

Held in 1190

BY

Guannan Lyu¹, Yang Yang^{2*}

¹Advanced Institute for Confucian Studies, Shandong University, Jinan, Shandong, China ²Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Selangor, Malaysia



Article History Received: 11- 12- 2023 Accepted: 30- 12- 2023 Published: 01- 01- 2024

Corresponding author Yang Yang

Abstract

In 1190 CE, the first year of the Mingchang 明昌 Reign of the emperor Zhangzong 章宗 of the Jin Dynasty, Zhanzong's mother, empress Xiaoyi 孝懿 fell ill suddenly. Thus, emperor Zhangzong organized Taoist masters at that time to hold the Putian Dajiao 普天大醮, the Great Ritual Offering to the Universal Heaven, for Empress Xiaoyi to dispel evil and cure diseases. This was a great event for the imperial family at that time, and it is also an event worth studying in the history of Taoism in the Jin Dynasty. However, *History of Jin (Jin Shi*; 《金史》) does not mention this event at all. Fortunately, a few essays of the Jin Dynasty recorded on the *Epitaphs of Taoist Temples (Gongguan Beizhi*; 《宫觀碑誌》) in the *Daoist Cannon (Daozang*; 《道藏》) retain information about this Putian Dajiao, which provides important thinking for later researchers to reinvestigate the causes and consequences of this event. This paper first compiled the related lost essays and combined them with other literature to restore this long-neglected religious event.

Keywords: Emperor Zhangzong of Jin Dynasty 金章宗, Putian Dajiao 普天大醮, History of Taoism, Philological Supplement

1. Introduction

The Jin Dynasty was a time of great changes in Taoist culture, which was reflected not only in the gradual rise of new Taoism but also in the increasing richness of Taoist literature. The former is related to the regulation of Taoist history, which was briefly described by Qian Mu 錢穆 in his *New Taoism under the Rule of the Jin and Yuan Dynasty* (《金元統治下之新道教》) (Qian, 2009). Half a century later, the Japanese scholar Hachiya Kunio 蜂 屋邦夫 studied it further and completed the monograph *Studies on Taoism in Jin Dynasty* (『金代道教の研究』) (Hachiya, 1992).¹

With the case analyses of Wang Chongyang 王重陽 and Ma Danyang 馬丹陽, he thoroughly revealed the development of Quanzhen Taoism 全真道 in the Jin Dynasty, which makes the study of the regulations of new Taoism a specialized field. The latter is related to the literature of Taoist history. According to the *Complete Works of the Liao and Jin Dynasties (Quan Liao Jin Wen*; 《全遼金文》), which is the most complete collection of single documents of the Jin Dynasty at present, there was a large number of essays related to Taoist culture in the Jin Dynasty. Some of them were written by Taoist priests, but most of them by writers. This indicates that Taoist culture existed as common-sense knowledge among the social elite groups at that time. These documents provide an important reference value for the study of Taoism in the Jin Dynasty.

At the same time, the Daoist Canon (Daozang; 《道藏》) also collected some lost essays written in the Jin Dynasty, which were omitted in the Complete Works of the Liao and Jin Dynasties. These essays also have inextricable links with Taoist culture, some



¹ The study of Taoism in the Jin Dynasty is not limited to the above literatures, but also involves some masterpiece works from the perspective of economic history and social history. For example, Mr. Yu Yingshi has made a detailed study on the interaction between the worldly asceticism ethic of Quanzhen Taoism in the Jin Dynasty and mercantile spirit, as shown in (Yu 2023, 26-40). However, these studies are different from the focus of this paper, so they will not be reviewed in detail here.

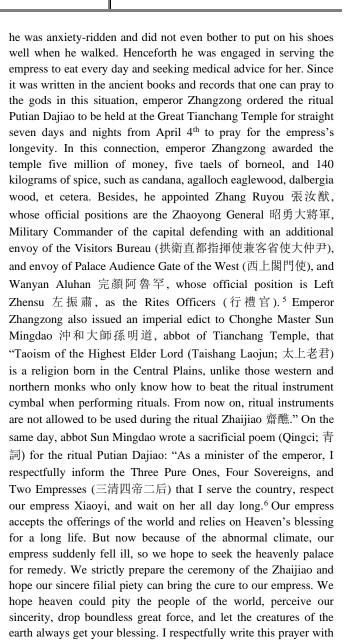
of which with higher historical values can be a supplement to the historical records. For example, the Epitaphs of Taoist Temples (Gongguan Beizhi; 《宮觀碑誌》), a biographical ancient book from the Spirit Grotto Section (Dongshen Bu; 洞神部) of the Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign (Zhengtong Daozang; 《正 統道藏》), was collected in the 49th volume of the Chinese Daoist Canon (Zhonghua Daozang; 《中華道藏》).² The book collects several lost essays written in the Jin Dynasty, which detailedly record the whole story of the Taoist ritual Putian Dajiao 普天大醮, the Great Ritual Offering to the Universal Heaven, held in 1190, the first year of Mingchang 明昌 Reign of the emperor Zhangzong 章宗 of Jin Dynasty.3 This was a shocking event in the Taoist world that year. However, in the History of Jin (Jin Shi; 《金史》), nothing about this event was mentioned in the biographies of the emperor Zhangzong and his mother empress Xiaoyi 孝懿, the two dominating figures of the Putian Dajiao.⁴ Fortunately, lost essays mentioned above recorded in the Epitaphs of Taoist Temples can fill this gap and provide philological and historical perspectives to these long-lost historical facts.

2. Supplement of Lost Essays

The *Epitaphs of Taoist Temples* is composed of several Taoist epitaphs written in Song, Jin, and Yuan dynasties, some of whose authors are Taoist priests and some are scholar-officials. There are two essays directly related to the present study: A Record of Manifestation during Putian Dajiao in Shifang Great Tianchang Temple (《十方大天長觀普天大醮瑞應記》) by Zhu Lan 朱瀾 and Epitaph on Correlative Resonance during Putian Dajiao in Zhongdu Shifang Great Tianchang Temple (《中都十方大天長觀 普天大醮感應碑》) by Dang Huaiying 黨懷英. Neither of these two essays is recorded in the Complete Works of the Liao and Jin Dynasties. To conduct the present textual research and supplement the Complete Works of the Liao and Jin Dynasties, these two essays are translated and transcribed as follows (The original Chinese versions of these two essays can be found in Appendices A and B):

2.1. A Record of Manifestation during Putian Dajiao in Shifang Great Tianchang Temple by Zhu Lan

On March 26th of 1190, the first year of the Mingchang Reign, empress Xiaoyi was slightly ill. Two days later, the emperor Zhangzong went to court in Longqing 隆慶 Palace and then inquired about the health of his mother, empress Xiaoyi in Cixun Palace 慈訓殿. Soon after he came out of the empress's bedroom,



PUBLISHERS

an earnestness which is scarcely possible to express."



² Zhengtong Reign is a reign period of the Ming Dynasty, which was from 1436 to 1449 CE.

³ The Jiao (醮), an elaborate Taoist sacrifice or rite of universal salvation, is intended to be a cosmic community renewal, that is to say, a reconciliation of a community around its spiritual center. "Jiao" usually starts with "Zhai" (齋) in "Zhaijiao" (齋醮; fasting and offering). Putian Dajiao (普天大醮), the Great Ritual Offering to the Universal Heaven, is a kind of Taoist Zhaijiao ritual of the highest specification.

⁴ The History of Jin (Jin Shi; 金史) is a Chinese historical text, one of the Twenty Four Histories (二十四史), which details the history of the Jin dynasty (1115-1234).

⁵ Zhensu 振肅, including Left and Right Zhensu, is the leader of guards and guides of imperial concubines when they come and go.

⁶ In Taoism, the Three Pure Ones (三清) are the three highest gods in the Taoist pantheon, including the Lord of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi Tianzun; 元始天尊), the Lord of the Numinous Treasure (Lingbao Tianzun; 靈寶天尊), and the Lord of the Way and its Virtue (Daode Tianzun; 道德天尊). The Four Sovereigns (四帝) are four of the highest sky deities of Taoism who are subordinate only to the Three Pure Ones, including the North Pole Emperor of Purple Subtlety (Beiji Ziwei Dadi; 北極紫微大帝) in the north, the South Pole Emperor of Longevity (Nanji Changsheng Dadi; 南極長生大帝) in the south, the Heavenly Emperor of the Supreme Ultimate (Taiji Tianhuang Dadi; 太極天皇大帝) in the west, and the East Pole Emperor of Blue Essence (Dongji Qinghua Dadi; 東極青華大帝) in the east. The Two Empresses (二后) refers to the Queen Mother of the West (Xi Wangmu; 西王母) and the Earth Empress (Houtu Niangniang; 后土).

On April 13th, the emperor came to Changtian Temple to offer incense and give a salute. After this, his chariots and horses returned to the palace. The Gaogong Great Master 高功大法師, who was also a Rites Officer, issued an ordination diploma (Diewen; 牒文) according to the divine enlightenment (Shenqi; 神 啟), and then the emperor began to fast for seven days. On April 15th, the imperial palace sent nine pieces of sacrificial poem written by the emperor himself, ten taels of borneol, and two kilograms of candana and agalloch eaglewood. During the rites in the daytime of April 17th, nine cranes flew from the northwest, and then ten more flew slowly over the altar. After a while, thousands of cranes came from all directions, shading the sky and the sun. They began to wander around at noon and slowly dispersed until the evening. At this time, the clouds and fog parted, the sky covered the earth with light, and red light shone on the altars and palaces from the southwest. People in the city looked far ahead and knelt, chanting words of worship to the deities, thinking that it was the emperor's filial piety that moved heaven. The next day, the empress Xiaoyi sent Gao Shou 高壽, director-in-chief of Longqing Palace (隆慶宮 都監), to give fifty taels of platinum and four pieces of satin to the Taoist priests, letting them perform the rites to pay obeisance to the deities. At noon, four cranes flew in from the northwest, and slowly more than fifty more flew in and hung around the altar for a long time. April 19th, Lu Ji 盧璣, the Left Commissioner of the Court Ceremonial Institute (左宣徽使), was appointed as acting Rites Officer. When the rites were performed at noon, there were five white cranes from the northwest, hovering over the palaces and pavilions. The Taoist priests brought Shifang incense 十方香 from the Tianbao Temple 天寶壇.7 A large crane flew down, flew over the eaves of the Yuxu Palace 玉虛殿, flew over the temples and pavilions, and then left. The sacrificial poems were burned in the middle of the night, and the breeze blew from the northwest, curling the paper ash into the air for hundreds of thousands of feet until it disappeared into the clouds. Soon a red light shone on the palaces, and the crowd bowed in awe. On April 20th, all the rites of the Putian Dajiao had been done. Within ten days, the empress Xiaoyi was restored to her original self.

There is an incense serving priest (侍香道人) named Xu Wuzhen 徐悟真 who saw the above things, then he ordered an artisan to carve the drawing "Correlative Resonance during Putian Dajiao in Great Tianchang Temple" (《大天長觀普天大醮感應圖》), which describes the details of auspicious fulfillment during Putian Dajiao. He also entrusted Zhu Lan 朱瀾, the compilation officer of the Historiography Academy (國史院), to record these things on the drawing. During the Han Dynasty, thirty white cranes were walking on the altar of Mount Tai 泰山 and a yellow swan swimming in the Taiye pool 太液池. However, in my opinion, these were just accidental and had no special meaning at all. Even so, historians at that time still regarded them as auspicious and

recorded them in historical books. Moreover, His Majesty emperor Zhangzong's great filial piety has moved the world, and this is an obvious phenomenon of manifestation. As an official historian, I am supposed to record them in detail. On the one hand, they could be collected by other historians; on the other hand, they could promote the virtue of His Majesty and be conducive to the cultivation of the nation. Therefore, I dared not refuse Xu Wuzhen's request, so I recorded them in detail and wrote this essay. According to the Book of History (Shang Shu; 《尚書》), "Love your relatives and respect your elders, starting from one home to the whole nation, and eventually spreading to the whole world." I will see the scene in which the people of the nation appreciate the emperor's sanctity and virtue and follow his indoctrination one after another. Everyone will cultivate the virtues of Zengzi 曾子 and Min Ziqian 閔子騫. The simple and stable days of Tang Yao 唐堯 and Yu Shun 虞舜 will be seen again today. On May 9th, I, Zhu Lan, Gentleman for Managing Affaires (徵事郎), Provisioner of Hanlin Academy (應奉翰林文字) with additional compilation officer of Historiography Academy, and acting Five Ranks minister, wrote these words respectfully.

2.2. Epitaph on Correlative Resonance during Putian Dajiao in Zhongdu Shifang Great Tianchang Temple by Dang Huiying

In ancient times, saints respected heaven, earth, ghosts, and gods. The law and discipline rites of praying and sacrifice were recorded in the Book of Songs (Shi Jing; 《詩經》) and the Book of History, such as the orientation of the altar, the regulation of sacrifice, as well as incense supplies and the writing style of the congratulatory essays. The saints sacrifice them to remove impending ill fortune, eliminate evils and epidemic diseases, and pray for longevity, good fortune, and all promising things. Descendants sometimes inherit, and sometimes abandon these traditions, which cannot be investigated in detail. While as for the matter of praying, it is unique to Taoism. There are rites for Zhai (fasting; 齋) and ceremonies for Jiao (offering: 醮) rituals. Fasting is performed to atone for one's sin, while the offering is to tide over difficulties, so it needs to pray to the deities of heaven and earth. Since the Han and Tang Dynasties, the Taoist method of Zhaijiao (fasting and offering; 齋醮) festival has become more and more complete. Although it is different from ancient times, its essence is still the same.

In March of 1190, the first year of the Mingchang Reign, the empress Xiaoyi had been ill for a long time. Her son emperor Zhangzong waited on her day and night, seeking medical treatment. As long as anything is good for health, the top-quality kind would be applied for the empress, but consequently, her illness was only no more serious. The emperor was so upset that he ordered his ministers to perform various prayers. Taoism performs the strictest way of prayer, and one of its rituals Putian Dajiao is more perfect than the other kinds of Zhaijiao. Therefore, he ordered giving the Tianchang Temple five million of money, letting them set the altar to perform the Jiao rituals. He also granted more than two hundred kilograms of spice, including candana, agalloch eaglewood,



⁷ Shifang incense refers to incense offerings from believers all over the country.

GSAR GSAR PUBLISHERS GLIBAL SCIDITIRC AND ACADDIC RESEARCH

borneol, et cetera. The emperor ordered Zhang Ruyou, whose official positions are the military commander with an additional envoy of the Visitors Bureau and envoy of Palace Audience Gate of the West, and the Left Zhensu Wanyan Aluhan to attend the ritual. He issued an imperial edict to Chonghe Master Sun Mingdao, the superintendent and abbot of Tianchang Temple: "Taoism of the Highest Elder Lord originates from the Central Plains. Unlike those Western and Northern monks who only know how to beat the ritual instrument cymbal when performing rituals, it advocates peace. From now on, ritual instruments are not allowed to be used during the ritual Zhaijiao." Thus, His Majesty fasted that night, and the next day came to the place of sacrifice to offer incense in person. After returning to the palace, the emperor issued nine sacrificial poems, all of which were written by himself. Empress Xiaoyi also sent an envoy to give the temple platinum and satin to help the Zhaijiao. On the opening day, vegetarian food was served in the palace of the emperor and the empress, which lasted for seven days, probably to coincide with the Zhaijiao. It can be said that His Majesty's sincerity is reflected in all aspects. On the third day of the Zhaijiao, while everything was going on, a red mist appeared in the southwest, and the sunlight shone against the altar and palaces. Nine cranes flew in from the northwest and soared over the altar, followed by a dozen more. In a few moments, white cranes were flying from all directions, like clouds that had gathered together. The number of white cranes is countless, but there are undoubtedly thousands of them. From noon to evening, the cranes wandered and fluttered, and then dispersed. At this time, both the Rites Officers and the Taoist followers were shaken by this scene and worshiped on bended knees at the altar. All the people of the capital looked upon the cranes, and all bowed down. All of them thought this was caused by the emperor's filial piety and sincerity. From then on, four, five, or dozens of cranes came every day, and at last, a great crane flew down, swept over the eaves and round the palaces and the pavilions, and disappeared. When the prayer is burned, the sky is clear with no clouds. When the breeze blew, the smoke went up to the sky and disappeared. Soon, red light shone on the altars and palaces, and everyone was shocked and frightened, probably knowing that the deity was not far away. Shortly after the Putian Dajiao was completed, empress Xiaoyi was recovered, and both inside and outside the court celebrated.

Zhu Lan, the compilation officer of the Historiography Academy, has recorded this event. Many Confucian ministers are eulogists, but Master Sun Mingdao asked me to write essays to record this event and compile them into a book. I think a natural law is farreaching and distantly long, and the truth of nature-human communication cannot be known. What we can know is that if we cultivate ourselves on earth, it will be shown in heaven. This is the necessity of reason. Cranes are graceful birds that live in deep forests and gather in lakes. When people are about to approach them, they flap their wings and fly away. Thus, they cannot be forced to come someplace. I have heard that the Taoist people take the crane as the mount of the immortal. If this is true, then the arrival of cranes during the Putian Dajiao must be a manifestation. Confucius once said: "If a man serves his father dutifully, he can reverently offer sacrifices to the Emperor of Heaven, and the Emperor of Heaven can understand his filial piety. If a man serves his mother dutifully, he can reverently offer sacrifices to the God of the Earth, and the God of the Earth can also understand his filial piety. Hence, his whole family will be safe and sound." The *Book of History* says: "The principles of reward and punishment of gods and ghosts are unpredictable, but they often reward those who are very pious." The quiet Zhaijiao had been performed to exercise the subtle Taoist enlightenment and to convey the holy emperor's sincerity of filial piety so that it is reasonable that the manifestation happened. I have recorded what I have heard, and a eulogium to this event is attached as follows:

Ah, Emperor of Heaven, you are the home of all souls. You can hear the call of the humble, but the call must be sincere. The emperor is divine and obeys the will of Heaven. Then why did he need to appeal to Heaven? It was for his blood relation. The emperor favored Taoism because of its occult and subtle teachings. Because this teaching is pure and natural, it can almost reach heaven. The altar is solemn and the prayers mysterious. It was blessed by Heaven, so the fortune came quickly. Then a beautiful mist emerges, neither clouds nor smoke. It is connected to the altar and palaces, with flowing light and color shining in between. There were hundreds of thousands of fairy birds flying and flitting over the eaves of palaces as if they were commanded to do so. All the people said that Heaven had felt the emperor's filial piety and sincerity and thus blessing hung over the empress's palace. "Well done!" said the emperor. He appreciated the merits of the Taoist priests. The Taoist priests also kowtowed and praised the sincerity and filial piety of the emperor. May the status of Taoism be firmly established for thousands of years to come.

The above two essays are one after the other in the Epitaphs of Taoist Temples, and they were also completed chronologically one after the other. There is a statement that "Zhu Lan, the compilation officer of Historiography Academy, has recorded this event" in Dang Huaiying's essay, so it undoubtedly can be inferred that Zhu Lan's essay was written before Dang's. This is also can be confirmed by what Wang Qingsheng 王慶生 claimed in his Annals of Literature in the Jin Dynasty that Zhu's essay was written in May of the first year of the Mingchang Reign (1190), while Dang's was in December of the same year (Wang, 2013, pp. 429-431). Nevertheless, a close reading of these two essays reveals that the latter is not a mechanical repetition of the former, but rather a deliberate difference from the former in the focus of writing: Zhu's essay gave a detailed account of the internal elements of the Putian Dajiao at that time, recording the specific details and important activities of the ritual, while Dang's is both narrative and augmentative, providing the historical context behind the Putian Dajiao. Combining these two essays with related materials, a philological and historical revivification of this nearly forgotten event can be made.

3. Philological and Historical Investigations

3.1 Cause of the Putian Dajiao in 1190

From the above two essays by Zhu and Dang, it can be known that the Putian Dajiao in the first year of the Mingchang Reign (1190)





was held because Empress Xiaoyi was suddenly ill in March of that year. It was stated in Zhu's essay that "on March 26th of 1190, the first year of Mingchang Reign, the empress Xiaoyi was slightly ill" and in Dang's that "in March of 1190, the first year of Mingchang Reign, the empress Xiaoyi had been ill for a long time". Both described exactly why the ritual Putian Dajiao was performed.

According to the records of March 1190 in the History of Jin: Emperor Zhangzong (《金史·章宗紀》), "on March 10th, 1190, the Venus appeared in daylight. On March 19th, the emperor gave orders to other Royal Highnesses (王爺) not to go hunting beyond their territory. On March 25th, he ordered an edict to the relevant departments to give five days off for the Cold Food Festival (Hanshi Festival; 寒食節) and put this provision in the form of an edict. On March 27th, he returned to the imperial Palace from Chunshui 春水, all the officials attended court in Longqing Palace, and the court was held four times that month.8 On April 5th, white grass grew on the ground.⁹ On April 6th, the emperor went to Dafang Mountain 大房山."(丁亥,太白晝見。丙申,遣諭諸王, 凡出獵毋逾本境。壬寅, 諭有司, 寒食給假五日, 著於令。甲 辰,至自春水。朝于隆慶宫,是月凡四朝。癸丑,地生白毛。 甲寅,如大房山。) (Tuo, 1975, p. 214) However, there was no mention of emperor Xiaoyi's illness in these records, among which, only the statement "on March 27th, he returned to the imperial Palace from Chunshui, all the officials attended court in Longqing Palace" has a weak relationship with Xiaoyi's illness, because the time of the court in Longqing Palace was when emperor Zhangzong learned that empress Xiaoyi had been ill.

Fortunately, Zhu's essay provides concrete details for the fuzzy record in the History of Jin: Emperor Zhangzong: "On March 28th, the emperor Zhangzong went to court in Longqing Palace and then inquired after the health of his mother, empress Xiaoyi in Cixun Palace. Soon after he came out of the empress's bedroom, he was anxiety-ridden and did not even bother to put on his shoes well when he walked. Henceforth he was engaged in serving the empress to eat every day and seeking medical advice for her." Besides, Dang's essay provides emperor Zhangzong's concrete courses of action after he heard about Empress Xiaovi's illness: "Zhangzong waited on her day and night, seeking medical treatment. As long as anything is good for health, the top-quality kind would be applied for the empress, but consequently, her illness was only no more serious." It can be known from these that the emperor first turned to medicine for the treatment of the empress's illness, but it did not work, so he turned to the Taoist ritual Putian Dajiao, because "it was written in the ancient books and records that one can pray to the gods in this situation" and

⁸ Chunshui 春水 literally means spring water, while in ancient Chinese culture, when "spring water" is used with royal activities, it usually refers to the place where the royal family hunts.

"Taoism performs the strictest way of prayer, and one of its rituals Putian Dajiao is more perfect than the other kinds of Zhaijiao". With this background knowledge from the two essays, it was obvious that the ritual Putian Dajiao was inevitable.

3.2 Sun Mingdao, The Presider of Putian Dajiao in 1190

Both Zhu's and Dang's essays indicate that the presider of the Taoist ritual Putian Dajiao held in 1190 was Chonghe Master Sun Mingdao, abbot of the Tianchang Temple, who was a Taoist master with quite a reputation during both eras of emperors Shizong $\pm \pm$ = and Zhangzong of Jin Dynasty.¹⁰

There is an essay titled Inscription of the Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis in Shifang Great Tianchang Temple ($\langle + \rangle$ 方大天長觀玄都寶藏碑銘》) by the Jin people Wei Boxiao 魏搏 霄 in Epitaphs of Taoist Temples. According to this essay, "emperor Shizong of the Jin Dynasty paid some attention to Taoist sutras. Because the Tianchang Temple was once on fire, he sent tens of thousands of money to the temple from the royal treasury, so that the temple could be restored and take on a new look." (留神 内典,以觀宇嘗火,出內府金錢鉅萬計,俾撤舊而一新之。) (Tao & Zheng, 2004, p. 655)The person in charge of updating the old version of the Taoist canon was Sun Mingdao, whose high status in the Taoist circle at that time can be seen from this. In the end, Sun Mingdao lived up to the emperor's expectations and compiled the 6,455 volumes of the Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis of the Great Jin (《大金玄都竇藏》), which became the masterpiece of Taoist canon in the Jin Dynasty (Chen, 1963, pp. 156-157; Hu, 2009, pp. 480-481).

Chen Yuan 陳垣 (2009, p. 418) pointed out in his New Taoism in Hebei in the early Southern Song Dynasty (《南宋初河北新道教 考》) that "After the collapse of the Northern Song Dynasty, its Taoist sutras were lost. The Taoist priest Sun Mingdao recompiled the Taoist canon in Beijing during the Mingchang Reign of the Jin Dynasty, which was the Taoist canon of the Jin Dynasty" (汴宋既 亡,道經散佚。金明昌間道士孫明道重刊於燕京,是為金 藏。). Chen Yuan not only regarded it as the representative of the Daoist canon of the Jin Dynasty but also revealed the important philological value of this canon in recollecting Taoist classics after "Taoist sutras were lost". Coincidentally, although the compilation of Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis of the Great Jin was initiated during the Dajing Reign of emperor Shizong, it was published in 1190, the first year of the Mingchang Reign of the emperor Zhangzong.¹¹ This event laid a stronger foundation for Sun Mingdao's position in the Taoist community. Therefore, it is widely expected that Sun Mingdao should be the presider of the Putian Dajiao held in 1190.

3.3 Tianchang Temple, the site of Putian Dajiao in 1190



⁹ This special phenomenon, in the Chinese cultural tradition, is often regarded as auspicious or disastrous. Since the Han Dynasty, many religious people and masters of the Five Elements ($\Xi f\bar{\tau}$) often associate these phenomena with political gains and losses, thus forming a set of selfconsistent interpretation systems.

¹⁰ Emperor Shizong of the Jin Dynasty was the former emperor and grandfather of emperor Zhangzong.

¹¹ Dajing Reign is a reign period of emperor Shizong from 1161 to 1189 CE.

Both Zhu's and Dang's essays have reported that the site of the Putian Dajiao was the Tianchang Temple, and the superintendent of the temple was Sun Mingdao. There is an essay titled Epitaph on Rebuilding Zhongdu Shifang Great Tianchang Temple (《中都 十方大天長觀重修碑》) by Zheng Zidan 鄭子聃 of the Jin Dynasty in the Epitaphs of Taoist Temples, which gives a detailed description of the beginning and end of the construction and repair of the Tianchang Temple (Tao & Zheng, 2004, pp. 654-655). It can be seen from this essay that the Tianchang Temple was "founded in the mid-term of the Kaiyuan 開元 Reign of the emperor Xuanzong 唐玄宗 of the Tang Dynasty" (肇跡唐玄宗開元中).12 Later, during the Zhenglong 正隆 Reign of King Hailing 海陵王 of the Jin Dynasty, "it was set on fire by evil people, and the Temple with centuries of history was burned overnight" (橐奸者狙 火之,數百年之締構,一夕而燼).13 The emperor Shizong "ordered the reconstruction of the Tianchang Temple on August 9th, 1167"(大定七年秋七月二十三日,乃詔復興). The superintendent of the Tianchagn Temple was the Qingxu Master Yan Deyuan (清虛大師閻德源), the abbot of Chuanjie Temple of Xijing Road (西京路傳戒壇主), until March of 1174, the 14th year of Dading Reign when the reconstruction of the temple was completed. According to the formerly mentioned essay by Wei Boxiao, "In 1186, Sun Mingdao was ordered by the emperor to take up the post of superintendent of the Tianchang Temple" (大定 丙午,明道始奉詔提點觀事). The year 1186 was the 26th year of the Dading Reign. Four years later, in 1190, the Mingchang Reign began. As a matter of course, the ritual Putian Dajiao held in Tianchang Temple was in charge by Sun Mingdao, the superintendent of the temple. Through the clues provided by Wei's and Zheng's essays, it can be found out who was the superintendent of the Tianchang Temple during the period of Dading and Mingchang Reigns, which is also useful for the excavation of certain details of Taoist history.

3.4 Manifestation during Putian Dajiao in 1190

According to the essays of Zhu and Dang, there were obvious manifestations during the ritual Puian Dajiao presided by Sun Mingdao. Zhu and Dang use "A Record of Manifestation" and "Epitaph on Correlative Resonance" respectively to title their essays, which can reflect the impressions of people of that time to the manifestations caused by Putian Dajiao. From these two essays, it can be seen that in Zhu's and Dang's eyes, "manifestation" has two implications: the arrival of cranes and the recovery of empress Xiaoyi.

As far as the first manifestation is concerned, the arrival of auspicious birds has always been the grand scene that is highly praised in Taoism. White cranes have always been a symbol of good omen in traditional Chinese culture (Fu, 2022). For example, emperor Huizong (宋徽宗) of the Song Dynasty, who was the

great-grandfather of Zhangzong, once painted the famous "Cranes of Good Omen" (《瑞鶴圖》; see Figure 1), which is now collected in Liaoning Provincial Museum.¹⁴ Additionally, on the drawing, there is a poem composed and written by emperor Huizong in "Slender Gold" style (瘦金體).15 The poetic preface goes: "On February 15th, the day after the Lantern Festival in 1112, there was a sudden collection of auspicious clouds, which are low to the ground, as if to touch the Duanmen 端門.16 People looked up and a group of cranes flew and clanged in the air. Besides, two cranes were leisurely sitting opposite each other on the two Chiweis 鴟尾.¹⁷ All the rest of the cranes were soaring rhythmically"(政和壬辰上元之次夕,忽有祥雲拂鬱,低映端 門,眾皆仰而視之。倏有群鶴飛鳴於空中,仍有二鶴對止於鴟 尾之端,頗甚閒適,餘皆翱翔,如應奏節。) (Center for Ancient Chinese Classics and Archives of Peking University, 1998, p. 17069). The auspicious clouds came first and the fairy birds later, which corresponds with the description in Dang's essay: "A red mist appeared in the southwest, and the sunlight shone against the altar and palaces. Nine cranes flew in from the northwest and soared over the altar."

PUBLISHERS



Figure 1. The painting "Cranes of Good Omen" (《瑞鶴圖》) by emperor Huizong, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 1112.51 × 138.2 cm (Ebrey, 2014, pp. Gallery 1-13).

In terms of the second manifestation, the royal family and officials seem to appreciate the ritual Putian Djiao's effect on curing empress Xiaoyi's serious illness. In Zhu's essay, it is pointed out that "within ten days, the empress Xiaoyi was restored to her



¹² Kaiyuan Reign (713 – 741 CE) is a reign period of the emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty.

¹³ Zhenglong Reign is a reign period of King Hailing of the Jin Dynasty, which was from 1156 to 1161 CE.

¹⁴ For the blood relationship between emperor Zhangzong of the Jin Dynasty and Huizong of the Song Dynasty, see the entry "Zhangzong Follows Huizong" (章宗效徽宗) in Zhou (1988). In this entry of note, Zhou also mentioned that "for his favorite letters and notes, Emperor Zhangzong wrote them in Slender Gold style like Huizong" (章宗凡嗜好書 札, 悉效宣和), which is a consensus in the history of calligraphy. In recent years, some Japanese scholars have made a more detailed discussion on this issue, see Takagi (2013). However, the similarities between Zhangzong and Huizong of were not limited to calligraphy. Both of them favored Taoism, which was also an important common point.

¹⁵ "Slender Gold" is a style of calligraphy created by emperor Huizong of the Song Dynasty. Its name came from the fact that his writing resembled gold filament, twisted, and turned.

¹⁶ Duanmen (端門) refers to the south gate of the imperial city in ancient China. Here, it refers to the main gate of the imperial palace of the Jin Dynasty.

¹⁷ Chiwei, a hornless-dragon mouth, is a decoration in traditional Chinese imperial architecture. It is usually at the end of the main ridge on the roof of the architecture.

original self." The wording "within ten days" merely describes Xiaoyi's recovery as a gradual process, while Dang's essay indicates that "shortly after the Putian Dajiao was completed, the empress Xiaoyi was recovered". The wording "shortly after the Putian Dajiao was completed" describes the recovery as a result of qualitative change. But in any case, it can be seen that the effect of the Putian Dajiao was firmly believed, and generally, empress Xiaoyi's recovery caused by the Putian Dajiao was regarded as emperor Zhangzong's blessing because of his extraordinary filial piety. This realization is evident in Zhu's and Dang's essays: "His Majesty emperor Zhangzong's great filial piety has moved the world" and "All of them think this was caused by the emperor's filial piety and sincerity".

However, according to the History of Jin: Biography of Empress Xiaoyi (《金史·孝懿皇后傳》), there is a historical fact must be pointed out that Empress Xiaoyi "died in Longqing Palace in February 1191 at the age of forty-five" (明昌二年正月, 崩於隆 慶宮, 年四十五) (Tuo, 1975, p. 1525), which indicates that empress Xiaoyi died less than a year after the Putian Dajiao. On the one hand, this is a serious challenge to the reliability of Zhu's and Dang's statements like "restored to her original self" and "recovered shortly after the Putian Dajiao". But on the other hand, the historical value of Zhu's and Dang's essays is also evident here. The History of Jin only recorded that the empress Xiaoyi died at the age of forty-five, but there is no word on the reason for her untimely death. Fortunately, Zhu's and Dang's essays provide important clues to empress Xiaoyi's early death, because they record that she had already experienced a death test a year before his death. With this clue, readers should not be surprised by the historical fact that empress Xiaoyi died only one year after the Putian Dajiao at the age of forty-five.

3.5 The Role of Emperor Zhangzong in Putian Dajiao

Qing and Tang (2008, p. 228) regard the emperor Zhangzong as the "emperor of the Jin Dynasty who is the most respectful of Taoism". This understanding was deeply confirmed in Putian Dajiao held in 1190. The *Biography of Perfect Lord Assisting Saint and Protecting Virtue* (《翊聖保德真君傳》), the 103rd volume of *Yunji Qiqian* (《雲笈七籤》) introduces different levels of altar and Zhaijiao:¹⁸

There are nine ranks of sacrificial altars, among which the top three are set up at the national level. The highest rank of them is the Shuntian Xingguo Altar 順天興國壇, the altar for adapting to the weather and revitalizing the nation's fortunes, which enshrines three thousand six hundred deities and is applied in Putian Dajiao, the Great Ritual Offering to the Universal Heaven. The sacrificial flags and swords are arranged in order and the specification is the highest. The second rank is Yanzuo Baosheng Altar 延祚保生壇, the altar for prolonging felicity and blessing living, which enshrines two thousand four hundred deities and is applied in Zhoutian Dajiao 週天大醮, the Great Ritual Offering to the Whole Heaven. Its specification of sacrificial flags and swords is one step lower than the Shuntian Xingguo Altar. The third rank is Qigu Fushi Altar 祈穀福時壇, the altar for praying for harvest and benefiting the present, which enshrines one thousand two hundred deities and is applied in Luoutian Dajiao 羅天大醮, the Great Ritual Offering to the All Heaven. The specification of its sacrificial flags and swords is one more step lower than the Yanzuo Baosheng Altar.

PUBLISHERS

結壇之法有九。上三壇則為國家設之。其上曰順天興國壇,凡 星位三千六百,為普天大醮,旌旗鑑劍,弓矢法物,羅列次序, 開建門戶,具有儀範;其中曰延祚保生壇,凡星位二千四百, 為週天大醮,法物儀範,降上壇一等;其下曰祈穀福時壇,凡 星位一千二百,為羅天大醮,法物儀範,降中壇一等。 (Zhang, 2003, p. 2221)

It can be seen that among the nine types of the altar, Putian Dajiao was of the highest rank. When Empress Xiaoyi was seriously ill, the emperor Zhangzong chose to pray for the royal family in the form of Putian Dajiao, which showed his special feelings for Taoism. Besides, the central role of the emperor Zhangzong in the ritual Putian Dajiao can be seen in both Zhu's and Dang's essays.

First of all, he was the decision-maker of the Putian Dajiao. In Zhu's essay, it is stated that the emperor Zhangzong "ordered the ritual Putian Dajiao to be held at the Great Tianchang Temple for straight seven days and nights from April 4th to pray for the empress's longevity". In addition, it is stated in Dang's essay that he "ordered to give the Tianchang Temple five million of money, letting them set altar to perform the Jiao rituals". Both of them clearly show the decision-making role of the emperor Zhangzong in this Putian Dajiao.

Secondly, he was also a participant in this Putian Dajiao. He observed all the important etiquette of the Putian Dajiao without violating them, such as writing sacrificial poems, offering incense, and fasting. These records show his piety and rigor in participating in the Putian Dajiao.

Finally, the emperor Zhangzong was also a reformer of etiquette in Putain Dajiao. It is noted in both Zhu's and Dang's essays that the emperor Zhangzong believed that it is a feature of Buddhist practice for "only knowing how to beat the ritual instrument cymbal when performing rituals". However, Taoism is a local religion in Central Plains, so it was not necessary to follow the etiquette of Buddhism. Therefore, the emperor Zhangzong ordered that "ritual instruments are not allowed to be used during the ritual Zhaijiao". Zhangzong, as the emperor of the Jin Dynasty, participated in the reform of religious rites personally, which has a positive significance for the enrichment and development of Taoist history. The emperor Zhangzong was described as follows in the History of Jin: "he standardized rites and music, revised laws, formulated official order system, making the laws, rites, music, and the system clear and can be used as models for future generations" (正禮樂,修刑法,定官制,典章文物粲然成一代之規)(Tuo,



¹⁸ The Yunji Qiqian is an anthology of the Taoist Canon, which records many early Taoist texts that have been lost since the 11th century and is an important resource for understanding medieval Taoism.



1975, p. 285). This comment can also be used to evaluate the reform of Taoist rites by the emperor Zhangzong.

3.6 The Double Meaning of the Lost Essays Recorded in Epitaphs of Taoist Temples in Philology and History of Taoism

When investigating the Putian Dajiao held in 1190 from philological and historical perspectives, totally four essays in Epitaphs of Taoist Temples were cited, which thus awakened this long-neglected religious event that once shocked the royal family but then had been sleeping for a long time. In case of this historical fact that is not collected in the History of Jin, whether its cause, presider, site, manifestation or the core role played by the emperor Zhangzong in this event, has enriched and supplemented the meaning of the topic in the history of Taoism in the Jin Dynasty. What is more, these four essays were not collected in the Complete Works of the Liao and Jin Dynasties either. This gives them important philological values besides their historical values in Taoism. Among the four authors of these essays, Zheng Zidan and Dang Huaiying have other essays included in the Complete Works of the Liao and Jin Dynasties (Yan, 2002, pp. 1413-1414; 1497-1516), while there are no essays by Wei Boxiao nor Zhu Lan collected in the Complete Works of the Liao and Jin Dynasties. Fortunately, there is the Epitaphs of Taoist Temples, which reserved the valuable lost works of Wei and Zhu. From this point of view, there is the important philological significance of the Epitaphs of Taoist Temples to the supplement of literature in the Jin Dynasty.

4. Conclusion

In the above discussion, the main materials used are the two essays that are not collected in the Complete Works of the Liao and Jin Dynasties. From the perspective of philological analysis, the collection of these two essays belongs to the category of supplement. For a long time, the values of the supplement were often treated as sporadic additions to a vast collection. For an extreme example, Liu Shipei 劉師培, a scholar in the late Qing Dynasty, in his influential article On the Change of Modern Sinology (《近代漢學變遷論》), regarded editions proofreading and lost books collection as a typical style of study of "School of Trivial Knowledge" (叢綴學派) and satirized them as "studying without thinking" (Liu, 2012, pp. 152-153). However, this ignores the philological dilemma faced by the studies of lost books: without taking the supplement as the basis and then establishing a solid textual foundation, the subsequent research can only be beautiful but evanescent dreams like flowers in a mirror and the moon's reflection in the water. More importantly, Liu's observation still did not liberate the supplement of lost works from the constraint of philology. In other words, Liu still regarded the supplement as a marginal technology of philological research, so his recognition of the values of the supplement of lost works was limited at the level of philology.

However, through the case study above, we try to express a methodological understanding to the academia: in the field of philology, the supplement of lost works is certainly a purpose, which aims to make the collection of historical works more complete, while on the methodological level, supplement is no longer a purpose, but a method. It is a method to reconstruct historical facts that have been submerged by handed-down documents. As long as it is admitted that there is a logic and basis for this change in theory, Liu Shipei's biased view on supplementing the lost works should be revised: it is no longer "studying without thinking", but "studying" before "thinking".

Finally, there is one more point that needs to be mentioned, namely, the supplementary articles by Zhu Lan and Dang Huaiying, which, although cited by some scholars, have not yet been fully translated into English. This paper represents the inaugural attempt at providing English translations for these articles. Our intention extends beyond merely reconstructing the great ritual Putian Dajiao; we aspire to facilitate more comprehensive research within the English-language academic community on these two works. In this analytical context, the present paper undeniably serves as a modest intermediary.

Appendix A

朱瀾《十方大天長觀普天大醮瑞應記》

明昌元年二月癸卯,皇太后微爽節宣之和。越翼日甲辰,皇帝 朝隆慶宮,問安於慈訓殿,還出寢門,行不能正履,朝夕視膳, 疇諮藥石,未嘗解帶,以謂禱於上下神祇,著在典故。壬子, 敕大天長觀設普天大醮七晝夜,仰祝皇太后聖壽無疆,賜錢五 百萬,栴檀、沉水、降眞等香二百八十斤,龍腦五兩,命昭勇 大將軍、拱衛直都指揮使兼客省使大仲尹、西上閣門使張汝猷、 左振肅完顏阿魯罕為行禮官,詔提點天長觀事沖和大師孫明道 曰: "老君道教,乃中國之教,不比釋氏西胡之人,以擊鈸為 事,自今以始,醮上不得用法器。"即日降普天大醮青詞一通, 其詞曰: "嗣天子臣謹上啟三清四帝二后,伏以祗應丕緒,仰 戴慈闈,惟日奉承。方備九州之養,賴天孚佑,克開萬壽之祥, 偶失時和,遽成微恙,爰款殊庭之邃,聿嚴祕醮之科,所冀孝 誠俯回真馭,垂至神而洞鑒,錫景命之延洪,嘉與群生,永依 大庇。臣無任懇禱之至,謹詞。"

辛酉,皇帝駕幸天長觀,行香禮畢,車駕還宮,行禮官暨高功 大法師,聞啟發牒,皇帝齋戒七日。癸亥,內降御書青詞九通, 沉檀四斤,龍腦十兩。乙丑,正畫行道間,有白鶴九隻自西北 來,繼又十隻,皆緩飛翱翔於壇上,須臾數千,四面蔽天而至, 徘徊往來,自午至申,始徐徐而去。是時雲物嘉明,西南有赤 光下屬壇殿,都人瞻拜,萬口和附,咸以為聖上孝感之所致。 丙寅,皇太后遣隆慶宮都監高專賜白金五十兩、绥四段,俾道 眾懺謝。是日,又於正午行道間,有四鶴自西北來,徐有五十 餘,盤旋於壇上者久之。丁卯,覆命左宣徽使盧璣為代禮官, 午時行道間,鶴五隻來自西北,囬翔殿閣之上,道眾詣天寶壇 上十方香,有大鶴下翔,掠玉虛殿簷,然後飛舞於壇閣之上而 去。中夜焚詞,微風自西北來,繚繞楮灰,摶扶搖而上者數百 千丈,直入霄漢。俄有赤光照燭琳宇,眾皆駭歎瞻拜。戊辰已 事。厥後曾未浹旬,皇太后康寧如初。



有本觀玉虛殿侍香道人徐悟眞者,目擊上事,因命工鋟木為 《大天長觀普天大醮感應圖》,具錄始終,囑國史院編修官臣 朱瀾記其事於圖之上。竊惟東西漢時,黃鵠下太液池,白鶴三 十隻經岱宗祀壇之上,偶然而來,殊無意謂,當時史官猶以為 嘉瑞,筆之於西京之書、東觀之記。況聖天子以至孝之德,動 天地,通神明,如是之昭哳著明哉!而瀾又職隸太史,固當備 紀其實,內則書之於策,以備史臣採擇,外則揚君上之美,以 佐佑刑于四海之教,故不敢堅拒悟真之清,乃取其所錄而敘述 之,以為《天長觀普天大醮瑞應記》。《書》曰:"立愛惟親, 立敬惟長。始于家邦,終於四海。"將見天下臣民聞風感德, 靡然從化,人人修曾閔之行,唐虞之世比屋可封之俗,復見於 今日矣。五月戊午,徵事郎、應奉翰林文字兼國史院編修官、 借緋臣朱瀾拜手稽首謹書。(Tao & Zheng, 2004, pp. 657-658)

Appendix B

党懷英《中都十方大天長觀普天大醮感應碑》

古有聖人尊天地,敬鬼神,禱祠祭祀之禮,見於《詩》《書》 尚矣。壇墠以為位,牲幣以為薦,薰燎以達臭,祝史以致辭, 以禳災疾,以祈壽福,亦皆有請焉。後世或舉或廢,寖不能詳 究其說,而禳祈之事,獨施於道家者流。齋有法,醮有儀,齋 以謝咎,醮以度厄,於是焉要福於天地神祗,自漢唐以來,其 法益備。雖與古殊尚,而齋潔以即事,虔敬以將誠,其致一也。

明昌元年二月,皇太后有疾不豫,皇帝日侍寢闈,諮閱方藥, 凡所以為天下養者,皆用其至,而疾不加損。天子惕然,憂形 於色,分命侍臣遍舉群祀。且謂禱祈之法,莫嚴於道家,其所 謂普天大醮者,視他醮為尤備,乃詔出帑泉五百萬,賜天長觀, 俾開醮席。仍賜栴檀、沉水、龍腦等香以斤計者合四百有奇, 特命拱衛直指揮使兼客省使大仲尹、西上閣門使張汝猷、左振 肅完顏阿魯罕同典行禮, 複詔諭提點觀事沖和大師孫明道曰: "老君之道出於中國,專尚清淨,非若釋氏西胡之法,以擊鈸 為事,自今醮筵宜勿復用。"上於是宿齋,翼日駕如壇所,親 薦香火。既還, 宮内出密詞九通, 皆親御宸翰, 皇太后亦遣宮 使賜白金彩幣,以申懺謝。啟壇之日,兩宮常膳皆進蔬素,凡 七日,蓋與醮相始終。其備物致誠,可謂兼舉矣。既醮之三日, 行事方殷。西南有絳靄紛敷,光明輝映壇殿,白鶴九來自西北, 翱翔壇上,繼是至者又以十數,頃之,四面雲會,不可殫數, 蓋無慮數千,徘徊上下,自午至晡乃稍稍散去。于時,祠官道 侣,相與振動,拜禮壇下,都人父老,萬目瞻仰,莫不加手於 額,以為聖上孝誠所致。自是或五或四,或至數十,繼日更至, 最後有大鶴迤邐下翔, 屢拂簷楹, 已而迴旋殿閣之上, 逾時乃 不見。焚詞之夕,天宇澄霽,微風肅然,煙燼上舉,莫窮所至, 俄有赤光照燭壇宇, 眾皆竦然, 蓋知仙聖之去人不遠也。徹醮 未幾,而皇太后聖體旋就康復。朝野內外,相語稱慶。

國史院編修官朱瀾為記其事,儒學之臣作為歌頌者甚眾,孫公 大師復屬鄙文,傳之刊鏤。懷英曰: "天道幽遠,其交際之理 不可必知,所可知者,修於下,應於上,理之必至者矣。夫鶴, 逸羽也,巢於深林而游集於藪澤,人將即焉,則搖翮而去之, 彼孰使而來哉? 嘗聞道家以是為仙人驥,誠然,則其為感應章 章矣。孔子曰: '事父孝,故事天明;事母孝,故事地察,以 至於無所不通。'《書》曰: '鬼神無常,享享於克誠。'夫 以道德精微之教,行之以清淨,以達聖天子愛親之誠,宜乎感 應之速也。"既書所聞,復繫之以頌曰:

PUBLISHERS

GSAR

維帝在上,萬靈所宗。聽則甚卑,匪誠弗通。於皇聖神,繼天 立道。奚請於天,粵為親禱。乃睠道學,其教本玄。用是清淨, 庶幾格天。展壇惟嚴,章詞有秘。上靈顧歆,福應遄致。爰有 嘉氣,非雲非煙。下屬壇殿,流光曄然。復有仙禽,以千百數。 如馴如驅,飛掠簷廡。僉曰聖感,福於慈闈。天子曰然,嘉爾 道師。道師稽首,惟天子孝。千萬億年,加惠玄教。 (Tao & Zheng, 2004, pp. 658-659)

References

- Center for Ancient Chinese Classics and Archives of Peking University. (1998). *Quan Songshi 全 宋詩* [Complete Collection of Song Poetry] (Vol. 26). Peking University Press.
- Chen, G. 陳國符. (1963). Daozang Yuanliu Kao 道藏源 流考 [Origin and Development of Daoist Canon]. Zhonghua Book Company.
- 3. Chen, Y. 陳垣. (2009). *Chen Yuan Quanji 陳垣全集* [*Chen Yuan Collection*] (Vol. 18). Beijing Normal University Press.
- 4. Ebrey, P. B. (2014). *Emperor Huizong*. Harvard University Press.
- Fu, H. 傅慧敏. (2022). 《瑞鶴圖》的多重隱喻與圖像 內 涵 新 探 [The Multiple Metaphors and Image Connotations in the Painting of The Painting of Auspicious Cranes]. *南京藝術學院學報(美術與設計)* [Journal of Nanjing Arts Institute (Fine Arts & Design)](06), 55-61. https://doi.org/CNKI:SUN:NJYS.0.2022-06-028
- 6. Hachiya, K. 蜂屋邦夫. (1992). Kindai Doukyou no Kenkyuu: Ou Chouyou to Ba Tanyou 金代道教の研究: 王重陽と馬丹陽 [Studies on Taoism in Jin Dynasty: Wang Chongyang and Ma Danyang]. Kyuko Academy 汲古書院.
- Hu, F. 胡孚琛. (2009). Daoxue Tonglun 道學通論 [The General Theory of Daoism] (revised ed.). Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Liu, S. 劉師培. (2012). Jindai Hanxue Bianqian Lun 近 代漢學變遷論 [On the change of modern Sinology]. In S. Liu 劉師培. (Ed.), Liu Shipei Xinhai Qian Wenxuan 劉師培辛亥前文選 [Selected Works by Liu Shipei before 1911] (pp. 151-153). Zhongxi Book Company.
- Qian, M. 錢穆. (2009). Jin Yuan Tongzhi Xia Zhi Xin Daojiao 金元統治下之新道教 [New Taoism under the Rule of the Jin and Yuan Dynasty]. In M. Qian 錢穆. (Ed.), Zhongguo Xueshu Sixiang Shi Luncong 中國學術 思想史論叢 [Collection of Essays on the History of Chinese Academic Thought] (Vol. 6, pp. 219-231). SDX

9





Joint Publishing Company.

- 10. Qing, X. 卿希泰., & Tang, D. 唐大潮. (2008). Daojiao Shi 道教史 [History of Taoism]. Jiangsu People's Publishing House.
- 11. Takagi, Y. 高木義隆. (2013). Kinshousou no Shozouin to Soukinsho 金章宗の所蔵印と痩金書 [Seals Used by the Jin Emperor Zhangzong and His Calligraphy in the "Slender Gold" Style]. *Shogaku Shodoushi Kenkyuu 書* 学書道史研究 [Calligraphic Studies], 2013(23), 25-34. https://doi.org/10.11166/shogakushodoshi.2013.25
- Tao, G. 陶穀., & Zheng, Z. 鄭子聃. (2004). Gongguan Beizhi 宮觀碑誌 [Epitaphs of Taoist Temples]. In J. Zhang 張繼禹. (Ed.), *Zhonghua Daozang 中華道藏* [Chinese Daoist Canon] (Vol. 48, pp. 648-659). Huaxia Publishing House.

- Tuo, T. 脱脱. (1975). Jin Shi 金史 [History of Jin]. Zhonghua Book Company.
- Wang, Q. 王慶生. (2013). Jindai Wenxue Biannian Shi 金代文學編年史 [Annals of Literature in the Jin Dynasty]. Zhonghua Book Company.
- 15. Yan, F. 閻鳳梧. (2002). *Quan Liao Jin Wen 全遼金文* [Complete Works of the Liao and Jin Dynasties]. Shanxi Ancient Books Publishing House.
- 16. Zhang, J. 張君房. (2003). *Yunji Qiqian 雲笈七籤* [Cloudy Bookbag Seven Slips]. Zhonghua Book Company.
- Zhou, M. 周密. (1988). Guixin Zashi: Xuji Xia 癸辛雜 識·續集下 [Miscellaneous Notes Written in Guixin Street: Sequel II]. Zhonghua Book Company.

