in *chüan* 2 and poems in the *Yün-shui ch'ien-chi* attributed to San-feng who lived a century before. I have attributed these works to an author in the late Ming period, because Ch'ing writers rarely touched on happenings in Ming times. In some of the poems and discourses even the names of Ch'ing devotees appear, such as those in the *Yün-shui san-chi* and the *Shui-shih hsien-t'an* (*chüan* 8). Such discrepancies confirm that the works concerned are forgeries.
Moreover, the biographies (in 車 2) of the hermits who flourished in late Ming and Ch'ing periods are obviously not authentic works and might have been forged by Wang Hsi-ling, or Li Hsi-yüeh, or both. Furthermore, some figures in the works (in 琮 - 車 2) were said to have lived for six hundred years from the Yuan to Ch'ing period, which is of course preposterous.

Some of the works in the 車 - 車 sections in 車 2 and some poems in the 指 - 喜 2) are pervaded with a strong resentment against Emperor Ch'eng-tsu and sympathy for Emperor Chien-wen. It is very unlikely that San-feng could have written such works, as he was much favoured by the Emperor and it would be illogical for him thus to provoke the anger of the sovereign. Moreover, the literary inquisition imposed by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu on any writings concerning the reign of Emperor Chien-wen was severely enforced, so that circumstances would not allow Chang San-feng to produce works filled with such sentiment. Therefore, there is a strong possibility that these prose pieces and poems were composed by an unknown author in the late Ming period.

It can be detected that some of the works, like those in the 指 - 車 , are tinged with an anti-Taoist or non-Taoist coloration, which suggests that they could not have been written by a noted Taoist like Chang San-feng, nor have been fabricated by Wang Hsi-ling or Li Hsi-yüeh who were addicted to Taoist practices. I therefore attribute these works to the same unknown author in late Ming times who wrote the essays and poems mentioned above.

Some characters such as Shen Wan-san who originally had no connection with Chang San-feng, but were associated with him by his Ch'ing devotees, figure in the works in the 指 - 車 , helping to betray the false attribution and dating of these works.
Some terms were used only by Ch'ing advocates. For example, the
designations 'Tung-hsiian ch'en-jen' and 'K'un-yang ch'en-chün' were given
to San-feng by his Ch'ing devotees and should therefore not appear in
works actually written by the Taoist master of the Ming period. Such
a discrepancy is found in the T'ien-k'ou p'ien (ch'üan 6) and in the
scriptures in chüan 7. Moreover, the appellations 'ch'en-chhün' and 'ch'en-
jen' were also attributed to Shen Wan-san and Wang Hsi-ling respectively
by the Ch'ing devotees when they fabricated the relationship between San-
feng and Shen Wan-san. Once again, the appearance of these terms in the
scriptures in chüan 7 gives a clue to their authorship. Mention of the
names of the altars, such as 'Han-san', 'Yüeh-yün' and 'Yin-feng', which
were established in the Ch'ing dynasty, in the works in Shui-shih hsien-
t'an, serves to disclose the forgery of these works.

Lastly, it is also clear that some of the works were extracted
from the Li-t'ai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, an earlier compilation than
Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi, and were attributed to Chang San-feng. The
prose work entitled 'Shen Hsien-yang hsiao-chuan' in chüan 2 is a good
example. Other works by unknown or uncertain authors, for example,
works generally attributed to Lo Hung-hsien and Liao Fu-sheng, were also
put under the name of Chang San-feng and were included in the Hsüan-yao
p'ien. Actually, the complete works contain many complex foreign elements.
The inclusion of the Ju-i pao-chu (te'e 6), the component scriptures of
which probably have nothing to do with Chang San-feng, illustrates the
condition of the extant Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi.

In view of the many spurious works that can be found in the Chang
San-feng ch'üan-chi, I feel justified in concluding that the authorship
is doubtful.
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