

Pre-Song Daoist Exorcism (道教法術) and its Relationship with Heavenly Masters Daoism

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Abstract

This article challenges common assumptions concerning Song 宋 (960–1279) and Yuan 元 (1279–1368) Daoist exorcism called *Wulei fa* 五雷法, also referred to as Thunder Magic rituals, and Divine Empyrean Daoism (Shenxiao dao 神霄道) that suggest these traditions introduced a new Daoism in the Song-period or augmented Daoism by adapting to folk-traditions of healing practices and other magic competencies. The author argues that, contrary to assumptions, Daoist exorcist practices were a religious phenomenon that always was associated with Heavenly Masters Daoism (*Tianshi dao* 天師道). The article explains that Daoist exorcism was conceived as a crucial part of liturgical Daoism in the Heavenly Masters tradition. The author also considers potential reasons for the late inclusion of exorcist rituals in the *Daozang* 道藏 and their further documentation therein. Arguments are mainly based on canonical biographical sources and expert statements by high ranking Daoists of the Tang 唐 (618–907). Such sources refer to the purposes of Heavenly Masters Daoism and claim the presence and practical reality of Daoist exorcism to be genuine elements of Daoist religious culture.

Keywords: Daoist exorcism (*Wulei fa* 五雷法), Heavenly Masters Daoism (*Tianshi dao* 天師道), Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153), Ye Fashan 葉法善 (631–720), Ye Qianshao 葉千韶 (fl. 9th cent.)

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Most studies of Daoist exorcism 道教法術 focus on the Song- and Yuan periods, which certainly is due to the easily accessible source materials in the *Daoist Canon* of the Ming-period. It may suffice to mention the voluminous compilations *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 and *Fahai yizhu* 法海遺珠. However, we have to consider that Song-exorcism must have had a long pre-history and was neither an invention of Daoists in the Song period in the sense of a new Daoism nor a magic gift from anywhere. We know that the culture and methods of the masters of recipes *fangshi* 方士 in the Han-period did not eventually evaporate but amalgamated in the sphere of religious Daoism contributing various techniques for organizing life such as divination.¹

The scholar Wang Chong 王充 (1st ct. CE) criticized in his book *Discussing the Balance Lunheng* 論衡 the cult of a Thunder Lord 雷公 as an irrational exercise and explained that thunders and lightning are natural phenomena and not at all the workings of a divine Thunder Lord. We still can conclude that religious veneration or even a cult for the divinity must have existed.²

We also know that excavated graves from the Han-period document notions of a life afterwards and suggest adequate ritual and exorcist forms of administering the

¹ See the numbers DZ 1220 and DZ 1166 in *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏. See Kristofer Schipper/Yuan Bingling, in *Companion*, pp. 1105-1113; and Kristofer Schipper, in *Companion*, pp. 1090-1091. Concerning *Daofa huiyuan*, see also Piet van der Loon, “A Taoist Collection of the Fourteenth Century,” pp. 401-405. See Li Ling 李零, *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方術考, *Zhanbu tixi yu youguan faxian* 占卜體系與有關發現, pp. 35-57. See Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy eds., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China, From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, pp. 240-242, 245-247. Also see Donald Harper, “Warring States Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought”, in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, pp. 818, 827. Kenneth DeWoskin, “A Source Guide to the Lives and Techniques of Han and Six Dynasties Fang-shih,” pp. 79-105.

² *Lunheng* ch.6, p. 100 *Leixu pian* 雷虛篇, speaking about charts or pictures showing the Thunder Lord with the apparition of a stalwart *lishi* 力士. Also see, Käte Finsterbusch, *Verzeichnis und Motivindex der Han-Darstellungen*, vol.1, *Text*, p. 207. See Donald Harper, “Warring States Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, p. 870.

relationship of man, the souls and the netherworld. The adherents of early Heavenly Masters Daoism 天師道 had their own methods of participating in that culture.³ Not very much later in history the Daoism of the Numinous Jewel *Lingbao* 靈寶派 evolved, bringing a strong Buddhist influence to bear on Daoism. This was and is a wide field for studies that focus on the so-called *Lingbao*-methods of saving the souls of the dead and on caring for them in the time they are in the netherworld.⁴

Very much in contrast, the exorcist practices that centuries later the compendia *Daofa huiyuan* and *Fahai yizhu* of the Song/Yuan/Ming 宋元明 eras present are almost exclusively designed to deal with matters of life in this world which the terms fortuitous matters 吉事 and red matters 紅事 describe. The name Five Thunders Magic rituals 五雷法 is generally used to address collectively the welter of exorcist methods in the period of time that we just indicated. Five Thunders Magic rituals are presented in the form of *Great Rituals* 大法, all with a more or less fixed formal structure, showing the *Ritual Patrons* 主法 on the first position, followed by the *General Class* 將班 and possibly other subordinate martial spirit-charges. The apparition of the leading spirit-general is often featured in detail to help the executing Daoist perform the required self-transformation 變神 and realize his divine *alter ego*.⁵ This specific ritual element is well documented for performances of Daoist exorcism 道教法術 in the Son/Yuan periods.

However, we want to focus on the question whether such Daoist exorcism with

³ See Terry F. Kleeman, *Celestial Masters, History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities*, pp. 379-387. Wu Hung, *The Art and Architecture of the Warring States Period*, concerning *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄), in *The Cambridge History of China*, p. 723. See generally the entries in this book concerning *burials*, and again here, Donald Harper, “*Warring States Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought*,” p. 882, concerning the themes: divine transcendence 神仙 and the xian cult 仙. Also see John Lagerwey, “The Origins of Daoist Exorcism,” in Florian C. Reiter ed., *Exorcism in Daoism, A Berlin Symposium*, pp. 1-10. Especially notice the chapter *Resolving and Expelling* by Wang Chong that refers to the welter of small rituals 小法事, well known today from the daily reality in Taiwanese Daoist professional life, compare Wang Chong, *Lunheng* ch.25, *Jiechu pian* 解除篇, pp. 384-385. This proves some other track of Daoist exorcist culture that reaches back to antiquity.

⁴ See Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety, Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China*, pp. 171-176, 183-196.

⁵ See Florian C. Reiter, *Basic Conditions of Taoist Thunder Magic Rituals*, pp. 36,88,114.

its many variant forms and applications existed in the epochs preceding the Song/Yuan eras and whether they belonged to Heavenly Masters Daoism. The version of the canonical text *Scripture of the Divine Spells of the Superior Cave-Abyss* 太上洞淵神咒經 by the late-Tang Daoist Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933) explains that it would be up to a Daoist master who is called “Exorcist Master of the Three Caves” 三洞法師 to have the *scriptures* and *rituals* of the Three Caves 三洞之經法 at his avail to deal with all those demoniac forces that beset the society and the world. The term *Scriptures of the Three Caves* 三洞經 refers to the tripartite kernel of Daoist canonical literature which in this case indicates a specific standard of rank for a priest in Heavenly Masters Daoism.⁶

This is a most valuable information referring to periods of time long before the Song, albeit without presenting a program of exorcist rituals or any name-tag for exorcist, ritual methods such as, for example, Thunder Magic ritual. The main concern for the Daoist priest who performs a Daoist exorcist ritual is the fortuitous matter 吉事 which points to the purpose of such rituals: serving life in this world. We also have to note that some sources in the Tang period explicitly advise the Daoist against taking part in funeral services. He has to refrain from caring about burials or any related activities, which would not be a proper concern for the Daoist. Daoism cares about all aspects of a long and happy life in this world.⁷

In earlier studies we already had paid attention to the Daoist priests and exorcists Ye Fashan 葉法善 and Ye Qianshao 葉千韶 who lived in the Tang-period, and here we want to take them up again for further considerations, especially since they excelled in performances of Daoist exorcism.

We may put forth the consideration whether such persons really were priests and masters of the Dao 道士 as we know them from other sources and descriptions, or should some other designation apply? How do we define a master of the Dao who

⁶ DZ 335 *Tianshang dongyuan shenzhou jing*: 4.9a,11b; 6.6b. Ch.4.7a explains that the Sandong da fashi 三洞大法師 has the highest position amongst the exorcist masters 法師. For the text that originated in the Eastern Jin period (317-420), see Christine Mollier, in *Companion*, pp. 269-272. See below note 11 concerning DZ 1125.

⁷ See TT 1139 *Sandong zhunang*: 6.5a,5b,7a-8a,9a,9b, generally chapter 6. See Florian C. Reiter, *Der Perlenbeutel aus den Drei Höhlen (San-tung chu-nang) Arbeitsmaterialien zum Taoismus der frühen T'ang Zeit*, pp. 96-106.

appears to act as a master of exorcism 法師/法官? Is there any contradiction at all? We find that the same person within the frame of Heavenly Masters Daoism can unite very different ritual capabilities that accordingly serve different purposes.

The Tang scholar and official Xu Jian 徐堅 (659-729) explains in the section: *Daoism/Buddhism* 道釋部 of his *Primer for Learning* 初學記 the basic meaning of the word Master of the Dao 道士.⁸ It is telling that he qualifies the activities of such religious professionals as dealing with matters beyond the regular standard 方外, and consequently they were not listed in the *Section on Man* 人部. Xu Jian quotes the scripture *Taixiao liangshu jing* 太霄琅書經 which defines the Master of the Dao: A person who realizes Great Dao is called Master of the Dao 人行大道曰道士. We learn that the word *gentleman* 士 means *principle* 理. In other words, the Daoist embodies and realizes the principles of Dao. The renowned scholar and Daoist Lu Xiu-jing 陸修靜 (406-477) whom Xu Jian calls Ritual Master Lu 陸法師, explains that the Daoist takes *Dao* as father and the *divinities* 神明 as mother. Xu Jian also quotes the scripture *Taishang danjian heilu jing* 太上丹簡墨錄經 that takes up the actual position of such a person in real, professional life which is based on a ritual rank 法位.⁹

The ritual rank indicates the professional capacity of the priest. The Daoist idealizing source from the early Tang period, *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始 presents the chapter *Ritual Garments* 法服圖儀¹⁰ and shows a picture and description of the Daoist rank called Ritual Master of Orthodoxy and Unity 正一法師. All other ranks are also called Ritual Master 法師. The chapter *Sequence and Meaning of Ranking* 法次儀¹¹ lists still higher ranks for which we name two examples: Most Superior Ritual Master of the

⁸ *Chuxue ji* 23, p. 551. Concerning Xu Jian in the context of the compilation of the Daoist Canon under emperor Tang Xuanzong, *kaiyuan* period 開元 (713-742 C.E.) also see Florian C. Reiter, *The Beginning of the Subtle School of Taoism* 一切道經音義妙門由起 *An Official Perception of Taoism in the Early T'ang Period*, pp. 2, 3, 25 and note 52.

⁹ *Chuxue ji* 23, p. 552.

¹⁰ DZ 1125: chapter 5.

¹¹ DZ 1125: chapter 4. See Florian C. Reiter, *The Aspirations and Standards of Taoist Priests in the Early T'ang Period*, "Charts on Ritual Garments," pp. 123-125, 160-164; "The Ritual of Ranking in the Religious Order," pp. 133-136.

Elevated Mysteries 太上高玄法師 and Ritual Master of Cave Divinities without Superiors 無上洞神法師. The crucial point is that Daoist religious titles depended on the transferal of the appropriate *registers* 籙 to the respective person who had qualified to receive them. In fact, there is no point at all in separating the Daoist Master from the Ritual Master, if we rely on canonical sources from the Tang period.

An almost congenial relationship between Heavenly Masters Daoism or Daoism of Orthodoxy and Unity 正一道 and Daoist exorcism 道教法術 was flatly stated by the grand Tang Daoist Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 (fl.711-713).¹² He informs us that concerning the comprehensive rule over all divinities and demons in heaven and on earth, concerning the killing and subduing of wicked demons 邪魔, the beheading and the annihilation of bad spirits 妖精, the recruitment of divine forces 靈 and the summoning of vital forces 氣, the realisation of control and order at mountains and rivers, the cleansing of filthy atmospheres, the dispatch of petitions and the employment of postal [spirit] agents, and also the direct communication with the immortals 神仙, there is just nothing left that could have a still higher priority for [the methods and rituals of] Orthodoxy and Unity 正一.¹³

The statement of Zhang Wanfu reads like a summary of the wide programmatic range of the much later Thunder Magic rituals that flourished during the Song-period and in later ages. His statement implies again the equality of the terms Daoist master 道士 and Ritual or Exorcist master 法師.

However, in later periods of Daoist history, in the Yuan-, Ming-and Qing-periods and even today in modern times such names or titles may have been handled in a different way depending on regional habits and accordingly on the home training Daoist aspirants received and continue to receive. Nowadays, the titles Daoist master and Exorcist master may do justice to a new and different understanding of the profession which here is not our theme.

¹² Zhang Wanfu, the Venerable 大德 from the Belvedere Great Purity 太清觀 in the capital Changan 長安 was also invited by the emperor to participate in the compilation of the *Kaiyuan Canon*, see Florian C. Reiter, *The Beginning of the Subtle School of Taoism*, p. 25. Also see Tim Barrett, *Taoism under the T'ang, Religion & Empire during the Golden Age of Chinese History*, pp. 50, 78.

¹³ DZ 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lueshuo*: 1.4a-4b, quoting the *Zhengyi fawen kejie pin* 正一法科戒品.

It is rewarding for us to recollect what in the Ming-period the 43rd Heavenly Master Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361-1410) wrote in his *Ten Rules for the Daoists* 道門十規 concerning the Daoist exorcism of the Song- and Yuan periods. Zhang Yuchu had to organize the re-publication of the *Daoist Canon*, the later *Zhengtong daoang* 正統道藏. He wrote the *Ten Rules* as a note to the court, attempting to shed light on the various and valuable lines of transmission and professional traditions that combined in religious Daoism. He defined the Thunder Magic rituals as *exorcist methods* 法 that complement the *teachings* 教 of Heavenly Masters Daoism. He listed for example the branches *Shenxiao* 神霄 and *Qingwei* 清微 as the two groups that represent and perform Thunder Magic rituals. In the historic situation when the imperial administration had decided to re-edit the *Daoist Canon* the very existence of exorcism within the structure of Heavenly Masters Daoism was put forth as an indisputable matter of fact.¹⁴

We must not forget that the preceding Mongol Yuan-dynasty 元代 had ordered the destruction of the Canon in the wake of the Daoist-Buddhist struggle at the court, and after the Daoists had lost the case.¹⁵ This makes us curious about the situation in the Tang-period being the heir to the preceding Sui-dynasty 隋代 (581-618) and earlier epochs.

As to the sources for the study of pre-Song exorcism, we admit that they are indeed rather meager. The *Daoist Canon* presents comprehensive encyclopedias from the Tang period like *Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞,¹⁶ *Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊, and *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi* 一切道經音義妙門由起¹⁷ that generally aim to show the high standard of a literary approach to Daoist canonical culture,

¹⁴ DZ 1232 *Daomen shigui*: 11a-11b. See Florian C. Reiter, *Grundelemente und Tendenzen des religiösen Taoismus, Das Spannungsverhältnis von Integration und Individualität in seiner Geschichte zur Chin-, Yüan- und frühen Ming-Zeit*, pp. 37-41.

¹⁵ Josef Thiel SVD, “Der Streit der Buddhisten und Taoisten zur Mongolenzeit,” in *Monumenta Serica* XX, pp. 1- 81. Also see Stephen Eskildsen, *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁶ See Wang Zongyu 王宗昱, *Daojiao yishu yanjiu* 道教義樞研究.

¹⁷ See Florian C. Reiter, *Der Perlenbeutel aus den Drei Höhlen (San-tung chu-nang), Arbeitsmaterialien zum Taoismus der frühen T'ang-Zeit*, and the same author, *An Official Perception of Taoism in the Early T'ang Period*.

revealing only very rare insights into the daily life and the ritual practices of the Daoist priest at the grass-root level of society.

The process of revising and redefining the Daoist holdings at the imperial library in the capital was a great effort made by the Tang administration, bringing together the most excellent and high-ranking Daoist priests and abbots, and additionally on the other side quite a few outstanding secular scholars participated in the effort, such as the already familiar Xu Jian. The *Daoist Canon* was throughout history the result of sponsorship and patronage through the imperial administration which had a bearing on what was to be incorporated into the *Canon*.

Unfortunately, the official and historic Chinese perception tended to castigate exorcist practices as shaman activities. In the early Ming-period when the *Daoist Canon* was revised and published again, representatives of the Qingwei 清微 group had a say and they managed to include a selection of the Thunder Magic traditions of the Song and Yuan epochs that were edited and presented as *Great Rituals* 大法. They compiled those texts mainly in the two familiar compendia *Daofa huiyuan* and *Fahai yizhu*.¹⁸

It is for this reason why we have canonical sources for the study of the Daoist exorcism in the Song/Yuan periods but we are at a loss if we want to explain from where that exorcism had emerged. Do we see a new Daoism emerge in the Song? We do not think so since we can show a persistent presence of Daoist exorcism in Daoist history, albeit without a specific tag attached to it. Daoist exorcism simply is the other, officially rejected or ignored side of religious Daoism that in fact we could label: the second leg of Daoism.

In the absence of exorcist ritual programs or conclusive descriptions of pre-Song exorcism we chose to look at biographical sources that at least indicate specific exorcist activities. Even if we deal with later and certainly idealizing materials, we are not entitled to belittle them but take them as what they are: reports on what was later still known and regarded as worthwhile reporting. They reveal a basic knowledge about the exorcist reality of Daoism that otherwise remained widely ignored. Again, we must not expect to get information on ritual programs of exorcist performances. It is good enough for us to know that biographical sources

¹⁸ See above note 1, Piet van der Loon; and DZ 1166 *Fahai yizhu*, Kristofer Schipper in *Companion*, pp. 1090-1091.

reveal the very existence of exorcist skills, techniques and means which help us answer the question that our title implies.

We take four examples for consideration, starting out with a very late canonical source: *The Genealogy of the Heavenly Masters of the Han* 漢天師世家.¹⁹ *The Genealogy* lists Zhang Xiu 張修 as the 19th Heavenly Master whose life we briefly report.²⁰ He had the adult name Dezhen 得真 and was the eldest son of Chang Shiyuan 張士元 who was the 18th Heavenly Master. Zhang Xiu is said to have been a modest person who usually was clad in plain clothes and did not love any adornment. He led together with his wife a farmer's life in the countryside. Throughout the year he would ritually use amulets 符法 to heal illness. The biography states that his methods always were done right in time and were positively effective. He believed in his ritual capacity, which made a good impression on the gentlemen who lived in the area. He preferred a life in silence and solitude, and there was nothing he yearned to possess or which could arouse his envy. Two years before his death he prepared his grave and said: I am going to leave in two years' time. When his time had come, he took a bath, tidied his clothes, sat upright and died, having reached the age of 85 years.²¹ In the Yuan-period in the year 1353, emperor Yuan Huizong 元惠宗 granted him the rank of Perfected Lord with the religious title *Chongxuan cuihua zhaoqing zhenjun* 沖玄翬化昭慶真君.

We note that the exorcist capability to use *amulets* and to apply them ritually to save people from illness 以符法傳人治病 was seemingly inherited from his father Zhang Shiyuan whose biography uses exactly the same wording to describe his Daoist exorcist healing capacity.²²

The biography of Zhang Xiu still adds some interesting details: If people came to see him and reported any illness, he would use leaves from a tree, put a seal on them and apply them to heal with immediate effect. We also learn that he later passed on to other persons the amulets and registers that he had received through transmission, which we take as indication that Zhang Xiu ordained Daoist priests

¹⁹ This is DZ 1463, edited in the year 1607 by the 50th Heavenly Master Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥, See Kristofer Schipper/Yuan Bingling, in *Companion*, pp. 898-899.

²⁰ DZ 1463: 2.16a-16b.

²¹ DZ 296 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*: 19.8b-9a.

²² DZ 296 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*: 19.8b.

The great merchant Liu Qian 劉遷 who lived in Kiangsi once visited Zhang Xiu and received from him amulets and registers 符籙. This means that the merchant adopted a second vocation since he received the installment required to be a Daoist priest. One day Liu Qian died in Jinling 金陵²³ but two days later came back to life and reported that in the netherworld some clerks let him meet an official of the immortals who explained to him: Although the time of your death had come, you still can have [your life] extended for thirty years²⁴ since you formerly²⁵ received *amulets* and *registers* [from Zhang Xiu]. Thereupon Liu Qian entered a mountain and started life in seclusion.²⁶

We notice that no word is said about Daoist standard rituals such as the offerings *jiao* 醮 that are big events, involving numerous priests and musicians. We can be sure that Zhang Xiu knew how to perform *jiao*-rituals in a Daoist arena 道場 but the biography takes up what was special about him and makes the point emphasizing his healing activities that are individual exorcist performances. We do not really know how he performed his healing rituals but even today Daoists seem to use similar methods for healing, not to speak about the performances in an Exorcist Arena 法場 that nowadays are still arranged to perform large scale exorcism to deal with more distressing cases of illness.²⁷

²³ This is the city of Nanjing.

²⁴ The text has *erji* 二紀. We follow Du Guangting's DZ 590 *Daojiao lingyan ji*: 11.6b that has "thirty years." As to this text, see Franciscus Verellen in *Companion*, pp. 419-420, dating the text "after 905" which means end of Tang/Wudai 五代 periods.

²⁵ Possibly the character *chang* 常 is a mistake of the copyist, and it should be *chang* 嘗, the indicator of the past tense as in the sentence above.

²⁶ Concerning Liu Qian, see DZ 590 *Daojiao lingyan ji*: 11.6a-6b, *Liu Qian dugong lu yan* 劉遷都功錄驗; p. 5b recounts his encounter with the 19th Heavenly Master and installment as Daoist in 868 CE, albeit without putting in the name Zhang Xiu. We do not see any reason to doubt that Du Guangting speaks about Zhang Xiu as listed in DZ 1463. DZ 296 *Lishi zhenxian titao tongjian*: 19.9a *Zhang Xiu*, quotes as an addendum the relevant passage of the *Lingyan ji*.

²⁷ Concerning modern performances, see a description by John Kuipers, "A Description of the Fa-ch'ang Ritual as Practiced by the *Lü Shan* Taoists in Northern Taiwan," pp. 79-94. We have to note that J. Kuipers' classification of Daoist groups in his article generally does not do justice to the historic and practical realities, for example speaking about the "heterodox

Our second example is Zhang Shiyuan who was the 18th Heavenly Master about whom we already know that he cured illness using seals and amulets. He was good at planting peach- and plum-trees that would almost immediately bear fruits.²⁸ Obviously, he was a miracle worker. The *Genealogy* says²⁹ that he lived for forty years at Mount Yingtian shan 應天山. The mountain was infested with tigers, and nobody dared to visit him. He would come down from the mountain only on *san-yuan* days 三元日³⁰ to transmit Daoist registers.³¹ Every time he did so stormy winds and great rainfall would occur. Eventually some people saw him wearing a black cap and riding a black tiger to commute between the peaks of the mountain. Those who saw him riding a black tiger knew that he was the Heavenly Master. Today there is the Cinnabar-Shed Mountain 丹舍山 on the southern side of Mount Yingtian shan and its northern side has the Rock Displaying-Scriptures 繡經石, the Well of the Black Dragon 黑龍井,³² and the Jade Lotus Pool 碧蓮池 which are old relics from his time. He reached the age of 92, and in the Yuan-period in the year 1353 was granted the rank Perfected Lord with the title *Dongxu mingdao zanyun zhenjun* 洞序明道贊運真君.

Of course, quite a part of the biography reads like a miracle tale that serves the mystification of the Daoist. However, we can distil some facts. The Heavenly Master Zhang Shiyuan lived in a locality that was remote and demanded special abilities to survive. It seems that the term Heavenly Master also exposes a personal quality and does not exclusively designate the formal position as the leading representative of Daoism whom the imperial administration would recognize. The hagiographic feature of him riding a black tiger reminds us of Zhang Daoling who can be seen on temple scrolls with a black tiger right beside him. Anyway, Zhang

Shen-hsiao order” and about “heterodox Taoism” copying official historic sources referring to emperor Song Huizong 宋徽宗, and see the same chapter p. 94, note 19.

²⁸ DZ 296: 19.8a-8b.

²⁹ DZ 1463: 2.15b-16a.

³⁰ There are various interpretations of the term, but we think that most likely the biography means the 15th day of the 1st, 7th, and 10th month.

³¹ He ordained or elevated the ritual rank of Daoist priests.

³² Wells had wide facets of symbolic meaning beyond the practical aspects, see Florian C. Reiter, “Wells (*ching*) and what they meant to the Chinese,” pp. 237-255.

Shiyuan operated as a healer using amulets which links him straightaway with the oscillating and almost unlimited sphere of Daoist exorcism. It is up to us to accept that his inclusion in the *Genealogy* as a successor Heavenly Master is supported through an account about his exorcist ability as a healer.

We especially note that Zhang Shiyuan would eventually emerge from the mountain to *transfer registers* which again says that *he ordained Daoists*. Ordination is an action that demands a specific ritual set-up. Furthermore, he created or was at least said to be responsible for some rather revealing antique relics: The *Cinnabar-Shed* could have been the place where the Daoist indulged in self-cultivation to produce his magic elixir whatever this may have been. *The rock* obviously showed Daoist scriptures that were engraved on it. *The well* most certainly had a function in rituals to procure rainfall which reminds us of the many ways the later Thunder Magic rituals strived to procure rainfall. The term black dragon supports the interpretation. The *Jade Lotus Pool* also could refer to medicines or drugs of immortality which altogether feature a rather complete sphere of Daoist cultivation and exorcist activities.

We notice that not a single word is said about any temple or locality where he could have staged large rituals, attracting the attention of common folks and eventually of the administration, which reminds us of the fact that the Daoist does not need a temple to perform rituals since the required Dao-Arena 道場 could be set up everywhere. Again, no word is said about *jiao* and *zhai* 齋 rituals which possibly were not special enough to be reported. The biography first of all focusses on rituals of healing illness and the transmission of *registers* which means the proliferation of the Daoist profession.

The third example is another biography that supports our findings so far:

Ye Qianshao 葉千韶 lived in the 9th century, most certainly in the epoch of the Five Dynasties 五代.³³ He had the adult name Lucong 魯聰 and hailed from

³³ See Ye Qianshao in: DZ 295 *Xuxian zhuan*: 2,16b-18b. Also see *Xuxian zhuan* 2, p. 13a-13b; in Xiao Tianshi ed.: *Lidai zhenxian shizhuan* (*Daozang jinghua* 5/7); Concerning DZ 295, see Franciscus Verellen, *Companion*, pp. 429-430. He also indicates other editions of this title that are either complete or fragmentary. See *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 394 lei 雷 2, 6a-6b, p.1607, for the story of a certain Ye Qianshao who was initiated by Leigong 雷公 to be able to summon thunders and to save people. The deity explained that he had five

Jianchang 建昌 district in Hongzhou 洪州.³⁴ When he was young he loved the Daoist skills 道術 of his [spiritual] teacher masters, the [two] Daoists from the Western Mountain 西山, namely the Perfected Lords Xu [Sun] 許[遜] and Wu [Meng] 吳[猛].³⁵ Ye Qianshao could abstain from cereals 辟穀 and practiced breathing techniques 服氣.

Once he stayed alone at a mountain when a person dressed in white clothes appeared and addressed him saying that his Daoist virtuous ways were accomplished to the highest degree, and the registers of the immortals recommended him for an ascent to the immortals. But now, still staying on in the world of man he could employ demons and deities as his servants and emissaries. Ye Qianshao thereupon burnt incense and retired to practice silent meditation. In a moment, a perfected [spirit] official clad in red robes 朱衣真官 descended, together with more than ten spirit generals who all carried swords and had fastened to their belt a dragon-and-tiger amulet 龍虎符. The accompanying units of demoniac and divine troops were legions. The spirit official addressed Ye Qianshao: We are divine generals, emissaries, and troops that are obliged to serve you perfectly and as emissaries for you we will help you save the contemporaries. Ye Qianshao

brothers. The two Yes 葉 most likely are the same person, although their places of origin read different. Both names most certainly stand for the one person who hailed from Kiangsi province. The background of the person in DZ 295 sounds better and more learned, whereas the *Taiping guangji* of Li Fang 李昉, 978 CE speaks about a young lad who collected firewood when he experienced that divine encounter. For a full translation of the biography in DZ 295, see Florian C. Reiter, *Basic Conditions of Taoist Thunder Magic*, pp. 5-9.

³⁴ This is today's Nanchang district in Kiangsi province, where Wang Wenqing 王文卿 hailed from.

³⁵ Concerning the two famous Daoists (3rd ct.) who allegedly were experts in Thunder Magic, see DZ 1220: 56.10a. For a complete translation of this chapter (nr.56) in *A Corpus of Daoist Rituals* see above note 31. Also see Florian C. Reiter: „The Name of the Nameless and Thunder Magic,” p.115. DZ 1220: 125.1a sq. *Jiuzhou sheling manlei dafa* 九州社令蠻雷大法 shows Xu Sun 許遜 to be the very first spiritual patron saint of the Earth Altar (Thunder) rituals. The phrasing in DZ 295 is opaque. It literally says: “...he served the Daoists...as his teacher masters. His Daoist skills [were] the avoidance of cereals and breathing technics ...” Ye Qianshao 葉千詔 reputedly lived in the Tang-period, a few centuries after the time of Xu and Wu.

reverently received heavenly documents 天書 that resembled worldly *military registers* 兵籍. The attendants who had held the registers and documents asked Ye Qianshao for his summons that they could execute his orders.

We understand that the Daoist received documents that were *registers* telling him which martial forces he had a command of. Possibly, his divine identity or divine *alter ego* in the case of ritual and exorcist engagements was revealed hereby, which reminds us of the procedure called transformation into a divinity 變神 that was crucial for Song Thunder Magic exorcism.³⁶ Ye Qianshao occasionally passed on his way some prefectures and districts where people suffering from a drought asked him for help. He would then prepare an altar 香案 and start exclaiming spells 啓咒. Rain would begin to fall within a short moment, and in the case of inundations he would help in the same way. When people asked him to let thunders rumble, he would press his feet onto the ground and consequently the sound of thunders would emerge from below. The biography describes such methods with the phrase: performing skills 作術.

Ye Qianshao must have had strange habits. He roamed through the world, feigned to be crazy and often being drunk loitered around in thoroughfares. When he suddenly made loud and threatening noises, his whole body seemed to shake. When he was questioned what it was all about, he gave this sort of answer: I saw in this or that place a fire, or [I saw] in this or that place a drought and I [just] dispatched rain to save [the situation]. When the people set out to search for the facts, they always found [his words] to have been true. He was very capable of using *amulets* 符 to heal illness and save from distress. He did not wait for people to come up to him and ask for help but when he saw a sick person, he felt sympathy and saved that person.

In the year 870 CE he travelled to Haozhou 濠州³⁷ where he learnt that the governor 刺史 Liu Fang 劉昉 suddenly had been struck by a wind and was about to die. The most famous physicians had already seen the governor but failed to save

³⁶ As to the essential transformation into a divinity which must not be mistaken as possession, see Florian C. Reiter, *Basic Conditions of Taoist Thunder Magic*, pp. 88,114. And see the same author, "Daoist Thunder Magic Thunder Magic and the Elimination of Obnoxious Spirits, With Reference to *A Corpus of Taoist Rituals* (道法會元) and Exorcist Rituals in Northern Taiwan," pp. 284-285 and note 35.

³⁷ This is a location in Anhui province.

him. Liu Fang was a very learned person who was well familiar with literature, and he was also very much dedicated to Daoist crafts 道術. He was said to have been a very good governor.

Ye Qianshao said to Liu Fang: [You] induced me to come here in order to make you come back to life. He composed three amulets that he fastened on the top of the shoulder of the governor, on his ribs and the third one on a leg and said: I force the wind to come forth from your feet. In three days, you should be well again. Finally, the wind made a whizzing sound and came forth from the hollows of the feet of the governor. He recuperated after three days and was well again as predicted.

The governor welcomed Ye Qianshao to take part in a *fasting festivity* 齋 in the prefecture and also wished to have him around as his teacher-master. Ye Qianshao, however, refused to accept gifts and money and finally disappeared without a trace. Some people thought that he returned to the Western Mountains from where his teacher-masters Xu Sun and Wu Meng had come.

We summarize: Ye Qianshao performed specific skills to achieve any desired result, and the most essential component of his skills was the writing of *amulets*. He used amulets to subdue demons and to heal illness. The Daoist would offer his help without being asked for, and he was even mighty enough to save a person facing imminent death through fixing some amulets to the body of that person.

These activities can be labelled exorcism 法術 and in fact, it is exactly the exorcist capability that is very much in the focus of his biography. The biography mentions *en passant* an official Daoist fasting liturgy 齋 at which Ye Qianshao is invited to participate. We also keep in mind that his exorcist activities go with the installation of altars and the offering of incense, which is indicative of the general Daoist cultic sphere with well-structured procedures. We find it most important that the exorcist actions of Ye Qianshao are claimed to be based on the revelation of *heavenly documents* 天書 which are *registers* 籙 listing the martial spirit forces at his avail that he could employ for exorcist purposes. It is a characteristic feature of Daoist Thunder Magic rituals later in history, in the Song and Yuan periods, to have *specific registers* that carry the divine names of the spirit generals 神將 and patrons 主法 that characterize the respective exorcist tradition.

We finally introduce the Tang Daoist and exorcist Ye Fashan (631-720) 葉法善 as the fourth example. He has a biography in the official histories of the Tang period:

Xin Tangshu 新唐書 and *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書.³⁸ In both compilations his biography is presented in the category: *The Technicians fangji* 方技 and again, the term *fang* again reminds us of the Han-dynasty masters of recipes 方士.³⁹

Ye Fashan must have had what the term *Daoist skills* 道術 expresses. We read in the *Jiu Tangshu*: The Daoist 道士 Ye Fashan came from Kuozhou 括州, District Kuocang xian 括蒼縣. He was a Daoist 道士 in the third generation of his family, which we find is a convincing statement as to his professional status. We learn that *the technicians* had expert skills in the art of self-cultivation and divination. Ye Fashan as a young man had already received *amulets* and *registers* 符籙 and reportedly, he was very much capable of repressing and urging demons and divinities [to serve].

In the period 656-661 顯慶中 emperor Tang Gaozong 唐高宗 learned about him and invited him to the capital where the emperor was prepared to grant him rank and title 爵位, but Ye Fashan declined to accept. At that time the emperor also summoned from all regions the gentlemen who had Daoist skills 道術之士 to come to the court and concoct drugs 黃白 that presumably should help to attain immortality.

Ye Fashan submitted a statement saying that the Gold-Elixir 金丹 would be hard to complete. The efforts would only result in a waste of resources 財物 and diminish the governmental principles 政理. He requested that the truthfulness of the whole endeavour should be examined. The emperor followed his advice and let him check out these people. Ye Fashan had then more than ninety persons expelled from the palace and stopped the endeavour altogether.

Ye Fashan once established in the Belvedere Lingkong 凌空觀 in the Eastern Capital 東都 an altar and staged a *jiao*-offering 醮祭. The people in town rushed to the location to see him. Suddenly many persons jumped voluntarily into fire, and the onlookers were taken by surprise. They tried to save them and get them away from the fire. However, Ye Fashan said that they all had an illness that *mei*-demons 魅病 caused and that they had got help through his ritual. Those persons ascertained that it

³⁸ *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 204, *liezhuan* 列傳 129, 方技, pp. 5805-5807. *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 191, 列傳 *liezhuan* 141 方技. The following descriptions are based on the two Tang histories.

³⁹ See above, note 1.

was just like that. Ye Fashan imposed strong prohibitions on them to cure effectively their illness. Ye Fashan was famous for his magic amulets which, as we know, are the outstanding ubiquitous exorcist ritual tools.

Bo Yuchan (fl.1209-1224) 白玉蟾 still tells us centuries later that the *Thunder Books* of the Tang Heavenly Master Ye Fashan 唐天師葉法善 contain an *Amulet of the Red Cock and Purple Swan* 赤雞紫鵝之符. One can expose the amulet in a water jar that is placed in a South-eastern spot. The same time the Daoist priest recites the *Spell Lord Wood* 木郎咒 which would bring about the desired rainfall. According to Bo Yuchan, that is all written in Ye Fashan's book *Fangzhang fashu* 方丈法書⁴⁰ which seems not to be extant any more.

It is a most remarkable information that Ye Fashan was familiar with the culture of the Daoist amulet that can be used *for the sake of rainmaking*, and we also learn about a literary treasure that he used and quoted in exorcist rituals, and this is the *Spell Lord Wood*. The spell was obviously known to Ye Fashan, and a few centuries later Bo Yuchan extensively commented upon the *Spell Lord Wood*. The spell is often quoted or alluded to with a few phrases in texts of some *Great Rituals* of Thunder Magic rituals in the Song-Yuan periods, independent of Bo Yuchan.⁴¹ The fact proves that a piece of Daoist literature connects exorcist rituals from the Tang-period with comparable activities in considerably later epochs which means a form of continuity.

Another comparable example is the important *Divine Spell of Tianpeng* 天蓬神咒 that we find in the *Great Rituals Tianpeng Suppresses the Demons* 上清天蓬伏魔大法 of the Yuan period but also in much earlier *Shangqing* 上清 compilations: *Announcements of the Immortals* 真誥 and *Hidden Instructions for the Ascent to Perfection* 鄧真隱訣 which Tao Hongjing (456-536) 陶弘景 authored.⁴² In the Shangqing Daoism of the 5th/6th centuries the spell is documented in the context of

⁴⁰ DZ 1220: 87.12a. This is a statement by Bo Yuchan containing the sentence from the said spell: *Red Cock and Purple Swan soar without limits* chiji zi'e fei wuqiong 赤雞紫鵝飛無窮.

⁴¹ DZ 1220: 87.6a-12b *Mulang zhou* 木郎咒 *Bo Yuchan zhujie* 白玉蟾註解.

⁴² DZ 1016 *Zhengao*: 10.10b-11a *Tianpeng da zhou* 天蓬大咒, *Zhengao* 真誥 shows the ritual context where DZ 1220: 151.2a-2b lists the spell in a collection of spells and related texts. See DZ 421 *Dengzhen yinjue*: 2.11a.

the *Exorcism the Emperor of the North Kills the Demons* 北帝煞鬼之法 and then, about eight-hundred years later, the spell re-appears in Song-Yuan Thunder Magic rituals. There must have been a Daoist exorcist and ritual tradition that was in one way or other carried on throughout the epochs and was performed by Daoists. To say it again: This line of Daoist exorcism concerning the suppression of demons stems from the 5th century and was continued up to the 13th/14th centuries and beyond, whatever changes and variations of the method may have occurred in the ages gone by. A short look at the initial lines of the spell in the *Great Rituals Tianpeng Suppresses the Demons* may suffice:

Tianpeng, Tianpeng 天蓬天蓬 [大將];⁴³ Killer lads of the Nine Origins 九元煞童[大將]; Office Managers of the Five Ting 五丁都司[大將]; Elevated and artful elder of the North 高刁北翁神將[神將]; Seven Governmental Functions and Eight Divine Forces 七政八靈[大將]; Supreme Wide and Cruel Force 太上皓兇[神將]; ... All Demons Voluntarily Scatter 萬鬼自潰[大將]; Act speedily, speedily as this is the order of the God-emperor of the North.⁴⁴

Altogether there are thirty-six similar four-character phrases or statements that often seem to resist a meaningful translation except we understand them as designations or functional descriptions of divine generals that the spell *in toto* addresses and employs, all in the name of the God-emperor of the North 北帝. Each of the thirty-six great or divine generals have proper personal names that are indicated in small print.⁴⁵ The Great General Tianpeng is here named: Luo Rui 駱芮.⁴⁶ Titles that contain numbers refer to groups or teams, for example the *Nine Killer Lads of the Origin* 九元煞童 are nine Magic Lads 靈童 in three groups 上中下 with specific capacities that refer to heaven, earth, and time.⁴⁷

⁴³ We add in brackets either Great General or Divine General, see the following note.

⁴⁴ For this listing see DZ 1220: 156.5a-11a: *The Thirty-Six Generals Transform Bodies and Rule Affairs Sanshi liu jiang huashen zhushi* 三十六將化身主事. The personal names indicate transformations, which means in the case of Tianpeng he has in the pantheon 主法 of this *Great Ritual* chapter 156.3b still another name: Bian Zhuang 卞莊 that comes with variant features of apparition.

⁴⁵ DZ 1220: 156.5a-11a.

⁴⁶ DZ 1220: 156.5a.

⁴⁷ DZ 1220: 156.11a-11b.

The God-emperor of the North and Marshal Tianpeng are the central names in the *Great Rituals Tianpeng Suppresses the Demons* which is a huge set of more than ten extended chapters in *A Corpus of Daoist Rituals* combining a mixed lot of materials of unknown origin and date. Anyway, it is safe to state that the *Exorcism the Emperor of the North Kills the Demons* originated in periods a few centuries before the Tang-period.

All those traces of pre-Song exorcism that we have seen so far cannot be given a specific label but only the terms *Daoist Skills* 道術 or *Exerting Skills* 作術⁴⁸ were current as seen in the *Jiu Tangshu* which is a vague qualification in comparison with the later Thunder Magic rituals in the Song period when the specific term exorcist skills 法術 was to the point, since *fa* 法 is the practical component in the key concept of *daofa* 道法. We conclude that the older, mostly unlabeled practices of exorcism of the pre-Song periods were further developed and sublimated in the Song-Yuan eras, using a theoretical and literary approach when the groups or schools appeared that heralded the names: *Shenxiao dao* 神霄道, *Tianxin zhengfa* 天心正法, *Wulei fa* 五雷法, and *Qingwei daofa* 清微道法.

In the Song-period outstanding scholars and priests, for example Wang Wenqing 王文卿 and Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 followed the intellectual mainstream of the time which was Neo-Confucianism 新儒 with the School of Principles 理學. The various tracts *Discourse on the Thunders* 雷說 that we find in *A Corpus of Daoist Rituals* are sufficient proof. For example, Wang Wenqing channeled in his *Discourse* the exorcist heritage of the Tang and infused a distinct intellectual sublimation and theoretical rationalization, using calendrical, numerical calculation and Internal Alchemy 內丹.⁴⁹ He and his later colleagues made the unexpressed attempt to bring Daoist exorcism in line with the intellectual and literary standards of the time.⁵⁰ We

⁴⁸ Both terms appear in the *Xin Tangshu*, *Jiu Tangshu*, and in the biography of Ye Qianshao, see above.

⁴⁹ See for example Florian C. Reiter, "The *Discourse on the Thunders* 雷說 by the Taoist Wang Wen-ch'ing 王文卿 (1093-1153)," pp. 207-229. See the following note.

⁵⁰ Zhang Shanyuan 張善淵 and his attempt to rationalize the common basis of all rituals/exorcism, following the idea of all-rituals in one in his *Comprehensive Discussions of All Rituals wanfa tonglun* 萬法通論, in DZ 1220: 67.1a-11a. See Florian C. Reiter, *Man, Nature and the Infinite*, pp. 132-152.

do not find it acceptable to speak superficially of a new Daoism in the Song, but we surely find a further rationalized or theorized Daoist exorcism. Wang Wenqing is a brilliant example for the combination of Daoist standard rituals and exorcist practices in his professional life which was understood and appreciated by the Song emperor Huizong 宋徽宗. The Daoist was asked to perform some Thunder exorcism at the court of the emperor to extinguish demoniac plagues, and after the successful conclusion of the exorcism he performed in situ a *jiao*-liturgy. The emperor had then temple halls set up around the site of the successful Thunder ritual and ordered the Daoist to come in on a regular basis to pray and perform *jiao*-rituals.⁵¹

Another claim that we do not appreciate is the idea that popular elements, most likely expressions of a mediumistic culture entered Daoism late in history to form a new phenomenon: Daoist exorcism. Exorcism was a basic Daoist asset which a welter of biographical sources and texts like *Zhengao* and *Dengzhen yinjue* sufficiently show. Disregarding the epoch, there is a congenial and practical relationship between various ritual practices and expressions of differing purposes in Heavenly Masters Daoism, since the projected purpose of *zhai* and *jiao* 齋醮 rituals is different from exorcist performances, for example to heal or to pray for rain. The unity of these elements shines up in the life and activities of outstanding Daoists.

The Tang period also saw another development that created within Daoism a new brand of exorcism which was markedly different from the Thunder Magic rituals that we spoke about so far. Tantric Buddhism came to China in the Tang-period and influenced again *Lingbao Daoism* 靈寶 that since the Nanbei chao 南北朝 epoch had already put on a Buddhist taint.⁵² As a result, a specific exorcism in *Lingbao*-style emerged that also was devoted to fortuitous matters and to life in this world, which seems to be an adjustment of orientation to meet the popular demand for exorcist help.

The *Canon* presents texts that focus on rainmaking, for example the Tang-period *Scripture of the Great Rain-Producing Dragon-Kings, Spoken by the*

⁵¹ See Florian C. Reiter, "A Preliminary Study of the Taoist Wang Wen-ch'ing (1093-1153) and his Thunder Magic (*lei-fa*)," p. 164, translating DZ 296 *Lishi chenxian tidao tongjian*: 53.18b.

⁵² See Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety, Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China*, pp. 13, 171-172. Also see Ôfuchi Ninji, "On Ku Ling-bao ching," pp. 33-56.

Highest Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning 太上元始天尊說大雨龍王經.⁵³

When droughts occur, the scripture should be copied, distributed by faithful men and women 善男子善女人 who ask priests with the appellation Ritual Master of Great Virtue 高德法師 to recite the scripture which they will do in a Daoist ritual arena 道場.⁵⁴ This also documents the close co-operation of lay people and ordained priests in religious efforts. Another similar text is the *Demon-Slaying Scripture of the Most Supreme for Protecting the Country and Praying for Rain* 太上護國祈雨消魔經, which reports that the Perfected Man Moonlight 月光真人 once arrived at Mount Jade City 玉京山 and explained to the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning 元始天尊 the need to save the people in the world *Jampudvīpa* 閻浮世,⁵⁵ and then the Heavenly Worthy went along with the request.

The method of *reciting this book* is promoted as the basic exorcist method, which is typical for the *Lingbao*-Daoist group. The priest sets up an altar with the appropriate equipment of images, flags, and the required religious paraphernalia, and then he will recite the scripture within the ritual arena and perform rituals of Fasting and Offering 齋饌. The Dragon-kings 龍王, the Thunder Lord 雷公 and the Rain Master 雨師 will obey the summons and become active in the desired way.⁵⁶ We conclude that in the pre-Song epochs, especially in the Tang-period, Daoist ritual and exorcism developed important strings of traditions that adopted Buddhist elements and concepts that were adapted to the Daoist sphere.

Lingbao Daoism continued Buddhist forms of exorcism that basically consisted of recitations of specific scriptures which could be performed variously and at the same time depending on the clerics who were available. This form of exorcism was markedly different to the methods of the *Great Rituals* 大法 in the Song- and Yuan-periods that the canonical collections *Inherited Pearls from the Sea of Rituals*

⁵³ This is DZ 51. The term dragon-king (nāgarāja) is a Buddhist invention, extending the word dragon as the tutelary deity of water courses, lakes and seas, see William E. Soothill, Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p. 455a. The nucleus of the text is the recitation of the sixty-eight names of dragon-kings, in DZ 51: 2a-2b. For the dating of this scripture, as well as DZ 52, to the Tang-period by John Lagerwey see note 54.

⁵⁴ DZ 51: 3a.

⁵⁵ DZ 52 *Taishang huguo qiyu xiaomo jing*: 1b.

⁵⁶ John Lagerwey, in *Companion*, pp.556, 557, describing DZ 51 and DZ 52.

and *A Corpus of Daoist Rituals* present. The *Great Rituals* clearly have their roots and origin in exorcist traditions that generally flourished within the vast structure of Heavenly Masters Daoism in pre-Song epochs and later. We remember the two Heavenly Masters Zhang Xiu and Zhang Shiyuan introduced above as well as Ye Qianshao and Ye Fashan, and recall the *Shangqing* tradition with the God-emperor of the North who kills demons.

Conclusion

In the Song period outstanding Daoists channeled the exorcist heritage from the Tang and earlier epochs and invested distinct intellectual efforts of sublimation and rationalization, using numerical calculations and concepts of Song Internal Alchemy. After centuries of neglect or deliberate hiding and covering up, exorcism was brought to the fore and became generally known though belatedly, through the compilation of the Ming Canon that presents well-organized collections and in fact canonized Daoist exorcism within the frame of Heavenly Masters Daoism. Daoist exorcism was and is a controlled ritual effort of a priest in clear contrast to mediumistic or shaman performances. The Daoist exorcist martial efforts 武 are accompanied and sustained explicitly by the formal and literary support of documentary evidence, namely applications and petitions 章/劄/表, and especially the amulets 符 which reflects the literate, scholarly-administrative culture of Daoism. We note that both elements, the literary culture and the martial culture were altogether the basis of the Chinese system in the state as well as in Daoist religion.

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DZ 51, *Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo tayu longwang jing* 太上元始天尊說大雨龍王經

DZ 52, *Taishang huguo qiyu xiaomo jing* 太上護國祈雨消魔經

DZ 295, *Xuxian zhuan* 續仙傳

DZ 296, *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑒

DZ 335, *Taishang dongyuan Shenzhou jing* 太上洞淵神咒經

DZ 421, *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣

DZ 590, *Daojiao lingyan ji*

DZ 1016, *Zhengao* 真誥

DZ 1123, *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi* 一切道經音義妙門由起

DZ 1125, *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始

DZ 1129, *Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞

DZ 1139, *Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊

DZ 1166, *Fahai yizhu* 法海遺珠

DZ 1220, *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元

DZ 1232, *Daomen shigui* 道門十規

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宋代以前的道教法術和天師道之間的關係

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摘要

研究道教法術的一般學者重視宋代和元代時的法術是因為這些時代的材料很豐富，譬如道法會元和法海遺珠那兩套類書。作者認為宋代以前天師道的傳統就已經包容各種道教法術，只因爲唐代高官和高道在編道藏沒編入這種法術的書籍。明朝清微派的高道編正統道藏時才把道教法術的書籍編入。文中引用唐代兩位天師張修和張士元的列傳以分析他們的法術和內修文化。並以高道葉千詔和葉法善的列傳爲材料描寫他們求雨祈晴和治療病況的法術。他們主要的法具是各種道符和咒語以及天師道的香案。本文特別提到木郎咒和天蓬神咒兩個大咒語。因爲它們在早期上清派到宋元代的五雷法裡重複地出現，就能證明宋元以前和以後法術共同的傳統和來源。宋代的道士如林靈素、王文卿等使用內丹和天文把自古傳流下來的道教法術理論化。他們用他們的學術修養和意旨把古代的法術編成書籍。這個發展是基於宋徽宗對天師道和道教理論的重視和提倡。本文也提到唐代一個很特殊的新發展道教靈寶派法術，因受唐代密宗很深的影響而發展成一種新的關於吉事的法術。作者引讀者注意到宋代以前的道教法術，使用這些法術的人們代表漢代天師道、道士的文化和職業的傳統。

關鍵字：五雷法、天師道、王文卿、葉法善、葉千詔

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