Investigations into the Authenticity of the Chang San-Feng Ch’uan-Chi
The Complete Works of Chang San-feng
by Wong Shiu Hon
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However, I alone must be responsible for any errors or shortcomings in this paper.
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**Abbreviations**

- **CSFCC** - Chang San-feng ch’Uan-chi 張三省全集
- **MS** - Ming-shih 明史
- **TT** - Tao-tsang 道藏
1. INTRODUCTION

Chang San-feng was a Taoist master who had gained great fame in the early years of the Ming dynasty and was honoured by the Taoist inclined emperors T'ai-tsu (reigned 1368-1398), Ch'eng-tsu (reigned 1403-1424) and Ying-tsung (reigned 1436-1449, 1457-1464). 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.

In the study of such a historical figure 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 that 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


\[2\] My paper 'On the Cult of Chang San-feng', ibid., reflects the evolution of biography of Chang San-feng from one of the earliest extant records, which was written during the Hsuan-te reign (1426-1435), to its inclusion into the Ming-shih and reveals how legends concerning the figure were accumulated with the advance of time.
ch’san-chi attributed to Chang San-feng should occupy the most important place in the study of the hagiography of this eccentric Taoist. 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 paper 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.

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3 In all the biographical accounts of Chang San-feng, he was described as an eccentric with occult powers, '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 of rice, or a tou (i.e. pints and pecks) or he could manage with only one meal for several days, or he could go without food for several 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...' see MS 299/741.
II. THE COMPILATION OF THE CHANG SAN-FENG CH'UAN-CHI

The most common edition of the Chang San-feng ch'Uan-chi is the one included in the Tao-Tsang chi-yao, a collection of Taoist manuals compiled by Ho Lung-hsiang 賀龍驤 and P'eng Han-jan 彭瀚然 and published by the Erh-hsien 鈕飡 Monastery in Chengtu, Szechwan in 1906. This compendium of Taoist writings, also known as Ch'ung-K'an tao-tsang chi yao 重列道藏輯要, 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-chi 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 hsü' 錦定道藏全書總目序.

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4 This passage is included in the Tao-men i-ch'ien-ching tsung-mu 道門一切經緯總目, 2/1a-b (303), in Tao-tsang chi-yao, Ho Lung-hsiang and P'eng Han-jan ed. (Erh-hsien Monastery, Chengtu, 1906, Taipei reprint, 1971), v.1. In the Taipei reprint edition of the Tao-tsang chi-yao which is used throughout this paper, the publisher had added a serial page number to the original pagination. Here both numbers are cited, with the original page number followed immediately by the serial number within parenthesis.
I humbly read the *Tao-tsang ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* 道藏全書總目 promulgated by Sheng-tsu jen-huang-ti (i.e. Emperor Sheng-tsu 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'üan-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.

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 (1662-1722). 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-yan 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 probable that its compilation was not the work of P'eng or any contemporary of his.

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5 Ibid., p.1b.


The earliest extant edition of the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* is the one edited by Chiang Yü-p'u (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-tsang*, 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-tsang*). In the year 1906 the Erh-hsien monastery edition became available for circulation, and 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 Yü-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'üan-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-tsang* and there is no trace in this collection of any of the works attributed to Chang San-feng. With limited

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8 A biography of Chiang is found in the *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng ch'u-pin* 國朝耆獻類徵 初編 compiled by Li Huan 李桓 (1827–1891) (1890 ed., Taipei reprint, 1966), 94/35b–37a.


10 Ibid., pp.175–6; see also Liu, ibid., p.108.
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'uan-chi* was ever included in either of these versions. However, it is absolutely certain that the *Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi* included in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* was revised by Li Hsi-yüeh in the twenty-fourth year of the *Tao-kuang* period (1844) of the reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung (reigned 1821-1850), 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* 道藏精華錄, 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' 道藏輯要總目 and in the explanatory notes to the title, he gives the following account:

This book was compiled by the Vice-minister Chiang Yuan-t'ing 蕭元庭 (i.e. Chiang Yü-p'ú) during the Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶 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.

In the *Tsung-mu* 總目 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 柳 楊 sect, Wu Shou-yang 伍守陽 (ca. 1563 - ca. 1632), and annotated by his brother Wu Shou-hsü 伍守

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11 It is clearly indicated in the *chüan-shou* 卷首 of the *CSFCC* that the collected works were revised by Li Hsi-yüeh, see 1/1a (7647). Li's preface was dated 1844, so I postulate this as the year of completion, see hsü-yeh 附頁, p.5b (7643).


13 Wu and Liu Hua-yang 柳華陽 (fl. 1790) are generally accepted as the patriarchs of the Wu-Liu sect. Professor Liu Ts'un-yan has written a biographical account of Wu in his 'Wu Shou-yang, the Return of the Ethereal ch'i' which is not yet published.
虚, bearing the titles Hsien-fo ho-tsong yu-lu 仙佛合宗語錄, Wu chen-jen t'ien-hsien cheng-li chih-lun tseng-chu 伍真人天仙正理直論增註, and Wu chen-jen t'ien-hsien cheng-li ch'ien-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 contents under discussion. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Chang San-feng ch'uan-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'uan-chi is found in the section hsu pi-chi 續集, but no such section appears in this table of contents. It may therefore be asserted that the hsu pi-chi was interpolated for the first time in the current edition with the sole purpose of accommodating the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi. Further evidence in the table of contents sustains this assumption. In the list of titles, immediately following the entry Wu chen-jen lun tan-tao chiu-p'ien 伍真人論丹道九篇 placed in the pi-chi 畢集 6, is the
Chen-kao 真諦, twenty chüan, written by T'ao Hung-ch'ing 陶弘景 (452-536), the renowned Mao-shan 茅山 Taoist of the Liang 梁 Kingdom (502-557) during the Epoch of Division between North and South, which occupies the tzu-chi 箇集 1 and 2, while in the Erh-hsien Monastery edition the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi is inserted between the above two works, in the sections hsü pi-chi 7-12. 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'üan-chi was revised by Li Hsi-yueh 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-hsü-sheng 涵虛生 or Han-hsü-tzu 涵虛子. His preface to the revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-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

14 For the biography of T'ao, see Liang-shu 立書 (Erh-shiu-wu shih ed.) 51/73; also Nan-shih 南史 (Erh-shiu-wu shih ed.), 76/183. His biography can also be found in the TT, entitled Hua-yang T'ao Yin-chü chuan 華陽陰陽居傳, written by Chia Sung 賈昇; see TT 151; and his biographical account is also seen in Liu Ta-pin 劉大彬, Mao-shan chih 茅山志, TT 154, 10/13a; Hung ying-ming 洪應明, Hsiao-yao hsü-ching, TT 1081, 2/19b.

15 For a quick reference to the history of this sect., see Ch'en Kuo-fu 蔡其柔 Tso-tsang yün-liu k'ao 道藏源流考 (Chung-hua 中華, Peking, 1963), vol.2 pp.274-6; Sun K'o-k'uan 孫克範 Yüan-tai tao-chiao chih fa-ch'an 元代道教之發展 (Tunghai University 東海大學, Taichung, 1965), pp.75-155.

16 The revisor of the CSFCC signed, 'Revised by Ch'ang-i shan-jen Li Hsi-yueh' 長乙山人李西月重編, see 1/1a (7647), and the preface was written by 'Ch'ang-i shan-jen Han-hsü-sheng' 長乙人 涵虛生. It shows that Li Hsi-yueh was also called Ch'ang-i shan-jen and Han-hsü-sheng. His other alias Han-hsü-tzu can be found in the section Shui-shih hsien-t'an in the CSFCC, 8/51a (7819).
in the Hsi-p'ai (West sect) of the Taoist religion. This Hsi-p'ai is always contrasted with the Tung-p'ai (East sect) which has as its leader the distinguished Lu Hsi-hsing (1520-ca. 1601) 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 (secluded emptiness) and similarly Li bore an anonym Han-hsü (to embody emptiness). This might represent 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, alias P'in-ch'uan, a native of Lo-shan, district in Szechwan. What merits our attention is that he had a studio name Ch'ang-i shan-fang 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


18 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, which is why they are 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 tan-hsiu or self cultivation, regarding the cultivation of nature and life, while the latter advocates shuang-hsiu or dual cultivation (between male and female).

19 For biographical studies of Lu, see Liu Ts'un-yan, 'Lu Hsi-hsing: A Confucian scholar, Taoist priest and Buddhist devotee of the sixteenth century', Asiatische Studien, XVIII-XIX (Bern, 1966), pp. 115-42; and 'Lu Hsi-hsing and his Commentaries on the Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i', The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, New Series, Vol.7 No.1 (Taipei, 1968), pp.71-98. These two articles have also been included in Liu's Selected papers from the Hall of Harmonious Wind (Brill, Leiden, 1976), pp.175-231.

20 There is a short biographical note on Li in the section Ku-chin t'i-tseng in CSFCC, 8/73a (7830).
admiration for the Taoist Chang San-feng is included in the *Chang San-feng ch'üan-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.

Besides Li Hsi-yüeh, two other persons contributed to the compilation and publication of the collected works of Chang San-feng. The prefices to the *Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi* state that they are Tun-yüan ch'u-shih 邂園居士 and Liu Cho-an 劉卓庵, their real names being incapable of verification.

The preface by Li Chia-hsiu 李迦秀 presents the following information:

Ch'ang-i shan-jen and Tun-yüan ch'u-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 汪天, the sixth descent to the line of [Wang] Meng-chiu (i.e., Wang Hsi-ling 汪錫齡, to be discussed later). Seventy to eighty percent of the total work is extant, and to make
them complete [Ch'ang-i and Tun-yüan] collected material from other works and [added them to Wang's edition]....24

In his own preface, Li Hsi-yüeh 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 張三丰先生全集] which he supplemented with additional material and published for transmission.25

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 probable that all the honours were attributed to Li Hsi-yüeh, while the others remained obscure, 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 董承熙,26 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 三丰全集, which was in the possession of the late Mister Wang Meng-chiu, a Kuan-ch'a 觀察 (Intendant) of Chien-nan [Circuit] 劍南 [道] (Szechwan)......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.27

24 CSFCC, hsü-yeh, pp. 4a-b (7642).
25 Ibid., p. 5b (7643).
26 Tung, whose biography can be found in CSFCC, 8/69b (7828), became a chin-shih in 1817. His name appears in the list of chin-shih, but 'Hsi' 翻 reads 'Hsi' 翻, see Tseng-chiao Ch'ing-ch'ao chin-shih t'i-ming pei-lu, p.147.
27 CSFCC, hsü-yeh, p.3a (7642).
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'üan-chi. Apart from the works written by Wang himself, such as the 'San-feng tsu-shih ch'üan-chi hsü' (San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan), 'Ts'ang-shui chu chi' (Record of a hidden life), and his two forewords to the Yün-shui ch'ien-chi (Enlightenment before the rain) and Yün-shui hou-chi 'X 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 chüan' (the biography of Wang Hsi-ling), by Ts'ang-yai chü-shih, and 'Tu Wang Meng-chiu' (On the conversion of Wang Hsi-ling), probably from the hand of Li Hsi-yüeh. 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.

28 His name appears in the 1816 edition of the Ssu-ch'uan t'ung-chih in the section 'Officials' under the column 'Kuan-ch'a', the entry reads, Wang Hsi-ling, a Chien-sheng (national university student) from Chiang-tu, Jiangsu. He was appointed [a Kuan-ch'a] in the fifty-fifth year of the Kang-hsi period (1716). See Ssu-ch'uan t'ung-chih, compiled by Yang Fang-ts'an (1754-1816) and others (1816 ed., Taipei reprint, 1967), 103/24a.

29 See CSFCC, hsü-yeh, pp.1a-b (7641); 1/8a-11b (7650-2); 1/43a-b (7668); 5/1a (7751); and 5/12a (7757) respectively.

30 Ibid., 1/17a (7665).

31 Ibid., pp.41b-43a (7667-8).
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 (reigned 1723-1735) was the sovereign. In his 'Ts'ang-shui-chü chi', Wang gives a short description of himself:

My name is Hsi-ling, tzu Meng-chiu and hao Yuan-t'ung. Originally a native of Mount Shui-ch'ieh in She-hsien, [the chief district of the subprefecture of] Hui-chou, Chiang-nan (present south Anhwei), 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 Kuan-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 enmeshed 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'Uan-chi, he gives a vivid description of their encounter:

The date of his birth is mentioned in Ts'ang-yai ch'Uan-chih's 'Wang Hsi-ling chuan': '[Wang] was born at the shen hour (i.e. about 4 p.m.) on the eighteenth day of the tenth month in the third year of K'ang-hsi (1664)', see note 30. 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 hour (i.e. from 1 to 3 a.m.) on the seventh day of the second month of the second year of Yung-cheng (1724)', see Note 31.

CSFCC, 1/43a (7668).
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...34

His association with Chang San-feng is treated in greater detail in his account of the Taoist master, 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan'.35 Again, in his preface to the Yün-shui hou-ch'i, Wang recounts his affiliation with the master, Chang San-feng:

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...36

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)...37

Furthermore, in the section Hsien-ch'i 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-yüeh, presents a narrative that brings Chang San-feng, Wang Hsi-ling and another character by the name of Shen Wan-san into the scene:

34 Ibid., hsü-yeh, pp. 1a-b (7641).
35 Ibid., 1/11a-b (7652). Translation of the passage is as follows; '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 to the Master for a long while and am able to have a good knowledge of his origin...'
36 Ibid., 5/12a (7757).
37 'Wang Hsi-ling chuan', see Note 30.
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 grain, 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 that he had attained the Way and become 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 the same as in those days when he was alive, wearing his moustache and beard gracefully as before.

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 or planchette writing. The performance of this occult practice, during which the planchette is held 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. It became a vogue in the Ming and Ch'ing periods, especially among the literati. At that time the practice was exploited for many purposes, namely to enquire about one's fortune or as often as not to ask about the examination paper and results 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 with the help of the spirits through this practice. It was

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39 The late Professor Hsü Ti-shan 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* 斐地信信底研究 (Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1941), which has become a pioneering work on the topic. According to Professor Hsü, the first mention of the practice in extant records is found in Liu Ching-shu's *I-yüan* 易苑 (Chin-tai pi-shu 漳遠秘書 ed.), 5/5b-6a. It relates that a female immortal Tzu-ku shen 諸姑神 was invoked to the practice. For a review of Hsü's work, see Liu Ts'un-yan 'Hsü Ti-shan chu Fu-chi mi-hsin yen-chiu' 諸地信信底研究, *Ta-feng* 太風 93 (Hong Kong, July 1941), pp. 3141-3.

40 In many miscellaneous notes written by Ming and Ch'ing writers, such as Lang Ying's *Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao* 利部稿, Yuan Mei's *Tzu-pu-yü* 率部語 (1716-1798), T'ang Ya-t'ing 衛見 (1724-1805) *Yüeh-wei ts'ao-t'ang pi-chi* 閩徽草堂筆記, etc., there is mention of this popular practice.

41 Ch'en Ch'i-yüan 陳基元 (b.1812) recorded in his *Yung-hsien-chai pi-chi* 永賢齋筆記 (Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan 笔記小說大觀 ed.) that T'ang Ya-t'ing, a magistrate of Tz'u-ch'i 託奇, Chekiang, would consult the spirits through planchette writing whenever he had to make any decision on the administration of the district, see 2/8b.
said that even the celebrated Tseng Kuo-fan 曾國藩 (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.

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 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 claims that he is the reincarnation of Shen Wan-san, he is 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 falling into disfavour with the 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

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42 For the biography of Tseng, see Ch'ing-shih kao 清史稿, compiled by Chao Erh-hsun 趙爾巽 (1844-1927) and others (Peking, 1927), 411/1-7; see also Tseng's biography written by Teng Ssu-yū 鄧嗣禹, in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, pp. 751-6.

43 Hsueh Fu-ch'eng 謝福成 (1838-1894) recounts in his Yung-an pi-chi 永安筆記 that Tseng, despite his disbelief in 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 安河, Anhwei (in 1858). See Yung-an pi-chi (Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan ed.), 6/3b-4a.
Yunnan. It is of course 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.

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'uan-chi. The meagre sources do not shed much light on the original contents of Wang's version completed in 1723, but 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'uan-chi, Wang made the following statement:

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 吳興 (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. [For 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, woes betide them. Why does 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 翁炯 (fl. 1399-1403) 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 Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao, (Chung-hua, Peking, 1959) 8/126. For recent studies on this figure, see, among others, Huang Chih-kang, 'Shen Wan-san ch'uan-shuo k'ao', The Eastern Miscellany 東方雜誌, Vol. 32 No.1 (Shanghai, Jan. 1935), pp.91-7.

Wang's preface to the CSECC was dated 1723, see hsü-yeh, p.2a (7641).
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 recorded thirty-odd entries about the revelations of the patriarch in
order to preserve them.46

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 chang 章, and the entire
Chieh-yao p'ien 捷要篇 (On the prompt principles) consisting of two
chüan.47 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 Yün-shui ch'ien-chi, he recalled:

Yün-shui ch'ien-chi was written by Master San-feng in the interim period
between the Yuan 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...48

According to the following remark in his own preface to the Yün-shui hou-chi,
the work was imparted to him by the master himself, as he wrote:

Yün-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 [Yün-shui] ch'ien-chi, as a record of the vestiges of
the master, which will reveal the splendour and mystery of my master.49

Apart from Wang's own claims, the accounts of others illustrate the part
played by him in bringing about the completion of the first version of the
Chang San-feng ch'üan-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 Hsüan-yao p'ien 玄要篇 and wrote the 'San-
feng pen-chüan' 三丰本傳, Hsien-chi and other works which are

46 CSFCC, hsü-yeh, p.1b (7641)
47 Ibid., 1/11a (7652).
48 Ibid., 5/1a (7751).
49 Ibid., p12a (7757)
Secondly, Li Hsi-yüeh who revised the Chang San-feng ch'üan-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 Yün-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). 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-chih from Chang San-feng. 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 (Editorial notes) of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi are mentioned the Ta-tao lun (On the Great Way), Hsüan-chi chih-chiang (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'üan-chi emerges:

1. Works on the cultivation of the pill: i) Tan-ching, two chüan (probably identical with the Ta-tao lun and Hsüan-chi chih-chiang) ii) 'Tan-ching pi-chüeh', one chang. iii) Chin-tan yao-chih

50 Same as Note 30.
51 Ibid., 1/22a-b (7657).
52 Ibid., p.42a (7667); cf. Note 31.
53 Ibid., Fan-li, p.2a (7644).
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 节要篇)

3. Prose works: contents unknown.
4. Biography: i) 'San-feng pen-chüan'
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 the Tan-ching in two chüan and other poems and discourses ascribed to Chang San-feng. Wang's preface to the Chang San-feng ch'ü-an-chi contains a passage depicting the meeting between Wang and the master which has bearing on this question:

In the preface attributed to Chang San-feng to Hsüan-yao p'ien, there is a passage reading, 'I, [Chang] Hsuan-su 張玄素 (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 tz'u 詩 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 sections of this paper. It is indicated elsewhere in the CSFCC that the Chieh-yao p'ien 節要篇 is the same as the Hsüan-yao p'ien 玄要篇 or Chieh-yao p'ien 節要篇. For instance, an entry in the Fan-li reads, 'The list of Taoist books in the section Wen-han 文翰 of the Ming-shih (actually there is no such section in MS, possibly the compiler refers to the I-wen chih 漢志或 bibliographical section) includes the master's Chin-tan chih-chih 偈并真訣 one chüan and Chin-tan pi-chüeh 偈並真訣 one chüan, which are equivalent to the extant Ta-tao lun, Hsüan-chi chih-chiang and Hsüan-yao p'ien. [Hsüan-yao p'ien] is also called Chieh-yao(p'ien) 節要篇 or Chieh-yao p'ien 節要篇. All these titles are mentioned in the Shen-hsien t'ung-chien 神仙通鑑. [As these works have variant titles, I name them according to Wang's version which was collated by the master himself, and make no further alterations'. Fan-li, p.2a (7644).
I, Hsi-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 Ōin-shan (Szechwan) where I can travel along with An-ch'i and Hsien-men. Formerly I served as an official in Chien-nan and later was transferred to a post in the district of Yung-pei (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 (Szechwan)! I then retreated and pondered and began to apprehend the truth...So I took the Tan-ching, two ch'üan, 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].'

As was pointed out before, the only reasonable explanation for Wang's alleged rendezvous is that he was able through the practice of planchette 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'üan-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-chüeh' and Chin-tan yao chih (in category 1) were also transmitted to Wang from the hand of the

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55 An-ch'i and Hsien-men are the surnames of two immortals. Hsien-men was said to flourish in the Ch'in dynasty (221-207 B.C.). Emperor Shih-huang (reigned 221-210 B.C.) sent an expedition led by Lu-sheng to seek the immortal. See Ssu-ma Ch'ien (145-86 B.C.) Shih-chi (Erh-shih-wu shih ed.), Basic annals of Emperor Shih-huang, 6/25. An-ch'i, also known as An-ch'i-sheng or Ch'ien-sui-kung, was alleged to reveal himself in the Han dynasty when Emperor Wu-ti (reigned 140-87 B.C.) also tried to search for him but in vain. See Basic Annals of Emperor Wu-ti, Shih-chi, 12/43.

56 CSFCC, hsü-yeh, pp. 1a-b (7641).
eccentric Taoist, Chang San-feng. 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 Yün-shui hou-chi, Wang Hsi-ling states 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 Yün-shui hou-chi attributed to Chang San-feng originated, according to the words of Wang. 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 Yün-shui hou-chi is dubious. It was probably made up by Wang himself. However, at least here he is candid in his presentation, as he explicitly discloses his ingenious explanation of how these poems were composed. Not so when he remarks on the composition of the Yün-shui ch'ien-chi, the preceding 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:

Yün-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 胡廣 (1370-1418) during the Yung-lo 永樂 era, and only a few copies were circulated outside. When an imperial decree was issued to seek for Taoist books during the Chia-ching 景 頤 period, the same work was extracted from the Ta-tien published for wide circulation, and promulgated for distribution among [such people] as the Kuo-shih 郎師 (Instructor of the state) etc. [I], 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.

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57 See Notes 47 and 52.
58 Cf. the passage quoted in p. 19 (Note 49).
59 CSFCC, 5/1a (7751).
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. 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 encyclopaedia, which was compiled during the years 1403-1408, was not accessible to ordinary scholar-officials. Not until 1773 when Emperor Kao-tsung (reigned 1736-1795) of the Ch’ing dynasty ordered the establishment of the Ssu-k’u ch’uan-shu kuan (the Office for the Compilation of the Ssu-k’u ch’uan-shu) and launched the massive 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 chüan 2,422 were lost during the many years of confusion and chaos at the fall of the

60 For discussion on the dates of the life of Chang San-feng, see my paper 'On the Cult of Chang San-feng'. In this paper I have deduced that Chang San-feng lived approximately between the Yen-yu period (1314-1320) and the seventeenth year of Yung-lo (1419).
Ming dynasty. Wang Hsi-ling lived in the period between 1664 and 1724, and, being a low 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 encyclopaedia, the Yung-lo ta-tien mu-lu 永樂大典目錄 in sixty chüan, which is arranged according to a rhyme scheme, there are no traces of works attributed to Chang San-feng. Therefore, Wang Hsi-ling was probably mistaken in his assertion. The passage quoted above also makes 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 世宗 (reigned 1522-1566) who was under the influence of

61 When first completed the Yung-lo ta-tien was to contain 22,877 chüan in 12,000 ts'e. The Cheng-pen 正本 (original copy) was first housed in Peking and was transcribed into two fu-pen 副本 (duplicate copies) in 1567. Then the original copy was transferred to Nanking, the first duplicate copy was kept in Wen-yüan ko 文淵閣 (Palace Library) and the second in Huang-shih-ch'eng 皇史宬 (Imperial History archives). The original copy was completely destroyed during the turbulent years at the end of the Ming dynasty. As for the duplicate copies, the first was transferred to the Ch'ien-ch'ing Palace 乾清宮 by the order of Emperor Shih-tsu 世祖 (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 Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu 學術叢書 during the Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 (1736-1795) period. But then, of the whole, 2,422 chüan were lost. Again, many volumes were dispersed after the 1911 revolution, and there are now only about 200 ts'e extant. Among numerous studies on the history of the Yung-lo ta-tien, see Kuo Po-kung 郭伯恭, Yung-lo ta-tien k'ao 永樂大典考 (Taipei reprint, 1962), especially the part on the discussion of the condition of the Yung-lo ta-tien in the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty, pp. 121-5.

62 In fact he might have derived this idea from the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien 历代神仙通鑑, orally transmitted by Hu Kiang 徐道 (fl. 1700) and collated by Chang Chi-tsung 張繼宗 (fl. 1700) and Huang Chang-lun 黃長鸞 (fl. 1700), (Sheng-sheng kuan 生生館 wood block ed.), which states that Hu Kiang had submitted some of Chang San-feng's works to Emperor Ch'eng-tsu. See 22/3/3b. Wang Hsi-ling was possibly prompted by this passage to assume that those works were also included in the comprehensive Yung-lo ta-tien.
many Taoist priests such as T'ao Chung-wen 陶仲文 (d.1560). 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'. 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 Yung-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-ch'i. In a passage entitled 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan', ascribed to Lu Hsi-hsing, in the current edition of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi, Hua-ku was alleged to be the sixth generation descendant of Chang San-feng:

Hua-ku tao-jen 花谷道人, the descendant to the sixth line of [Chang San-feng] and the grandson of Chang Ming-luan 張鳴鵲, is one of my (the author's) 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. [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 鳳詔 (patents) and one han 款 (wrapper) of Tan-ch'üeh 丹訣. He ordered [Hua-ku] to preserve these works with great care.

The poems, which Chang wrote 'in memory of his roaming life', cited in the quotation above, refer to the Yün-shui ch'ien-ch'i. On comparing Wang Hsi-ling's preface to the Yün-shui ch'ien-ch'i and the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan', a striking discrepancy appears. In the latter it is remarked that when

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64 MS, 18/34.

65 CSFCC, 1/6b-7a. (7649-50).
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 (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 previously published.

However, Wang Hsi-ling claims that the Yün-shui ch'ien-chi contained in the collection of Hua-ku, was extracted from the all-comprehensive encyclopaedia, 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-chi 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 have known of the circulated edition. In that case, Lu would not have displayed such amazement and raptures when relating the meeting between Chang San-feng and his descendant during which the master was said to have left some of his works.

66 Ibid., p.6b (7649).
Therefore it is unlikely that a printed version of the *Yün-shui ch'ien-chi* 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, since insufficient information is available to verify his relationship to Chang San-feng. Furthermore, the authorship of the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan' is also doubtful.\(^{67}\) If this biography of Chang San-feng is spurious, which is very possible, it serves to strengthen the assumption that the *Yün-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 *Hsüan-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 *Yün-shui ch'ien-chi* and *Yün-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.\(^{68}\) 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-hsien t'ung-chien* (preface 1700) contains the following paragraph:

The minister Hu Kuang remarked that Chang San-feng did really possess the [uncanny] techniques of a Taoist and was supreme in his magic power. [Hu then] recorded [some of the master's works] such as 誼 (should read as

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\(^{67}\) This passage is said to be included in the *Huai-hai tsa-chi* 淮海雜, also attributed to Lu Hsi-hsing. However, it is not mentioned in sources relating to Lu that he had ever written such a book, nor is it cited in any available bibliographies.

\(^{68}\) See Note 47.
ch'ieh 捷 ) yao-p'ien and Wu-ken-shu (The rootless tree) in twenty-four chih 育 (should read as shou 育), 'Chin-i huan-tan ko' 金 涓 遨 天 歌 , 'Ta-tao ko' 大道 歌 , 'Lien-ch'ien ko' 鏖 阮 歌 , 'Ti-yüan chien hsien liao-tao ko' 地 元 仙 了 道 歌 'Ti li-ch'un yüan' 職 翎 春 寶 in two chüeh 楠 (stanzas), 'Ch'ing-hua shih' 環 花 詩 , 'Ch'ing-yang kung liu-t'i' 青 陽 看 留 题 , etc., which he forwarded to His Majesty (i.e. Emperor Ch'eng-tsu) for perusal... 

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 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 chüeh, 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 訳 (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', 'Ch'ing-hua shih', 'Li-ch'un yüan' two chüeh, 'Ch'ing-yang kung liu-t'i', 'Chin-i huan-tan ko', 'Chien-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.

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 This may serve as further proof to support the view that Wang exploited the account in this collection of biographies of

69 Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, 22/3/3b.
70 See Note 45.
71 CSFCC, 1/22b (7657).
72 It is not known where the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien obtained the information that some of Chang San-feng's works were submitted to Emperor Ch'eng-ts'ui. This statement is not substantiated by the Biography of Hu Kuang in MS, 147/3392.
Taoist figures as the basis for his fabrication. Meanwhile, these various works are included in the *Hsüan-yao p‘ien*, which is equivalent to *Chieh-yao p‘ien* in the extant *Chang San-feng ch‘üan-chi* revised by Li Hsi-yüeh. Since Li claimed that he tried to preserve the original order of Wang’s version, it was most likely already so arranged.

The foregoing is an attempt to sketch how the *Chang San-feng ch‘üan-chi* looked when it was first compiled by Wang Hsi-ling, as based on the information gleaned from his works and from those of later authors such as Li Hsi-yüeh. 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‘üan-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‘üan-chi* says:

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73 See note 54.

74 Several examples can be found in the *Hsüan-yao p‘ien* to illustrate that Li Hsi-yüeh used 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 bear the title ‘Chin-tan nei-wai huo-hou tsung-lun’...’ I always think that it is wrong. After I have procured the version kept by the immortal Wang [Hsi-ling], I realized [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)
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.\footnote{CSFCC, hsü-yeh, p. 4a (7642).}

So what Li Hsi-yüeh 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'üan-ch'i.

Apart from Wang's and Li's editions, 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 Hsiüan-yao p'ien existed in several editions other than that of Wang which was so much praised by Li Hsi-yüeh:

The other versions [of this work] (i.e. Hsiüan-yao p'ien) circulating outside lately are indiscriminately arranged. For instance, the one engraved by Chang Ling-ch'i and Teng Ling-mi at Hsiang-yün tung-t'ien in Wu-chen [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. [The contents of this edition are so poor, because [Chang and Teng who engraved it] had not seen this [Chang San-feng] ch'üan-ch'i. Some of the ordinary hand-copied volumes [of the Hsiüan-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 Lü 蘭 (i.e. Lü Tung-pin 蘭洞真 76) interpolated in them. 77

It is clear that the printed edition and the hand-copied volumes of the Hsuan-yao p'ien as referred to in the above quoted passage existed before the time when Li Hsi-yüeh took up the task of revising the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chí and that he had made 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. 78 As for the engraved edition of Chang and Teng, which was referred

76 Lü, whose real name was Lü Yen 蘭殷 was one of the popular eight immortals in Chinese mythology. He was probably an historical figure who flourished in the T'ang period. According to Lo Hsiang-lin 羅香林, Lü might have been born during the Ch'ang-ching 長慶 period (821-824) of the reign of Emperor Mu-tsung 慕宗 (reigned 821-824) of the T'ang dynasty. See Lo, T'ang Yuan erh-tai chih ching-chiao 唐元二代之景教 (Chung-kuo hsüeh-sha 中國學社, Hong Kong, 1966), pp. 141-2. Lü was transmuted into an immortal by writers of popular fiction. For an account of the miraculous deeds attributed to Lü, see Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟 (fl.1590), Shao-shih-shan-fang pi-ts'ung少史山房筆叢 (Chung-hua, Peking, 1964), pp.607-8. For studies of Lü, see Saeki Yoshioro 佐伯好郎, 'Roso Zenano kō (The Complete works of Lü Yen), Tōhō Gakuhō 東方學報 No.5 (Tokyo, 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 Asiatic Society, 58 (Shanghai, 1927), pp. 157-71. Cf. also Saeki, 'Tai shin ji no shozashichi ni tsuite' 太秦寺の所在地に就いて (the identification of old sites of the four Nestorian temples), Tōhō Gakuhō, No.3 (Dec.1932), pp. 135-9; The Nestorian documents and relics in China (Maruzen, Tokyo, 1951), pp. 398-401; Keikyō no kenkyū 景教の研究 (Tōhō Bunka Gakujin, Tōkyō Kenkyūsho, Tokyo, 1935), pp.720-1; Hsiang Ta 何達, 'T'ang-tai Ch'ang-an yü Hsi-yü wen-ming 唐代長安與西域文明 (Chung-hua, Peking, 1957), p.116; Lo, op. cit., pp.135-52; For a study of the eight immortals, see P'u Chiang-ch'ing, 'Pa-hsien k'ao' , The Tsing-hua Journal, Vol.11 No.1 (Peking, 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 (Jen-min wen-hsüeh, Peking, 1958),pp.1-46); Percival Yetts, 'The eight immortals' and 'More notes on the eight immortals', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 78 (London, Oct. 1916), pp. 773-807 and 84 (1922), pp. 397-426 respectively; Chao Ching-shen 'Pa-hsien ch'üan-shuo', The Eastern Miscellany, 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 (Wiesbaden 1958), pp. 1-22.

77 See Note 71.

78 Ibid.
to more than once by Li in the *Hsüan-yao p‘ien*\(^{79}\), only meagre information exists from 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. *Hsüan-yao p‘ien*) was handed down from the patriarch Chang San-feng...[and] 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' *海* for 'shih' *是* (i.e. typographical errors) and that [the pages] became putrid and the [characters] indecipherable after a long time, therefore I send it to be printed so that it will be transmitted in perpetuity...\(^{80}\). 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

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\(^{79}\) For instance, the note following the tz‘u poem to the tune of *T‘ien-hsien-yin* 天 inning of *T‘ien-hsien-yin*  天 inning of 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 *Hsüan-yao p‘ien*] printed by Chang and Teng, this tz‘u poem is divided into three stanzas: the first is called Chüeh-ch‘iao hsien 故小仙, the second bears the title Yu-nu yao-hsien-p‘ei 女 楊仙 佩 and the third is Wei-sheng 偉 聖. [They are divided in the way] those who sing the taot‘ing used to do. The ch‘ueh-ch‘iao 小仙 and yu-nu 女 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 *CSFCC*, 4/34a-b (7731).

\(^{80}\) See Wu-chen hsüang-yün tung-t‘ien k‘o hsiun-yao p‘ien hsü 胡鎮謙

洞天刻玄要纂序, written by Chang Ling-chi and Teng Ling-mi, in *CSFCC*, 8/93a-b (7840).
their doubt about its authenticity. Also this preface shows that the *Hsüan-yao p’ien* was not printed until a long period of time had elapsed and that 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 *Hsüan-yao p’ien* which is referred to by Li Hsi-yüeh in a note to the tune of *I-chih-hua* —花 where he says, '... 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 and the [Li tai]shen-hsien[t’ung]-chien.81 P’eng Hao-ku (alias P’eng Po-chien 彭伯箴), of Ma-ch’eng 麟城, Hupeh, became a Chin-shih in the fourteenth year of the Wan-li 萬曆 period (1586) of the reign of Emperor Shen-tsung (reigned 1573-1620), and served in the Censorial Office.82 Hence, his selected edition of the *Hsüan yao-p’ien* might have been completed during the Wan-li 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*...
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The text continues as follows:

醒道雅言 (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-yüeh 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 (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 [readers] 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 for the Way should be misled.83

It is regrettable that information on Liao Fu-sheng and his Hsing-tao ya-yen other than that contained in the words of Li Hsi-yüeh, cannot be obtained. However, more material regarding the editions of the Hsüan-yao p‘ien and other works ascribed to Chang San-feng can be collected from the extant Chang San-feng ch’üan-chi. Once again, the Hsüan-yao p‘ien itself contains an allusion to another edition of the work - the copies transcribed by Taoist priests. The explanatory note to the title of the song 'Hsüan-chi wen-ta' 玄機問答 (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 .84 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

83 CSFCC, 4/23a (7726).
84 Ibid., p. 66a (7747).
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 high ranking officials or wealthy
reputable families, and was far beyond the financial capacity of the
masses.\textsuperscript{85} The most economical and feasible way for 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 \textit{Hsüan-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 \textit{Hsüan-yao p’ien}. Such
information is obtained from an entry in the section \textit{Cheng-o} of the
\textit{Chang San-feng}

\textsuperscript{85} Even though printing had already been invented in the T'ang dynasty,
printed books were not readily available. As Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682), the leading scholar in the early Ch'ing period, commented in
his 'Ch'ao-shu tsu-hsü' 創書自序, '...In the course of the late
years of the Cheng-te 玄德 period (1506-1521), at that time only the courts
of feudal princes, government offices and book-shops at Chien-ning 建寧 (in
present Fukien) had printed books. [Those printed books] that were available
for circulation were confined to the Four Books 五書, Five Classics and
the T'ung-chien通鑑 (i.e. Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 資治通鑑 by Ssu-ma
Kuang (1019-1086)) and other books on philosophy. As for other books, even
if they were printed, they would not be collected by those families who were
not fond of old books...', See \textit{T'ing-lin wen-chi} 印林文集, chüan2
in Ku T'ing-lin shih-wen chi 建林詩文集 (Chung-hua, Peking,
1976), pp.31-2.
ch'üan-chi, which says, 'there is a [short essay entitled] "San-feng kung-chuang" 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, exhorting the sovereign to favour the Taoist religion. As it is not in verse, it does not belong to the Hsüan-yao p'i'en 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, proses or poems, attributed to Chang San-feng, circulating before and during the Tao-kuang period. Perhaps the Hsüan-yao p'i'en 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'üan-jen chu-hu, compiled and published by Sun Nien-ch'ü (b. 1742). A note of one sentence to the prose passage 'Chieh-yin p'i'en' in the section T'ien-k'ou p'i'en, goes thus: 'This [Chieh-yin p'i'en] is the original work which was included by Sun Nien-ch'ü of Ch'ang-ch'ou (Kiangsu) 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 during which Sun flourished.

86 Ibid., I/21b (7657).
87 This memorial is seen only in the section Cheng-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 84.
88 A biography of Sun (tzu Shu-fu, hao Chieh-chai) can be found in Chao Huai-yü 趙懷玉 (1747-1823), I-yu-sheng-chai wen chi (1815 ed.), 14/2b-3b.
89 CSFCC, 6/82b (7792).
Further allusion to the existence of other editions of the works ascribed to Chang San-feng can also be found in the preface by Li Chia-hsiu to the *Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi* which states, 'His (i.e. Chang San-feng's) 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.'\(^{90}\)

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 encyclopaedia, 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 solid evidence to support them. The earlier part of this section has already discussed the validity of Wang's view, and need not be repeated. As for the 'other collections' mentioned in Li's preface, they most probably refer to the *Hsing-tao ya-yen* or *Ch'uan-chen ch'iu-hu*, for, being a contemporary of Hsi-yueh, 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-yueh.

Also, Li Hsi-yueh mentions 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....'\(^{91}\) 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 of these 'current editions' were circulating in the book market, and the contents of such editions were so

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\(^{90}\) Ibid., hsü-yeh, p.4a (7642).

\(^{91}\) Ibid., 4/2a (7715), Cf. also the first part of note 74.
poor that Li Hsi-yueh vehemently denounced them. It was most probably that this 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 yielded 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 of this book transcribed by Taoist priests (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 Yuan-t'ung tao-jen 囚' nic 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 曾 (1837-1909), who serves as Director of Education in Szechwan, donated money to recarve it into a hsiu-chen 袖珍 (pocket) edition [carefully] compared and collated to avoid any error. It is convenient to put it 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 Hsuan-yao p'ien, the shih-ku 詩古 (ancient poems) and tao-ch'ing are put together in one chüan. Now I separate the shih-ku and tao-ch'ing as shang chüan 上 and hsia chüan 下, 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-yueh revised the work, the contents of which were at variance with the version obtained by Li from Wang T'an, the descendant of Wang Hsi-ling. Naturally enough, those works written

92 Ibid., Fan-li, pp.1b-2a (7643-4).
by Wang himself, like the prefaces to the Chang San-feng ch'Uan-chi, Yün-shui ch'ien-chi and Yün-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 Yün-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 Yün-shui ch'ien-chi. For instance, there is the inclusion of the poem entitled 'Ch'iung-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. However, this poem belongs to another collection of verses, the Hsuan-yao p'ien in the Chang San-feng ch'Uan-chi. 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", yet these metrical works bear no direct connection with the Yün-shui ch'ien-chi, but, once again


94 CSPCC, 4/28a (7728).

95 See Kuei-chou t'ung-chih compiled by O-er-t'ai 鄂爾泰 (1680-1745) and Ching Tao-mo 晴道穆 (1741 ed., Taipei reprint, 1968), 32/11b.
pertain to the Hsüan-yao p’ien. As the editor only vaguely states in the note that the works of the Yün-shui ch’ien-chi are to be found in the provincial annals, without specifying the particular gazetteer, this statement cannot be compared 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 position 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 this 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-shui 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 ch’üan-chi 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 the compiler of the Erh-hsien Monastery edition of the Tao-tsang chi-yao, that is, Ho Lung-hsiang or P'eng Han-jan.

Note no. 4 suggests that, as has been pointed out in the foregoing

96 'Liao-tao ko' is found in the Shang-chüan of the Hsüan-yao p’ien, CSFCC, 4/5a-b (7717). The 'Wh-ken-shu tz'u' which is a set of twenty-four tz'u poems, is found in the hsia-chüan, ibid., pp 41b-46b (7735-7).

97 See Chang's biography written by Meribeth Cameron, in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period, p.27.
discussion, the Hsiian-yao p'ien had many other editions besides that of Wang Hsi-ling. Apparently all these were used by Li Hsi-yüeh when he was revising the Chang San-feng ch‘uan-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-yüeh 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‘uan-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. Since more than half a century had elapsed between the first and subsequent printing, 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‘uan-chi, should be more or less the same.

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98 It is thus indicated at the beginning of every ch‘uan in the CSFCC, 'Respectfully printed by Chu Tao-sheng, alias Wan-ch‘eng-tzu , from Lang-chung , Szechwan.'
Throughout this and the following sections, Li Hsi-yueh'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-hsien 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:

**Ch'üan 1**
- Hsü (Prefaces), Kao (Edicts), Chuan (Biographies), Hsien-p'ai (Taoist sects), Cheng-o (Correcting errors), Hsien-chi (Manifestations).

**Ch'üan 2**
- Ku-wen (Prose writings), Yin-chien (Hidden admonitions).

**Ch'üan 3**
- Ta-tao lun (On the Great Way), Hsüan-chi chih-chiang (On the mysterious mechanism), Tao-yen ch'ien-chin (Simple talks on the Way).

**Ch'üan 4**
- Hsüan-yao p'ien (On the mysterious principles, part 1), Hsüan-yao p'ien (On the mysterious principles, part 2), Pu-i (Supplement).

**Ch'üan 5**
- Yun-shui ch'ien-chi (Clouds and waters, volume 1), Yun-shui hou-chi (Clouds and waters, volume 2), Yun-shui san-chi (Clouds and waters, volume 3).

**Ch'üan 6**
- T'ien-k'ou p'ien (Words from Heaven), Hstin-shih wen (To admonish mankind).

**Ch'üan 7**
- Chiu-huang ching (Scriptures of the nine emperors), San-chiao ching (Scriptures of the three religions), Tu-jen ching (Scriptures for the salvation of man), P'u-t'i ching (Scriptures of Bodhi), Chung-chieh (Gāthā).

**Ch'üan 8**
- Shui-shih hsien-t'an (Leisurely talks among water and rocks), Ku-chin t'i-tseng (Poems by past and contemporary authors), Yin-ching (Mirror of seclusion), Hui-chi (Collected records).

These eight ch'üan are bound in four ts'e of two ch'üan each and occupy the sections hsü pi-chi 7 to 10 in the Tao-tsang chi-yao. But altogether the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi has six ts'e, the fifth being the Chang San-feng tsu-shih wu-ken-shu tz'u chu-chieh, 頃三半祖師無根樹詞詮, explained by Liu Wu-yüan 劉悟元 (fl.1802) and paraphrased by Li
Hsi-ylieh, while the last ts’e (hsü pi-chi 12) is a collection of scriptures and amulets. The last two ts’e are not included in the general table of contents.

In fact, a further examination of the Chang San-feng ch’Uan-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 Hsü, Yao, Chuan, Hsien-p’ai, Cheng-o, and Hsien-chi in ch’üan 1, the Ku-chin t’i-tseng, Yin-ching and Hui-chi in ch’üan 8, and the Wu-ken-shu tz‘u chu-chieh in ts’e 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-ylieh (here he uses his hao Han-hsü-tzu and dates 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’Uan-chi and have already been discussed in the previous section. Here the mention of the 'Ling-pao pi-fa tan-ching' in one of the entries merits attention:

Included in this work (i.e. Chang San-feng ch’Uan-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.99

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

99 CSFCC, Fan-li, p.2a (7644).
fact, this scripture was generally attributed to Chung-li Ch'\'\text{\dot{u}n} 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-tsang chi-yao, 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-yueh revised the Chang San-feng ch'\'\text{\dot{u}n-chi}, but it was taken out later by Ho Lung-hsiang or P'eng Han-jan, 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 were not added by the compilers when the revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch'\'\text{\dot{u}n-chi} was being prepared for printing in 1906. For if such were 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


cannot be included here.

100 Chung-li Ch'\'\text{\dot{u}n}, better known as Han Chung-li, was also one of the eight immortals. He was said to be the patriarch of the Ch'\'\text{\dot{u}n}-chen sect, one of the most influential Taoist societies in North China during the Chin and Yuan dynasties. 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-ch\'\text{\dot{u}n} and the master of Li Tung-pin (see note 76). The legends of this immortal began in the Northern Sung dynasty. For a study of this figure, see P'u Chiang-ch'\text{\texting}, 'Pa-hsien k'ao', section 5, and the works listed in the last part of Note 76.

101 See TT 874 and Tao-tsang chi-yao 103. The full title of this scripture is 'Pi-ch'\text{\textuuan} cheng-yang chen-jen ling-pao pi-fa' and its shortened form is 'Ling-pao pi-fa'.

relates the printing of the pocket edition by Chang Chih-tung,\textsuperscript{102} 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 ago by Wang Hsi-ling.\textsuperscript{103} 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.\textsuperscript{104} 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 precipitate 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 天順 period (1459) to honour Chang San-feng. This episode is mentioned in the laconic biography of the Taoist in Ming-shih\textsuperscript{105}, and the imperial order is included in the kao section of

\textsuperscript{102} Cf. p. 39.

\textsuperscript{103} 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 54 and the editorial Notes Nos. 1 and 4 cited in p. 39.

\textsuperscript{104} 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).

\textsuperscript{105} MS, 299/741.
the present Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi. In fact, the whole section comprises one chih (order), five kao (imperial edicts) and the 'Ts'an-li ju-lai hsüan-tz'u fo-hao ping-tsan, all coming under the collective title of 'Ming T'ien-shun huang-ti ch'i-heng kao-ming' (The imperial edicts promulgated 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 Lan T'ien's 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan' 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-yüeh or his contemporaries. One reason for believing this is that these works are not

106 This edict has been included in the earlier sources, see Fang Sheng 范生, T'ai-yüeh chih-lüeh 太嶽誌異 (Chia-ching ed., Library of Congress Microfilm Nos. 454-5 of National Peiping Library's collection of rare books), 1/9a-b; and Lan T'ien 蘭田 (1477-1555), 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan' 張三丰真人傳 in Chiao Hung's 交樑 (1541-1620) Ku'o-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu 國朝獻徵錄 (1616 ed., Taipei reprint, 1965), 118/111b-112a.

107 Part of the edict as found in Lan T'ien's 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan' can be rendered thus, '...You, Master Chang San-feng, the true immortal, have an 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 萬 (dwellings of the immortals) and your spirit can travel to the hsüan-pu 暇圃 (hanging gardens that lead to heaven)...Now as a token of honour to you I bestow on you the title 'T'ung-wei hsien-hua chen-jen' 通微顯化真人 (Immortal of Penetrating Mystery and Revealing Transformation...) see 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan', op. cit., p. 111b-112a.

108 The 'Ts'an-li ju-lai hsüan-tz'u fo-hao ping-tsan' is possibly extracted from a scripture called 'P'u-t'i yuán-miao ching' 菩提圓妙經 in chüan 7 of the CSFCC. This 'P'u-t'i' scripture might be fabricated by Ju-chan shang-jen 如湛上人, a Buddhist monk who flourished during the Tao-kuang period. The authorship of the scripture will be discussed later in section 5 of this paper.
cited in other sources, nor does Wang Hsi-ling allude to having collected the 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 cheng-ch'uan'  

(The orthodox transmission of Wen-shih, i.e. Yin-Hsi 元禧), and 'Yu-lung Liu-tsu' 猶龍六祖  

(The sixth patriarch of Yu-lung 猶龍)

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

110 Yin Hsi, also known as Kuan-yin-tzu 閔子, was a Taoist figure. His name appears in some early records, such as the Lao, Chuang, Shen, Han Lieh-chuan 老莊申韓列傳 in Shih-chi, 63/180. For his biography, see Liu Hsiang 劉向 (77-6 B.C.), Lieh-hsien chuan 列仙傳 TT 138, shang/5a; Wang Sung-hien 王松年 (T'ang dynasty), Hsien-yüan pien-chu 仙苑編珠, TT 329, Shang/4b; Ch'en Pao -kuang 陳葆光 (fl. 1154), San-tung ch'ün-hsien lu 三洞群仙錄, TT 992,3/7b and 993, 7/9b; Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322), Hsüan-yüan shih-tzu-t'u 圣元十子圖, TT 72, p.1a; Huang Ying -yen 黃應炎, Ch'ing-wei hsien-p'u 清微仙譜 (preface 1293), TT75, p.10a; Chung nan shuo-ching-t'ai li-tai chen-hsien pei-chi 终南山說經臺歷代真仙碑記 compiled by Chu Hsiang-hsien, see TT 605, pp. 1a - 3a. The title Master Wan-shih 文始先生 appears in the 'Ta T'ang tsung-sheng kuan-chi' 太 唐上聖紀 written by Ou-Yang Hsün 欧陽修 in 625; hence it is clear that Yin Hsi was awarded the title as late as in the early T'ang dynasty. Ou-yang's essay is included in Ku-lou-kuan tzu-yün yen-ch'ing chi 古樓觀雲行紀 compiled by Chu Hsiang-hsien, see TT 605 Shang/1a-4b. Yin Hsi was alleged to be the author of Kuan-yin-tzu 蒙宇子 which had its title changed to Wen-shih chen-ching 文始真經 by an imperial decree in the T'ang period. However, according to Yu Chia-hsi 楊嘉禎 (fl. 1086-1100), the extant edition of the Kuan-yin-tzu is a spurious work fabricated by Sun Ting during Southern Sung times; see Yu's Ssu-k'u t'ı-yao pien-cheng (K'o-hsüeh 科學, Peking, 1958), 19/1184-9.

The designation is found in CSFCC, 1/3a (7648). The term 'Yu-lung' is often used to describe Lao-tzu 老子 (see note 114). In the Lao, Chuang, Shen, Han Lieh-chuan in Shih-chi, there is a passage depicting the meeting of Confucius (551-479 B.C.) 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. Today I have seen Lao-tzu, and can only compare him to the dragon.' 吾今見老子, 其 猶龍耶  

For this translation, see 'The Introduction' in The Texts of Taoism translated by James Legge (Sacred books of the East, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1891, Vol. XXXIX), pp. 34-5. For the original text, see Shih-chi, 63/180. This is probably how the term 'Yu-lung' was originated. A good example to illustrate that writers often took the term as a designation of Lao-tzu is the biography of Lao-tzu written by Chia Shan-hsiang 賈善翔 (fl. 1086-1100), which instead of being called 'Lao-tzu chuan', was entitled Yu-lung chuan 猶龍傳 (six chüan). See TT555.
that are to be found in the fourth and fifth edict respectively, merit attention. These 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. Lao-tzu and Yin Hsi were regarded as the

112 This is another name for the Yin-hsien sect (see below), which claimed Lao-tzu as its first patriarch. Li Hsi-yüeh had explained why the sect was so called, 'Confucius said, "Lao-tzu, I can only compare him to the dragon". He was referring to the unfathomable subtlety of Lao-tzu. So [this sect] (i.e. Yin-hsien sect) is also called the Yu-lung sect.', see CSFCC, 1/13a (7653).

113 This sect was set up by Li Hsi-yüeh and his fellow advocates of Taoism. Most of them were natives of the district of Lo-shan in Szechwan, which then became a centre of Taoist practices throughout the Tao-kuang period. For further discussion of this sect, see my paper 'On the Cult of Chang San-feng'.

114 Lao-tzu was traditionally regarded as an older contemporary of Confucius and flourished in the sixth century B.C. The earliest extant historical work which contains one of his biographies is Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Shih-chi, 63/180. 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 sect, later known as the Yu-lung sect. See Biography of Chang Lu, in San-kuo chih (Erh-shih-wu shih ed.), 9/28. After Shih-chi, many writers had written on the figure, and his biography can be found in Liu Hsiang, Lieh-hsien chuan, TT 138, shang/4a; Wang Pu, Lao-tzu hua-hu ching. This treatise, of which only chuan 1 and chuan 10 are extant, is included in Lo Chen-yü's (1866-1940) Tun-huang shih-shih i-shu, three series, 3rd series, vol. 6, Taipei reprint of 1909 ed., 1970, pp. 2225-53; Ko Rung, Shen-hsien chuan, compiled by Hsieh Shou-hao in the Sung dynasty; and Wei Shou, Yu-lung chuan, six chuan, by Chia Shan-hsiang, TT 555.
first and second patriarchs of this sect. It was Li Hsi-yüeh who with his fellow advocate 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-yüeh, would have entertained or disclosed in his works the 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-yüeh or some of his contemporaries in 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-chüeh, it may be maintained that this anecdote prompted Li Hsi-yüeh or his contemporaries to forge the edicts in order to make the contents of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi comply with what had been recorded.

115 The tao-t'ung or line of transmission of the Yin-hsien sect is Lao-tzu, Yin Hsi, Ma-i, Ch'en T'uan (872-989), Huo-lung and Chang San-feng. It is clearly indicated in the section 'Tao-p'ai' in CSFCC, see 1/13a (7653).

116 Cf. the quotation cited in p. 26 (note 65).
There are six biographies of Chang San-feng in the section chuan in chüan 1. The first biography is taken from the account of Chang San-feng in the Ming-shih, but the source of origin is omitted. The second biography, written by a Ch'i-yüan chü-shih, is alleged to be taken from a book entitled the Wei-i lu (Records of obscure and strange happenings). Lang Ying was the biographer of the third account found in this section, which is in fact extracted from his work, the Ch'i-hsiu hsü-kao 修續稿. As for the fourth biography, 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan', which is attributed to Lu Hsi-hsing and which has been mentioned in the preceding section, its authorship is in doubt. Among the six biographies in this section, the fifth one by Wang Hsi-ling, who had always claimed to be the immediate disciple of Chang San-feng, is the longest and most detailed, but like the others is also mainly an accumulation of legends. The sixth and the last biography is a brief account written by Yuan-ch'iao wai-shih.

117 A biography of Lang Ying written by Hsu Ying-yüan 許應元 (1506-1565) can be found in the Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, op. cit., 115/82.
118 The compiler of the CSFCC had by mistake indicated that the biography was to be found in the Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao, to which the Ch'i-hsiu hsü-kao is a sequel. See CSFCC, 1/6a (7649).
119 Cf. p. 28 and note 67.
120 In many instances, he mentions his encounters with Chang San-feng which probably resulted from the practice of planchette writing. See CSFCC 1/11a(7652).
Following the section of 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' (Biographies of the immortals living after the time of Chang San-feng), '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 Yin-hsien sect. Here Lao-tzu is claimed as their first patriarch, followed by Yin Hsi, Ma-i, and others.

According to Li Hsi-yüeh, the real name of the Taoist Ma-i whom the Yin-Hsien sect regarded as the third patriarch was Li Ho. He had an alias Ma-i-tzu. A biography of Li Ho, alias Ma-i-tzu, can be found in the 1437 edition of the Nan-yang fu chih compiled by K’ang K’ung-kao and Chin Fu (Library of Congress Microfilm No. 393 of National Peiping Library's Collection of rare books), 9/1a-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 period (357) of the reign of Emperor Mu-ti (reigned 345-361) of the Chin dynasty. Li's biography is also found in the 1576 edition of the Nan-yang fu chih compiled by Li T‘ing-lung and others (Library of Congress Microfilm No. 387 of National Peiping Library's Collection of rare books), 18/25b-26a. There are other Taoist or Buddhist figures called Ma-i. For example, there was a Ma-i tao-yu recorded in Chang Lu’s T'ai-hua hsi-i chih (1609). These two Ma-i’s were related to Ch’en T’uan (see Note 122). Also, Chao Tao-i’s Li-shih chen-hsien t‘i-tao t’ung-chien hsu-pien carries an account of another Chao Ma-i who was a contemporary of Ch’en T’uan, see TT 149, 4/3a-b. Other persons called by this sobriquet are Shih Tsung of the Ch’in period, see Monk Hui-hung’s Shih Tsung (1071-1128), Leng-chai yeh-hua (Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan ed.), 8/3a; Ma-i chan-shih who flourished in the Chung-ho period (881-884) of the reign of Emperor Hai-tsung (reigned 874-888) of the T’ang dynasty, see An-hui t‘ung-chih, compiled by Ho Shao-chi (1799-1873) and others (reprint of 1877 revised ed. Taipei, 1967), 348/6b; Li Chien of the Yuan period had an alias Master Ma-i, quoted in Ku-chin t‘u-shu chi-ch’eng (reprint of 1726 ed., Chung-hua, Shanghai, 1934), Shen-i tien shih (reprint of 1751 Chin-shih) and others (1604 ed., Library of Congress Microfilm No. 382 of National Peiping Library's Collection of rare books), 6/71a.
Ch'en T'uan, Huo-lung, and Chang San-feng. However, the relationship between these Taoists is only a fabrication.

The 'Ch'ien li-tsu chuan' includes the biographies of Lao-tzu and the other Taoist figures aforementioned as they were regarded as the pathfinders of the

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

123 Huo-lung is most probably a legendary figure. The biography of Lu Tung-pin (see Note 76) in the Hsiao-yao hsü-ching, TT 1081, 2/1a-4a, mentions one Huo-lung. He is said to be one of the masters of Lu and bears no relation to Ch'en T'uan. On the other hand, in records relating to Ch'en T'uan there is no mention of his relationship with Huo-lung.

124 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 1437 edition of the Nan-yang fu chih, lived between 357 and 457. For further detail on the line of transmission of the Yin-hsien sect, see my paper 'On the cult of Chang San-feng'.
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, Ch'iu Yuan-ching (1327-1393), Lu Ch'iu-yun (d. 1410), Chou Chen-te, Liu Ku-ch'uan, Liu Ku-ch'üan, and Yang Shan-teng.

125 The Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien first mentions the relationship between Chang San-feng and Shen Wan-san, see 21/6/3b-5b and 21/9/6b. But this is unfounded as it is not substantiated by 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. Both of them were famous persons in the early Ming period; Chang San-feng was a noted Taoist whom Emperor T'ai-tsui tried to invite to court, while Shen was a rich merchant whose impressive wealth provoked the suspicious Emperor (See Note 44). Also, it was said that Shen became rich by utilizing an alchemical method. Naturally these sayings provide grounds for imaginative writers to link the two persons and assert that they were master and disciple.

126 Their names appear in the biography of Chang San-feng found in the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih 太嶽太和山志, compiled by Jen Tzu-yüan 任自垣 (fl. 1426-1435) in 1431, which is possibly the earliest extant source yielding information on the Taoist master. The biography reads,'... [Thus Chang] ordered Ch'iu Hsüan-ch'ing (i.e. Ch'iu Yüan-ch'ing) to live in the Wu-lung Monastery, Lu Ch'iu-yún to stay in the Nan-yen Monastery, while Liu Ku-ch'üan and Yang Shan-ch'eng (i.e. Yang Shan-teng) were to reside in the Tzu-hsiao Monastery... Once he told his disciple Chou Chen-te, "you must attend to the worship in this monastery. A day will come when this mountain (i.e. Wu-tang) will become prosperous, even without your effort. Please remember my instruction."...' See T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih (hand-copied volume, see Library of Congress Microfilm No. 406 of National Peiping Library's collection of rare books), 6/14b. For the biographies of Ch'iu, Lu, Liu and Yang, see T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, (1426-1435 engraved edition, see Library of Congress Microfilm No. 404 of National Peiping Library's Collection of rare books), 7/2a-b, 7/3a, 7/1a, and 7/1a-b respectively.
The association between Ming Yu and Chang San-feng is first mentioned in the Ssu-ch’uan tsung-chih 四川總志 (1619 ed.) compiled by Tu Ying-fang (1607 chin-shih) and Ch’en Ta-tao 陳文通 (1586 chin-shih) (Library of Congress Microfilm Nos. 398-9 of National Peiping Library’s Collection of rare books), B/85a. But there is not the slightest allusion to Ming Yu being a disciple of San-feng. The CSFCC includes three other works, besides the biography written by Ts’ang-yai ch’u-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 Ming-hu tao-fa hui-t'ung-su 與明 水道書會同疏, 2/13a-14a (7676); and 'Pa tao-fa hui-t'ung-su hou 譚道書會同疏後, 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. This 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 ch’u-shih wrote the biography of Ming Yu, that he fabricated their relationship.

Wang Tsung-tao, who flourished in 1405, was said to have sought instruction from Chang San-feng in Lu Shen’s 陸深 (1477-1544), Yu-t’ang man-pi 玉堂漫拾 (Kuang-pai-ch‘ian hsiih-hai ed., Taipei reprint of Ch’ing ed., 1970), p.8b and Ho Ch’iao-yuan's 1558-1632) Ming-shan ts’ang 姜山堂 (1640 ed., Taipei reprint, 1971), 7/5b. However, the reliability of this information is doubtful.

Li Hsing-chih 李性之 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 趙子 Levine found in Wang Ch’i’s (1565 chin-shih) Hsü wen-hsien t’ung-k’ao 續文獻通考 (quoted in Ch’en Chiao-yu 陳教友, Ch’ang-ch’u tao-chiao yii-luo 聊德堂業書 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 ch’u-shih, who was probably a contemporary of Li Hsi-yüeh and flourished during the Tao-kuang period (see discussion which follows). It therefore appears that Ts’ang-yai ch’u-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 have prompted Ts’ang-yai ch’u-shih to link Li with Chang San-feng, for Mount T’ai-ho or Mount Wu-tang was generally regarded as the place where Chang San-feng lived as a recluse.
Wang Hsi-ling and Pai-pai hsien-sheng 白白先生. 130

The subjects of all the biographies in the 'Hou lieh-hsien chuan' were depicted as having met the master in person and were treated as his immediate disciples. 131

Following the title 'Hou lieh-hsien chuan' is a short note which reads, 'The following eleven entries are recorded by Ts'ang-yai chu-shih. 132 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 余十舍. 133

130 Pai-pai hsien-sheng, whose real name is unknown, was a contemporary of Li Hsi-yüeh and flourished in the Tao-kuang period. In the CSFCC we come across another Taoist adept who bears the Hao Pai-pai-tzu 郝子 and I surmise that the two, Pai-pai hsien-sheng and Pai-pai-tzu might be the same person. In the biography of Pai-pai hsien-sheng in the 'Hou Lieh-hsien chuan', he is said to have composed such works as the 'Ho-lo hsiang t'u-chieh 河洛易象圖解, Tao-te ching cheng-i 道德經正義, Yuan-ch'iao nei-p'ien 圓嶽内篇 ...', see CSFCC, 1/17b (7655).

Also, in the 'Shih-t'an'-section in Shui-shih hsien-t'an, there is an entry which mentions that Pai-pai-tzu was the author of several works, among which are the Yuan-ch'iao wai-shih tao-ch'iao t'an 圓嶽外史道載談和 Wu-chen ts' an-t'ung tsa-chieh 僖真僑同雜解, see 8/59b (7823). Here the designation 'Yuan-ch'iao'serves as a common factor which may link Pai-pai hsien-sheng and Pai-pai-tzu. Pai-pai-tzu was said to be the teacher of Liu Kuang-chu 劉光煬 (see Note 135).

131 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.

132 CSFCC, 1/15a (7654).

133 In this biography written by Ts'ang-yai chu-shih and found here in the 'Lieh-hsien p'ai-yen', Yu Shih-she was alleged to have been 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-iau lei-kao, 8/127, and Li-tai shen-hsien tungs-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 is said to be the son-in-law of Shen. It therefore appears that Ts'ang-yai chu-shih was the first to say that he was the disciple of Shen. Nevertheless, even if he really was 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 125).
Lu Te-yüan 陸德原, and Liu Kuang-chu 劉光燭 all alleged to be the second-generation disciples of Chang San-feng. Their total complies 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 chü-shih as has been said. The same person was also the author of the biography of Wang Hsi-ling, 'Wang Hsi-ling chuan'. He wrote some poems in company with Li Hsi-yüeh and Yang P'an-shan 楊蟠山 (fl. 1844), another Taoist practitioner, in reply to the verses attributed to Chang San-feng, included in the Yün-shui san-ch'i in the present Chang San-feng ch'üan-ch'i. 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'üan-ch'i p'ai' which quotes the words of Wang Shih-chen 王士禎 (alias Yü-yang shan-jen 漁洋山人, 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-yün 神韻 or

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

135 Liu Kuang-chu was the elder brother of Liu Tun-yüan who joined with Li Hsi-yüeh to acquire Wang's edition of the CSFCC (See p.11, Note 24). The relationship between Kuang-chu and Tun-yüan is mentioned in CSFCC, 1/18a-b (7655), which says, 'The master Ming-yang 明陽, his surname was Liu 劉 and Kuang-chu 光燭 was his given name...[He] studied under Pai-pai-tzu...He had written a number of poems called the "Chin-tan shih" which are still kept in his brother Tun-yüan's place'. Kuang-chu was a contemporary of Li Hsi-yüeh and therefore it is absurd to allege that he was the second-generation disciple of Chang San-feng.

136 See Note 30.

137 See 5/42a-43b (7772).
'mysterious spiritual harmony' by later critics. Here Wang maintains that Chang San-feng had a close affinity to the esoteric school of boxing.

All the parts of 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 chū-shih, are possibly from the hand of Li Hsi-yüeh, who masterminded the re-editing of the entire Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi. However, since both Wang Hsi-ling and Li contributed to the compilation of the collected works attributed to Chang San-feng, the former being the initiator and 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 alludes to it. For this reason I conclude that Li Hsi-yüeh was responsible for most of the works in the section Hsien-p'ai.

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138 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.

139 In fact, Wang Shih-chen was not the only writer to relate San-feng with the esoteric school of boxing. Huang Tsung-hsi (1610-1695) had expressed a similar view in his 'Wang Cheng-nan, mu-chih ming'王征南墓誌銘. See his Nan-lei wen-ting ch'ien-chi 南雷文定前集 (Li-chou-i-chu hui-k' an 莉洲遺著集成 ed., Shih-chung 時中, Shanghai, 1910), 8/2a-3b. However, this statement is not vindicated by concrete evidence. For further discussion see Anna Seidel, 'A Taoist Immortal of the Ming dynasty: Chang San-feng', p.505; see also my paper 'On the Cult of Chang Sang-feng'.
Another section in chüan 1 of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-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-yüeh, so the authorship of this entry is evident. Though the other ten entries remain anonymous, Li may 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 蒂宗 (reigned 1246-1248) of the Yuan dynasty,\textsuperscript{140} a date put forward by Wang Hsi-ling in his 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan'.\textsuperscript{141} The dating of Chang San-feng has been fully discussed in my paper 'On the cult of Chang San-feng' and the aforesaid view in which the figure has been antedated is there shown to be fallacious.\textsuperscript{142} So here the author of the note, instead of correcting the error, has done the opposite.

Most of the records of Chang San-feng attributed to him some occult power, and this is manifested in the thirty-odd entries in the section Hsien-chi, the last section in chüan 1. Wang Hsi-ling was held responsible for the first thirty-two entries, as he writes in his preface to the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi, 'I then recorded thirty odd entries about the revelations of the patriarch in order to preserve them.'\textsuperscript{143} Almost every entry is followed by a

\textsuperscript{140} CSFCC, 1/19b-20a (7656).
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., p.8a (7650).
\textsuperscript{142} Same as Note 60.
\textsuperscript{143} CSFCC, hsü-yeh p.1b(7641). Cf. quotation cited in p.19 (Note 46).
commentary note, and in most cases the commentator is designated as Yüan-t'ung-tzu, 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 appended critical notes are claimed to be derived from the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, which appeared before Wang had completed his manuscript copy of the Chang San-feng ch'An-chi, but it is unclear whether these extracts were added by Wang or by 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 centres on 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 on this occasion:

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 [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.  

This clearly indicates that Li was the author of the passage. Though the name of another character, Hsü-chou-tzu, appears in the note to the last supplementary entry entitled 'T'ai-an hun-chi', which depicts a filthy and bizarre wanderer by the name of Chang, I still hold the view that

144 Ibid., 1/43a (7668).
145 Ibid., p.45a (7669).
the passage itself, like the other three supplements, was written by Li Hsi-yüeh, and the note inscribed by Hsu-chou-tzu was interpolated by later hands. As six decades passed between the first and second printing of the Chang San-feng ch'ëan-chi, it is inevitable that alterations and additions were made.

Having examined the works apparently written by some Ch'ing writers in ch'ëan 1, the last ch'ëan, 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'i-tseng, which is a collection of verses. Here we discern such authors as Chu Ti, 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 (d. 1423), Prince Hsien of Szechwan, to whom San-feng was said to have paid respect when the latter visited Szechwan;146

Chu Po (1371-1399), Prince Hsien of Hunan, Chu Ch'ëan (1378-1448), Prince Hsien of Ta-ning (Hopeh), and Chu Ch'üan (1378-1448), Prince Hsien of Ta-ning (Hopeh), who was endowed with literary talent and is remembered for his achievements in Chinese drama; Chu Yu-kai (d. 1463), Prince Ting of Szechwan, and Chu Shen-chien (d. 1493), Prince Hui of Szechwan. Hu Ying (1375-1463) 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.147 Other poets include such distinguished scholars as Cha

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146 See Lan T'ien, 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan', op. cit., p. 110a. For biographical information on the prince, see MS, 117/290. The meeting is not mentioned in the biography.

147 Hu held the post of Hsing-tsai hu-k'o tu chi-shih-chung (Chief Supervising Secretary of the Auxiliary Office of Scrutiny for Revenue) during the Yung-lo reign. His mission to search for Chang San-feng is mentioned both in his biography and in that of Chang in the MS, see 169/394 and 299/741 respectively. Hu served under six emperors of the Ming dynasty.
Shen-hsing 香慎行 (1650-1727), Ch'ien Ch'en-ch'ün 錢陳群 (1686-1774),
Chao I 趙翼 (1727-1814), an outstanding poet and historian of the Ch'ien-lung
period, and Li T'iao-yüan 李調元 (1734-1803), a scholar and bibliophile
noted for his extraordinarily prolific literary production, whose 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-
ing and those of strong Taoist bent such as Chang Wen-an 張問安 (1788
chù-jen), a poet and brother of the celebrated poet, Chang Wen-t'ao 張問陶
(1764-1814), are also recorded here. Other names included in this section are

148 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-chi, ibid., pp. 75-6; biography of Li, written by
J.C. Yang, ibid., pp. 486-8.

149 The poems of Cha Shen-hsing, Chao I and Li T'iao-yüan which appear in the
section Ku-chin t'i-tseng can be found in their respective collected works.
Cha's poems, which has the full title 'Li-o-ch'eng-pei fu-ch'üan shang Chang
San-feng li-tou-t'ing shang-ts'un', is included in his collected poems,
Ching-yeh-t'ang shih-chi 敬業堂詩集 (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an 四部齋刊, chi-pu ed.,
1929), 4/2b-3a. Chao's work entitled 'Chang San-feng li-tou-t'ing' 張三丰
禮斗亭 is found in his collection of poems, Ou-peü ch'uan-chi chü 匯北詩鈔
(included in the Ou-peü ch'üan-chi 錦北全集, Chan-i-t'ang ed.),
under the section ch'i-yen lu, 2, p.22a. For Li's poem which bears the
title 'Hsiang-fu-ssu tu Ming Hu Ying fang Chang San-feng shih pei yin ho
ch'ü yün ping hsü' 訪符道士明湖愈訪張三丰詩碑因和其句井
序, see his T'ung-shan shih-chi 童山詩集 (included in Han-
hai 閒海, Vol. 141-8, 1782 ed.), 26/12a-b.
Chang Chün-jui 张君瑞,¹⁵⁰ Tung Ch'eng-hsi, Li Chia-hsiu, Chang Ch'i-hsiang 張其相, Wang Yün 王筠, Tung Chiang 董江, Yang Chung t'ao 楊鍾濬, Li Ch'ao-hua 李朝華, Li Ch'ao-pa 李朝祓, 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 is extolled to the skies. Also in this section is found the imperial letter

¹⁵⁰ According to the short biography of Chang in the CSFCC, his tzu was Chi-wu, hao Feng-chou 鳳洲. He was an instructor in the prefectural school in K'uei-chou, Szechwan, before he retired, see 8/69a (7828). Also found in the 1934 ed. of the Lo-shan hsien chih, 9/26b-28a, is the account of a person called Chang Jui 張瑞 which is identical to that of Chang Chün-jui. They had the same aliases and were said to hold the same post, so it appears that Chang Jui and Chang Chün-jui are in fact the same person. According to the Lo-shan hsien chih, Chang Jui retired from the post of K'uei-chou chiao-shou 教授 (Instructor in prefectural school, 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 hsüan-chü 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-yü 教諭 (county school instructor) in Hua-yang (Szechwan).'
delivered to the noted Taoist by Emperor Ch'eng-ts'ui. 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'.

As 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-yueh 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-tseng is the Yin-ching, with the full title, Yin-ching 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. 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:

151 The imperial letter is included in earlier sources, for instance, in the T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih (Engraved ed.), 2/4b; Lan T'ien's 'Chang San-feng chen-jen chuan', op. cit., pp. 110a-b; Yang I's Ch'ing (1526 Ch'in-shih) Kao-p'o i-tsun (Ku-chin shuo-pu ts'ung-shu, Ancient Records of Events ed., Kuo-hsin ku-lun-she 國學扶輪社, Shanghai 1910-13), Shang/3a; Lu Shen's Yu-t'ang man-pi, pp. 8a-b; Teng Ch'iu's (1535 Ch'in-shih) Huang Ming yung-hua lei-pien 明明泳化類編 (Reprint of 1570 ed., Kuo Feng, Taipei, 1965), 131/9b-10a; and Fu Wei-lin's (1646 Ch'in-shih, d. 1667) Ming-shu 明書 (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien 裔書集成初編 ed., Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1935-7), 160/3162.

152 Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, 21/6/5b.
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-hsün 金式訓 came to visit me and we held conversation, amid burning incense, on the mysterious events concerning 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-ching 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-ching as a chronological account of the deeds of Chang San-feng. The gentleman Chin Shih-hsün 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 Kang or text and the mu or commentary.

Liu Yüan-cho may possibly be the writer of the three other entries called the fa-ming (elucidation). Liu may have been an elder contemporary of Li Hsi-yüeh 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 that when the former edited the Chang San-feng ch'üan-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 seems to be the only rational explanation to account for the present situation in the extant Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi in which Liu is 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

153 CFPC 8/75b (7831).
154 It is recorded in the 1934 ed. of the Lo-shan hsien chih, under the section Kuan-shih , 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.
not be totally reliable. The following example illustrates this:

To inscribe [Chang San-feng] with the designation 'Ku Yüan t'ui-lao' (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' (Old man of one hundred and thirty-seven sui) is to evince respect for his old age; to pen 'Wu-tang shan yin-shih' (The recluse of Mount Wu-tang) is to reveal his lofty principles and pure temperament which can stand as examples to a hundred succeeding generations.\footnote{155}

The Hui-chi which contains miscellaneous records is the last section in ch'\MakeLowercase{ü}an 8 and covers six parts, which are: 'Shih-ti' (time and place), 'Ming-hao' (appellations), 'I-chi' (vestiges), 'Shih-ti pu' (supplement to time and place), 'Tao-t'an chi' (records of the Taoist altars), and 'Hsü-chuan wai-chi' (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 Taoist figure was a native of I-chou, Liaotung,\footnote{156} but holds that Chang was active as early as the beginning of Mongol rule. In this he cherishes the same belief as Wang Hsi-ling,\footnote{157} which is not attested to 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, Ssu-lien, Hsüan-su, Hsüan-hua, while his tzu were:

\footnote{155} CSPCC, 8/76a (7832).

\footnote{156} See the biography of Chang in the MS, 299/741.

\footnote{157} See Note 141; cf. also Note 60.
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' (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 would be most efficacious.

The last part 'Hsü-chuan wai-chi', includes an anonymous 'San-feng hsien-sheng chuan' (Biography of Chang San-feng), two prefaces entitled 'Wu-chen hsiang-yün tung-t'ien k'o hsüan-yao p'ien hsü' and 'Yüeh-yün-t'an hsü' respectively. The first preface is taken from the

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158 In his biographical records, Chang San-feng was given various names, such as San-feng tun-lao, T'ung 通, Hsüan-i 玄一, Chün-shih 君實, Ch'ün-yang 昆陽, and his hao was K'un-yang 昆陽. 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 contains two entries dealing solely with problems connected with locations.

159 CSFCC, 8/9a (7838).
Hsüan-yao p’ien, published by the Hsiang-yün tung-t’ien and was written by Chang Ling-chi and Teng Ling-mi. All the parts in this section, except the 'Tao-t’an chi' 道壇記, 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 walking 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...160

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 this 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-chi, which will be investigated thoroughly in section V is full of such narratives.161

Ts’e 5 of the extant Chang San-feng ch’Ian-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* 無根樹詞, a set of twenty-four tz’u poems attributed to Chang San-feng. Liu’s commentary is followed by the

160 Ibid., p.90a (7839).
161 Ibid., 5/38a-61b (7770-81).
supplementary illuminations from the hand of Li Hsi-yüeh under the alias of Li Han-hsü.162 Liu's paraphrase is dated 1802, and was originally known as the Wu-ken-shu chieh. It has been incorporated into the Tao-shu shih-erh chung, a collection of twelve Taoist treatises.163 Evidently, his commentary appeared before Li Hsi-yüeh completed the revised edition of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, and was acquired by the latter after 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何西複, a confrère 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. Liu Wu-yüan of Mount Chi'yi 山, with his erudite knowledge and great eloquence had written works that were transmitted to the world, among them the Wu-ken-shu chu-chieh. 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...164

This preface is dated 1847, three years after the Chang San-feng ch'uan-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-feng ch'uan-chi that was published in 1906, which is in fact 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'i wu-ken-shu tz'u'自題無根樹詞 (Personal inscription on the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u') to the tunes of Che-ku-t'ien 秀鴞天 and Mai-hua-sheng 費花聲 respectively.

162 Ibid., hsü pi-chi 11, p.1a (7845).
163 The full title is Ching-yin tao-shu shih-erh chung 静印道書十二種 (Chiang-tung 三江, Shanghai, 1913).
164 CSFCC, Wu-ken-shu tz'u chu-chieh, hsü pp., 1a-b (7843).
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 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 the chia-tzu of the cyclical year'. But this inscription is not found in the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u' included in the Hsüan-yao p'ien of the present Chang San-feng chüan-chi, 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-yüeh.

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'eng-tsu to summon the Taoist to the royal audience, which has already been discussed in connection with the section Ku-chin t'i-tseng in chüan 8, and the last an alleged reply by Chang San-feng presented to the sovereign by another Taoist, Sun Pi-yün (d.1417). All these works were originally 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, alias [Yang] chieh-an, of Kao-i, inscribed this at the Lung-shan shu-wu in the second month of spring in the

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165 Ibid., p.2b (7843).
166 Ibid., 4/41a-46b (7735-7).
167 Cf. p.64 (Note 151).
168 Sun was a famous Taoist priest who flourished during the reign of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu of the Ming dynasty. For his biography, see T'ai-yüeh-t'ai-ho-shan chih, (Engraved ed.) 7/4a-5a.
fourth year of Chia-ch'ing (1799). But once again the aforementioned inscription is not found in the present Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi. However, this 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'. 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 yüan-liu' 三丰真人源流, 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 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-yün knew about this. At that time Sun Pi-yün was the abbot of the [monastery] in Mount Wu-tang and often went along with the Immortal from whom he very much benefited.

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, the contents being unaltered.

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170 CSFCC, Wu-ken-shu tz'u chu-chieh, yün-lieu 源流, p.2a (7844).
171 'San-feng chen-jen yün-lieu' is derived from Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, 21/6/3b-5b and 21/9/2b-3a.
172 CSFCC, Wu-ken-shu tz'u chu-chieh, yün-lieu, p.1b (7844).
Under the title 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u' there are altogether twenty-four tz'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 tz'u poems, and therefore they expressed divergent opinions in elucidating these works. A good illustration of their contrasting interpretations is provided in the following examples. For instance, Liu regarded the main theme of the first tz'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 菊花'. Again, in the case of the second one, Liu interpreted it as the master's admonition 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'. Similarly, they dissented in their explanation of the eighth tz'u poem, which Liu paraphrased as on the 'advancing and retreating of the yin and yang elements' 隨進退陰陽, while Li related the work to the process of 'reviving the pill in temperate temperatures' 溫養還丹. Here Li was outspoken in criticising 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.'

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:

174 CSFCC, Wu-ken-shu tz'u chu-chieh, p.2a (7845).
175 Ibid., p.4b (7846).
176 Ibid., p.13b (7851).
177 Ibid., p.14b (7851).
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 back 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 tz'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.  

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 fount 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. tz'u poem) can attain perfection in beauty and virtue.  

Despite their different interpretations, they share the same opinion on one point which is a major issue. Neither of them endorse the view that these twenty-four tz'u poems pertain to the practice of dual-cultivation between male and female or the technique of capturing and fighting (i.e. sexual intercourse), a standpoint contrary to the view generally held by Taoist writers. In other words, according to Liu and Li, these tz'u poems on the rootless tree carry no implication of sexual

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178 Ibid., p.1a (7845).
179 Ibid., p.1a-b (7845).
activities of men and women as they apparently suggest. 181

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 works, which are nebulous in character. The following two will give the reader an idea of their content and why some commentators attribute them to dual-cultivation:

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.

181 Among the twenty-four tz'u poems in the 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u', a few 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 a wife, how can she or he reproduce?' Maintaining a similar view, Li says, 'The same applies to man and woman, husband and wife. If a woman has no husband, single yin 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 out to be a miserable bachelor.' CSFCC, 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 竟 （medial part） and tien-tao 倒 （inverse） in line with the idea of 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 the 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). [This Li] Han-hsi deplored and said, "That the Way does not prevail ensues from the fact that it is not understood", ibid., hsü-yeh, p.1a (7843).
So hazy are they,
Quietly they sit and singly they cultivate, thus making the breath
turn dry.\textsuperscript{182}

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.
Gold 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.\textsuperscript{183}

In view of the expressions in the above tz'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,
\textit{Chou-i ts'an-t'ung-ch'i} \textsuperscript{184} by Wei Po-yang 魏伯陽
(fl. 121 A.D.), a noted Taoist philosopher and alchemist of the Han dynasty, was
treated as a book on dual-cultivation by Lu Hsi-hsing in his commentary on the
work,\textsuperscript{185} though the presentation is elusive. Therefore,

\textsuperscript{182} CSFCC, \textit{Wu-ken-shu tz'u chu-chish}, p.7a (7848).

\textsuperscript{183} Ibid., p.8b (7848).

\textsuperscript{184} For an English translation of the \textit{Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i}, see Wu Lu-ch'iang 吳魯強 and Tenney L. Davis, tr., 'An ancient Chinese Treatise on Alchemy entitled \textit{Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i}', \textit{Isis}, Vol. 8 No.2 (1932), pp. 210-89.

\textsuperscript{185} His view is clearly shown in his commentary on the \textit{Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i}, see Lu, \textit{Fang-hu wai-shih} 方壇外史 (Taipei reprint, 1957), hsia, pp. 409-530. See also Liu Ts'un-yan, 'Lu Hsi-hsing and His Commentaries on the \textit{Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i}', op.cit.
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.\footnote{186 See Anna Seidel, 'A Taoist Immortal of the Ming dynasty: Chang San-feng', p.524 and Note 84 of this article.}
IV. LI HSI-YUEH'S REVISED EDITION OF THE CHANG SAN-FENG CH'üAN-CHI: WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO CHANG SAN-FENG (I)

In the extant Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi, the works attributed to Chang San-feng are those contained in chüan 2 to 7 inclusively, plus the _Shui-shih hsien-t'an_ in chüan 8 and a number of scriptures and amulets in ts'e 6.

Chüan 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 section of Wen when dealing with the contents of Wang's edition of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi in Section II 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 piece entitled 'Wan-p'u-tzu lieh-chuan' (完璞子列傳), which is a biography of Wan-p'u-tzu, the alias of Ch'eng Yao (程瑤), who, as depicted in this essay, was audacious enough to show contempt to Chu Kao-hsü (朱嵩熙, Prince Han 漢王 of Yunnan) and the second son of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu (1572-1620) and Yao Kuang-hsiao (姚廣孝).

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188 The name of Ch'eng Yao appears in the _MS_, under the Biography of his grandson, Ch'eng Shao (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 chih_ (濟南府志) compiled by Wang Tseng-fang (1782-1849) and Ch'eng Kuan (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 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.
189 For the biography of the prince, see _MS_, 118/294.
Both of them were major figures in the usurpation of the Prince of Yen during the years 1399 to 1402. The following is a rendering of part of the long text:

Just [after he (i.e. Wan-p'u-tzu) had insulted them (i.e. Chu Kao-hsü and Yao Kuang-hsiao)], the Taoist Chou Yin-yao 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 and Ts'ai [in the past], only that now we have no Duke of Chou [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-hsü, 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.  

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190 Yao was a Buddhist monk. He was originally called Monk Tao-yen, and was given his later name by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu in 1404. For his biography, see MS, 145/346.

191 For an account of the usurpation of Prince of Yen, see the Basic Annals of Emperor Kung-min-ti (i.e. Emperor Chien-wen, reigned 1399-1402) and Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, I, MS, 4/17-8 and 5/18-9 respectively. For recent studies on this historical event which was also called the 'expedition to pacify internal disorders' 明靖難之役, see Meng Sen, 'Chien-wen sun-kuo-shih k'ao' 建文進國事考, Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping, Vol. 5 No. 6 (Peking, Nov, 1931), pp. 1-11; Wu Han, 'Ming-tai ching-nan chih-i yu kuo-tu pei-ch'ien' 明帝靖難之後與國都北遷, The Tsing-hua journal, Vol. 10 No. 4 (Oct. 1935), pp. 917-39; Wang Ch'ung-wu, Ming ching-nan shih-shih k'ao-cheng kao 明靖難史事考證稿 (Institute of Philology and History, Academia Sinica, Monographic Series 25, Shanghai, 1948); Feng-t'ien ching-nan-chi chu 春天靖難記注, ibid., Series 28; D.B. Chan, 'The Problem of the princes as faced by the Ming Emperor Hui-ti (1399-1402)', Oriens, XI (Leyden, 1958), pp. 183-93. For the role of Yao Kuang-hsiao in the usurpation, see Chan, 'The role of Monk Tao-yen in the usurpation of the Prince of Yen', Sinologica, VI (Basel, 1959), pp. 83-100.
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 [of the Shang dynasty], King Wu [of the Chou
dynasty], and others who came after, such as Emperors Kao-tsu and Kuang-wu
光武 (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 Ming [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, ever 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-hsü 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!  

192 The Duke of Chou, whose name was Chi Tan 周公旦, sometimes also called
Chou-kung Tan 周公旦, 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 lasting for 800 years. Princes Kuan and Ts'ai were the
uncles of King Ch'eng-wang. They rebelled against the sovereignty but were
quashed by the Duke of Chou. For the biography of the Duke of Chou, see
Shih-chi, 33/126-7. Also, E. Chavannes, Les memoires historiques de
Se-ma Ts'ien, IV (Paris, 1901), p.84 ff.

193 CSFCC, 2/4a (7671).

194 Ibid., pp. 4a-b (7671).
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. 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 dissenting opinion regarding his act of usurpation which he claimed to carry out for the benefit of his nephew and the state. It is highly unlikely that the Emperor would have allowed Chang San-feng to brand his accession as illegitimate without laying hands on the Taoist. However, according to the Biography of Chang San-feng in the Ming-shih, the Emperor was sincere in inviting the Taoist to court and imperial honours were bestowed on him.

When the capital city, Nanking, fell to the troops of the Prince of Yen, the ill-fated Emperor Chien-wen disappeared amidst a fire which broke out in the palace and no one knew where he had gone. It was rumoured that he had escaped through a tunnel. See MS, 4/18. The whereabouts of Emperor Chien-wen preyed on the mind of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, and in order to dissipate his doubts, he dispatched missions to search for his nephew. Cheng Ho (fl. 1402-1426), the noted eunuch, and Hu Ying, the loyal minister, were entrusted with this formidable task. See the biographies of Cheng and Hu in MS, 304/755 and 169/394 respectively.

Emperor Ch'eng-tsu staged extensive and brutal executions of the ministers loyal to Chien-wen or other recalcitrants of his rule. For details, see the biographies from chüan 141 to 143 of the MS, in particular, the accounts of Fang Hsiao-ju (1357-1402) and Ching-ch'ing (1394 chin-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 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.

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197 See MS, 299/741. For further discussion on the reasons for the Emperor to search for Chang San-feng, see my paper, 'On the cult of Chang San-feng'.
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 Emperor Shih-tsung, that through sustained efforts and the outcries of many ministers, such as Shen-li 沈鲤 (1531-1615), Wang Shih-mao 王世懋 (1536-1588) and Yang T'ien-min 楊天 (1531-1615), Emperor Ch'eng-tsu ordered the re-writing of the T'ai-tsung shih-lu 太宗實錄, 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.

198 It is recorded in the T'ai-tsung shih-lu 太宗實錄 (Ming shih-lu 明實錄 ed., reprint of hand-copied volume, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1963), 11/6b, that on the ping-ying 丙寅 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 of 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-tsu shih-lu 太祖實錄, 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.

199 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 subject to the penalty of death. It is also related in the Biography of Yang Shan 楊善 (1384-1458), MS, 171/398, that a Hanlin Bachelor, Chang P'u 楊溥, was put to death because he possessed some of the works of Fang Hsiao-ju.
the reign title of Emperor Chien-wen was restored. 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 have provoked 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'e, including a general table of contents in sixty chüan. The ministers' memorials [with regard to this compilation] can be found in the Ch'an-ching-ch'üan 夏經纂, and the [Ts'e-fu] yüan-kuei 晉御府 are only in 1,000 chüan.1902 Now the Ta-tien

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


202 These are the two standard encyclopedias. The T'ai-p'ing yü-lan, 1,000 chüan, table of contents fifteen chüan, was compiled under imperial auspices by Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) and others and was completed in 983. The Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei, 1,000 chüan, table of contents ten chüan, also compiled under the supervision of the sovereign with Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 (d. 1025) and Yang I 楊億 (974-1020) as its chief compilers, was completed in 1013.
is so voluminous, as it comprises more than ten thousand chüan, [that looking at it is just like] viewing a broad expanse of the ocean and sighing.203 How can it be expected to diffuse throughout the empire?204

It is unreasonable to suggest that Chang San-feng, who flourished during the Yung-lo era, would have 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)'205 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 whether big or small, refined or rough, are complete [in this compilation] in a glamorous manner.'206 Thus the 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

203 望洋之嘆  is originated from Ch'iu-shui 秋水 in Chuang-tzu 莊子.

For the text in English, see James Legge's translation, 'The Writings of Kwang-zze', in The Texts of Taoism (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXIX—XL), Part II, p.374. The complete text in English reads, 'Along the course of the river, he (i.e. Earl of the Ho 河伯) 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 海若 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..."'. For original text, see Chuang-tzu chi-shih 莊子集釋, compiled by Kuo Ch'ing-fan 郭慶藩 (1844-1896) (Taipei reprint, 1974), 6/561.

204 CSFCG, 2/17a (7678).

205 See the preface to the Yung-lo ta-tien by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, 'Ch'eng-tsu Wen-huang-ti yü-chih Yung-lo ta-tien hsü' 成祖文皇帝御製永樂大典序 in T'ai-tsung shih-lu, 73/4a; also in chüan-shou 草稿 of the Yung-lo ta-tien nu-lu 永樂大典目錄 (Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu 連筠輯叢書, ed.,Ling-shih 綠石 (Shansi), 1848), p.2a.

206 Ibid.
different categories and are arranged according to the rhyme of the last word of the term or phrase concerned. It was 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 a 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 out 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 lieh-chuan', which was quoted above. This assumption is based on the grounds that time and circumstances did 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' 自题 動封通微顯化真人詔命後跋, 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 one with an honorary title.
Secondly, improper expressions are used throughout the essay, in which the author boasts of his own personal qualities, 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 is praising someone else rather than 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* 氣, 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 certain historical facts which can be seen in the following paragraph:

During the Ch'eng-hua 成化 and Chia-ching icking periods, there was a foreign monk called Cha-pa 剑巴 (fl. 1465-1485) and an evil priest called Chi Hsiao 胡曉 (fl. 1465-1485). They were given the titles *kuo-shih* 統師 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 李致京 (d. 1487), Shao Yuan-chieh 鄧玄 (1459-1539), T'ao Chung-wen, T'ang Chih 唐秩 (fl. 1564), Liu Wen-pin 劉文彬 (fl. 1564) and several hundred Taoist priests, all of whom were flattering, wicked, avaricious and crafty evildoers. Unscrupulously they called themselves *fa-shih* 法師 (teaching priests). Also, every one 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 are subjected to a stream of invectives by the author are historical figures whose biographies can be found in the official history of

207 *CSFCC*, 2/12b (7675).

208 Ibid., pp.12b-13a (7675-6).
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 lived. He would therefore have been unable to get to know this group of people, who ingratiated themselves with the various emperors who reigned during these periods. 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-yüeh, 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 of the current dynasty. The study of the Ming period in Chinese history was therefore long neglected, until the close of the

209 For the biographies of Chi Hsiao, Li Tzu-hsing and Shao Yuan-chieh, see MS, Ning-hsing chuan 佐僞傳, 307/769-72. The full name of Cha-pa is Cha-pa-chien-ts'an 刺巴堅等; his biography is attached to that of Chi Hsiao, MS, 307/770. The biography of T'ang Ch'ang-ien 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-hsüeh 顧可學 (1505 chin-shih, d. 1560), MS, 307/772. For an account of Liu Wen-pin, see under that of Ku K'o-hsüeh, op.cit.. For the biography of T'ao Chung-wen, cf. Note 63.

Ch'ing dynasty. Hence, when Ch'ing 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 Taoist 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

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211 Chin Yu-fu suggests, in his Chung-kuo shih-hsueh shih (Chung-hua, 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 (1638-1702), Wu-yen (d.1663), P'an Ch'eng-chang (d.1663) and Ch'ien Ta-wang (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-lüeh, written by Chuang T'ing-lung (d.1660), which was banned by the Court. Wu and P'an 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 (1728-1804), Wang Ming-sheng (1722-1798), Chi Yun, Chao I and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (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 an 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 Hsü Sung (1781-1848), Chang Mu (1805-1849) and Hung Chün (1840-1893) made remarkable achievements in this field.

212 CSFC, 2/13a (7676).
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, 'His temple title was Ying-tsung'. However, the temple name was only given to the Emperor by his successor, Emperor Hsien-tsung (reigned 1465-1487), 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 ago.

In some records Chang San-feng was associated with Leng Ch'ien (ca. 1310-ca. 1371), a renowned painter and musician who was said to have possessed occult power. It was alleged that Leng painted a picture of the immortals playing wei-chi in the Island of P'eng-lai, called '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

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213 MS, 299/741. In the Wu-tang shan-chih, quoted in Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng, Shen-i-tien, ts'e 509, 256/61b, the canonization is antedated to the first year of the Cheng-tung period (1436). But this date is not recorded in other accounts relating to Chang San-feng.

214 CSFCC, 2/12b (7675).

215 See Basic Annals of Emperor Ying-tsung, MS, 12/26.

216 Cf. Note 60.

217 A biography of Leng written by T.W. Weng can be found in the Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644, Vol. I, pp.802-4. His association with Chang San-feng is mentioned in Chu Yün-ming's Yeh-chi (1460-1526) Yeh-chi, contained in the Li-tai hsiao-shih, edited by Li Shih (Ming ed., Shanghai reprint, 1940), Vol. 25, 79/56b-57a; Lu Shen's Yu-t'ang man-pi, p.7b; Yang I's Kao-p'o i-tsunuan, shang, 3b-4a; and Ho Ch'iao-yUan's Ming-shan-t's'ang, 7/3b. In these records Leng Ch'ien and Chang San-feng were said to study in company under the Buddhist Monk Hai-yin (layname Sung Yin-chien, 1202-1257). But this statement is unfounded: for further detail, see my paper 'On the cult of Chang San-feng'.
included in this section Ku-wen.218 However, as early as the Ming dynasty some scholars had already raised the question of the authenticity of this colophon. Among them Lang Ying was the first to challenge, in his Ch'i-hsiu hsii-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 楚福 (1343-1409),], Duke of Ch'i-kuo 濟國公. 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.219

Lang Ying tried to refute the authenticity of the painting and the colophon by adducing six doubtful points relating to the author and the work.220

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 for his merit in bringing to a successful conclusion the usurpation of the Prince of Yen.221 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-yüan 2元 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

218 The colophon was first mentioned, and part of it appears, in Yeh-chi, ibid.; its full text is included in the Kao-p'o-i-tsuăn, ibid.


220 Ibid.

221 For the biography of Ch'iu, see MS, 145/347.
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 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 his army total defeat, 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-ts'ui in a fit of rage, and the Emperor subsequently led the expedition himself. Thus 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 ignored this salient discrepancy in date. However, Chu Yun-ming in his Yeh-chi, 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

222 These are legendary places where immortals were said to reside. The names of the Shih-chou or ten islands are: tsu 洲, ying 雲, hsuan 縣, yen 春, ch'ang 長, yuán 元, liu 流, sheng 盛, feng-lin 鳳麟, and chu-k'u 雞庫, see Shih-chou chi 十州紀 attributed to Tung-fang shuo 東方朔 (ca. 161-ca. 87 B.C.), TT 330, p.1a. San-tao is the same as san-shan which are P'eng-lai 靈萊, Fang-chang 方丈 and Ying-chou, see Wang Chia (d.390?), Shih-i-chi 衛史記 (Pai-hai 貝海 ed., Taipei reprint of Chen-lu t'ang 擁齋堂 engraved ed., 1968), 1/8a-b.

223 CSFCC, 2/15a-b (7677).

224 See the Biography of Ch'iu, MS, 145/347.
in the second year of Yung-lo (1404), and wrote a colophon relating the antecedents of Leng Ch’ien. There is a difference of eight years between the date given by Chu Yün-ming and that recorded in the colophon as now seen in the Chang San-feng ch’han-chi. Li Hsi-yūeh, the reviser of the collected works attributed to Chang San-feng, also mentions the presentation of the painting by Chang San-feng in the year 1404 as seen in the Yeh-chi. Nevertheless, he does not elaborate on the disparity in dates. 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 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 yū' 湖南山中與胡給事夜話, the nineteenth work in the section, which describes the encounter between Chang San-feng and Hu Ying, at a monastery at Mount Tsou 湖南, Hunan, where Hu was spending the night. Prefixed to the work is a short note by Wang Hsi-ling who gives 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.

225 See Yeh-chi, op.cit.,56b-57a.
226 CSFCC, 2/15b-16a(7677).
227 The date given by Kao-p'o i-itsuan regarding the presentation of the colophon to Ch’iu Fu by Chang San-feng is 1412. Cf. Note 218.
228 CSFCC, 2/20a (7679).
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 section, 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' 沈線陽小傳, Yü-shih fu-nü chuan'余家父女傳 and 'Lu-t'ing yeh-hua' 蘆汀夜話. 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, 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 correspondences 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-yüan fu-shih ta-yao* 金元服食大藥 (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 謝真陽. She is actually Chung-t'iao hsüan-mu 中條玄母 who has changed her name to come to my salvation. She called me Yü-hsia 王霞, with the hao Hsien-yang 線陽, [and

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229 See p.71; cf. also Note 170.

230 These essays can be found in CSFCC, 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.
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. Yü-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 will help 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.231

Below is the passage found in the present Chang San-feng ch'un-chi which takes a 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. Chang San-feng) went to see him at Tien-shang (i.e. Yunnan) where we cultivated the t'ien-yüan ta-yao (the great pill for the cultivation of the essence of heaven) and transmuted it in the ensuing year. One day, Hsien-yang came to see [us], and it was thirty odd years [since she had vanished]. On meeting, the father and daughter could not recognize each other. It was only after careful enquiries that [Wan-san] knew 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 Hsiieh Chen-yang who was known in ancient times as Chung-t'iao hsian-mu. [Hsiieh Chen-yang] called her Yü-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 will help 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!'232

231 Ibid.
232 CSFCC, 2/8a-b (7673).
We can see that both passages coincide in spirit and wording. The same applies to the other two essays dealing with Yi Shih-she, who was said to be the son-in-law of the wealthy Shen Wan-san, and with 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'ian-chi, it is very likely that either Wang Hsi-ling or Li Hsi-yüeh, or both, had access to the t'ung-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', 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 scrutinized so far and weighty arguments suggest they are forgeries. As for the remaining works, although sufficient proof to denounce their authenticity is lacking, in view of the very fact that they are mixed together indiscriminately with the forged ones, automatically the reliability of their attribution is questionable. Until any firm conclusion regarding their authorship can be arrived at, their authenticity must be treated as doubtful.

Following the section Ku-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 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'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, and therefore, no matter how successful he was in attaining longevity, according to the laws of nature, it would be impossible for him to remain active in the Ch'ing dynasty. Thus

233 For Yi Shih-she, see Note 133.
234 CSFCC, 1/22a-b (7657).
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-yüeh. 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 莊 (1679-1751), Chao I, Yin Ju-mei 殷如梅 (fl. 1780), Wu Wei-kuang 吳蔚光 (1743-1803), Lo P'ing 羅聘 (1733-1799), and Weng Ch'un 翁春 (1736-1797),235 who lived after the Yung-cheng reign, were not written by Wang but by Li Hsi-yüeh. Of course, this is not to suggest that all the other biographies of the figures existing before

235 The biographies of these persons can be found in other more reliable sources. For Li Kuo, see Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan 清史列傳, compiled by Ch'ing-shih-kuan 清史館 (Shanghai, 1928), 71/64b; Chao I, ibid., 72/19b-21a, cf. also Note 148. For Yin Ju-mei, see Kuq-ch'ai shih-jen ch'eng-lüeh ch'u-pien, compiled by Chang Wei-p'ing 張維屏 (1780-1859) (Ch'u-hua-chai 趙華齋 ed., Canton, 1830), 42/3b-4a. For Wu Wei-kuang, see Pei-chuan-chi pu 碑傳集補, compiled by Min Erh-ch'ang (1923 ed., Taipei reprint), 11/5b-7b. For Lo P'ing, see Wu Hsi-ch'i 胡 (1746-1818), 'Lo Liang-feng mu-chi-ming' 經雨峰墓誌銘, included in the Pei-chuan-chi pu, 56/11a-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.
the Yung-cheng era were certainly from the hand of Wang Hsi-ling. In fact, both of them are 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 Yiian and Ming dynasties. Evidence to support this standpoint can be gleaned from the biographies themselves. For instance, in the biography of a certain Wu-yu hsien-sheng 無有先生 (Mister Nothingness) who was supposed to have lived in the Yiían dynasty, an anachronistic description again appears. It states:

Mister [Wu-yu], was a surviving subordinate of the great Yiían 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 Yiían 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...

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.

236 CSFCC, 2/22b (7680).
Also, the biography of another hermit, Mister Wang 王先生, sheds light on the biographer, who could 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 東山 in the Tung-yang 東陽 district of the Chin-hua 金華 prefecture (Chekiang), and called himself Ta-tai-tzu 大景子 (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 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 could 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 to 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 林明俊 (fl.1644) reads:

[Lin] once practised planchette writing in P'ing-tu 平都 (Szechwan). Incidentally I descended upon his planchette, and upon him I conferred the four words [description] of 'iron liver [and] stony gall' 鐵肝石膽 (i.e. firm and brave). 238

237 Ibid., p.33a (7686).
238 Ibid., p.45b (7692).
The biography of Yin Ju-mei reads:

I saw him (i.e. Yin Ju-mei) during my ecstatic excursion, when I told him frankly that he was a recluse. 239

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 南屏 (i.e. Lo P'ing), all the spirits stood up and bowed to me. [I think] it is really peculiar!... 240

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... 241

Hsü Ta-ch'un 徐大椿 (tzu Ling-t'ai 靈胎, 1693-1771), 242 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. 243

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 accounts of persons living after his time. Therefore, it will not be far from the truth to assume that all or at least a

239 Ibid., P.48b (7693).
240 Ibid., P.49a (7694).
241 Ibid.
242 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.
243 CSFCC, 2/49b (7694).
large part of the biographies in the section Yin-ch'ien were from the hands of either Wang Hsi-ling of Li Hsi-yüeh.

Throughout this section I have been dealing with works attributed to Chang San-feng which relate historical facts of personalities. I now come to some purely theoretical writings, such as those in chüan 3 of the present Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi. The first part in this chüan bears the title Ta-tao lun, and contains three chapters, shang, chung and hsia. The purport of each chapter is explicit, and to 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 morality and the causes of birth, old age and sickness';

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 内藥 (internal medicine)

244 Ibid., 3/5b (7697).


246 CSFCC, 3/8a (7698).
theme, the hsia-p'ian has 'to exhaust the essence of life and nature, 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-chi 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 signs, such as the discrepancies in date, which have been discerned in the foregoing sections, which would prove Chang San-feng is not their author. When discussing the contents of Wang's manuscript copy of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi, the suggestion was put forward that the Tan-ching, in two chüan, might be identical to the Ta-tao lun and the Hsüan-chi chih-chiang in the current edition. It was also suggested that it was spurious, the grounds being explained at length in Section II. Hence, if this assumption is correct, the Ta-tao lun and the Hsüan-chi 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 may come from the same source, that is, it was either forged by Wang Hsi-ling or

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247 Ibid., p.11a (7700).
249 See pp. 21-23.
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’üan-chi 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 文翰 in the Ming-shih 250 includes the master’s Chin-tan chih-chih one chüan and chin-tan pi chüeh one chüan, which are equivalent to the extant Ta-tao lun, Hsüan-chi chih-chiang and Hsüan-yao p’ien. [Hsüan-yao p’ien] is also called Chieh-yao [p’ien] 節要 [篇] or Chieh-yao [p’ien] 摘要 [篇]. All these titles are mentioned in the Shen-hsien t’ung-chien. [As these works have variant titles], I name them according to Wang’s version which was collated by the master himself, and make no further alterations. 251

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 chüan and Chin-tan pi-chih chüan 252. But in the aforementioned editorial note the latter title has been changed to Chin-tan pi-chüeh. 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, Hsüan-chi chih-chiang and Hsüan-yao p’ien are equivalent to the two titles listed in the Ming-shih. The compiler did not elaborate on 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’üan-chi are genuine and were entered in the Ming-shih.

There is a note following the title line of the Hsüan-chi chih-chiang which reads, 'This was adapted by the patriarch (i.e. Chang San-feng)

250 Actually there is no Wen-han section in the MS; possibly the compiler is referring to the I-wen chih 文志.

251 The same quotation has already been cited in Note 54.

252 MS, 98/229.
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.\(^{253}\)

This again, by comparison with what has been learned through observation of the Chang San-feng ch'\'an-chi, may be regarded as a plausible explanation, most probably by the actual adapter, who might be Wang Hsi-ling, to convince posterity of the authenticity of the work in question, but achieving the opposit effect.

To the Tao-yen ch'\'ien-chin shuo is appended the San-feng hsien-sheng Chi-shuo 三丰先生輯説, which includes the analects of Chang San-feng. 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.\(^{254}\)

It is rather unconventional, though not entirely 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 works by such notable Taoists as Lu Hsi-hsing and Li Hsi-yüeh. Lu discoursed on the method of breath control in his Lun t'iao-hsi fa 論調息法 which contains 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.

\(^{253}\) Same as Note 247.

\(^{254}\) CSFCC, 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 is 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  huan chin-i ta-tan chih-tao (the cultivation of the pill by utilizing the seven rounds and nine turns liquefied gold method) when Han-hsu said, "What the master has said is all about the splendid use of the tao-kuei 刀 measured in the practice of Chinese medicine)." Some other time I saw Han-hsü writing the "Wu-chi erh-t'u p'ien" (On the two earth elements of the pill, wu and 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].'255

Here Li Hsi-yüeh is exalted to the skies. It is very unlikely that anyone save himself would chant such a eulogy, for as the compiler of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-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 San-feng hsien-sheng chi-shuo.

As to ch'üan 4 of the extant Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi, what is listed in the general table of contents about this ch'üan does not tally with the

255 Ibid., p. 38b (7713).
text proper. According to the *tsung-mu*, this *chüan* consists of three parts, the *Hsüan-yao p'ien shang*, *Hsüan-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'üan-chi* was initially printed in 1844, but was removed, for some unknown reason, when the revised edition of the *Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi* was printed for the second time in 1906. Alternatively, the supplement may have been incorporated into the other two parts of the *Hsüan-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 *Hsüan-yao p'ien* were originally found in Wang's version of the *Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi*. In sketching the contents of this unpublished edition in Section II, I have already recapitulated the complex conditions under which the various passages included in the *Hsüan-yao p'ien* were brought into being.256 On the whole, Li Hsi-yüeh adhered to the framework set up by Wang Hsi-ling when revising the *Chang San-feng ch'üan-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 *Hsüan-yao p'ien* should not be an exception. In fact, the short notes found in the two parts, *shang* and *hsia*, of the *Hsüan-yao p'ien* reiterate that Wang's script serves as a basis for Li's revised edition,257 so I believe that the extant *Hsüan-yao p'ien* preserves to a great extent the original form of the

256 See pp.28-30 of this paper.

257 See Note 74.
corresponding section in the initial compilation. Since it has already been pointed out in the foregoing section that the Hsüan-yao p’ien in Wang's edition was not written by Chang San-feng, it follows that I deem the present Hsüan-yao p’ien a doubtful work.

Limited source material precludes the examination of the original contents of the Hsüan-yao p’ien 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’iian-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' (Going up the ladder to Heaven), Chang San-feng is given the designation, 'The wanderer of the great Yuan dynasty'. Although Chang San-feng might have been born around the Yen-yu period of the Yuan dynasty, he was however 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 Yuan empire, which would surely provoke the anger of the hot-tempered ruler. Therefore, the above poem, like 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 had 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 Hsüan-yao p’ien to take the Taoist favoured by the court for a tenacious supporter of the previous dynasty, a signal

\[\text{CSFCC, 4/2a (7715).}\]

\[\text{Same as Note 60.}\]

\[\text{Though some of the records allege that Chang San-feng had paid his respects to the Emperors, the reliability of this information is doubtful.}\]
for the author to express his inveterate antipathy to the usurper, then the
Prince of Yen. Of course, there is the other 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 Yüan dynasty, and therefore gave Chang San-feng
the designation of a wanderer of the Yüan 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' 答永樂皇帝,
which is supposed to be the reply given by Chang San-feng to the imperial
call. A remark 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 Lü (i.e. Lü 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-yüeh, who thought that the abovementioned poem included
in Wang's edition was written by Patriarch Lü, and therefore indicated this
in the note. However, it is an obvious blunder to associate Patriarch Lü 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 Lü 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-yüeh

261 Cf. Section III, p.59 (Note 140).
262 CSFCC, 4/3a (7716).
263 For Lü, see Note 76.
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'üan-chi, tolerated the inclusion, into this collection of poems attributed to Chang San-feng, of 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'üan-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'an ch'u-chia tao-ch'ing chi-shou' 敘出遊道情七首 (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 羅洪先 (1504-1564). [In fact], this 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'üan-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 have treated 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 Shou-jen 王守仁 (1472-1528). Lo's collected works, entitled the Tung-yu chi 臧遊記 and Nien-an chi 念庵集, have been entered

265 CSFCC, 4/58a (7743).
266 For the biography of Lo, see MS, 283/700-1. He had collated the Kao-shang yü-huang pen-hsing chi ching chu 高上玉皇本行集 經註, which is a commentary on a scripture, written by Chou Hsüan-chen 周玄貞 (fl. 1368-1398), see TT 1069-2; also Tao-tsang chi-yao, 56-8.
in the *Ssu-kʻu chʻuan-shu tsung-mu* 四庫全書總目, the annotated bibliography of the complete works of the *Ssu-kʻu chʻuan-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 invokes a couple of lines in the last poem, which do not furnish any concrete evidence to substantiate his view. 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 San-feng chʻuan-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 'Chintan 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 Section II when commenting on the various editions of the collected works attributed to Chang San-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 Pu-sheng. As the *Hsing-tao ya-yen* is not entered in any standard bibliography and is therefore unable to be traced,

267 The *Tung-yu chi* is cited in *Ssu-kʻu chʻuan-shu tsung-mu* (Ta-tung 大本, Shanghai, 1930), chüan 124 tzu 子 34, p.8a; and the *Nien-an chi* in chüan 172, chi 集 25, p.4b.

268 For the history of the compilation of the *Ssu-kʻu chʻuan-shu*, see Kuo Po-kung, *Ssu-kʻu chʻuan-shu tsuan-hsiu kʻao* 四庫全書纂修考 (Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1937).

269 See quotation cited in p. 35 (Note 83).
we have no idea of what its compiler, Liao Fu-sheng, thought about the authorship of the poems under discussion, and Li Hsi-yüeh does not give any clear indication on this point. But since he remarks 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 their 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’üan-chi, it is probable that they were extracted from collected works of unknown authorship and were attributed to Chang San-feng.

The descriptive note to another poem, 'Hsüan-chi wen-ta' 玄機問答 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' 自問 and 'Tzu-ta' 自答 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.  

Once again, the compiler admits in his own words that this collection of poems, Hsüan-yao p’ien, does not contain exclusively the works of Chang San-feng, in other words, this note offers another good example to illustrate the fact that the Chang San-feng ch’üan-chi, or at least the Hsüan-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 Hsüan-yao p’ien are by no means rare, doubts about the authenticity of all the

270 Ibid.
271 CSFCC, 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. However, it is clearly stated in the Liao-tung chih and Shan-hsi t'ung-chih (1892 edition) that Chang San-feng composed a poem on the hortensia entitled the 'Ch'iung-hua', while in the 1741 edition of the Kuei-chou t'ung-chih, he is 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 Hsüan-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, although 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 above-mentioned 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 some literary products, it is not at all certain that what he read would be the genuine works. In view of this, the 'Ch'iung-hua', 'Liao-tao ko' and 'Wu-ken-shu tz'u' which have been cited in the local histories and included in the existing Hsüan-yao p'ien as authentic works, must be treated with reservation.

272 See Notes 93 and 95.
The previous section treats the works in chüan 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 section.

Chüan 5 is completely devoted to poems and comprises three parts, each of which has an individual title, namely, the Yün-shui ch'ien-chi, Yün-shui hou-chi and Yün-shui san-chi. In Section II, when deducing the contents of Wang's manuscript so much treasured by Li Hsi-yüeh, it was suggested that the two parts of the Yün-shui chi were probably created by Wang Hsi-ling himself.273 It seems most likely that the two collections of poems, Yün-shui ch'ien-chi and Yün-shui hou-chi, 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 have been made by Li Hsi-yüeh can be detected.

Before proceeding to review the authorship of these two collections of poems, it must be pointed out, first and foremost, that the order of the extant Yün-shui ch'ien-chi and Yün-shui hou-chi does not correspond to the description in the preface by Wang Hsi-ling. The ch'ien-chi and hou-chi are reversed. According to the preface to the Yün-shui ch'ien-chi, written by Wang, this collection of verses was written by Chang San-feng during the interim period between the Yüan and Ming dynasties.274 However, the poems in the current version of the Ch'ien-chi 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 hou-chi. Again,

274 See quotation cited in p.23 (Note 59).
according to Wang's preface to the Yün-shui hou-chi,\(^{275}\) which, as its title suggests, was a sequel to the Ch'ien-chi, the hou-chi was supposed to have been composed after Chang San-feng met Wang Hsi-ling, then an Intendant of the Chien-nan Circuit in Szechwan. 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 Yün-shui hou-chi, while in contrast 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'üan-chi, probably a result of a printer's error.

In the Yün-shui ch'ien-chi, appearing as the hou-chi in the extant Erh-hsien Monastery edition of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi, there are many works which are obvious forgeries. The seven poems dedicated to the dignitaries of the pulp it and platform in the Yüan dynasty are obviously fabrications. Their titles are: 1) 'Ch'eng Lien ko-lao' 呈康閣老 (Forwarded to the Premier Lien); 2) 'Lien p'ing-chang i shu chien yü-ming yü Liu Chung-hui t'ai-pao kan erh yung-tz'u' 呈篇章以書薦余名於劉仲晦太保感而該此 (Premier Lien recommends me to the Grand Guardian, Liu Chung-hui, by a letter); 3) 'Sung Lien-kung chih Chiang-ling' 送康公之江陵 (Farewell to Mister Lien who is on the way to Chiang-ling, Hopeh); 4) 'Po-ling shang Chung-hui hsiang-kung' 逓金陵謝相公 (Submitting a poem to the minister, Liu Chung-hui, from Po-ling, Hopeh); 5) 'Ta Liu hsiang-kung shu' 答劉相公書 (A reply to the letter from Liu Chung-hui, the minister); 6) 'Yao-wan Liu Chung-hui hsiang-kung shih Chih-yüan shih-i nien tung yüeh ch'u-hsün yeh' 遥軎劉仲晦相公時至元十一年冬月

\(^{275}\) Part of the preface is quoted in Section II, p.19 (Note 49).
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-yüan
period, i.e. 1274); 7)'Yen-chao hsien-yu wu Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un sui t'ung-yu
Hsi-shan' 燕趙閒遊陪長春遂同遊西山
(When wandering in the Yen-chao region, i.e. Hopeh and Shansi, I encountered
Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un and in company we visited Mount Hsi-shan, Hopeh).

In these poems Premier Lien refers to Lien Hsi-hsien 廉希憲 (1231-
1280) 276 and the Grand Guardian is Liu Ping-chung 劉秉忠 (alias Liu Chung-
hui, 1216-1274), 277 while Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un refers to the prominent Ch'iu
Ch'u-chi 邱處機 (Hao Ch'ang-ch'un-tzu 長春子, 1148-1227). 278 Ch'iu

276 For the biography of Lien, see Yüan-shih 元史 (Erh-shih-wu shih ed.),
126/309-10; also Hsin Yüan-shih 新元史 (Erh-shih-wu shih ed.),
155/319-20.

277 For his biography, see Yüan-shih,157/370-1; also Hsin Yüan-shih,
157/322-3. Biographical material on Liu can also be seen in the appendix
to his collected works of poetry, Ts'ang-ch'un chi 藏春集 , chüan 6.
Liu's undated manuscript of the Ts'ang-ch'un chi, originally in ten
chüan and also containing his proseworks which were later lost, is now
kept in the National Central Library in Taiwan and has been published in the
Bulletin of the National Central Library 國立中央圖書館

278 For Ch'iu Ch'u-chi's biography, see Yüan-shih, 202/455; Hsin Yüan-
shih, 243/462; Chin-lien cheng-tsung chi 金蓮正宗記 , edited by
Ch'in Chih-an 契安 (alias Ch'u-li tao-jen 銀濮道人 )
(preface 1241?), TT 76, 4/7a-12b; Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan
hsiang-chuan 金蓮正宗仙源像傳 , edited by Liu Chih-hsüan
劉志玄 (alias Liu T'ien-su 劉天素 ) (prefaces 1326,1327), TT 76,
pp.31b-36a; Ch'i-ch'en nien-p'u 七真紀傳 , edited by Li Tao-chien
(Youan dynasty), TT 76, pp.4a-20a; Li-shih chao-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-
chien hsü-pien, TT 149, 2/10a-22a; and Chi Chih-ch'en (1193-1268),
Yün-shan chi, TT 784, 7/12b-17a. Cf. also Ch'en Yuan 楊元
南宋三朝新道統考 (Chung-hua, Peking, 1962), chüan 1 and 2, pp. 1-80; and Ch'ien Mu
錢穆, 'Ch'ien Yuan t'ung-chih hsia chih hsiao-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. On the political career of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, see Yao Ts'ung-wu
姚德中 , 'Yüan Ch'iu Ch'ue-chi nien-p'u', in his Tung-pei shih
lun-ts'ung 東北史論叢 (Cheng-chung 正中 , Taipei,1959),
pp.214-76.
was the second patriarch of the influential monastic Ch'üan-chen sect which had as its first founder the remarkable Taoist, Wang Che (alias Wang Ch'ung-yang, 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 (1162-1227), who summoned the notable Taoist to preach to him. 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, and here the Taoist leader lectured to the ailing conqueror on the art of nourishing the vital spirit. Shortly after this 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 or the Northern school of the Taoist.


280 For the biography of Wang Che, see Chin-lien cheng-tsung chi TT, 75, 2/1a-10a; Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan hsüang-chuan, TT 76, pp. 18a-23a; Ch'i-chen nien-p'u, TT 76, pp.1a-9a; Li-shih chen-hsien t' i-tao t'ung-chien hsü-pien, TT 149, 1/1a-11b; Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu 賀水仙源錄, TT 611, 1/2b-14a; and Yen-shan chi, TT 784, 7/1a-4a.

281 On Ch'iu's encounter with Genghis Khan, see Arthur Waley, tr., The Travels of an Alchemist (Routledge, London, 1931); and Igor de Rachewiltz, 'The Hsi-yu Lu 西遊錄 by Yeh-lü Ch'ü-ts'ai 耶律楚材', op.cit; cf. also Kubo Noritada 坂本新太, 'Cho-shun shin-jin to sono seiyu' 赤春真人とその西遊, in Memoirs of the Institute of Oriental Culture, No. 29 (Tokyo, 1963), pp.21-76.
religion, for it is impossible that his public life spanned nearly two centuries. Also, no trace of their association can be detected in the collated works of Ch'iu, the P'an-ch'i chi. 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.

There is another poem which bears the title, 'Chia-chu wu-shih hu yu Ch'iu tao-jen chien-fang lin-pieh shih i tseng-chih', a valedictory poem to a certain Taoist priest with 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 chüan 1 of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-

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282 The emergence of the different schools in Taoist religion took place in the Sung and Chin periods, when Chang Po-tuan (fl. 1076-1155) founded the Nan-tsung or Southern school and Wang Che established the Pei-tsung or Northern school; they were called 'south' and 'north' because of their different centres of activities. The schools held different views regarding the method of cultivation. Wang Wei 王 （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 興農叢錄 (Hsu-hai lei-pien 薜載 載, ed., reprint of 1831 ed., Shanghai, 1920), p.7b, 'The southern school would cultivate nature [before life], while the northern school would cultivate life before [they cultivate nature].'

283 P'an-ch'i chi, six chüan, TT 797; also included in Tao-tsang chi-yao, 137.
In the *Hsiang-shu-chai chi* written by Ch'ien Ch'en-ch'in, whose canonized title is Wen-tuan, there is a poem entitled 'Yen-chiu-jih Wang-hsin-chuang kuan-teng shih' in which there are two lines reading, '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 pi-hung (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 (1280-1294) [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-ch'i). 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.  

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 letters living between 1686 and 1774 and who during the reign of the scholarly Emperor Kao-tsung (reigned 1736-1795) was greatly favoured by the ruler for his 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 *chüan*, as mentioned in the above quoted passage, is the first of his collection of poems, which was printed in 1751.

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284 *CSFCC*, 1/20b-21a (7656-7).

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 a slight possibility that Ch'ien could have gained 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 Yün-shuí ch'ien-chi. However, regardless of the origin of this story, it is certain that the poem or poems included in the Yün-shuí ch'ien-chi linking Chang San-feng with Ch'iu Ch'u-chi cannot be authentic.

Another historical figure mentioned in the poems (nos. 2,4-6) in the Yün-shuí ch'ien-chi is Liu Ping-chung, a well-known statesman who acted as the chief adviser to Khublai Khan (1215-1294) in the early Yuan period.\(^{286}\) The origin of the saying which connects him with Chang San-feng has been examined carefully in my paper 'On the cult of Chang San-feng'. It was pointed out that the allegation is unfounded.\(^{287}\) In addition, there is no allusion

\(^{286}\) 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', T'oung-pao, 53 (1967), pp.98-146.

\(^{287}\) There is a saying that Liu and Chang San-feng were the followers of Monk Hai-yün, a noted Ch'\(\text{'an}\) Buddhist monk of the Lin-chi school who was ingratiated with Khubilai Khan. It is thus recorded in Lu Shen's Yü-t'ang man-pi, '...[San-feng] was of the Chin period...For [he] had studied in company with Liu Ping-chung, the T'ai-pao (Grand Guardian), and Leng Ch'i-ching (alias of Leng Ch'ien, see Note 217), the Hsieh-li [lang] (Composer of Music), under the Buddhist monk Hai-tieh (should be Hai-yün).' p.7b. Lu Shen appears to be the first biographer of Chang San-feng to allege this connection. However, this statement is unfounded. For further detail, see my paper, 'On the cult of Chang San-feng'.

to his relationship with Chang San-feng in the extant portion of the Ts'ang-ch'un 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 above-mentioned 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 idea as cherished by Wang Hsi-ling, that Chang San-feng existed in the early years of Mongol rule. In 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'ilan-chi, namely, the 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan' and 'San-feng hsien-sheng chuan', by Wang Hsi-ling and Yuan-ch'iao wai-shih respectively.

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288 The first five chilan of the Ts'ang-ch'un chi contain the works of Liu, including three chilan of seven-syllable-line lü-shih (regulation poetry), one chilan of seven-syllable-line chieh-chti (verse form) and one chilan of yüeh-fu (poems). Chilan 6 is a collection of biographical material on Liu.

289 See CSFCC, 1/8b (7650). The passage reads, 'In the fall of the year chia-tzu (first of the cyclical year, 1264) of the Chih-yüan period, [Chang San-feng] went to travel in Yen-ching (i.e. present Peking)...Eventually he came to the acquaintance of Lien Hsi-hsien, the P'ing-chang cheng-shih (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 (Hopeh). So [San-feng] set off to take up the post.'

290 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 late Chih-yüan 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 ch'uan 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 bestrde 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-hsü.
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'üan-chi.

Throughout the poem 'Tseng Wang hsien-sheng ko', Mister Wang, the surviving loyal supporter of the deposed Emperor Chien-wen is extolled:

291 The title of the prose work dealing with Wan-p'u-tzu is 'Wan-p'u-tzu lieh-chuan', CSFCC, 2/2b-5a (7670-2). Part of the long text is quoted in Section IV, pp.78-79. For discussion of its authorship, see pp.80-82. The biography of Mister Wang, also in the style of prose work, is entitled 'Wang hsien-sheng chuan', see CSFCC, 2/33a (7686). Also see Section IV, p. 97 for a rendering of this short essay and the argument against its authenticity.

292 CSFCC, 5/33a (7767).
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 hsiensheng chuan', it is unlikely that Chang San-feng would have composed such an invidious prose piece and angered the monarch, Emperor Ch'eng-tsu. The same argument refutes the authorship of the above quoted poem.

Some other poems in the Yin-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'ie-pi'

南京道觀崇清寺題壁 (inscribed on a wall at the Taoist Monastery Ch'ung-ch'ing in Nanking) runs:

The celestial net has already snared Shao Yüan-chieh,
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 Yüan-chieh and T'ao Chung-wen, who have been mentioned before, 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 therefore 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.

293 Ibid., p.33b (7767).
294 See last part of Note 291.
295 CSFCC, 5/34b (7768).
of the *Chang San-feng ch'üan-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, a pursuit which led to his neglect of state affairs. It was recorded in the Biography of T'ao Chung-wen in the *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.296 Here I have ruled out the alternative possibility that Wang Hsi-ling was the author, since, being an advocate of Taoism himself, he would not have heaped 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' (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 on [these poems] himself, 'During the Ching-te and Chia-ching periods (1506-1566), I have 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.'297

296 *MS*, 307/771.
297 *CSFCC*, 5/35a (7768).
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 武宗 (reigned 1506-1521) 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, in or after the Chia-ching period.

The author, whoever he might be, of the above poems vehemently attacked sorcerors who court the favour of the sovereign. A similar attitude is expressed in another poem, 'Ta Yung-lo huang-ti 塔永樂皇帝, 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 delivering 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 Yün-shui ch'ien-chi is Wang Hsi-ling. Very possibly, legends which revolved around Chang San-feng serve as the basis for the creation of these poems.

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298 Emperor Shih-tsung used to practice 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 楊.expecting (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', T'oung-pao, Vol. LVII Nos. 1-4 (1971), pp.31-102; also Yang Ch'i-ch'iao 楊企照, 'Ming-tai chu-ti chih ch'ung-shang fang-shu chi ch'i ying-hsiang', New Asia College Academic Annual, Vol. IV (Hong Kong, 1962), p.71-147.

299 CSFCC, 5/33b (7767).
of these poems. For instance, Chang San-feng is referred to as the disciple of another eccentric figure, Master Ho-ling, both in the 'Chang San-feng lieh-chuan' and in the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, and their relationship is reflected in the poem bearing the title 'Chung-nan ch'eng Ho-ling hsien-sheng'.

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 chüan 2, also become the central figures of some of the poems here in the Yün-shui ch'ien-chi. The titles of these poems are:
1) 'Yu Chin-ling tseng Shen Wan-san' — Addressed to Shen Wan-san during my trip to Chin-ling;
2) 'Pieh Wan-san' — Farewell to Shen Wan-san;
3) 'Chiang chih Yün-nan hsien chi ku-jen' — Before I set off for Yunnan, I send a poem to my old friend, Shen Wan-san;
4) 'Tien-nan hui Shen-tzu San-shan chien-tseng ling-ch'ing Yu Shih-she' — 滇南會沈子三山兼贈令倩餘十舍

300 See Note 123.
301 The 'Chang San-feng lieh-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 Ho-ling who discoursed on mysterious principles.' CSFCC, 1/6b (7649). 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 perturbed [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 Ho-ling who was the favourite disciple of Master T'u-nan (i.e. Ch'en T'uan, see Note 122). 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.
302 See Note 125.
303 The title is 'Shen Hsien-yang hsiao-chuan', CSFCC, 2/8a-b (7673). Translation of the full text is given in Section IV, p. 93.
(On the meeting with Mister Shen San-shan (i.e. Shen Wan-san) in Yunnan and also dedicated to his son-in-law, Yü Shih-she) 5) 'Tseng Shen Hsien-yang Yü Fei-hsia liang nü-hsien' 贈沈線陽余蜚霞兩女仙 (Dedicated to the two fairies, Shen Hsien-yang and Yü 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', 'Yü-shih fu-nü chuan' and 'Tu-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'üan-chi was completed. It was also argued that Wang Hsi-ling was responsible for that particular section. Secondly, in the section Hsien-chi in ch'üan 1 which was definitely written by Wang, there are two passages with the titles 'Tu Shen Wan-san' 渡沈萬三 (On the conversion of Shen Wan-san) and 'Tien-nan chien-yüeh' 順南踰約 (To keep an appointment and go to Yunnan), in which Shen Wan-san is again the central figure. 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 prose pieces 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' 洞庭晤呂純陽先生.

304 Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, 21/6/3b-5b.
305 See discussion in p. 94.
306 These two passages can be found in CSFCC, 1/23a-24b (7658) and 1/27b-28a (7660) respectively.
Encountering Master Lü Chün-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, might have imagined 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.

Such an inclination is disclosed in the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi in many instances. For example, in the section Hsien-chi, there is an entry headed 'Tao feng Lü-tsu' (A fortuitous meeting with Patriarch Lü) 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 by Ou Yang-chen. Had he not considered this 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-mei (The resurrection of a rotten plum tree), Chang San-feng is 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'u-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

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307 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 may have flourished in the Shun-chih period, though the book is not cited in standard bibliographies.
trees.\textsuperscript{308} As both Lü Tung-pin and Ch'iu Ch'u-chi were popular personalities in Taoist religion, by claiming that San-feng was equivalent to them, Wang would surely have helped to boost Chang's image among the adherents. This accounts for Wang's writing the above note.

The name 'Po-yü' mentioned in the poem 'Yü chia Po-yü wai-shih Hang-chou jun' is in fact the tzu of the illustrious Taoist poet of the Yüan dynasty, Chang Yü (hao Chü-ch'ü-wai-shih 句曲外史).\textsuperscript{309} The 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.'\textsuperscript{310} Here Chang San-feng, the alleged author, styles himself the 'elder brother' of Chang Yü, giving the reader the impression that he was much older than the poet. It is known that Chang Yü died at the age of seventy-two in 1348, so that if San-feng were elder to him he must have been 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 have been over one hundred and thirty years old. It is extremely unlikely, if 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 Yü, the Chü-ch'ü wai-shih chi 句曲外史集, do not yield any substantial evidence to attest to their friendship.\textsuperscript{311} Thus, this poem dedicated to Chang Yü should be treated as

\textsuperscript{308} See first part of Note 307.

\textsuperscript{309} For Chang Yü's biography, see Hsin Yüan-shih, 238/455, under the Biography of Chang Hsien 張惠 (fl. 1341).

\textsuperscript{310} CSFCC, 5/25b (7763).

\textsuperscript{311} Chü-ch'ü wai-shih chi, three chüan, pu-i 補遺, one chüan and chi-wai shih 集外詩, one chüan (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'ân ed.), is a collection of Chang's prose pieces and poems. The part on poems has been included in the Yüan shih-hsüan 元詩選, compiled by Ku Ssu-li 龍嗣立 (1669-1722) (Taipei reprint, 1967). The part on prose has been published under the title Chü-ch'ü wai-shih chi句曲史集, compiled by Ku Ssu-li 龍嗣立 (1669-1722) (Taipei reprint, 1967). Another version of Chang's collected poems is published under the title Hsiia n-p'în lu, compiled by Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'ân ed. (Hand-copied volume, Taipei reprint, 1971). Chang wrote another work, the Hsüan-p'in lu, compiled by Yüan-shih chi, three chüan, pu-i 補遺, one chüan, compiled by Ku Ssu-li 龍嗣立 (1669-1722) (Taipei reprint, 1971). 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.
another work of dubious authorship.

In fact, the content of the preface written by Wang Hsi-ling to the Yün-shuǐ 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.

Proceeding to the Yün-shuǐ hou-ch‘i, a sequential volume to the previous collection of verses, a re-perusal of Section II of the present study shows that cogent evidence, 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.312 Also, it was surmised that Wang himself was the engineer of the entire fabrication. Of the sixty-four poems collected therein, eleven focus on Wang, their titles being: 1) ‘Ta-o yü Meng-chiu kuan-ch‘a k‘ou-chan tseng-chih’ 大我遇夢九覲寮 (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-ching-she’ 訪夢九石堂溪上清暇精舍 (Visiting Meng-chiu at the Villa Ch‘ing-hui in Shih-t‘ang-ch‘i); 3) ‘Kuo Yüan-t‘ung ching-shih’ 過園通靜室 (A visit to Meng-chiu at his house of retreat); 4) ‘T‘i Meng-chiu tan-fang’ 题夢九丹房 (An inscription on Meng-chiu’s room for preparing elixir); 5) ‘Tzu-shu yü Wang-tzu’ 自述與汪子 (A personal narrative dedicated to Mister Wang); 6) ‘T‘ing Meng-chiu tsu Ssu-min tu-shu’ 聽夢九子恩敏讀書 (Listening to the reading of Ssu-min, son of Meng-chiu); 7) ‘Nieh-yün ko tz‘u Meng-chiu’ 瑩老歌贈夢九 (To bestow upon

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312 See the preface to the Yün-shuǐ hou-ch‘i. For its translation see Section II, p.19 (Note 49); for discussion of the authorship, see p.23.
Meng-chiu a song entitled 'Ascending to the clouds'); 8) 'T'i Meng-chiu yüan chung' （Inscribed on the garden of Meng-chiu); 9) 'Shih Meng-chiu' 示夢九 (Instruction to Meng-chiu); 10)'Yu Meng-chiu' 與夢九 (Dedicated to Meng-chiu); 11) 'T'i Yüan-t'ung Ch'o-ch'o-shan-fang' 題園通縉緑山房 (On the Villa Ch'o-ch'o-shan-fang of Yüan-t'ung). Meng-chiu and Yüan-t'ung are aliases of Wang Hsi-ling who says in his preface that the Yün-shui hou-chi was brought to light after the master visited him in the Intendant's office in Szechwan.\(^{313}\)

The third section of chüan 5 is the Yün-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-yüeh 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 Yün-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-yün (in Lo-shan, Szechwan). After the Intendant retreated, the master also became hidden. Recently there appeared some people like [Li] Yüan-yang [ ], the old man, [Liu] Cho-an, the retired scholar, and [Liu] Tun-yüan [ ] 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 untrammelled 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?\(^{314}\)

\(^{313}\) Ibid.

\(^{314}\) CSFCC, 5/37a-b (7769).
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-yüan and Yang P'an-shan, were contemporaries of Li Hsi-yüeh, who flourished in the Tao-kuang period (see following discussion). 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 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 this 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 of the parts of the Chang San-feng ch'üan-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 Yün-shui san-chi, a sequel to the first two volumes.

In addition to the 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 樂山, Jan-hsien 稱仙, 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 圖陽, Chu-sheng 朱生, Li-sheng 李生, Liu Pai-chiu 劉
At the moment only exiguous information exists regarding these characters, who were alleged to have carried 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'üan-chi*, he has also been mentioned in earlier discussion in Section II of the present paper. As for the other writers whose poems appear in the *san-chi*, Liu Tun-yüan, alias Tun-yüan chū-shih, who, according to the preface written by Li Chia-hsiu to the *Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi*, joined with Li Hsi-yüeh to acquire Wang's manuscript copy of the complete 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 chū-shih who verified and recorded the eleven entries in the 'Hou lieh-hsien chuan' and 'Lieh-hsien p'ai-yan'. 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-chi*, but there is a work entitled *T'i 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-chi*. 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.

315 For Li, see pp. 8-10 (Note 22). For Liu, see p. 10.
316 *CSFCC*, hsü-yeh, p. 4a (7642). See also the quotation cited in p. 10-11 (Note 24).
317 See Section III, p. 56.
318 See *CSFCC*, 8/69b (7828); also see Note 23.
319 This is mentioned in *CSFCC*, 8/59a (7823).
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 performances 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 this thaumaturgic practice. For example, to the two poems entitled 'Lao yu-hsien t'u' (On the picture of the old wandering immortal) and 'Lao yin-hsien t'u' (On the portrait of the aged immortal leading a seclusive life) both attributed to San-feng, are appended works in reply from Li Hsi-yüeh, Ts'ang-yai chü-shih and Yang P'an-shan.\(^{320}\)

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 come down to communicate with their enthusiastic advocates, to give them advice on their future, their examinations and on many other matters. Some of these works are purely literary pieces without a practical purpose, and they appear in the form of ho-tso (exchanging verses, using the same rhyme-word) and lien-chii (joint composition). The two poems ascribed to Li Tung-pin in response to the 'Lao yu-hsien t'u' and 'Lao yin-hsien t'u' are good examples of the first form.\(^{321}\)

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\(^{320}\) CSFCC, 5/42b-43b (7772).

\(^{321}\) Ibid.
and there are four instances of joint composition in the whole san-chi.\textsuperscript{322}

These poems were alleged to have been composed in collaboration by well-known adepts and immortals in the Taoist pantheon, such as Han Hsiang-tsu 韓湘子, a household name and one of the popular eight immortals,\textsuperscript{323} the pre-eminent Ch'iu Ch'u-ch'i and Lü Tung-pin who are already familiar figures in this paper, Liu Hai-ch'an 劉海蟾 (fl. 1023-1063), the patriarch of the Nan-tsung,\textsuperscript{324} Pai Yu-ch'an 白玉蟾 (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,\textsuperscript{325} and last of all Ma-ku 麻姑, the legendary figure who was said to flourish in the Han dynasty.\textsuperscript{326} All these are supposed contributors to the Yün-shui san-chi.

\textsuperscript{322} The titles of these four poems are: 1) 'Shuang-ch'ing-ko t'ung fei-hsien lien-chü hsien shih-wu hsien yün' 春清閣同僊仙聯句限十五成韻 2) 'Lien-chü 聯句' 3) 'Ch'ing-ch'eng-shan lien-chü' 青城山聯句 4) 'Sung Lang-ch'uan Lang-shan kuei Lang-chung t'ung Pi-ch'eng tao-jen lien-chü' 達蘭泉蘭山歸同碧城道人聯句, see CSFCC 5/47b-48b (7774-5), 5/50b (7776) and 5/60a (7781) respectively.

\textsuperscript{323} Han-hsiang-tsu 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-tsu, cf. works listed in the last part of Note 76 which deal with the eight immortals.

\textsuperscript{324} The real name of Liu Hai-ch'an was Liu Ta'ao 劉操. For his biography, see Chin-lien cheng-tsung chi, TT 75, 1/9a-11b; Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan hsiang-chuan, TT 76, pp.16b-18a; Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien, TT 148, 49/5a-7a; Hsiao-yao-hsü 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.

\textsuperscript{325} Pai Yu-ch'an was a noted Taoist priest who flourished in the reign of Emperor Ning-tsung 隆慶 (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-hsü 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.

\textsuperscript{326} Ma-ku was alleged to be the sister of Wang Fang-p'ing 王方平 (fl.147-167), also a legendary figure. For a biographical account of Ma-ku, see Hsiien-yüan pen-chu, TT 330, chung/13a; Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (850-933), Yung-ch'eng chi-hsien lu 嚴城集仙錄, TT 561, 4/10b-13a; San-tung ch'ün-hsien lu, TT 994, 11/5b-6a; Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung chien hou-chi, TT 150, 3/5a-b; and Hsiao-yao-hsü ching, TT 1081, 1/29a-30a.
To sum up, the *Yün-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, *'Yün-shui ch'ien-chi was composed by the master during his sojourn in the world'*,327 and of the sequential collections of poems, he writes, 'As to the *Yün-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.'328 Since the first volume, according to the compiler, was written during San-feng's stay in the secular world, the 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 but a device to camouflage this absurdity.

Chüan 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 *chüan* should fall into two sections, namely, the *T'ien-k'ou p'ien* and the *Hsin-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' (An essay on the orthodox teaching),

327 *CSFCC, Fan-li*, p.1b (7643).
328 Ibid.
'Ju-shu p'ien' (An essay on the Confucian classics), etc. As for the rest of the passages, all except the last carry the word 'wen' (to avoid fornication) being an example. The last work is entitled 'Ti-li shuo' (Theory of geomancy). The first few passages are mostly devoted to discussion of the three teachings, while the others are merely general works discourse on the philosophy of life, which coincide in spirit with 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 the Yin-chih wen 陰陽文 (A treatise on the secret determination), the former being the most popular Taoist treatise.

The T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien which was probably written by Li Ch'ang-ling 李昌齡 (fl. 1233), is composed in a lucid style and its purport is to elucidate the doctrine of retribution. Many commentaries had been written on this treatise, and the one included in the TT 834-9, in thirty chüan, was the work of Li Ch'ang-ling. The commentary was paraphrased by Cheng Ch'ing-chih 鄭清之 (1176-1251). Other commentaries include the one written by Hui Tung 惠棟 (1697-1758), which is entitled T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien chien-chu 太上感應篇纂註, Tao-tsang chi-yao, and another one which bears the title T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien chi-chu, one chüan, Tao-tsang chi-yao, 48. For an English translation of this popular treatise, see, among others, James Legge, 'The Thai-shang Tractate of Actions and their Retributions', in The Texts of Taoism, pp. 235-46; also Suzuki Daisetsu 鈴木大拙 and Paul Carus, T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien, Treatise of the Exalted One on Response and Retribution (Open Court, Chicago, 1926).

The Yin-chih wen is attributed to Wen-ch'ang ti-chün 文昌帝君, also known as Tru-t'ung ti-chün 順潼帝君. For the history of the work, see Sakai Tadao, 'Inshitsu bun no seiritsu ni tsuite' 陰陽文の成立について, Tōhō Shōkyō 東方宗教, No. 12 (1957), pp. 1-15. A commentary on the work, entitled Wen-ti yin-chih wen chu 文帝陰陽文註 is found in the Tao-tsang chi-yao, 218. For an English translation of this treatise, see Suzuki Daïsetsu and Paul Carus, Yin Chih 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 dynasty. Later he was turned into a god by Taoist priests and canonized as Wen-ch'ang ti-chün during the Shao-hai period (1190-1194) of the reign of Emperor Kuang-tsung (reigned 1190-1194) of the 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.
on retribution. It is difficult to determine the authorship of these works, as no blatant blunders or obvious discrepancies with regard to time or personages can be detected in these overwhelmingly 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 the supreme deity on high, secretly blesses the masses below. [Heaven] enlightens the blind and bestirs the deaf in order to illuminate the world; [Heaven also] exhorts man to practise virtues and refrain from vices so as to bring salvation to all. My tongue stammers and I am dull witted, [but] I will not shirk [from speaking]. 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 who has highly exalted me. 331

This preface is signed with the name of Chang San-feng, who is here given an appellation 'Tung-hsüan chen-jen', which merits attention. As far as can now be seen, this alias is not recorded in any of the accounts of San-feng written by Ming authors. Neither does Wang Hsi-ling mention it in his biographical account of the Taoist master. The earliest occurrence of this title is in the 'San-chiao ching' , a set of three scriptures purporting to syncretize the three teachings, which is found in chilan 7 of the present Chang San-feng ch'iian-chi. 332 There is a strong

331 CSFCC, 6/62a-b (7782).

332 The titles of these three scriptures are: 1)'Ch'ien san-chiao shang-sheng ling-miao chen-ching' 前三教上聖靈妙真經 in which the author uses the appellation, 'Tung-hsüan Chang hsien-chen' 濟玄張仙真, CSFCC 7/11a (7800); 2)'Chung san-chiao ta-sheng ling-ying Chen-ching' 中三教大聖靈應真經 , here the author is designated as 'Tung-hsüan chih-jen Chang hsien-weng' 濟玄至人張仙翁, ibid., p.17a (7803); 3)'Hou san-chiao ta-sheng ling-t'ung chen-ching'後三教大聖靈通真經, and here the appellation 'Tung-hsüan chen-jen' appears, ibid., p.21b (7805).
possibility that these scriptures were composed by Li Hsi-yüeh or one of his contemporaries, as will be elaborated in the latter part of this section. For the time being, it may be assumed that the foregoing pseudonym was invented and given to San-feng by Li Hsi-yüeh 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 chüan 6 were fabricated by the very person who suggested the title 'Tung-hsüan chen-jen'; and most probably, this was Li Hsi-yüeh 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 Chüan jen chü-hu'. This note, was, I presume, added to the original text when Li Hsi-yüeh was revising the Chang San-feng chüan-chi, and it suggests that the tract in question existed before the revised edition was published. 

Chüan 7 is dominated by Taoist scriptures, the titles of all of which appear in the tsung-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' 洞玄度人寶藏諸天無上真經; 6)'P'u-t'i yüan-miao ching'; 7)'Chung-chieh'. These scriptures are exclusive to the

333 This chüan contains 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.

334 CSFCC, 6/82b (7792).
revised edition of the *Chang San-feng ch‘han-chi* 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 each of these scriptures.

The first is the 'Tou-mu yün-tsun chiu-huang chen-ching' which is alleged to be a sermon preached by the stellar deity Tou-mu yün-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 edict [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.

Another witness to the ceremony was the immortal Hsien-t‘ien ch‘un-yang shih fu-yu ti-chün 先天純陽氏孚佑帝君 which is in fact the other designation of the popular Patriarch Lü, who was alleged to have said:

> Previously when I was expounding the 'Chan-hsing li-tou chang' to the followers in 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' delivered by Tou-mu yün-tsun to K‘un-yang chen-chün 親陽真君, [I find that] it has amalgamated the fundamental principles of the three vital forces (i.e. vital ch‘i, vital spirit, and vital sperm) and manifested the supernatural powers of the primordiality. As a successor to the other scriptures relating to the Wu-tou 無斗

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335 Ibid., 7/2b-3a (7795-6).

336 It is recorded in the *Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan hsiang-chuan*, TT 76, p.16a, that Patriarch Lü was given the title 'Ch‘un-yang yen-cheng ching-hua chen-chün' 純陽混元懷化真君 by Khuibilai Khan. The designation was later expanded to 'Ch‘un-yang yen-cheng ching-hua fu-yu ti-chün' by the Mongol Emperor Wu-tsung (reigned 1308-1311).

337 This is an alias of Chang San-feng and is first seen in Wang Hsi-ling's 'San-feng hsien-sheng pen-chuan', *CSFCC*, 1/9a (7651).
Five Dippers) preach by T'ai-shang [lao-chün] 太上 [老君], 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...

In this passage two discrepancies with regard to time are discernible. In the first place, the episode in which Patriarch Lü 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 Lü, the Ch'un-yang hsien-sheng shih chi 純陽先生詩集, but alleged to have taken place in the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty when the cult of Chang San-feng had already been current.

338 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.

339 This is an honorific title bestowed on Lao-tzu by Emperor Chen-tsung 夫天 (reigned 998-1022) of the Northern Sung dynasty. The full title is 'T'ai-shang luo-chün hun-yüan shang-te huang-ti' 太上老君混元上德皇 帝. It is mentioned in the Basic Annals of Emperor Chen-tsung, III, Sung-shih, 8/29 and also appears in the 'Sung Chen-tsung yü-chih ch'ao-yeh t'ai-ch'ing-kung sung ping hsü' 來真宗御製崇誼大清崇頤序, which is included in Chia Shan-hsiang's Yu-lung chuan, TT 555, 6/13a.

340 CSFCC, 7/7b-8a (7798).

341 The episode is described in the preface, written by Hsu Hsi-yüeh 胡希夷, to the 'Han-san tsa-yung ch'en-chi', 涵三雜詣前輯, which is a section of the Ch'un-yang hsien-sheng shih-chi, alleged to have been compiled by Lu Hsi-hsing and revised by Hsu Hsi-yüeh (1846, K'ung-ch'ing tung-t'ien engraved ed., included in the Lü-tsu ch'üan-shu 呂祖全書, which is reprinted in the Tao-tsang ching-hua, Taipei, 1967), 6/1a. The text runs, 'Han-san Monastery was located in the eastern corner of the city of O-ch'eng (Hupeh). It became the place where Patriarch Lü descended during the forty years between the fortieth year of the K'ang-hsi period (1701) and the fourth year of the Ch'ien-lung reign (1739). Hsu Hsi-yüeh may have flourished in the Tao-kuang period. This assumption is based on two grounds. Firstly, the Ch'un-yang hsien-sheng shih-chi was revised by Hsu, and this collection of poems attributed to Lü was engraved in the twenty-sixth year of the Tao-kuang period (1846). Secondly, Hsu was also responsible for the compilation of another work, entitled Hai-shan ch'i-yü 海山奇遇, which records the appearances of Patriarch Lü from the T'ang dynasty down to the twenty-sixth year of the Tao-kuang period. In other words, Hsu was alive in that year.
for more than three centuries. It is therefore impossible that the Taoist master had the foreknowledge to predict this occasion. Furthermore, the honorific title 'K'un-yang chen-chun' 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 before seen 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 yu'an-tsun chiu-huang chen-ching' is spurious.

A collective title, San-chiao ching, is given to the three scriptures that come directly after the 'Tou-mu yu'an-tsun chiu-huang chen-ching'. Their 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-ching', which commences with the following paragraph:

These three chen-ching (scriptures) were composed after the style of the Huang-t'ing[ching] [Huang-t'ing], and their main purport 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...343

The author of this annotation is not known. It might have been written by Li Hsi-yileh 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.

342 This is a famous Taoist scripture on the cultivation of life, cf. TT 19.

343 CSFCC, 7/10a (7799).
In addition, these three scriptures, which syncretize the three teachings, are crammed with eulogistic descriptions of the power and feats of San-feng who is extolled to the skies. It is unlikely that San-feng would brag thus of his attainments. To cite a few examples, the 'Ch'ien san-chiao shang-sheng ling-miao chen-ching' states, 'At that time the immortal Chang [San-feng], alias Tung-hsüan 洞玄, with a dragon carrying a brush [by his side], preached the chen-ching';\(^{344}\) the 'Chung san-chiao ta-sheng ling-ying chen-ching' relates, 'The immortal Chang [San-feng], also known as Tung-hsüan chih-jen, descended from the vault of Heaven to transmit the efficacious scripture...';\(^{345}\) while the 'Hou san-chiao ta-sheng ling-t'ung chen-ching' reads, 'Chang Hsüan-hsüan (i.e. Chang San-feng), 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-chünn of Confucianism, Bodhidharma of Buddhism, and Patriarch Lü of the Taoist religion)...'.\(^{346}\)

In like manner, the master is exalted throughout the scriptures which are most likely written by an adulator rather than by San-feng 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, that of 'Tung-hsüan ti-chünn yü-hsü yu-hsiang ts'an-fe t'ien-shih'洞玄帝君王虛右相奉法天師.

\(^{344}\) Ibid., p.11a (7800).

\(^{345}\) Ibid., p.17a (7803).

\(^{346}\) Ibid., p.21b (7805).
Other persons are also mentioned in this work, such as Shen Wan-san and Wang Hsi-ling, who are addressed by the author as \textit{chen-chünn} (immortal master) and \textit{chen-jen} (immortal) respectively.\(^{347}\) 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.\(^{348}\) 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 \textit{chen-chünn} 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.

The following is the rendering of this whole passage:

This scripture, [its title shortened to] 'Tung-hsiian ching' 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-hsiian ti-chünn. Therefore he expounded this 'Tung-hsiian chen-ching' [Whoever] has the opportunity of coming across this scripture, should treasure and respect it.\(^ {349}\)

\(^{347}\) Ibid., p.31b (7810).

\(^{348}\) See Note 337.

\(^{349}\) \textit{CSFCG}, 7/36b (7812).
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 ch'\'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 has weaved.

The last-but-one scripture in the section is the 'P'u-t'i y\'uan-miao ching', to which is appended an epilogue that gives the following information:

This scripture [which is entitled] 'P'u-t'i [y\'uan-miao ching]' was obtained from the Buddhist monk Ju-chan of the Tz'u-ching Monastery on Hsi-hu ... 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'u-t'i (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 San-feng], and happened to acquire this scripture. So they recorded and preserved it with the greatest respect.

The Mister Liu mentioned in this unsigned epilogue might either be Liu Cho-an or Liu Tun-y\'uan, because both of them participated in the compilation of the Chang San-feng ch'\'uan-chi. Mister Yang can be identified with Yang P'an-shan who was a contemporary of Li Hsi-yueh and who was also a Taoist devotee and an enthusiastic practicer of planchette writing. As for Monk Ju-chan, the original owner of the scripture, he was, according to the Chang San-feng ch'\'uan-chi itself, the disciple of another noted monk

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350 Ibid., pp.40a-b (7814).
351 Some of his poems are included in the Yin-shui san-chi, and he is also mentioned in the preface to the collected poems, see CSFCC,5/37a-b (7769).
and abbot of the Tz'u-ching Monastery, Monk Yin-hsü 煥虛 352. It should be noted that the salient feature of this scripture is the predominance of Buddhist elements. It lacks even 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' 遠遠静光佛 (The filthy Buddha of Tranquil light) 353, while 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 is of course a grotesque blunder.

In the last of the seven scriptures, there is a short note printed in small type following the title. It is noteworthy in that it includes the following remark, 'Adopted by the monasteries of the Yin-hsien sect'. 354 This suggests that the scripture entitled 'Chung-chièh' might 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 ch'ian 7, substantial proof from the scriptures combats the view that San-feng was their author.

352 It is recorded in the same epilogue, p.40a (7814).

353 See CSFCC, 7/38b-39a (7813).

354 Ibid., p.42a (7815).
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 of the same persuasion. It is therefore ascertainable that these works were entirely the 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, chose to place them under the name of this 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 chilan is a collection of random discourses and contains three parts, namely, 'Hsien-t'an' (Random talks), 'Shih-t'an' (Talks on Taoist poems) and 'Chi-t'an' (Talks on the practice of planchette writing). The contents of all three portions comply with their titles, as the first part, 'Hsien-t'an', contains notes dealing with a variety of topics, 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...'.\(^{355}\) It is quite clear that

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\(^{355}\) Ibid., 8/49a (7818).
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'ıian-chi* possible. Since he lived in the Tao-kuang period, Liu could not have been acquainted with San-feng. Further anachronism can be cited, for Cho-an is the central figure of another entry which reads, 'The master Chang went together with Yün-shih and Cho-an to ramble about the scattered mountains during the cold season of winter...'. "Yün-shih" cannot be identified on account of the meagre sources at hand. However, that he was a contemporary of Cho-an is clear, and needless to say, it is impossible for him to have had any communication with San-feng.

Li Hsi-yüeh, who played a key role in promoting the cult of San-feng among his fellow advocates, comes into the scene again, his name being mentioned in one passage which runs:

-[After] Master Chang had roamed about the Yüeh-yün [Altar], he resided at the Yin-feng Hall, at which time 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-hsü-tzu (i.e. Li Hsi-yüeh) to play the ch'in and beat the drum to enhance the joy of chanting. Won't that be very pleasant?'

Yüeh-yün is the name of the altar set up by Li Hsi-yüeh 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 Yüeh-yün altar.'

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356 Ibid., p.50a (7819).
357 Ibid., p.51a (7819).
358 Ibid., 7/23b (7806).
altar is also mentioned in the Yün-shui san-chi.\textsuperscript{359} Yin-feng Hall is another altar in which the sect of Li practised their Taoist rites, and was probably located in Lo-shan district, Szechwan. The Yün-shui san-chi makes allusion to this altar as well.\textsuperscript{360} 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 Yüan-yang is also cited in several entries which are rendered as follows:

Master Chang said to Yüan-yang-tzu 圓陽子 ...\textsuperscript{361}

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-yün shan-chuang 怡雲山莊, the residence of Yüan-yang-tzu, is located between two mountains...\textsuperscript{362}

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 Yüan-yang completes the poem for me'.\textsuperscript{363}

Coming out from the region of Ch'ing-wei t'ien 清微天 (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-yüan-hsien-ch'i 混元
(Melody on the theme of primordiality) to Yüan-yang. Pupils please sing it for me, to add to the wealth of beautiful stories about the forests and springs.\footnote{364}

It is quite clear that the Yüan-yang and Yüan-yang-tzu mentioned in the above quotations is Li Yüan-yang, another fanatical advocate of Taoism who lived about the time of Li Hsi-yüeh.

The last of the above quotations is followed by a paragraph in which the names of some other figures are mentioned:

At that time, Li Shan-ch'iao 李山樵 beat the chu 竹 (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...\footnote{365}

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 Yüan-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 Yün-shui san-chi.

Once again, the characters appearing in the section 'Shih-t'an' disclose discrepancies in 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 鄧雍 (alias Shao Yao-fu 邵堯夫, 1011-1077),\footnote{366} and Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'ün (Ch'iu Ch'ü-ch'i), to whom are attributed the poems entitled 'T'i Yüeh-yün t'an san chüeh-chü' 题繇雲壇三絕句 (Three verses on the Yüeh-yün Altar), 'Ch'i-hsi yu Yüeh-yün hsien-yüan' 七夕遊繇雲仙院 (A visit to the Yüeh-yün

\footnote{364} Ibid., p.53b (7820).
\footnote{365} Ibid.
\footnote{366} Shao Yung was a philosopher of Taoist bent who lived in the Northern Sung dynasty. For his biography, see Sung-shih, 427/1098-9.
Altar on the seventh evening of the seventh month), 'Hsiu-hsi-ch'ieh chiang Shuang-ch'ing ko' (Descending upon the Shuang-ch'ing ko at the Hsiu-hsi Festival in the third month of the year), 'Tseng Yüan-yang shan-jen' (Dedicated to Yüan-yang shan-jen), and 'Ch'ing-ch'iu kuo Yüeh-yün lou' (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, that is Yüeh-yün hsien-yüan, Yüeh-yün t' an, Yüeh-yün lou (all three refer to the same place), and Shuang-ch'ing ko 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 are attributed to San-feng, are also apocryphal, for both the poems and the notes were fabricated by Ch'ing writers.

In this section are also mentioned some other popular figures in the Taoist religion, to whom poems are attributed. For instance, Yii 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-hsiao Monastery in Yunnan and left behind a poem [in the style of] chüeh-chü with the inscription 'Fei-hsia' [on it]...

367 This is also the name of an altar. There are two poems in the Yün-shui 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 yüan-yün' (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 lien-chü hsien shih-wu hsien-yün' (To compose a poem jointly with Fei-hsien in Shuang-ch'ing ko, using only the rhyming words in the fifteenth hsien group), CSFCC, 5/40b (7771) and 5/47b (7774).

368 CSFCC, 8/59a (7823).
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 authentic work. Lu Hsi-hsing is another well-known Taoist figure who is 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 entitled the Tung-lai cheng-i 蒼來正義, and [Lu] Ch'ien-hsü (i.e. Lu Hsi-hsing) writes an inscription [in the form of a poem] on his behalf...

Pai-pai-tzu lived at about the same time as Li Hsi-yüeh, so he could not have been in communication with Lu Hsi-hsing, a Taoist priest of the Ming dynasty. Moreover, Lu, who lived between 1520 and 1601, was active two centuries after

369 Tao-te ching by Lao-tzu is the principal Taoist classic, and few ages have passed without producing some commentators on it. Among the numerous expositions, one of the best still extant is that by Wang Pi (226-249), entitled the Lao-te ching chu 老子注, also known as Tao-te chen-ching chu 道德真經注, TT 373, which 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 張道陵 (mid second century), the first Patriarch of the Cheng-i sect, is called the Lao-tzu tao-ching hsiang-erh chu 老子道德經想爾注, two chüan. This commentary was found among the T'un-huang manuscripts. For a study and paraphrase of this commentary, see Jao Tsung-i 高季方, Lao-tzu hsiang-erh chu chiao-chien (A study on Chang Tao-ling's Hsiang-er commentary of Tao Te Ching) (Hong Kong, 1956). Moreover, three Chinese emperors who were noted for their inclination towards Taoism also produced commentaries on this Taoist classic: they are Emperors Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 (reigned 713-756) of the T'ang, Hui-tsung 眞宗 (reigned 1101-1125) of the Northern Sung and T'ai-tsu of the Ming. Their respective commentaries are found in TT 355, 359 and 354. For a comparative study of these commentaries written by Emperors, see Liu Ts'un-yan, 'Tao-tsang pen san-sheng chu Tao-te ching chih te-shih', The Chung Chi Journal, Vol.9 No.1 (Hong Kong, Nov.1969), pp. 1-9; 'Tao-tsang pen san-sheng chu Tao-te ching hui-chien' 道藏本三聖註道德經會解 (A comparative study of the three imperial commentaries on the Lao-tzu), parts I-III, Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Vol.IV No.2(1971), pp.287-343, Vol.V No.1(1972), pp.9-75, and Vol.VI No.1 (1973), pp.1-42 respectively. For interpretations of the Tao-te ching in English, see, among others, James Legge, 'The Tao Teh King', in The Texts of Taoism (Sacred Books of the East Vol.XXXIX), pp.45-124; Arthur Waley, The Way and its Power: A Study of the Tao-Te Ching and its place in Chinese thought (Allen & Unwin, London, 1956); John C.H. Wu, Lao-tzu (Tao Teh Ching) (St. John's University Press, New York, 1961); and D.C.Lau, Lao Tzu (Tao Te Ching) (Penguin, London, 1963).

370 CSFCC, 8/59a (7823).
San-feng, and therefore it is equally improbable that the latter could have foreseen the existence of these persons and received their communication. It is a glaring error to place this obviously spurious work under the name of San-feng.

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 fact that its authorship is forged 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 through 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.'

Of course, this statement is inconceivable and therefore unacceptable.

Similarly, the works in the last section, 'Chi-t'an', of chüan 8 may also be proved to be apocryphal. This section commences with a dialogue in which Chang San-feng is 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 (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...'

Han-san Monastery is the place where the divining altar for worship of the Taoist immortals was located and 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

371 Ibid., pp.54a-b (7821).

372 Ibid., p.59b (7823).
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 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 is not mentioned by Wang Hsi-ling, and was apparently not contained in Wang's unpublished edition of the *Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi*. In other words, Wang played no part in the fabrication of this 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 in 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* (table of contents) at the beginning. According to the *mu-lu*, this ts'e is to be divided into two *ch'uan*, but this 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' 萬昌帝君開心咒註釋, written by Chang Shih-lo 張世華; 2) 'Shou-cheng yün-chi shen-kuang ching' 受正元擒神光經, compiled by Wu Hai-yün 吳海雲; 3) 'Chun-t'i hsin-ching' 溫提心經, compiled by Wu Hai-yün; 4) 'Tou-mu ta-fa-yü' 斗姥大法語; 5) 'Ta-pei 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

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373 Chun-t'i or Cundi is a vindictive form of Parvati, the wife of Shiva. She is the 'Buddha-mother' (fo-mu 佛母) in many of the Tantric sutras. For an account of the origin of Chun-t'i, see Liu Ts'un-yan, *Buddhist and Taoist Influences on Chinese Novels* (Kommissionsverlag otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1962), p.183.
Nevertheless, three out of five of the short incantations included in this spell, namely, 'Hsin-chou' 心咒, 'Tsung-ch'ih-chou' 思持咒, and 'Wu-chi chou' 无极咒, are not explained, while the other two, the 'K'ai-hsin fu' 開心符 and 'Tsung-ch'ih fu' 思持符, 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 as one written by another author, although 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'ih k'ai-hsin shen-chou fu-lu' 文昌帝君開心神咒符録, thus showing that the contents of this part are not systematically arranged. However, the core of my argument does not lie here.

With regard to this section, attention should be directed towards several points. First and foremost, the table of contents of this particular ts'e, 'Ju-i pao-chu mu-lu' 靖意寶珠目錄, is immediately followed by the general title Chang San-feng hsien-sheng ch'Han-chi. In the centre of each folio of the mu-lu, two titles, namely, San-feng ch'Han-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 板心 (centre of the block) of each folio is inscribed with both the collective title San-feng ch'Han-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 yu'an-chi shen-kuang ching', is printed another title, Chang San-feng hsien-sheng i-chi 張三丰.

374 CSFCC, ts'e 6 (hsü pi-chi 12), p.1b (7872).
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'i 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 in the complete works.

Thirdly, in complete contrast to other ts'e of the Chang San-feng ch'uan-chi, the introductory inscription 'Li Hsi-yüeh 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 chüan 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 hsin-ching' and the 'Ta-pei 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-pei shen-chou' there is an explanatory note by which the compiler attempts to elaborate the uses of the incantation:  

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375 Ibid., p.66a (7905).
Whoever chants this amulet...will get everything he seeks after. He will always have fine clothing and be replete with food. He will enlist the support of benefactors and whatever he desires for will be granted. All his requests will be responded like an echo; and things will turn up according to his wish. This [amulet] is indeed a ju-i chu 如意珠. 376

This is how the title of this ts‘e, Ju-i pao-chu, was coined.

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376 In Taoist terminology, the ju-i chu refers to the cultivation of the pill, while in Buddhist texts, this is explained as a pearl that can produce all treasures, clothing and food and can respond to every wish. It is mentioned in the sāstra on the Greater Prajā-pāramitā sūtra 大智度論 ascribed to Nāgārjuna 龍樹 and translated by Kūmārajīva 善製 with the Tripitaka in Chinese 中華大藏經 (1309, Ch‘i-sha 磊砂 engraved ed., Taipei reprint, 1962-66, Vol. 14), Ti-i-chi 第一輯, chi 4, 10/11382 chung.
VI. CONCLUSION

My examination of the Chang San-feng ch’üan-chi, attributed to this Taoist, leads me to conclude that this collected works is spurious. The following is a résumé of my findings.

The works in the sections Hsü, Kao, Chuan, Hsien-p’ai, Cheng-o, and Hsien-chi in chüan 1, the Ku-chin t’i-tseng, Yin-ching, and Hui-chi in chüan 8, and the Wu-ken-shu tz’u chu-chieh 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. For 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, in many cases the products of planchette writing, while some other works were from the hand of an unknown author of the late Ming period, or were lifted from anonymous collections and attributed to Chang San-feng. The following are examples showing discrepancies to be found which betray the fact that the works concerned are forgeries.

Some of the works purporting to have been transmitted by the Taoist master in person are obviously spurious. For instance, the compiler claims that some were written by Chang San-feng in the Ch’ing period, as in the case of 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-yüeh claims that it includes 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 alluding to communications between Chang San-feng and Lü 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 is alleged 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 Yii, but all these historical figures lived in periods remote from the lifetime of Chang, so it is impossible that they could have had any 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 in 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 of the late Ming period, because Ch'ing writers rarely touched on happenings in Ming times. In some of the poems and discourses, the names even 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 chüan 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 Yin-chien, chüan 2) were said to have lived for six hundred years, from the Yuan to the Ch'ing period, which is, of course, preposterous.

Some of the works in the ku-wen and Yin-chien sections in chüan 2 and some poems in the Hsüan-yao p'ien (chüan 4) 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 have allowed Chang San-feng to produce works filled with such sentiment. Therefore, there is a strong possibility that these prose pieces and poems were also composed by an unknown author in the late Ming period.

It can be detected that some of the works, like those in the Yün-shuí ch'ien-chi, 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 from 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 was associated with him by his Ch'ing devotees, figure in the works in the Yün-shuí ch'ien-chi, helping to betray the false attribution and dating of these works.

Some terms found here were used only by Ch'ing advocates. For example, the designations 'Tung-hsüan chen-jen' and 'K'un-yang chen-chün' were given to San-feng by his Ch'ing devotees, and should therefore not appear in works which were actually written by the Taoist master of the Ming period. This incongruity is found in the T'ien-k'ou p'ien (chüan 6) and in the scriptures in chüan 7. Moreover, the appellations 'chen-chün' and 'chen-jen' are also attributed to Shen Wan-san and Wang Hsi-ling, respectively, by 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 altars, such as the 'Han-san', 'Yüeh-yün' and 'Yin-feng', which were established in the Ch'ing dynasty, in the works in the Shui-shih hsien-t' an, serves to disclose the fact that these works are forged.

Lastly, it is also clear that some of the works were extracted from the Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien, an earlier compilation than the Chang San-feng ch'üan-chi, and 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 included in the Hsüan-yao p'ien also under the name of Chang San-feng. In fact, the complete works contain many complex foreign elements. The inclusion of the Ju-i pao-chu (ts'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 its authorship is doubtful.377

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