

# The Daozang Jiyao Project: Mutations of a Canon<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

The *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 is the fundamental Daoist anthology of the Qing dynasty, now the object of an international project—supported by CCK and JSPS and hosted at Kyoto University—to digitize and study this canon. In the framework of this project two main editions of the *Daozang jiyao* are clearly distinguished: the old *Daozang jiyao* compiled by Jiang Yuanting 蔣元庭 (original name: Jiang Yupu 蔣予蒲, 1755–1819) and the new *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 prepared in 1906 by three Sichuanese editors: Yan Yonghe 閻永和, Peng Hanran 彭瀚然, and He Longxiang 賀龍驤. By comparing for the first time these two editions, this study confirms that the new *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* is based on the Yan Yanfeng's 嚴雁峰 copy of the old *Daozang jiyao* compiled by Jiang Yuanting. Yan's copy is still stored at Sichuan Provincial

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<sup>1</sup> This study was prepared in the framework of the Daozang Jiyao Project supported by the Chiang-Ching Kuo Foundation (CCK) and the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS). I am grateful to Urs App for his help in improving this article.

Library. Because it is fragmentary the 1906 editors supplemented it from handwritten copies prepared by two Sichuanese bibliophiles: He Qichong 何起重 and Qin Pengsheng 秦芃生. These copies no longer seem to be extant. The author presents and examines for the first time fourteen versions (including Yan Yanfeng's copy) of the old *Daozang jiyao* stored in different libraries of China, Taiwan, Japan, and France. This comparison sheds light on various editions of the old *Daozang jiyao* that are made up of varying numbers of texts revealing a varying order inside the collection. Furthermore, the existence of various editions of New *Chongkan* and its reprints is pointed out. The old and new *Daozang jiyao* are thus for the first time classified in categories and subcategories reflecting changes of content and catalog order. This new categorization will help in achieving the complete digitalization and critical comparison of the old and new *Daozang jiyao* along with the preparation of an Annotated Catalog.

As the interest in the Daoism of the Ming and Qing dynasties grows, increasing attention is being paid to the fundamental Daoist anthology (the *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 or *Essentials of the Daoist Canon*) that reflects the cultural and religious changes of Daoism between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. As the title of this collection suggests, it is considered to represent the quintessence of the Ming Daoist Canon (*Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏) of 1445.<sup>2</sup> However, in contrast with the Ming Daoist Canon and its precursors, which were all sponsored by the imperial court and are the outcome of a working relationship between church and state, the *Daozang jiyao* is the fruit of the private initiative of high-ranking officials. For the first time in Daoist history its

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<sup>2</sup> On the word “canon” and its use in the context of the *Daozang jiyao* see Monica Esposito, “The Invention of the Quanzhen Canon: The Wondrous Fate of the *Daozang jiyao*,” paper presented at the International symposium “Quanzhen Daoism in Modern Society and Culture,” (UC Berkeley, November 2–3, 2007). A volume edited by Liu Xun and Vincent Goossaert on this Quanzhen Conference is in preparation at the Berkeley Institute of East Asian Studies. An abridged version of this paper in Chinese titled “Yibu Quanzhen Daozang de faming: *Daozang jiyao* ji Qingdai Quanzhen rentong 一部全真道藏的發明：道藏輯要及清代全真認同” is found in Zhao Weidong 趙衛東, ed., *Wendao Kunyushan 問道崑崙山* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2009), pp. 303–343.

compilation was sanctioned not by the authority of the Son of Heaven but by that of the Daoist immortal Lü Dongbin via divine spirit-writing revelation. It is by far the largest Daoist anthology of the Qing period (1644–1912) and includes cosmological, philosophical, liturgical, and alchemical scriptures; commentaries on Daoist and Confucian classics; epigraphic, topographic and hagiographic materials; and much else. In spite of its importance, its systematic study has only recently begun, and no annotated catalog has yet been produced.<sup>3</sup> Thanks to the discovery of rare editions of this last Daoist Canon of the Qing, which are preserved in Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese, and European libraries, it has become possible to reconstruct the history of the *Daozang jiyao*, study its evolution, and prepare the ground for a first critical edition.

<sup>3</sup> Except for the studies of Mori Yuria 森由利亜 (“Dōzo shūyō to Shō Yobu no Ryoso fukei shinkō 道藏輯要と蔣予蒲の呂祖扶乩信仰,” *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 98 [2001], pp. 33–52), Kim Yunsu 金侖壽 (“Dojang jipyo wa Jang Yoepo 道藏輯要斗蔣予蒲,” *Dogyo Munhwa Yoengu* 道教文化研究 17 (2002), pp. 277–316), and Wan Dekai 萬德凱 (“Daozang jiyao yanjiu 道藏輯要研究,” Post-doctoral report, Sichuan University, summer 2007), no systematic work has been done on this collection. A first presentation of the various editions of Jiang Yuan-ting’s old *Daozang jiyao* and the new *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* is found in Monica Esposito 莫尼卡, “Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi: Shijie Qingdai Daozang suoshou daojing shumu wenti 道藏輯要及其編纂的歷史——試解清代道藏所收道經書目問題,” paper presented at the First International Academic Symposium of Daoist Literature and its Path to Immortality (Gaoxiong, Zhongshan University, November 10–12, 2006). Thanks to the permission of Professor Liao Hongchang 廖宏昌, this paper is now available on the website of the Daozang Jiyao Project (<http://www.daozangjiyao.org>). An expanded and revised version of this article with its two Appendices is forthcoming in *Xueshu Zhongguo* 學術中國 [*Academic China*] (2009.11). See also M. Esposito, “The Discovery of Jiang Yuan-ting’s Daozang jiyao in Jiangnan—A Presentation of the Daoist Canon of the Qing Dynasty,” in Mugitani Kunio 麦谷邦夫, ed., *Kōnan dōkyō no kenkyū* 江南道教の研究 (Kyoto: Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 人文科学研究所, 2007): pp. 79–110 and in *Xueshu Zhongguo* 學術中國 [*Academic China*] (2007.11): pp. 25–48. A Chinese translation based on the revised English version (available at <http://www.daozangjiyao.org>) under the title “Qingdai Daozang: Jiangnan Jiang Yuan-ting ben *Daozang jiyao* zhi yanjiu 清代道藏—江南蔣元庭本道藏輯要之研究” is forthcoming in *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 (2009).

Thanks to the support of the Chiang-Ching Kuo Foundation (CCK) and a close collaboration with the Academia Sinica, an international research project on the *Daozang jiyao* began under my direction in July 2006. Using the latest methods of electronic text production and content-based mark-up techniques, the Daozang jiyao Project aims at digitizing the entire collection. Thanks to international collaboration, a highly qualified world-wide team of Daoist scholars will analyze more than 300 texts and write content-related abstracts for each of its texts in order to produce a three-volume repertory of this collection in digital and printed formats.

The Daozang Jiyao Project is hosted at Kyoto University's Institute for Research in Humanities (Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 人文科學研究所) with Dr. Christian Wittern as its co-director. In 2008 it also received funds from the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) under the supervision of Professor Mugitani Kunio 麦谷邦夫. On June 21, 2008, a contract of collaboration was signed with Professor Li Yuanguo 李遠國 (Sichuan Academy of Social Science 四川省社會科學院) who, with the help of Dr. Chen Yun 陳雲, is in charge of coordinating the work of Chinese scholars who will punctuate and annotate one third of the texts included in the *Daozang jiyao*. The École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO, Paris, France) and other prestigious institutions are also expected to participate in the forthcoming years.

## The Genesis of the Daozang Jiyao Project

For many years Daoist scholars tended to attribute the *Daozang jiyao* to two main compilers: Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645–1719) and Jiang Yuanting 蔣元庭 (original name: Jiang Yupu 蔣予蒲, 1755–1819). Although many scholars even today continue to attribute the compilation to Peng Dingqiu, studies of the *Daozang jiyao* have confirmed Jiang Yuanting as its compiler. This editorship can be detected not only in the “original prefaces” to the *Daozang jiyao* but also in its textual core.<sup>4</sup> Though the editorship of this canon is finally solved, the *Daozang jiyao* still remains full of mystery with regard to the number of its editions, the number of texts included, as well as the number of its “new editions”

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<sup>4</sup> More on this in M. Esposito, “The Discovery of Jiang Yuanting’s *Daozang jiyao* in Jiangnan” as well as in “The Invention of the Quanzhen Canon.”

and reprints. Although different theories have developed around the *Daozang jiyao*, there has been no agreement as to the number of extant editions and texts that this canon contains. One of the main objectives of the Daozang Jiyao Project is to find answers to these questions.

During the 1990s when Daoist scholars were still in disagreement about the provenance of the *Daozang jiyao*, I had the chance to have at my disposal a copy of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao* donated in 1933 to the Library of the Collège de France in Paris by the French scholar Paul Pelliot (1878–1945). Since that time I have had no doubt about the attribution of that copy to Jiang Yuanting, but I thought that it was the one and only edition of the original *Daozang jiyao*. My conviction was based on the fact that its content corresponds almost perfectly to the catalog published in 1922 by Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952) with the title “*Daozang jiyao zongmu 道藏輯要總目*.”<sup>5</sup> Today the librarians at the Collège de France continue to use the catalog of Ding Fubao, and they have noted in it the number of volumes into which the copy imported from China by Paul Pelliot has now been divided since its restoration.

It was only during my post-doctoral fellowship in Japan in 1997 that I discovered that many other versions of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao* were stored at Japanese libraries in Kyoto, Osaka and Tokyo. Each of them included, to my surprise, a different number of texts that sometimes appear in a different order within the 28 Lunar Lodges. They often also have different numbers of fascicles, different binding systems, etc. By comparing these versions it became clear to me that I was dealing not just with various copies of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao* but with different editions.<sup>6</sup> The number of known editions continued to increase with the discovery of other versions of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao*

<sup>5</sup> Ding Fubao, “*Daozang jiyao zongmu 道藏輯要總目*” in his *Daozang jinghua lu 道藏精華錄* (Shanghai: Yixue shuju 醫學書局, 1922; reprinted, Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1989). More on this catalog and its content in M. Esposito, “*Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi*” (in particular Appendix 1).

<sup>6</sup> I refer to an “edition” when new portions of printing blocks were carved (adding supplementary texts and revisions). See also M. Esposito, “*Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi*.” More on the division of the *Daozang jiyao* in 28 Lunar Lodges and their content can be found in M. Esposito, “The Discovery of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao* in Jiangnan.”

in China. While some of these editions are marked with owner's seals and have a story to tell, others are the fruit of anonymous donations or library acquisitions in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. All together they offer an interesting picture of the evolution and transformation of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao* from its birth during the Jiaqing era (1796–1820), until its transformation, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century into the more readily available *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 or *New Edition of the Essentials of the Daoist Canon*. I will in the following call Jiang Yuanting's original *Daozang jiyao*, the “old” *Daozang jiyao* and the *Chongkan* edition the “new” edition of the *Daozang jiyao* abbreviated as the *Chongkan*.

### The New Edition of the Essentials of the Daoist Canon

Before giving an overview of the extant editions of Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao* around the world, it is important to understand the story of the new *Daozang jiyao*, the *Chongkan*. Thanks to this “New Edition” one can finally shed more light on the content and evolution of the old *Daozang jiyao* that forms its kernel. The story goes back to 1892, when Yan Yonghe 閻永和 became abbot of the Daoist monastery of Erxian'an 二仙庵 in Chengdu. The new abbot Yan could then fulfill his wish to reprint the old *Daozang jiyao*. As its printing blocks were unfortunately already ruined, Yan had them newly engraved.<sup>7</sup> With the economic support and help of Peng Hanran 彭瀚然 and the participation of He Longxiang 賀龍驤 as collator, a new edition of the *Daozang jiyao* was prepared on the basis of a printed exemplar from the private library of

<sup>7</sup> While Yan Yonghe and Peng Hanran in their Prefaces (respectively: “Chongkan Daozang jiyao yuanqi 重刊道藏輯要緣起,” 15a/4, and “Chongkan Daozang jiyao bianyan 重刊道藏輯要弁言,” 16a/3, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, Taipei: Kaozheng, 1971, vol. 1, p. 44) mention that the printing blocks were already ruined (“reduced to ashes”), He Longxiang (“Jiaokan Daozang jiyao shuhou” 校勘道藏輯要書後, 17b/8–9, in *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 45) tells us that they were stored in Beijing but “eaten by worms.” See M. Esposito, “*Daozang jiyao* ji qi bianzuan de lishi.” From now on I shall refer for the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* to the Kaozheng reprint of 1971 in 25 volumes (abbr. KZ). More on *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* reprints below.

the bibliophile Yan Yanfeng 嚴雁峰 (1855–1918).<sup>8</sup> However, as He Longxiang tells us in his Preface, the old *Daozang jiyao* copy belonging to Yan Yanfeng was fragmentary. This particular copy appeared to lack the third fascicle of Lodge Bi 壁 along with some pages, and there were several unreadable passages. Fortunately, thanks to the acquisition of two manuscript versions of the old *Daozang jiyao* from two Chongqing bibliophiles, He Qichong 何起重 and Qin Pengsheng 秦芃生, He Longxiang was able to complete his collation.<sup>9</sup> The *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* or “New *Daozang jiyao*” saw the light in 1906.

The situation described by He Longxiang at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is not very different from my experience today in comparing the different copies of Jiang Yuanting’s old *Daozang jiyao*: all extant versions stored at various libraries in China, Japan, Taiwan, and France lack some pages or entire chapters. Sometimes a version will include a different number of prefaces, contain more or fewer texts, feature unreadable passages and corrections, and so on. It is thanks to He Longxiang’s work as collator—assisted by Xiao Jichuan 蕭濟川 and Li Tingfu 李廷福<sup>10</sup>—that we have today one of the most complete versions of Jiang Yuanting’s old *Daozang jiyao* in the form of the *Chongkan* edition of the *Daozang jiyao*. In contrast with the old *Daozang jiyao*, the *Chongkan* is the fruit of Daoist networks operating in Sichuan who left their imprint on it. This New Edition presents innovations that are apparent not only in its “new content” (i.e., its newly added texts), but also in its prefatory matter. As we shall see, apart from reproducing the four original prefaces from the old *Daozang jiyao* exemplar belonging to

<sup>8</sup> See the Preface by Yan Yonghe, “Chongkan Daozang jiyao yuanqi,” 15a–b (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, p. 44) and M. Esposito, “*Daozang jiyao* ji qi bianzuan de lishi.”

<sup>9</sup> Preface by He Longxiang, “Jiaokan Daozang jiyao shuhou,” 18a–b (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 45). See also the Preface by Yan Yonghe, “Chongkan Daozang jiyao yuanqi,” 15b (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, p. 44) and M. Esposito, “*Daozang jiyao* ji qi bianzuan de lishi.”

<sup>10</sup> Preface by He Longxiang, “Jiaokan Daozang jiyao shuhou,” 18b/3–4 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 45). In the Preface by Peng Hanran, “Chongkan Daozang jiyao bianyan,” 16a/7–8 (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, p. 44) they are instead referred by their alternative names: Xiao Zuozhou 蕭作舟 and Li Xiangting 李香亭.

Yan Yanfeng, the *Chongkan* includes an enlarged version of the Conventions or “Fanli 凡例” (16 items instead of the Original 12 items) as well as new prefaces, catalogs, and prefatory materials that are being included in the framework of the Daozang Jiyao Project.<sup>11</sup> In particular, in the catalogs compiled by He Longxiang one can detect the motivations of the Sichuanese editors in charge of preparing the New Edition. These editors—Yan Yonghe, Peng Hanran, and He Longxiang—were not only interested in reproducing the original old *Daozang jiyao*, as stated in the newly added item 13 of the Conventions, but also in including new texts that were circulating in their networks (item 14).<sup>12</sup>

The editors preserved the original structure of the old *Daozang jiyao*: its division in 28 sections according to the 28 Lunar Lodges beginning with Jue 角 and ending with Zhen 軫. They kept also the original layout consisting of 24 characters per line and 10 lines per folio (see Figs. 1–2).<sup>13</sup>

However, in comparison with Yan Yanfeng’s copy of the old *Daozang jiyao*, the new editors normalized variant Chinese characters for the carving of the new printing blocks in Yuechi 岳池 (Sichuan). Even if the new editors tell us that they tried their best not to introduce mistakes while copying the original *Daozang jiyao* (item 13), their normalization effort inevitably involved many changes in reproducing Chinese characters.<sup>14</sup> One of the challenges of the Daozang Jiyao Project

<sup>11</sup> We are approaching the end of the input of all extracanonical texts. It should be accomplished by the end of 2009.

<sup>12</sup> See also the Preface by He Longxiang, “Jiaokan Daozang jiyao shuhou,” 18b (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, p. 45).

<sup>13</sup> In contrast with Jiang Yuanting’s old *Daozang jiyao*, the new *Chongkan* respects this layout more carefully. For some texts there is a difference in the lines or folios between the two editions. It is sufficient to compare the reproduction of the Conventions or *Fanli* in both editions to understand this.

<sup>14</sup> Apart from the conversion of characters like *zhen* 「真」 found in Jiang Yuanting’s old edition (*Daozang jiyao*) into 「眞」 in the *Chongkan*, “mistaken conversions” can be seen in using the radical 「示, 衤」 instead of the “correct” radical 「衣」. This can be seen as an example of “premodern automatic conversion” in which the carvers of the *Chongkan* substituted the printed shape of 「示」 for all characters in Jiang Yuanting’s original source (Yan Yanfeng’s copy of the old *Daozang jiyao*) that contained the radical 「衤」 (used as “variant for 「衤」). More

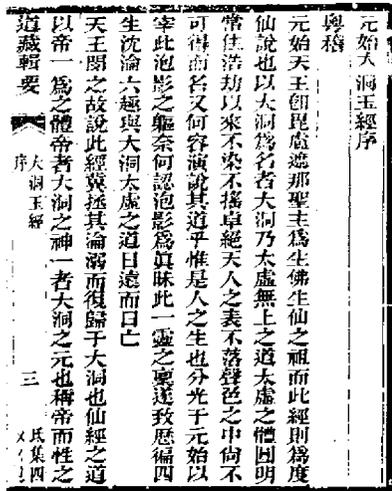


Fig. 1: New Chongkan



Fig. 2: Old Daozang jiyao (Yan Yanfeng's copy)

is to be aware of this while revising and converting the New Edition into digital format.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, as stated in item 14 of the Conventions, the new editors included additional texts in the sections within the 28 Lunar Lodges by marking them with the character *xu* 續 or *zeng* 增 (to be added).

on this in the “General Rules” (internal publication for the Daozang Jiyao Project collaborators) and in the internal project reports of Kakiuchi Tomoyuki 垣内智之, one of the collaborators in the Daozang Jiyao Project. Such mistakes were also discovered while comparing texts of the new *Chongkan* with the old *Daozang jiyao* (for instance the *Daode jing shici* 道德經釋辭).

<sup>15</sup> Specific Guidelines were prepared in the framework of the Daozang Jiyao Project to make the Japanese team aware, while proofreading digital texts, of the importance of *Chongkan* variants and taboo characters. This is important for the production of a digital version that can be used for the study of the canon, for future comparison, and for output in different formats. New tools and an advanced digital environment for the study of this canon are being developed by the project's co-director, Christian Wittern.

In order to clarify the structure of this New Edition or *Chongkan* in comparison with the old *Daozang jiyao* by Jiang Yuanting, I will now introduce the two main parts that constitute what I call its prefatory matter.

## The Two Introductory Parts of the New Edition

In contrast to Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao*, the New *Chongkan* edition presents itself as divided into two main parts. In the majority of versions and reprints of the New *Chongkan* each of these parts has the identical title page *Daozang jiyao* and on the back of the folio the date of the carving [1906] of the wood blocks at Chengdu's Erxian'an.<sup>16</sup> While the first part can be regarded as a "reproduction" of the old *Daozang jiyao*, the second is an addition by the Sichuanese editors of the *Chongkan*. Because of this there are only a few marked differences in the first part.

### *First Part*

Instead of beginning with the picture of the Sanqing 三清 deities that is found in some copies of Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao*, the first part of the New Sichuanese Edition or *Chongkan* opens with the two seals of the Dragon 龍圖 titled "Huangtu gonggu 皇圖鞏固" and "Didao xiachang 帝道遐昌" in order to claim a re-established imperial authority for this Daoist Canon.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> There are some differences in the first part in *Chongkan* reprints (KZ and Bashu [abbr. BS]) as compared with the *Chongkan* xylographic prints stored in Beijing University Library and Tenri University. In the case of Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao*, all copies have no title page except for the two copies stored at Beijing Baiyunguan and Tokyo Diet Library (see below).

<sup>17</sup> It is worthy of note that while the old *Daozang jiyao* by Jiang Yuanting stored at Kyoto University, Institute for Research in Humanities (Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 人文科学研究所, abbreviated as "Jinbun edition") has the picture of the Sanqing only at the end of its first fascicle, the version stored at the Tokyo Oriental Library (Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫) reproduces this picture in the first fascicle and at the beginning of each fascicle that opens a new Lunar Lodge. The copy stored at Osaka Prefecture Nakanoshima Library (Ōsaka furitsu Nakanoshima Toshokan 大

Apart from the Preface to the New Edition by Peng Hanran dated 1906 and titled “Chongkan Daozang jiyao yuanxu 重刊道藏輯要原序” (1a–3a), we find in this first part a reproduction of the four Original Prefaces stemming from the old *Daozang jiyao* (all included in Yan Yanfeng’s copy), but in standardized graphs [see Figs. 3–4]:



Fig. 3: Chongkan (KZ) Preface 1

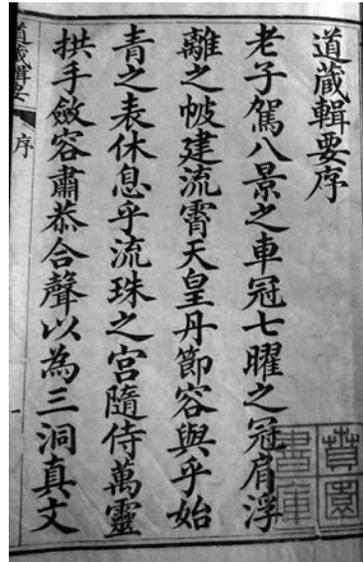


Fig. 4: Old *Daozang jiyao*  
(Yan Yanfeng’s copy)

阪府立中之島図書館) also reproduces this picture at the beginning of each fascicle that opens a new Lunar Lodge but not in the first fascicle. The copy stored at the General Library of the University of Tokyo (Tōkyō Daigaku Sōgō Toshokan 東大総東大総合図書館, abbreviated as Tōdai) instead has this picture at the beginning of the text *Gaoshang Yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經 (Lodge Qi 箕 1–3).

1. “Daozang jiyao yuanxu 道藏輯要原序” (4a–5a) attr. Lü Dongbin [see Fig. 7];
2. “Guanyin dashi bianyan 觀音大士弁言” (6a–b) attr. Guanyin 觀音
3. “Daozang jiyao yuanxu” (7a–8b) attr. Zhongli Quan 鍾離權
4. “Daozang jiyao yuanxu” (9a–11a) attr. Su Lang 蘇郎<sup>18</sup>

The editors reproduced also the earlier 12 Item Conventions (“Daozang jiyao Fanli”), while adding at the end four more items (13–16) applying only to their New Edition under the title:

5. “Chongkan Daozang jiyao Fanli shiliuze 重刊道藏輯要凡例十六則” or Conventions of the *New Edition of the Essentials of the Daoist Canon* in 16 items (12a–14b).

The first part ends with:

6. “Chongkan Daozang jiyao zongmu 重刊道藏輯要總目” or General Table of Contents of the *New Edition of the Essentials of the Daoist Canon* (15a–59b)<sup>19</sup> based on the collation of the Table of Contents of the old *Daozang jiyao* (“Daozang jiyao zongmu 道藏輯要總目”) preserved in Yan Yanfeng’s copy [see Figs. 5–6].

## Second Part

After reproducing in red ink the memorials of the Emperor Yongzheng 雍正 on the three teachings, from the imperial collection *Yuxuan yulu*

<sup>18</sup> Except for Yan Yanfeng’s copy, all versions of Jiang Yuanting’s old *Daozang jiyao* which I consulted include only one or two prefaces titled “Daozang jiyao xu” (those attributed to Su Lang and Zhongli Quan). In the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* three of the four prefaces have been published under the title “Daozang jiyao yuanxu 道藏輯要原序.” The Preface attributed to Guanyin is titled “Guanyin dashi bianyan 觀音大士弁言.” See *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 6–10. See also M. Esposito, “The Discovery of Jiang Yuanting’s *Daozang jiyao*.”

<sup>19</sup> The Kaozheng and Xinwenfeng reprints (vol. 1, pp. 12–13) have a problem in binding: the first two folios of the Catalog are wrongly collated as fols. 17–16 and 15–18.

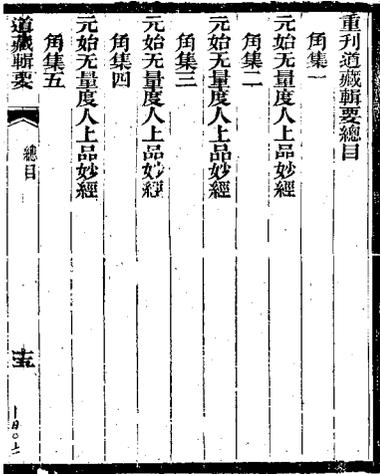


Fig. 5: Chongkan (KZ) “Zongmu”

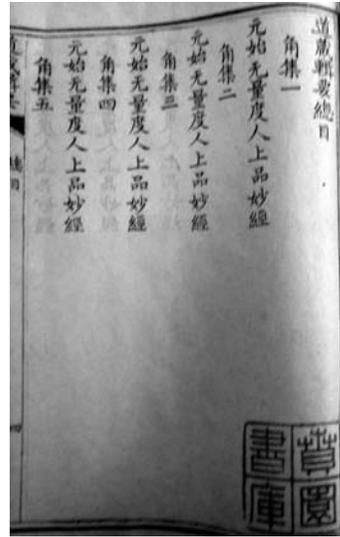


Fig. 6: Old Daozang jiyao (Yan Yanfeng) “Zongmu”

御選語錄, each of the three new Sichuanese editors—Yan Yonghe, Peng Hanran and He Longxiang—included his own preface:

1. “Chongkan Daozang jiyao yuanqi 重刊道藏輯要緣起” by Yan Yonghe dated 1906 (15a–b)
2. “Chongkan Daozang jiyao bianyan 重刊道藏輯要弁言” by Peng Hanran dated 1906 (16a–b)
3. “Jiaokan Daozang jiyao shuhou 校勘道藏輯要書後” by He Longxiang dated 1906 (17a–19a)

These three Prefaces are followed by a List of four Catalogs, three of which are devoted to the texts included or prepared to be included in the New Edition:

1. “Chongkan Daozang jiyao zimu chubian 重刊道藏輯要子目初編” consisting of 4 *juan* (1.1a–42b; 2.1a–98b; 3.1a–77a; 4.1a–100a) with a Postface by He Longxiang at the end of its fourth *juan*. It provides a detailed table of contents of each text included in Jiang Yuanting’s *Daozang jiyao* (Yan Yanfeng’s copy). However this list does not mention five texts of the Lodge Xing 星9 (4.46b) which were nevertheless listed in the

above-mentioned “Chongkan Daozang jiyao zongmu 重刊道藏輯要總目” (54a).<sup>20</sup>

2. “Chongkan Daozang jiyao xubian zimu 重刊道藏輯要續編子目” (indicated as the 5th *juan* of the previous Catalog, 5.1a–56b) provides a detailed list of texts added in the New Edition of 1906. They are marked in the General Table of Contents (“Chongkan Daozang jiyao zongmu 重刊道藏輯要總目”) with *xu* (to be added). At the end of the list one finds seven texts that are not included in the two main categories of *Chongkan* editions (see below) but were slated to be included or finally published in other collections [see Fig. 7].<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> These five texts are: 1. *Wendi xiaojing* 文帝孝經; 2. *Wendi jiuji jing* 文帝救劫經; 3. *Wendi yansi jing* 文帝延嗣經; 4. *Wendi yinshi wen zhu* 文帝陰騭文註; 5. *Guandi zhongxiao zhongyi jing* 關帝忠孝忠義經. Although these five texts are not listed in the original Table of Contents of Yan Yanfeng’s copy (see below Fig. 34), because they are included in Yan’s copy they were consequently also included in this New Edition according to the order given in the “Chongkan Daozang jiyao zongmu” (54a; see Fig. 33). More on this below.

<sup>21</sup> The seven texts are: 1. *Qingxuan jilian tieguan hushi* 青玄濟煉鐵罐斛食 (1 *juan*); 2. *Lingbao wenjian* 靈寶文檢 (10 *juan* [but now in 14 *juan*]); 3. *Xinxiang miaoyu* 心香妙語 (4 *juan*); 4. *Yayi ji* 雅宜集 (4 *juan*); 5. *Taishang wuji dadao sanshiliu bu zunjing* 太上無極大道三十六部尊經 (3 *juan*); 6. *Taishang wuji dadao yanshou jifu xiaojie baochan* 太上無極大道延壽集福消劫寶懺 [without mention of its length]; 7. *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yushu tiaoyuan yingxian zunjing* 太上洞玄靈寶玉樞調元應顯尊經 [without mention of its length]. As we can see in Fig. 7, the *Xinxiang miaoyu* 心香妙語 was stated to be included in the *Chongkan*; it also records the date of the *Chongkan* carving at the Erxian’an (1906). The same can be said for the *Lingbao wenjian* and the *Yayi ji*. Conversely, the first text in the list is now published at the Qingyanggong under the title *Tieguan hushi* 鐵罐斛食 as part of the *Guangcheng yizhi* 廣成儀制 collection (also in *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 vol. 14). For a list of some of these seven texts stored and sold at the Qingyanggong see Li Hechun 李合春 and Ding Changchun 丁常春, *Qingyanggong Erxian’an zhi* 青羊宮二仙庵誌 (Chengdu: Chengdu minzu zongjiao wenhua congshu bianwei hui, 2006): pp. 248–254. My thanks to Yin Zhihua 尹志華 for having offered me a copy of this book as soon as it was published. More on the content of the first four texts appears in the study by Mori Yuria, “Chūkan *Dōzō shūyō* to Shinchō Shisen chiiki no shūkyō

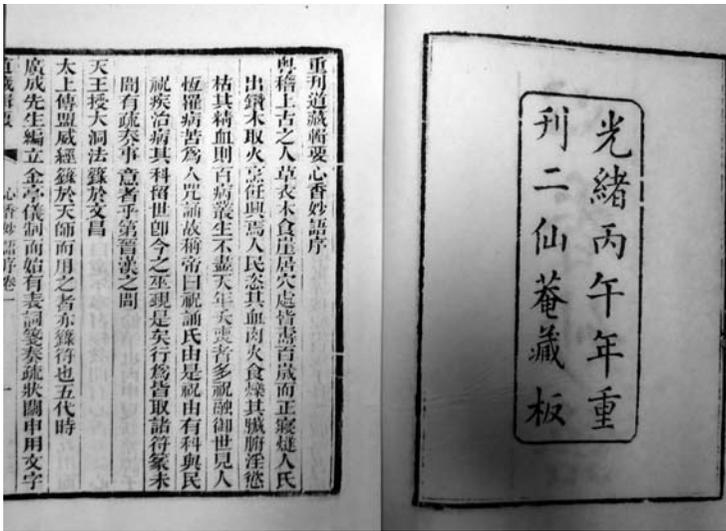


Fig. 7: *Xinxiang miaoyu* 心香妙語 prepared to be included in *Chongkan* (1906)

While those seven texts are listed in this catalog but not actually included, two texts are included in later reprinted versions of the *Chongkan* but not listed: *Xiyi zhimi lun* 析疑指迷論 (Colophon 1917) and *Chunyang sanshu* 純陽三書 (Preface 1929).

3. “Nüdan hebian zongmu 女丹合編總目” (5.62a–b). Appended to the above Catalog as “5th juan” is the Table of Contents of the *Nüdan hebian* with a preface written by He Longxiang in 1904 (5.57a–61b) and the detailed content of fifteen works (“Nüdan hebian zimu 女丹合編子目,” 5.63a–69b). This might suggest that the new Sichuanese editors planned to include this collection in the *Chongkan* but later they decided to publish it as an independent collection. Large-size reprints of the *Nüdan*

重刊道藏輯要と清朝四川地域の宗教,” in Okazaki Yumi 岡崎由美, ed., *Chūgoku koseki ryūtsūgaku no kakuritsu: ryūtsū suru koseki, ryūtsū suru bunka* 中國古籍流通學の確立：流通する古籍・流通する文化 (Tokyo: Yūzan shuppan, 2007), pp. 339–401.

*hebian* (also dated 1906) continue to be produced today at the Qingyanggong which still houses its original wood blocks.<sup>22</sup>

4. “Daomen yiqie jing zongmu 道門一切經總目” (1a–2a). This is a combined Index of 18 bibliographic catalogs of Daoist works available to the new editors of the *Chongkan* at that time.<sup>23</sup> This General Index (1a–2a), which was added only in later versions of the *Chongkan* is divided into four *juan* and includes:

*Juan 1* (originally conceived as “6th *juan*” and “6th *juan xia*”): Detailed entries of Daoist works stemming both from the concise and detailed catalogs of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 transcribed by He Longxiang;

*Juan 2* (originally conceived as “7th *juan*”): Complete Catalog of the *Daozang* ordered by Emperor Kangxi and titled “Qinding Daozang quanshu zongmu 欽定道藏全書總目” with a Preface by He Longxiang; Titles of Daoist works found in the *Congshu* such as the “Hanwei congshu daoia shumu 漢魏叢書道家書目,” “Gujin yishi sishi zhong daoia shumu 古今逸

<sup>22</sup> Li Hechun and Ding Changchun, *Qingyanggong Erxian'an zhi*, 249. See also Fabrizio Pregadio, “Daozang jiyao,” in Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London: Routledge, 2008): pp. 341–345. More on the content and history of the *Nüdan hebian* in Elena Valussi, “Men and Women in He Longxiang’s *Nüdan hebian*,” *Nan Nü* 10 (2008): pp. 247–278.

<sup>23</sup> See also Liu Ts’un-yan 柳存仁, “The Compilation and Historical Value of the Tao-tsang,” in Donald D. Leslie, Colin Mackerras, and Wang Gungwu eds., *Essays on the Sources of Chinese History* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973): pp. 104–119, in particular 108–109, and Zhu Yueli 朱越利, *Daojing zonglun 道經總論* (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyi, 1991), pp. 319–320. The general index listing the eighteen bibliographic catalogs of Daoist works was carved and printed later, while these eighteen catalogs were printed in previous versions but with a different numbering in the order of their *juan* (as noted here above). The original order is based on the Catalog owned by Liu Xianxin 劉咸忻 (1896–1932) which is still stored at Sichuan Provincial Library as well as on two copies stored at Beijing Library and Beijing Academy of Social Science. See below.

史四十種道家書目,” and the “Jiguge zhenzang mi-ben daoia shumu 汲古閣珍藏祕本道家書目”;

*Juan 3* (originally conceived as “7th *juan*”): Sections related to Daoist studies in bibliographical records of Song times such as the *Junzhai dushu* 郡齋讀書 and the *Zhizhai shulu* 直齋書錄 and recent catalogs of Daoist works such as the “Lichao mingxuan daoshu mulu 歷朝名選道書目錄” including the Table of Contents of the *Fanghu waishi* 方壺外史 in eight *juan*, and the Index of Daoist works published and edited by He Longxiang under the title “Guochao fangke daoshu mulu 國朝坊刻道書目錄”;

*Juan 3–4* (originally conceived as “8th *juan*”): The last part of *juan 3* and 4 contain Daoist catalogs from the famous institutional histories such as *Tongzhi* 通志, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, *Xu wenxian tongkao* 續文獻通考, and *Huangchao wenxian tongkao* 皇朝文獻通考.

## Mysteries of the *Chongkan*: Its Editions and Reprints

Like the old *Daozang jiyao*, the New Edition or *Chongkan* also has its mysteries. We have not only, as I have just mentioned, differences among listed texts in the different catalogs and in texts included or excluded in the collection, but also contradictory information recorded in the prefaces by the new editors.<sup>24</sup> The much-cited wrong attribution of Jiang Yuanting’s old *Daozang jiyao* to Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 or to Peng Wenqin 彭文勤, for instance, has its origins in the prefaces of He Longxiang.<sup>25</sup> Other contradictory information concerns, among other things, the copy belonging to Yan Yanfeng used as basis for the carving of the *Chongkan*. Both He Longxiang and Yan Yonghe tell us in their prefaces that Yan Yanfeng’s copy lacks the third fascicle of Lodge Bi

<sup>24</sup> More on this in M. Esposito “The Discovery of Jiang Yuanting’s *Daozang jiyao* in Jiangnan,” as well as in “The Invention of the Quanzhen Canon: The Wondrous Fate of the *Daozang jiyao*.”

<sup>25</sup> William Chen, *A Guide to Tao-tsang Chi Yao* (with a Preface by Julian Pas, New York: Stony Brook, 1987).

璧, but when one consults the copy, which is still stored at Sichuan Library [see Fig. 8], one can see that it instead lacks the fascicle of Lodge Wei 胃 2 (with three texts).<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, as with the old *Daozang jiyao*, there are also different editions and reprints of the *Chongkan*.

Scholars of an older generation were probably misled concerning the content of this collection because they consulted one of the first reprints of the 25-volume *Chongkan* published by the Taiwanese Publishing House Kaozheng 考正 in 1971 or the catalog by William Chen which is based on it.<sup>27</sup> According to these materials the *Chongkan* is supposed to include no Neo-Confucian texts. These texts are instead listed in the Table of Contents of the old *Daozang jiyao* (see below Figs. 33–35). However if one consults the large-format reprints of the *Chongkan* published by Bashu 巴書 after 1985 (245 fascicles, 35 cases), one can see that not only these Neo-Confucian texts are included but also one more text. The same is true for the new reprints by Bashu in reduced format (10 volumes). What does this mean?

As for Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao*, we must begin by distinguishing two main categories for the *Chongkan* editions that I will call New-1 and New-2:<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> On the two prefaces by Yan Yonghe and He Longxiang, see above notes 8–9. The missing 3 texts are: 1. *Chongyang fenli shihua ji* 重陽分梨十化集; 2. *Lijiao shiwu lun* 立教十五論; 3. *Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 丹陽真人直言. In contrast, the third fascicle of the Lodge Bi is well preserved and includes all texts. However, as He Longxiang also emphasizes in his preface, Yan Yanfeng's copy has missing or blank folios. On this copy, see also below.

<sup>27</sup> W. Chen, *A Guide to Tao-tsang Chi Yao* (with a Preface by Julian Pas, New York: Stony Brook, 1987).

<sup>28</sup> The two main categories of editions with which I began to classify Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao*, and the new *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* are also presented in Monica Esposito, "Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi." With regard to Jiang Yuanting *Daozang jiyao* see M. Esposito, "The Discovery of Jiang Yuanting's Daozang jiyao in Jiangnan." A general introduction to these categories is also given on the website of the Project ([www.daozangjiyao.org](http://www.daozangjiyao.org)) in three languages (English, Chinese and Japanese). See also below pp. 26–27.

**New-1:** Does not include the Lodge Shi 室 8 and the text titled *Chunyang sanshu* 純陽三書.

**New-2:** Includes the Lodge Shi 室 8 with the text titled *Chunyang sanshu* 純陽三書 (6 *juan*; Preface by Peng Yiqing 彭一清 dated 1929).

Copies of the *Chongkan* (New-1) are extant in China (including Hong Kong), Taiwan, and Japan. A xylographic printed set of the *Chongkan* is stored in Japan at the General Library of Tenri 天理 University. It is divided into 244 fascicles (25 cases) and does not include the *Chunyang sanshu* (1929) but contains the *Xiyi zhimi lun* (added in 1917). The same is true of the copies stored at Shandong Normal University (Shandong Shifan daxue 山東師範大學), Shanghai Library, Sichuan Provincial Library, Beijing University Library, Beijing Baiyunguan 北京白雲觀, Beijing Academy of Social Science (Beijing Shehui Kexueyuan 北京社會科學院), National Taiwan Library, Chinese University of Hong Kong, and Tsukuba 筑波 University.<sup>29</sup>

It is worthy of note that a complete printed set of the *Chongkan*, including all added scriptures in “248 scrolls and 28 cases,” was purportedly burned at the Chengdu Erxian’an “in order to reward the Imperial favor, benefit the living and rescue the dead, and prolong the destiny of the state 酬答聖恩，利明濟幽，綿延國脈.”<sup>30</sup> This happened when the printing of the “first” set of the *Chongkan* was completed. The abbot Yan Yonghe is said to have offered it on the occasion of the Great Yellow Register Retreat of the Universal Salvation. Although we do not precisely know the year when this Great Retreat with the offering of one set of the *Chongkan* was performed in the Dipper Mother (Doumu 斗姥)

<sup>29</sup> The copy stored at Tenri University belongs to the second-generation leader of the Tenri sect, Nakayama Shōzen 中山正善 (1905–1967), who gave it to the library on June 12, 1936. My consulting of the *Chongkan* copies stored at Shanghai Library and Tsukuba University is at present limited to their catalogs. More on *Chongkan* copies and reprints in M. Esposito, “Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi,” and below.

<sup>30</sup> *Erxian’an changzhu yingyong shiwen* 二仙庵常住應用時文 (19a–b) published under the title *Lingbao suishi wen* 靈寶歲時文 (Qingyanggong publication). On this Memorial compiled by Yan Yonghe see Mori Yuria, “Chūkan *Dōzō shūyō* to Shinchō Shisen chiiki no shūkyō,” pp. 352–353.

Hall of the Erxian'an, it could have taken place between 1906 and 1908 (the date of Yan Yonghe's death according to Qingyanggong materials, see below).

As for the date of the completion of the carving of the canonic blocks, there are different opinions. While Peng Hanran in his preface tells us that the carving process lasted seven years, according to the materials stored at the Qingyanggong and recorded by Zhang Yuanhe 張元和, Li Hechun 李合春, and Ding Changchun 丁常春, it lasted fifteen years.<sup>31</sup> All agree about the date of beginning (1900/1901) but, according to Qingyanggong materials, after Yan's death (1908) the carving process continued under the supervision of Wang Fuyang 王伏陽 (d. 1953) and Song Zhihe 宋智和.<sup>32</sup> It was finished in 1915 with the carving of more than 14,000 pear-wood printing blocks. A complete printed set was then issued in 245 fascicles and a large number of xylograph prints were produced for twenty-five years until the Sino-Japanese war (1937). In order to protect the printing blocks against aerial bombardments, the Daoist Wang Fuyang moved them inside the Zhenwugong 真武宮 on Mount Qingcheng 青城.<sup>33</sup> At the end of the war Wang had them moved back to the Erxian'an where, from 1957 to 1960, the Daoists of that monastery worked at cleaning the entire set of printing blocks.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Peng Hanran, "Chongkan Daozang jiyao bianyan," 16a–b (*Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, vol. 1, 44). For the different opinion see Zhang Yuanhe 張元和, "Chongyin Daozang jiyao jishi 重印道藏輯要紀實," *Zhongguo daojiao xiehui wang* 中國道教協會網 ([www.taoist.org.cn/daojiaozazhi/zgdj1/87-3/20.htm](http://www.taoist.org.cn/daojiaozazhi/zgdj1/87-3/20.htm)), and Li Hechun and Ding Changchun, *Qingyanggong Erxian'an zhi*, 191–194.

<sup>32</sup> Ding Changchun informed me that the sources come from internal materials from the Qingyanggong given to him (personal communication on March, 2006). See also Ding Changchun 丁常春 and Li Hechun 李合春, "Chengdu Erxian'an lishi yange 成都二仙庵歷史沿革," *Hongdao* 弘道 24 (2005.3), pp. 92–97. I could not consult Qingyanggong materials but according to Li Hechun such information was not based on written materials but rather on oral accounts (personal communication on May 2009).

<sup>33</sup> While Zhang Yuanhe tells us that the printing blocks were stored, during the war at the "Erxian'an Printing room 二仙庵的印制房內," Li and Ding (*Qingyanggong Erxian'an zhi*, 192) tell us they were moved to Qingchengshan.

<sup>34</sup> See the description by Zhang Yuanhe on the huge efforts Erxian'an Daoists made to clean the entire set of blocks twice with boiling water.

In 1961 when the Erxian'an and Qingyanggong became part of the so-called Cultural Park (Wenhua gongyuan 文化公園), the wood blocks were moved to the Qingyanggong. In 1966 during the Cultural Revolution, about 400 of its printing plates were taken away or destroyed during the Red Guards' pillage at the Qingyanggong and Erxian'an. In 1978 when the Chinese government changed its religious affairs policy and allowed the rebuilding of temples and monasteries, Abbot Zhang Yuanhe and five other Daoists were allowed to return to the Qingyanggong and devote themselves to its restoration. On that occasion an original woodblock print of the *Chongkan* saved from the Cultural Revolution was returned to the Qingyanggong. Though it was fragmentary (it included only a bit more than 200 fascicles) it served as a model for recarving the 400 and more lost printing blocks.<sup>35</sup> Thanks to an agreement with the Bashu Publishing House, large-size reprints of the *Chongkan* edition in 245 fascicles (35 cases) could again be produced. Such "Bashu reprints" issued after 1985 belong to the second category (*Chongkan* New-2) and include, apart from the newly added text *Chunyang sanshu*, a Preface by Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 dated 1985.<sup>36</sup> Since 1993 other sets of the *Chongkan* have been produced directly at the Qingyanggong.

<sup>35</sup> This less complete exemplar taken away during the Cultural Revolution is mentioned only by Zhang Yuanhe (青羊宮原藏有一部不完整的《道藏輯要》，共二百多冊。“文革”時，這部書被搬往他處。黨的十一屆三中全會以後，宗教信仰自由政策得到重新落實，這部《道藏輯要》才又被請回來保存。這次巴蜀書社在重印《道藏輯要》工作中，起到了殘缺經版的補缺作用). By contrast, Li and He tell us, without specifying its number of fascicles, that the recarving was based on an original xylographic printed copy (對照原刻印本補刻了四百多塊經版). On May 12, 2009 I finally got permission to consult the *Chongkan* versions stored at Qingyanggong and could verify that the so-called "original xylographic printed copy" is fragmentary (lacking among others the fascicles containing the Index, Catalogs, Lodge Dou 3, etc.). This copy is today mixed up with newer and older fascicles damaged by worms and stored in a chaotic cupboard. The only apparently "ordered copy" appears to be the recent set of the *Chongkan* published by Bashu after 1985.

<sup>36</sup> My thanks to Patrice Fava for sending me photocopies of one of the first Bashu reprints (*Chongkan* New-2) he bought in the 1990s. Reprints produced at the Qingyanggong after the 1993 have more problems of misplaced folios.

In 1995 the Bashu Publishing House also issued reduced-size reprints of the *Chongkan* (New-2) in 10 volumes edited by Chen Dali 陳大利, Lin Jian 林建, Huang Yunsheng 黃雲生, and Qin Funan 秦伏男, with a Preface by Qing Xitai 卿希泰 dated 1995. The same ten-volume reprints (with few more mistakes) were also published by Jilin Renmin Publishing House (Changchun, 1995). In 2002 Louis Komjathy published a catalog listing the texts included in the Bashu ten-volume small-size reprints.<sup>37</sup>

As mentioned above, earlier reprints of the *Chongkan* (New-1) were also produced in Taiwan. In 1971 the Taiwanese Publishing House Kaozheng produced the first photolithographic reprint based on a copy of the *Chongkan* (New-1) including the *Xiyi mizhi lun*. This reprint in 25 volumes in brown covers does not include the Neo-Confucian texts. From 1977 on, the Taiwanese Xinwenfeng Publishing House reprinted the same 25 volumes bound in blue covers.

We can now distinguish various printed sets of the *Chongkan* that were produced and sold around the world. Apart from the xylographic printed set of the *Chongkan* (New-1) stored in Japan at Tenri University in 244 fascicles (25 cases) mirroring the content of the copies stored at Beijing University Library, Beijing Baiyunguan, Beijing Academy of Social Science, Shandong Normal University, Sichuan Provincial Library, Shanghai Library, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Taiwan National Library, and Tsukuba University, an earlier set in “248 scrolls and 28 cases” was said to be on offer by the abbot Yan Yonghe, between 1906 and 1908, at the Erxian’an on the occasion of the Great Yellow Register Retreat of the Universal Salvation. As mentioned above, sets of 245 fascicles along with “an original xylographic printed exemplar of more than 200 fascicles” were in circulation prior to the 1985 large-size Bashu reprint of the *Chongkan* (New-2) in 245 fascicles and 35 cases.

Beijing University Library has two copies that were regarded as identical and cataloged with a same number (X/B951/2): one complete (245 fascicles, 42 cases) with the seal of Beijing University on the cover (Yenching University Library, Beijing China 燕京大學圖書館北平),

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<sup>37</sup> Louis Komjathy, *Title Index to Daoist Collections* (Magdalena, NM: Three Pines Press, 2002).

and one fragmentary (lacking fascicles 38 to 42) with the seal of Beijing University. In reality, during consultation I discovered that the fragmentary copy dates back before 1917 because it does not yet include the *Xiyi mizhi lun* and the General Index “Daomen yiqie jing zongmu 道門一切經總目.” Furthermore it provides a different numbering in its margins for its 4-juan Catalog as noted above (pp. 16–17) and features some mistakes that were corrected in the majority of copies after 1917. Another copy that appears identical with the fragmentary copy in the Beijing Library is the copy stored at Beijing Academy of Social Science. This copy (now in 33 cases, 229 fascicles), which includes the seal of “Shehui Kexueyuan Shijie zongjiao yanjiusuo cangshu 社會科學院世界宗教研究所藏書,” is also fragmentary as it lacks the second part of the Catalogs prepared by He Longxiang along with the 28th case. During my recent visit to Beijing Baiyunguan (May 3, 2009), thanks to the help of Yin Zhihua 尹志華, I discovered that there are parts of *Chongkan* copies bearing the seal of the Beijing Academy of Social Science still stored there. Some copies of the *Chongkan* were in fact taken away by the Beijing Academy of Social Science in the 70s. The Beijing Academy of Social Science has also two complete post-1917 sets of the *Chongkan* (one in 246 fascicles [35 cases] and one in 245 fascicles [36 cases]) to which I had access thanks to the help of Dr. Wang Guiping 汪桂平. Finally I also found a copy in 236 fascicles stored at the Sichuan Provincial Library which, although it already includes the *Xiyi mizhi lun*, does not yet have the General Index “Daomen yiqie jing zongmu 道門一切經總目” (1a–2a) and still provides the previous numbering in its margins for this 4-juan Catalog along with a few mistakes that were corrected in the majority of post-1917 copies. Sichuan Library has also the second part of an older *Chongkan* Catalog belonging to the well-known literatus Liu Xianxin 劉咸炘 (1896–1932) which bears his seal “Shuangliu Liu Xianxin Jianquan cangshu yin 雙流劉咸炘鑑泉藏書印” and includes his notes and revisions.

On the basis of consulting all these copies of the *Chongkan* and its catalogs, though the majority of the extant sets of the *Chongkan* can be mainly divided into two main categories (New-1 and New-2), we can already call for two subcategories in the New-1:

**New-1a** Copies which neither include in the Lodge Kui 奎 4 the *Xiyi zhimi lun* 析疑指迷論 (Colophon 1917), nor the General Index titled “Daomen yiqie jing zongmu 道門一切

經總目,” provide old paginations of this four-juan Catalog, and feature mistaken characters which were later corrected in New-1b.

**New-1b** Copies which include in the Lodge Kui 4 the *Xiyi zhimi lun* 析疑指迷論 (Colophon 1917) and have the General Index “Daomen yiqie jing zongmu 道門一切經總目,” a new pagination in this four-juan Catalog, and corrected Chinese characters.

After this brief presentation of the new *Chongkan* edition, it is time to return to its source: Jiang Yuanting’s old *Daozang jiyao*. We know that while He Longxiang and his Sichuanese copy-editors and assistants were collecting other prints and manuscript versions of the old *Daozang jiyao* in Sichuan for preparing their New Edition, copies of the old *Daozang jiyao* also circulated in other regions of China.

### In Search of the old *Daozang jiyao*: From Sichuan to France

Before taking a tour around the world, let us first stop at the Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Library. Under the custody of today’s librarian Peng Bangming 彭邦明, Yan Yanfeng’s 嚴雁峰 copy of the old *Daozang jiyao* which served as basis for the Sichuanese edition of the New *Chongkan*, is still available today for consultation [see Fig. 8]. It is composed of 218 fascicles with brown covers without case (h. 27.8 cm; w. 17.2 cm). It features the seal of “Biyuan shuku 賁園書庫,” that is the stack room (in Chengdu) of Biyuan, the appellation of Yan Yanfeng as *jushi* 居士 [see Fig. 8]. At the end of each fascicle it also includes two seals reading “Yan Yuelian Yanfeng biehao Biyuan jushi yin 嚴岳蓮雁峰別號賁園居士印” (referring to the names and appellations of Yan Yanfeng) and “Weinan Shide Tuobei Qianfu 渭南世德沱北潛夫” (referring to the place of birth of Yan Yanfeng in Shaanxi). This exemplar was given in the 1950s to the Sichuan Provincial Library by Yan Gusheng 嚴谷聲 (1890–1976), Yan Yanfeng’s adoptive son.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> My thanks to the librarian Peng for informing me about the history of this copy and its seals and to Chen Yun for preparing my visit to Sichuan Library in March 2008. With the help of Professor Li Yuanguo and Chen Yun we plan to scan this copy and make it accessible to the scientific community. On Yan Yanfeng and

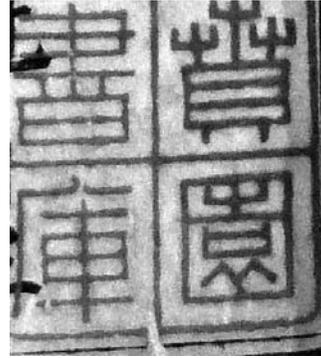


Fig. 8: Yan Yanfeng's copy (Sichuan Provincial Library) with close-up seal "Biyuan shuku 賁園書庫". Photo by M. Esposito (March 2008)

This copy is very precious because it conserves the traces of the collation and the revision by the Sichuanese editorial board that produced the new *Chongkan* edition. It also includes a red seal of paper "Xuxiang zihao 旭祥字號" (see *Gaoshang Yuhuang benxing jijing zhujie* 高上玉皇本行集經註解, Lodge Qi 箕 6 j. *zhong*, fol. 36b), and "Renfeng zihao 仁豐字號" (*Taishang Daode zhenjing jizhu* 太上道德真經集註 Lodge Xin 心 6, 95b). It is the only version discovered until now that includes four original prefaces. All other versions have only one or two prefaces. However, as mentioned above, when one consults Yan Yanfeng's copy carefully, one sees that in contrast with what He Longxiang and Yan Yonghe tell us in their prefaces, it does not lack the third fascicle of Lodge Bi, but rather the second fascicle of Lodge Wei.

Other versions of the old *Daozang jiyao* are found in China at Shandong Normal University, Beijing University, Beijing Academy of

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his adoptive son Yan Gusheng, see Ren Yimin 任一民, ed., *Sichuan jin xiandai renwu zhuan* 四川近現代人物傳 (Chengdu: Sichuan sheng shehui kexueyuan chubanshe; xinhua shudian, 1985): vol. 6, pp. 373–378.

Social Science, and Beijing Baiyunguan. While the copy stored at the University of Beijing is fragmentary (it includes only 21 of the 28 Lodges), the copies stored at Shandong Normal University and Beijing Academy of Social Science contain all fascicles in 25 cases (Shandong) and 34 cases (Beijing).<sup>39</sup> I am sure that other versions will be discovered thanks to the library survey that is being carried out in China. Since the known Chinese copies differ from Yan Yanfeng's copy, we should categorize them all. Like the *Chongkan*, they can be first divided into two main categories that I will call Old-1 and Old-2:

**Old-1:** the copies which, like Yan Yanfeng's do not include sections 10 and 11 of Lodge Qi (箕集 10–11) and thus lack two supplementary texts attributed to Lü Dongbin [see Fig. 9] (Beijing Academy of Social Science).

**Old-2:** the copies which, like the Jiangnan copy cataloged by Ding Fubao in 1922, include the sections 10 and 11 of Lodge Qi containing the two supplementary texts attributed to Lü Dongbin: *Yuqing zanhua jiutian yanzheng xinyin jijing* 玉清贊化九天演政心印集經 and *Yuqing zanhua jiutian yanzheng xinyin baochan* 玉清贊化九天演政心印寶懺 [see Fig. 10]

<sup>39</sup> The copy stored at Shandong Normal University is divided in 188 fascicles (25 cases). It includes the seal of Qilu University. The same number of fascicles is also given in the Catalog edited by Zhang Zongru 張宗茹 and Wang Hengzhu 王恆柱, *Shandong Shifan daxue tushuguan guancang guji shumu* 山東師範大學圖書館館藏古籍書目 (Jinan: Qilu Shushe, 2003): p. 278. Wan Dekai mentions instead this Shandong copy in his post-doctoral work (“*Daozang jiyao yanjiu*”) as being divided in 228 fascicles. As we will see (below pp. 31–32), like the Beijing University copy, the Shandong copy belongs to the category of Paris edition (Old-2). In contrast, the copy stored at Beijing Academy of Social Science (190 fascicles, 34 cases) with the private seals of the Qing bibliophile Fang Gonghui 方功惠 (1829–1897) from Baling (Hunan) “Baling Fang shi Gonghui Liuqiao fu yin 巴陵方氏功惠劉橋甫印” (and other seals like “Yang Jiayi cang 楊嘉季藏,” “Yunshengshi zhencang shanben zhi zhang 芸聲室珍藏善本之章,” “Zhonghua-tang Yang? 忠華堂楊?,” and “Defeng zi 德豐子”) belongs to the category of Jinbun edition (Old-1). For the preliminary distinction between Paris and Jinbun editions see M. Esposito, “The Discovery of Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao*.” More on this below.

with another variant-taboo for *xuan* 玄]. (Beijing University Library, Baiyunguan, Shandong Normal University).

In previous articles I have already presented the “Jiangnan heritage” of Jiang Yuanting’s old edition of the *Daozang jiyao* (Old-2) including these two texts attributed to Lü Dongbin (Lodge Qi 10–11). Here I would like to focus on two versions of this late “Jiangnan heritage” of the old *Daozang jiyao*: the copy stored at Beijing Baiyunguan and the copy exported by Paul Pelliot to France. (With regard to the other two copies stored at Beijing University Library and Shandong Normal University Library, because they are identical to the Paris copy, I will mention them very briefly under Paris copy). In contrast with the majority of Japanese copies (see below), the seals of the first two versions (Baiyunguan and Paris) have a story to tell.

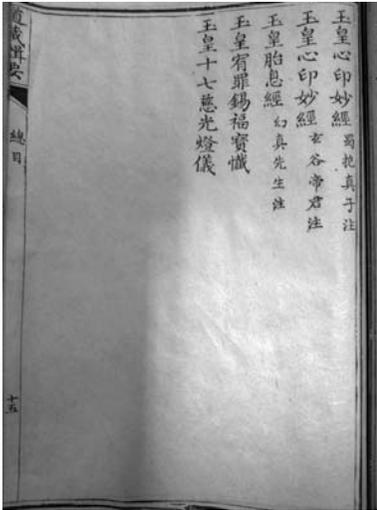


Fig. 9: Yan Yanfeng’s copy (Chengdu) not including Lodge Qi 10–11

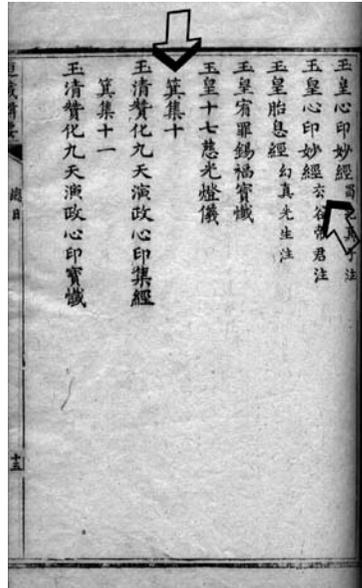


Fig. 10: Baiyunguan copy (Beijing) including Lodge Qi 10–11

*Baiyunguan copy (Beijing Chinese Daoist Association Library)*

The Beijing Baiyunguan copy 白雲觀 is a rare exemplar of the old *Daozang jiyao* (Old-2) in 20 cases. It is stored at the Library of the Chinese Daoist Association (Zhongguo Daojiao xiehui 中國道教協會) and includes two seals in its first Preface attributed to Su Lang 蘇郎 [see Fig. 11].

According to Yin Zhihua 尹志華, the bottom seal “Mianchenglou cangshu yin 面城樓藏書印” [Fig. 11] is the seal of the library of the bibliophile Zeng Zhao 曾釗 (1793–1854) from Canton.<sup>40</sup> The majority of his books were later given to the book collector Wen Shuliang 溫樹梁 in Canton (prefecture of Shunde) to whom the top seal (“Shunde Wenjun Le suocang jinshi shuhua zhi yin 順德溫君勒所藏金石書畫之印”)



Fig. 11: Preface attr. Su Lang (Baiyunguan) with close-up Bottom seal and Top seal

<sup>40</sup> His biography is found in *Qingshi gao*. I consulted only the digital version (ASCC). See also <http://my.dongua.com/lrxin/blog!entry/4677.entry>

belongs. The collection of Mr. Wen was scattered and the *Daozang jiyao* passed through many hands. In the book there are annotations by the contemporary Buddhist master Gao Guanru 高觀如. As in another old *Daozang jiyao* copy stored in Japan at the Tokyo Diet Library (see below), the Baiyunguan exemplar includes in its heading the title “*Daozang quanshu* 道藏全書.”<sup>41</sup>

Like the majority of the available old *Daozang jiyao* copies, the Baiyunguan one includes only two Prefaces (1. Attributed to Su Lang 蘇郎, 1a–7b; and 2. Attributed to Zhongli Quan, 鍾離權 1a–6a) plus the Conventions in 12 Items (道藏輯要凡例, 1a–3a) and a complete Table of Contents (道藏輯要總目) including the Lodge Qi 10–11 (4a–44b).

### *Paris copy (College de France, Institut des Hautes Etudes Library)*

The same order of Prefaces, Conventions, and Table of Contents is found in the copy offered by Paul Pelliot to the Collège de France Library (Institut des Hautes Études, Paris) in 1933. This copy (Old-2) also features seals.

In the first Preface attributed to Su Lang, along with the seal of the Library of the Collège de France “Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises” there is the original seal of the owner of this copy: “Ke Fengshi from Wuchang” (武昌柯逢時收臧圖記) [see Fig. 12].<sup>42</sup> Ke Fengshi (1844–1912, *zi*: Maoxiu 懋修, *hao*: Xun’an 遜菴, Xun’an 巽菴) was a high-ranking official who obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1883. He was a well-known bibliophile, collator of medical manuscripts, and founder of his

<sup>41</sup> Yin Zhihua 尹志華, “*Lingyuan dadao ge, Zhizhen ge yu Daoshu Lingyuanpian de guanxi kao* 《靈源大道歌》與《至真歌》、《道樞·靈源篇》的關係考,” *Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教 (2008.3), pp. 34–38, here 38, note 21. My thanks to Yin Zhihua for sending me this article along with the scans of the first fascicle of the Baiyunguan copy (including the Heading title, the two Prefaces, Conventions and Table of Contents).

<sup>42</sup> My thanks to Dr. Esther Lin-Rosolato, who is in charge of the journals and international exchanges at the Library of the Collège de France (Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises), for her help in identifying all seals included in this copy. Another seal on the first folio of the Table of Contents reads “Wuchang Keshi 武昌柯氏.”



Fig. 12: Preface attr. Su Lang (Paris copy) with close-up on its seal (Library of the Collège de France, Paris)

own Medical School (Keshi Yixueguan 柯氏醫學館) in Wuchang (Hubei province). He edited, among other texts, the *Wuchang xianzhi* 武昌縣志 (1885) and the *Jingshi zhenglei daguan bencao* 經史證類大觀本草 (1904).<sup>43</sup>

One of the seals represents a kind of advertisement found in old books and indicates that its white paper “Liubatai,” made from bamboo,

<sup>43</sup> A copy of the *Jingshi zhenglei daguan bencao* revised and printed by Ke Fengshi is stored at the Jinbun (<http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/kanseki?record=data/FA019705/tagged/0336018.dat&back=1>). A look at the electronic data, such as the *Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術 of the Academia Sinica (ASCC), confirms the work of Ke as collator and editor of ancient manuscripts. More on his official career in the electronic edition of the *Qingshi gao* (ASCC). See also Jiang Yinghao 蔣英豪, *Huang Zunxian shiyou ji* 黃遵憲師友記 (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2002), pp. 86–87.

comes from the factory Wanfumao of Fujian (福建萬福茂宅號本廠督造潔白毛六八太名紙發行) [see Fig. 13].



Fig. 13: Paris copy with the seal from the Fujian paper source

A very similar seal is also included in the copy stored at Beijing University (see *Yuqing zanhua jiutian yanzheng xinyin baochan* 玉清贊化九天演政心印寶懺, Lodge Qi 箕 11, fol. 109b) and Shandong Normal University (see *Cantong qi chanyou* 參同契闡幽, Lodge Xu 虛 1, fol. 11b).<sup>44</sup>

Although the Beijing University copy is fragmentary (228 fascicles in 20 cases including only 21 sections of the 28), its remaining parts are

<sup>44</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Zhang Zongru 張宗茹 at Shandong Normal University for her help in interpreting the seal included in the copy of the old *Daozang jiyao* and sending me an article published on the web titled “Gushu shangde guanggao 古書上的廣告” ([http://www.gujiushu.com/auction/news\\_detail.php?class\\_id=173&first\\_cat\\_id=6](http://www.gujiushu.com/auction/news_detail.php?class_id=173&first_cat_id=6)).

completely identical to the Paris copy. According to the Beijing University Librarian Mr. Ding this copy was acquired in the 1940s from the private collection of the well-known Qing bibliophile Li Shengfeng 李盛鋒. The other copy stored at Shandong Normal University is a perfect replica of the Paris copy. It is in 188 fascicles (24 cases) with the seal of the former Christian Qilu University and the reference note on the inside of its cases “Qilu daxue tushuguan 濟魯大學圖書館, Shandong Christian University Augustine Library Tsinan [Book Number 181–2 553; Accession Number S.1297–25].”

After a first analysis of the seals, when one compares the Paris copy with other copies stored in Japan or Taiwan, one discovers other information. For instance, as I have already shown in my previous studies, by comparing the Paris copy—classified as “Paris edition”—with the exemplar stored at Kyoto University, Institute for Research in Humanities (Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo)—classified as “Jinbun edition”—I found that the Paris edition (like the Baiyunguan, Beijing University, and Shandong copies) not only includes the two additional texts of Lodge Qi (10–11) but also has a newly carved Table of Contents corresponding to Lodge Qi [see Fig. 10]. Apart from this, it is identical with Jinbun. While for other copies of the old *Daozang jiyao* we can discover the use of different sets of printing-blocks, the Paris and Jinbun editions have been reproduced from the “same generation of printing-blocks.”<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Like the two above-mentioned copies—Yan Yanfeng (Old-1) and Baiyunguan (Old-2)—one can see that the Jinbun (Old-1) and Paris (Old-2) editions contain the same differences in the Table of Contents of the Lodge Qi. Like Yan Yanfeng, the Jinbun edition (as well as the Beijing Academy of Social Science copy) does not include Lodge Qi 10–11; like Baiyunguan, Beijing University, and Shandong Normal University, Paris does. See above Figs. 9–10 and M. Esposito, “The Discovery of Jiang Yuanting’s *Daozang jiyao* in Jiangnan.” Please notice that in re-carving the Table of Contents for the Lodge Qi 10–11, another variant for the taboo-character *xuan* 玄 is used (see Fig. 10 marked with a small arrow). The first comparison between the two editions of Paris and Jinbun has confirmed that both were reproduced from the same generation of printing blocks. Thanks to the help of Nakadate Hamana 中楯はまな, one of the main collaborators of the *Daozang Jiyao* Project at the Jinbun, I could systematically check these two editions and see that the same problems of printing blocks or obscured characters found in the

One of the aims of the Daozang Jiyao Project is to retrace the filiations of the extant versions of Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao* in order to produce a digital edition and an Annotated Catalog. At the same time, such a study will also help to trace the evolution of the old *Daozang jiyao* from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century to its 21st-century digital transformation in the framework of the Daozang Jiyao Project.

### **The Japanese heritage of Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao***

Leaving China and France, we encounter two other versions of the late Jiangnan heritage (Old-2: copies including the sections 10 and 11 of Lodge Qi) in Taiwan and Japan.

#### *Taiwan copy (National Taiwan Library)*

The copy stored at the National Taiwan Library (Guoli Zhongyang tushuguan Taiwan fenguan 國立中央圖書館臺灣分館) belonged to Uchida Kakichi 內田嘉吉 (1866–1933), the well-known Former Japanese official of the Civil Administration (前民政長官) who served as the 9<sup>th</sup> Governor General of Taiwan from September 6, 1923, to September of 1924. This copy (Old-2) carries the seal of his private collection “Uchida bunko 內田文庫” [see Fig. 14].<sup>46</sup> It is composed of 211 fascicles in brown bindings without cases (like Yan Yanfeng's copy). Unfortunately this Taiwan copy is fragmentary since it lacks the first fascicle (including the Prefaces, Conventions and the Table of Contents), fascicles 33–34 (corresponding to Lodge 心 6–8), and fascicles 43–45 (corresponding to Lodge 尾 4).

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Jinbun edition are also present in the Paris edition. The same can be said for the copies stored at Tokyo Diet Library and Tokyo University, as well as for the parts consulted of the Beijing Baiyunguan, Beijing University, Beijing Academy of Social Science, Shandong Normal University, and Taiwan copies (see below).

<sup>46</sup> See, for instance, the photo recorded at Chiyoda Library in possession of the Uchida archive (<http://www.library.chiyoda.tokyo.jp/search/uchida.html>) .



Fig. 14: National Taiwan Library copy

### *Japan copies (Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka Libraries)*

The copy stored at the Tokyo National Diet Library (Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan 国立国会図書館) is also fragmentary. It was originally in 185 fascicles with brown covers. Later it was restored into 91 fascicles with beige covers decorated with the seals of the Imperial Library (帝國圖書館藏) but without cases.<sup>47</sup> This copy (Old-2) was bought on October 23 of Meiji 34 (1901) from the book seller Tanaka Keitarō 田中慶太郎.<sup>48</sup> Like the Baiyunguan copy it features the title “Daozang quanshu” and, like the Baiyunguan and Paris copies, it includes the two Prefaces attributed to Su Lang (1a–7b) and Zhongli Quan (1a–6a) as well as the same Conventions or Fanli in 12 items (1a–3a). However, the

<sup>47</sup> A notice about this copy is found in Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan 国立国会図書館, ed., *Teikoku toshokan wakan tosho shokaku mokuroku* 帝國圖書館和漢圖書各目録, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin 汲古書院 1983), vol. 3, p. 846. This copy is presented in this catalog as “a Ming edition 明刊” in 185 fascicles.

<sup>48</sup> A bibliographic notice on this book seller is given in Inoue Muneo 井上宗雄 et al., eds., *Nihon kotenseki shoshigaku jiten* 日本古典籍書誌学辞典 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1999), pp. 377–378.

Diet Library copy has a Table of Contents (“Daozang jiyao zongmu 道藏輯要總目”) with many hand-written portions [see Fig. 15].

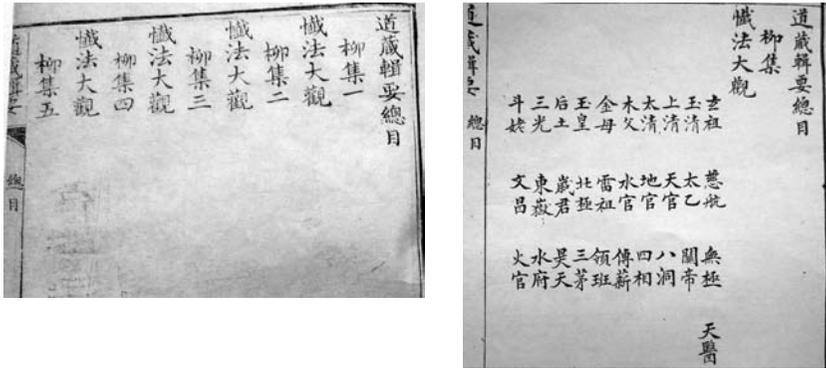


Fig. 15: Lodge Liu 柳 (Paris ed. [left] & Tokyo Diet Library [right: in handwriting])

The printed portion of this Table of Contents, between folio 6a–b, includes a Fujian paper seal similar to the seal found in the Paris edition (and in the copies stored at the Beijing University Library and Shandong Normal University) [see Fig. 13].<sup>49</sup> Though the Tokyo National Diet Library copy’s Table of Contents includes Lodge 箕 10–11 (like the Paris and Baiyunguan copies; see Fig. 10), it is not complete. It does not contain the fascicle with Lodge Qi 10 but does include the fascicle of Lodge Qi 11 containing *Yuqing zanhua jiutian yanzheng xinyin baochan* 玉清贊化九天演政心印寶懺.

The remaining versions of Jiang Yuanting’s old *Daozang jiyao* stored in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto belong to the first category (Old-1), that is, the category which (like Yan Yanfeng’s copy stored in Chengdu) do not include sections 10 and 11 of Lodge Qi [see above Fig. 9]. Among these versions, the Kyoto copy stored at the Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo—“Jinbun edition”—was already presented in my previous studies because it is one of the most complete versions of this first category Old-1. In contrast with Yan Yanfeng’s copy, the Jinbun edition

<sup>49</sup> Although in this seal one cannot read the *jian* 建 of Fujian 福建, the readable Chinese characters clearly refer to the white manufactured paper from Fujian.

contains all fascicles and includes in its catalog the greatest number of texts after the “Paris edition” (Old-2). However, in contrast with that in Paris, the Jinbun edition features no owner’s seal: it was bought around 1930s from the private collection of the bibliophile Tao Xiang 陶湘 from Wujin 武進 (Jiangsu). Like the majority of the copies stored in Japan, it has only a Library seal.<sup>50</sup>

Among Japanese copies of the first category (Old-1), a further division can be drawn in relation to the number of texts and their disposition in the sections of the 28 Lunar Lodges.

### 1. Copies with a smaller number of texts

The copy of the first category (Old-1) which, though not fragmentary, includes the fewest texts and sections in its 28 Lunar Lodges is stored at Tokyo Oriental Library (Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫). Another copy stored at the Osaka Prefecture Nakanoshima Library (Ōsaka furitsu Nakanoshima Toshokan 大阪府立中之島図書館) also contains fewer texts but it lists more sections in its 28 Lunar Lodges (see below).

### 2. Copies with more Sections in their Lunar Lodges

As we shall see, variations among the copies can also be detected in the disposition of texts within the sections corresponding to the 28 Lunar Lodges. A first comparison between the “Chongkan Daozang jiyao zongmu 重刊道藏輯要總目” (General Table of Contents of the *Chongkan*, mainly based on the collation of Yan Yanfeng’s copy of the old *Daozang jiyao*, see above p. 12) and the “Daozang jiyao zongmu 道藏輯要總目,” or General Table of Contents of the old *Daozang jiyao* included

<sup>50</sup> I am grateful to the Jinbun Institute Librarian Kajiura Susumu 梶浦 晉 for informing me about the provenance of the Jinbun copy of the old *Daozang jiyao*. Seals from Japanese Libraries are also found in the copies stored at the Tokyo Oriental Library (Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫), at the University of Tokyo, Institute of Oriental Culture (Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo 東洋文化研究所), and Osaka Prefecture Nakanoshima Library (Ōsaka furitsu Nakanoshima Toshokan 大阪府立中之島図書館). The copy stored at the General Library of the University of Tokyo (Tōkyō Daigaku Sōgō Toshokan 東大総東大総合図書館) has the seal of the private collection “Nanki Bunko 南葵文庫” of Tokugawa Yorimichi 徳川頼倫 (1872–1925). More on these copies below.

in the fourteen copies listed here below, allows us for the first time to distinguish different filiations of Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao*.

### **A First Comparison of the Tables of Contents of the *Daozang jiyao***

The fourteen copies of Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao* that I am going to compare with the *Chongkan* are:

1. Yan Yanfeng's 嚴雁峰 (1855–1918) fragmentary copy (lacking fascicle Lodge Wei 2) stored at Chengdu Provincial Library, 218 fascicles (without cases), 4 Prefaces, Conventions, and Table of Contents that does not include Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-1).
2. Zeng Zhao's 曾釗 (1793–1854) copy stored at Beijing Baiyunguan (20 cases), 2 Prefaces (attr. Su Lang, and Zhongli Quan), Conventions, and Table of Contents that includes Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-2).
3. Beijing University Library (fragmentary) copy (it includes only 21 of the 28 Lodges), from the collection of the bibliophile Li Shengfeng 李盛鋒, abbreviated as Beida, 2 Prefaces (attr. Su Lang, and Zhongli Quan), Conventions, and Table of Contents that includes Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-2).
4. Beijing Academy of Social Science copy in 190 fascicles (34 cases), belonging, among others, to the Qing bibliophile Fang Gonghui 方功惠 (1829–1897), abbreviated as ASS, 2 Prefaces (attr. Su Lang, and Zhongli Quan), Conventions, and Table of Contents that does not include Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-1).
5. Shandong Normal University copy, abbreviated as Shandong, 180 fascicles (24 cases), 2 Prefaces (attr. Su Lang, and Zhongli Quan), Conventions, and Table of Contents that includes Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-2).
6. Ke Fengshi's 柯逢時 (1844–1912) copy exported to France by Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) and stored at the Library of the Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, abbreviated as Paris (now in 63 volumes), 2 Prefaces (attr. Su Lang, and Zhongli Quan), Conventions, and Table of Contents that includes Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-2).
7. Ding Fubao's 丁福保 (1874–1952) copy inferred from the content recorded in his catalog, also titled “*Daozang jiyao*”

- zongmu 道藏輯要總目,” and published in 1922.<sup>51</sup> This catalog lists the texts contained in the copy owned or consulted by Ding Fubao (belonging to the category of Paris edition) that includes Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-2).
8. Uchida Kakichi’s 内田嘉吉 (1866–1933) fragmentary copy stored at the National Taiwan Library (Guoli Zhongyang tushuguan Taiwan fenguan 國立中央圖書館臺灣分館), 211 fascicles (without cases). It lacks, among other things, the first fascicle including Prefaces, Conventions, and Table of Contents. It includes Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-2).
  9. Tokyo Oriental Library (Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫) copy, 218 fascicles (28 cases), only 1 Preface (attr. Su Lang), Conventions, and Table of Contents that does not include Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-1).
  10. University of Tokyo, Institute of Oriental Culture (Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo 東洋文化研究所) copy, abbreviated as Tōbunken, 200 fascicles (30 cases), 1 Preface (attr. Zhongli Quan), Conventions, and Table of Contents that does not include Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-1).
  11. Fragmentary copy from the Private Collection “Nanki Bunko 南葵文庫” of Tokugawa Yorimichi 徳川頼倫 (1872–1925) stored at the General Library of the University of Tokyo (Tōkyō Daigaku Sōgō Toshokan 東大総東大総合図書館) abbreviated as Tōdai, 230 fascicles (originally without cases but later bound in 30 cases manufactured in Japan). It lacks 5 texts of the Lunar Lodge Qi and includes many handwritten portions of texts. It includes 2 Prefaces (attr. Su Lang, and Zhongli Quan), Conventions, and Table of Contents all handwritten using as model a Table of Contents as in the Jinbun edition. It does not include Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-1).
  12. Tokyo National Diet Library (Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan 国立国会図書館) fragmentary copy, originally in 185 fascicles bound in 91, 2 Prefaces (attr. Su Lang, and Zhongli Quan), Conventions, and Table of Contents that includes Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-2).

<sup>51</sup> On Ding’s catalog see above note 5. More on this catalog and its list of texts in M. Esposito, “Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi,” Appendix 1.

13. University of Kyoto, Institute for Research in Humanities, abbreviated as Jinbun, from the private collection of the 20<sup>th</sup> century bibliophile Tao Xiang 陶湘 from Wujin 武進 (Jiangsu), 268 fascicles (33 cases), 2 Prefaces (attr. Su Lang, and Zhongli Quan), Conventions, and Table of Contents that does not include Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-1).
14. Osaka Prefecture Nakanoshima Library (Ōsaka furitsu Nakanoshima Toshokan 大阪府立中之島図書館), abbr. Osaka, 219 fascicles (without cases), 1 Prefaces (attr. Su Lang), Conventions, and Table of Contents that does not include Lodge Qi 10–11 (Old-1).

These copies show many differences, for example, the inclusion or omission of Lodge Qi 10–11, as well as variations in the number of Prefaces, fascicles, and cases. Furthermore, they present interesting differences in their Tables of Contents and in particular, as we shall see, in the “problematic” Lunar Lodges.

### Lunar Lodge Di 氐 3 including or not including *Dongjing shidu*

While the copies stored at Tōyō Bunko and Osaka do not include in their Table of Contents and within the collection the text *Dongjing shidu* 洞經示讀, Yan Yanfeng’s copy, although it does not list this text in its Table of Contents [Fig. 17], includes it within the collection.<sup>52</sup> The *Chongkan* which mirrors Yan Yanfeng’s copy does likewise. However, the *Dongjing shidu* is listed in “Chongkan Daozang jiyao zimu chubian” (1.10a) or Detailed Catalog recording the texts included in Jiang Yuanting’s old *Daozang jiyao* (Yan Yanfeng’s copy).

The copies stored at Jinbun, Baiyunguan, Beida, ASS, Shandong, Paris, Tōbunken, Tōdai include the *Dongjing shidu* in their Table of Contents as well as within the collection. This text is also listed in Ding Fubao’s Catalog.

<sup>52</sup> The *Dongjing shidu* is not included in the Taiwan copy. However, it is difficult to know if it was originally included because this copy lacks the first fascicle including the Table of Contents.

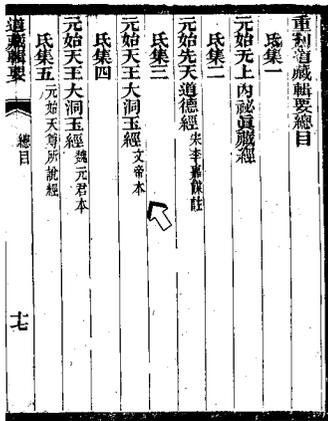


Fig. 16: Chongkan Lodge Di 1-5

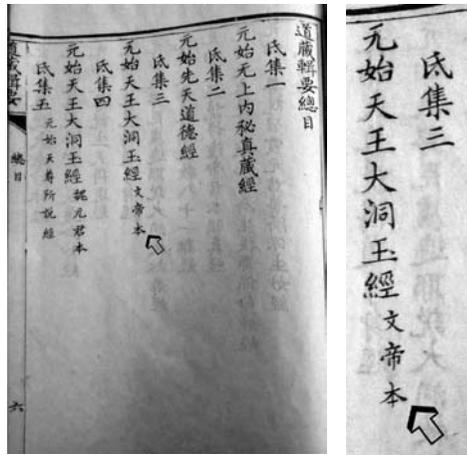


Fig. 17: Yan Yanfeng Lodge Di 3 [same in Tōyō Bunko and Osaka]

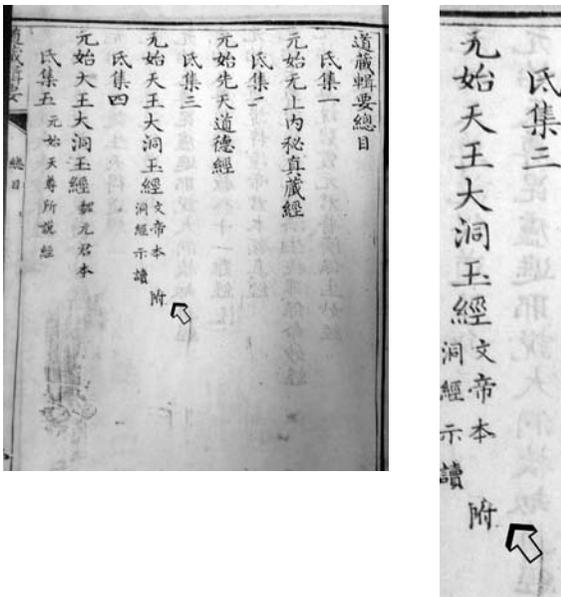


Fig. 18: Jinbun Lodge Di 3 [same in Baiyunguan, Beida, ASS, Shandong, Paris, Tōbunken, Tōdai]

### Lunar Lodge Dou 斗 4 : *Xuanzong zhengzhi* and *Longhu shangjing*

While the *Chongkan* [Fig. 21] apparently follows the Table of Contents of the Jinbun edition [Fig. 19], the majority of the copies follow, inside the collection, the order given in the Table of Contents of Yan Yanfeng [Fig. 20]:

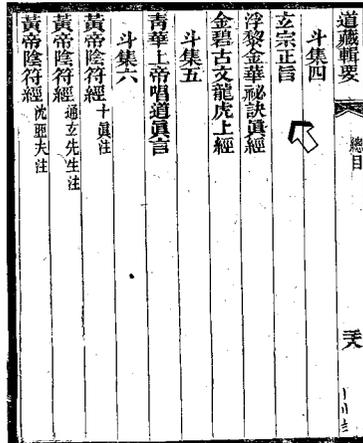


Fig. 19: *Chongkan* Lodge Dou 4-6

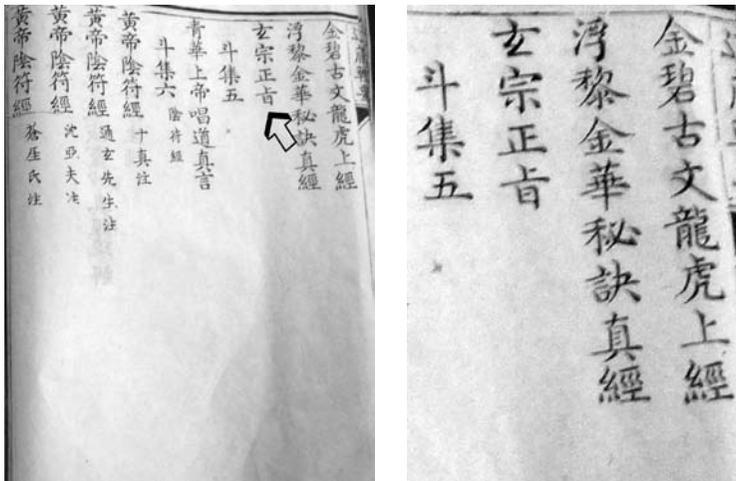


Fig. 20: Yan Yanfeng Lodge Dou 4 [same in Tōyō Bunko and Osaka]

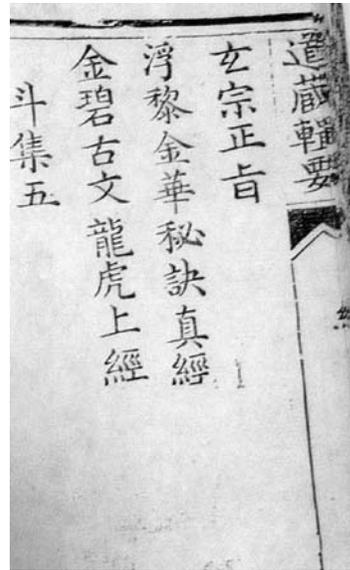


Fig. 21: Jinbun Lodge Dou 4 [same in Baiyunguan, Beida, ASS, Shandong, Tōbunken, Tōdai, Diet Library, and Paris]

1. *Jinbi guwen longhu shangjing* 金碧古文龍虎上經 (1a–2b+1a–17a)<sup>53</sup>
2. *Fuli jinhua mijue zhenjing* 浮黎金華秘訣真經 (18a–30b)<sup>54</sup>
3. *Xuanzong zhengzhi* 玄宗正旨 (31a–56a)

Conversely, it is only in Yan Yanfeng’s copy that one finds the order recorded in the *Chongkan*’s Table of Contents: *Xuanzong zhengzhi* opens Lodge Dou 4 with a different pagination that is present only in Yan Yanfeng’s copy as follows:

1. *Xuanzong zhengzhi* (Yan’s copy: 1a–2b+1a–24a)
2. *Fuli jinhua mijue zhenjing* (Yan’s copy: 25a–37b)

<sup>53</sup> While Tōyō Bunko and Osaka include only the commentary by Peng Haogu, the remaining copies include both this commentary and the other commentary by Wang Dao; but they often place one of the two commentaries before or after the *Xuanzong zhengzhi*.

<sup>54</sup> In Tōbunken we find instead: 1. *Fuli jinhua mijue zhenjing*, 2. *Xuanzong zhengzhi*, 3. (a) *Jinbi guwen longhu shangjing*, comm. Wang Dao; (b) *Jinbi guwen longhu shangjing*, comm. Peng Haogu.

3. (a) *Jinbi guwen longhu shangjing*, comm. by Wang Dao 王道 (Yan's copy: 又 37a–93a)
- (b) *Jinbi guwen longhu shangjing*, comm. by Peng Haogu 彭好古 (94a–112a)

It is worthy of note that all Tables of Contents, both in the *Chongkan* and the old *Daozang jiyao*, have a single entry for the *Jinbi guwen longhu shangjing*.

### Lunar Lodge Dou 斗 11 & 12 and Yushu baojing

While the *Chongkan* follows a different order in its Table of Contents (with *Yushu baojing* 玉樞寶經 followed by *Wubai lingguan minghao* 五百靈官名號) [Fig. 22], within the collection it maintains the internal order of Yan Yanfeng's copy (with *Yushu baojing* closing the Lodge Dou 11 and preceded by *Wubai lingguan minghao*). The detailed catalog, the “Chongkan Daozang jiyao zimu chubian (2.33a), follows instead the Table of Contents of Yan Yanfeng's copy where the *Yushu baojing* opens the Lodge Dou 11 [Fig. 23].<sup>55</sup>

Most copies respect within the collection the order recorded in their Table of Contents, with *Yushu baojing* opening the Lunar Lodge Dou 11 and *Wubai lingguan minghao* closing it [Fig. 23]. However, Tokyo Diet Library opens this lodge with *Wubai lingguan minghao* followed by *Yushu baojing*.

<sup>55</sup> In contrast with the order given in its Table of Contents [Fig. 23], Yan Yanfeng's copy opens Lodge 11 with *Dongzhen Taishang sanyuan liuzhu jing* 洞真太上三元流珠經 (1a–7a), as is recorded in *Chongkan*'s Table of Contents [Fig. 22] with continuous pagination until *Zhongtian Ziwei xingzhen baochan* 中天紫微星真寶懺 (87a–92b). It places the *Yushu baojing* (1a–18b) at the end of Lodge 11, preceded by *Wubai lingguan minghao* (1a–14a). Because these two closing texts have their own pagination, which is the same in all the other old *Daozang jiyao* copies, they could easily be misplaced at the beginning or the end of the Lodge Dou 11. The same pagination of all these texts of Lodge Dou 11 is mirrored within *Chongkan*, but *Chongkan* is the only one to reproduce in its margins the mention 「一斗集11」, 「二斗集11」, and 「三斗集11」 in order to mark respectively the order of the last texts closing Lodge Dou 11: *Zhongtian Ziwei xingzhen baochan*, *Wubai lingguan minghao* and *Yushu baojing*.

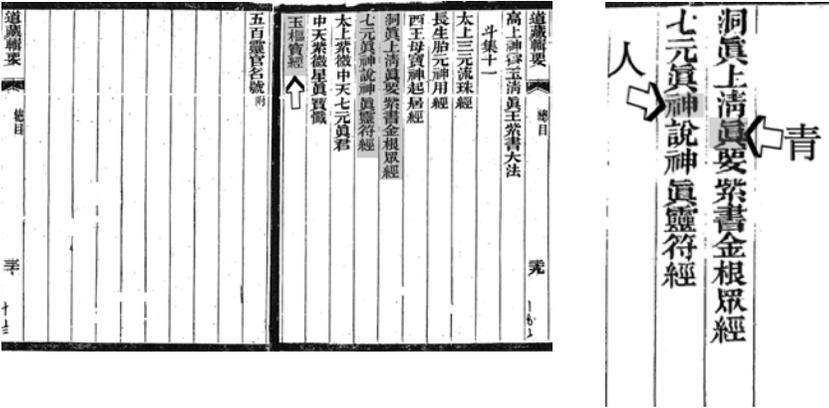


Fig. 22: Chongkan Lodge Dou 11 and close-up of two mistaken characters in the titles of two texts

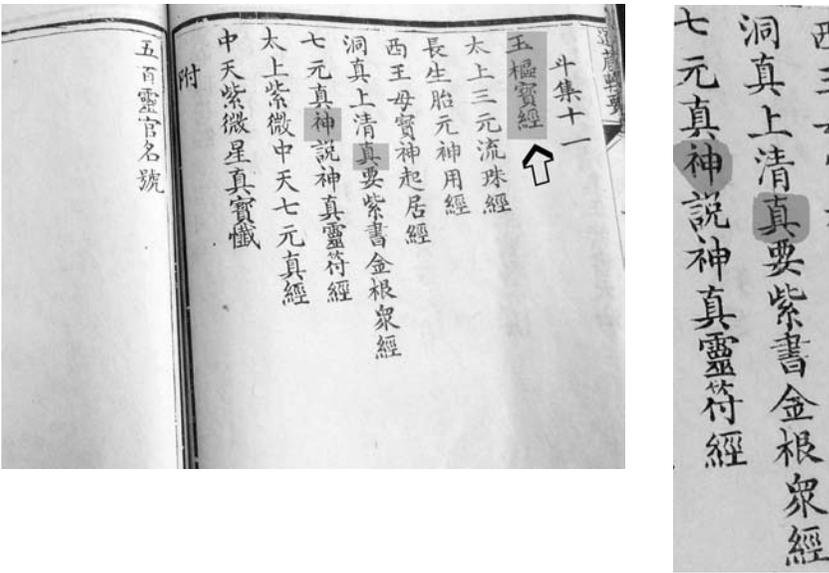


Fig. 23: Yan Yanfeng Lodge Dou 11 with close-up of the same mistaken titles [corrected only in Osaka; see Fig. 24]

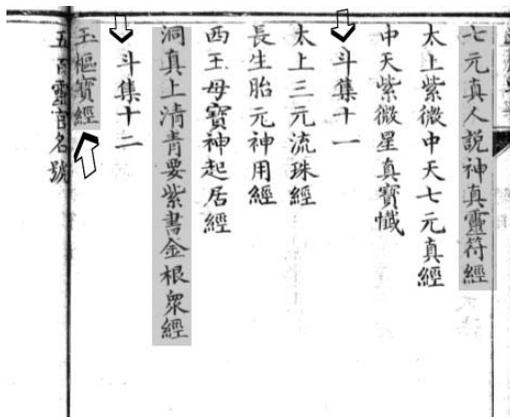


Fig. 24: Osaka Lodge Dou  
11–12 with corrected titles

Finally, Osaka is the only copy to add a supplementary section 12 to the Lunar Lodge Dou where, in contrast with its Table of Contents [Fig. 24], it places the *Wubai lingguan minghao* before the *Yushu baojing* which closes its Lodge Dou 12. Except for Osaka, all copies along with the *Chongkan* include in their Table of Contents two mistaken characters in the titles of *Dongzhen shangqing zhen* [instead of the correct *qing* 青] *yao zishu jingen zhongjing* 洞真上清真[青]要紫書金根眾經 and *Qiyuan zhen zhenshen* [instead of the correct *ren* 人] *shuo shenzhen lingfu jing* 七元真神[人]說神真靈符經.

### Lunar Lodge Kui 奎 1–4 & Lunar Lodge Kui 奎 1–6

Although the *Chongkan* in its Kaozheng (and Xinwenfeng) photolithographic reprints adds supplementary notes for the provenance of some of the texts in Lodge Kui 2 and 4 [Fig. 25], it follows the order of the Table of Contents of Yan Yanfeng [Fig. 26]; the same order is also maintained within the collection in all copies except for Osaka. Only Osaka has a different order in Lodge Kui; it has two additional sections (5–6) both in its Table of Contents and within the collection. It also lists different titles and has a different order in its sections for the commentaries to the *Wuzhen pian* [Fig. 27].

### Lunar Lodge Gui 鬼 6–7 and *Xinchuan shuzheng lu*

While the *Chongkan* includes Lodge Gui 7 with *Xinchuan shuzheng lu*

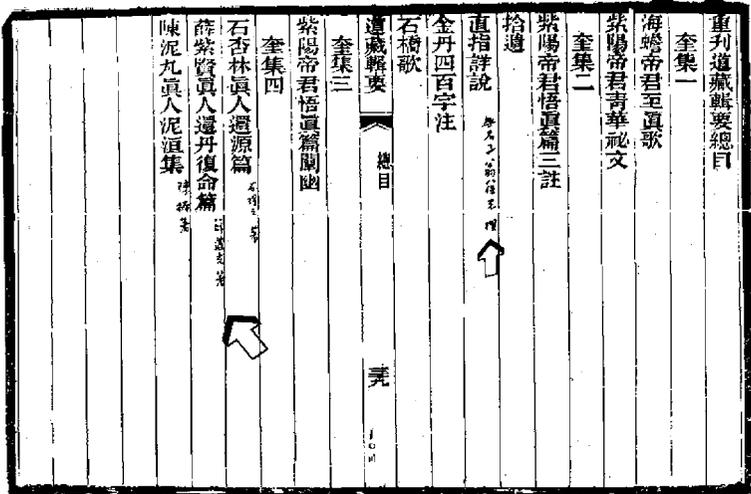


Fig. 25: Chongkan Lodge Kui 1-4 with newly added handwritten notes in KZ reprint

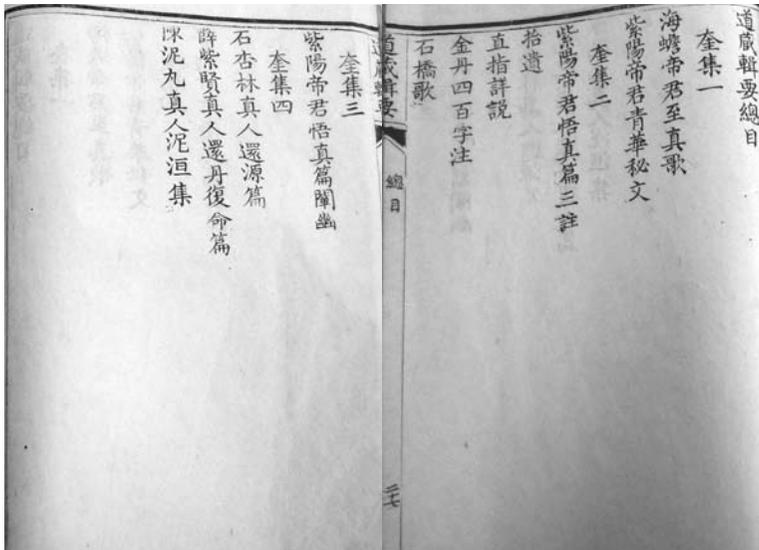


Fig. 26: Yan Yanfeng Lodge Kui 1-4 [same in all copies except for Osaka; see Fig. 27]

道藏輯要總目	全集一	海蟾帝君至真歌	紫陽帝君青華秘文	全集二	紫陽帝君悟真篇	全集三	紫陽帝君悟真篇	全集四	紫陽帝君悟真篇	附拾遺 直指詳說	道藏輯要 總目	金丹四百字注	石橋歌	全集五	紫陽帝君悟真篇闡幽	全集六	石杏林真人還源篇	薛紫賢真人歸根復命篇	陳泥丸真人泥洹集
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Fig. 27: Osaka Lodge Kui 1–6 [with two supplementary sections Kui 5–6]

心傳述證錄, Tōbunken, Tōyō Bunko, and Osaka do not include the section 7 and its text.<sup>56</sup> Osaka’s Table of Contents [Fig. 32] also has the variant [銓] for *quan* 詮 in the titles of the texts included in its Lodge Gui 1–6: *Yuquan* 玉詮 [銓] (鬼 1–5) and *Zhenquan* 真詮 [銓] (鬼 6).

In contrast to the Table of Contents listed in the Jinbun and Paris editions (same in Baiyunguan, Beida, ASS, Shandong, and Tōdai; see Fig. 30), Yan Yanfeng’s copy has Lodge Gui 7 in handwritten form [Fig. 29]. Ding Fubao’s catalog also includes this lodge and its text. Diet Library also contains this text, but its handwritten Table of Contents lists all texts of this Lodge Gui without any section number.

<sup>56</sup> More on the *Xinchuan shuzheng lu* (a text compiled by Jiang Yuelun 蔣曰綸 (1729–1803), the father of Jiang Yuanting, with a preface dated 1803) in M. Esposito, “The Discovery of Jiang Yuanting’s *Daozang jiyao* in Jiangnan.”

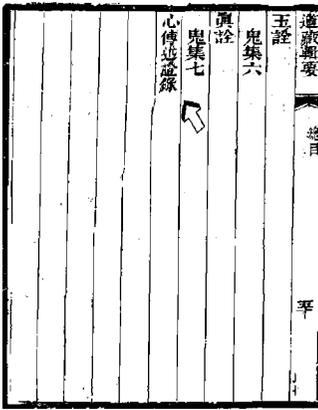


Fig. 28: Chongkan Lodge Gui 6-7

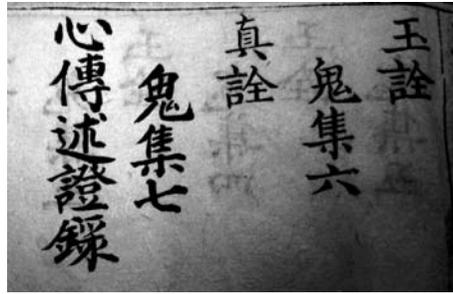


Fig. 29: Yan Yanfeng adding Lodge Gui 7

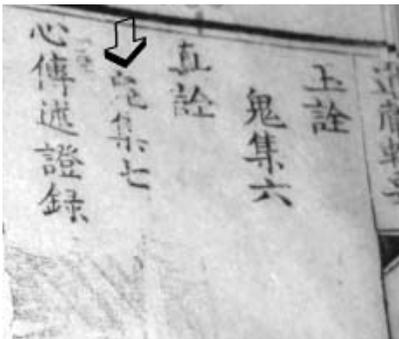


Fig. 30: Jinbun Lodge Gui 7 [same in Baiyunguan, Beida, ASS, Shandong, Paris, Tōdai]

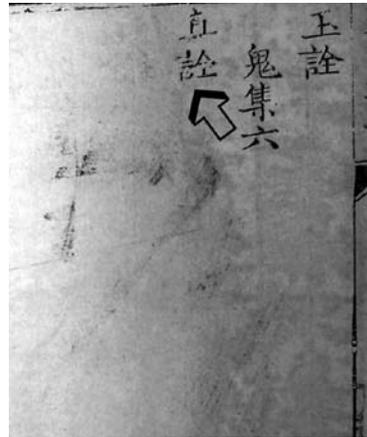


Fig. 31: Tōbunken Lodge Gui 6 [same in Tōyō Bunko]



Fig. 32: Osaka Lodge Gui 6 [with variant 銓]

Lunar Lodge Xing 星 7-9, 7 & 7-8

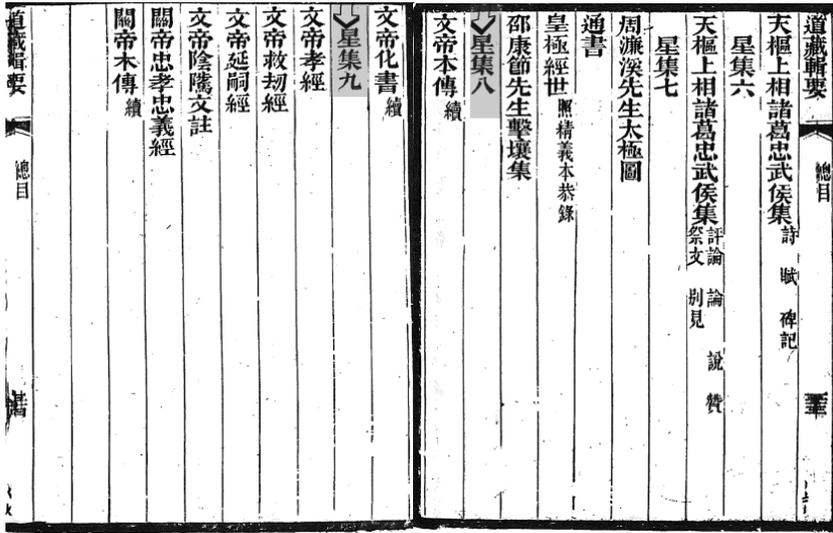


Fig. 33: Chongkan Lodge Xing 7-9 [with newly added texts marked with xu 續]

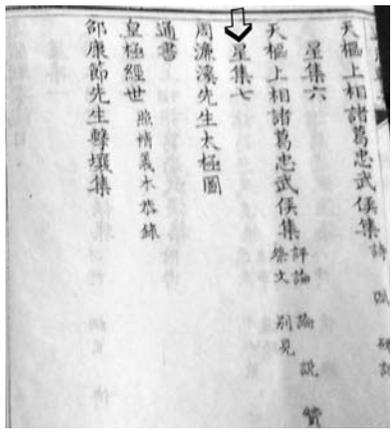


Fig. 34: Yan Yanfeng Lodge Xing 7 [same in Tōyō Bunko and Osaka]

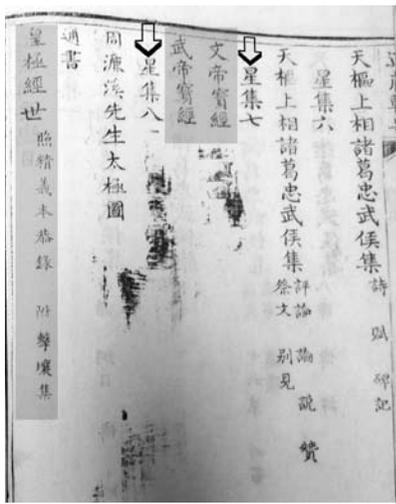


Fig. 35: Jinbun Lodge Xing 7-8 [same in Paris, Baiyunguan, Beida, ASS, Shandong, Tōdai, Tōbunken]

The *Chongkan* follows the order of Lodge Xing 7 (星集 7) given in the Table of Contents and within Yan Yanfeng's copy where the four Neo-Confucian texts are listed as follows:

1. *Taiji tushuo* 太極圖說
2. *Tongshu* 通書
3. *Huangji jingshi* 皇極經世
4. *Jirang ji* 擊壤集

In contrast, in the Table of Contents of Jinbun, Tōdai, Tōbunken, Paris, Baiyunguan, Beida, ASS, and Shandong, the *Jirang ji* is mentioned as Appendix to the *Huangji jingshi* (see Fig. 35). Furthermore we can see that there are differences between the above-mentioned Table of Contents and Yan Yanfeng's copy which includes in the same section 7 of Lodge Xing (星集 7) five more texts without listing them in its Table of Contents. The *Chongkan* puts them at the beginning of section 9 (星集 9) both in its Table of Contents and within its collection [Fig. 33]. These five texts are:

1. *Wendi xiaojing* 文帝孝經 (Yan's copy 星集 7; *Chongkan* 星集 9)
2. *Wendi jiuji jing* 文帝救劫經 (Yan's copy 星集 7; *Chongkan* 星集 9)
3. *Wendi yansi jing* 文帝延嗣經 (Yan's copy 星集 7; *Chongkan* 星集 9)
4. *Wendi yinshi wen zhu* 文帝陰鷲文註 (Yan's copy 星集 7; *Chongkan* 星集 9)
5. *Guandi zhongxiao zhongyi jing* 關帝忠孝忠義經 (Yan's copy 星集 7; *Chongkan* 星集 9)

These five texts are not included in Tōyō Bunko and Osaka. On the other hand they are included in Jinbun, Tōdai, Tōbunken, Paris, Baiyunguan, Beida, ASS, and Shandong, but placed before the above-mentioned four Neo-Confucian texts. In the Table of Contents of these five copies, these five texts are collectively entitled: *Wendi baojing* 文帝寶經 and *Wudi baojing* 武帝寶經 [Fig. 35]. Contrary to the Table of Contents which lists them in section 8 of Lodge Xing (星集 8), they are all included within section 7 of Lodge Xing (星集 7).<sup>57</sup> The copy at

<sup>57</sup> More on this in M. Esposito, "Daozang jiyao ji qi bianzuan de lishi."

Tokyo National Diet Library also includes these five texts but its handwritten Table of Contents lists them in Lodge Xing without giving numbers to its sections. Ding Fubao's Catalog records only the *Wendi xiaojing* 文帝孝經 and the *Guandi zhongxiao zhongyi jing* 關帝忠孝忠義經 under the title *Sanjie fumo Guansheng dijun zhongxiao zhongyi zhenjing* 三界伏魔關聖帝君忠孝忠義真經.<sup>58</sup>

### Preliminary Categorization of the Old and New *Daozang jiyao*

After this presentation of the differences in the Table of Contents of the fourteen copies of Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao* consulted up to now and their comparison with the new *Chongkan*, we can draw some preliminary conclusions. For the first time we have compared Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao* with the new *Daozang jiyao* or *Chongkan* prepared by the three Sichuanese editors: the Chengdu Erxian'an abbot Yan Yonghe, Peng Hanran, and He Longxiang. This first comparison confirms that *Chongkan* is mainly based on the collation of Yan Yanfeng's copy of the old *Daozang jiyao* (still stored at Chengdu Provincial Library). Because Yan Yanfeng's copy is fragmentary, the editors of the *Chongkan* also used the manuscript versions of two Sichuanese bibliophiles—He Qichong and Qin Pansheng—to supplement it.

The analysis of the *Chongkan* catalogs and the comparison of listed titles also shed light on the existence of two main categories of the *Chongkan* and related reprints: Category New-1 which does not include Lodge Shi 8 with the *Chunyang sanshu*, and Category New-2 which includes it. In the Category New-1 we can set up two subcategories on the basis of the presence or lack of the *Xiyi mizhi lun* (Colophon 1917). A subcategory for the first reprints by Kaozheng (reproduced later by Xinwenfeng) should also be added because these reprints were produced on the basis of the *Chongkan* copies belonging to the subcategories New-1a and New-1b. Furthermore, the mention in Qingyanggong materials of a first set of the *Chongkan* and other printed copies with a different number of fascicles and cases indicates that other *Chongkan* subcategories may have to be added in the future. The distribution of

<sup>58</sup> By the title *Wendi xiaojing*, Ding Fubao in his Catalog appears to refer to the four texts (unless his copy included only 2 of the 5 texts).

copies known up to now, along with reprints and their categorization is as follows:

Table 1: Main categories and subcategories of *Chongkan* editions and reprints

<b>New-1</b>	<b>a. Before 1917</b> without the <i>Xiyi mizhi lun</i> (so far only one copy at Beijing University and one copy at the Beijing Academy of Social Science)
	<b>b. After 1917</b> with the <i>Xiyi mizhi lun</i> (so far copies stored at Beijing Baiyunguan, Beijing University, Beijing Academy of Social Science, Shandong Normal University, Sichuan Provincial Library, Shanghai Library, Taiwan National Library, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Tenri University, Tsukuba University)
	<b>c. Photolithographic reprints by Kaozheng</b> (1971) and <b>Xinwenfeng</b> (from 1977 on) based on a collation of New-1a and New-1b copies, and the editorial exclusion of Neo-Confucian texts <sup>58</sup>
<b>New-2</b>	<b>Bashu reprints</b> from 1985 on, including Lodge Shi 8 with the <i>Chunyang sanshu</i> (245 fasc., 35 cases), also later published by Jiangsu Guangling Guji 江蘇廣陵古籍 and the Qingyanggong (with few more problems and misplaced folios);
	<b>Bashu reduced format</b> (10 vols.), 1995, also reprinted by Jilin Renmin (10 vols.) but with few more mistakes.

With regard to the old *Daozang jiyao*, there are also two categories that I call Old-1 and Old-2. Old-1 has five subcategories. This

<sup>59</sup> I have added a subcategory for the two Taiwanese reprints because we can see that they include mistaken parts of New-1a but also corrected parts of New-1b along with the editorial exclusion of Neo-Confucian texts. It is also worthy of note that the copy of *Chongkan* stored at Sichuan Provincial Library, although it includes the *Xiyi mizhi lun*, still has old numbers for its four-juan Catalog (lacking the title page “Daomen yiqie jing zongmu”) and mistakes that are not yet corrected in some portions of its texts that show an intermediary stage between New-1a and New-1b. I expect more results thanks to the work of the Academia Sinica and Japanese Jinbun teams as they compare Kaozheng with Bashu reprints during the input and proofreading phases. This will shed light on more differences between New-1a and New-1b and allow a more precise distinction of categories and subcategories.

categorization is only preliminary because further variant versions may exist in China or other parts of the world.

### *Old-1 category*

This category does not include section 10–11 of Lodge Qi and lacks two texts attributed to Lü Dongbin [see Fig. 17]. It has five subcategories:

**Old-1a:** This subcategory is represented by Tōyō Bunko which includes fewer texts (10 texts fewer than Yan Yanfeng’s copy [Old-1c] included in the *Chongkan*) and fewer sections in the 28 Lunar Lodges (Lodge Di 氏 3 not including the Appendix *Dongjing shidu*; Lodge Dou 斗 4 not including the commentary to the *Longhu shangjing* by Wang Dao; not including Gui 鬼 7 with *Xinchuan shu-zheng lu*; not including Xing 星 8 with five texts).<sup>60</sup> It has only a single Preface attributed to Su Lang. One also immediately notices that Tōyō Bunko is printed from better conserved or less abraded printing blocks. Old-1a does not have obscured characters like those one finds in Old-1e, Old-1d (Jinbun edition), and Old-2 (Paris edition).

**Old-1b:** The Osaka copy that, like Old-1a, has fewer texts represents this subcategory. However the sections of its 28 Lunar Lodges are more numerous. Osaka is the only version that includes “new supplementary sections” for Lodges Dou 斗 12 and Kui 奎 5–6 [see Figs. 24 and 27]. These sections are not even included in the collated Table of Contents of the *New Edition* or *Chongkan*. In these lodges Osaka has a different order both in its Table of Contents and in the collection. Furthermore Osaka is the only version to feature corrections and variant characters in the text titles of its Table of Contents [see Figs. 24 and 32]. Like Old-1a it includes only a single Preface attributed to Su Lang. With regard to the state of the printing blocks,

<sup>60</sup> The other two missing texts in Old-1a subcategory (Tōyō Bunko copy) are the commentary attributed to Badong xianzu 八洞仙祖 to the *Chang qingjing zhen-jing* 常清靜真經 (Lodge Wei 尾 1) and the commentary to the *Ganying pian* 感應篇 with the preface by Chen Tingjing 陳廷敬 (Lodge Wei 尾 4).

the Osaka copy is generally well preserved with newly recarved portions of printing blocks; it appears to be close to Old-1a. Unlike Old-1d, Old-1e (Jinbun edition) as well as Old-2 (Paris edition), Osaka does not have the same obscured characters.<sup>61</sup>

**Old-1c:** This subcategory is represented by Yan Yanfeng's copy. It contains all texts that are listed in the Table of Contents of Old-1e (Jinbun edition) but its Table of Contents does not contain some titles [see Figs. 17 and 34, and the handwritten Lodge Gui 7 in Fig. 29]. It is the only version to include four prefaces and a different pagination for the texts of Lodge Dou 斗 4 (see above pp. 42–43). The state of Old-1c (Yan Yanfeng)'s printing blocks is comparable with Old-1a and Old-1b. Unlike Old-1d, Old-1e (Jinbun), and Old-2 (Paris), Old-1c (Yan Yanfeng) does not generally have the same obscured characters.

**Old-1d:** This subcategory is represented by the Tōbunken copy. It lists one text fewer than Old-1e (it does not include Lodge

<sup>61</sup> In comparison with Old-1d, Old-1e (Jinbun edition) and Old-2 (Paris edition), Old-1b (Osaka) has recarved portions. See, for instance, *Yuanshi dadong yujing* 元始大洞玉經, Lodge Di 氏 3, fol. 1b where the Osaka copy has a newly added date of 1805. Unlike Old-1d, Old-1e (Jinbun edition), and Old-2 (Paris edition), Old-1b (Osaka) and Old-1c (Yan Yanfeng's copy) include obscured characters in the *Yinfu xuanjie* 陰符玄解 (10a/3). While Old-1c (Yan Yanfeng's copy), Old-1d, Old-1e (Jinbun edition), and Old-2 (Paris edition) include two obscured characters in *Nanhua zhenjing zhushu* 南華真經註疏 (牛 9, fol. 59a), Old-1b (Osaka) has instead a blank space. It is interesting to note that Old-1b (Osaka) is the only category to include in its Table of Contents revised titles for some of its texts [Fig. 24]. Furthermore, it is the only copy to reproduce a mistaken character in its Conventions (1b/10: “所請” instead of “所講”). My thanks to Ikehira Noriko 池平紀子, one of the collaborators in the Daozang Jiyao Project, for photocopying the portions of texts that allowed me to understand the filiations of the Osaka copy. She also provided me a photocopy of the Preface, Conventions and Table of Contents, which were previously photocopied by Shirai Jun 白井順, another collaborator in the Daozang Jiyao Project. Dr. Ikehira is also comparing, in the framework of the Daozang Jiyao Project, the Osaka and Jinbun editions of an entire text, the *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鍾呂傳道集.

Gui 鬼 7). It has misplaced lodges in its binding order and a different disposition of the texts in Lodge Dou 斗 4 (see above note 54). It has a single preface attributed to Zhongli Quan. Its printing-blocks are more abraded: they are very close to Old-1e (Jinbun) and Old-2 (Paris) editions and include the same obscured characters.

**Old-1e:** This subcategory is represented by the Jinbun copy called “Jinbun edition.” It includes the greatest number of texts in its Table of Contents of all Old-1 versions (only two texts fewer than the Old-2 category). It has two Prefaces (attr. Su Lang and Zhongli Quan) and identical printing blocks to Old-2 (Paris) and also has the same obscured characters. The Beijing Academy of Social Science and Tōdai copies belong to this subcategory, although Tōdai contains handwritten portions.

### *Old-2 category*

This category includes section 10–11 of Lodge Qi with two texts attributed to Lü Dongbin: *Yuqing zanhua jiutian yanzheng xinyin jijing* 玉清贊化九天演政心印集經 and *Yuqing zanhua jiutian yanzheng xinyin baochan* 玉清贊化九天演政心印寶懺 [see Fig. 10]. So far I have not been able to identify variations that could call for subcategories (except for those included in one of the two supplementary texts that need to be further verified). The Paris edition is a typical example. It includes the same 2 Prefaces (attributed to Su Lang and Zhongli Quan) as the Old-1e (Jinbun edition) and presents the same state of printing blocks and obscured characters. To this second category (presented in my previous studies as the prototype of the “late Jiangnan heritage”) belong the copies of Paris, the Baiyunguan, Beijing University, Shandong Normal University, Taiwan, the Diet Library, and Ding Fubao. It is also worthy of note that this category may also present in some of its copies the heading title: “Daozang quanshu.”

None of the extant copies of Old-1d, Old-1e, and Old-2 includes *Han Tianshi shijia* 漢天師世家 (Lodge Yi 翼 7) though they list this text in their Tables of Contents.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The copies of the category Old-1d, Old-1e, and Old-2 often also lack a text titled

Table 2: Two main categories and five subcategories of the old *Daozang jiyao* edition

<b>Old-1</b>	a. Tōyō Bunko
	b. Osaka
	c. Yan Yanfeng
	d. Tōbunken
	e. Jinbun edition (Beijing Academy of Social Science, Tōdai)
<b>Old-2</b>	Paris edition (Baiyunguan, Beijing University, Shandong Normal University, Taiwan, Tokyo Diet Library)

## *Daozang jiyao* Digitizing and Annotated Catalog

After completing an analysis of Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao* versions and the new *Chongkan* editions and reprints (New-1 and New-2), the *Daozang Jiyao* Project chose the New Edition or *Chongkan* as the basis for its input.<sup>63</sup> As mentioned above, the *Chongkan* is already the result of a collation of three old *Daozang jiyao* versions circulating in Sichuan: Yan Yanfeng's copy (still preserved in Sichuan Provincial Library) and two manuscript versions belonging to He Qichong and Qin Pansheng. Thanks to this first collation, the *Chongkan* includes four original prefaces that are found only in Yan Yanfeng's copy (Old-1c). All the other versions surveyed have only one or two prefaces. Furthermore, the *Chongkan* contains the greatest number of progressively integrated texts drawn from other collections. In comparison with the old *Daozang jiyao* versions, the *Chongkan* already standardized variant

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*Taishang daode tianzun shuo daoyuan yiqi jing* 太上道德大天尊說道元一氣經 though they list this text in their Tables of Contents. In the Tōbunken and Paris copies this text was added in handwritten format. More on this in M. Esposito, “*Daozang jiyao* ji qi bianzuan de lishi.”

<sup>63</sup> This decision was taken at the beginning of the *Daozang Jiyao* Project and the reasons were presented at the Taiwan Academia Sinica on March 2006 in a Chinese presentation titled: “*Daozang jiyao* yanjiu jihua—cong zhushushi bianmu dao shuweihua diancang 《道藏輯要》研究計畫—從註疏式編目到數位化典藏 (數位寶典—宗教文獻數位化工作經驗交流會·中央研究院歷史語言研究所 2006年3月7日).”

Chinese characters to some degree. This facilitates the creation of digital texts. Last but not least, the *Chongkan* is also the only Daoist Canon to have wood blocks that are still preserved at the Chengdu Qingyanggong—along with newly carved blocks—from which, even today, large-size reprints are produced of the entire *Chongkan* or some of its texts [Fig. 36].

The first part of the project sponsored by the Chiang-Ching Kuo Foundation (CCK) and the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) is devoted to the digitizing, punctuation, and basic annotation of all extracanonial texts included in the old *Daozang jiyao* (Old-1 and Old-2) and the new *Chongkan* editions (New-1 and New-2). By taking into account the existence of the identified categories and subcategories of Jiang Yuanting's old *Daozang jiyao*, the project integrated also those texts belonging to Old-2 category (Paris edition) that were not included in the versions (Old-1) in circulation in Sichuan at the time of the carving of the *Chongkan*. The electronic *Daozang jiyao* will also include those extracanonial texts that, even if not found in *Chongkan* editions (New-1 and New-2), were slated to be included

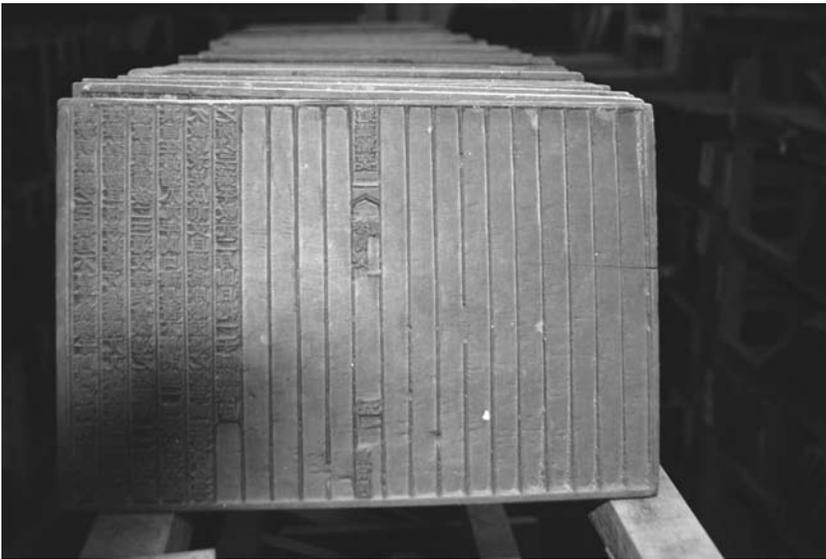


Fig. 36: *Chongkan* printing blocks preserved at the Qingyanggong. Photo by M. Esposito (March 2006)

and thus were listed in the *Chongkan* catalogs of 1906. In the framework of the Daozang Jiyao Project an annotated catalog of the old *Daozang jiyao* and new *Chongkan* will be produced as an indispensable tool for the study and consultation of the digital *Daozang jiyao* edition. Unlike previous printed catalogs, it will provide a complete coverage of the progressive enlargements and mutations of the old and new *Daozang jiyao*, from their birth to the present time.

Thanks to the study of both the old *Daozang jiyao* and new *Chongkan* editions, the Daozang Jiyao Project is also preparing the ground for a future critical edition. This task may differ qualitatively from the carving of thousands of wooden printing blocks, but it, too, necessitates the collaboration of many specialists and the support of many institutions. It is only thanks to such support that this project will be able to produce a new digital and punctuated *Daozang jiyao* edition as well as electronic tools for the future study of this canon, thus hopefully opening a new era of Daoist studies.

### 道藏輯要研究計劃：一部道藏的變遷

莫尼卡 (Monica Esposito)

#### 摘要

《道藏輯要》是清代主要的道經選集，是京都大學主持的國際研究計劃的核心項目。研究計劃（由台灣蔣經國基金會和日本學術振興會資助）涉及這一清代道經選集的電子化和研究。《道藏輯要》主要有兩個明顯不同的版本：蔣元庭（原名蔣予蒲，1755-1819）編舊版《道藏輯要》，及閻永和、彭瀚然和賀龍驤這三位四川的編者於1906年編輯的新版《重刊道藏輯要》。本計劃首次對這兩個版本進行比較，證實新版《重刊道藏輯要》的底本是舊版蔣元庭編《道藏輯要》的嚴雁峰印本。嚴雁峰印本目前藏於四川省圖書館。因這一印本殘缺不全，故編者將兩位四川藏書家何起重和秦芄生的手抄本加了進來。這兩種抄本似已失佚。作者首次提供並研究了舊版《道藏輯要》的十四箇版本（包括嚴雁峰本），這些版本分別藏於中國大陸、台灣、日本和法國的圖書館。這一對比可以使我們進一步瞭解舊版《道藏輯要》的不同版本；

這些版本的道經編號以及編排順序都不同。此外，研究者還指出了新版《重刊道藏輯要》的不同版本和重印本。這樣，新舊《道藏輯要》首次被分門別類，其內容和目次的變化將得以彰顯。這一新的分類有助於新舊《道藏輯要》的完全電子化和批判性比較的完成，也有助於一部帶有註釋的目錄的準備。

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