



A critical analysis and debate on the origins of the Lingbao fast

Pengzhi Lü

To cite this article: Pengzhi Lü (2022) A critical analysis and debate on the origins of the Lingbao fast, *Studies in Chinese Religions*, 8:3, 339-366, DOI: [10.1080/23729988.2022.2116855](https://doi.org/10.1080/23729988.2022.2116855)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23729988.2022.2116855>



Published online: 04 Nov 2022.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



A critical analysis and debate on the origins of the Lingbao fast

Pengzhi Lü 呂鵬志

School of Humanities, Southwest Jiaotong University, Chengdu, China

ABSTRACT

According to the author's previous studies, the Daoist Lingbao fast, which appeared around 400, is a collective ritual that has the rite of Walking the Way as its core and that requires participants to observe a series of rules much like those of Buddhism. Building on the Sinified *uposatha* of Indian Buddhism, in combination with the Daoist rituals of the Heavenly Masters and the *fangshi* tradition, this ritual was created by the ancient Lingbao scriptures. However, in his recent work *Han Jin daojiao yishi yu gu Lingbao jing yanjiu*, Wang Chengwen holds an exactly opposite view of the origins of this ritual. He insists that the periodic fasts or the Lingbao fast derives from native Chinese religion, and that the periodic fasts in Chinese Buddhism imitate the latter. This article critiques Wang's view from three angles with a large amount of textual evidence, aiming at developing the study on the Buddho-Daoist interaction in medieval China.

KEYWORDS

Lingbao fast; ancient
Lingbao scriptures; *uposatha*;
Daoism; Buddhism

Introduction

In the last 10 years and more I have discussed in a series of articles the idea that the Daoist Lingbao 靈寶 (Numinous Treasure) scriptures which appeared at the end of the Eastern Jin 東晉 (317–420) and the start of the Liu Song 劉宋 (420–479), building on the Sinified *uposatha* (*busa* 布薩) of Indian Buddhism, in combination with the Daoist rituals of the Heavenly Masters 天師道 and the 'recipe masters' (*fangshi* 方士), created the new ritual of the Lingbao fast 靈寶齋.¹ Though using the same term, *zhai* 齋, and aimed at purifying the mind and the body, there was a huge difference between the Lingbao fast and the ancient Chinese fasting rites performed by individuals before engaging in rituals of sacrifice. The core of the collective ritual of the Lingbao was the rite of Walking the Way (*xing Dao* 行道), which required participants during the fast to observe a series of rules much like those of Buddhism. From the functional point of view, the six kinds of the Lingbao fast – Golden Register 金籙齋, Yellow Register 黃籙齋, Alliance with the Perfected 明真齋, Three Primes 三元齋, Eight Articulations 八節齋 and Spontaneity 自然齋 – depend on the Lingbao group of five 'old scriptures of the Primordial

CONTACT Pengzhi Lü ✉ lpzcn2000@hotmail.com 📍 School of Humanities, Southwest Jiaotong University, Chengdu, China

¹Lü and Sigwalt, 'Les Textes du Lingbao ancien'; Lü, 'Tianshi dao zhijiao zhai kao (shangpian)'; *idem*, 'Tianshi dao zhijiao zhai kao (xiapian)'; *idem*, 'The Lingbao Fast of the Three Primes'; *idem*, 'Lingbao liuzhai kao'; *idem*, 'The early Lingbao transmission ritual'.

Commencement' 元始舊經. There are also six different times for doing the Lingbao fast: the six annual months 年六齋, the 10 monthly days 月十齋, the day of one's 'original destiny' (*benming* 本命), *gengshen* 庚申 and *jiazi* 甲子 days and the days of the Eight Articulations (*bajie* 八節). These six fasts are fully described by the *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing* 元始五老赤書玉篇真文天書經 [Scripture on the True Writs of the Five Ancients of Primordial Beginning, Red Writings in Heavenly Script on Jade Tablets, DZ² 22; hereafter, *Tianshu jing*], which instructed adepts of the Dao to observe the rules while practicing the fasts of these six times, which correspond to the times heavenly spirits come down to earth on inspection tours.

The Chinese scholar Wang Chengwen 王承文 has recently published a major work titled *Han Jin daojiao yishi yu gu Lingbao jing yanjiu* 漢晉道教儀式與古靈寶經研究 [A Study of Daoist Rituals from the Han to the Jin and the Ancient Lingbao Scriptures; hereafter, *Han Jin*].³ Nearly one half of this book criticizes my ideas as described above. In particular, he argues for a different view of the origins of the Lingbao fast. His book builds on the ideas of his earlier book, *Dunhuang gu Lingbao jing yu Jin Tang daojiao* 敦煌古靈寶經與晉唐道教 [The Ancient Lingbao Scriptures of Dunhuang and Daoism from the Jin to the Tang; hereafter *Dunhuang*],⁴ simply adding new materials and arguments. Wang's new book is a collection of essays, with all essays criticizing me placed in the first volume. The first chapter, entitled 'Han Jin Daojiao zhajie zhidu he shensheng kongjian goujian lun kao' 漢晉道教齋戒制度和神聖空間構建論考 [A Study of the Han-Jin Daoist System of the Fast and the Construction of Sacred Space] is divided into three parts primarily devoted to discussing the relationship between the Han-Jin Daoist fast and the indigenous system of sacrifice in early China. The first section focuses on the idea that the Han-Jin system and its sacred space have the same origins and nature as the Daoist oratory or quiet room. The second section, taking the oratory and fasting hall as examples, discusses the origin and development of Han-Jin Daoist sacred space and fasting rituals. The third section examines the influence of the early indigenous system of sacrifice from the point of view of the rules and norms of the fast. The second chapter, entitled 'Han Jin Daojiao dingqi zhajie zhidu yuanyuan jiqi yu Fojiao guanxi lun kao' 漢晉道教定期齋戒制度淵源及其與佛教關係論考 [A Study of the Origins of the Periodic Fast in Han-Jin Daoism and its Relationship to Buddhism] is divided into four sections: the first, on the ancient sacrifices as the origin of the Han-Jin fast, is a study of the origins of the Eight Articulations fast; the second, on the *Taiping jing* 太平經 [Scripture of Great Peace] and the early Daoist system of periodic fasts, treats the Eight Articulations fast as the starting point; the third discusses the Han-Tang development of the Daoist system of periodic fasts; and the fourth focuses on the relationship between the Daoist fast and the Buddhist *uposatha*.

The ideas at the core of these various case studies may be summarized as follows: The Lingbao fast directly continues and develops Han-Jin Daoist ritual; the latter may itself be traced back to the indigenous sacrificial fast of early China and does not derive from the Chinese Buddhist fasting methods. This article will critique Wang's theories from three

²Scriptures in the *Daozang* 道藏 are cited using the abbreviation DZ along with their number in Schipper, *Concordance du Tao-tsang* and Schipper & Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon*.

³Wang, *Han Jin*.

⁴Wang, *Dunhuang*, chap. 4, 321–447.

angles, hoping by an in-depth discussion to advance the study of the Buddho-Daoist relationship in the early medieval period.

Differences between the Lingbao fast and the fast for sacrifice; the Buddhist origins of the Lingbao Fast

The main reason Wang Chengwen sees the origins of the Lingbao fast in the fast of indigenous sacrifices as opposed to the Chinese Buddhist fast is that he does not recognize the differences between the Lingbao fast and that of the early sacrifices. Regardless of whether we look at this from the point of view of form or function, the Lingbao fast and the ancient sacrificial fast are vastly different.

(1) Formal differences

From the point of view of form, the Lingbao fast and the sacrificial fast differ in five regards.

(i) The core ritual and preparatory rites

According to the ‘Xiangdang’ 鄉黨 [Fellow Villagers] chapter of the *Lunyu* 論語 [Analects of Confucius], Mozi’s ‘Tianzhi’ 天志 [Will of Heaven] chapter and Mencius’ ‘Lilou’ 離婁 chapter, the fast which first appears in the pre-Qin period (the word for ‘fast’ [zhai 齋] is usually written with the character *qi* 齊) is a preparatory rite, done before the primary rite of sacrifice. It consists of changing one’s diet, bathing in a separate place, purifying the heart and reducing desires and neither rejoicing nor mourning so as to show one’s sincerity and reverence.

The ancient Lingbao scriptures carried on the fast for sacrifice, and at the same time created a completely new form, the ‘Lingbao fast.’ By comparison with the earlier fast, the Lingbao fast was not a preparatory rite but had become an independent ritual. According to the collected manuscripts of the ancient Lingbao scripture *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen* 上元金錄簡文 [Golden-Register Writs on Tablets of the Upper Origin], the Dunhuang manuscript *Dongxuan lingbao ziran zhajie weiyi jing* 洞玄靈寶自然齋戒威儀經 [Cavern-Mystery and Numinous-Treasure Scripture of the August Rites and Precepts of the Fast of Spontaneity], and various Daoist ritual texts of the Tang and Song, such as the *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 太上黃籙齋儀 [Fast Ritual of the Yellow Register of the Most High, DZ 507] and the *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 [Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow Register Fast, DZ 508], the Lingbao fast procedures are clearly divided into three parts: the nocturnal invocation and start of the fast (*suqi jianzhai* 宿啟建齋; the term *suqi* refers to the preparatory informing of the gods of the intention to do a fast: this is the ‘curtain-opening’ ritual), the fast and practice of the Way as such (*zhengzhai xingdao* 正齋行道), and the deconstruction of the altar and statement of merit (*santan yangong* 散壇言功: the ‘curtain-closing’ ritual). Each of these three segments is composed of a whole sequence of rites.⁵ The term ‘*Zhengzhai xingdao*’ indicates that the fast is the core of the Lingbao fasting ritual.

⁵Lü, *Tangqian*, 143–65; Lü, ‘Daoist Rituals’, 1290–1291.

(ii) Communal ritual and solo ritual

From the above-mentioned pre-Qin (221–201 BCE) texts and the many citations from the literature provided by Wang in his new book, we can see that the sacrificial fast is basically a ritual for the purification of the body and mind of an individual. Performing sacrificial activity usually requires that all participants observe preparatory fasting and other rules; they do this not collectively but individually. Thus, from the formal point of view, the sacrificial fast is individual, not communal. For example, in ‘Ma Dibo fengshan yi ji’ 馬第伯封禪儀記 [Ma Dibo’s Records of the *Feng* and *Shan* Ritual] in the *Hanguan Han guan* [Han Officialdom] by Ying Shao 應劭 (153–196), an account of the *fengshan* sacrifice of the Guangwu emperor 光武帝 (r. 25–57) on Taishan 泰山 in the year 56 CE, the emperor and his officials had to fast separately prior to the sacrifice:

On the fifteenth day, purification rituals were begun. The representative of our kingdom and families went into seclusion in the residence of Grand Protector. The princes performed their purifications in the offices of the Grand Protectorate, while the Imperial Marquises all held theirs in the offices of the county seat. All the Chamberlains, Commandants, Generals, Grandees, Gentlemen of the Palace Gate, and other lesser officials, as well as the Duke of Song, the Duke of Wei, the ‘Praising Perfection’ Marquis, all of the Marquises of the eastern regions, and the Lesser Marquises of the Luoyang area conducted their purification rituals beyond the walls of Fenggao on the banks of the Wen River. The Defender-in-Chief and the Chamberlain for Ceremonials conducted their purifications at the residence of the Supervisor for Forestry and Hunting. 十五日，始齋。國家居太守府舍，諸王居府中，諸侯在縣庭中齋。諸卿，校尉，將軍，大夫，黃門郎，百官及宋公，衛公，褒成侯，東方諸侯，雜中小侯齋城外汶水上。太尉，太常齋山虞。⁶

The Lingbao fast, by contrast, is performed by all participants together, at one time and in one place, and the texts refer to it as the ‘assembly of the fast’ 齋會 or ‘ritual assembly’ 法會. The relevant rule in the *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen* A9 states: ‘On the day before the fast, all should bathe, thoroughly clean inside and outside and give instructions to all participants, whatever their role, to be of one mind, so that the next day at the hour of the cockcrow noble and lowly take up their places in an impressive array of many people. When all arrive in the ritual arena, neither hasting nor dawdling, all advance together’ (未至齋 [先] 一日，當宿自沐浴，掃盛內外，丁敕大小，齊等一心。明日雞鳴，尊卑列次，濟濟洋洋，齊到治中，勿有遲速，更相前卻). A10, A18 and A26 all refer to the entry into the ritual arena to do the fast.⁷ From this we can conclude that the Lingbao fast directly took over the ritual arenas of the religious movement of the Heavenly Masters and that a major share of those venerating the Lingbao scriptures were originally members of the Heavenly Master parishes. The Lingbao fast also requires six officiants, namely, a Ritual Master (*fashi* 法師), a Cantor (*dujiang* 都講), an Inspector (*jianzhai* 監齋), and the Acolytes in Charge of Scriptures (*shijing* 侍經), incense (*shixiang* 侍香) and lamps (*shideng* 侍燈) (see instruction A17), confirming that it is a communal ritual.

⁶*Houhan shu* 4.3167. For its English translation, see Bokenkamp, ‘Record of the Feng and Shan Sacrifices’, 254–55.

⁷For citations from the *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen* and *Xiyuan huanglu jianwen*, see Lü, ‘Lingbao zhai yuanyuan kaobian’, ‘Appendix’.

(iii) Rule-observing and non-rule-observing *zhai*

The *Shuowen* 說文 [Analytical Dictionary of Characters] explains the word *jie* 戒, 'rules,' as *jing* 警, 'warning,' meaning 'to prevent, avert,' by making people aware of what mistakes to avoid. The *Shuowen* says that 'to fast means to be ritually careful and pure (齋, 戒潔也). Duan Yucai's 段玉裁 (1735–1815) commentary states: 'The term *zhaijie* may be read separately, *jie* referring to seven days, *zhai* to three, meaning to use the rules to achieve the goals of the fast; when treated as a compound, there is no such distinction' (齋戒或析言, 如七日戒, 三日齋是, 此以戒訓齋者, 統言則不別也). The *Zihui* 字彙 (Collection of Characters) says: "'Rules" refers to the rules of the fast' (戒, 齊戒也). From this we can see that the sacrificial fast is close in meaning to the idea of 'ritual rules,' as they may be joined in the compound *zhaijie* 齋戒.⁸

There are also rules linked to the Lingbao fast, but the rules to be observed are groups of rules borrowed from Buddhism: the 'ten rules' (*shijie* 十戒), the 'twelve rules to be observed' (十二可從戒), the 'superior rules of wisdom to block the six emotions' (智慧閉塞六情上品戒), the 'major superior rules of wisdom for the salvation of the living' (智慧度生上品大戒), the 'major superior rules of wisdom of exhortation to do the ten good acts' (智慧十善勸助上品大戒), the 'superior rules of wisdom for the recompense for merit rituals' (智慧功德報應上品戒), the 'superior rules for ten good karmic actions' (十善因緣上戒之律), the 'fourteen rules for proper behavior' (一十四戒持身之品), the 'ten superior rules' (上品十戒之律) and the 'ten rules against evil' (十惡之戒).⁹ The word 'rules' is similar to 'fast' in the sacrifice, but the meaning is different. That is why I refer to the Lingbao fast as a 'rule-observing fast' (see below), in order to distinguish it from the sacrificial fast which lacks these series of rules to be observed.

That Lingbao fasts and observing the rules are closely linked may be seen from three aspects. First, observing the rules was considered the indispensable precondition for performing a fast. Second, perhaps in order to underscore the importance of the rules, several rites involving rules, such as the rite of 'announcing the rules' (*shuojie* 說戒), a segment of the nocturnal invocation, were inserted in the Lingbao fast. Third, a good bit of the content of the Lingbao rules has to do with the fast and aims at guaranteeing the correct performance of the fast. Precisely because of the close relationship between the fast and the rules, the two terms are often conjoined, or 'performing fasts' and 'observing the rules' are mentioned together. The observation of rules is another important characteristic differentiating the Lingbao fast from the fast for sacrifice.¹⁰

(iv) Way-walking and non-Way-walking *zhai*

The sacrifice fast I mentioned above takes two basic forms, relaxed (*sanzhai* 散齋) and intense (*zhizhai* 致齋). As stated in the *Liji* 禮記 [Book of Rites] chapter on sacrifice 'Jiyi' 祭義: '*Zhizhai* refers to the internal, while *sanzhai* refers to the external fast' (致齋於內, 散齋於外).¹¹ The *Liji* chapter 'Jitong' 祭統 says: 'The *sanzhai* takes seven days, aiming to calm the self; the *zhizhai* takes three days, in order to achieve unity of body and mind' (散

⁸Hanyu da zidian bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Hanyu da zidian*, 589 and 1085.

⁹Lü, *Tangqian*, 140, note 5.

¹⁰Lü, *Tangqian*, 141–142; Lü, 'Daoist Rituals', 1289–1290.

¹¹'Jiyi di ershisì', *Liji zhushu* 47.2a.

齊七日以定之，致齊三日以齊之).¹² To take the example of a funeral sacrifice, for 10 days before the sacrifice, one must not engage in intercourse, festivities, or mourning, but one can handle ordinary affairs: that is the relaxed fast. For three days before the sacrifice, ‘one must dwell in the house of sacrifice, not involved with external affairs and eating neither meat nor strong vegetables, the will quiet and the heart empty, thinking only of the ancestors’ (居於齋室，不交外事，不食葷辛，靜志虛心，思親之存)¹³ that is the intense fast. Regardless of whether it is the relaxed or the intense fast, it is the purification of body and mind by an individual, focused on activities of the spirit.

By contrast, the form of the Lingbao fast is Walking the Way, in which bodily activity is central. What is Walking the Way? Here I will give a narrow definition, leaving a more complete definition for discussion below. In Buddhism, one circumambulates the object of worship (e.g., an image of the god, relics, holy objects, a *stūpa*, etc.). Buddhist believers circumambulate with their right side towards the object in order to express their veneration, and Buddhist scriptures frequently mention the audience, on hearing the Buddha preach, turning toward the right around the Buddha three times. The Lingbao fast completely imitated Buddhism in this regard, except that they refer to clockwise movement as ‘turning to the left’ 左轉, because in Chinese cosmology space is defined subjectively as ‘facing south,’ and going to the left means going with the flow of time in the direction of life as opposed to death. According to the *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen*’s account of the Lingbao Spontaneity Fast (*Ziran zhai* 自然齋), the expression of homage and confession in the 10 directions is what is meant by Walking the Way, but the entire central part of the fast is also called Walking the Way. We may say that Walking the Way is the core of the Lingbao fast.¹⁴

(v) Periodic and non-periodic *zhai*

Rule-observing fasts and Way-walking fasts are usually periodic, so I refer to these two forms of the Lingbao fast as periodic fasts. By comparison, the sacrificial fast is a rite that is dependent on the sacrifice; it has no independent existence and cannot be referred to or distinguished as periodic. Sacrifices may be distinguished by the time at which they are performed (e.g., the sacrifice done in different seasons are called *ci* 祠, for spring, *yue* 禘, for summer, *chang* 嘗, for autumn and *zheng* 烝, for winter, respectively), but the dependent fast is not in itself periodic and cannot be so characterized.

(2) Functional differences

From the point of view of function, the Lingbao and sacrificial fasts differ in obvious ways. According to my research, the Lingbao fasts described in the old Lingbao scriptures are of six kinds: According to Lu Xiuqing’s 陸修靜 (406–477) *Dongxuan lingbao wugan wen* 洞玄靈寶五感文 [Texts of the Five Sentiments of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure, DZ 1278; hereafter, *Wugan wen*], the gold register fast (*Jinlu zhai* 金籙齋), based on the *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mengzheng ke* 洞玄

¹²Jitong di ershiwu’, *Liji zhushu* 49.3b–49.4a.

¹³This quotation is from He Xun’s 賀循 (260–319) *Jiyi* 祭儀 [Sacrificial Ritual] cited by the *Tongdian* 通典 [Comprehensive Code]. See Wang, *Han Jin*, 26.

¹⁴Lü, *Tangqian*, 160–163; Lü, ‘Daoist Rituals’, 1294.

靈寶長夜之府九幽玉匱明真科 [Code of the Covenant with the Perfected, Kept in the Jade Chest of the Nine Realms of Darkness, in the Department of the Long Night, DZ 1411; hereafter, *Mengzheng ke*], is done ‘whenever there is a natural catastrophe, to save the state’ (調和陰陽, 救度國正). According to the *Xiayuan huanglu jianwen* 下元黃籙簡文 [Yellow-Register Writes on Tablets of the Lower Origin], the yellow register fast (*Huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋) is ‘to remove the roots of sin of the nine generations of ancestors of co-religionists’ (為同法拔九祖罪根). The *Mengzhen ke* states that the fast of alliance with the perfected (*Mingzhen zhai* 明真齋) is for ‘apprentices/students to save the souls in the nine obscurities of the myriad ancestors’ (學士自拔億曾萬祖九幽之魂). The fast of the three primes (*Sanyuan zhai* 三元齋), which derives from the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie jing* 太上洞玄靈寶三元品戒經 [Scripture of the Three Primes Precepts of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure of the Most High, DZ 456 and DZ 417], is to be done by ‘students three times a year in order to confess the infringement of rules in the course of their apprenticeship’ (學士一年三過, 自謝涉學犯戒之罪). The fast of the eight articulations (*Bajie zhai* 八節齋), based on the *Tianshu jing*, is to be done by ‘students eight times a year in order to confess the sins of both their seven generations of ancestors and their own sins in this and previous lives’ (學士一年八過, 謝七玄及己身宿世今生之罪). The Spontaneity fast, based on the *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen*, is ‘a rite of universal salvation, for self-cultivation and saving others or to eliminate catastrophes and pray for good fortune, depending on the circumstances’ (普濟之法, 內以修身, 外以救物, 消災祈福, 適意所宜).¹⁵

Both the sacrificial and the Lingbao fasts are for the purification of the body and the mind, but the sacrificial fast does not have all the specific functions of the Lingbao fast. Purification is but one of its functions.

(3) The Buddhist origins of the Lingbao fast

The discussion above of the differences of form and function of the Lingbao and sacrificial fasts already serves to show that the origin of the Lingbao fast cannot be the sacrificial fast of early China. Let us now look at the real source of the Lingbao fast, which I believe to be Buddhism. I will begin by analyzing the Buddhist origins of various important aspects of the Lingbao fast.

(i) The Buddhist origin of the rule-observation fast

As stated above, one of the primary features of the Lingbao fast is observation of rules. The way in which this is done shows clearly that it comes from Buddhism. Observation of rules and confession of faults are at the very heart of the original Buddhist *uposatha* (translated as ‘fast’). Every fortnight, on the *uposatha* day, the monks invite a master of disciplinary rules to recite the *pratimoksha* (250 rules for monks, 384 for nuns). If they realized they have infringed one of these rules, they must confess their fault. Lay persons living at home, during the six days of monthly fasting, must confess their sins of the body, the mouth, and thoughts and observe eight rules. Mahāyāna Buddhism also prescribed rules: early Mahāyāna designated the 10 good actions as the Bodhisattva rules. Since the

¹⁵Lü, ‘Lingbao liuzhai kao’, 85–125.

Lingbao fast is based on and incorporated the Buddhist *uposatha* fast (see below), it necessarily also incorporated the rules which were inseparable from the *uposatha*. Indeed, the Lingbao fast incorporated the rules of both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism.¹⁶

(ii) The Buddhist origin of the Way-walking fast

As stated above, another important form of the Lingbao fast is Walking the Way. There can be no doubt that this ritual comes from Buddhism. According to the *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen* A32, which sets forth the rules for the times of performance of the Way-Walking, sunrise 朝, midday 中, sunset 日入, the first watch of the night 人定, midnight 夜半 and cock's crow 雞鳴 are the six times for Walking the Way. If it is done but three times, then it is at dawn, midday and bedtime. These rules are clearly borrowed from Buddhism, as determined for Chinese Buddhism by the famous Northern monk Dao'an 道安 (d. 385), who, on the basis of Buddhist scriptures, clearly prescribed the 'six hours for walking the way on normal days' (常日六時行道).¹⁷

(iii) The Buddhist origin of the periodic fast

As discussed above and below, from the point of view of periodicity, the Lingbao fast takes a variety of forms. Among these periodic fasts, the most important were the six annual and 10 monthly fasts. All other periodic fasts are modelled on them. It is not hard to prove that these two types of fast imitate the Buddhist three annual and six monthly fasts: the Daoists simply doubled the number of annual fasts and added four monthly fasts. Before the Lingbao creation of the periodic fast, Chinese Buddhism based on translated scriptures had already instituted six monthly and three annual long fasts.

The Lingbao fast did not derive from Chinese native religion

Wang insists that the regular fasts and the Lingbao fast of the Lingbao scriptures derive from Chinese native religion, but his arguments are not persuasive.

(1) Wang confuses the Lingbao fast and other forms of *zhai*.

Relying on the Tang (618–906) ritual encyclopedia, the *Zhaijie lu* 齋戒錄 [Register of Fasts and Precepts, DZ 464],¹⁸ or the 'zhaijie bu' 齋戒部, and *juan* 37 of the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 [Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels, DZ 1032] that cites this text, the *zhai* can be of several kinds: an offering of food, fasting, the fast of the heart, a fast for observing rules and a fast for Walking the Way. The first three names are in the text of the *Zhaijie lu*; the last two terms I have created on the basis of the book's content.

¹⁶Lü, *Tangqian*, 140–142; Yang and Lü, 'Lingbao sanyuan zhai', 87–90.

¹⁷Tang, colla. & annota., *Gaoseng zhuan*, 183.

¹⁸On the *Zhaijie lu*, see Malek, *Das Chai-chieh-lu*.

Let us begin by looking at the first three. The preface to the *Zhaijie lu* cites the *Hunyuan huangdi shengji* 混元皇帝聖紀 [Annals of the Sage Emperor of Undifferentiated Beginning]:

All texts on the fast refer to three types. The first is the food offering fast, designed to accumulate merit and release from sin. [It is done by the lowest level initiates]. The second involves reduction of food intake and is good for harmonizing the spirits and preserving longevity. It is also called the *zhai* of sacrifice and is done by mid-level initiates. The third is the heart fast, to cleanse the heart and get rid of desire; it purifies the spiritual essence and removes filth and encumbrances; it renounces wisdom and abandons thought. Where there is neither thought nor calculation, then one can focus on Dao; when there is neither desire nor covetousness, then one can rejoice in the Dao; when there is neither filth nor encumbrance, then one can merge with the Dao. When the heart does not have divided thoughts, this is called 'unity of will'. That is what the upper-grade initiate does. 按諸經齋法, 略有三種。一者設供齋, 以積德解愆 [下士所行也]。二者節食齋, 可以和神保壽, 斯謂祭祀之齋, 中士所行也。三者心齋, 謂疏瀹其心, 除嗜欲也; 澡雪精神, 去穢累也; 摛擊其智, 絕思慮也。夫無思無慮則專道, 無嗜無欲則樂道, 無穢無累則合道。既心無二想, 故曰一志焉。蓋上士所行也。¹⁹

Thus, the 'offering fast' is done by low-level initiates. It suffices to look at the name to understand that it refers to the meals offered to Daoists on the model of food offerings to Buddhist monks, and that it is unrelated to the traditional native Chinese form of fasting.²⁰ The Lingbao fast of Spontaneity, as described in the *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen* description of the rite of announcing the priestly title at the beginning of the ritual says: 'The follower of the same Way, so-and-so, male or female, of such-and-such age and living in such-and-such an administrative district, having requested a fast ritual, I have prepared the documents of intention to commit to the Great Dao and to perform a ritual of incense, lamps, and nourishment' (謹有同道某郡縣鄉里男女某甲, 年如干歲, 操辭列款, 歸命大道, 並撰辦香燈供養之儀, 求乞齋直). The phrase 'ritual of incense, lamps, and nourishment' must refer to the host's offering to the gods and the Daoists (including food and ritual instruments). The early fifth century *Taishang dongyuan Shenzhou jing* 太上洞淵神咒經 [Scripture of Divine Incantations of the Cavern Abyss of the Most High, DZ 335], which was influenced by the old Lingbao scriptures, in *juan* 7 states: 'The fast officials, whether three, five, ten, or eight, take care in setting out the curtains. If the rite is performed in the pure room/oratory, set out the Three Treasures, with offerings of incense and lamps. Make sure all is clean and pure, and invite a ritual master of the Three Caverns' (齋官或三人, 五人, 十人, 八人, 張好籍帳, 若淨室之中, 備安三寶, 香燈供養之具, 令辦集淨潔, 請三洞法師). In imitation of Buddhist scriptures, the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing* 太上洞玄靈寶智慧定志通微經 [Scripture on Wisdom, Fixing the Will and Penetrating the Sublime, of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure of the Most High, DZ 325], in referring to the 'rituals of universal teaching' (*Pujiao keyi* 普教科儀) in the Golden, Jade and Yellow registers, tells a moving tale of a previous life: The Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Commencement (*Yuanshi tianzun* 元始天尊) in a previous life, Le Jingxin 樂靜信, had a son Fajie 法解 who, with his wife, spent all their money nourishing Daoists

¹⁹*Zhaijie lu*, DZ 464, 1a–b.

²⁰Concerning the Buddhist offering, see Hou, *Zhongguo Fojiao yishi yanjiu*. This book contains many breakthroughs in the study of Chinese Buddhist ritual but looks at all Buddhist rituals as forms of fast offering—a too narrow assessment.

engaged in perpetual fasts in the hills. The Daoists performed collective fasts for them, including the ‘six-time’ Walking the Way and rites for jointly accumulating merits, causing the family granaries to be full to overflowing, greatly rewarding them. From this story we can see that the ancient Lingbao scriptures contained the first sprouts of the nourishment ritual. But these scriptures did not yet promote a full ritual of offering during the Lingbao *zhai*, and the offering had not yet become one of the primary manifestations of the Lingbao *zhai*. The Daoist offering ritual appeared after the Lingbao scriptures, in the Sui (581–618) or early Tang scripture. The *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始 [Regulations for the Practice of Daoism in Accordance with the Scriptures of the Three Caverns, of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure, DZ 1125], for example, includes a section on ‘Middle *zhai* rituals’ (*Zhongzhai yi* 中齋儀) in *juan* 6 that presents the standard offering ritual.

The fasting *zhai*, also called a ‘sacrifice’ (*jisi zhi zhai* 祭祀之齋) by the *Zhaijie lu*, is done by mid-level initiates. It is similar to descriptions in pre-Qin documents, such as the ‘Xiangdang’ chapter in the *Lunyu*, which says that ‘when doing a fast, there must be a change of diet’ (齊必變食).²¹ This practice, therefore, derives from pre-Lingbao native practice. Later Daoists transmitted and developed the native tradition of the fast. The Shangqing 上清 (Highest Clarity) scriptures that appeared around mid-Eastern Jin 東晉 (317–420) incorporated some aspects of rules for eating of the foreign religion of Buddhism, notably, not eating after noon. The chapter ‘Chan youwei’ 闡幽微 [Revealing the Hidden and Subtle] in the *Zhen’gao* 真誥 [Declarations of the Perfected, DZ 1016] refers to Xin Xuanzi 辛玄子 ‘eating vegetables at noon’ (日中菜食).²²

The ‘heart fast’ done by upper-grade initiates is a method of self-cultivation for entirely eliminating thoughts and worries. It is first referred to by the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, and is thus a native form of fast that pre-dates the Lingbao *zhai*. The *Zhaijie lu*, on the one hand, combines the ‘heart fast’ with the Buddhist ‘ordering the three sources of karma’ (齊整三業; that is, the karma of body, mouth and thought), and on the other hand, considers the ‘heart fast’ and the food-reduction fast as inseparable, likening them to ‘inner and outer lining’ (表裡).

Let us turn now to the other two fasts. In naming the ‘fast on observing the rules,’ I based my work on the section ‘Dongxuan lingbao liuzhai shizhi’ 洞玄靈寶六齋十直 [The Six Fasts and Ten Observations of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure] in the *Zhaijie lu*. That section first refers to the ‘five commandments of Daoism’ (*Daojiao wujie* 道教五戒) and the ‘ten good deeds’ (*shishan* 十善) and says that those who observe these rules and do these deeds will always be guarded by men from heaven and good gods.²³ Two subsequent rubrics refer to sub-sections of ‘Liuzhai shizhi’: the six annual fasts (*nian liuzhai* 年六齋) (the odd months of the year), called ‘six fasts’ (*liuzhai* 六齋) for short, the 10 monthly fasts (*yue shizhai* 月十齋) (on the first, eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth and thirtieth days of the month), called ‘ten observations’ (*shizhi* 十直) for short. The 10 monthly fasts have an additional explanation, with the last three fast days corresponding to the

²¹ *Lunyun*, in *Shisan jing zhushu*, 89b.

²² Wang, *Han Jin*, 188.

²³ *Zhaijie lu*, DZ 464, 2b.

days that the lower, middle and upper Taiyi 太一 (Great One) spirits descend to inspect the fast. At the end are added the fast days of *jiazi*, *gengshen*, original destiny, Eight Articulations and Three Primes. Apart from the Three Primes fast,²⁴ these fasts are all the same as those enumerated in the *Tianshu jing*. In sum, what these regular fasts show is that one of the primary features of the Lingbao fast is the observation of rules, namely the five commandments and 10 good deeds, very much like the rules observed in Buddhism. This was therefore a new form of the fast clearly influenced by Buddhism and obviously different from the traditional individual purification of body and heart practiced in ancient China. The Lingbao *zhai* is also called ‘rule-observing *zhai*’ (*Chijie zhai* 持戒齋),²⁵ and ‘seasonal or periodic *zhai*’ (*Shijie zhai* 時節齋) because it is often done at a fixed time.

The term Walking the Way *zhai* is based on the section ‘Six Kinds of *zhai*’ (*Liuzhong zhai* 六種齋) in the *Zhaijie lu*. It reads as follows:

- a) *Daomen dalun* 道門大論 [Great Treatise on the Daoist School] says: There are three kinds of Shangqing *zhai*: the first is to separate oneself from society and dwell in solitude, calm the breath and abandon the outer form; the second is, as a solemn team on a pure altar, to do the rituals of the Grand Real; the third is the heart fast, to cleanse the heart and purify the spiritual essence. 第一, “道門大論”云: 上清齋有三法, 一者絕羣獨宴, 靜氣遺形; 二者清壇肅侶, 依太真儀格; 三者心齋, 謂疏瀹其心, 澡雪精神。
- b) The Lingbao fast, of which there are six: the Golden Register fast, to protect the state; the Yellow Register fast, to save the ancestors; the Alliance with the Perfected fast, consisting in litanies of confession [for those] in the Nine Obscurities; the Three Primes fast, for confession of infractions of ritual rules; the Eight Articulations fast, to confess and wash away the faults of past and present; the Spontaneity fast, to pray for good fortune for the common people. 第二靈寶齋, 有六法: 一者金籙齋, 保鎮國土; 二者黃籙齋, 救世祖宗; 三者明真齋, 懺悔九幽; 四者三元齋, 首謝違犯科戒; 五者八節齋, 懺洗宿新之過; 六者自然齋, 為百姓祈福。
- c) The Dongshen (Cavern Divinity) fast: simplicity and concision are of the essence, to break with the dusty [world] and seek divinity. 第三洞神齋, 精簡為上, 絕塵期靈。
- d) The Great One fast: reverence and solemnity are central. 第四太一齋, 以恭肅為首。
- e) The Teaching fast: values purity and simplicity. 第五指教齋, 以清素為貴。
- f) The Mud fast: merit is achieved by assiduity and suffering. 第六塗炭齋, 以勤苦為功。

The above-named fasts, from ancient times to the present day, consist in ascending the altar to announce the alliance and swear an oath with the saints above. They last three, seven, nine, or 15 days, continuing throughout the night and walking the Way at six fixed hours, reciting scriptures and making confessions. These are all important rites. Apart from the Shangqing fast to separate oneself from society and dwell in solitude, [the rite to] calm the breath and abandon the outer form, and the heart fast, all the others are done for the

²⁴On the seasonal fast days instituted by the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie jing*, see Lü, ‘The Lingbao Fast of the Three Primes’.

²⁵One form of the Buddhist fast is the rule-observation fast, another being the *dāna* fast (very similar to the offering fast described above). See Tomita, ‘Chūgoku bukkyō ni okeru sai girei’. In this article Tomita also discusses the influence of the Buddhist rule-observing fast on Daoist fasts. I thank Sakai Norifumi 酒井規史 for his transcription.

sovereign and the people, for Daoists studying perfection, and to save the ancestors, confess one's own sins, exorcise calamity, and bring good fortune. There have been changes over the years, either more detailed or simplified. Among Lingbao fasts, there is the half-day fast that is without the Nocturnal Invitation or the Statement of Merit, involving just one or two confessions. It also lacks the three presentations of incense, 'pacing the void,' and the recitation of scriptures. Some very short fasts involve just three salutations and utterance of vows, adapting the ritual according to the time available or formulating the ritual for one's convenience. If it is not a major gathering, as long as the heart is satisfied, it will do. 已上諸齋, 自古及今, 登壇告盟, 啟誓玄聖. 或三日, 七日, 九日, 十五日, 皆晝夜六時行道, 轉經禮懺, 儀格甚重. 除上清絕群獨宴, 靜氣遺形, 心齋之外, 自餘皆是為國王民人, 學真道士, 拔度先祖, 已躬謝過, 禳災致福之齋. 此時移代同 ('同' 字疑衍) 異, 不無詳略. 於靈寶齋中, 為半景之齋, 既無宿請, 亦無言功, 唯只一時或兩時懺悔, 亦不三時上香, 步虛禮經並闕. 或小小齋中, 三禮歎願, 隨時去取, 遂 (遂) 便制儀, 既非大集, 心達而已.²⁶

As stated above, another important manifestation of the Lingbao fast is 'Walking of the Way.' According to the old Lingbao scriptures *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen* and *Xiayuan huanglu jianwen*, the narrow meaning of Walking the Way is to circumambulate and salute the 10 directions, while the broad meaning also involves litanies of confession, or confessions and scripture recitation, or scripture chanting and preaching.²⁷ From the point of view of ritual structure, the old Lingbao scripture *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen* and the much later Lingbao ritual compendium *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 (DZ 508) *juan* 16–18 are identical, divided into the preparatory rite of the Nocturnal Invitation (*suqi* 宿啟, called *suqing* 宿請 in the *Zhaijie lu*; the meaning is the same), the central Walking the Way, and the concluding Statement of Merit (*yangong* 言功). Clearly, Walking the Way is the most important content of the Lingbao fast, which explains why it is also called fast for Walking the Way. This fast is truly an 'important' collective ritual assembly, different from the traditional fast of the pre-Qin period. In the latter, before doing a sacrifice, the individual officiant had to do a preparatory ritual of personal purification of the body and the heart, comparable to the 'separating oneself from society' and the heart fast of the three Shangqing methods of fasting described by the *Zhaijie lu*. In Lu Xiuqing's *Dongxuan lingbao wuguan wen*, the vast majority of Lingbao fasts are collective rituals done by a 'group walking the Way' (結眾行道). Among the six Lingbao fasts, only the fast of Spontaneity has some changes, as 'a method that can be done by a group of adepts or by a single person' (法亦結徒眾, 亦可一身).²⁸

The fasts for Walking the Way and Observing Rules are two primary forms of the Lingbao fast, and they are often associated or combined. The fact they cannot be separated is one important characteristic by which the Lingbao *zhai* differs from the traditional fast.²⁹

Above we noted that an alternative name for Observing Rules is periodic fast. The fast of Walking the Way may be performed at set times. The various Lingbao fasts are all related to the periodic fast. According to later Daoist texts, on the one hand, the Three Primes and Eight Articulations fasts are included in the group of periodic fasts, as in the

²⁶*Zhaijie lu*, DZ 464, 3a–4a.

²⁷Walking the Way, preaching and reciting can all be done several times. When the *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen* speaks of 'walking the way six times and preaching-reciting three times', that is what is meant. (A17)

²⁸*Dongxuan lingbao wuguan wen*, DZ 1278, 5b and 6b.

²⁹Lü, *Tangqian*, 140–142.

*Zhijie lu*³⁰; on the other hand, all periodic fasts have been assimilated to the Spontaneity fast, as in the *Tongmen lun* 通門論 [Comprehensive Treatise of the School] by Song Wenming 宋文明 of the Liang 梁 (502–557) and the Sui 隋 (581–618)-era *Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi* 洞玄靈寶玄門大義 [The Main Ideas of Daoism of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure, DZ 1124].³¹

On the basis of the above-mentioned studies of the fast, we can conclude that Buddhism is a primary source of the Lingbao fast, as can best be seen in the Rule-Observation and Way-Walking fasts. These two fasts are also what distinguishes the Lingbao fast from other ritual methods. Thus, Wang Chengwen, in seeing the Lingbao fast as deriving from the traditional native fast, is confusing two very different fasts.

(2) Wang argues that the periodic fasts promoted by the Lingbao scriptures derived from the *Zhijiao jing* 旨教經 [Scripture of Instructions] of the early Heavenly Masters.

According to the *Taiji Zuo Xiangong qingwen jing* 太極左仙公請問經 [The Questions of the Immortal Duke of the Left of the Great Ultimate],³² Zhang Daoling 張道陵, the Perfected of Orthodox Unity 正一真人, learned the Lingbao fast before he wrote the *Zhijiao jing* that describes the Heavenly Master fast. Inasmuch as the Lingbao fast is a creation of the ancient Lingbao scriptures of ca. 400, the idea Zhang Daoling of the Latter Han (25–220) could have studied the Lingbao fast before writing the *Zhijiao jing* cannot be an historical fact; it is but a myth believed by the author of the Xiangong 仙公 (Ge Xuan 葛玄) portion of the Lingbao scriptures. Wang may have taken the myth for historical reality. He very clearly affirms that the *Zhijiao jing* was written by Zhang Daoling, and that this method of the fast was already being practiced by Zhang Lu in the Heavenly Masters movement at the end of the Han (206 BCE–220 CE).³³ So he quite naturally concludes that the *Zhijiao jing* and its related fast appeared long before the Lingbao scriptures and fast.

According to my research, the first text in the ‘Lingbao Scripture Catalogue’ 靈寶經目, the *Tianshu jing* is the earliest Daoist text to record the periodic fast. The elements of the *Zhijiao jing* that are still extant and discuss the periodic fast are borrowed, albeit in simplified form, from the *Tianshu jing* and other Lingbao scriptures such as the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing* 太上洞玄靈寶三元品戒功德輕重經 [Scripture of Great and Minor Merits and the Classified Rules of the Three Primes, of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure of the Most High, DZ 456]. It is often thought that texts evolve from the simple to the complex, but among Daoist texts there are many cases of simplified or reduced versions of texts already in circulation.³⁴ I have proven elsewhere that the *Zhijiao jing* appeared after the *Tianshu jing* but just before the *Taiji Zuo Xiangong qingwen jing*.³⁵

³⁰Lü, ‘Lingbao liuzhai kao’, 187.

³¹*Ibid.*, 120–122.

³²Wang, *Dunhuang*, 358; cf. Lü, ‘Tianshi dao zhijiao zhai kao (shangpian)’, 357–358.

³³Wang, *Dunhuang*, 358–360.

³⁴Robinet, *La Révélation du Shangqing*, vol. 2: 8–11.

³⁵Lü, ‘Tianshi dao zhijiao zhai kao (xiapian)’, 532–533.

(3) Wang also sought to prove that the seasonal Eight Articulations fast was created on the basis of the Daoist system of fasting from the Han and Jin Dynasties (265–420), and that its distant origin is the sacrificial system of the pre-Qin (221 BCE–206 BCE), the Qin and the Han as described in chapter ‘Yueling’ 月令 [Monthly Ordinances] of the *Liji*. He argues that the *Taiping jing* and the *Laozi zhong jing* 老子中經 [Middle Scripture of Laozi], both Han texts, laid the practical and ideological foundation for Daoist seasonal fasts, like that of the Eight Articulations, and that the Shangqing scriptures of the Eastern Jin had a direct impact on the periodic fasts promoted by the Lingbao scriptures.³⁶ My view is that the Daoist fasts of the Han and Jin are in continuity with the national sacrificial system of the pre-Qin, Qin and Han and constitute the ancient native traditional fasting system, one that has obvious and multiple differences with the Lingbao fast, including the periodic fasts promoted by the Lingbao scriptures. Wang confuses the two traditions whose names may be the same but whose content is different.

First, the traditional fast was a preparatory rite, done before a sacrifice or other ritual, while the Lingbao fast – especially the core form of Walking the Way – is the main ritual. According to the Monthly Ordinances, on the four days marking the start of the four seasons the Son of Heaven 天子 would lead his ministers in conducting the ceremonies for welcoming the corresponding seasonal *qi*. The fast was a preparatory rite done several days before. It states, for example:

Three days before the start of spring, the Grand Astronomer went to the Son of Heaven and said: ‘Such-and-such a day is the start of spring, whose chief virtue is wood’. The Son of Heaven would then fast. On the first day of spring, the Son of Heaven in person would lead the three chief ministers, the nine ministers, the various lords and senior state officials to the eastern suburbs to welcome spring. 先立春三日, 大史謁之天子曰: ‘某日立春, 盛德在木’. 天子乃齋. 立春之日, 天子親帥三公, 九卿, 諸侯, 大夫以迎春於東郊.³⁷

There is, then, an obvious difference between the preparatory rite – the fast – and the ceremony for welcoming spring. Wang cites the *Laozi zhong jing* section on ‘Gods and Immortals’ 第二十六神仙: ‘First fast, observe the rules, and purify food and drink, then, in accord with the Dao contemplate the gods’ (先齋戒, 潔飲食, 乃依道而思之; *juan* 1, section 26). Elsewhere in the same book, the section on ‘Gods and Immortals’ 第五十三神仙, says: ‘[The Great One] on the day of the autumn equinox in the eighth month, inspects and calculates [one’s merits and demerits] . . . First fast and bathe. On the day, enter the quiet room to calm your heart and stay focused’ (*juan* 2, section 53).³⁸ Both sections speak of ‘first fasting and observing rules,’ then contemplating the gods. But Wang takes the term *zhaijie* 齋戒, ‘fast and observe rules,’ in the *Laozi zhong jing* to mean a seasonal or periodic fast, and takes the subsequent meditations to be an important part of the fasting. This is clearly illogical, a contradiction that can be expressed as ‘first fast + after meditate = fast.’ In fact, Wang is confusing the traditional fast and the meditations which constitute a method of individual self-cultivation.

Second, the traditional fast was usually meant to be done in the ‘oratory’ 靜室 or ‘fasting room/palace’ 齋室/宮 of the individual in order to cleanse the body and purify

³⁶Wang, *Han Jin*, 223–317.

³⁷Wang, *Han Jin*, 228–229.

³⁸Wang, *Han Jin*, 287.

the heart. The Lingbao fast was usually done in a quite large space, the ‘fasting hall’ 齋堂, suitable for collective activities. Although Wang clearly points out the differences in the venues of the two kinds of ritual,³⁹ there are many confusing statements in the details of his explanations. For example, Wang thinks that the fasting hall of the Lingbao scriptures derives from the ‘parish hall’ (*zhitang* 治堂) of the Heavenly Masters.⁴⁰ But the texts he uses to prove this are all later than the Lingbao scriptures,⁴¹ and therefore cannot provide reliable proof. In fact, Daoist texts before the Lingbao scriptures refer only to the ‘parish’ (*zhi* 治), never to a ‘parish hall.’

Zhu Fahu’s 竺法護 (231–308) translation of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Zheng fahua jing* 正法華經; completed in 286) refers to the fasting hall. Karashima Seishi 辛嶋靜志 (1957–2019), in his *A Glossary of Kumārajīva’s Translation of the Lotus Sutra*, points out that the fasting hall (‘hall for abstinence’) is identical to the *uposatha* hall (‘house for the *poṣadha* [*busa* 布薩] ceremony’).⁴² On this basis, I argue that the fasting or *uposatha* hall appeared first in Han Buddhism and only afterwards in the Buddhist-influenced Lingbao scriptures. Thereafter, under Lingbao influence, the Heavenly Masters converted their parish centers into fasting halls. It suffices to see the term *zhaitang* 齋堂 in the Lingbao scriptures to know that it refers to the place for performing the fast.

According to the *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen* and the *Xiyuan huanglu jianwen*, the place for performing the fast is a two-level platform ‘modelled on heaven and earth’ (法天象地).⁴³ Both the fasting platform and the fasting hall are sites for the fast, but their functions are different. The platform is a sacred space that can be entered only by the six entitled fast officials. It is where all core Lingbao fast rituals are conducted and it is not very big. The fasting hall, on the other hand, is a relatively large space where scripture recitation and preaching can be carried out by ordinary adepts and lay believers. Wang repeatedly refers to the ‘sacred space’ of the Lingbao fast, but he ignores the platform and pays no attention to the difference between hall and platform.

Wang cites the *Taiji zhenren fu Lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣 [Essential Instructions from All the Scriptures of the August Rites of the Fast and Precepts of Numinous Treasure, Expounded by the Perfected Person of the Great Ultimate, DZ 532; hereafter, *Fuzhai weiyi jue*] as follows:

If your quiet room is too narrow, you can move to a more elegant room. This is what is meant by Walking the Way ‘temporarily’ on fasting days. But if you wish to conduct long fasts for meditating and seeking transcendence, you need to set up a separate fasting hall which should be quiet, clean, and austere. Arrange scripture tables and incense burners and place the high seat in the middle. 靜舍促可就容雅屋，此謂齋日權時行道耳。若欲長齋，久思求仙道，當別立齋堂，必令靜潔肅整，羅列經案香爐，施安高座於其中也。⁴⁴

³⁹Wang, *Han Jin*, 158.

⁴⁰Wang, *Han Jin*, 149–170.

⁴¹Tang (618–906) Buddhist monk Minggai 明槩, ‘Juedui Fu Yi fei Fo fa seng shi bing biao’ 決對傅奕廢佛法僧事並表 [Reply to Fu Yi’s Memorial for the Suppression of Buddhism], included as *juan* 12 in *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 12.168b17–175c12; Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406–477), *Lu Xiansheng daomen kelüe* 陸先生道門科略 [Abridged Codes of Master Lu for the Daoist Community, DZ 1127]; and the Shangqing text *Taizhen ke* 太真科 [Code of the Highest Perfected] as cited in the Heavenly Master text *Chisongzi zhangli* 赤松子章曆 [Chisong zi’s Petition Almanac, DZ 615]. On this last text, see Lü, *Tangqian*, 211–213.

⁴²I wish here to express my thanks to Dr. Gan Qinxin 甘沁鑫, who alerted me to the existence of this dictionary. See Karashima, *A Glossary of Kumārajīva’s Translation of the Lotus Sutra*, 576. For the phrase *zhaitang* 齋堂 mentioned by the *Lotus Sutra*, see also Campany, ‘Abstinence Halls (*Zhaitang* 齋堂) in Lay Households in Early Medieval China’, 331.

⁴³Lü, *Tangqian*, 165–67.

⁴⁴*Taiji zhenren fu Lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue*, DZ 532, 7b. See Wang, *Han Jin*, 156.

There should be a comma after the character *cu* 促, and the so-called ‘elegant room’ is simply a space that is larger than the quiet room. On Lingbao fasting days, a temporary move may be made from the quiet room to the ‘fasting hall’ to Walk the Way. That is why, further on, the text refers to ‘setting up a separate fasting hall’ for the long fast, confirming my explanation above. Because Wang mispunctuated the sentence, his understanding is wrong and leads him to the too hasty conclusion that the appearance of the hall of fasting is related to the promotion of the long fast in the Lingbao scriptures.

Another example is Wang’s citation of the Closing of the Incense Burner 復爐 in the *Fuzhai weiyi jue*, ‘May it cause the oratory and the hall of fasting (當令靖室齋堂之所) . . .,’ to prove that the space of the Lingbao fast was divided between the quiet room and the hall of fasting. But if we compare the parallel phrase in the Opening of the Burner 發爐 – ‘Enter the hall of fasting, face east toward the incense burner and incant: . . . we are just now entering quietude (入齋堂, 東向, 向香爐祝曰: . . . 臣等正爾入靜) . . .’ – where first the hall of fasting is mentioned and then ‘entry into quietude,’ we find that the passages do not match. While similar, this line does not match the mention of the oratory and the hall of fasting in the passage on Closing of the Burner. If we look at all the rubrics in the text, we see that both the Opening and Closing of the Burner should use only the term ‘hall of fasting.’ This inconsistent use of the terms is probably because the two incense burner formulae in the Lingbao scriptures rely on the oral instructions for ritual Shangqing text *Weizhuan jue* 魏傳訣 [Instructions in the Biography of Lady Wei] of the mid-Eastern Jin.⁴⁵ In quoting this text the Lingbao authors should have replaced ‘oratory/quietude’ with ‘hall of fasting,’ but they perhaps did not dare to change the formula and so simply copied it, leading to the contradiction between the two texts. As partial confirmation, we may note the fact that this sort of textual situation occurs frequently in Lu Xiuqing’s *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi* 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀 [The Transmission Ritual of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure of the Most High, DZ 528].⁴⁶

Finally, the primary form of the traditional method of fasting was that of individuals cultivating purity and quietude of body and heart. Sometimes, this was combined with ‘confession of sins or faults’ 謝罪/謝過. Influenced by Buddhism, the Lingbao fast usually also includes Observation of Rules and Walking the Way. Wang Chengwen, using materials from the *Zhen’gao* and lost passages from the *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣 [Secret Instructions for the Ascent to Perfection, DZ 421] edited by the elite Daoist Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536), tries to prove that the Eight Articulations fast already existed in the Shangqing school of the Eastern Jin.⁴⁷ But if we read carefully the context in which the *Zhen’gao* says, ‘There are also the days of the Eight Articulations on which one should fast, purify, and do good deeds so as to be occupied with Daoist methods’ (又八節之日, 皆當齋盛(淨), 謀諸善事, 以營於道之方也), we will understand that this passage is still talking about the traditional purification fast of individuals engaged in the preparatory rites of self-cultivation. Thus the original text refers to ‘be occupied with Daoist methods’ (營於道之方), ‘studying the way of life’ (學生之道), ‘studying the methods of life’ (學生之法), or ‘studying the Way’ (學道).⁴⁸ Clearly, this is not the

⁴⁵Lü, ‘Tianshi dao shoulu keyi’, 106–07.

⁴⁶Lü, ‘The early Lingbao transmission ritual’, 11–12.

⁴⁷Wang, *Han Jin*, 295–301.

⁴⁸Wang, *Dengzhen yinjue jijiao*, 182–186.

Observation of Rules and Walking the Way fasts of the Eight Articulations. In addition, we may consider a text in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 [Encyclopedia of the Taiping xingguo [976–984] Period, Prepared for the Press by the Emperor] (*juan* 660) that quotes the *Dengzhen yinjue* to the effect that, on the days of the Eight Articulations, the immortals and perfected in heaven gather in their palaces to update the ledgers of merit and demerit of Daoist adepts and ordinary people. On these days, adepts of the Dao should confess their sins.⁴⁹ As Wang correctly states,⁵⁰ the *Tianshu jing*'s account of the Eight Articulations fast is a modified citation of this lost text of the *Dengzhen yinjue*. But he did not carefully compare the two texts. While the *Dengzhen yinjue* calls for confession of sins on those days, the *Tianshu jing* modifies the original to say that those days are for 'practicing the fast and observing the rules' (修齋持戒), and even says this Eight Articulations fast with 'circumambulation and scripture chanting' (旋行誦經) is in imitation of the gods in heaven.

To be precise, the *Dengzhen yinjue* and the *Tianshu jing* differ in the following ways: (1) the *Dengzhen yinjue* does not use the word 'fast,'⁵¹ and the *Tianshu jing* adds a summary statement to the effect that, on the Eight Articulation days, the gods of heaven 'go in audience to congratulate the celestial Perfected,⁵² observe the rules and fast, and circumambulate while scripture chanting' (朝慶天真, 奉戒持齋, 旋行誦經), and states as well that adepts of the Dao, on those days, are to 'fast, observe the rules, and worship the heavenly writs' (修齋持戒, 宗奉天文), no doubt in imitation of the gods of heaven; (2) The immortals and Perfected mentioned in the *Dengzhen yinjue* are in the *Tianshu jing* placed in the 'upper palaces of Great Mystery' (Taixuan shanggong 太玄上宮), and the *Tianshu jing* also changes the *Taiji zhenren* 太極真人 (Perfected Person of the Great Ultimate) linked by the *Dengzhen yinjue* to the first day of spring to 'great gods and high Perfected' (*Gaozhen dashen* 高真大神), (3) Nowhere does the *Dengzhen yinjue* mention the immortals and Perfected in heaven coming down to inspect the fast, while the *Tianshu jing* refers repeatedly to the gods of heaven 'sending awesome gods and heavenly Perfected to travel throughout the world' (各遣天真威神, 周行天下) to inspect fasts, no doubt in imitation of what we saw above concerning the 10 monthly fasts and the six annual month-long fasts. The summary statement says that 'on those days the planets and constellations, sun, moon, and Dipper, as well as the gods of earth, are all at the ready' (其日諸天星宿, 日月躔躋, 地上神祇, 莫不振肅), no doubt also in imitation of an earlier statement that 'during those months (the six annual month-long fasts), in heaven and on earth, all are at the ready' (當此之月, 天下地上, 莫不振肅). This phrase does not come from the *Dengzhen yinjue*; and (4) The *Dengzhen yinjue* refers only to confession of sins, while the *Tianshu jing* speaks of 'observing rules and holding fasts' (奉戒持齋) or 'doing fasts and keeping rules' (修齋持戒). That is, although the Lingbao fast

⁴⁹Wang, *Han Jin*, 298.

⁵⁰Wang, *Han Jin*, 307–310.

⁵¹The lost text of the *Dengzhen yinjue* cites a *Xianji zhenji* 仙忌真記 [Taboos for Transcendents Recorded by the Perfected], which Wang equates with the early Shangqing scripture in the Daoist canon, the *Taiwei lingshu ziwen xianji zhenji shangjing* 太微靈書紫文仙忌真經上經 [Supreme Scripture of Taboos for Transcendents Recorded by the Perfected, from The Purple Texts Inscribed by the Spirits of Grand Tenuity, DZ 179], once a part of the 'Lingshu ziwen' 靈書紫文. This scripture says: 'Adepts of the Dao, on the day of the autumn equinox, must meditate on the Perfected and fast, have no evil thoughts, with the heart fixed on becoming a flying immortal' (學道者至秋分之日, 皆當存真齋戒, 勿念邪惡, 心當常願飛仙). But it does not speak of similar activities to be done on the seven other Eight Articulation days.

⁵²I suspect this refers to worshipping the five celestial Lingbao true writs.

incorporates Buddhist-inspired litanies and rites of confession,⁵³ rituals of confession that were not influenced by Buddhism, like the meditation on faults in the quiet room practiced by the late Eastern Han Five Bushels of Rice 五斗米道 and Great Peace movements 太平道 and the Luo Yao 駱曜 method,⁵⁴ cannot be equated with the Lingbao fast. It is perhaps for that reason that the *Zhaijie lu*, in its section on the 'Eight Articulations fast,' and the *Yunji qiqian* in its section on 'Fasts and Rules' ('Zhaijie bu' 齋戒部; in *juan* 37), do not cite the *Dengzhen yinjue* but an abridged version of the summary statement from the *Tianshu jing*. In sum, it is clear that the confessions on the days of the Eight Articulations in the lost extract from the *Dengzhen yinjue* are not the rule-observation and Walking the Way Lingbao fast of the Eight Articulations. The *Tianshu* modification of the *Dengzhen yinjue* text is important evidence for the idea that the Eight Articulations fast was first created in the *Tianshu jing*.

(4) Wang also tries to prove that Lingbao fast rules concerning eating and drinking derive directly from Daoist alcohol and strong food taboos from the Han and Jin, which are traceable to the sacrificial and fasting system of the pre-Qin, Qin and Han. We must recognize here that Wang has brought forth hitherto unnoticed materials concerning this question, and there is much in his arguments that is acceptable. But his conclusions are not persuasive for two reasons.

First, as discussed above, the primary features of the Lingbao fast are the Observation of Rules and Walking the Way. Rules concerning food and drink are ancillary. The *Fuzhai weiyi jue*, the new scripture that develops and explains the old Lingbao scripture *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen*, states:

Feeding the worthies and meals of good fortune both have limits on the number of participants. Guests from outside first eat together ... Therefore, [the Perfected of Orthodox Unity and Ritual Master of the Three Heavens] stipulates that, when the ritual is completed, whatever food is left over should be distributed to all and sundry, so as to pray for good fortune for the host ... Alcohol cannot be completely prohibited. 飯賢福食, 各有人數。外來之客, 先亦同食 ... (正一真人三天法師) 故制法悉事畢, 餘廚施一切人及眾生輩, 為主人祈福矣 ... 酒不可都斷。

'Feeding the worthies and meals of good fortune' is similar to the Offering fasts discussed above. This text also says:

The Taiji Perfected says: The Daoist adept distances and cuts himself off from human traces, perched quietly in famous mountains where he practices a perpetual retreat and lives alone in a desolate valley. No longer does he choose a Dharma Master, but only carries on a dialogue between heart and mouth. When practicing this retreat in the mundane world, a Daoist adept eats the five grains. If he does not eat anything, he will be hungry. If he takes medicines, he should do so at noon. After the noon hour he may drink pure [water], but must not eat anything. At dawn he may drink porridge and at noon he may eat vegetables. When the retreat comes to an end, and the retreat is to be adjourned with a great feast, it must be clean and pure. Serve the fruits that are in season. First burn incense and express vows. Wish that the host of the retreat may ascend to immortality and transcend the world ... In the extreme form of the fast, dried dates may be eaten, but deer jerky is made

⁵³Lü, *Tangqian*, 161.

⁵⁴Lü, *Tangqian*, 17–18.

of killed animals and may not be enjoyed. 太極真人曰：道士遠絕人跡，靜棲名山，修是長齋，獨處幽谷，則不復選法師，唯心與口談矣。人間修是齋，道士服食五穀，斷無所餌則飢，若服藥物，正中服之也。過中聽飲清[水]，飲而絕食。平旦飲粥，日中菜食。齋限竟，解齋，如設大廚狀，唯宜潔淨爾。果隨時珍，當先行香祝願也。願齋主昇仙度世... 建齋極，可食幹棗。鹿脯臘是生鮮之物，一不得享也。⁵⁵

These rules for food and drink are like the reduced-eating fast discussed above. Wang ignores the core content of the Lingbao fast in his single-minded search for the origins of secondary rules, confusing the Lingbao fast with other fasts that have rules concerning food and drink.

Second, Wang's discussion of the rules concerning food and drink during fasts has a number of other problems. For example, the *Zhouli* 周禮 [Rites of the Zhou] states: 'The king eats one feast a day... When he does a royal fast, he eats three feasts a day. During major mourning, he does not feast' (王日一舉... 王齋 [= 齋], 日三舉。大喪，則不舉。⁵⁶ Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127–200) commentary explains that the word *ju* 舉, translated 'feast,' means 'killing animals and eating a copious meal' (殺牲盛饌曰舉). Thus during the 'fast,' he actually eats three times as much as on a normal day! Thus in the pre-Qin era, a royal sacrificial fast not only did not involve forbidding meat, it sometimes involved eating more than normal. This phenomenon is completely different from the reduction or even elimination of food found in many cultures during fasts.⁵⁷ Wang has taken due note of the fact that interdiction of 'eating strong-smelling foods' (不茹葷) in pre-Qin fasts did not mean not eating meat but not eating strong or smelly food,⁵⁸ but to conclude from this that the pre-Qin 'sacrificial fast' (祭祀之齋) necessarily required eating vegetarian is inaccurate.⁵⁹ Also, the injunction 'always eat on time' (恒以時食)⁶⁰ is derived from the injunction of not eating after noon, one of the eight prohibitions or an additional prohibition of the Eight-prohibition Fast (*baguan zhai* 八關齋) of Indian and Chinese Buddhism.⁶¹ The early medieval Daoist rule 'do not eat at noon' (*rizhong bushi* 日中不食) or 'after noon do not eat' (*wuhou bushi* 午後不食) is very clearly derived from the Buddhist fasting procedures. Wang quotes the *Taishang sanhuang baozhai shenxian shanglu jing* 太上三皇寶齋神仙上錄經 [Supreme Scripture on the Registration as a Divine Immortal (through the Performance of) the Precious Fast of the Three Sovereigns, DZ 854] and the *Sanhuang zhaiyi* 三皇齋儀 [The Fast Ritual of the Three Sovereigns (lost)] in order to prove that the reasons for Daoists not eating after noon is different from those of the Buddhists, denying any link with Buddhist practice. This is clearly a forced interpretation. Nor does Wang explain that the two Sanhuang sources he cites are both late texts recast under the influence of the Lingbao methods of fasting.

⁵⁵ *Taiji zhenren fuling baozhai jie wei yi zhujing yaojue*, DZ 532, 14b and 21b–23b. Translation based on Eskildsen, *Asceticism in Early Taoist Religion*, 115, with modifications. Two places in the original text are read differently according to the *Sandong zhanang's* 三洞珠囊 [The Pearlbag of the Three Caverns] citation of the *Lingbao zhajie wei yi jing xia* 靈寶齋戒威儀經下 [Part Two of the Scripture of the August Rites, of the Fast and Precepts of Numinous Treasure, DZ 1139, 3.2a]: 斷無所餌則已 is read 斷無所餌則饑; 過中聽飲, 清飲而絕食 is read 過中聽飲清[水], 飲而絕食.

⁵⁶ *Tianguan zhongzai diyi* 天官塚宰第一 [Head of the Ministry of State, Heavenly Officials] in *Zhouli zhushu* 4.22a–4.22b.

⁵⁷ Zhang, 'Xian Qin zhajie li', 185–190.

⁵⁸ See Zhang, 'Xian Qin zhajie li', 180–185, for a thorough study of these passages.

⁵⁹ Wang, *Han Jin*, 176–198.

⁶⁰ *Zengyi ahan jing*, T no. 125, 16: 2.625a–2.625b.

⁶¹ Ri, *Aux origines du 'tch'an houei'*, 33.

Another example is the description by Xi Chao 郗超 (336–371) in his *Fengfa yao* 奉法要 [Essentials of the Law] of the Buddhist three annual fasts and the six monthly fasts, possibly based on the translated scriptures *Pusa shouzhai jing* 菩薩受齋經 [Sūtra on the Observance of the Fast by Bodhisattva, T no. 1502], *Foshuo fenbie shan'e suoqi jing* 佛說分別善惡所起經 [Sūtra Preached by the Buddha on Distinguishing the Origins of good and Evil, T no. 729], *Foshuo zuiye yingbao jiaohua diyu jing* 佛說罪業應報教化地獄經 [Sūtra on Teaching of Hells as the Results of Sinful Actions, T no. 724], *Fo kaijie fanzhi Aba jing* 佛開解梵志阿颺經 [Brahmacarin ambastha sūtra, T no. 20], and *Foshuo Yeqi jing* 佛說耶祇經 (Ye Qi Brahmans Sūtra, T no. 542).⁶² Xi states clearly the rule that ‘on days of fasting, neither fish nor meat should be served; eat at noon and, after noon, neither sweetly fragrant nor good-tasting foods may be enjoyed’ (凡齋日皆當魚肉不御, 迎中而食, 既中之後, 甘香美味一不得嘗). The *Fengfa yao* rules concerning Buddhist days of fasting and vegetarianism is more than a century earlier than Liang Wudi’s 梁武帝 (r. 502–549) ‘Duan jiurou wen’ 斷酒肉文 [Text Forbidding Alcohol and Meat], dated 519 and based on various Mahāyāna scriptures. The *Fengfa yao* shows that the system of eating vegetarian food on fast days was practiced quite early in Chinese Buddhism, and on the basis of Buddhist scriptures. There was no need to rely on native religious vegetarianism for the system to be established. Wang thinks the textual content of the *Fengfa yao* ‘shows the very strong influence of native religion’ – a quite forced conclusion.⁶³

(5) Wang seeks to prove that the audience and petition rituals done by Heavenly Master and Shangqing Daoists in their quiet rooms were fasts, and that they are the direct origin of the Lingbao fast.⁶⁴ His primary basis for this affirmation is that the Lingbao fast took over from these two ritual traditions the opening and closing of the incense burner 發/復爐, the exit and return of the officers 出/復官, visualization 存思, salutations 禮拜, and communications and announcements 關啟. In my view, the current Ming-era Daoist canon has many internal documents that record the transmission of registers, rules and scriptures in the medieval period from Daoist masters to their disciples. Among them are several ritual manuals that can be consulted: *Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue* 傳授經戒儀注訣 [Ritual Annotations and Instructions on the Transmission of the Scriptures and Precepts, DZ 1238], *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始 [Regulations for the Practice of Daoism in Accordance with the Scriptures of the Three Caverns, of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure, DZ 1125], *Zhengyi xiuzhen lüeyi* 正一修真略儀 [Concise Treatise on the Zhengyi Ritual for the Cultivation of Perfection, DZ 1239], *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 傳授三洞經戒法錄略說 [A Brief Account of the Transmission of Scriptures, Precepts and Ritual Registers of the Three Caverns, DZ 1241], *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi* 太上洞神三皇儀 [Ritual of the Three Sovereigns of the Cavern Divinity of the Most High, DZ 803], *Dongxuan lingbao daoxue keyi* 洞玄靈寶道學科儀 [Rituals for the Study of the Dao of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure, DZ 1126], *Sandong xiudao yi* 三洞修道儀 [Rituals of the Three Caverns for Cultivating the Dao, DZ 1237], *Wushang miyao* 無上秘要

⁶²Hureau, ‘Bouddhisme chinois’, 47–52.

⁶³Wang, *Han Jin*, 193.

⁶⁴Wang, *Han Jin*, 124–136.

[Essentials of Supreme Secrets, DZ 1138]. For example, the *Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue* is a late Period of Division (220–589) text for the transmission of the *Daode jing* 道德經 [Book of the Dao and its Virtue]. It lists the 10 *juan* of the Taixuan 太玄 (Grand Mystery) section of the canon that the master must transmit to his disciple, among which the last several *juan*, if we judge by their titles, involves three ritual types, namely the ritual of transmission and the audience and fast (of Spontaneity). On the basis of such ritual manuals we can see that there were five relatively important and distinct medieval Daoist rituals in circulation: audience, transmission, fast, offering and petition.⁶⁵ Clearly, seeing that they shared a certain number of similar rites, Wang confuses the fast, audience and petition rituals while ignoring the major differences between them. The Observing the Rules and Walking the Way Lingbao fast – and the rites composing the latter, namely circumambulation, scripture chanting, litanies of confession and preaching the scriptures – are all lacking in the early Heavenly Master audience and petition rituals.⁶⁶

(6) Several Tang and Song Daoists state that ‘the fast method comes from Lingbao’⁶⁷ (齋法出於靈寶). Wang ignores these references which provide important counter-evidence for his idea that the fasting method emerged earlier.

The periodic fasts in Chinese Buddhism, which influenced the Lingbao fast, did not imitate native Chinese religion

Wang determinedly denies that the periodic fasts and the Lingbao fast promoted by the ancient Lingbao scriptures derives from Buddhism and, on the contrary, compounds the error by affirming that the periodic fasts in Chinese Buddhism imitate native Chinese religion.⁶⁸ The following items constitute a minimal refutation of Wang’s error.

(1) The six monthly fasts go back to the Indian *uposatha*,⁶⁹ that is far earlier than the 10 monthly fasts of Daoism. Among the various languages of Buddhist texts, the Pāli canon is the oldest, generally thought to have been collected and fixed two centuries after the Buddha’s death, centuries before the emergence of Daoism. Like the Chinese translation *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 [Arranged Works of Hīnayāna Sūtra], the corresponding Pāli scripture, *Anguttara-Nikāya*, also refers to the three half-monthly fasts (that is, the six monthly fasts).⁷⁰ What the two texts record is fundamentally the same. This is enough to demonstrate that the *Zengyi ahan jing*’s three half-monthly fasts come from India, and are not at all the result of Buddhism adapting to the native periodic fast in the process of translation.

⁶⁵Lü, ‘Ordination Ranks in Medieval Daoism’.

⁶⁶I have criticized Kobayashi Masayoshi 小林正美 for a similar error. See Lü, ‘Tianshi dao zhijiao zhai kao (shangpian)’, 386–388.

⁶⁷Cf. Lü, ‘Tianshi dao zhijiao zhai kao (shangpian)’, 370–371.

⁶⁸Wang, *Han Jin*, 318–368.

⁶⁹*Uposatha* (*busa* 布薩) has been translated as ‘fast’ 齋, ‘blossoming and purification’ 長淨, ‘cutting off’ 斷, ‘setting aside’ 捨, ‘good karma’ 善宿, or ‘dwelling in purity’ 淨住 and was long used together with the phonetic transcription *bushata* 通沙它. On the *uposatha*, see Gangopadhyay, *Uposatha Ceremony*; Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, 65–66, 77; Ri, *Aux origines du ‘tch’an houei’*, 28–54.

⁷⁰Woodward, *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, vol. 1: 126–128; Morris, *The Anguttara-Nikāya*, vol. 1: *Ekanipāta*, *Dukanipāta*, 142–145.

(2) The pre-fifth century Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures (Zhi Qian's 支謙 [ca. third century] *Foshuo zhai jing* 佛說齋經 [Sūtra of the Fast], Kang Senghui's 康僧會 [d. 280] *Liudu jijing* 六度集經 [Collection of (Tales) in Connection with the Six Perfect (Virtues)], Zhu Fahu's *Puyao jing* 普曜經 [*Lalitavistara Sūtra*], etc.), as well as native Chinese Buddhist authors (Mouzi 牟子 [170-?], *Lihuo lun* 理惑論 [Treatise to Dispel Doubts], Xi Chao, *Fengfa yao*, etc.), all refer to the six monthly fasts and the three annual long fasts.⁷¹ Of the 10 days of monthly fasting described by the first of the ancient Lingbao scriptures, the *Tianshu jing*, six of them are identical to the six Buddhist days and must be an imitation thereof. Sanghadeva 僧伽提婆 translated the *Zengyi ahan jing* in the first month of 397 in Jiankang 建康 (today's Nanjing 南京), not long before the appearance of the *Tianshu jing*. The latter's description of the gods of heaven inspecting the fasts on the 10 monthly fasting days are at once structurally and textually clear imitations of the *Zengyi ahan jing*. It therefore seems likely that this scripture may have had a more direct impact than earlier Buddhist translations or texts in inciting the author of the *Tianshu jing* to create the Daoist periodic fast.⁷² Given how much the ancient Lingbao scriptures took from Buddhism in every domain, it is hardly surprising that the author of *Tianshu jing* would have used the Buddhist six fasting days in creating the Daoist 10 days of periodic fasting. Isabelle Robinet had argued that before the Lingbao scriptures, the influence of Buddhism on Daoism was superficial and formal (as is the Shangqing scriptures), and only with the Lingbao scriptures did it become substantial.⁷³ Although recently Stephen Bokenkamp has shown that the Shangqing scriptures had already begun to undergo Buddhist influence and to respond to Buddhism,⁷⁴ that influence was primarily doctrinal – karma and reincarnation – in character, with very few practical implications, the phrase 'eating vegetarian at noon' mentioned above being one example. It is my view that wide-scale borrowing from Buddhist beliefs and practices began with the ancient Lingbao scriptures.⁷⁵ Wang's opposition to the idea that the Daoist periodic fast began with the *Tianshu jing* would seem to come from an insufficiently deep study of the early relationship between Buddhism and Daoism.

(3) Originally, the set dates for the *uposatha* in Indian monastic Buddhism were the last days of each half-month (the fourteenth or fifteenth, twenty-ninth or thirtieth). Later, the eighth days of each half month (the eighth and the twenty-third) were added to the sequence, meaning the *uposatha* were done four times each month. On the newly added days, there was only preaching and no rule-recitation. At some point, the number of *uposatha* per month was increased to six for lay believers who lived at home. The number of rules to be observed during these six fasts was normally eight, which is why it was also called the 'fast of the eight

⁷¹Lü, 'Tianshi dao zhijiao zhai kao (shangpian)', 376–377.

⁷²Although the *Da Loutan jing* 大樓炭經 [Skt. *Lokadhatu Sūtra*, T no. 23], translated by the Western Jin 西晉 (265–317) monks Fali 法立 and Faju 法炬 before the *Zengyi ahan jing*, also describes in similar manner the three monthly fasts and is closer to the Pali original, *Anguttara-Nikāya*, its expression is more concise and its similarity to the *Tianshu jing* much less than that of the *Zengyi ahan jing*.

⁷³Robinet, 'Notes préliminaires sur quelques antinomies fondamentales', 217–242.

⁷⁴Bokenkamp, 'Research Note'.

⁷⁵See also Soymié, 'Les dix jours du jeûne taoïste'; Zürcher, 'Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism'.

prohibitions' (*baguan zhai* 八關齋). The *uposatha* of both monks and lay persons in Indian Buddhism consisted above all in the observation of prohibitions. The relationship between the two groups was a close one; for example, lay persons doing the fast at home had to receive the prohibitions from monks.

Chinese Buddhism basically followed the Indian Buddhist system of the fast, and the 10 monthly fasts of the ancient Lingbao scriptures were in fact a direct imitation of the system of six fasts of the lay persons of Chinese Buddhism.⁷⁶ Wang completely ignores the *uposatha* performed by Indian lay persons, basing himself only on the translated scriptures that record the fact that Indian Buddhist monks recited prohibitions – did the *uposatha* – once every half month. He denies that the Chinese Buddhist six monthly fasts came from Indian Buddhism and, on the contrary, argues that these fasts derive from the native religion's periodic fasts.

(4) The Pāli text *Anguttara-Nikāya* says that on the three half-monthly fast days, the four celestial kings send down gods or descend themselves to inspect the merits and demerits of people's speech and actions, then go report to Indra and the 33 gods in the dharma-preaching hall for the gathering of the good in Trāyastriṃśha Heaven (Daoli tian 忉利天). One of the important things they inspect is whether or not people are respectful toward their parents. This means that the *uposatha* of lay persons in India was not just about communicating with the gods;⁷⁷ it was inseparable from filial piety.⁷⁸ Wang thinks that the Indian Buddhist *uposatha* has no concept of worshiping the gods or communicating with them.⁷⁹ Nor does he think that it emphasizes filial piety, arguing that if translated Buddhist scriptures like the *Dalou tan jing* and the *Zengyi ahan jing* make filial piety one of the most important elements verified by the gods, it is manifestly because they have been influenced by the *Taiping jing* and the early Daoist fast.⁸⁰

In sum, I believe that there are three basic problems with Wang Chengwen's views of the origins of the Lingbao fast. The first is that he confuses shared names and different realities, or things that have a purely superficial resemblance, and cannot get past

⁷⁶Translated Buddhist scriptures refer to *uposatha* also as *busa* 布薩. The *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 [General Works of Hinayāna Sūtra, T no. 99] *juan* 23, speaks of 'Observing the eight article fast *busa*' 受持八支齋布薩 (2.169a), and in *juan* 40, 'on the eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth days of the month and in months of divine transformation, on the fourteenth day ... do the reception of the prohibitions *busa*; on the fifteenth day ... do the reception of the prohibitions *busa*' (於月八日 ... 受持齋戒. 於月八日, 十四日, 十五日及神變月受戒布薩. 至十四日 ... 受戒布薩. 至十五日 ... 受戒布薩 [2.295c]). The *Qishi jing* 起世經 [Sūtra on the Formation of the Universe, T no. 24] translated by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 (?–604), *juan* 7, reads: 'During a month there are six *wubushata*' (一月中, 有六烏哺沙他). The note says, '*Busa* was referred to as *zengshang* (increase 增上) in the Sui dynasty, meaning the method for observing the fast adds good karma ... The two black and white months both have three fasts' (隋言增上, 謂受持齋法, 增上善根 ... 白, 黑二月, 各有三齋 [1. 402a]).

⁷⁷Concerning the descent of the gods in response to lay person fasts in Chinese Buddhism, see Company, 'Abstinence halls (*zhaitang* 齋堂) in lay households', 323–343. In the *Shangyuan jinlu jianwen* likewise, influenced by the fast in Chinese Buddhism, the Lingbao fast is an occasion for communicating with the gods: 'On the day of a fast, take a pinch of incense and say your prayers, the voice will penetrate on high, and the inspectors of the four heavens and the awesome spirits of the ten sections will come down to listen to the sounds of the dharma and inspect your hearts ... When you do a fast and walk the Way, the sovereigns of the four heavens, all riding in green carriages of flying clouds ... float down from space. They make salutations and walk the Way, watching and listening to the dharma sounds. The heavenly kings come down, and the myriad spirits worship them'. (A16) 是其齋日, 捻香啟願, 應聲上徹, 四天司選, 十部威神, 即下履行, 觀聽法音, 監映爾心 ... 建齋行道, 四天帝王, 皆駕飛雲綠軒 ... 浮空而來, 瞻禮行道, 觀聽法音, 天下降, 萬靈朝焉。

⁷⁸For archaeological materials touching on filial piety in Indian Buddhism, see Schopen, 'Filial Piety and the Monk', 110–126.

⁷⁹Wang, *Han Jin*, 330.

⁸⁰Wang, *Han Jin*, 350.

appearances to see the real substance. The second is that he does not clearly discern the dividing line between historical fact and invented legends, leading him to erroneous conclusions. The third is his biased insistence on the native religious origins of the ancient Lingbao scriptures and rejection of the influence of foreign Buddhism, which is no different from denying the great contribution of the Lingbao scriptures in being the first in Daoist history to synthesize the foreign and the native and so create a ‘new Daoism.’

Acknowledgments

This paper was presented to the International Conference on Daoist Ritual and Chinese Society (virtual, October 15–30 November 2021; organized by Hong Kong Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, The University of Hong Kong; co-organized by Center for the Study of Chinese Religions, Southwest Jiaotong University 西南交通大學; School of Archaeology and Museology, Lao Tzu Research Institute, both of Sichuan University 四川大學; and Center for the Study of Chinese Religions, Chengchi University 政治大學; sponsored by Sik Sik Yuen 齋色園). My thanks go to John Lagerwey for translating and polishing this article, and to Wang Haoyue 王皓月, Hou Chong 侯冲 and two anonymous reviewers for their valuable suggestions and corrections.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Abbreviations

DZ = *Zhengtong daoang* 正統道藏; see Primary Sources, *Zhengtong daoang*.

T = *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經; see Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe, *et al* (eds.)

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Chisongzi zhangli* 赤松子章曆 [Chisong zi's Petition Almanac]. 6 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 615.
- Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue* 傳授經戒儀注訣 [Ritual Annotations and Instructions on the Transmission of the Scriptures and Precepts]. 1 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 1238.
- Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 傳授三洞經戒法籙略說 [A Brief Account of the Transmission of Scriptures, Precepts and Ritual Registers of the Three Caverns]. 2 *juan*. By Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 (fl. 711-713). DZ 1241.
- Da Loutan jing* 大樓炭經 [Skt. *Lokadhatu Sūtra*]. 6 *juan*. Translated by the Western Jin 西晉 (265–317) monks Fali 法立 and Faju 法炬. T no. 23, vol. 1.
- Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mengzheng ke* 洞玄靈寶長夜之府九幽玉匱明真科 [Code of the Covenant with the Perfected, Kept in the Jade Chest of the Nine Realms of Darkness, in the Department of the Long Night]. 1 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 1411.
- Dongxuan lingbao daoixue keyi* 洞玄靈寶道學科儀 [Rituals for the Study of the Dao of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure]. 2 *juan*. Attributed to Taiji Taixu Zhenren 太極太虛真人. DZ 1126.
- Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始 [Regulations for the Practice of Daoism in Accordance with the Scriptures of the Three Caverns, of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure]. 6 *juan*. Attributed to Jinming Qizhen 金明七真. DZ 1125.

- Dongxuan lingbao wugan wen* 洞玄靈寶五感文 [Texts of the Five Sentiments of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure]. 1 *juan*. By Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406–477). DZ 1278.
- Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi* 洞玄靈寶玄門大義 [The Main Ideas of Daoism of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure]. 1 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 1124.
- Fengfa yao* 奉法要 [Essentials of the Law]. 1 *juan*. By Xi Chao 郗超 (336–371). *Hongming ji*, T no. 2102, 52: 13.86a23–89b2.
- Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks]. 14 *juan*. By Shi Huijiao 釋慧皎 (497–554). References made to Tang, colla & annot., *Gaoseng zhuan*.
- Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 [Extended Collection of Documents Related to the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism]. 30 *juan*. Compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667). T no. 2103, vol. 52.
- Hongming ji* 弘明集 [Collection of Documents Related to the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism]. 15 *juan*. Compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518). T no. 2103, vol. 52.
- Houhan shu* 後漢書 [History of the Latter Han]. 120 *juan*. By Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1965.
- Liji zhushu* 禮記正義 [Commentary and Subcommentary on the Book of Rites]. Commentary by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) and Subcommentary by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648). In *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 [Commentaries on the Thirteen Classics], compiled by Ruan Yuan 阮元, 1221–1696. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1980.
- Lu Xiansheng daomen kelüe* 陸先生道門科略 [Abridged Codes of Master Lu for the Daoist Community]. 1 *juan*. By Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406–477). DZ 1127.
- Lunyu* 論語 [Analects]. 20 *pian*. By Confucius (551 BC–479 BC). In *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 [Commentaries on the Thirteen Classics], compiled by Ruan Yuan 阮元, 1221–1696. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1980.
- Sandong xiudao yi* 三洞修道儀 [Rituals of the Three Caverns for Cultivating the Dao]. 1 *juan*. By Liu Ruozhuo 劉若拙 (Five Dynasties to the early Song), and compiled by Sun Yizhong 孫夷中 (Northern Song). DZ 1237.
- Sandong zhunao* 三洞珠囊 [The Pearlbag of the Three Caverns]. 10 *juan*. By Wang Xuanhe 王懸河 (Tang). DZ 1139.
- Taiji zhenren fu Lingbao zhajie wei yi zhujing yaojue* 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣 [Essential Instructions from All the Scriptures of the August Rites of the Fast and Precepts of Numinous Treasure, Expounded by the Perfected Person of the Great Ultimate]. 1 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 532.
- Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 [Encyclopedia of the Taiping xingguo [976–984] Period, Prepared for the Press by the Emperor]. 1000 *juan*. Compiled by Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) et al. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1960.
- Taishang dadao sanyuan pinjie xiezui shangfa* 太上大道三元品誡謝罪上法 [Superior Method for Seeking Pardon for Sins against the Classified Precepts of the Three Primes, of the Great Dao of the Most High]. 1 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 417.
- Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi* 太上洞神三皇儀 [Ritual of the Three Sovereigns of the Cavern Divinity of the Most High]. 1 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 803.
- Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing* 太上洞玄靈寶三元品戒功德輕重經 [Scripture of Great and Minor Merits and the Classified Rules of the Three Primes, of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure of the Most High]. 1 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 456.
- Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi* 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀 [The Transmission Ritual of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure of the Most High]. 1 *juan*. By Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406–477). DZ 528.
- Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing* 太上洞玄靈寶智慧定志通微經 [Scripture on Wisdom, Fixing the Will and Penetrating the Sublime, of the Cavern Mystery and Numinous Treasure of the Most High]. 1 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 325.
- Taishang dongyuan Shenzhou jing* 太上洞淵神咒經 [Scripture of Divine Incantations of the Cavern Abyss of the Most High]. 20 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 335.

- Taishang sanhuang baozhai shenxian shanglu jing* 太上三皇寶齋神仙上錄經 [Supreme Scripture on the Registration as a Divine Immortal (through the Performance of) the Precious Fast of the Three Sovereigns]. 58 *juan*. Compiled by Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933). DZ 854.
- Taiwei lingshu ziwen xianji zhenji shangjing* 太微靈書紫文仙忌真經上經 [Supreme Scripture of Taboos for Transcendents Recorded by the Perfected, from The Purple Texts Inscribed by the Spirits of Grand Tenuity]. 1 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 179.
- Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃錄大齋立成儀 [Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow Register Fast]. 57 *juan*. Compiled by Jiang Shuyu 蔣叔輿 (1162-1223) et al. DZ 508.
- Wushang miyao* 無上秘要 [Essentials of Supreme Secrets]. 100 *juan* (incomplete). Compiled by Yuwen Yong 宇文邕 (543-578). DZ 1138.
- Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing* 元始五老赤書玉篇真文天書經 [Scripture on the True Writs of the Five Ancients of Primordial Beginning, Red Writings in Heavenly Script on Jade Tablets]. 3 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 22.
- Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 [Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels]. 122 *juan*. Compiled by Zhang Junfang 張君房 (fl. 1005-1028). DZ 1032.
- Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 [General Works of Hīnayāna Sūtra (Skt. *Samyuktāgama-sūtra*)]. 50 *juan*. Trans. Qiunabatuo 求那跋陀 (Guṇabhadra [394-468]). T no. 99, vol. 2.
- Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 [Arranged Works of Hīnayāna Sūtra (Skt. *Ekōttarāgama-sūtra* / **Ekōttarikāgama-sūtra*)]. 51 *juan*. Allegedly trans. Gautama Saṃghadeva (Qutan Sengqietipo 瞿曇僧伽提婆 [active 380s]), but more probably by Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (of 4th c.). T no. 125, vol. 2.
- Zhaijie lu* 齋戒錄 [Register of Fasts and Precepts]. 1 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 464.
- Zhen'gao* 真誥 [Declarations of the Perfected]. 20 *juan*. Compiled by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536). DZ 1016.
- Zhengtong daoang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon compiled during the Zhengtong Reign (1436-1449)]. 5,305 *juan*. Compiled by Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1359-1410) et al in 1445. Taipei: Xinwenfeng 新文豐, 1977 (DZ numbers follow Schipper & Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon* [see Secondary Sources]).
- Zhengyi xiuzhen lueyi* 正一修真略儀 [Concise Treatise on the Zhengyi Ritual for the Cultivation of Perfection]. 1 *juan*. Anonymously composed. DZ 1239.
- Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏 [Commentary and Subcommentary on the Rites of the Zhou]. 42 *juan*. Commentary by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), and Subcommentary by Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (of the Tang dynasty). In *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 [Commentaries on the Thirteen Classics], compiled by Ruan Yuan 阮元, 631-940. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1980.

Secondary Sources

- Bokenkamp, Stephen R. 'Research Note: Buddhism in the Writings of Tao Hongjing'. *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 6 (2014): 247-68.
- Bokenkamp, Stephen R. 'Record of the Feng and Shan Sacrifices'. In *Religions of China in Practice*, edited by Donald S. Lopez Jr., 251-60. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Campany, Robert Ford. 'Abstinence halls (*zhaitang* 齋堂) in Lay Households in Early Medieval China'. *Studies in Chinese Religions* 1.4 (2015): 323-43.
- Eskildsen, Stephen. *Asceticism in Early Taoist Religion*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.
- Gangopadhyay, Jayeeta. *Uposatha Ceremony: The Earliest Traditions and Later Developments (Mainly from Vinayic Traditions Preserved in Chinese)*. Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1991.
- Hanyu da zidian bianji weiyuanhui 漢語大字典編輯委員會, ed. *Hanyu da zidian* 漢語大字典 (縮印本) [The Great Chinese Dictionary (Condensed version)]. Chengdu: Sichuan cishu chubanshe 四川辭書出版社 and Hubei cishu chubanshe 湖北辭書出版社, 1993.

- Hou Chong 侯冲. *Zhongguo fojiao yishi yanjiu: yi zhaigong yishi wei zhongxin* 中國佛教儀式研究——以齋供儀式為中心 [A Study of Chinese Buddhist Rituals Centered on the Ritual of the Offering Fast]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2018.
- Hureau, Sylvie. 'Bouddhisme chinois' [Chinese Buddhism]. *Annuaire de l'EPHE, Sciences religieuses* [Annals of the EPHE, Religious Sciences] 115 (2006–2007): 47–52.
- Karashima, Seishi. *A Glossary of Kumārajīva's Translation of the Lotus Sutra*. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University, 1998.
- Lamotte, Etienne. *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* [History of Indian Buddhism]. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1958.
- Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志. 'Lingbao zhai yuanyuan kaobian' 靈寶齋淵源考辨 [A Critical Analysis and Debate on the Origins of the Lingbao Fast]. In proceedings of the International Conference on Daoist Ritual and Chinese Society (zoom, October 15–November 20, 2021).
- . 'The Early Lingbao Transmission Ritual: A Critical Study of Lu Xiujing's (406-477) *Taishang Dongxuan Lingbao Shoudu Yi*'. *Studies in Chinese Religions* 4.1 (2018): 1–49.
- . 'Ordination Ranks in Medieval Daoism and the Classification of Daoist Rituals'. In *Affiliation and Transmission in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium*, edited by Florian C. Reiter, 81–107. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012.
- . 'Lingbao liuzhai kao' 靈寶六齋考 [A Study of the Six Lingbao Fasts]. *Wenshi* 文史 [Literature and History] 3 (2011): 85–125.
- . 'The Lingbao Fast of the Three Primes and the Daoist Middle Prime Festival: A Critical Study of the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie jing*'. *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* [East Asian Journal] 20 (2011): 35–61.
- . 'Daoist Rituals'. In *Early Chinese Religion. Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD)*, edited by John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi, 1245–1349. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- . 'Tianshi dao zhijiao zhai kao (shangpian)' 天師道旨教齋考(上篇) [A Study of the Zhijiao Fast of Celestial Master Taoism, Part One]. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 80.3 (2009): 355–402.
- . 'Tianshi dao zhijiao zhai kao (xiapian)' 天師道旨教齋考(下篇) [A Study of the Zhijiao Fast of Celestial Master Taoism, Part Two]. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 80.4 (2009): 507–53.
- . *Tangqian Daojiao yishi shigang* 唐前道教儀式史綱 [A Historical Survey of Pre-Tang Daoist Ritual]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2008.
- . 'Tianshi dao shoulu keyi: Dunhuang xieben S203 kaolun' 天師道授籙科儀——敦煌寫本 S203 考論 [The Register-Transmitting Ritual of the Celestial Master Movement: A Critical Study of Dunhuang Manuscript S203]. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, no. 77.1 (2006): 79–166.
- . 'Les Textes du Lingbao ancien dans l'histoire du taoïsme' [The Ancient Lingbao Scriptures in the History of Daoism]. *T'oung Pao* 91 (2005): 183–209.
- Malek, Roman. *Das Chai-chieh-lu: Materialien zur Liturgie im Taoismus* [Zhaijie lu: Materials for Daoist Liturgy]. Frankfurt: Verlag Peter Lang, 1985.
- Morris, Richard. *The Anguttara-Nikāya*, vol. 1: *Ekanipāta, Dukanipāta*. London: Luzac and Company, 1961. 2nd revised edition.
- Ri, Ki-Yong. *Aux origines du 'tch'an houei': aspects bouddhiques de la pratique pénitentielle* [Origins of 'Chanhu': Buddhist Aspects of Penitential Practice]. Ph.D. dissertation, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1960.
- Robinet, Isabelle. *La Révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoïsme* [The Shangqing Revelation in the History of Daoism]. Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, 1984.
- . 'Notes préliminaires sur quelques antinomies fondamentales entre le bouddhisme et le taoïsme' [Preliminary Notes on Several Fundamental Antinomies between Buddhism and Daoism]. In *Incontro di religioni in Asia tra il III e il X secolo d.c* [Introduction to Religions in Asia from the 3rd to the 10th Centuries], edited by Lionello Lanciotti, 217–42. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1984.
- Schipper, Kristofer and Franciscus Verellen, eds. *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

- Schopen, Gregory. 'Filial Piety and the Monk in the Practice of Indian Buddhism: A Question of "Sinicization" Viewed from the Other Side'. *T'oung Pao* 70 (1984): 110–26.
- Shi Zhounen 施舟人 (=Kristofer Schipper), ed., and Chen Yaoting 陳耀庭, re-ed. *Daozang suoyin: Wuzhong banben daoze tongjian* 道藏索引——五種版本道藏通檢 [Index to the Daoist Canon: Concordance of the Five Editions of the Daoist Canon]. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 上海書店, 1996.
- Soymié, Michel. 'Les dix jours du jeûne taoïste' [The Ten Monthly Daoist Fasts]. In *Yoshioka Yoshitoyo hakase kanri kinen Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū* 吉岡博士還曆紀念道教研究論集 [Collected Essays on Daoist Thought and Culture: Festschrift for Yoshioka Yoshitoyo], 1–21. Tōkyō: Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1977.
- Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, et al, eds. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [Buddhist Canon Compiled during the Taishō Era (1912–26)]. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會, 1924–1932. Digitized in CBETA (v. 5.2) (<https://www.cbeta.org>) and SAT Daizōkyō Text Database (<http://21dzk.l.u-tōkyō.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php>).
- Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, colla. & annot. *Gaosen zhuan* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1992.
- Tomita Masashi 富田雅史. 'Chūgoku bukkō ni okeru sai girei: Jikai no sai to fuse no sai' 中國佛教に於ける齋儀禮——持戒の齋と佈施の齋 [Fasting Rituals in Chinese Buddhism: The Rule-observing Fast and the Alms-giving Fast]. *Tōyō daigaku daigakuin kiyō* 東洋大學大學院紀要 [Bulletin of the Graduate School, Toyo University] 39 (2002): 180–85.
- Wang Chengwen 王承文. *Han Jin Daojiao yishi yu gu Lingbao jing yanjiu* 漢晉道教儀式與古靈寶經研究 [A Study of Daoist Rituals from the Han to the Jin and the Ancient Lingbao Scriptures]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 中國社會科學出版社, 2017.
- . *Dunhuang gu Lingbao jing yu Jin Tang Daojiao* 敦煌古靈寶經與晉唐道教 [The Ancient Lingbao Scriptures of Dunhuang and Daoism from the Jin to the Tang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2002.
- Wang Jiakui 王家葵. *Dengzhen yinjue jijiao* 登真隱訣輯校 [Collected Fragments and Critical Edition of the *Dengzhen yinjue*]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2011.
- Woodward, Frank Lee. *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, 1. London: Luzac and Company, 1960.
- Yang Jinli 楊金麗 and Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志. 'Lingbao sanyuan zhai zhi chudian: Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie jing hejiao kaoshi' 靈寶三元齋之出典——“太上洞玄靈寶三元品戒經”合校考釋 [The Scriptural Origin of the Lingbao Three Primes Fast: A Combined Critical Edition and Study of the *Taishang Dongxuan Lingbao Sanyuan Pinjie Jing*]. In proceedings of the International Conference on Daoist Ritual and Chinese Society (zoom, October 15–November 20, 2021).
- Zhang Minglang 張明娜. *Xian Qin zhajie li yanjiu* 先秦齋戒禮研究 [A Study of the Pre-Qin Rites of Fast and Precepts]. Ph.D. dissertation, Taiwan National University, 2010.
- Zürcher, Erik. 'Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism; A Survey of Scriptural Evidence'. *T'oung Pao* 66.1–3 (1980): 84–147.