Contributions to the second issue of *East Asian History* in the series previously entitled *Papers on Far Eastern History*. The journal is published twice a year.

The Editor, *East Asian History*
Division of Pacific and Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies
Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra ACT 2601, Australia
Phone 06 249 3140  Fax 06 249 1839

Subscription Enquiries
Subscription Manager, *East Asian History*, at the above address

Annual Subscription Rates
Australia A$45  Overseas US$45  (for two issues)
CONTENTS

1 The Concept of Inherited Evil in the *Taiping jing*
   *Barbara Hendrischke*

31 Water Control in Zherdong During the Late Ming
   *Morita Akira*

   *Brian Martin*

87 The Limits of Hatred: Popular Attitudes Towards the West
   in Republican Canton
   *Virgil Kit-yiu Ho*

105 Manchukuo: Constructing the Past
   *Gavan McCormack*

125 Modernizing Morality? Paradoxes of Socialization
   in China during the 1980s
   *Børge Bakken*

143 The Three Kingdoms and Western Jin: a History of China in the
   Third Century AD - II
   *Rafe de Crespigny*
Cover calligraphy  Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿, Tang calligrapher and statesman

Cover illustration  “Seeing the apparel, but not the person.”
Cartoon by Liu Bai 劉白, Pan-chiao man-hua
[Five-cents comics], vol.6, no.1 (1932), p.5
THE CONCEPT OF INHERITED EVIL
IN THE TAIPING JING 太平經

Barbara Hendrischke

The material for this paper stems from a corpus of texts edited in the sixth century AD by members of the Maoshan 莫山 Sect, which was the dominant Daoist sect of that period. About one-third of this corpus has come down to us in approximately the same form as it was in the sixth century. In content and language, most of this corpus differs widely from all other transmitted writings of that sect and it can therefore be accepted that the corpus was indeed, as tradition has it, composed from sources completely different from the so-called revealed scriptures which figure prominently in the Maoshan tradition.

It has not been possible to establish any hard evidence concerning the origin and date of the earlier Taiping texts. What has come down to us of the sixth-century edition does not give any direct account of its textual sources. The very fact that the texts contained in the Taiping corpus have little in common with the other Daoist textual traditions has frequently tempted scholars to assign an early date to the Taiping corpus as a whole as well as to its closest Daoist textual relative, the Xiang'er 相爾, a Laozi commentary also of dubious background.

There are no hard data—no early citations or parallel texts, no definite bibliographical evidence—to prove the existence of a Han dynasty Taiping text. As a result, scholars have often taken refuge in the legendary, where a scripture called Taiping jing was linked with several men from Langye 神邪 in Shandong, namely Gan Ji 赣吉 and Gong Chong 宫崇: "Gong Chong [here Gong Song 宫嵩] is from Langye. He was talented in writing and produced more than one hundred chapters. He took the immortal Gan Ji as his teacher. During the reign of Emperor Yuan 元帝 of the Han dynasty [r.48-33 BC] he accompanied Yu Ji 于吉 in meeting the Heavenly Immortal (tianxian 天仙) at the Spring of the Crooked Yang (quyang quan 曲陽泉—not located), who
3 See J.O. Petersen, “The early traditions relating to the Han dynasty transmission of the Taiping jing”, part 1, Acta Orientalia 50 (1989): 133–71, and part 2, Acta Orientalia 51 (1990): 133–216, for a critical evaluation of early references to a Taiping text. The early date of the Xiang'eris, however, based on spurious evidence—a single bibliographical note (by Lu Deming 陆徳明 in the early Tang)—and on the general content of the text (see W.G. Boltz, “The religious and philosophical significance of the ‘Hsiang Erh’ Lao Tzu in the light of the Ma-wang-tui liographical note (by Lu Deming 陆徳明 in the completion of the Xiang'er zhul, in Akizuki Kanie, Dōkyō to Shukuyo bunka [Daoist and Buddhist culture] (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppan, 1987), pp.81–102. Kobayashi’s arguments sound conclusive concerning the supposed authorship of (Han dynasty) Zhang Lu, but they are less convincing concerning the need to assign a fifth-century date to the text.

4 This is the version given in the biography of Gong Chong in the Shen xian zhuon, a pre-Tang collection of hagiographies traditionally ascribed to Ge Hong; see Wang Ming, Taiping jing bejiao (Beijing: Xinhu Shudian, 1979) [hereafter TPJHf], p.747.


7 See the citation from Yu Xi’s “Zhilin” in the Sanguo zhi commentary, TPJHf, p.748.

8 Hou Hanshu, 30b, p.1084.

9 Ibid., p.1080, and again in a second memorial on p.1081. Petersen sees a contradiction between the two (in the first instance Xiang Kai says he sent it to the imperial court and in the second instance he says it was handed in by Gong Chong) and points to linguistic problems with the first passage, which he attempts to emend by omitting all references to a ‘divine text’, which does in fact make for a smoother reading; Petersen omits, however, to venture an explanation handed to Gan Ji the Taiping jing in ten divisions, on blue (qing 青) strong silk with red characters.” The existence of these two personages does not only rely on legend. They are, by Han dynasty standards, well documented in that they were both mentioned in a memorial presented to the throne in 166 AD and transmitted in the Hou Hanshu. They were also mentioned by the historian Yu Xi (虞喜) of the fourth century as well as in the Hou Hanshu biography of the Langye astronomer and politician Xiang Kai 襄楷, who was the author of the memorial.

In this memorial Xiang Kai speaks about the ‘divine book’ (shenshu 神書) of Gan Ji which had been received by Gong Chong of Langye. What Xiang Kai’s biographer Fan Ye has to say on this ‘divine book’ seems to stem from the same source as Yu Xi’s account and became crucial to the evaluation of the Taiping corpus: “Prior to this [the memorial of 166 AD], during the reign of Emperor Shun (r.126–144) Gong Chong of Langye went to the palace gates to submit the ‘divine book’ (shenshu) his teacher Yu Ji (or Gan Ji) had obtained at the Spring of the Crooked Yang. The Book was in 170 juan, all of white silk with red lines, blue headings and red titles, called Taiping qingling sbu 太平青領書.” This text, mentioned by Xiang Kai and defined by the Hou Hanshu author and others, became identified with two texts mentioned in the bibliographical chapter of Ge Hong’s Baopuzi 抱朴子 also with a text occurring in the Buddhist Mouzi 卯子. Ge Hong lists a Taiping jing in 50 juan, and a Jiayi jing scripture arranged by cyclical characters in 170 juan; while Mouzi mentions a ‘divine book’ (shenshu) in 170 juan. There are obvious reasons for attempting some kind of identification of these texts with Gong Chong’s and Gan Ji’s text: Ge Hong’s 50-juan text uses the term taiping; the Jiayi jing has the same number of chapters as the received version of the Taiping jing and its title could be taken as evidence of an arrangement by cyclical characters similar to the arrangement of the received version; and Mouzi’s ‘shenshu’, like Gan Ji’s text, is also in 170 juan.

It seems possible, therefore, to produce a fairly coherent story about the existence of a Han dynasty Taiping text. Nevertheless, there is no need to identify that text with the modern Taiping corpus. Although the received text agrees in many respects with the descriptions which were given of a Han dynasty Taiping jing, this alone is no sufficient reason for an identification.

The dating of texts, thus locating them in a precise chronological and geographical context, is undoubtedly important, but it would seem to be over-cautious to avoid serious interpretation of an important scripture because its date has not yet been established. To do so may in fact be self-defeating because it neglects the contribution which analytical interpretation of the content of a text can make towards its eventual dating and historical position. This is especially true for a very long text which has not yet received much scholarly attention and in particular not much linguistic analysis. The Taiping jing is, however, on the list of texts for which concordances are eventually to be published in Hongkong.
In the following, I shall deal with the *Taipingjing* as if it were a corpus of texts from the beginnings of religious Daoism, embedded in Han dynasty cosmological fantasies and social Utopias. This is what all interpreters of the doctrine of the text have done, in Japan and the People’s Republic as well as in the West. In addition, I shall refer to passages from different divisions of the text as if there were some coherence between them, while admitting my basic ignorance concerning the question of whether this seeming coherence is the work of sixth-century editors or dates back to the work’s single authorship. Some observations will also tackle the composition of the text, in that I shall define the textual layer for all citations used in this paper (as well as this can be done within the bounds of present scholarship) and point out doctrinal differences between these layers.

The first criterion for defining the different textual layers must be the differences in their style as preserved in the received text. These differences were first established by Xiong Deji,13 and recently refined by Takahashi and others: conferences between a Heavenly Master and his disciples, instigated by a disciple’s question and centring on the Heavenly Master’s lecture (called layer ‘A’ in this paper);15 conferences between a Heavenly Lord (called layer ‘B’ in this paper (tianjun 天君), a Great Spirit (dasben 大神) and a ‘student’ (sheng 生) (called layer ‘B’); and parts of the text which do not contain any conversational elements (layer C). 44 of the remaining 59 chapters consist at least partly of A-type texts. Only the following A-type chapters pose any problems concerning their affiliation:

- Chapter 38 is a citation from a different source (or is at least made to look for the (supposedly mistaken) traditional reading. Concerning the joint sponsorship of a text (‘shang’ by Xiang Kai and ‘xian’ by Gong Chong), it should be possible to detect parallel cases. Anyway, whether Petersen’s emendation stands or not its relevance for the history of a *Taipingjing* is hard to see, in that the fact remains that Xiang Kai makes mention of Gong Chong’s text.

Figure 1

*Armed struggle is an evil which the enlightened Daoist was expected to overcome through meditation* (see VII, chap.101). Chapters 99, 100 and 101 (all layer C) of the received text of the *Taipingjing* are entirely composed of illustrations (tu 図), which were, very probably, included in the text at a later date.
Xiong Deji, "Taiping jing de zuozhe he sishi xiang ji qì yu huangjin yu tianshidao de guanxi" [The authorship and thought of the Taiping jing and its relationship with the Yellow Turbans and Heavenly Master Daoism], Lishi yanjiu, 1962, no. 2, pp.8-25, at 9 ff. Following his useful division of layers Xiong attempts to identify these layers with certain authors. These attempts should not be taken seriously because in 1962 Xiong was for ideological reasons obliged to consider the Taiping jing as a pre-Yellow Turban text; see Yoshioka, "Tonkoben Taibeikyō," pp.118-24.

14 Takahashi Tadahiko, "Taibei Kyō no shishō kōzō" [The system of thought in the Taiping jing], Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō 95 (1984): 295-336. For a detailed analysis of the B-chapters see Takahashi Tadahiko, "Taibei Kyō no kaiwata ni seikaku ni tsuite" [On the characteristics of the dialogue-style of the Taiping jing], Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō 105 (1988): 243-81. For a critical appraisal of his work see B. Penny, "A system of fate calculation in Taiping jing." Papers on Far Eastern History 41 (1990): 1-8. For a recent division of the text which closely follows Xiong Deji's guidelines see also Hachiyama Kunio, "Taibei Kyō no oken genji bunshō" [Speech and texts in the Taiping jing], in Tonkō Chigoku Dokyo [Dunhuang and Chinese Daoism], ed. Tsukamoto Zenryo (Tokyo: Daiō Shuppan-sha, 1985), pp.119-35. Petersen ("Han transmission," pt. 2, pp.198 ff.) has produced yet another division which includes parts of the text that have only been transmitted in the abbreviated Taiping jing chao version, and that are consequently not easy to attribute to a particular style; passages on p.330 (in which a student [zi 子] is addressed) and pp.403 ff. (containing the term zhenren 真人) seem to defy the division of Petersen, who allocates them to the Taiping jing chao in spite of their A-text characteristics.

Petersen's underlying hypothesis must be called daring. He contests that the B- and C-texts (though in my opinion the C-texts contain too many disparities to be called a textual stratum) add up to exactly 48 pian, just two pian less than the 50 pian (or rather juan) which the Taiping jing mentioned in Ge Hong's bibliography is said to have contained. Petersen (pp.198 ff.) assumes that as such) 16 surrounded by A-type texts. Chapter 39 (A) consists of an exegesis of the cryptic chapter 38, which can therefore be considered as belonging to the body of A-type texts.

- Chapter 50 is of mixed origin, which is unusual in that most other chapters of the transmitted text seem to belong to one particular textual layer. The introductory sub-Chapter 67 opens with fifteen lines of dialogue which conclude with an admonition by the teacher, lacking the student's answer. The rest of the chapter (divided into sub-chapters 68-77) consists of treatises containing rhetorical questions but no dialogues. 17 The most obvious structural item is the nominalizing particle zhe which is frequently used throughout the chapter to mark the introduction of a new subject. Various subjects (astronomy, acupunture, burials, music, and others) are briefly dealt with in an informative rather than an admonitory and exhortative manner, as opposed to A-texts, which are almost always exhortative.

- Chapter 55 contains one sub-chapter, 82, which is clearly A, while sub-chapter 83 contains no conversational elements. Its terminology does not differ from A.

- Chapter 71 belongs to A, in my opinion. Most dialogues are set up between a teacher called Divine Man (shenren 神人) and a student called True Man (zhenren); the Divine Man is once addressed as shenren tianshi 神人天師. Divine Man Heavenly Master; 18 mention is made of six grades of student 19 which could relate to the 'True Men from the six directions' of the A-texts. The language of the dialogue has more in common with A- than with B-texts. The occurrence of shenren instead of tianshi could be a scriptural error or rather a conscious 'correction' of a later period, in line with the Taiping jing chao, which always renders tianshi as shenren.

- Chapter 108 contains an isolated sub-chapter listing nineteen commandments which is not linked to the subsequent A-type sub-chapters.

- Chapter 116 is poorly transmitted but contains enough conversational elements to define it clearly as A.

Thus, the bulk of the Taiping corpus consists of A-type texts. No attempts have yet been made to divide these texts into different layers. One external factor which could be symptomatic of divisions in the text is the different way the disciples are referred to: 'True Men' in most of the text, as opposed to True Man Shun' in chapters 44, 51, 53 and 65 20 or 'True Men from all six directions' in chapters 65, 72, 86, 88, 21 and interchangeably also 'six True Men' or 'six disciples'. 22 However, such a division cannot be supported by any other criteria; chapters 65, 72, 86 and 88 do not share any other terminological or stylistic peculiarities.

Another coherent body of texts is made up by chapters using wei 惟 as a structural particle and including dialogues between a Heavenly Lord (tianjun), a Great Spirit (dashen) and a student (sheng). Takahashi has attempted to set up dividing lines between dialogue and non-dialogue in the
chapters concerned, which, he says, differ in content but have undergone the same editing because they all contain the character wei as a structural element. Takahashi's attempt is unsatisfactory. He does not argue for the need of such a division but presents his results as a matter of fact, notwithstanding several problems in matters of detail. His analysis of content, useful as it is, has not convinced me of the doctrinal division he proposes. The chapters concerned, which, he says, differ in content but have undergone the same editing because they all contain the character wei as a structural element. Takahashi's attempt is unsatisfactory. He does not argue for the need of such a division but presents his results as a matter of fact, notwithstanding several problems in matters of detail. His analysis of content, useful as it is, has not convinced me of the doctrinal division he proposes. The different layers certainly have doctrinal peculiarities; A-texts, for instance, centre on social problems and B-texts on the role of spirits (shen 神), or alternatively expressed, A-texts centre on the salvation of the community and B-texts on the salvation of the individual. However, in spite of these differences the layers are not yet well enough defined to speculate on their origin or history. There is, in particular, insufficient reason to identify all A-texts with one individual textual source; since A seems to be characteristic of the corpus in general, it is likely that later additions would have used those same stylistic features in order to blend with the main text. There are, in fact, obvious doctrinal contradictions within A, as can be demonstrated even within the scope of this paper.

These assumptions lack proof. It could well be argued that the A-text is, at least in part, older than the rest—a view which the usage of the term tianshi 天師, the socio-political outlook, the radical millenarianism and many other details seem to confirm. See also O. Petersen, "The anti-Messianism of the Taiping jing," *Journal of the Seminar for Buddhist Studies* 3 (1990): 1-36.


See TPJHJ III, chap.50, p.169: "Can my Dao be of use?" (the characters ke yong 可用 are put in place of the two missing characters); p.170: "Now this can change misfortune into happiness and let the people live longer, for what reason?" The received text is divided into ten divisions (indicated in citation by roman numerals), 170 chapters and 366 sub-chapters, all of which seem to be linked to the internal organization of the texts; sub-chapters often deal with one particular conference, introduced by the Heavenly Master who invites the disciples to raise questions, and concluded by the Master's departure; chapters often deal with related subjects and show stylistic uniformity; divisions—at least the earlier ones—show some topical uniformity. There seems to be no reason not to credit the corpus' sixth-century editors with all three levels of division; the Dunhuang list of contents is in this respect almost identical with the received text.

See TPJHJ IV, chap.71, p.287. Sub-chap.107 (p.281) introduces the Heavenly Master as teacher, the phrase 'wei tian ming shi lu shi zhi' 唯天師示之 in the last line of p.281 must be emended to 'wei tian shi ming lu ...' 唯天師明錄. The Tang dynasty 5
The World-View of the Taiping Jing

The importance of the scripture lies in the originality and uniqueness of certain elements of its doctrine. The subject under discussion in this paper can serve as an example of this. However, it seems feasible to start with a brief review of a few general assumptions which the authors of the Taiping Jing shared with many Han dynasty thinkers.

First, there is the general belief in cosmic interaction and a formal system of correspondences which became predominant around the second century BC. According to this belief, there is a universal coherence of all beings and phenomena which is represented by what we might call the order of nature—that is, the astronomical order, the sequence of the four seasons, the division of matter into five phases or elements, and the cosmic division into Yin and Yang. This order can be termed Dao but there are other words as well. It is often seen to be linked to Heaven as its guarantor or administrator and certainly as its symbol, but rarely the second century BC. According to his belief, there is a universal coherence of all beings and phenomena which is represented by what we might call the order of nature—that is, the astronomical order, the sequence of the four seasons, the division of matter into five phases or elements, and the cosmic division into Yin and Yang. This order can be termed Dao but there are other words as well. It is often seen to be linked to Heaven as its guarantor or administrator and certainly as its symbol.

For the purposes of this paper, the rigid ethical consequences this system entails should be kept in mind. If the world is a single coherent body, any human being at any moment carries responsibility for the world in general and must accordingly adjust his activities to certain overriding requirements. There is no way in which this responsibility can be avoided or shifted. Natural events caused by Heaven provided men with constant feedback on whether or not they were successful in their cosmic task. When the weather was not appropriate for the seasons, when astronomical 'irregularities' occurred, when misshapen creatures were born, or when anonymous texts were found in mysterious circumstances, the intellectuals in charge detected messages which they believed the world was rushing and to lay the social foundation
for the age of general peace—taiping. While this expectation of imminent cataclysm was commonplace in early Chinese Daoism, the laying out of the reform programme in the Taiping corpus was an isolated event in the context of socio-political reasoning. The scripture proclaimed itself and those who publicized it to be the main vehicle of these reforms. Texts and men were, so it is stated, sent by Heaven to save mankind.

The programme of reform was deeply moralistic. Personal as well as general social salvation was seen as the outcome of the rigid implementation of a new behavioural code. This code was sanctified by its Heavenly connections. Heaven here was a superhuman, divine entity, concerned for men, happy or unhappy with their conduct, and consequently offering rewards or punishments. It could, however, never be approached like a person, had no individual dislike or sympathy and no individual choice. Heaven’s characteristics were rather imagined to be like those of the astronomer’s sky—that is, bound by natural laws. So when men were said to follow the will of Heaven this did not mean that they followed arbitrary commandments but that they regulated their conduct according to natural requirements. Heaven was a crucial term for the Han dynasty world-view and consequently one could, as is often the case with central concepts, point to various contradictions or at least apparent contradictions in its usage in the Taiping jing.

This world-view is consistent as far as the fate of the world in general is concerned. The world’s decay, which most thinkers took as obvious, was explained as an outcome of men’s moral or spiritual decadence, either through human disobedience against a code of behaviour established by the ancients or neglect of the requirements of nature. From Confucius down to the social critics of the second century of our era and beyond, human aberration from the so-called true course or Dao was usually seen as the reason behind all wars, diseases, bad harvests and other vexations of mankind.

However, this world-view runs into trouble when applied to specific groups or to individuals, in that its basic message—if someone is good he will also be happy—is easily falsified. Various concepts were introduced to deal with this problem. There was, for instance, the concept of an individual’s predetermined fate, according to which the years of life available to a person were decided at birth. Family background, with its assembled good or bad deeds, was also seen to influence the course of an individual’s life. This second idea was taken up in the Taiping corpus of texts and transformed into a theory of the origin and termination of communal and individual evil.
An Explanation of the Term Chengfu

The term *chengfu* is at its explanatory best in dealing with the impact which communal evil exerts on the lives of individuals. *Chengfu* has been rendered in Western languages as ‘original sin’, and it is the only Chinese concept which has ever been a candidate for equalling this Western term. For the purposes of this paper the Chinese term will be used because *chengfu* differs in so many respects from ‘original sin’ that it would be misleading to equate the two.

The word *chengfu* is made up of two characters. The etymological explanation for *cheng* is two hands receiving a token of rank (jie 統). So *cheng* can be rendered as ‘to receive an object with both hands and to hold it’, that is, to carry with one’s hands; this can also be seen as akin to the term *bao* 抱 [to embrace]: to press the object with one’s hands to the chest, which is probably the way it is understood in the *Taipingjing* definition of the term. The character *fu* consists of ‘man’ and ‘shells’, interpreted by Bernhard Karlgren as a man carrying shells around his neck, representing the carrying of loads on the back. When the two characters *cheng* and *fu* occur together in general language (though dictionaries do not list the entry), they mean ‘to carry’.

The *Taipingjing* offers an analysis of the term, put forward in chapter 39 of division III, a conference between the Heavenly Master and the True Men which consists mainly of analyses of characters, presented as glosses to a brief and cryptic ‘Declaration of the Heavenly Master’. The ‘Declaration’ does not mention the term *chengfu* but the Heavenly Master uses it in his explanations. At the end of the conference the True Man inquires after the term, which induces the Heavenly Master to produce the most detailed analysis of it as contained in the received text of the corpus. From the point of view of language the chapter appears coherent, and through its occurrence in this chapter the analysis of *chengfu* is linked with other central doctrinal statements. Chapter 38 which contains the ‘Declaration’ and chapter 39 which explains it are the only instances where the *Taipingjing* presents scriptural exegesis. Max Kaltenmark suggests that at least the Declaration if not the rest of the passage antedates the Daoist movements of the second century AD.

The True Man asks whether the words *cheng* and *fu* in the ‘chengfu theory’ (*chengfu shuo* 承負說) have the same meaning. The preliminary definition is that *cheng* refers to ‘before’ and *fu* to ‘after’. According to the subsequent explanation, *cheng* is the original action of the ancestors (xianren 先人) who first received (*cheng*) the will of Heaven (tianxin 天心) and then slowly lost it, while *fu* is the secondary action by which they put the load on the backs of their descendents. This explanation lacks precision. This may, of course, be due to the Western reader’s limited understanding but it may also be due to the text’s clumsy and inexpert mode of expression.
As if to make up for this lack of expertise the text goes directly from its unsatisfactory attempt at a neat definition of the two characters into an explanation of the doctrine of chengfu: “Fu: the various catastrophies do not go back to the government of the One Man (yiren 一人) but to a successive lack of balance (bu ping 不平).” Those who live before put a load on the back of those who come later. This is why it is called fu (to carry a load on the back). This is followed by yet another attempt: “Fu means that the ancestors put a load (fu) on their descendents.” Various attempts to give an explanation are lined up one after the other. This is a good example of the principle which frequently governs the composition of the scripture. Its verbosity is not accidental but intended by its authors. The modern text contains the clear dictum that the longer the text the better, because through its length, it improves its chances of containing some truths. The disciples are depicted as if they were under an obligation to jot down every single word uttered by the Master and the texts of the Taiping corpus often appear to be the result of their efforts. The editing, we must conclude, was done with admirable respect for the original language. Otherwise the sixth-century editors would have reduced the text’s oddities and produced a version closer to the smooth Tang dynasty Taiping jing chao than to the received text.

From the way the two verbs are used it seems that they can both function transitively, followed by an object as, for instance, in the following: “In outgoing antiquity they carried and passed on the negligence of middle antiquity.” The expression gengxiang 更相 [each other] is often added to signify the action of continuous transmission; for instance, “Emperors and kings received from each other and passed on to each other (gengxiang chengfu) misery and bitterness.” The form gengxiang chengfu occurs also in what we might call a passive mode: “All sorts of harmful influences (qi 氣 [vapours]) were aroused and could not be kept under control; neither formerly nor latterly were they put into order; they were received and passed on from one to the other (gengxiang chengfu).” The object of reception and transmission is always evil and consists either of evil deeds and customs or of the misery resulting from them.

Its usage, though, is rarely that of two verbs functioning as a sentence’s predicate, but rather that of a noun, clarified by terms like ‘risk’ (ehui 埋會), ‘calamity’ (zai 災厄), or ‘punishment’ (ze 罰), to which it would be linked as a nominal attribute is linked to another noun, as in chengfu zhi zai 承負之災. This phrase resembles an expression like tian zhi dao 天之道 ‘the dao of Heaven’, or tian zhi fa 天之法 ‘the law of Heaven’, where the term tian alone would suffice, from a formal point of view, but where dao or fa function to specify the meaning of tian and help to lead the reader or listener quickly in the appropriate direction. The same applies to chengfu when chengfu is distinguished as a ‘calamity’ or a ‘punishment’ the reader is guided away from the process of transmission to its outcome. The term can, however, have this meaning without any adjuncts. So Ofuchi Ninji assumed...
51 See TPJH VI, chap.96, p.420 (A).  
52 Ibid., p.427 (A).  
53 Ibid., III, chap.48, p.155 (A).  

BARBARA HENDRISCHKE that the term means 'load', made up of cheng, which would be the load received from ancestors, and fu, which would be the load handed on to posterity.  
50 Although I am convinced by the passages cited above that the term is basically verbal and that it retains this quality throughout its use, its function often appears to be ambiguous, as in the sentence: "They caused great confusion and disorder for the Dao of heaven and earth and thereby created the calamity of receiving and transmitting," (or perhaps "...calamities which were received and transmitted").  
51 When the term is used separately it often reads like an abbreviation of chengfu zhi zai 'the calamity of receiving and transmitting' as in the expression chengfu zhi hou 承負之後 in the following sentence: "So after [the calamity of] receiving and transmitting [had begun], the men of outgoing antiquity were entirely without trustworthiness."  
52 For the sake of clarity and brevity I will often leave the Chinese term untranslated instead of being rendered by the appropriate 'calamity of receiving and transmitting'. On the other hand, a full and correct translation would probably have to make use of this or a similarly roundabout phrase, as in the following passage, which states that the Heavenly Master and his listeners all live in the era of chengfu: "Nowadays with chengfu [i.e. the calamity of receiving and transmitting evil] (jin zhe chengfu ... there are many different texts which try to outwit each other..."

Accounts of the Origin of Chengfu

The True Man, that is, the disciple, speaks about a 'doctrine of chengfu' (chengfu shuo). This doctrine is referred to throughout the Taiping texts. However, in the Dunhuang table of contents there are three chapter-titles which contain the term. Only one of these has been transmitted into the modern text, the other two (sub-chapters 38 and 40) are lost except for a fragmentary and abbreviated version of sub-chapter 40 included in the Tang dynasty Taiping jing chao. The Taiping jing chao text introduces the chapter by outlining the purpose of the theory:

Since the beginnings of heaven and earth, unfavourable evil influences have never been eliminated: when they were eliminated they arose again. Why is this? Now, longevity is the most valuable heavenly treasure which is a special gift to the virtuous; it cannot be obtained by pretence. If you want to know something about this treasure: When all the ten-thousand beings of heaven and earth, in all six directions and eight distances, have not a single reason for hidden resentment and are very happy, only then will you gain longevity. If only one single event causes discontent, there will be harm, death and utter ruin. In human activities there are some who work hard to do good and yet the results are evil. Others work hard to do evil but the results are good. This is not because those who claim themselves worthy speak not the truth. When someone strives to be good but evil results, this is because he receives and transmits the mistakes men have formerly made [or, 'the mistakes of his ancestors (xianren)']...
In this passage the opinion that evil which cannot be otherwise explained is due to past mistakes or trespasses is clearly expressed. This has two consequences of which the listener is frequently reminded. The first is that the current generation is relieved of all responsibility for causing the misery it suffers; all blame is laid at the feet of previous generations and no one should blame his contemporaries for the misery he suffers because the reasons lie in the past. The second is that all demands on individual behaviour are endowed with a pressing social obligation, in that individual evil behaviour will increase the load of misery transmitted to later generations.

Thus, the term is brought up whenever the behavioural code proclaimed by the Heavenly Master needs to be given additional authority. Any aberrations from the proper behaviour as laid out in the Heavenly Master's text will, it is proclaimed, lead to chengfu. Such aberrations date back into previous historical eras, and they are seen to have occurred because the correct doctrine or the correct code were not yet available.56 Most central points of the Taiping jings moral code are explicitly linked to chengfu, for instance the interdiction of female infanticide: if not stopped this is bound to lead to an offence against the Way of Heaven.57 There is a great sense of urgency in these warnings: after the Heavenly Master's code has been made public mankind has no excuse not to mend its ways.

Chengfu is also seen to result from the interruption of communication between man and Heaven. When unusual events, which can disclose Heaven's dissatisfaction with human endeavours, are not made known to the political authorities, Heaven is 'angry' (nu 天怒), and chengfu results.58 The 'anger' or 'distress of Heaven' (tian bing 天病) is often introduced as the explanatory link between certain human actions and the resulting chengfu.59 Heaven in its 'anger', however, has no individual traits but functions reliably as if guided by natural law, in spite of the anthropomorphic emotions attributed to it.

The proper employment of men is another tenet in the Taiping jings code of action sanctified by its link with chengfu. It is said that chengfu will arise when men are given work of which they are not capable, when they are presented with tasks which are too demanding, or when they turn away from their training and indulge in intrigues.60

Thus, the main reason for the origin of chengfu is moral. There is, however, another reason which we might call psychological. Men create chengfu not only by offensive action but also by their hostile or resentful attitude. The text gives one example of this when it explains how infanticide causes chengfu: The strong resentment felt by women against being despised and maltreated is supposed to be the final cause for the reception and transmission of evil.61 Unlike the emotions of Heaven, this link is not just explanatory but also functional, as can be seen from the following highly political instance: when the ruling government is blamed for calamities, which are in fact the outcome of chengfu (that is, the outcome of the misbehaviour of previous rulers and of their people),
this false accusation will in turn increase chengfu. Of course the application of the penal code is also of concern as it would necessarily lead to resentment and accusations. One way to avoid an increase in chengfu is to keep the 'great balance' (taiping) in mind and not to make use of the penal code. The term for men's resentment of unfair and unjust treatment is yuanjie, which was first used in the Chuci 楚辭 to describe an undefined sadness in a woman. The two characters are used several times in Xiang Kai's memorial to prove how dangerous it is to apply punishments.

Throughout the Taiping jing resentment is depicted as a major cosmic force which can cause Heaven to issue calamities. When punishments are few and the people enlightened and aware of evils being inherited and not necessarily created by their contemporaries, this resentment will subside. Another psychological aspect of chengfu is social disagreement: when ruler, officials and the people are not of the same opinion this also causes the transmission of evil. This seems to be a rare attempt to theorize on the psychological aspect of government which on a practical level had been of great concern to Chinese thinkers.

Exactly when chengfu originated is not given much serious consideration. It lies somewhere in the past. The authors never pay much attention to historical detail. Their only concern is the broad prophetic tendency which is the impetus behind their missionary appeal. This neglect of the historical— as opposed to a concern for nature—makes it possible for three different dates to be posited for the disastrous start of chengfu:

1. **Chengfu** is as old as heaven and earth: "From the division between heaven and earth, the distress of chengfu. . . ." The phrases 'for thirty thousand years' or 'for ten-thousand times ten-thousand generations' point to a similarly long time-span.

2. **Chengfu** is a phenomenon of outgoing 'lower' antiquity, that is, of a period which borders on the lifetimes of the Heavenly Master and his listeners. Intellectual confusion and social disintegration are depicted as its main characteristics.

3. **Chengfu** is older than outgoing antiquity, but no other date is given: "The causes from which this stems lie in the distant past and are not only the mistakes made by men of the later generations of our present (jin今) outgoing antiquity, but were received and transmitted from one to the other." Positions 1 and 2 can appear in one and the same passage. Position 1 suggests that all human errors are somehow transmitted from the time of mankind's origins; position 2 points to the disastrous consequences of this transmission, which became manifest only at a later stage. The term chengfu is obviously broad enough to include the covert early transmission as well as its later consequences.

There is, however, a great difference between the two positions when it comes to the interpretation of history. According to position 1, historical
The concept of inherited evil in the Taiping jing

development was evil from the start and led to continuously accumulating misery and suffering, while position 2 sanctifies antiquity\(^7^6\) as a period where evil was only minor and did not manifest itself. The anti-traditional position 1 does not leave room for any true golden age in the past to which mankind could return. Judging by the number of times it occurs, this is the dominant position in the corpus and is compatible with the great interest in the recent past which is frequently expressed in the \textit{Taiping jing}. The text mentions, for instance, that in collecting and editing manuscripts the products of more recent authors should not be neglected.\(^7^7\) The texts never cite historical precedents to defend articles of their doctrine and they depict the Heavenly Master and his disciples as pioneers and not as reincarnations or followers of a saint from distant antiquity.

This opinion is squarely opposed to that of Kamitsuka Yoshiko, who sees the return to an ideal past which it is imagined occurred before the outbreak of \textit{chengfu} as the aim of the \textit{Taiping} texts.\(^7^8\) Unfortunately she does not comment on the phrase “From the division of heaven and earth, (evil) was received and transmitted . . .,” which occurs frequently throughout the text.\(^7^9\) Kamitsuka’s main argument is based on the text’s flowery description of ancient antiquity as a period when men were without concerns. I would read some of the passages she cites in a slightly different manner, but considering the fact that hardly any arguments can be found in Han dynasty texts which would run counter to the dominant belief in a long-lost Golden Age, we cannot expect the \textit{Taiping} texts to be in open disagreement with it. However,
the texts do seem to contain some slight modifications of the golden past, as in the following passage cited by Kamitsuka: “Now concerning the men of high antiquity, each one knew the true doctrine (daoj) and there was only little evil influence (xieqi 東氣).” What is remarkable in this passage is not the first part, which reflects the common belief, but the second part which mentions that evil occurred even in high antiquity. The same passage continues with the following sentences: “But when the influence of Tai ping arrives evil will of necessity spontaneously vanish. Now, from the origin of heaven and earth onwards evil influences have become very great and have been received and transmitted from one generation to the next. So even if the influence of a government of Tai ping arrived, how should it all of a sudden subdue all this?” From this it seems clear that the problem faced nowadays is more complex than can be mended by a simple return to the past. Other passages cited by Kamitsuka seem to pose similar problems. There is, for instance, the long passage on the virtues of high antiquity and the vicissitudes of the recent past (xiagu 下古 [outgoing antiquity]) which includes the sentence: “But now I speak on behalf of Heaven in order to abolish the load which was transmitted and received since the division of heaven and earth.” Some passages cited by Kamitsuka refer to history as a process of deterioration, manifest, for instance, in the increasing relevance of the criminal code more than in the existence of a golden age before this deterioration began. There are instances, however, where the past is depicted as truly golden, but (to return to Kamitsuaka’s argument) these are not mentioned in connection with the reception and transmission of evil.

Everyone on earth suffers from chengfu. Heaven and earth, emperors and kings, the hundred families and all animals and plants are mentioned as victims. But it is caused only by men, although the resulting damage may appear to have been sent by heaven or earth. Who exactly causes it? Three groups are mentioned: the ancestors, mankind; and emperors, kings and administrators.

Not many passages in the corpus definitely link chengfu with intra-family transmission. In the first instance it is mentioned in warnings against doing evil: “The children will receive and transmit (heguo chengfu 何過承負) the misdeeds of their parents in excess and will sometimes be called children of thieves and of robbers or meet with their own ruin.” The text of this passage is difficult: be should be understood as be 布 [to carry], while chengfu functions as a gloss to heguo and is here to be considered superfluous, although I see a particular problem in emending the words of a text which is characterized by a careless use of language. There is, moreover, the context of the chapter which clearly links the misdeeds of a person with the evil fortune of his sons and grandsons.

In the second instance the text deals with the results of chengfu in the individual and sees them as being connected with the behaviour of the ancestors. The passage follows directly a paragraph cited earlier: “When a
person strives to be good but things turn out evil, this is because he receives and transmits the mistakes of the ancestors, and calamities of former and of later times will band together to hurt him. When a person does evil but things turn out well, this is because of the great merit which the ancestors assiduously assembled and which reaches out to him. There are some men who from an early age do good but cannot take the calamity of receiving and transmitting the evils which were continuously committed by their ancestors and shut it away. They will be cut short in the prime of life without offspring, which is a great cause for pity.  

These passages are not transmitted in the received text but only in the *Taiping jing chao*, that is, in the Tang dynasty condensed version of the *Taiping jing*, of which nine-tenths of the original text have come down to us and which therefore covers many parts of the *Taiping jing* which are not preserved in the received text. Reliable as this version usually seems to be as far as information on the subject under discussion or on the main thesis is concerned, it is often difficult to construct the line of argument from the condensed version because necessary links may have been omitted. There are several reasons: the *Taiping jing chao* contains hardly any conversational elements, even when conversation forms the structure of the argument; difficult or clumsy passages are omitted or unreliably corrected for the sake of stylistic smoothness; the term ‘Heavenly Master’ is omitted or occasionally substituted by ‘Divine Man’ (*shenren*), so that it is difficult to determine to which stylistic group the respective *Taiping jing* passage belongs; the *Taiping jing* text from which the *Taiping jing chao* was compiled might have been incomplete, judging by the fact that *Taiping jing* citations from extant parts of the *Taiping jing* are more comprehensive than from non-extant parts.  

The passage cited above seems to stem from the A- or B-part of the *Taiping jing* text, because a direct speaker is referred to a few passages later in the same division of the text.  

The precise meaning of the term *xianren* [ancestors] in this passage is unclear. The term is usually more closely defined when it refers to the ancestors of an individual or of a particular family. But even without such specification there are reasons to suppose that the passage deals with intra-family tradition. One reason for this is the contrast established between the transmission of evil, for which the term *chengfu* is applicable, and the transmission of merit. This contrast has no parallel elsewhere in the *Taiping jing* but the assumption that merit is handed from one generation of a family to the next is often put forward in ancient Chinese texts. The *Taiping jing* is, moreover, quite in line with general attitudes when it states that this type of inheritance continues and grows over five generations and then, we must assume, begins to diminish, so that after ten generations one small cycle is complete and a new one begins. E. Zürcher has collected material from early Daoist sources which shows that this belief in family legacy was common in early Daoism.
The assumption of a cycle of ten generations (following the Shuowen explanation one generation was considered to last for 30 years) is upheld by another assumption of three separate cycles of *chengfu*: one of 30,000 years of life (sui 岁) for emperors and kings, another of 3,000 years for officials (zhen 臣) and finally a last cycle of 300 years for the people (min 民), which would equal the cycle of ten generations mentioned above: "They all receive and transmit, one lies prostrate and the other rises without interruption, in accordance with failure and success in government."

The transmission of evil is particularly obvious when a foetus dies before or at birth. "In complete innocence (wu gu 無辜) he receives and transmits the mistakes of his ancestors." The assumption of three separate cycles in this passage signifies that even here the term *chengfu* is supposed to refer not only to transmission within the family but also to transmission beyond the family. While the figure of 300 represents the duration of a family legacy of personal merit or misconduct, the larger figures can only relate to general historical development. In any case, the evil received and transmitted by emperors and rulers is not their personal problem but becomes manifest in the suffering of their population. Therefore it is often considered to be the main aim of the *Taiping* mission to abolish the evil inheritance of those who govern. According to the missionary plan of action the disciples will, once they have found a ruler who can be trusted, work to rescue him from *chengfu*. The assumption of a special third cycle for the official is irrelevant to the course of the argument. Here the need for structural completeness seems to surpass the concern for meaningful detail. The *Taiping jing* contains several three-point lists which include one superfluous point to achieve the full trinity. Just to have mentioned two points, that is, the ruler and the people, could have been understood as a contraposition—which had not been intended.
The following passage adds some interesting points to the question of whether evil is transmitted within a family or by mankind in general. The subject under discussion is the evil created by digging wells, which is said to injure the earth and upset the order of nature. The disciple raises the question of why men who do not dig wells because they live next to running water can nevertheless suffer a premature death. The answer: "This is because heaven and earth are angry and this anger reaches out to a particular group having joint responsibility (wu 彤) who will jointly receive and transmit, just as the mistakes of one (nuclear) family (jia 家) will reach out to its elder and younger brothers (as established in the legal code)." Here the joint responsibility of a family is introduced to explain the joint responsibility of a wu group, but even the wu cannot be taken literally as a five-family group (which might in reality consist of river-bank dwellers only) but must be seen as an image for a much larger group of people sharing the evil results of each others' doings. The passage illustrates the trans-family relevance of the term.

When no particular agent who receives or transmits evil is mentioned we may assume that the population in general is in the grips of chengfu, actively by evil-doing as well as passively through suffering from natural disasters, starvation and sickness. Since it is the common man who transmits evil, the calamities and disasters which harass the population cannot be blamed on the ruler. This point is made with pertinacious emphasis: it is mistaken to believe that the ruler alone is responsible for chengfu: "Now if a government fails to achieve harmony this is not only the fault of the heaven, the earth and the ruler; the responsibility can be attributed to the misdeeds which are committed by each member of the population (bai xing 百姓). They receive and transmit faults from one to the other, thereby making them even greater."

Emperors and kings are also mentioned as the creators, receivers and transmitters of evil, that is, as the agents of chengfu. This does not seem to be linked to their personal way of life but merely to their official function and must be seen as an expression of their token responsibility for the development of society in general.

**The Termination of Chengfu**

The ending of the process of receiving and transmitting an ever-increasing burden of evil is dealt with less specifically than its beginning. The termination of chengfu is, as Kamitsuka correctly puts it, linked to the size of the burden. The term chengfu zhi ji 承負之極 is introduced to define the climax of chengfu. When this stage is reached the 'major disaster' (da xiong 大凶) is bound to occur which will cause the end of all men, irrespective of their moral qualities. At this point the mission of the Heavenly Master is put in train, which will, with the help of its texts, bring...
The san tong, that is, the ‘three sequences’ (or ‘reigns’, ‘cycles’) of heaven, earth and man, are a basic concept of Han cosmology (cf. Tjan Tjoe Som, Po Hu T'ung [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1949], p.549, or W. Eberhard, “Beiträge zur kosmologischen Spekulation Chinas in der Han-Zeit” (1933), repr. in W. Eberhard, *Sternkunde und Weltbild im alten China* (Taipei: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center, 1970), pp.11-110, at 79) and are referred to frequently in the Taiping texts, eg. *TPFH*, chap.92, p.373 (A) or chap.119, p.681 (A), in a general cosmological sense without specific recourse to its calendrical function.  

She cites several instances of the occurrence of similar speculation in the *Taiping* texts, eg. *TPFH*, chap.92, p.373 (A) or more precisely, she cites passages in the texts which refer to cycles—the yearly cycle of nature, the cycle of family lineage, the human life cycle, and also smaller and larger calendrical cycles. There is also the term ‘primordial beginning’ from which all cycles are supposed to have started and there is the notion that a new big cycle is now about to begin. The *Taiping* texts, however, are generally vague on the length and on the classification of the various cycles. The term chengfu does not occur in the context of these cosmological cycles, while the cycles mentioned for chengfu use different figures, the largest being said to last for 30,000 years. Nevertheless it would seem that Kamitsuka is right to suggest that the ‘high-point of chengfu’ can be seen to coincide with the end of a cosmological cycle and consequently the beginning of a new one.

As opposed to Kamitsuka, Petersen argues from the assumption that the same chapter 92 (A) which is at the basis of Kamitsuka’s account is mainly a critique of the cyclical theory of disasters. Petersen claims that the numerologically-based theory of cyclical development is presented in chapter 92 (as elsewhere in the A-body of texts) as a doctrine to be refuted, or at least to be refuted in some essential details. The most important of these details is the proposed automatic structure of change implied in any cyclical theory. The *Taiping* texts are little concerned with the necessity or automatic arrival of a new cycle but deal at length with human preparations for its arrival; there is a moral and practical rather than a cosmological bias. The argument is that even with a new cycle ahead changes will only take place through social and moral reform. The logical contradiction this entails did not escape the disciple. He questions the Master at one point as to how a small moral transgression can make much difference, now that the arrival of the impact of taiping is imminent. The Master replies in fury that such a small transgression will make all the difference. This way of thinking is in line with the *Taiping jing*’s explanation of eclipses of the sun and the moon, which are said to be completely man-made and necessitated only by moral causes.

To abolish chengfu is described as part-and-parcel of the general success of the missionary movement set in motion by the Heavenly Master, which contains various practical measures: the distribution of texts, the education and training of disciples, and finally the disciples’ contact with leading political figures. Once this contact has been established the disciples are expected to press for socio-political reforms in line with the programme developed in the *Taiping jing* : the structuring of political transparency and communication, environmental protection, an increase in the birthrate, and
the general protection and creation of life. In implementing this programme
the ruler should follow 'the Heavenly scripture' and if he is successful in
terminating chengfu this will, in turn, prove the scripture right.119 So
the termination of evil is seen to be linked to the use of 'phrases',120 'texts'121
or 'the Heavenly scripture';122 it is never depicted as an isolated event but as
concomitant with the arrival of the influence (qi) of 'general peace' (taiping),123
which above all else will bring about a state of harmony and order.
To terminate chengfu is the task of the disciples of the Master, but men
of other categories are also mentioned. According to a rather cryptic passage
there are nine grades of men charged with bringing
the transmission of the calamities from ten-thousand generations of previous
kings. These nine grades encompass the whole of society, from the divine,
spirit-like man at the top who feeds on nothing but breath (qi), to the serf
at the bottom.124
From the above it is clear that the termination of evil is a communal
affair. The disciples will obtain salvation for the community as a whole if the
community follows the moral code of the Heavenly Master. There is only one
instance in the A body of texts where the termination of chengfu is seen from
a different angle. The text is difficult and may be ambiguous. One possible
interpretation is contained in the following Taipingjing chao version of the
text: "If you wish to abolish the punishment of chengfu there is nothing better
than to guard the One (shouyi). When you continue to guard the One, Heaven
will have pity on you." 'Guarding the One' is a method of meditation which
is elaborated upon in the Taipingjing and also occurs in the Baopuzi.125 The
abolition of evil can reasonably be linked to meditation only on the assumption
that salvation from evil is a personal matter sought by individuals for their
own sake. The transmitted text contains no other passages which link the two
terms.
In another passage of the Taiping corpus, where the many advantages of
guarding the One are depicted, chengfu is not mentioned as being influenced
by shouyi although the term shouyi occurs in the passage.126
It seems me that the contradiction between abolishing chengfu by
meditation on the one hand and by missionary activity and moral righteous
ness on the other is pronounced enough to signify basic textual divisions. The
term shouyi refers to a full and central Daoist tradition, which I would briefly
like to describe because the term, together with taiping (whose background
in Han philosophy is well established127) and chengfu, can be said to be a characteristic concept of the Taiping corpus. There is some external evidence for the
fact that the term was of particular importance to the Taiping movement:

Figure 4
The "Abode of the Void," introduced in Taipingjing VII,
chap. 103 (C) as the place from which the Daoist sets out on his
spiritual journey
One possible arrangement of the colours envisaged in guarding the One (from VII, chap. 103 CD), where the spectrum ranges from red to blue-green. This differs slightly from the spectrum containing red, white and blue-green mentioned on p.21.

/he will transcend the world. See also ibid., p.410, where the Celestial Master says that “his text” (wo wen 吾文), which is in agreement with texts on shouyi, will abolish chengfu. However, this does not mean that shouyi is seen as instrumental in abolishing chengfu.

129 See Hou Hanshu, 30B, p.1082.
130 TPfH] VI, chap.96, p.410 (A).
131 Ibid., chap.92, p.369 (A) (zi zhi shouyi, wanshi bi 子知守一萬事畢), cf. the similar wording in the Taiping jing shengjun mizbi, TPfH], p.740: “the affairs will be completed of their own accord,” and Kohn, “Guarding the One,” p.131, who cites the saying in the more impressive form given by Zhuangzi 29 and elsewhere: Zbi shouyi, wanshi bi.
132 See TPfH], chap.37, p.60 (A), from a TPfJ citation not transmitted in the received text.
133 Cf. Kohn, “Guarding the One,” pp.127 ff., for a collection of material on the term yi which is useful, although structured by rather haphazard criteria and based on dubious data (for instance, p.127: “According to the Taiping jing… of the second century AD”) with little sense of historical sequence.
134 See TPfJ citation, TPfH], p.728.
135 TPfH] III, chap.37, p.60 (A).
136 See ibid., chap.39, p.64 (A); this is an attempted explanation of the use of the character yi ‘one’ in the cryptic “Declaration” TPfH] III, chap.38, p.62; cf. the paraphrase by Kaltenmark, “Ideology,” p.39.

firstly, in commenting on the Laozi term *baoyi* 抱—[to embrace the One] the Xiang’er uses the term shouyi as a translation,128 and secondly, the term occurs in Xiang Kai’s memorial as a description of the Buddha’s frame of mind.129 The Taipingjing explicitly states that the term shouyi is central to its doctrine: “If there is disbelief in my text you should give evidence in your teachings that it is in agreement with the old as well as the modern texts on shouyi. On comparison these texts will provide proof for one another.”130 A great promise is linked to performing the guarding of the One, in the Taiping corpus as well as in many previous and later Daoist writings: “If you know about the guarding of the One, all ten-thousand affairs will reach their fruition.”131

The interpretation of the term shouyi is obviously linked to the wide variety of meanings of yi, the One. To go back to the Taipingjing chao passage cited above: “… when you continue to guard the One, Heaven will have pity on you. The One is the rule of Heaven and the root of all ten-thousand beings. If you keep thinking of their root, you will be floating towards their branches.”132 The cosmological position of the term was well presented in pre-Han philosophical texts.133 The following Taipingjing passage points to the high cosmological ranking of the One, using the three-in-one structure which often marks the concept of coming into being: “The three vapours combined in one are the spiritual root. One is the corporeal essence (jing 精), another one is spirit, the third one is vapour: these three combined in one position (yi 位) are the basic vapour of heaven, earth and men.”134

However, the Taipingjing rarely uses the term yi on its own. Definitions of the term are commonly linked to its function of ‘being guarded’, as, for instance, in the following passage: “Why should you guard the One in your thoughts? One is the first of all numbers, One is the Dao of life, from the One the primordial vapour arises, One is the mainstay of Heaven.”135 So the term ‘One’ is to be understood by its function: “Concerning the One, the doctrine put forward here must start exactly from the guarding of the One: when the guarding of the One is not set aside, a man will daily become more illumined.”136 The same emphasis on the functional relevance of the One is manifest in the Baopuzi passage which most scholars have turned to in order to explain the term shouyi;137 Ge Hong states that to guard the ‘Mysterious One’ (xuanyi 玄一) will enable the disciple to divide himself into different personages, while the more difficult method of preserving the ‘True One’, (zhenyi 真一) will afford him protection against all harmful influences; and the text gives a list of the respective techniques required for guarding the different aspects of the One.

Transplanted into the realm of physiological techniques the life-giving impact of the One manifests itself in longevity practices. “The essential
teachings (dao) in former times as well as today all say that by guarding the One you can exist for a long time without getting old. When a man knows how to guard the One this is called the Dao without limit (wuji zhi dao 無極之道). Man has one body which must be united with corporeal essences and spirit. The external figure presides over death; corporeal essences and spirit preside over life. When they depart, unhappiness prevails. Without corporeal essences and spirit they depart, dissolve and cannot be collected in your body but are caused to travel about following man's thoughts. Therefore the wise man will teach this guarding of the One which means that you should guard the one body. . . . To guard the One is truly to unite into One. Corporeal essences and spirit are all sufficient when man is alive. When he guards them so that they will not dissolve he can then transcend this world, become father and mother of a good people, meet with the ruler of Great Peace, and be beloved by all deities. 138

The method described so far amounts to a quietist style of life. But this was not the full sense of shouyi and it is not clear whether the specific religious meaning of the term, that is, a certain type of meditation, was also implied in the passages cited above. There is only one Taipingjing passage, transmitted in the Taipingjing chao, where the meditation practice of shouyi is described. It consists of colour-visualizing, starting with red, turning to white and later to green until it becomes pervasive and fills one's interior with light which shines like the sun. 139

There can be no doubt that shouyi was an integral part of the Taiping texts. It was so basic that it underwent the same rigidly formalistic process of relativization which is so typical of many arguments in the Taipingjing: distinctions were set up between the guarding of the One by a great, a medium and a small man140 or by a great, medium and small worthy. 141 There is also the ordering from one to five, which seems to document how the authors fell into the trap laid by their own system of correspondences in that this usage of shouyi would appear not to conform with the established meaning of the term: he who preserves the One will, it is asserted, have Heavenly deities at his side; if the two, it is those of the earth; if he preserves the three he will be helped by human demons; and if he preserves the four or five he will only have the protection issued by various beings which will bring nothing but unhappiness. 142

Concerning the history of the term, 143 it must be remembered that it became very prominent in Maoshan Daoism, so we must expect the editors of the sixth-century text to have taken great interest in it. Unfortunately, the passages focusing on shouyi are all transmitted in Taipingjingchao citations only and are therefore difficult to identify with textual layers. The increasing prominence of the term in the sense of a meditation technique in the Daoist as well as in the Buddhist tradition144 could serve as a clue to explain why


138 See TPJC citation, TPJH, p.716. The passage contains elements of dialogue, but no specific A-elements. The promise of transcendence (du shi 度世) has parallels elsewhere (e.g. TPJH, chap.90, p.342 [A]).

139 See TPJH in TPJH, pp.15 ff. as analysed by Kaltenmark, "Ideology," p.42, and Kohn, "Taoist meditation," p.41. The term occurs frequently in the Taipingjing shengjun mizhi, a short independent text which might, however, be of a similar date to the TPJC, dealing only with a few topics, prominent among them the term shouyi. Since biographical sources mention that the TPJC author Luqiu Fangyuan took great interest in this term, it has been suggested (TPJH, Preface by Wang Ming, p.16) that he wrote the Mizhi. The Taipingjing proper gives scarcely any details on how shouyi can be achieved, while in the Taipingjingshengjun mizhi there are detailed descriptions of the 'method' (fa ye) of shouyi. The method is preconditioned by a quietist style of life (non-concern about wealth or poverty [p.742]; non-activity [p.741]) and a great concern for the internal world of one's body, where all deities are kept in a cooperative mood (p.742) by the method of shouyi: "The method of guarding the One keeps all deities in charge, is the root of man's goodness, is the means to drive away unhappiness and the gate to reach happiness. To guard the One is to be master over the holy vessel (an image for all under Heaven, see Laozi 29)" (p.742).

On shouyi meditation the Mizhi says: "The method of guarding the light of the One: Shut the doors to all four directions with complete illumination in your belly. This is the light of the great harmony (usually the term for the harmony between Yin and Yang) and the doctrine of great obedience (to nature or Heaven)" (TPJH, p.740).

140 See TPJH VI, chap.96, p.410 (A).

141 Ibid., p.412 (A).

142 TPJH, p.13 (from the TPJC).

143 Tang Yongtong (in, e.g., Han Wei Liang Jin Nanbei chao Fojiao shi [The history of Buddhism during the Han, Wei, the two Jin, and the Southern and Northern dynasties], 2 vols [reprint ed., Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1983], 2: 77 ff.) assumed that the term /over
/originated with Buddhism, which Raô Zongyi (Laozi Xiang'er, p.65) attempted to refute by demonstrating the roots of the term in the Laozistand in the Zhuangzi (Harvard-Yenching Concordance, 27, 11, 39). Tang's assumption also disagrees with Zürcher's general finding concerning early Daoist loans that Daoism was not prone to borrow in fields where it had developed insights of its own ("Early Taoism," p.142), as it certainly had in the field of shouyi, or meditation practices. Yoshioka, "Shitsu shintō," p.497, points out that some of the practices mentioned in the Mizhi (see TPJV, p.740) are in fact the 'contemplation of the wall' (bi guan 石觀), for which Bo He 何和 became famous (cf. his Shenxian zhuán biography, chap.7). Yoshioka, however, does not draw attention to the possible historical relevance of his argument: Bo He was one of the founders of the Daoist religion with an influential school of his own (cf. Chen Guofu, Daozang yuanshù luo [Examination of the origins of the Daoist Canon] (reprint ed., Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1963), pp.71 ff.) whose links with the Taiping qingling shu are an established fact of hagiography in that he was said to have been teacher to Gan Ji (cf. two citations from two lost Shenxian zhuán biographies of Gan Ji [personal communication of B. Penny] in the Sandong zhunang, chap.1, pp.7a ff. [K. Schipper, Concordance du Tao-tsong (Paris: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1975), no.780]) and in the Xianyuan bianzhu B:13b [Schipper, Concordance, no.330], the supposed author of the Taiping qingling shu. The term was taken up by Ge Hong (cf. Baopuzi, Neibu, chap.18) and it did play an important role in Tao Hongjing's school of Daoism; Yoshioka, "Shitsu shintō," p.500 convincingly suggests its occurrence in the Taiping jing that might have been one of the stimuli for the re-edition of the text by Tao Hongjing's disciples.

Disregarding the above-mentioned A-passage linking the termination of chengfu to meditation, the A-type Taiping texts use the term overwhelmingly to point to communal salvation from evil. However, in the B-texts chengfu is used to point to an individual's afflictions, to the evil endangering his own life and after-life. An adept is depicted who has spent years practising Daoist techniques and moral behaviour, for instance loyalty and piety, and who has now succeeded in obtaining an audience with the Heavenly Lord (tiānjun) to abolish the last remaining difficulties on his way to immortality. The issue of chengfu occurs several times in these talks. The adept has to make sure that this load is taken from him, otherwise he would be permitted neither to complete his full life on earth nor to ascend to Heaven. The proper method used to rid himself of evil is zi ze 自責 [self-accusation], a standard procedure in early religious ritual. The adept is advised to use the same method to rid himself of the evil received and transmitted by his ancestors as he uses it to rid himself of the impact of his own misdeeds. That is, the transmission seems to be an intra-family affair. The Heavenly Lord will then permit the successful believer to join the immortals by issuing a decree to minor deities to free him of his load of chengfu. So the termination of evil is achieved for the individual believer instead of for mankind, and is the work not of human beings but of deities or spirits (shen), which are discussed altogether much more frequently in the B than in the A body of texts. They are said to have been obliged by Heaven to take charge of terminating chengfu. The B body of texts abounds with such descriptions of religio-bureaucratic procedures. Consequently, in B the process of abolishing evil is depicted as a gradual and time-consuming one, quite befitting bureaucratic conduct.

There is not enough textual material to go into more detail concerning the use of the term in B-texts; no information has, for instance, been preserved concerning the time when chengfu originated, or perhaps no such information was ventured in the first place because the term was interpreted as an element of personal history only. The term is used interchangeably with 'evil deeds'; for instance, deities are said to keep an account of chengfu as they do of a man's merits and failures.

**Differences of Meaning in Textual Layers A and B**

Disregarding the above-mentioned A-passage linking the termination of chengfu to meditation, the A-type Taiping texts use the term overwhelmingly to point to communal salvation from evil. However, in the B-texts chengfu is used to point to an individual's afflictions, to the evil endangering his own life and after-life. An adept is depicted who has spent years practising Daoist techniques and moral behaviour, for instance loyalty and piety, and who has now succeeded in obtaining an audience with the Heavenly Lord (tianjun) to abolish the last remaining difficulties on his way to immortality. The issue of chengfu occurs several times in these talks. The adept has to make sure that this load is taken from him, otherwise he would be permitted neither to complete his full life on earth nor to ascend to Heaven. The proper method used to rid himself of evil is zi ze 自責 [self-accusation], a standard procedure in early religious ritual. The adept is advised to use the same method to rid himself of the evil received and transmitted by his ancestors as he uses it to rid himself of the impact of his own misdeeds. That is, the transmission seems to be an intra-family affair. The Heavenly Lord will then permit the successful believer to join the immortals by issuing a decree to minor deities to free him of his load of chengfu. So the termination of evil is achieved for the individual believer instead of for mankind, and is the work not of human beings but of deities or spirits (shen), which are discussed altogether much more frequently in the B than in the A body of texts. They are said to have been obliged by Heaven to take charge of terminating chengfu. The B body of texts abounds with such descriptions of religio-bureaucratic procedures. Consequently, in B the process of abolishing evil is depicted as a gradual and time-consuming one, quite befitting bureaucratic conduct.
From these examples it is clear that there is no single concept of *chengfu* used consistently throughout the *Taiping* texts but that we can recognize an A- and a B-text concept. These two concepts are not on an equal footing. The concept contained in A is clearly original and crucial for the politico-religious doctrine expressed in the A-type texts, while the B-texts' attempt to adjust *chengfu* to individualist aims turns it into a non-specific, rather superfluous term, which does not surpass the notions of evil deeds or evil lineage and could easily be substituted by any of these terms. This alone might suggest that the concept was invented and developed by the A-text authors and only adopted into the B-texts to create a link with the main *Taiping* tradition.

There is only one chapter transmitted in the modern text which deals explicitly with the term *chengfu*. I would like to summarize my description of the way the term is used in the *Taiping* corpus of texts by briefly paraphrasing this chapter. It mentions five instances in the process of receiving and transmitting evil:

1. The first instance deals with the results of *chengfu*. When bad harvests cause the people to starve one might assume that the cause lies with the earth. This assumption is false. Although the damage to the growing plants stems from the earth, the real cause lies with human misbehaviour.\(^{153}\)

2. The second instance deals with the origin of *chengfu*: "Now let us suppose that one master instructs ten disciples, that this master's instructions are false and untrue, and that the ten disciples will each again instruct ten persons; there will already be a hundred men giving false instructions. If one hundred men in their turn each give false instructions to ten men there will be a thousand men giving false instructions."\(^{154}\) False teachings thus accumulating will lead to wicked behaviour and to the establishment of false customs. The speaker concludes that later generations cannot be blamed for the results of these errors.

3. Another sort of error is spread by Nostradamus-type individuals, whose vivid performance causes gossip about imminent disaster to be spread among the population. Such gossip is detrimental to the people's patterns of behaviour and has long-term consequences. This again is the fault of the seer and his naive listeners, not of later generations. Their only fault arises when they wrongly blame their contemporaries for calamities which are in reality caused by earlier generations.\(^{155}\)

4. A huge tree is introduced as a simile for the connection between causes and outcome in the process of *chengfu*. The tree is described as giving shade to everyone beneath its branches. When the tree loses its leaves and branches and deprives men of its protection the fault lies with the roots only and not with the leaves and branches, just as the blame for evil and calamities lies with the ancestors and not with the present generation.\(^{156}\)

5. Diseases are a common result of *chengfu*. When, for instance, the poisonous vapour hidden away in the southern mountains emerges and
It is also in blatant contradiction to the demand for self-accusation put forward in the B-texts of the Taiping jing mentioned above. Chengfu, however, is not the only doctrine which the Taiping corpus expounds to explain how diseases and, in particular, epidemics originate and how they can be stopped. The topic is frequently dealt with in the texts as if it had been of great interest to the listeners concerned. \textsuperscript{158} It is also in blatant contradiction to the demand for self-accusation put forward in the B-texts of the Taiping jing mentioned above. Chengfu, however, is not the only doctrine which the Taiping corpus expounds to explain how diseases and, in particular, epidemics originate and how they can be stopped. The topic is frequently dealt with in the texts as if it had been of great interest to the listeners concerned. \textsuperscript{158} The B-texts mention spirits (shen) as the cause of epidemics. \textsuperscript{159}

Up to this point the use of the term \textit{chengfu} in this chapter follows the same direction as that in the bulk of A-texts: evil and calamities stem from errors committed by men in the past. Mankind suffers from these calamities, irrespective of the individual's personal merit or misconduct. Psychological concern is given special emphasis and men are strictly warned of the cosmic consequences of making false accusations against their contemporaries, which is in line with other A-text passages. However, the complexity of the situation is laid out in unusual detail:

The ignorant know no better than to find fault with the rulers of their time and to make accusations against their contemporaries. So how should they in turn not suffer from even more resentment? The world is completely evil but has no way to learn of it. Even if a single emperor or king had the virtue of ten-thousand
men his faculties would be only what they are. So what could he do? Concerning the ways of men nowadays, how can they find a solution? When food is prepared one wishes to eat; however, the sick come to death unable to eat. How can there be any solution? When in intercourse you reach the climax, you will look forward to having sons and grandsons; you might bring offerings to the deities and beg for happiness but still be unable to have children. How can there be any solution?160

The images used here convey an utter despair which defies the moral or political recipes suggested in other A-texts. Here consolation is destined to be religious and is envisaged in the following stages: men will give up their false accusations and calm down; Heaven will then show pity; it will allow the primordial vapour (which is often credited with the creation of the world) to descend. Men should observe this process by guarding the One (as described above161) in calm meditation without further involvement.

This chapter of the Taiping jing offers a solution for the termination of evil which is at odds with the main line of A-text reasoning. No role is reserved either for any sacred scripture nor for political, moral or administrative solutions. It is also at odds with the solution offered in the B body of texts, in that the divine bureaucracy is not involved and accusations of any sort are seen as counterproductive. This can be taken as just another proof of the fact that the bulk of A-type texts is heterogeneous even in its treatment of leading doctrines.162

The Historical Context of the Concept of Chengfu

Many Taiping jing scholars have not troubled themselves to describe the term chengfu, as they regard it as self-explanatory.163 However, they have given some thought to its historical context.

Kamitsuka has argued convincingly that the concept of chengfu should be understood in relation to the theory of the origin of catastrophies which held much of Chinese intellectual life under its sway during the Han dynasty and after.164 The term certainly stemmed from the same ideological roots and could be termed a modification or, to follow Petersen,165 a criticism of the traditional disaster theory. This critique introduced changes in the social function of the theory. While Dong Zhongshu's or the traditional theory could be referred to in all minor and major instances of political decision-making, the chengfu theory with its general, unspecific explanation for the occurrence of disasters was ill-suited as a tool for routine government but rather befitted a basic moral and religious reform movement. Kamitsuka has also pointed to the fact that the term has a communal as well as an individual aspect, but she failed to link these two diverse aspects to the respective layers of the corpus.

It seems obvious to me that Kamitsuka has pointed to the roots of the term, and in fact to the roots of the Taiping doctrine. Nevertheless, there were

160 Ibid., III, chap.37, p.60 (A).
161 Ibid.
162 There are conflicting, or at least competing, doctrines on a number of issues, for instance on the origin and distribution of texts (originating from the Heavenly Master, from the assembled wisdom of past and present, or from the people), on the origin of wealth and poverty (through individual effort or otherwise), and on the means to prolong life and avoid death.
other influences and these should be analysed in detail. The question has been raised as to whether Buddhist thought had an impact on the formulation of the concept of chengfu. This question has often been narrowed down, perhaps unduly, to the problem of whether the term can be interpreted and understood within the limits of the Chinese tradition only. Koyanagi Shigeta, one of the grand old masters of Japanese Sinology, saw chengfu as being of Chinese origin, taking its place in the tradition of a family unit, and thereby similar to the tradition of family merit and demerit as described in the Yijing. About forty years later this same interpretation was repeated by Takahashi, but without giving Koyanagi due credit for its formulation.

In the People’s Republic the socio-political aspect of the term has received more scholarly attention than its religious aspect. Chen Jing has recently followed this general trend by isolating the text from its religious background and stressing the political aspect of a chengfu-type transmission of evil. He claimed that it was in opposition to previous Chinese or contemporary Buddhist ideas. He saw the term as taking up a discussion of positions put forward in the Yijing and by pre-Han and Han philosophers, in particular as an answer to Wang Chong’s critique of the ancient belief that destiny punishes the evil and rewards the good. By listing well-known cases of virtuous and righteous but nevertheless unfortunate men, Wang Chong had attempted to prove that destiny strikes a person from without regardless of the nature of his own deeds. This outside influence is, if we follow Chen Jing, what the Taiping jing terms chengfu. Tang Yijie argued along similar lines. He pointed to the contrast between the family-centered Chinese theory of retribution and the Buddhist belief in reincarnation. The Chinese theory he called almost scientific because it did not, as he saw it, involve any after-life, a thought which is quite valid in that there is indeed a contradiction between, on the one hand, leaving the evil deeds to future generations of mankind or descendents, and, on the other hand, personally suffering the evil consequences in a subterrestrial after-life.

There are, however, good reasons for constructing some connection between the Daoist and the Buddhist concept, in spite of the fact that karma is supposed to be carried by one and the same person into future existences, while chengfu is handed down to all members of future generations. Tang Yongtong saw a common root in chengfu and karma because they both establish a link of merit or misconduct between one generation and the next. Ofuchi Ninji also saw a Buddhist connection and explained the Daoist term as an attempt to sinicize a problem raised by Buddhist thought.

So in spite of the obvious distance between the two concepts, the fact remains that they both suggest answers to one common human problem: it could well be that the one proposition stimulated the formulation of a concurring proposition concerning the same problem. We should not take it for granted that intellectual influence can become manifest only in loans
and imitations; but it should also be kept in mind that the problem of retribution was a strong point in Buddhist doctrine, as has been pointed out by Erik Zurcher, and that it is reasonable to see Daoist teachings on this topic as a response to Buddhist propositions. Buddhist influence on the discussion of the subject of retribution could well have been pervasive. If one chooses to pursue the legend of a late Han Taipingjing, the chronological and geographical situation of the authors of such a text would have allowed for certain contacts, in that Langye came very early under the influence of Buddhism, as can be seen from the mention of Sakyamuni in Xiang Kai’s memorial of 166 AD.

As opposed to the textual evidence presented by Petersen and in this paper, there has been a broad agreement amongst scholars who mention the term chengfu that the transmission of evil takes place within the family. Tang YiJie explains that evil deeds which were not punished in a person’s lifetime would be transmitted to his own descendents. Takahashi Tadahiko has collected much evidence for the transmission of evil and of merit from ancestors to descendents, because this coincided with his basic argument that the doctrine of the Taipingjing was family-centred. However, he has found only very few instances where this type of tradition was called chengfu. Erik Zurcher has cited several early Daoist scriptures which mention that there is a family legacy of good or evil deeds. This legacy is, according to Zurcher, what is meant

Figure 7
This is an illustration of fu characters, taken from the Daozang edition of the Taipingjing, chap.104, p.1a

Figure 8
Fu characters. See Daozhang edition, chap.104, p.3b
Figure 9
Fu characters.
See Daozang edition, chap. 107, p. 1a. This section is characterized by the preponderance of elements referring to "heaven" (tian 天) and "earth" (di 地 or tu 土).

Among the passages cited by Zürcher (ibid., p. 137), there is one in the Shangqing zi qing junhuang shu zi ling daojun tongfang shangjing (Schipper, Concordance, no.405) which could be seen to convey an idea similar to that of chengfu. It seems confusing to use the specific term chengfu, which occurs only in one particular corpus of texts, to convey an idea which it is only rarely used to convey in these particular texts.


The techniques which were regularly applied by Daoist religious personnel to save believers from the mischievousness of ancestors are not mentioned in the Taiping corpus. For this purpose Daoists had developed methods which invariably included an exchange with the deities in charge through the burning of texts. They must have been abundant in early Daoism. The Taiping corpus does not refer to them, although texts are said to play a crucial role in the termination of chengfu. There is no advice on how to burn them, how to swallow their ashes, or how to put them in any other way to magico-religious use. Instead, the only advice offered is that the correct text should be kept in mind, transmitted, and used as a guide to action. The fact that four chapters of talisman characters are included in the corpus can only be seen as a hint at the rituals of exorcism; although they were included in the corpus without any instructions for their use, their presence in it (if based on any original proximity of material) could in itself suggest that the Taiping missionaries did indeed use techniques of exorcism.

Concerning the term's relation to other Daoist teachings, Mugitani Kunio argued that chengfu, or more precisely the termination of chengfu, was in the tradition of a Daoist belief in salvation which had two divergent aspects. One aspect was manifest in the writings of Ge Hong or Tao Hongjing which promised individual salvation to their literate and upper-class followers. The aims of Kou Qianzhi's New Heavenly Master Daoism were, according to Mugitani, similar, although the organizational methods were replicas of earlier communal rituals. The other aspect was manifest in works like the Xiang'er, the Taiping jing, the Shenzhou jing 神咒经 or the Duren jing 度人经, which aimed in a popular manner at mass salvation. According to Mugitani, both aspects of the salvation doctrine assimilated Buddhist aims and Buddhist religious techniques. Although it is obvious that both aspects occur in Daoist teachings as well, the neat distinction of personages and texts which was proposed by Mugitani in 1977 can probably...
not be sustained. The *Taiping* texts contain both aspects, and judging by the sixth-century preface to these texts, at least some of Tao Hongjing’s followers must have taken a lively interest in the doctrine of mass salvation, in spite of their well-documented obsession with personal salvation. There would also seem to be a problem in Mugitani’s periodization of the different methods of salvation. The recital of texts, which he sees as specific for later salvation doctrines as presented in the *Shenzhou jing* and *Duren jing*, does indeed not occur in the *Taiping jing*, but the possession and memorization of texts is certainly considered to be the most important road to salvation. Furthermore, the figure of the Heavenly Master, in spite of his anti-spectacular, highly respectable and quite traditional conduct, shares some traits with the Messiah figure introduced in the later doctrines.\(^{187}\)

Evaluating the different accounts of the origin and historical role of the term *chengfu*, it seems safe to conclude that there is no reason not to attribute the invention of the term to the authors of the *Taiping* texts. The term is related to several concepts which prevailed in Han-dynasty thought but its usage is limited to the *Taiping* corpus, and no other term conveys the same meaning. The concept provides a link between the individual and a large group of believers, whose religious community is seen as transcending the family and political or geographical groupings. As with all missionary movements of some consequence, the concern of the *Taiping* texts is with mankind as a whole.

It is not within the scope of this paper to deal with the impact the early religious movements had on China’s intellectual history. It is, however, obvious that a concept like *chengfu* could have had a role to play in the discourse of that period of wide-scale restructuring which commenced in the second century AD, when ancient China was on the point of disintegration. By implying that everyone’s misdeeds may be detrimental to everyone else, the concept seems to offer the possibility of transcending social groups while leaving basic moral responsibilities intact. The fact, however, that the term did not play this role and never even managed to enter the central Daoist doctrine shows, in my opinion, that it was on the one hand too radically egalitarian to be acceptable or even discussable and that, on the other hand, it contained too much high-brow speculation and not enough basic religious consolation to endear itself to the common Daoist believer.

**Conclusions**

Does the material introduced in this paper allow any conclusions to be drawn concerning the date and composition of the texts in the *Taiping* corpus? One possible conclusion concerns the general background of the corpus. My understanding of the *chengfu* doctrine supports Yasui Kōzan’s assumption regarding the origin of the text in Chan-Wei circles.\(^{188}\) The *Taiping* A-type texts’ theological and cosmological concerns fit more
Takahashi, “Taiheikyo no shisō kōzō,” p.324 et passim. Takahashi's attempts to give a chronological order to the different types of text (p.328) (in the order B-C-A) are presented without much supportive argumentation and are, as such, as plausible or implausible as any other arrangement.

Barbara Hendrichke
Department of Economic History
University of New South Wales
Kensington NSW 2033 Australia

naturally into this context than into any other, notwithstanding the respective epithets 'Daoist' (for the *Taiping jing*) or 'Confucianist' (for the apocryphal commentaries). These concerns are of importance in most passages dealing with the *chengfu* concept, even though the attitude taken is critical and the theory of automatic response put forward in some prognostic texts is rejected. The A-texts' authors were certainly intellectuals who wanted to influence their contemporaries via the traditional channels of education or intellectual persuasion. They were among the political leadership of their era or they aimed to be among them—otherwise their continuous accusations against those who doubted or felt resentment towards this leadership would have been in vain. The B-text arguments on personal guilt and on salvation by self-accusation seem to be much closer to the real evolution of religious life than the lofty theories of the A-type texts. So the B-text authors could well have come from early Daoist salvation movements. Takahashi's supposition concerning the more political character of A-texts as compared to the more religious contents of B- and (as I see it) C-texts can be upheld on the basis of material introduced in this paper, but it must be kept in mind that the sources of the corpus appear to have been more diverse than stylistic differences would suggest.