

Integrating Inner Alchemy into Late Ming Cultural History
A Contextualization and Annotated Translation of *Principles of the Innate Disposition*
and the Lifespan (*Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨) (1615)

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Colorado
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations

2009

This thesis entitled:
“Integrating Inner Alchemy into Late Ming Cultural History
A Contextualization and Annotated Translation of *Principles of the Innate Disposition*
and the Lifeforce (*Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨) (1615)”
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Abstract

This thesis provides new perspective on elite and popular culture in late Ming and early Qing China by an in-depth examination of the devotional practices of literati and officials. I do so through a close examination of *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan* (*Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨), which was first published in 1615 and has been consistently reprinted down to the present day.

Chapter One provides a historical overview of the unfolding of Inner Alchemical traditions and an overview of the contents of *Principles*, as well as a glimpse into the social context of its initial audience through a discussion of the prefaces and its later publication history down to the present day.

Chapter Two discusses the personal cultivation practice of Gao Panlong, a prominent member of the upright Ruist Donglin Faction, contrasting it to the benign attitude toward diverse teachings exhibited by Donglin associate and *Principles* preface author Zou Yuanbiao. In so doing I aim to recast late Ming intellectual history as a history of *praxis*, in which mental capabilities of perception and response were predicated upon physically-rooted cultivation techniques.

In Chapter Three I survey the history of the male pregnancy motif which plays such a prominent role in the rhetoric and iconography of *Principles*. Moving from the

scriptures that depict early Daoist body gods from at least the 3rd century on to parodic depictions of would be “immortal embryos” in Ming and Qing fiction such as *Xiyouji* and *Liaozhai zhiyi*, I argue that a grasp of inner alchemical cultivation practices is necessary to understand late imperial culture.

In addition I provide an annotated translation of roughly a fifth of *Principles*, marking the first appearance in English of this material. Three appendices: translate the entire Table of Contents of *Principles*; list editions of *Principles*; and identify the numerous works cited in *Principles*.

Taken together this material provides long overdue attention to an important work fast approaching its 400th year of publication. Beyond a narrow textual study, I aim to open a fresh window through which to perceive literati and official culture in a period of relative openness in late imperial China.

Acknowledgments

In chronological order of aid given, I first wish to thank Li Chang-jun 李昌駿 patiently guided me through this text during the initial years of this project despite my beginning from a point of illiteracy in Classical Chinese. It is on account of Professor Wu Yi 吳怡 of the California Institute of Integral Studies that Chang-jun assented to these sessions, for which I thank Professor Wu. I would not have had the good fortune of attending Professor Wu's Saturday classes on various classics had not my godmother Candace Falk, who always keeps my well-being in mind, discovered this opportunity. Reaching further back I am grateful that my mother Julianne Burton-Carvajal overpowered my wariness of white instructors of embodied Asian spiritual traditions and encouraged me to attend classes at Dr. Jerry Alan Johnson's International Institute of Medical Qigong in Pacific Grove, California. Dr. Johnson first set me to translating *Principles*, without he or I having any idea of just how long I'd stick with it.

I was extremely fortunate to encounter Professor Liu Xun 劉迅 in the spring of 2006 when he was a post-doctoral fellow at the Center for Chinese Studies at UC Berkeley. Already well-acquainted with *Principles*, he shared his knowledge generously, provided encouragement and direction in research, and has aided me in every step of my academic progress. The interest of Professor Ling Hon Lam, currently at Vanderbilt, when he was at UC Berkeley also benefited Chapter One.

At the University of Colorado-Boulder my greatest debt is to Professor Terry Kleeman, whose challenge of notions of Daoism I came in with prompted me to examine *Principles* without recourse to comfortable categories. He generously met with me once a

week for over a year to read together and discuss the text, clarifying passages and enabling me to trace phrases and motifs to early occurrences or their origins. Likewise Professor Antje Richter did me the wonderful favor of reading my translations against Martina Darga's rendition into German (a language of which I remain ignorant). Both she and Professor Kleeman closely examined my translations against the original Chinese, correcting passages I had misunderstood and improving my command of Chinese syntax and grammar.

Professor Li Yuanguo 李遠國 of the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences in Chengdu was an invaluable resource with fine details and the big picture. His enthusiastic support from our first meeting in the summer of 2006 on not only improved this work immeasurably but kept me convinced of its value. In the summer of 2008 he provided the immense favor of going over with me all the names and titles that appear in Appendix III. Professor Emeritus John Dardess graciously provided assistance in Ming particulars on several occasions.

I delivered an early draft of portions of Chapter One at the International Forum of Daoist Culture organized by the Institute of Daoism and Religious Studies at Sichuan University in Chengdu, China, on August 25, 2006. The abstract appeared in the published proceedings *Daojiao wenhua guoji luntan* 道教文化国际论坛 as “Alchemical Transportation—75 Years of *Xingming guizhi* in the West.” Professor Liu provided me with the invitation while Gil Raz graciously provided an extemporaneous translation. Zhang Guangbao 張廣寶 served as panel chair.

I first delivered a version of Chapter Two at the 11th Annual Harvard East Asia Society Graduate Students Conference, February 29-March 2, 2008. My thanks to fellow

panel participants, as well as to Professor Michael Puett, who served as discussant. I presented a portion of this material under the title “Confucian Enlightenment: Gao Panlong’s Writings on Quiet-Sitting” at the March 6-7, 2009 CUEGA conference. Professors Peter Bol and Benjamin Elman also read this chapter, providing comments and suggesting additional sources.

I delivered drafts of Chapter Three at the annual conference of the Colorado University East Asia Graduate Association (CUEGA), April 12, 2008 (Richard von Glahn, discussant), Stanford University Graduate Conference on Religion, April 25-26, 2008 (Fabrizio Pregadio and Robert Sharf, discussants), and the Western Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, University of Colorado, Boulder, September 12-14, 2008 (Terry Kleeman, Panel Chair). I also delivered a version at the 18th Annual Graduate Student Conference on East Asia at Columbia University, February 6-7, 2009. I wish to thank my fellow panelists Alexandre Iliouchine and Daniel Trambaiolo, as well as our discussant Stephen Boyanton. I am also grateful to Douglas Gildow and Elena Valussi for their comments. Professor Clarke Hudson provided extremely helpful remarks on Chapters Two and Three, not all of which, I regret, I’ve been able to act on at this time.

Finally, I presented selected translations from Part II at the Daoist Historical Documents Conference at the University of Colorado, Boulder from March 8-9. Some of this material, in conjunction with Chapter Three, will appear as a chapter in a forthcoming anthology edited by Terry Kleeman tentatively titled *Eight Doors to the Dao*.

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Introduction

Principles has served for me the function of the Mystic Pass (*Xuan guan* 玄關), the entry point to the successful cultivator's new reality which different masters locate in different places but on the importance of which all concur. Going on five years ago now I opted to translate this book as a conscious means of tackling a highly specialized vocabulary, and with the help of a number of teachers and abundant secondary sources I feel I have met this elementary goal. This thesis is intended to both record my understanding of portions of this text at this particular time in a form usable to interested parties, and to mark my initial steps beyond "cracking the code": i.e., pointing to the social context in which the text was produced and employed, and understanding the techniques and icons deployed within it on a continuum extending before and beyond. By discussing other scholars' use of this text I hope I'm also building in a degree of reflexivity about my own place on a continuum.

People who have spent too long in graduate school tend to write with a certain indignation, as if by ignoring the particular subject upon which they themselves have alighted their predecessors have committed some unforgivable blunder or omission. I'm still new to graduate school and have no such rancor. Rather, I'm pleased with the increasing output on Daoism from the Yuan to the Republican period, and on Inner Alchemy in particular. The deeper I get into *Principles* the more surprised I am that there has been so little work on it before, but far from any rebuke toward other scholars I feel a greedy delight that so much of this feast has been left untouched.

All this is to prepare the reader for this being a rather un-disputational composition. My primary thesis is that a detailed examination of *Principles* can enrich

our understanding of late imperial cultural, social, and intellectual history, but rather than belabor this point I seek to act on it.

Principles is a gateway into a garden of forking paths, but in the material that follows I've tried to keep close to the text itself as a compass. The sources that have kept me grounded are: material textual evidence (Chapter One: When was the text produced? In what milieu? When and why has it been subsequently reprinted? What use have contemporary scholars made of it?; Chapter Two: A prolonged invocation of the milieu in which it circulated made possible by one of the appended prefaces) and ideas clearly central to the text itself (Chapter Three: a survey of the male pregnancy motif from the 2nd century to the 20th).

I acknowledge a certain arbitrariness in my choice of what portions of *Principles* I've translated: I've fallen a little shy of my goal of preparing the entirety of Part I, while I've also ventured into later sections of the work, beckoned by the iconography that most intrigues me. I plan to do more with this text, including further extrapolation based on prefaces and publisher information and the completion of the translation itself, but I am confident that this offering is an appropriate starting point.

Conventions

I have based this translation on the Ding Fubao edition of 1922 and noted variorum in other editions. All illustrations are from the Ding Fubao edition.

Throughout this thesis I have silently amended Wade-Giles appearing in quotations to Pinyin. I lay out poetry in stanzas, but have not made any effort to emulate or otherwise note the meter. For mainland Chinese works I reproduce author and title

characters as they appear on the cover: i.e., in simplified characters. The numbering system for portions of *Principles* follows that in Appendix I.

I have forgone a glossary as high quality materials covering this terminology are readily available. In particular please consult Louis Komjathy's "Towards a Technical Glossary of Early Quanzhen Daoism"² and Fabrizio Pregadio's *Encyclopedia of Taoism*.³

I refer to the classic scholars' tradition as "Ruist" rather than Confucian, additionally calling the Song dynasty reformulators of this tradition "Song classicists." I regret any confusion this may cause to readers as they encounter different terminology in the works I cite. The only exception is in II. 13c, which contains a word that can accurately be translated as "Confucian"—*Kongmen* 孔門. Similarly, I've translated *Shi* 釋 with the cumbersome "Śākyaist" in order to differentiate it from *Fo* 佛, "Buddha" or "Buddhist."

² Komjathy 2007: 435-489.

³ Pregadio 2008.

I

Contexts

Chapter One

Alchemical Transformation: Late Imperial, Modern and Contemporary Discourses on the *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*

This chapter documents the diverse uses to which *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan* has been put by chronicling its textual history and the appropriation of the images it contains throughout the four centuries since its first publication. The survey shows *Principles* played a role in: literati self-cultivation practices in the Ming (1368-1644) and the Qing (1644-1911); the reformulation of these practices in the Republican period (1911-1949); and the “*qigong* fever” of the 1980s and 1990s. The same text—or at least the illustrations it contains—has also exerted a certain influence in Western Europe and the United States, playing a role in psychoanalytical speculations in the 1920s, the bohemian 1960s and New Age 1970s, with periodic interest shown by the developing academic discipline of Daoist Studies. This chapter is thus a case study of the different readings ascribed to and variable utility of a mystical text in dramatically divergent eras and locales, and a meditation upon the range of contexts in which a discrete cultural production has been actualized.

The Unfolding of Inner Alchemy

“In recent years the field of Chinese religions has been in flux as we seek a framework for analysis that goes beyond the traditional Three Teachings formula (Ruism, Buddhism, Daoism) and can encompass phenomena like the state religion, deity cults, maternist sectarian movements, inner alchemy lineages, vegetarian halls, and millenarian uprisings while providing an affiliation for religious professionals ranging from village

spirit mediums and itinerant exorcists to ‘mad monks’ and reciters of Precious Scrolls.”¹ As part of this new-found complexity scholars have moved away from the unqualified classification of Inner Alchemy (*neidan* 內丹) as a subset of an equally ill-defined “Daoism,”² instead acknowledging its dynamic synthesis of correlative cosmology, cults to transcendents (*xian* 仙), Learning of the *Changes* (*Yi xue* 易學), liturgical Daoism, Lao-Zhuang thought, canonical medicine, laboratory alchemy (*waidan* 外丹), Learning of the Principles/Learning of the Way (*Li xue* 理學/*Dao xue* 道學; i.e., Song classicism), and Three Teachings thought and cults; all elements reflected in *Principles*.³

Lowell Skar provides a useful historical and social classification of Inner Alchemy, dividing it into “imperial, aristocratic, gentry, and popular alchemy,”⁴ in a schema that neatly takes us from early China to the reign of the Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 a few centuries before *Principles* was produced. From the Qin (221-206 BCE) through the Song (960-1279 CE), Skar ties the fortunes of alchemy to the *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 sacrifices on Mount Tai 泰山 in Shandong, asserting: “By seeking to reaffirm the emperor’s Heavenly Mandate to rule, these rituals wedded the *feng* sacrifices to Heaven, the mythical ascent of the Yellow Lord, and the quest for immortals and the drugs of deathlessness they kept hidden. This ritual path to immortality for emperor and

¹ Kleeman 2005: 1225.

² I’ll here set aside the distinction between philosophical and religious Daoism (which Zhu Xi was important in perpetuating: see his “Discourse on Philosophical Daoism” [*Daojia lun* 道家論]) and accept as Daoist the Warring States texts labeled as such by bibliographers of the Eastern Han. When one defines Daoism strictly as the Celestial Masters school originating in the revelations of Zhang Daoling in 142 CE, there is no authentic Daoist canon beside the liturgical manuals which each new generation of hereditary priest is supposed to recopy upon ordination. This definition originated with Strickmann 1979.

³ Clarke Hudson provides a thorough literature review in the relevant languages of definitional questions related to Inner Alchemy (Hudson 2007: 8-22). He provides the most elaborate definitional treatise to date in Chapter 4 (210-351), and closes this discussion with a useful list of “Questions for the Comparative Analysis of Any Inner-chemical Text” (352-358).

⁴ Skar 2003: 12.

empire formed the core of what might be called *imperial alchemy*,” (emphasis in original) in which “outward ritual was a key feature of alchemy.”⁵

When the Han emperor Guangwu 光武, invoking an air of classical orthodoxy, eschewed references to transcendent beings in his 54 CE performance of the rites, “nonofficial forms of self-cultivation began to coalesce around these traditions of immortality dismissed from China’s official culture, perhaps through their interaction with traditions of medicine and cults to immortals.” Skar continues: “Since the earliest extant alchemical writings appealed to the nobility who lived in peripheral areas of south China and princes of the old Han courts, I include them within *aristocratic alchemy*.” (emphasis in original)

“The erosion of the social and political foundations of China’s medieval aristocracy” saw “many distraught would-be officials” searching “into new or long-neglected sources of their cultural legitimacy,” giving rise to gentry alchemy.

These forms of alchemy regularly deny the value of [the] laboratory, and promote instead internal cultivation as the best way to achieve transcendence. Typically, these new traditions claimed their origins from a new type of supralocal transcendent being who resembled the cultivated gentlemen he sought to attract. Teachings included the use of refined literary forms that stressed both cosmological depth and their superiority to current Buddhist and Daoist forms of self-cultivation. Gentlemen also began to imagine the transmission of these teachings in patrilineal descent groups, extending deep into China’s past something that helped reinforce and extend their social ties to local elite... As gentry immersed themselves more deeply into their localities, they incorporated alchemical language and imagery into popular religious writings and traditions for larger groups of devotees.⁶

⁵ Skar 2003: 12-13.

⁶ Skar 2003: 14-15.

This brought about popular alchemy, preserved in Precious Scrolls (*bao juan* 寶卷) and the writings of Lin Zhao'en 林兆恩 (1517-98).⁷ Skar continues: "This type of alchemy structures a range of meditative forms and initiations, in part, with alchemical language and symbols. The consolidation of alchemical lines of transmission outside of state or clerical forms of religion into complex and comprehensive spiritual genealogies was meant to appeal to the broadest possible social sweep."⁸

By the Ming, alchemical praxis "extend[ed] to potentially everyone."⁹ Negatively acknowledging the popularity of alchemical practices, Zhu Yuanzhang, the former itinerant Buddhist monk who became Ming Taizu 明太祖, dismissed them in his 1375 CE preface to the *Daodejing*. Yet these beliefs persisted as "a key form of non-official self cultivation," and soon cropped back up in the court itself, as with the dynastic founder's seventeenth son Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378-1448), who admired the Golden Elixir (*jin dan* 金丹) teachings of Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (984?-1082), retroactive patriarch of the "Southern School of Daoism" (*Daojia nanzong* 道家南宗), and it's peripatetic progenitor Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194-1229), even composing a compendium on alchemy himself.¹⁰ Less positively, the founder's dissolute son Zhu Tan 朱檀 (1370-1390) died at 19 *sui* of mercury poisoning as the final drama in a brief life of iniquity.¹¹

⁷ On which see: Overmyer 1999 and Berling 1980 and Dean 1998, respectively. Dean's work is particularly fascinating for its exposition of the ritual component of Inner Alchemy in late imperial China and beyond.

⁸ Skar 2003: 15.

⁹ Skar 2003: 15.

¹⁰ Skar 2003: 20. For more on Bai see: Wang 2004.

¹¹ Chan 2007: 64.

After a lull in the mid-Ming, the printing boom of the Wanli 萬曆 reign era (1573-1620)¹² coincided with renewed interest in Inner Alchemy among elites. *Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨 (*Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*) or, more grandly, *Xingming shuangxiu wanshen guizhi* 性命雙修萬神圭旨 (*Principles of the Myriad Spirits for Dual Cultivation of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*)¹³ was, in the words of the great sinologist Joseph Needham 李約瑟 (1900-1995), the “*Summa*” of the late imperial Inner Alchemical tradition.¹⁴ Judith Berling, for her part, calls it “one of the most representative texts of Ming Daoism.”¹⁵

The Title

As is so often the case, no two scholars have translated the title the same way, but most proposals are variations on a theme.¹⁶ In their first mention of *Principles*, Needham and Lu Gwei-Djen 魯桂珍 declined to translate the title in the body of the text,¹⁷ making their offering, *A Pointer to the meaning of Human Nature and the Life-Span*, in the bibliography instead.¹⁸ They then employed it in their next relevant work.¹⁹ “Pointer” is derived from the shape of a *gui*, a pointed pentagonal ritual tablet that was used at court in antiquity and adopted in Daoist rituals.²⁰ In *Principles* the character is also a concealed symbol. This use of *gui* in this text was first pointed out by the Qing literatus You Tong

¹² The best sources on late imperial print culture are Brokaw and Chow 2005 and Chia 2002.

¹³ Compare to Judith Berling’s *The revealed doctrine of the dual cultivation of Nature and Life as taught by the myriad spirits* (Berling 1980: frontpiece, etc.).

¹⁴ Needham and Lu 1983: 229.

¹⁵ Berling 1998: 954.

¹⁶ The only choice that I consider really misses the mark is Charlotte Furth’s *Leading to the Core of Life*: Furth 1999: 194-95.

¹⁷ Needham and Lu 1974: 91, 92.

¹⁸ Needham and Lu 1974: 331.

¹⁹ Needham and Lu 1983.

²⁰ See: Schipper 1993: 95; depicted in I. 29.

尤侗 (1618-1704) in his 1670 preface to *Principles* (1d), in which he observes that the character “is the form of earth [*tu*, 土], doubled” (*chong tu zhi xiang* 重土之象). This is “a pun” in which earth refers to “the central region,” or “Yellow Court” (*huangting* 黃庭),²¹ a crucial area constantly referred to in Inner Alchemical discourse. A second layer of wordplay relates to *guizhong* 規中 or “square center,” another pointer to the Yellow Court. My objection to “Pointer” is that which is being pointed to is the center, a meaning difficult to convey in English.

Catherine Despeux has translated *gui* as “jade”:²² I’ve chosen to avoid this as only appropriate for *yu* 玉, which also appears in titles in the *Daozang*. Likewise, “precious” should be reserved for *bao* 寶, and doesn’t get us any closer to the actual meaning of *gui* in this context regardless. Like Skar and Monica Esposito I have settled for *Principles* doing double duty for *gui* and *zhi* 旨.²³ The latter has the long-standing definition of “basic idea.”²⁴ I use “*Principles*” in the sense of “Principles of the Basic Idea of the Work of Achieving Transcendence and Buddhahood.”

This rest of the linguistic variety stems from philosophically-pregnant variations in the understanding of *xing* and *ming*.²⁵ There are numerous articles and entire books on the semantic range of these two graphs,²⁶ and rather than cite classical precedent,²⁷ I’ll

²¹ Needham and Lu 1983: 231 n. a.

²² *Principes de jade sur la nature innée et la force vitale* (Despeux 1990: 167) and, in collaboration with Livia Kohn, *Jade Principles on Inner Nature and Destiny* (Despeux and Kohn 2003: 205).

²³ *Exemplary principles on (cultivating) inborn nature and natural lifespans* (Skar 2002: 197) and *Principles of Balanced Cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force* (Esposito in Pregadio 2008: 283).

²⁴ Schuessler 2007: 617.

²⁵ For how *Principles* itself defines these terms see I. 3.

²⁶ For their use in Warring States philosophical texts see Graham 1989 and, on *xing* more closely, “The Background of the Mencian Theory of Human Nature” in Graham 1990. Lupke 2005 is devoted to *ming*.

assume a degree of reader familiarity with the terms and explain my translation choices. I generally seek to avoid “nature” as an abused, indistinct, and often chauvinist term: *xing* however includes these problems in Chinese as well, so I accept others’ choice of this word. I’ve opted for “innate disposition,” to focus on the sense proclivities fixed at the time of conception.²⁸

Admittedly my choice of “Lifeforce” for *ming* is a bit *Star Wars*, but since George Lucas lifted such concepts from Asian spiritual traditions I’m not concerned about redeploying them. My objection to “lifespan” is that it flattens *ming* to its temporal dimension only. Despeux’s and Kohn’s choice of “innate nature and destiny” is consistent with most English language scholarship on Song classicism, and thus in an interesting way preserves in English the “Neo-Confucian cloak”²⁹ under which the title concealed ideas less favored at the time.³⁰

Overview of the Contents

Principles details the process by which the practitioner distinguishes, cultivates and combines physio-spiritual materials in order to create a “self outside the self” (*shen wai you shen* 身外有身),³¹ and “become a transcendent, become a buddha” (*cheng xian*

²⁷ E.g.: In the Shanghai Museum text “Qing xing lun” 情性論, which corresponds to the Mawangdui discovery “Xing zi ming chu” 性自命出, we find the characterization “The innate disposition emerges from the lifespan, the lifespan descends from Heaven” 性自命出 命自天降... (Feng 2007: 192).

²⁸ Unlike the redundant “innate nature” and “inborn nature,” “disposition” does require the qualifying “innate,” as the word usually means a temporary inclination rather than a fixed quality with which one can harmonize for maximum benefit.

²⁹ Needham and Lu 1983: 213 n. 4.

³⁰ Taking this into account, Baldrian-Hussein’s remark on the “novelty” of Qing exegete Liu Yiming’s “interpretation of alchemical terminology in Neo-Confucian terms” (1990: 339) should be reconsidered.

³¹ This phrase from *Laozi* is actually not used in the text. Rather, as we will see below, particular names are given for particular stages of progression: e.g., *shengtai* 聖胎, *ying’er* 嬰兒, *yangshen* 陽神.

cheng fo 成仙成佛).³² The body of the text consists of twenty-four discourses (*shuo* 說), numerous poems, and lengthy collections of “oral teachings” (*koujue* 口訣) from previous masters of assorted doctrinal affiliation. This is all complemented by an extraordinary series of 55 illustrations (*tu* 圖) which provide an aide to understanding common principles in the Inner Alchemical tradition. The text is divided into four parts, *yuan* 元, *li* 利, *heng* 亨, and *zhen* 貞, after the first line in the commentary on the *Qian* hexagram in the *Yijing*. Part I climaxes in apotheosis (I. 30 and I. 31); Parts II-IV are more detailed explanations of how one achieves this end. They also climax in self-deification (IV. 12). Part I contains all the discourses, Parts II-IV all the oral teachings.

Textual History

The earliest edition of *Principles* was printed in 1615, with another produced in 1622.³³ Based on internal citations, the text could not be earlier than the mid-15th century. *Principles* was part of the print profusion of the Wanli reign era which witnessed the production of standard editions of a number of the greatest Chinese novels, works so heavily influenced by ritual performance that one scholar proposes calling them “religious chronicles.”³⁴ These include *The Investiture of the Gods* (*Fengshan yanyi* 封神演義), *The Water Margin* (also known as *Outlaws of the Marsh*; *Shui hu zhuan* 水滸傳), and *Journey to the North* (*Bei you ji* 北遊記).

³² Also often written “become a transcendent, make a buddha” (*cheng xian zuo fo* 成仙作佛).

³³ Both Sakai 1960: 290 and Liu 1970: 98 n. 211 were unaware of the first edition of 1615, held by the Harvard Yen-ching library since 1953, when they wrote that the earliest extant edition was that of the Tianqi reign period (now known to be produced in 1622).

³⁴ Meulenbeld 2007, esp. 266-317.

Principles remained popular in the Qing, with at least seven printed editions surviving, including one from 1669 and two from 1670.³⁵ The work has been included in many of the modern and contemporary auxiliaries to the Zhengtong reign-era Daoist Canon of 1444-1445, such as Ding Fubao's 丁福寶 (守一子 1875-1952) *Record of the Essential Flowers of the Daoist Canon* (*Daozang jing hua lu* 道藏精華錄; 1922; *JHL* 67), Xiao Tianshi's 蕭天石 *Essential Flowers of the Daoist Canon* (*Daozang jing hua* 道藏精華; various dates, including 1963; *JH* 5), and *Extra-canonical Daoist Texts* (*Zangwai dao shu* 藏外道書; 1992; 1994; *ZW* 314).³⁶

While the words of the text are often “obscured” (*pomei* 頗[日每]), as an anonymous commentator wrote on the margin of a preface in the 1989 edition produced by the White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun guan 白雲宮) in Beijing, the iconographic conventions or imagistic repertoire crystallized in the text have been frequently reprised. The most striking example is an 1890 series of twenty-two paintings commissioned by Abbot Gao Rentong 高仁峒 (1841-1907) to honor the goddess Niangniang 娘娘. These paintings, which in the judgment of the contemporary scholar Liu Xun “rival the best of Ming and Qing figure paintings,” presented Niangniang in “an array of new roles of authority and power.” The most striking aspect of these is that she “is portrayed as the patroness and consummate adept of Daoist inner alchemy,” thereby subverting the “male-centered gender relations” of the original text. Liu dubs the original “the most dramatic

³⁵ Appendix II compliments Xue 1991: 619 and *vice versa*.

³⁶ Collection numbers follow Komjathy 2002.

example of [the] male-centered iconography of inner alchemy” since it has no depictions of sexually mature women.³⁷

The Ming was a period of high confluence among the “Three Teachings” (*sanjiao* 三教) of Ruism, Buddhism and Daoism. *Principles* employs a potpourri of Ruist moral language adapted to spiritual cultivation, appropriated Buddhist concepts in Sanskrit transliterations, and poetic code words for transformative Daoist processes. With this complex language it occupies a pinnacle of obscurity which would never again be attained once Qing dynasty clarifiers like Liu Yiming 劉一明 (1734-1821)³⁸ began their work. At the same time its methodical presentation of elaborate processes foreshadowed the coming trend towards elucidation.

The first words of the 1670 preface by the Qing literatus You Tong³⁹ state clearly that the author is anonymous (*bu zhu zhuanren* 不著撰人), but this is not quite true. You writes as well that *Principles* is in the hand of “Yin zhenren gaodi” (*Yin Zhenren gaodi* 尹真人高弟). This attribution has caused double confusion: that of the identity of “Yin” and of “gaodi.” *Zhenren*, “Perfected,” is a standard appellation for Daoist transcendents, giving us a “Perfected” surnamed Yin. *Gaodi*, literally “high disciple,” likely means just that, and this is how most Chinese scholars read it.⁴⁰ Yet Needham and Lu left this disciple’s name as “Gao Di,”⁴¹ while Skar has identified him with the individual who received a *jinshi* in 1589 and is noted in the *Mingshi* 明史 for tussling with the eunuch

³⁷ Liu 2004: 61, 64. There is one little girl (II. 9) and the female deity Guanyin (I. 26); see Chapter Three for further discussion.

³⁸ On whom see Liu 2001.

³⁹ Wickes 1970. For more on You, especially in relation to his interest in spirit-writing, see Zeitlin 1998.

⁴⁰ E.g., Yin Zhenren dizi 1989; Li 1995: 50.

⁴¹ Needham and Lu 1983: 231.

dictator Wei Zhongxian.⁴² The problematic passage is in the first dated preface, that of She Yongnian, which states in relation to the text: “[It is] that which is expounded by Gao Di, the disciple of the Perfected Yin” 蓋尹真人高第弟子所述也. This preface appears last in the 1615 edition of the book (though it was switched to preceding that of Zou Yuanbiao in all subsequent editions), meaning that it could be the oldest, so should not be discounted.

The cohort associated with the text through the prefaces was one deeply interested in spirit-writing.⁴³ It is possible that *Principles* was produced by spirit-writing, which opens the field of interpretation as to the identity of the Perfected Yin to the entirety of the Daoist tradition. Two logical candidates are: Yin Xi 尹喜, the “Guardian of the Pass,” who, according to legend, stopped Laozi on his journey West and compelled him to record the *Daodejing*; and Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (1169-1251),⁴⁴ the second patriarch of the Complete Perfection Teachings (*Quanzhen jiao* 全真教) who led the sect from 1227-38.⁴⁵

Though Yin Xi was a popular deity in spirit-medium practice no one has proposed him as the Yin of *Principles*. As Esposito points out in the passage quoted below, the figure of the Guardian of the Pass undoubtedly lent resonance to our Perfected Yin, yet they were not conceived of as the identical individual, or the latter an incarnation of the former. Chinese scholars have occasionally regarded Yin Zhiping as the reported author

⁴² The *Mingshi* reference appears in *juan* 257 (Skar 2002: 198 and personal communication).

⁴³ The standard work on Chinese spirit-writing is Jordan and Overmeyer 1986. See also Overmeyer 1999.

⁴⁴ Zi Dahe 大和 or Taihe 太和, hao Qinghe 清和.

⁴⁵ No texts are reliably attributed to the historical figure Yin Xi. Two are to Yin Zhiping: *Baoguang ji* 葆光集 (*Anthology of Concealed Lights*), dated 1299, and *Qinghe zhenren beiyu yulu* 清和真人北游语录 (*Recorded Sayings of the Northern Journey of the Perfected One Pure Harmony*), which was compiled in 1237. For digests of these two works see the respective entries by Kwong Hing Foon and Vincent Goossaert in *TC*: 1155, 1163-65.

of *Principles*,⁴⁶ and Despeux once echoed this claim,⁴⁷ but this is acceding to a retroactive snatch by Quanzhen members.⁴⁸ A close reading of the text rules out the possibility of either prominent transcendent surnamed Yin. Each figure is mentioned once—the first as a historical allusion, the second as a source for one of the many oral teachings. Yet both are invoked in a totally different sense than that of the “My Master Yin” (*wu shi Yin* 吾師尹; I. 6-9 Outro) or “Lord Yin” (*Yin gong* 尹公; e.g., I.10) sprinkled throughout *Principles*.

The most detailed explanation to date of the identity of this Perfected Yin comes from Esposito:

He was regarded as the local Saint of Mount Jin’gai who had first engraved the name of this mountain on a rock. He is said to have lived in different epochs: during the Eastern Han (25-220) he was known in the Zhejiang region under the name of Qu Zhen 屈禎, and during the Yuan and Ming dynasties he was known as Yin Pengtou 尹蓬頭.⁴⁹ Yin represents the idealized recluse [*yinshi* 隱士] who lived in the world without being noticed by ordinary mortals. This calls to mind Yin Xi, the Guardian of the Pass who “kept secret his virtues and organized his daily activities with care in a such [*sic*] way that nobody noticed him.” Conversely, under the name of Qu Zhen (Daoist name Wuwo 無我), he was closer to the figure of a *fangshi* 方士 or “master of recipes.” As an expert in breathing techniques [*tuna* 吐納] and divining arts, he was also reputed for performing, through the power of talismans, rain-making and flood-control rites.⁵⁰

Within the problematic Daoist classificatory system in which teachings and practices correspond to the Five Directions, *Principles* belongs to the Center. The

⁴⁶ E.g., the unsigned article on *Principles* in the *Daojiao dacidian* (1994: 679).

⁴⁷ Despeux 1999: 21.

⁴⁸ One of the insights that came out of the 2007 Quanzhen conference helped at the University of California, Berkeley, is that the order was largely dormant for most of the Ming, due in part to a reaction against it for having accommodated the previous “alien” dynasty.

⁴⁹ *Pengtou*—“disheveled”—is a common moniker, and as such is not much help in tracking down a historical personage. There is, for example, a Daoist Li 李 Pengtou (Esposito 2001: 223) and Zhang 張 Pengtou (Esposito 2004: 673, 680 n. 66) in the same period, as well as the earlier Quanzhen master Jin Yueyan 金月岩 (1276-1336), who is also known as Jin Pengtou (Louis 2003: 166; Hudson 2007: 87).

⁵⁰ Esposito 2001: 209.

Southern and Northern Branches, the first Daoist lineages to be retroactively created in Chan fashion,⁵¹ represented those of *Wuzhenpian* 悟真篇 (*Folios on the Awakening to Perfection* DZ 263.26) author Zhang Boduan and the Complete Perfection Teachings, respectively. A Western and Eastern Branch were founded in the late Ming, and only after that was the Central Branch added to round out the Five Directions.

Li Daochun 李道純 (fl. 1288-1306), author of *Collection on Central Harmony* (*Zhongheji* 中和集), was claimed as the founder of the Central Branch because he had trained with a disciple of the Zhang Boduan lineage but called his own practices Complete Perfection. According to Li Dahua 李大華, due to its combination of Inner Alchemical practices (Southern) with “Three Teachings” ideology (Northern, in this oversimplified system), *Principles* was claimed as the second major text in this school.⁵² The Central Branch, however, seems to have had no organizational base in terms of competing claims to lineal authority.

In classifying *Principles*, it should also be noted that, despite its promulgation by the monastically-inclined and ostensibly celibate Complete Perfection order,⁵³ it can be read as an instructional manual in the “bedroom arts” (*fangzhong shu* 房中術). The phrase “dual cultivation” appearing in the extended title is a common euphemism for sexual exercises, while several explications contain the word “copulate” in their titles.

⁵¹ See Skar 2003.

⁵² Li 1995: 50.

⁵³ Goossaert writes: “In Qing times, probably not more than 10% of the Quanzhen clergy lived in monasteries; many lived in small temples, or at home. The Quanzhen clergy was in good part female, almost exclusively in some areas. In many areas, many and probably most Quanzhen Taoists were married and ate meat (although not *all* meats); only an elite managing the large monasteries that served as training institutions kept celibacy and vegetarianism” (Goossaert 2007: 2).

Yet nowhere in *Principles* are sexual practices explicitly endorsed, while in one memorable passage they are explicitly condemned.⁵⁴

Despite (or perhaps because of) its complexity, *Principles* has been considered an introductory text by cultivators until the contemporary period. As such, there is little in the way of commentary on it for most of its existence. This began to change somewhat in the modern period, when the Internal Alchemical tradition was reformulated for a changing audience in changing times. The primary architect of that transformation, Chen Yingning 陳撓寧 (*hao* Yuandun zi 圓頓子 1880-1969), placed particular value on *Principles*.

Daoist Modern⁵⁵:

Chen Yingning's Transcendents' Path

Chen is the leading popularizer in the Republican era of cultivation techniques popularly conflated with Daoism.⁵⁶ An energetic commentator, he interpreted many of the Inner Alchemical classics for a new audience, distributing his writings and providing a forum for other practitioners through the periodicals *Bimonthly to Promulgate the Good* (*Yangshan banyuekan* 揚善半月刊) and *Transcendents' Path Monthly* (*Xiandao yuebao* 仙道月報). Married to a practicing doctor of Western medicine, Chen became an expert on Inner Alchemical practices for women and cleansed much of the sexual exploitation from inherited dual-cultivation ideology. Due to his interest in Ruism and Chan Buddhism he, too, has been classified as a member of the Central Branch.

⁵⁴ I. 5 “Discourse on the Heterodox and the Orthodox,” which Needham and Lu describe as “wonderful”! (Needham and Lu 1983: 231).

⁵⁵ The phrase is that of Liu 2009.

⁵⁶ Chen visited a number of sacred Daoist and Buddhist mountains early on in his career, and spent much time in monasteries, but there is no indication that he ever was ordained.

Chen apparently found *Principles* quite useful, distilling it for his quintessential statement on proper practice, “A complete exposition of 24 Elixir Sayings for the Supreme and Unique Dual Cultivation of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan” (*Zuishangyi xingming shuangxiu er’shisi shou danjue chong shu* 最上一性命雙修二十四首丹訣串述).⁵⁷ In their 1984 *Essential Pointers on the Secrets of the Elixir in the School of the Hidden Transcendents* (*Yin xianpai danjue zhiyao* 隱仙派丹決指要), Chen’s students Li Yonglin 李永霖 and Hong Shifeng 洪碩峰 recommended that *Principles* be the second text students encounter on the transcendents’ path, preceded by *Wuliu xianzong* 伍柳仙宗 and followed by *Guizhong zhinan* 規中指南 (DZ 243) and *Collection of Central Harmony*, after which students were judged ready for Li and Hong’s own work.⁵⁸

However valuable Chen may have found *Principles*, one of his contributors considered it quite dangerous. Xu Songyao 徐頌堯 (*hao* Haiyin 海印子 1893?-c. 1966-76) includes a bitter denunciation of the text titled “On the 12 Great Mistakes of *Xingming guizhi*” (*Lun Xingming guizhi shi’er dacuo* 論《性命圭旨》十二大錯) in his as-yet-unpublished *Collection of Mysterious Discussions* (*Xuantanji* 玄談集).

Xu was a student of the renowned Wang Qihu 汪启瀨 (*zi* Dongting 東亭, *hao* Tizhen shanren 體真山人), author of, among numerous other works, *Essential Principles of Innate Disposition and the Lifespan* (*Xingming yaozhi* 性命要旨). Wang and Xu were of the Western Branch of Inner Alchemy, one of the distinguishing beliefs of which is in training the energy outside the body (*yu shenwai xukong* 于身外虛空), as opposed to in

⁵⁷ Hong 1991: 697-700.

⁵⁸ Li and Hong 1984: 35.

the Elixir Field (*dantian* 丹田), like the Southern Branch, or “neither inside nor outside” (*bunei buwai* 不内不外 or *feinei feiwai* 非内非外), as with the slogan of the Central Branch.

In his undated “Great Mistakes” Xu promised dire consequences for those who practiced the techniques described in *Principles*. If the student concentrated their attention on a point just above the bridge of the nose in order to penetrate a certain physio-spiritual point, as *Principles* instructed, “you’ll develop a brain leakage [a severe form of nasal congestion] and other problems,” (*de naolou dengzheng* 得腦漏等症) Xu promised, continuing: “Once Master Wang had a female disciple who, before [she studied under him], practiced this and became crazy, then stupid.” As to *Principles*’ instruction to “constantly keep this mind recessed in the Spinal Handle cavity so that you can draw the upright energy of heaven and earth inside you,” Xu admonishes, “If you practice this, you will suffer acutely from diseases related to unremitting seminal emission.” If one “congeals the spirit” (*ningshen* 凝神) at the place that *Principles* recommends—the Yellow Court, identified at approximately the same place Western medicine calls the solar plexus—“it will cause a lump to develop.”⁵⁹

Xu’s twelve complaints boil down to one: *Principles* focuses disproportionately on the physical body. As *Principles* constantly reiterates the importance of the “dual cultivation” of the *xing* and the *ming*, which correspond, among other things, to the mind and the body respectively, I find this criticism a bit overstated.

⁵⁹ Xu n.d. Aside from portions posted on the web, *Xuantanji* is unavailable except in rare handwritten copies.

Fanning the Flames of the *Qigong* Fever:

Contemporary Editions

In the late 1980s and early 1990s *Principles* experienced a revival in popularity as part of the *qigong* boom in mainland China. In 1989 the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing issued an inexpensive edition of the text (5-10 *yuan* in my experience) in classical characters, although with rough illustrations and a number of variant characters, distributing it to Daoist monasteries across the country where it remains available.⁶⁰ The next year Ma Jiren edited an edition for the *Collected Texts of Qigong and Preserving Life* (*Qigong yangsheng congshu* 气功养生丛书). In 1990 Xu Zhaoren 徐兆仁, a prominent researcher then at the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing and currently at Beijing University, paired *Principles* with Li Daochun's *Collection of Central Harmony* to form the eighth volume of his invaluable 10-volume Eastern Library of Daoist Cultivation (*Dongfang xiudao wenku* 东方修道文库), *Methods [of cultivating] the Celestially Prime Elixir* (*Tianyuan danfa* 天元丹法). The texts are presented in simplified characters, punctuated but without commentary.⁶¹ The first book to venture a degree of interpretation was Li Jianzhang's 李建章 *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan: A Modern Mandarin Chinese Rendering* (*Xingming guizhi: baihuajie*

⁶⁰ This text was used in the doctoral program in Medical Qigong at Haidian University in Beijing until the program was shut down in 1999. (Interview, Dr. Jerry Alan Johnson, Executive Director, International Institute of Medical Qigong, Pacific Grove, CA, 2001. Dr. Johnson was in the last class of graduates from the program.) In the summer of 2007 I spoke with *daoshi* at Qingyang gong 青羊宫 in Chengdu and Qingcheng Mountain 青城山 who praised the work and remained awed by it. The five monks and nuns I spoke with were all familiar with the text.

⁶¹ *Xingming guizhi* appears on pages 70-243. Volume One of this series includes the *Transcendent Scripture Testifying the Dao* (*Zhengdao xian jing* 證道仙經), attributed to a "Perfected Yin" with the further epithet "donghua zhengmai huangji hepi" 尹真人東華正脉皇極闔闢 (Xu 1990: 223-251). *The Secret Poems of (the deity) Qinghua* (*Qinghua miwen* 青華秘文), in the same volume, which is attributed unconvincingly to Zhang Boduan, contains portions identical to *Principles*. These include "Discourse on the Bright Toad" (*Changuang lun* 蟾光論; 159-60) and "Illustration of and Discourse on the Furnace and the Cauldron" (*Luding tulun* 爐鼎圖論; 160-61).

性命圭旨: 白话解) published in 1993. Li reproduced the text in simplified characters with punctuation, explained obscure terminology, identified many of the internal textual references, and translated the explications into modern Chinese. He did not, however, include any of the four prefaces or transcribe any of the poems.⁶²

The latter day classification of *Principles* as a *qigong* text raises important questions. Though the phrase itself may date to the Tang (618-908), since the 1950s it has been rationalized and promulgated by the Chinese government as an indigenous and inexpensive method of health maintenance.⁶³ The popularity of *Principles* under this marketing label begs the question of the efficacy of the official attempts to recast physio-spiritual practices well-rooted in antiquity.

Conversely, one might question the religiosity of the community that produced *Principles* in the first place. Was a form of secularization evident in the late Ming literati sphere of self-cultivation practitioners, one which presaged a consistent trend into the contemporary era? My answer is that, however confounding this milieu is towards classificatory efforts, their religiosity is not in question. Rather than “Daoist,” this group is best thought of as the most elite strata of believers in the Chinese religious world.⁶⁴ I do, however, contend that *Principles* was influenced by Daoism more than any other teaching.

⁶² It is possible that the text appeared, in part or in full, in special interest magazines during this time period as well. Palmer lists the major *qigong* periodicals but, with a strongly scientific perspective (i.e., the ideology of science, as distinct from the pretensions to objectivity of “scientific”), they seem unlikely candidates for reprints of *neidan* classics (Palmer 2007: 312 n. 18).

⁶³ See Palmer 2004 and 2007.

⁶⁴ Scholars of Chinese religion use the term “common religion” to refer to the sacrifices that permeate Chinese culture. The cultivators who produced and initially employed *Principles* were likely at times “vocational” (the phrase is that of Taylor 1998: 849) Ruists, meaning as part of official duties they had to participate in state sacrifices. At the same time the Inner Alchemical identity is posited on a self-perception as someone transcending the mundane world, including “vocational” rites. These are complex ideas and I will strive to clarify them in the future.

The *qigong* boom of the late 1980s and early 1990s was the first time since “Liberation” that people were able not only to practice previously condemned techniques but to celebrate them. If officials needed to understand this in competition with Western medicine so be it, but the honoring of *Principles* and other Inner Alchemical works dating back to the Song (960-1279) shows a continued interest among consumers in going beyond the cultivation of “bio-energy” (the rationalized understanding of *qi*) to a plumbing of the mysteries that concerned their forebears.

The Yin and Yang of Imperialist Spiritualism

Though *Principles* remains relatively unknown in the West, several of its illustrations are readily recognizable. This is because Richard Wilhelm 尉禮賢 (1873-1930), the third translator of the *Yijing* into a Western language, and his collaborator, the renowned Swiss psychotherapist Carl Jung 榮格 (1875-1961), drew images from it in order to embellish their massively influential and egregiously flawed⁶⁵ translation of *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* 太一金華宗旨 (*Great Unity's Principles on [Developing] Golden Fluorescence*). First published in 1929 in German, and then in 1931 in English, *The Secret of the Golden Flower: A Chinese Book of Life*, has become “one of the best-known Chinese religious classics in the West.”⁶⁶

The images used were, in order: II. 12c “Sitting Meditation”; IV. 1 “The Infant Takes Form”; IV. 5 “Sitting with Hands Clasped and the Mind Recessed in Darkenss”; and IV. 7 “Transforming the Self and Multiplying It by Five.” These are explained as

⁶⁵ Both Needham and Lu (1983: 243-257) and Cleary (2003: 322-59) elaborate extensively the flaws of *The Golden Flower*, the title of which Needham and Lu render more accurately but with less grace as *Principles of the (Inner) Radiance of the Metallous (Enchymoma) (explained in terms of) the Undifferentiated Universe* (Needham and Lu 1983: 244).

⁶⁶ Mori 2002: 165.

meditation stages 1-4, glossed in *The Golden Flower* as “Gathering the light,” “Origin of a new being in the place of power,” “Separation of the spirit-body for independent existence,” and “the centre in the midst of the conditions.”⁶⁷ All these images describe a process not actually detailed in *The Golden Flower*: the conception, gestation and parturition of a “body outside the body.”⁶⁸

Wilhelm and Jung did this without crediting the source of the images, implying by omission that they came from the *Golden Fluorescence*.⁶⁹ Needham pointed out this misleading borrowing decades ago, but misattribution remains the rule in Jungian Studies. Clarke⁷⁰ follows the editors of Jung’s *Collected Works* in identifying these images as coming from the *Huimingjing* 慧命經 (ZW 131), a translation of which was included in later editions of *The Golden Flower*.⁷¹ Jung’s Taiwanese translator Yang simply leaves the images unattributed, as in the original, accompanying Jung’s commentary.⁷²

These images helped shape Jung’s commentary. They also informed his conception of Wilhelm. Jung was impressed by the extent to which Wilhelm had been transformed by his immersion in Chinese culture. “Wilhelm, when I met him,” Jung later recollected, “seemed completely Chinese, in outward manner as much as in his way of writing and speaking. The Oriental point of view and ancient Chinese culture had penetrated him through and through.”⁷³ An ordained Protestant minister, who on a mission to China, himself became converted instead of making converts, Jung judged

⁶⁷ Wilhelm and Jung 1962: 27, 37, 47, 57.

⁶⁸ *Jinhua* concentrates on the technique “turning the light around.” Regarding the spiritual embryo, the text stops at the stage of “incubation” (Cleary 2003: 315).

⁶⁹ It is significant that this misleading lack of attribution persisted in the popular and influential 1962 American paperback edition of *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, in which other errors were corrected.

⁷⁰ Clarke 1995: 98-101.

⁷¹ Wilhelm and Jung 1995: 98-101.

⁷² Yang 2002: 135, 150, 164, 177.

⁷³ Jung 1989: 365-55.

Wilhelm to be “liberated... completely from the narrow horizon of the European—and, indeed, of the missionary...”⁷⁴

Yet Jung feared the multi-cultural child that Wilhelm’s work, without Jung’s own stern paternal warnings, could produce.⁷⁵ Though he judged that by incorporating Eastern insights “the West might expect to surpass the East by a very great margin,”⁷⁶ he inveighed against crasser forms of cultural appropriation, recoiling from those that might forsake their European patrimony altogether: “Of what use to us is the wisdom of the Upanishads or the insight of Chinese yoga, if we desert the foundations of our own culture as though they were errors outlived and, like homeless pirates, settle with thievish intent on foreign shores?”⁷⁷ Elsewhere he continued in the same vein: “What it has taken China thousands of years to build cannot be acquired by theft. If we want to possess it, we must earn the right to it by working on ourselves.”⁷⁸ Jung warned his readers away from the practices described in *The Golden Flower*, asserting: “There could be no greater mistake than for a Westerner to take up the direct practice of Chinese yoga...”⁷⁹ Instead he recommended psychotherapy, his own school, as culturally appropriate, a basis for creating “our own yoga” in the future.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Jung 1953: 54.

⁷⁵ Jung clearly made himself impermeable to a key concept of Daoist philosophy, that of finding power in yielding. In his dynamic dominance he embodies the hexagram *qian* 乾. I believe that Wilhelm was, to use the irresistible cliché, the yin to his yang. The male pregnancy motif appropriated from *Principles*, I argue, encouraged Jung to see his friend as something of a pregnant male. Jung’s writings about his friend and collaborator evince a clear equation between Wilhelm’s capability to opening himself to another culture and femininity: “Wilhelm possessed the rare gift of a maternal intellect,” able to give “rebirth to a foreign spirit.” (Jung 1971: 54) As in the conventional male-female gender dynamics of his age, Jung conceived of Wilhelm as the giver and himself as the taker, stating in his memorial address: “I feel myself so very much enriched by him that it seems to me as if I had received more from him than from any other man.” (Quoted in Clarke 1995: 48)

⁷⁶ Wilhelm and Jung 1962: 85.

⁷⁷ Wilhelm and Jung 1962: 144.

⁷⁸ Jung 1971: 58.

⁷⁹ Wilhelm and Jung 1962: 90.

⁸⁰ Quoted in Clarke 1995: 22.

Though Clarke sees Jung's "constantly reiterated praise for Eastern philosophies [...as] a refreshing antidote to Western arrogance,"⁸¹ one must consider not only his respect for non-Western spiritual practices but also his revulsion at seeing "‘primitivity’ ... earnestly... played at while Western civilized man evades his menacing duties..."⁸² These lines are particularly chilling in light of the fact that Jung wrote them as Nazism—the system that, in the insight of the Martiniquan statesman and poet Aimé Césaire, would treat Europeans as they treated their colonial subjects—was on the rise in neighboring Germany.⁸³ Jung initially looked upon the German National Socialist Party as a favorable development, and they reciprocated by praising his work. Clarke reminds us that, just after Jung began making his essentializing comments about inherent differences in Chinese and Western psyches, he undertook a study of similar irrevocable distances between the Aryan and the Jew.⁸⁴

Daoist Studies

Needham lauded the richness of *Principles* in his monumental multi-volume work *Science and Civilization in China* (1954-present), and drew on *Principles* (his "Pointers") extensively to illustrate Inner Alchemical concepts. He reprinted 11 images from it in all, more than from any other one text. He used none of the illustrations employed by

⁸¹ Clarke 1995: 23.

⁸² Wilhelm and Jung 1962: 83.

⁸³ Interestingly, Jung was probably the most prestigious European intellectual to take seriously the contention, voiced periodically in India and China in the first three decades of the 20th century, that their spiritual wealth was a counterbalance to the material wealth of Western Europe. Theodore Huters notes by "the positing of an indigenous spirituality in opposition to the overwhelming material power of the Western aggressors" the intellectuals of these colonized and semi-colonized countries sought to erase the taint on indigenous institutions and culture caused by their inability to fend off rapacious European powers. (Huters 2005: 16)

⁸⁴ Clarke 1995: 22.

Wilhelm and Jung, preferring to illustrate this phenomenon with photos of statues of *lohans* splitting their bellies to reveal infants inside.

The images Needham and Lu used include the book's opening invocation of I. 1 "The Three Sages" to dramatize syncretism;⁸⁵ I. 23 "The Three Families Call on One Another" to show the interrelation of the "primary vitalities";⁸⁶ I. 24 "The Harmonious Combination of the Four Heraldic Creatures," depicting the white tiger, vermillion sparrow, green dragon, and black tortoise protectively circling the cauldron⁸⁷ as they do the adept in a common meditation. More complex ideas are elucidated by Needham in the text accompanying I. 25 "Taking from *Kan* to fill *Li*" and II. 9 "The Copulation of *Qian* and *Kun*,"⁸⁸ as well as the depiction of the technique of III. 2 "Washing the Heart and Storing Inwardly (the secretions)"⁸⁹ made famous by Lin Zhao'en. Needham and Lu also reprint two of the most striking examples of the Daoist corporeal cartography, I. 6 "Universal Illumination" and I. 7 "Illumination of Reversion."⁹⁰

Needham remains one of the few scholars writing in Western languages to discuss portions of *Principles* that are not accompanied by images. He describes *Principles* as "a treatise of substantial size which might be regarded as the *Summa* of physiological alchemy," continuing: "It has not been properly studied by sinologists either Western or Chinese, yet it covers all the phases of the subject which we have outlined in this section."⁹¹

⁸⁵ Needham and Lu 1983: 230.

⁸⁶ Needham and Lu 1983: 48.

⁸⁷ Needham and Lu 1983: 58.

⁸⁸ Needham and Lu 1983: 64, 104.

⁸⁹ Needham and Lu 1983: 125.

⁹⁰ Needham and Lu 1983: 96, 202.

⁹¹ Needham and Lu 1983: 229, 231. They also reprint I. 14 and I. 15: Needham and Lu 1983: 104, 43.

Needham's call for a thorough examination of *Principles* has gone largely unanswered, though it has been echoed.⁹² A number of prominent scholars—most notably Michael Saso, Catherine Despeux and Livia Kohn—have used illustrations from the text to illuminate general points regarding Inner Alchemy. (On occasion, Saso and Kohn have continued the bad habit of failing to cite the source of these illustrations.)⁹³ None, however, have been sufficiently enticed to explore the text directly at any length. This changed in 1999 with Martina Darga's publication in German of a full translation of the first *juan* of the book, with each discourse accompanied by a commentary.

Conclusion

What is striking about *Principles* is not that it means different things to different people, but the temporal and geographical range in which powerful individuals and significant social phenomena have interacted with it. All “classics” must continue to accept new interpretations in order to be meaningful in changing contexts, but in mapping those changes critically one must also be aware of the original meanings intended by those who produced it and for whom it was produced. Investigations of this particular text are approaching this goal.

⁹² E.g., Kirkland 2002: 188; 2004: 114.

⁹³ A comprehensive listing of these scholars' usage of *Instructions* is as follows: Despeux 1990: 2 images, no page numbers; 1994: 153, 161. Despeux and Kohn 2003: 239, 242. Kohn 2001: 115; 2005: 189, 217. Saso 1972: cover; 1990: cover, 11, 19 and 64; 1995: 10, 31, 76, 149.

Chapter Two

Cultivation Practices of Donglin Faction (1604-1626) Members: Eclectic Influences Evident Among Archetypal Ruist Reformers

“Our Way is self-sufficient. Why seek elsewhere?”
- Zhang Zai 張載, quoted in *Jinsi lu* 近思錄⁹⁴

In this chapter I describe a concrete social group in the late Ming in which *Principles* was demonstrably known to one prominent member. By so doing, I aim to show the way in which an Inner Alchemical text can shed light on not simply intellectual history, but a history of *praxis*: the abstract entities “philosophy” and “religion” crystallized in and transcending the physical body through cultivator practice.

In what follows I examine the writings of two of the most venerable individuals associated with the Donglin Academy (*Donglin shuyuan* 東林書院), or “Faction” (*dang* 黨), of the late Ming dynasty. Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562-1626; Illustration 2.1) was a leader of this upright if quixotic group of officials who willingly sacrificed themselves in performance of their duty to correct the throne, while Zou Yuanbiao 鄒元標 (1551-1624) was a prominent fellow traveler. Ethical to a fault, the Donglin members are paradigms of Ruist virtue. Yet an examination of the individual cultivation practices⁹⁵ and

⁹⁴ Chapter 4, section 25, translated in Chan 1967: 306. Hereafter cited in the format, e.g., *JSL* 4.25: Chan 306.

⁹⁵ Palmer objects to the common term “self-cultivation” on the grounds that “many traditions practise the techniques as means to *transcend* the self and merge with the Tao. When used in a more limited sense of individual cultivation as opposed to collective rituals, the term ‘self-cultivation’ obscures the social role of the master-disciple transmission... in which the techniques produce experiences and inner transformation for practitioners” (Palmer 2007: 8). This brings to mind Tu Wei-Ming’s remarks on “ultimate self-transformation as a communal act” (Tu 1979).

The importance of the master-disciple relationship in literati circles was being eroded within the period with which we are concerned by the printing in voluminous quantity of texts claiming to contain the oral teachings (*kou jue* 口訣) otherwise only available directly from a master. These texts, however, were invariably attributed to Perfected Transcendents, indicating a massification of esoteric access rather than a decline in the prestige of master-disciple transmission. Face to face relationships did not, of course, disappear entirely and, regardless, books are also not “the self.”

philosophical inclinations of important figures in this cohort reveals that these Ruist stalwarts reflected, by and large, the Ming tendency towards promiscuous involvement with all of the Three Teachings (Ruism, Buddhism, and Daoism). This was a trend explicitly condemned by Gu Xiancheng 顧憲誠 (1550-1612; Illustration 2.2), the most conventionally orthodox of the Donglin Academy founders.

Below I focus on: Gao's account of his "sudden enlightenment" in 1594 and writings on quiet-sitting in the early 1610s⁹⁶; and Zou's preface (from 1615 or earlier) to *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*.



Illustration 2.1 Gao Panlong



Illustration 2.2 Gu Xiancheng

Palmer's proposed replacement, "traditional body technologies," is derived from Foucault, who coined the phrase "technologies of the self." Foucault defines these as practices "which permit individuals to affect by their own means a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality" (Foucault 1988: 18).

I opt simply for "cultivation"; though vague, it reifies neither the self nor the body.

⁹⁶ These are "Discourse on Quiet-sitting" (*Jingzuo shuo* 靜坐說) of 1613 and "Latter Discourse on Quiet-sitting" (*Jingzuo shuo hou* 靜坐說後) of 1615. Trans. in Taylor 1978: 199-201.

Inner Alchemy and Conservative Political Factions in the Northern Song

While I by no means argue that Donglin members coalesced around a certain set of cultivation techniques, I do assert that these practices pervaded the milieu. It is, however, valuable to bear in mind that there was precedent for political filiation based on Inner Alchemical practices. As Lowell Skar has shown: “Many of those who helped perpetuate Zhang [Boduan 張伯端 (984?-1082)]’s teachings [of the Golden Elixir] in the first century after his death had ties to some of the diverse groups that emerged in opposition to Wang Anshi’s [王安石 1021-1086] reforms.”⁹⁷

As one of the retinue of Lu Shen 陸誥 (1022-1070), who served in Chengdu beginning in 1069, Zhang was compelled to familiarize himself directly with the local implications of Wang’s new reforms. The year of his arrival Lu sent up a memorial criticizing one of these initiatives as being inappropriate to local conditions. He died the next year still engaged in this battle, leaving Zhang “bereft of his main patron.”⁹⁸ Zhang had begun receiving revelations in 1069 and, increasingly alienated by the world of officialdom after Lu’s death, strung these revelations together to form his seminal *Folios on Awakening to Perfection* (*Wuzhenpian* 悟真篇) in the ensuing years.

Lü Dongbin, the prolific diety of literati, also apparently despised Wang. Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein writes: “Anecdotes [about Lü] also served to vent frustration as in the case of the powerful Wang Anshi, much hated by his rivals because of his ‘new reforms’:

⁹⁷ Skar 2003: 231. On these reforms see de Bary and Bloom 1999: 609-628.

⁹⁸ Skar 2003: 234.

Wang Anshi begs Lü Dongbin to initiate him into the Dao, but Lü refuses on the grounds that Wang's karmic burden (*zhang* 障) is too great."⁹⁹

At What Price Orthodoxy?

Song Dynasty Learning of the Principles Revisited

Before considering the Ming, the original constitution of the "Learning of the Principles" (*lixue* 理學) in the Song bears reviewing.¹⁰⁰ In 1958 A.C. Graham wrote:

It has been generally accepted for nearly eight hundred years that the Neo-Confucian school was founded by Zhou Dunyi [周敦頤] (1017-1073); that his philosophy was handed on to the Cheng brothers [Cheng Hao 程顥 and Cheng Yi 程頤], who studied under him in 1046-7; that it passed from them to Zhang Zai [1020-1077], who met them at the capital in 1057, and to Shao Yong [邵雍] (1011-1077), who was acquainted with them at Louyang [洛陽]; and that after being spread over China in adulterated forms by disciples of the Chengs, it was finally restored and completed by Zhu Xi [朱熹] (1130-1200).

This picture originated in Zhu Xi's own *Record of the Profound Font of the Cheng*

Brothers of Luoyang (*Yiluo yuanyuan lu* 伊洛淵源錄), prompting Graham to observe

⁹⁹ Baldrian-Hussein 1989: 137-138. Suggesting a political polarization in the heavens as on earth, Wenchang 文昌, patron deity of examinations, blessed the promising young future Prime Minister with "a send off of wind and rain" when he traveled as a child from Chengdu to the capital in Chang'an (Kleeman 1994:14).

¹⁰⁰ These teachings became the orthodoxy only in the Yuan (de Bary 1981), a period that was also key for the establishment of Three Teachings thought. As the Neo-Confucian Wu Deng 吳澄 (1249-1333) put it: "Since Jin and Tang times, Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism have been called the Three Teachings. However, to venerate them on equal terms without any discrimination is the virtue of the Great Yuan," (adapted from quote in Liu and Berling 1982: 479). Elsewhere Liu Ts'un-Yan writes that it was in the Southern Song that the "theory of co-existence and syncretism 'Three Teachings'... became more or less universally accepted" (Liu 1984: 42).

Liu and Berling explain: "Each of the three religions had to make its peace with the alien rulers, and the process of peacemaking and compromise produced pragmatic forces encouraging syncretism both within each of the three religions and among them." (Liu and Berling 1982; see also "The Syncretism of the Three Teachings in Sung-Yüan China," in Liu 1984: 3-95). This accommodation had crucial consequences for the Ming: in the view of Langlois and Sun "the Ming founding was in many ways the product of 'Three Teachings Syncretism'" (1983: 102).

Notably, it is also in the Yuan that an entity controlling borders recognizable as the modern Chinese nation first came into being.

“the culminating thinker in a movement cannot be trusted to write its history.” Graham’s own findings, which I will outline briefly, contort the linear narrative of a retroactively constructed lineage, and point to the Song classicist debt to Buddhism, Daoism, and numerological speculation.

Shao Yong was the most problematic figure in the creation of the *lixue* lineage. He troubled not only Zhu Xi, who omitted him from *Jinsi lu*,¹⁰¹ his distillation of Song classicist ideology, but Cheng Hao who, in recalling the influences on his older friend, omitted Shao Yong’s admiration for the historically fuzzy Daoist Chen Tuan 陳搏 (871?-989),¹⁰² from whom his esoteric teachings are commonly said to derive.¹⁰³ (Cheng likely did so as a protective act, in order to safeguard Shao Yong’s reputation for posterity.) Shao Yong was esteemed by the Cheng brothers, who regarded him as a “true Confucian.”¹⁰⁴ Yet in contrast to the other claimed patriarchs of the *lixue* lineage, he never evinced particular interest in matters of ritual and propriety.¹⁰⁵

Zhou Dunyi, another student of the *Changes*, posed a problem for the opposite reason: he was closer to the later ideal of orthodoxy but shared some of the same

¹⁰¹ Chan 1967: xxxiii. The exception is a case in which he is quoted by Cheng Hao (*JSL* 5.15; Chan 158).

¹⁰² On Chen Tuan see Kohn 1990 and *TC*: 1275.

¹⁰³ In his *Yixue Bianhuo* 易學辨惑 Shao Yong’s son Bo Wen 伯溫 (1057-1134) wrote that his father’s “Learning of the Changes” was transferred from Chen to Mu Xiu 穆修 (979-1032), on to Li Zhicai 李之才 (d. 1045). A cursory glance exposes the implausibility of this schema—Mu Xiu was only ten years old at the time of Chen Tuan’s death. In 1107 and 1134, respectively, Chao Yuezhi 晁說之 (1059-1129), a member of the Shao Yong school, and Zhu Zhen 朱震 (d. 1137) inserted Chong Fang 种放 (d. 1015) after Chen as a bridge, but any attempt to make this chain of transmission more concrete must be imaginative because the teachings had been oral: as Chao Yuezhi pointed out, “From Chen Tuan down none had written a book” (quoted in Graham 1992: 155).

For more on the possible influences on Shao Yong see *Ibid.*: 154-156. On Shao Yong’s own philosophy see Birdwhistell 1989.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in Graham 1992: 160.

¹⁰⁵ Birdwhistell divides *lixue* into “the learning of the *Changes* and principles” (*Yi li xue* 易理學, a Han dynasty term actually meaning “study of the principles of the *Yijing*”), which emphasizes morality, and “the learning of images and numbers” (*xiang shu xue* 象數學), focused on cosmology, and points out that among the Five Masters of the early Song, Shao Yong was the only one disinterested in the former moral aspect (Birdwhistell 1989: 4).

speculative interests as Shao Yong. In the 11th century there were a number of philosophers devoted to *lixue* who did not involve themselves in the Confucian revival: as Graham points out “the only reason why [Zhou Dunyi and Shao Yong] were distinguished from the rest as ‘Neo-Confucians’ is that they were the ones who influenced Zhu Xi.”¹⁰⁶ In his introduction to Zhou’s influential “Diagram of the Supreme Polarity,”¹⁰⁷ (on which see: I.10) inspired by the “Great Appendix” to the *Yijing*, Zhu Xi states unequivocally: “There is no doubt that this diagram was first written by the master,” 此圖當為先生首書無疑也¹⁰⁸ yet elsewhere doesn’t hesitate to trace the diagram back to Chen Tuan.¹⁰⁹

The idea, propagated by Zhu Xi, that the teachings of the Luoyang school of the Cheng brothers and the Guanzhong 關中 school of Zhang Zai originated with Zhou Dunyi, first occurred only in the mid-12th century. This is in and of itself an indication of the gulf between those primarily concerned with cosmology and those focused on immediate ethical matters. (Graham calls the former “the school of diagrams and numbers” and the latter “polemical Confucians.”¹¹⁰)¹¹¹ The difficulty for those who

¹⁰⁶ Graham 1992: 153.

¹⁰⁷ Zhu Zhen asserted early on that Zhou received his chart from Mu Xiu, Shao Yong’s purported predecessor, but as Graham points out, Zhou was only sixteen *sui* when he and Mu were together in the capital in 1031-2, making this unlikely (156).

¹⁰⁸ *Chongkan daoze jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要, 星集七 2a.

¹⁰⁹ Indeed, Zhu Xi’s research on Chen Tuan was sufficiently in-depth that a text in the Ming Daoist canon, Zhang Lu’s 張輅 *Taihua xiyi zhi* 太華希夷志 (preface 1314), draws on his *Wuchao mingchen yanxing lu* 五朝名臣言行錄 for biographical information on Chen (Dennis Allistone in *TC*: 904).

¹¹⁰ Graham 1992: 159-160.

¹¹¹ One of the distinguishing traits between these two inclinations are its members’ attitudes towards philosophical Daoism, with the former approving its embrace of personal freedom rather than worldly power, while the latter denounced this as escapism (e.g., Graham 1992: 159). The works of Liu Mu 劉牧 (fl. mid-11th century; the most important *yixue* figure before Shao Yong) and Shao Yong are included in the Ming Daoist canon, unlike those of the Cheng brothers and Zhang Zai.

Of the Donglin men, Qian Yiben 錢一本 (d. 1617) was the most committed to the Learning of the *Changes*. Wu Guisen 吳桂森 (d. 1632), a Wuxi native and regular attendee at the Donglin Academy, was a disciple of Gao Panlong’s who also studied the *Changes* with Qian. Wu was one of those charged by Gao

would create a direct line of transmission was increased by the fact that “there is scarcely a prominent Confucian later than the Warring Kingdoms for whom the Chengs have the least respect.”¹¹²

Though the Cheng brothers and their uncle Zhang Zai were the first to combine the Song classicist revival with the study of the *Changes*, they were indifferent to the diagrams so popular with those obsessed by cosmological speculation. (It was Zhu Xi who resuscitated these schematic aides.) They similarly scorned numerical speculation, which was also an integral component of *yixue*. This or any other method of returning to the origin, Cheng Yi wrote dismissively, was “the object of fortune-tellers and not the concern of a Confucian.”¹¹³

These were core differences: while Shao Yong, his predecessor Liu Mu, and Zhou Dunyi both gave pride of place to the concept of the Supreme Polarity, the Chengs awarded primacy to “principle” (*li* 理). The former “implies that all things come from the same source”; the latter “that they are united by a single principle running through them.”¹¹⁴ The first is proudly mystical; the last sternly rational. Zhu Xi conflated these two concepts in an effort to sublimate the differences among those who influenced him.¹¹⁵

to run the Academy. After Gao’s death and the demolition of the Academy Wu continued the discussions in the Daonan ci 道南祠. After the ouster of Wei Zhongxian he immediately rebuilt the Litan tang 麗潭堂, where the meetings continued, albeit with further restriction on the discussion of political matters and greater stress on the Classics. He was careful, however, not to let his own interest in the *Changes* affect the Donglin legacy, instead lecturing on the subject to students “in great numbers” at his own Laifu zhai 來復齋 (Busch 1949-55: 139, 153).

¹¹² Graham 1992: 158. See: e.g., *JSL* 14.17; Chan 1967: 300. The reasons for this in relation to Han predecessors becomes clear when we remember the broad diversity of “superstitious” practices these Ruists engaged in: e.g., Seidel 1989-90: 275.

¹¹³ Quoted in Graham 1992: 159.

¹¹⁴ Graham 1992: 160.

¹¹⁵ Graham 1992: 163.

The Cheng brothers studied under Zhou Dunyi from 1046-47, but when they ceased the elder brother Cheng Hao was only sixteen, and there is no evidence of further contact after 1048.¹¹⁶ They did not consider Zhou to be their teacher, nor count him among the “true Confucians” of their day, instead relegating him to the ranks of the good minds that had gone over to Chan.¹¹⁷ After leaving Zhou, Cheng Hao commenced his decade of exploration of Daoism and Buddhism, putting the lie to Zhu Xi’s schema in which the Cheng brothers simply extended what Zhou had taught them. Graham observes: “A curious feature of the references to Zhou Dunyi [in the works of the Cheng brothers] is that, unlike those to Liu Mu, Shao Yong and Zhang Zai, they are never concerned with his ideas.”¹¹⁸

In relation to Zhang Zai, the final figure Graham considers in Zhu Xi’s concocted lineage,¹¹⁹ it must be said that, as with Shao Yong, there is no question of discipleship, but only of communication between peers and the attendant mutual influence. As Cheng Yi stated unambiguously: “It is untrue to say that he learned from us.”¹²⁰ Any assertion to the contrary can be attributed to the fact that a number of Zhang’s students went over to the Chengs after their master’s death.¹²¹

The formulation of “a new Confucian metaphysics” in the Song was prompted by the popularity of Buddhism: the Huayan 華嚴 philosophy of Perfect Harmony and Chan in particular.¹²² Of the “Five Masters of the early Song,” Cheng Yi alone did not have

¹¹⁶ On dating see: Graham 1992: 173 n. 34.

¹¹⁷ Graham 1992: 160-162.

¹¹⁸ Graham 1992: 162.

¹¹⁹ Three more generations complete the transmission to Zhu Xi: the Chengs’ disciple Yang Shi 楊時 (1053-1135), Luo Congyan 羅從彥 (1072-1135), and Li Tong 李侗 (1093-1163).

¹²⁰ Quoted in Graham 1992: 177.

¹²¹ Graham 1992: 176.

¹²² Chan 1967: xvii.

extensive congress with Buddhism and Daoism. In recognizing the impact of the “Two Teachings” (*er shi* 二氏) and numerology on most of these thinkers, it is important to keep in mind that these were the individuals Zhu Xi selected as closest to his own thought.

From the above outline we can see that not only did the Song classicist revival borrow intellectually from Chan but, like Daoism, which created its “Southern School” (*Nanzong* 南宗) of direct transmission contemporaneously,¹²³ Zhu Xi borrowed the *method* of retroactive lineage creation from Chan.

Zhu Xi’s Works in Daoist Collections

Commentaries of Zhu Xi’s in the Daoist canon of the Zhengtong reign era, published in 1444-45, are, in chronological order of the original texts: the *Daodejing* 道德經, *Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Huangdi yinfu jing* 皇帝陰符經, and the *Cantongqi* 參同契. The *Cantongqi* commentary and that on Zhou Dunyi’s “Diagram of the Supreme Polarity” also appear in the late imperial *Re-edited Essentials of the Daoist Canon* (*Chongkan dao zang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要), compiled not by court-appointed Daoist priests, but by lay devotees to Lü Dongbin. Zhu Xi’s commentary on the *Yinfu jing* is also attributed to his friend and collaborator Cai Yuanding 蔡元定 (1139-1198). Both men addressed the *Hunyuan shengji* 混元聖記, though only Cai’s appears in the Ming Daoist canon (Zhu Xi’s commentary being included in the 1992-94 *Extra-canonical Daoist Texts* [*Zangwai dao shu* 藏外道書]).

¹²³ Though tracing itself back to Liu Cao 劉操 (early Song) and Zhang Boduan “nothing that could be called a real school developed before the time of Chen Nan 陳楠 [d. 1213] and Bo Yuchan 伯玉蟾 [1194-1229]” (Robinet 1997: 224). The most detailed examination of the Southern School is Skar 2003.

Like the “Inner Chapters” of Ge Hong’s 葛洪 *The Master who Embraces Simplicity* (*Baopuzi* 抱朴子), the *Concordance of the Three* (*Cantongqi*) is often touted as quintessentially Daoist but is inherently nothing of the sort: the text was passed on in a selective transmission, but this tradition was alchemical, not that of liturgical Daoism. Traditionally attributed to the quasi-mythic figure Wei Boyang 魏伯陽, the work is referenced in the Eastern Han but practically disappears in the Six Dynasties. A work bearing the same name exerted great influence in the Tang (618-906), causing modern scholars to disagree as to whether there are two distinct texts (the first lost), or one that was cherished and developed over the centuries.¹²⁴ *Cantongqi* was used by adepts of both external and internal alchemy, the first of which sought the creation of an elixir of enduring life (the “Golden Pill” [*jin dan* 金丹]) through laboratory concoctions,¹²⁵ the latter which employed metallurgical metaphors to detail the process of physio-spiritual transformation.

What’s important here is that Zhu Xi considered the text Daoist and even donned Daoist drag in elaborating upon it. He signs his commentary Kongtong daoshi Zouxin 空同道士鄒訢. Zouxin is wordplay. As Yuan Bingling elaborates: “the state of Zou in ancient China was the home of the sage Zhuzi 邾子. As to Xin 訢, this name was glossed by the commentators of the classics as a synonym of *xi* 喜[熹].”¹²⁶ *Daoshi* is the title of a Daoist priest. Zhu Xi’s word choice highlights the centrality of the Way to the Song

¹²⁴ Chen Guofu and Fukui Kōjun hold the former view, Pregadio the latter (Pregadio 2002: 156 n. 21). There are several English translations, none of them satisfactory, including that of Wu 1932. For an admirable effort to disentangle the origin and contents of the commentaries to the *Cantongqi* see TC: 701-06.

¹²⁵ On which see Pregadio 2005.

¹²⁶ TC: 701.

Ruists; so much so that an alternative name for the school is the Learning of the Way (*Dao xue* 道學). This brings to the fore the common heritage of much terminology: *daojia*, the common label for various Daoistic practices from the Southern Dynasties on, was first used by Mozi to describe Ruists,¹²⁷ while Kristopher Schipper, one of the foremost scholars of Daoism and himself an ordained Daoist priest, translates *daoshi* as “noble of the Way.”

Zhu Xi wrote this commentary on the *Cantongqi* in his old age in exile, prompting Zhang Yucun 張與村, the 38th Celestial Master, to coo that Zhu Xi had caved and embraced the Daoist pursuit of enduring life. But there is no evidence for this. Rather we can perceive the limits of one who would feign that his knowledge was so vast as to include All Under Heaven. As Yu Yan 俞琰 (1253-1314) remarked dismissively, Zhu Xi’s commentary is superficial and lacking in insight.¹²⁸

Should we consider the much more tolerant School of the Mind of Zhu Xi’s rival Lu Xiangshan 陸象山, let alone Song officials who simply did not strongly identify with resurgent classicist thought, we would see that permissiveness was the rule, not the exception. In considering Donglin co-founder Gu Xiancheng in the Ming, we again meet an obstinate crusader whose closest students and colleagues, as with Zhu Xi, couldn’t satisfy his unrealistic ideals.

Gao Panlong and Quiet-sitting

Gao Panlong, as with numerous Donglin men, was a native of the Grand Canal city of Wuxi 無錫, just northwest of Suzhou. He traced his intellectual awakening, in part,

¹²⁷ Sivin 1978: 305.

¹²⁸ *TC* 701-702.

to a lecture by future Donglin Academy founder Gu Xiancheng. After himself becoming a scholar and official, he came to be “a principle leader of both the intellectual and political movements associated with the Donglin Academy.”¹²⁹

In 1593 in punishment for authoring a memorial criticizing the cashiering of some sixty officials of the “righteous circles” (*qing liu* 清流)¹³⁰ that preceded the Donglin Academy in its defiant crusade to check the power of the Cabinet (*nei ge* 內閣), Gao was demoted to a minor post in Jieyang 揭陽, Guangzhou. He did not stay long in the south, returning home where he spent much of the next twenty-five years meditating, studying and writing poems. It is he who suggested to Gu Xiancheng that he rebuild the Donglin Academy, which came to pass in 1604 with Gao’s full participation. Gao served as principle aide to Gu until the latter’s death in 1612, at which point Gao assumed leadership of the Academy, a position he held until the last year of his life.

Recalled to the capital along with most of his friends after the death of the Wanli emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1573-1620), Gao and the others became embroiled in new quarrels: Gao defended, for example, the attitude of his former student Yang Lian 楊漣 in the contentious Palace Removal case. Gao participated in the debates of the Shoushan 首善 (“Putting Goodness First”) Academy, co-founded by Zou Yuanbiao, whom he first met back in 1592. When the Shoushan founders were attacked and forced to resign Gao tendered his own resignation in disgust. The resignation was not accepted, and Gao found himself Senior President of the Censorate as Yang Lian’s impeachment of the eunuch

¹²⁹ Hucker 1976a: 701.

¹³⁰ I.e., those who engaged in “pure criticism” (*qing yi* 清議).

dictator Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 pushed the Donglin faction past its zenith and into freefall.

Zhongxian finally forced Gao to resign and, a year and a half later, Gao was reduced to commoner status. His disciples Yang Lian and Wei Dazhong 魏大中 were among the first batch of Donglin men summoned to the imperial Decree Prison in 1615, where they were tortured and murdered: Gao was thus the instructor of at least two of the “Six Superior Men of the Tianqi reign period” (*Tianqi liu junzi* 天啟六君子). Gao met with Wei on his student’s final journey north, seeking to comfort him with philosophical insight. That same year Gao witnessed the imperially ordered destruction of the Donglin Academy lecture hall.

Ruist Enlightenment

It was through the technique of quiet-sitting that Gao attained sudden “enlightenment” (*wu* 悟). Zhu Xi describes the technique in its simplicity: “sitting in quietude, legs crossed, the eyes should gaze at the tip of the nose. One must fix one’s spirit on the part of the body just below the navel. In time, one will experience a sensation of heat and one will feel more and more the efficacy [of this method].”¹³¹ Gao’s enlightenment did not do away with the necessity of *jingzuo*; quiet-sitting was the means by which Gao reentered and remained aware of this state. Only after “enlightenment” could one cultivate sagehood.¹³²

¹³¹ Quoted in Gernet 1981: 292. This comes from a letter to Huang Zigeng 黃子耕; Zhu Xi was prescribing quiet-sitting for illness.

¹³² Gao’s achievement of something along these lines was evinced by the composure with which he met his death when the minions of Wei Zhongxian eventually came for him. To the news of his imminent arrest, Gao is said to have replied, “If this news is true then I just look on death as a return. There is no life and

Only two years after receiving his first official appointment in 1592, Gao experienced the mystical awakening that altered his consciousness for the rest of his days. In a pause on his two-month trip to assume his new duties in Jieyang, Gao relates in his spiritual autobiography *Kunxue ji* 困學記 (“Recollections on the Toils of Learning”),¹³³ he had a thought-provoking discussion with Lu Guqiao 陸古樵 which inspired him to implement a rigorous daily routine of quiet-sitting in order to fulfill his duty to the mind by gaining insight into the Way:

On the following day I had rush cushions placed in thick layers in the boat, and set up a strict daily routine, which provided for half a day of sitting quietly and half a day of study. While sitting quietly I followed no definite arrangement but only reflected on the directions given by Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi and carried them out one by one, such as to “practice quiescence with sincerity and reverence”, “to contemplate affection, anger, grief, and pleasure before they become manifest”, “to sit in silence and clear the mind and be intimately aware of the heavenly norm”. Standing, sitting, eating and resting, I bore these directions constantly in mind... Only when very tired did I sleep, and awakened from sleep I sat again and practiced these methods over and over again.

death, no life and death. How can we make life and death two things? If on the verge of death you begin rethinking your thoughts, you fall into the bitter sea. How can you achieve your fixed fate that way?” (quoted in Dardess 2002: 108).

Gao assured his family he would comply with the order, but that evening, after composing a final statement and farewell, he drowned himself in the moat of the family compound garbed in his official robes. “[O]nce I was a high official, and when a high official is humiliated, the dynasty is humiliated” (Quoted in *Ibid.*). Rather than participate in such degradation, in his death by drowning, Gao chose to emulate the poet Qu Yuan 屈原, who drowned himself in exile.

Death with composure was something of a theme among Donglin men. Gao’s favorite student Hua Yuncheng 華允誠 (1588-1648; *jinshi* 1622), to whom he composed a message just before his death, died with dignity when beheaded in 1648 in Nanjing after refusing to cut his hair at the order of the new Manchu regime (Busch 1949-1955: 140-41). In the midst of the Manchu conquest, Wu Zhongluan 吳鐘鑾 sat atop a pile of combustibles in a Confucian temple holding a tablet of Confucius and had himself set afire. In his youth Wu had been interested in Chan, Daoism, and the philosophy of Wang Yangming, but abandoned these pursuits after listening to Gao’s lectures (Busch 1949-1955: 152).

¹³³ The title is an allusion to *Lunyu* 16.9.

“At times,” he continued, “when the substance of my mind was purified and clear it seemed as if it were filling up heaven and earth,” but it was only a transient sensation that could not last.

In the midst of this period Gao encountered two sentences of Cheng Hao’s which may be said to contain the stereotyped essence of Daoism and Chan, respectively. They are: “In the midst of the many thousand affairs of the various offices, in the midst of millions of tools of war, ‘one can still have joy, though one drinks water and uses the bended arm as a pillow’.”¹³⁴ The myriad changes are all man’s own creations; in reality there is not a thing.”

I had a sudden awakening [Gao writes] and said: ‘So, that is the way it is! Indeed, there is not a thing!’ Thereupon, as if cut off, all the entanglements of my worries were gone, and suddenly something like a burden of a hundred pounds fell with a crash to the ground. It furthermore penetrated my body and my soul like a flash of lightning, and thereupon I became fused with the Great Change. There was no longer a separation of heaven and man, interior and exterior... I had always despised scholars who spoke boastfully of enlightenment; now I regarded it as something ordinary. It was a conviction that from now on I was in the right position to work on my moral perfection.¹³⁵

Both Gu and Gao were “staunch upholder[s] of traditional Confucianism and opponent[s] of the subjectivism of the Wang School.”¹³⁶ Yet in contrast to Gu’s staid conservatism, which concerned itself with combating heterodoxies that had insinuated themselves into Ruist orthodoxy, Gao’s philosophy was what Busch characterizes as “of a more positive nature.”¹³⁷ Gao’s lectures were reportedly more popular than those of his elder colleague Gu, undoubtedly due in large part to the way in which his

¹³⁴ *Lunyu* 7.15.

¹³⁵ Quoted in Busch 1949-55: 128-29. The entirety of the *Kunxue ji* is translated in Taylor 1978: 121-134 and 1979: 276-81.

¹³⁶ Busch 1949-1955: 121.

¹³⁷ Busch 1949-1955: 132.

unacknowledged syncretism allowed him to create a worldview more inviting than that of Gu's defensive conservatism. This highlights the competitive pressure for syncretism: if Song classicists contented themselves with orthodox righteousness and failed to address the interests of the public of their day they would lose some of the best minds available. But if they selectively adopted the "alien" practices and doctrines of Chan while putting their own spin on them they could retain their prestige and an audience.¹³⁸ Gao's practice illustrates that, in order to retain the interest of the best and brightest, Ruists were forced to compete in the realm of *practice* as well as that of thought.

Yet Gao was an outspoken critic of Buddhism, ideas expressed most succinctly in his "Refutation of Heresy" (*Yiduan bian* 異端辨)¹³⁹ of 1603. This didn't stop him from repeatedly visiting Buddhist and Daoist monasteries alone or with friends in order to practice quiet-sitting. In 1582 he visited a Daoist monastery in Jiangning, Jiangsu, the "Audience with Heaven Palace" (*Chaotian gong* 朝天宮), "used for the practice and

¹³⁸ Some of the key figures of the Song classicist revival evinced a fear of intellectual competition with Buddhism. As they saw it, once one entered the quagmire of Buddhist metaphysics they were as good as lost. Cheng Yi commented: "If one tries to investigate all the Buddhist doctrines in order to accept or reject them, before he has done that, he will already have been converted to be a Buddhist" (*JSL* 13.9; Chan 285). The danger was not only to Confucians but to their social inferiors as well. In Cheng Hao's view: "the harm [the heterodox schools] did in the past was immediate and was easily known, but the harm now is deep and is difficult to sift. In the past they deluded people at the opportune time when the people were ignorant, but now they take advantage of their high intelligence to influence them" (*JSL* 14.17; Chan 300-01). He also observed: "Since the Buddhist doctrine spread in China like fire, many Confucianists, who have not been able to look through the gate of the school of the Sage, have already been attracted to it and drowned in it together with the Buddhists. They consider Buddhism as the great Way. Consequently, its vulgarism has extended throughout the world, so that good and bad people, the intelligent and the stupid, men and women, and servants all have become accustomed to believing in it" (*JSL* 13.14; Chan 287).

A student need not and ought not study Buddhist doctrine because, in Cheng Yi's words, "We already have in our Way whatever is correct in them" (*JSL* 13.9: 285). In as much as this is true, it is because of unacknowledged borrowing.

¹³⁹ *Yiduan* is a phrase from Confucius's *Lunyu*, long deployed against Buddhism in particular but often inclusive of Daoism as well. By the Qing, Alexander Woodside writes, the term was so commonly employed as to be "rhetorically weightless." The Confucian would-be reformer Jiao Xun 焦循 (1763-1820) evinced "a hatred of scholarly factionalism and a revulsion at a Chinese intellectual life whose producers had become so competitively specialized that they were driven to call everyone else 'alien,' making the term 'alien principles' [note: the same phrase I have translated above as "heresy"] an empty epithet, the same thing—Jiao said sarcastically—as 'floods, wild animals, rebellious ministers, and nefarious sons'" (Woodside 1990: 181).

instruction of officials in court ceremony and ritual.”¹⁴⁰ And in 1598 he and several friends traveled to monasteries in the Wulin Mountains. There they sat in the lotus position, eyes closed, in front of incense, in complete isolation.¹⁴¹ One of these monasteries was the Concealed Light Retreat (Taoguang an 弢光菴), where Gao would write his *jingzuo shuo* in 1613. Gao’s contradictory conduct provides evidence for Anna Seidel’s observation: “there may be a connection between the borrowing from and the denunciation of the other tradition.”¹⁴²

In order to disguise his borrowing from his peers and himself Gao sought to obscure the Buddhist origins of his quiet-sitting technique. The key means by which he did so was to refuse to describe any method. He prescribes little more than isolating oneself, sitting cross-legged, and closing one’s eyes: nothing on the breath, nothing on visualization.

The rules for quiet-sitting are nothing more than this; arousing the mind to stately and constant clarity and not allowing one’s aims to be set on anything. When the aims are no longer set on anything the spirit of its own congeals again. Do not wait for a particular procedure; there are no guidelines set forth and there should be no thought of the results.¹⁴³

As Taylor notes, “There is no specific characteristic of the physical form of the practice that appears inextricably and irrevocably bound to the successful practice of quiet-sitting.”¹⁴⁴ “Simply stick to the most important sayings of the Sages and Worthies and the beginning steps will unfold naturally,” Gao writes in his *Kunxue ji*.¹⁴⁵ This was exactly the guidance he himself had found inadequate, and his willingness to go beyond it in his

¹⁴⁰ Taylor 1979: 278 n. 55.

¹⁴¹ Taylor 1978: 78-79.

¹⁴² Seidel 1989-90: 277.

¹⁴³ Quoted in Taylor 1979: 158.

¹⁴⁴ Taylor 1979: 157.

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in Taylor 1979: 157.

autobiographical writings is what sets him apart. In attempting to evade the taint of Buddhism, however, Gao employs one of the fruitful paradoxes of Chan: he “suggests that even the possibility of remaining unattached to an intention can be a source of attachment to the intention of non-attachment.”¹⁴⁶

Gao donned a Ruist terminological cloak, asserting that an attitude of sincerity (*cheng* 誠) and reverence (*jing* 敬) was essential to his practice. Gao conflates sincerity with humanity (*ren* 仁) and reverence. When one undoes Cheng Yi’s alteration of Zhou Dunyi’s quietude (*jing* 靜) to reverence (敬),¹⁴⁷ the greatest Ruist ideals can then be found in stillness. Further, not only is Gao concerned with the irredeemably Daoist-Buddhist concept of the “Void” (*xu* 虛), he identifies it with the highest virtue of the Cheng-Zhu school: moral activism.¹⁴⁸

The practice of quiet-sitting betrays in physical form the debt of Song classicism to Buddhist philosophy. The classicists adopted the practice from Buddhists, made it their own, then vigorously denied its origins. Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲, son of murdered Donglin partisan Huang Zunsu 黃尊素 and himself a follower of Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529), was the first to challenge Gao’s pretensions to Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy. In his *Studies of Ming Ruists* (*Ming ru xue an* 明儒學案), Huang notes that Gao’s statement “Only he who knows how to reflect and examine himself is truly able to investigate things” “is pretty close to the words of Yang Zhongli 楊中立,” but not to the Cheng

¹⁴⁶ Taylor 1979: 159.

¹⁴⁷ Cheng Yi’s modified Zhou Dunyi’s dictum “make quiescence the ruling consideration” (*jing zhu* 靜主) to the rhyming “make reverence the ruling consideration [dwell in reverence]” (*jing zhu [ju]* 敬主[居]). (Pulleyblank determines that these two terms were homophonous in the High Tang, but not in the Yuan [Pulleyblank 1991: 159; 160], but since they have different initials they could only have been rhyming). Cheng Yi’s intention was also to create a semantic prophylactic to separate an idea obviously lifted from Buddhism (Graham 1992: 166).

¹⁴⁸ Taylor 1979: 161.

brothers or Zhu Xi.¹⁴⁹ Yet Gao vigorously denounced Wang for his formula of realizing “innate knowledge” (*liang zhi* 良知). He did so in the classic manner of those concerned with orthodoxy: exaggerating differences so as to create a wedge. Busch elaborates, acknowledging that there are differences between the thought of Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming, “but Gao makes this difference an absolute one and sees crystallized in the formulas of the two Schools the spirit of objectivism and subjectivism respectively.” These qualities are what differentiates Ruists from Chan; thus, Gao pressed on, Zhu Xi’s was the only true Ruist doctrine, while Wang’s was little different from the despised alien import.¹⁵⁰

Because he was aware of this to a certain extent, Gao “wanted to differentiate himself from Yangming,” but because he relied on semantic sophistry to do so, “he only created obstacles for himself.”¹⁵¹ Further evidence for Gao’s affinity with Wang—and the consequent need to distance himself from him—can be found in the fact that Gao used the same word as the Buddhists to describe his mystical awakening, *wu*, a word which was at the time “a catchword of the radical wing of the Wang [Yangming] School.”¹⁵²

Zou Yuanbiao, Champion of Unorthodox Teachings

Achieving the *jinshi* degree in 1577, Zou Yuanbiao quickly became associated with the “righteous circles.” The next year he was the youngest of five officials who were flogged at court for vehemently opposing Grand Secretary (*Shou fu* 首輔) Zhang

¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Busch 1949-1955: 123.

¹⁵⁰ Busch 1949-1955: 123-24.

¹⁵¹ Huang quoted in Taylor 1975: 163. Huang faults Gao as betraying Buddhist influence and thus being a less pure Confucian than Huang’s teacher Liu Zongzhou 劉宗周 (1578-1645). See: *Ming ru xue an*, chap. 62; Busch 1949-1955: 132 n. 542.

¹⁵² Busch 1949-1955: 127.

Juzheng's 張居正 (1525-1582) decision not to observe the mourning period for his father in order to protect his power in the capital. Zou was given eighty blows and demoted to serve as a common soldier in Guizhou. Charles Hucker writes: "During the six years of this demeaning but apparently not arduous service, Zou devoted himself to Ruist studies of the Wang Yangming variety, no doubt keeping in mind that Wang had endured similar exile in Guizhou seventy years before and had there gained his most important philosophical insights."¹⁵³

Zou was recalled in 1583 after the death of Grand Secretary Zhang. "He immediately got into new trouble," Hucker continues, "partly by submitting moralistic preachments to the increasingly irritable emperor, and partly by driving out of office men favored by the current senior grand secretary."¹⁵⁴ He was thus demoted the next year to a position in Nanjing, where he again began to rise through the official hierarchy and soon returned to the capital. Yet he repeatedly returned home on sick leave, opting against serving the Wanli emperor despite the offer in 1598 to direct the Bureau of Records in the Ministry of Personnel. For 27 years Zou remained at home, studying, teaching and playing a role in reopening private academies, the closure of which Secretary Zhang had ordered in 1579. He established his own Benevolent Culture (*Renwen* 仁文) Academy in his hometown of Jishui 吉水, Jiangxi, where he "acquired a national reputation as a moderate expounder of Wang Yangming's doctrines and attracted hundreds of students." Among those with whom Zou maintained a correspondence was the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci.

Hucker comments that Zou's

¹⁵³ Hucker 1976b: 1312.

¹⁵⁴ Hucker 1976b: 1312.

eclectic, idealistic, subjective philosophical position was no doubt close to the ‘left wing’ ideas that Donglin academicians deplored, and Zou seems never to have taken a direct part in the scholarly assemblies at the Donglin Academy not far away in Wuxi... But Zou was a devoted friend and correspondent of the Donglin founders, Gu Xiancheng and Gao Panlong, and even wrote Gu’s epitaph. It was inevitable that his enemies at court considered him a member of the Donglin.¹⁵⁵

Zou was one of many “good elements” (*shan lei* 善類; lit.: “good species”)

recalled to the capital by the short-lived Guangzong 光宗 emperor Taichang 泰昌 (r. 1620) Zhu Changluo 朱常洛. He rapidly rose to Censor-in-Chief, and was largely responsible for the recall of, among others, Gao Panlong. As Vice Minister of Justice Zou wrote directly to the Tianqi Emperor in the midst of the uproar caused by the latter’s public display of infantilism in insisting that his wet nurse, the power-hungry Madame Ke, remain in the Forbidden City. Zou’s memorial was acknowledged but ignored.¹⁵⁶

Zou continued to act with characteristic rigor in his official capacities, contributing a vehement brief siding with those who saw conspiracy in the first of the “Three Cases” that threatened and eventually claimed the life of Zhu Changluo.¹⁵⁷ In 1622, at 71 *sui*, Zou co-founded the Shoushan Academy. He did so with fellow senior

¹⁵⁵ Hucker 1976b: 1313.

¹⁵⁶ Dardess 2002: 42-43.

¹⁵⁷ The second, or “Red Pill Case” (*hong wan an* 紅丸案), centered on the “Elixir of the Three Primary Vitalities” (*San yuan dan* 三元丹) that the emperor Zhu Changluo requested of Li Keshao 李可灼, an assistant director in the Court of State Ceremonial, in order to boost his failing health. Insisting on taking more than the prescribed dosage, the young ruler died.

Li’s pill consisted of: “autumn mineral” (*Qiu shi* 秋石), the urine of a young boy; “red lead” (*Hong qian* 紅鉛), the menses of a young woman; and human breast milk—i.e., the “primary vitalities,” respectively, of a young boy, a young woman, and an adult woman, intended to bolster the primary vitality of an adult male—combined with cinnabar (on the red pill case see Dardess 2002: 17-19; on the use of human *material medica*, see Cooper and Sivin 1973). The consumption of the first three of these ingredients is explicitly condemned in *Principles*’ I.5, as is, by implication, the ingestion of any substance. As Zou brooded on the premature death of the politically promising emperor, might he have recalled this warning from the Inner Alchemical treatise he had introduced?

As an aside, it is interesting to note that in his defense of Zou, the Tianqi emperor classified the “good elements” as “the primary vitality of the state” (quoted in Dardess 2002: 57), analogizing the national polity to a human body in a way that conflated both physiological and ethical cultivation.

official Feng Congwu 馮從吾 (1566-1627?), then Vice Censor-in-Chief.¹⁵⁸ In doing so they brought the controversial practice of “learning through discussion” (*jiangxue* 講學) directly to the capital, raising the ire of powerful enemies.

In the ensuing controversy Zou was quoted as saying to one of his subordinates “right and wrong needn’t be made too clear,”¹⁵⁹ a direct contradiction of the moral absolutism that drove Donglin founder Gu Xiancheng. Zou protested that his words had been taken out of context. His detractor, supervising secretary Guo Xingzhi, continued his invective, labeling Zou a crypto-Buddhist. On November 25, 1622, the emperor finally accepted Zou’s repeated offers of resignation. Zou died two years later, departing just before the bloody persecution of Donglin men that would come in 1625-26. His name was posthumously erased from the civil service roster but restored after the subsequent emperor Zhu Youjian 朱由檢 came to power in 1628. The Shoushan Academy remained open until 1625 when it, as well as Zou’s Wenren Academy in Jishui, was closed by imperial edict along with nearly all the other private institutions of learning.¹⁶⁰ The grounds were converted into an imperial observatory; the Jesuits held services there and eventually established a church.¹⁶¹

While Zou was out of office he composed a “Dedicatory Inscription on the Complete Edition of the Perfected Yin’s *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the*

¹⁵⁸ Hucker describes Feng as “a staunch supporter of orthodox Neo-Confucianism.” In contrast, Buddhism was among the subjects Zou taught at the new academy (Hucker 1976b: 1313).

¹⁵⁹ Quoted in Dardess 2002: 57.

¹⁶⁰ On the Shoushan Academy see: Dardess 2004: 53-58.

¹⁶¹ Hucker 1976b: 1313-14. For the Donglin Academy on a larger continuum of Ruist “antiauthoritarianism,” see: Elman 1989, esp. 393-402.

Lifespan.” An examination of what this work meant to Zou suggests much not only of his own eschatological beliefs but also those of his colleagues in the late Ming intelligensia.

Zou’s preface is undated, but it can be no later than 1615, as this is the date of the preface which accompanies it (authored by the otherwise unknown She Yongnian 舍永年 [Chang Ji 常吉; Zhenchuzi 震初子] of Xin’an 新安) and the date of first publication.

Principles was likely produced by and certainly circulated within a widening sphere of literati practitioners in the Jiangnan region.¹⁶² In his prefatory remarks, Zou describes *Principles* as a means by which “people of this world” (*shiren* 世人) “can experience a startled awakening” (*weizhi yijing jue yan* 為之一警覺焉). Zou testifies that “it is in circulation among the academies,” an assertion he was well-placed to make. Matteo Ricci confirms that Inner Alchemical texts were particularly popular with literati of the period. Both Inner Alchemy and Laboratory Alchemy were “very foolish,” “insane practices” that he asserted were “common in every part of the land and especially so among the more influential classes.”¹⁶³ He also testified that “a tremendous number of books are in circulation, treating of these two occult sciences, some printed and some in manuscript, but the manuscripts are more sought for as having more authority.”¹⁶⁴

Principles opens with a paean to the commonality of the “Three Sages”: Confucius, Śākyamuni, and Laozi. It thus replicates the “Three Teachings Halls” often found in Buddhist temples in the Song and still present in southeastern China today. It

¹⁶² For an examination of popular Daoist literary products in an overlapping period (1573-1644), see: Wang 2004. On what constituted a “popular” and a “mass” audience, see 593-94 in particular.

¹⁶³ He explains them as follows: “The first is an effort to produce silver from other metals, and the second, an attempt to escape death and to become immortal by rendering one’s life indestructible. The story goes that directions for accomplishing these two desired results were discovered and handed down by certain celebrities who are now among the blessed. It seems that having accomplished many signal and useful undertakings in life, when they finally grew weary of their worldly existence, they were taken up body and soul into heaven.” Ricci 1953: 90. Skar 2003: 157 brought my attention to this citation.

¹⁶⁴ Ricci 1953: 90.

proceeds to quote promiscuously from the canons of the Three Teachings. In doing so, however, it regularly takes the original quote out of context. In claiming equality it distorts Ruist and Buddhist principles in order to bolster those of Inner Alchemy.

It is not only the language of *Principles* that is extremely eclectic, but the motifs as well. Among those that use images from liturgical Daoism are: I. 16 “Following and Reversing Course and the Three Passes,” I. 29 “The Five *Qi* have an Audience with the Primordial,” I. 30 “Awaiting Imperial Summons [from the Jade Emperor],” and I. 31 “Flying Ascension.” On the Ruist side: all of the Four Books codified by Zhu Xi are cited; Zhou Dunyi’s “Diagram of the Supreme Polarity” is reproduced and expanded upon;¹⁶⁵ and one of the Cheng brothers and Wang Yangming are quoted.

As far as Buddhism goes: we have I. 26 “Guanyin’s Esoteric Incantation”¹⁶⁶ and IV. 12 “Confirmation as Vairocana”; Śākyamuni, the *Lotus* and *Diamond Sūtras* are quoted; and major Chan patriarchs and masters are referenced abundantly. There are also distinctively Inner Alchemical motifs (*neidan* should be differentiated from religious Daoism, though they are in many ways inextricably interlinked) such as I. 14 “The Greater and the Lesser Cauldrons and Their Furnaces” and I. 25 “Taking from *Kan* to Fill *Li*.” Additionally there is common heritage mythical material—e.g., I. 13 “The Sun Raven and the Moon Hare” and I. 24 “Harmonious Combination of the Four Heraldic Creatures”¹⁶⁷—and common heritage philosophical material, such as I. 2 “The Great Dao.”

¹⁶⁵ This was clearly a Daoist work before it became a Song classicist cosmological one, yet I would argue that for Ming literati it was primarily perceived as Song classicist. For further discussion see: I. 10.

¹⁶⁶ It could be argued that by this point Guanyin was not only Buddhist but simply Chinese.

¹⁶⁷ Both of these appeared regularly in tombs in early China, the latter as early as the Zhou (1045-256).

In any Three Teachings work priority is given to one creed. Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546-1623), the late Ming Buddhist reformer, thus claimed that all of the Three Teachings originated from the same source: in this case the Mind¹⁶⁸ to which Buddhists give priority. Lin Zhao'en put implausible moralistic Ruist spins on Inner Alchemical language (e.g., the elixir [*dan* 丹] was humanity [*ren* 仁]).¹⁶⁹ In its vigorous eclecticism, one might say *Principles* met Zou halfway; in order to access it he needn't have any affiliation beyond an interest in plumbing the mysteries of life and death.

In his “Dedicatory Inscription” Zou writes of this work as one concerned with the deeper mysteries. Of the prolific output of what he calls the Mystic Lineage (*Xuan jia* 玄家)¹⁷⁰ “nothing is better at directly pointing out the boundaries and subtleties¹⁷¹ than this compilation.” The stages one can attain are the complementary goals of the Three Teachings: “If there was someone who received [these teachings] then they would progress from long life to renewal of life, from renewal of life to realizing no-birth.” Thus we see the Daoist concern with enduring-preservation of the person, the Ruist stress on creativity and the continuance of the generations,¹⁷² and the Buddhist focus on escaping *samsāra*, the cycle of death and rebirth.

“Different paths return to the same point,” Zou continues. “A hundred thoughts all of one mind—how could the Dao be divided?” In finding sanction for this enthusiasm for non-Ruist creeds, Zou draws on the authority of Zhu Yuanzhang, the founder of the

¹⁶⁸ Hsu 1975: 417.

¹⁶⁹ Berling 1980: 184.

¹⁷⁰ This phrase calls to mind the “mystery and yet more mystery” of the first verse of the *Laozi*, but has also been used to refer to Buddhism.

¹⁷¹ A reference to the penultimate couplet of *Laozi*, verse 1.

¹⁷² *Shengsheng* 生生: A phrase first occurring in the *Laozi*, verse 50. It also appears in the later *Xici zhuan* of the *Yijing*. On this concept in Song classicism see de Bary 1975: 194, 197.

dynasty. “Discussing the Three Teachings, the Eminent Emperor said: ‘Under heaven there are not two ways; sages are not of two minds.’ How great are these august words! This is its ultimate!”

This public embrace of syncretism was not an anomaly for Zou, but rather an integral element of his thought. He defended the most well-known of syncretists, Lin Zhao'en,¹⁷³ the “Lord of the Three in One,” whose cult is still worshiped today in Southeastern China and certain overseas communities.¹⁷⁴ Unlike the primarily Daoistic slant of *Principles*, Lin conformed at first to the social role of a Ruist teacher, then to the archetype of a sage. His biographer Berling points out “Lin was very sensitive about his public reputation for integrity and orthodoxy,” and that his “meticulous concern over the sect’s reputation for integrity was no doubt an important factor in its freedom from persecution.”¹⁷⁵

Zou’s inviting interest in non-Ruist creeds extended beyond the Two Teachings to Christianity. This novel arrival from the West was in its height of popularity among the literati before the clampdown of the Nanjing persecution when Zou wrote in praise of the efforts of the “brothers” of Ricci in spreading “the Learning of the Celestial Lord” (*Tianzhu xue* 天主學) in China. As Zou saw it, this doctrine did not differ in essence from “the words and sages of our country.” Zou’s colleague Feng Congwu differed heatedly, declaring that execution and book burning were too good for the perverse sect.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Huang Zongxi, *Lin sanjiao zhuan* 林三交傳, in *Nanlei wen an* 南雷文安, 10 *juan*, 1680 preface. Cited in Berling 1980: 287 n. 66.

¹⁷⁴ On which see Dean 1998.

¹⁷⁵ Berling 1980: 84, 87.

¹⁷⁶ Busch 1949-1955: 160-61.

Conclusion

Taken together this material casts new light on the collective cultivation practices and self-perception of late Ming literati, furthering the current scholarly trend of dissolving the overly strict conceptual boundaries that once separated the Three Teachings. Despite their identification with the Ruist tradition, members of the Donglin Faction, like others of the official class in the Ming, are best understood not as exclusive subscribers to a pure creed, but as practitioners of an elite strata of religious beliefs held in common throughout much of the empire. Outspoken individuals such as Gu Xiancheng insist on divisions, but when one examines those closest to him these distinctions blur and even dissolve.

Chapter Three

Nurturing the Holy Embryo, Birthing the *Yang* Spirit: The Male Pregnancy Motif in Daoist Meditation and Inner Alchemy

“There is a Void outside of Existence, which if entered into
Englobes itself & becomes a Womb”
–William Blake, *Jerusalem*¹⁷⁷

Of all the provocatively Other goings on in the vast storehouse of ideas and practices we call “Daoism,” one of the most striking is the asexual¹⁷⁸ production within one’s body of a perfect transcendent body. This chapter will foreground conceptions of corporeality in surpassing the mundane, engaging with the insistent embodiment of the Daoist transcendent, and probe the gender implications of the ideal divine body and the means by which it is produced. In doing so I will privilege the words and images developed by practitioners to guide others, with *Principles* receiving the place of privilege it well deserves. By looking back to early Daoist meditational regimens and forward to Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640-1715) and Qing alchemical writers, I locate *Principles* on a continuum of nearly two millennia.

Meditation on the inner embryo was present in the milieu that produced the Daoists of the Way of the Celestial Master in the 2nd century, moved to the fore in the Shangqing revelations of 364-70,¹⁷⁹ became the ultimate goal of the Inner Alchemy

¹⁷⁷ Morton D. Paley, ed., *Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion*, Blake’s Illuminated Books, v.1 (Princeton, NJ: The William Blake Trust/Princeton University Press: 1991), 130

¹⁷⁸ I use this word in the purely biological sense. As touched on below, there was certainly sexuality and eroticism involved in this process. For example, as Clarke Hudson points out, one of the signals for a proper time of practice, “*huo zi shi*” 活子時, is often signaled by an erection in the male practitioner (personal communication; see also I. 20). As Douglas Wile points out: “Even ‘pure’ practitioners engage in genital massage and eagerly await the awakening of the ‘original yang,’ manifesting in erection during meditation” (Wile 1992: 28).

¹⁷⁹ For the infant as a body god in the Shangqing scriptures see Robinet 1993, Bokenkamp 2007: 286, and Pregadio 2006.

popular from the 10th and 11th centuries on, at which time it entered popular literature in ways evoking both shock and laughter.¹⁸⁰ This object of attention continues to figure into contemporary Daoist liturgy and cultivation practices.¹⁸¹

Inner Alchemy Prefigured:

The Infant as Early Daoist Body God

The first reference to an inner embryo occurs in the *Xiang'er* commentary to the *Laozi* 相爾老子注 (Dunhuang Stein 6852). By the Tang this work was attributed to Zhang Lu 張魯, the grandson of the founder of the Way of Celestial Masters Zhang Daoling 張道陵 and the first Celestial Master attested in the historical record; soon it was said to have been composed by Zhang Daoling himself.¹⁸² Most modern scholars accept it as an early production of the Celestial Masters.¹⁸³

The commentary condones visualizations of body gods, but objects to visualization of the Dao itself as having a constant form and location. Those who say

¹⁸⁰ The earliest literary text depicting the Infant that I am aware of is the tale “The Perfected Wu” (Wu Zhenren 武真人) in the *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 of Hong Mai 洪邁. I am grateful to Cheng Hsiao-wen for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁸¹ The most significant text in this regard is the 57th chapter of the early 13th century *Lingbao Great Rites of the Book of Universal Salvation* (*Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 靈寶無量度人上經大法) (DZ 219), which is a variant of the 12th century *Summary for the Practice of the Esoteric Instructions of the Great Lingbao Sublimation Rite* (*Lingbao dalian neizhi xingchi jiyao* 靈寶大鍊內旨行持機要) (DZ 407), a Shenxiao text, according to Boltz (Boltz 1987: 29). The former is translated and annotated in Boltz 1983, the later translated in Lagerwey 1987: 233-35. Overviews of each text are provided by Lagerwey in, respectively, TC 1028-32 and 1037-38. Both are discussed in Davis 2001: 234-36.

¹⁸² TC 76.

¹⁸³ Schipper objects that “the style, the tone, and the theology are quite different” from that of Celestial Master ecclesia. He speculates that it could date “possibly from as early as the first century A.D.” (Schipper in TC 77). Stephen Bokenkamp, who has translated the extant fragment (Bokenkamp 1997: 78-148), calls the text “authentically early” (Bokenkamp 1997: 59), and notes eight points at which he believes *Commandments and Admonitions for the Family of the Dao* (*Dadaojia lingjie* 大道家令戒 DZ 789.12a-19b) reveals a knowledge of the *Xiang'er* commentary. *Commandments and Admonitions* contains a internal pronouncement dating itself to a particular day in 255 CE. It is one of only a handful of surviving texts from the original Celestial Masters community.

“nurturing the [transcendent] embryo and refining the physical form should be like making clay into pottery” 培胎練形當如土為瓦時 are teaching “false arts” and sowing “false deceptions” that “should not be adopted” as “to act upon them is the height of delusion.”¹⁸⁴ We know from this that there were communities in the Latter Han that implemented a reading of the *Laozi* as a guide for physio-spiritual transformation, and that concentration on an incipient body within their own played a major part in their practices. The transcendent embryo thus predates not only the advent of Inner Alchemy, which likely isn’t named as such until the Song,¹⁸⁵ but the Highest Purity (*Shangqing* 上清) revelations of 364-70 in which it plays such an important part in iconography.¹⁸⁶

Also predating Shangqing is the first appearance as a body god of what would become the Infant of Inner Alchemy. Schipper states that *The Central Scripture of the Most High Lord Lao* (*Taishang Laojun zhongjing* 太上老君中經), also called the *Central Scripture of Laozi* (*Laozi zhongjing* 老子中經) and the *Jade Calendar of the Pearly Palace* (*Zhugong yuli* 珠宮玉曆 DZ 1168), “may well be the most ancient treatise of Daoist lore of the universe which has come down to us in a complete form.”¹⁸⁷ Possibly of Latter Han provenance,¹⁸⁸ the teachings of this text are “entirely centered around the vision of the Infant.”¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Quoted in Bokenkamp 1999: 92.

¹⁸⁵ Often in texts claiming to be of the Tang: see Baldrian-Hussein 1989-90. James Robson informs me that he has been able to date some of these texts to the Tang.

¹⁸⁶ Also predating Shangqing are testaments to a latter idea associated with the Inner Alchemical reproduction process, that of “dividing the physical form” (*fen xing* 分形), which appears in both Ge Hong’s *Master Who Embraces Simplicity* (*Baopuzi*; problematically translated by Ware 1966) and *Traditions of Divine Transcendents* (*Shenxian zhuan*, impressively translated by Campany 2002).

¹⁸⁷ Schipper 1995: 115.

¹⁸⁸ On dating see Schipper 1995: 118-119.

¹⁸⁹ Schipper 1995: 124.

The “Crimson Child” (*chizi* 赤子) is the hierogonic progeny of the Yellow Old [Man] of the Central Pole (*Zhongji Huanglao* 中極黃老¹⁹⁰ or the Perfected Central Yellow [*Zhong huang zhenren* 中黃真人]) and his spouse the Jade Woman of Mysterious Radiance of Great Yin (*Taiyin xuanguang yu nü* 太陰玄光玉女 or the Pure Woman [*Su nü* 素女]). This child is the only body deity to be named in the older, *Outer* portion of the *Most High Vistas of the Yellow Court Jade Scripture* (*Taishang huangting waijing yu jing* 太上黃庭景外玉經 *DZ 332*),¹⁹¹ where he is identified as the Perfected Child-Cinnabar (*Zi dan zhenren* 子丹真人). He is nourished, in the *Central Scripture*, by the adept’s circulation of *qi* through the viscera.

The relevant portion of the scripture reads:

I am the child of the Tao. The human being has me too, but it is not the individual “I”. I am right there, at the canal of the stomach, facing south, sitting on a bed of jade and pearls, under a canopy of yellow clouds... My mother at my right; she carries me in her arms and feeds me; my father stands at my left to teach and protect me. ... [I] Zidan of Primal Yang am nine-tenths of an inch high. When you think of me, then make me become on equal height with your body...¹⁹²

In the *Central Scripture* this new body is indestructible: “Your body is of equal height with Heaven and Earth. The ten-thousand things of Heaven and Earth cannot attack you without all the gods from Heaven and Earth knowing it. Thus your body with its four limbs cannot be hurt. If it hurts or itches, the gods know it too.”¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ This “Huang-Lao,” though suggesting the poorly understood Warring States philosophical school, has not been decisively related to it by scholars.

¹⁹¹ Based on phonological reconstruction, this text likely originated in the Celestial Master Community before the flight from Hanzhong 漢中 in the Northwest to, eventually, the Eastern Jin Kingdom in the Southeast. For the phonological reconstruction, see Yu n.d.

The oldest extant copy is a reproduction of a rubbing of a stelea written by Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303-379) in 337. There is also a Tang stelea.

¹⁹² Translated in Schipper 1995: 124.

¹⁹³ Translation adapted from Schipper 1995: 124.

In section 20 of the *Inner* portion of the *Yellow Court Scripture* we first see instructions on the creation of the “embryo transcendent”¹⁹⁴ (*taixian* 胎仙, section 1) along lines common in Inner Alchemy: i.e., a “transformation body” for “long-life” achieved in part by the cessation of seminal emission:

By coagulating the essence and fostering the womb, you will generate a body by transformation;
by detaining the embryo and causing the essence to stop, you will live a long life¹⁹⁵

節精育胞化生身 留胎止精可長生

In these texts the Crimson Child is housed in the Cinnabar Field (lower and middle in the *Central Scripture*, upper in the *Yellow Court Scripture*). These would be conflated in Inner Alchemy, so that the Infant becomes synonymous with the Golden Elixir refined in this location in the adept’s body.

Pregadio cautions that despite the dramatic similarities with the Inner Alchemical practices that follow we should not simply equate early Daoist meditational regimes and the self-conscious Inner Alchemy of the Song dynasty on. Indeed, the de-divinization of body gods is one of the defining elements of Inner Alchemy. As Pregadio puts it: “the notion of generating an inner embryo is not a *neidan* innovation,” while reminding that “The image of the embryo changes according to the understanding of *neidan* itself.”¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Or “immortals in embryonic state” (Pregadio 2006: 142), ancestors reborn in heaven through the application of dedicated progeny. Inverted, these characters are the “transcendent embryo” (*xian tai*) of Inner Alchemy.

¹⁹⁵ Translated in Pregadio 2006: 139.

¹⁹⁶ Pregadio 2006: 139, 138.

The Ordered Work

Of all Inner Alchemical works *Principles* contains the clearest depiction available of the process by which one gestates and nurtures the “holy embryo” (*shengtai* 聖胎) or “transcendent embryo” (*xian tai* 仙胎), “the Infant” (*ying'er* 嬰兒), and the pure “yang spirit” (*yang shen* 陽神). This is presented in stereotyped language and iconography from Daoism and Buddhism, respectively, of I. 31 “Flying Ascension” and IV. 8 “Riding the Phoenix Up Into the Clouds” and IV. 4 “Escaping from the Sea of Suffering” and IV. 12 “Confirmation as Vairocana.” These two motifs may strike us as contradictory: the Daoist achievement of entering the heavens with corporeal integrity versus a Buddhist path to transcendence that requires profound comprehension of the illusory nature of all things. Yet if we have learned one thing in the last several decades of the study of Chinese religions it is that imposing dualistic categories on our findings only mutilates the results.

One early passage in this text enjoins the adept to envision his body as that of each of the Five Wisdom Buddhas in turn, starting with Vairocana, the popular Tantric deity that leads them. A Buddhist mantra and meditation routine is thus grafted onto organ and directional correspondences. After these introductory exercises the adept reaches a stage described by conflating three originally discreet concepts: the newly created perfect body of Inner Alchemy; the *dharmakāya* (*fashen* 法身), the highest of the threefold aspects of the Buddha’s body;¹⁹⁷ and the “diamond body” (*jingang shen* 金剛

¹⁹⁷ This concept was not among the first batch appropriated from Buddhism by composers of Daoist scriptures from the Latter Han to the early 6th century. In his survey of some 120 of these scriptures, Zürcher writes that the *dharmakāya* concept “rarely occurs in the Daoist scriptures studied here; the only time that something is said about it it is quite clear that the Daoist interpretation of this extremely difficult and abstract concept has little to do with its original meaning, for there it is said that the ignorant masses by

身), a synecdoche for the Buddha himself. This consolidation should not cause us to lose sight of the fact that the most important transformation defies depiction: the changing over of one's entire being from our post-natal state of growth and decay to an atemporal realm in which there is neither birth nor death. This is the significance of the pure progeny and the common ground between the Dao-Buddhist conglomeration of most Inner Alchemical texts.

Tangible Results

In looking at these illustrations the first question that arises is: How literally was this taken? Friedrich Bischoff dramatically underestimated the state of biological knowledge in pre-modern China when he wrote:

The Chinese had no notion of the ovum... Nor did they consider the sperm to be essentially different from the embryo. They defined the role of the woman like that of an incubator in which a man's sperm would ripen to maturity... [I]f only he is willing to give to the matter a sufficient amount of effort and attention, a man can... generate his own son, or rather, clone himself a transcendental infant.¹⁹⁸

Though the ignorance of the ovum may hold true (Bischoff provides no supporting evidence), the equal contribution of both parents in reproduction was acknowledged in medical texts dating at least from the Song, with men contributing "semen" (*jing* 精) and women "blood" (*xue* 血).¹⁹⁹ *Principles* itself acknowledges this by

their sins 'damage and harm the *fashen*'" (1980: 114). The quoted scripture is *Canonical Rules of the Most High Lord Lao* (*Taishang Laojun jinglü* 太上老君經律 DZ 786). The Daoist equivalent of *dharmakāya*, which rather than flouting outside influence seeks to disguise it, is "original body of the Dao" (*Dao benti* 道本體) or the more transparently borrowed "Dao nature" (*Dao xing* 道性). (Fu 2005: 125 n. 3).

¹⁹⁸ Bischoff 1985: 19.

¹⁹⁹ See, for example, the "Receiving the Physical Form" (*shou xing* 受形) and "Semen and Blood" (*jingxue*) portions of *Master Chu's Posthumously Published Manuscripts* (*Chu shi yishu* 褚氏遺書: SKQS

building on it: “Buddhists consider that that life bestowed upon people must come from the semen of the father and the blood of the mother *and* the conscious spirit of past lives” 釋氏謂人之受生必從父精母血與前生之識神 (I. 28; emphasis added). Yet Furth reports one case of male birth in the *Songshi* 宋史²⁰⁰ and four in the late Ming²⁰¹ so it was, in particular social circumstances, considered a biological possibility. Further complicating the question is the fact that in its enumeration of synonyms for key cultivation loci, *Principles* includes “The Infant” as an alternate name for the Lower Elixir Field (I. 6), seemingly reducing the concept to nothing more than poetic imagery at the same time much of the book is devoted to visualizing its production.

Acknowledging this tension, I would like to move on to the question of how one goes about creating this inspired replica. One first synthesizes pure yin and pure yang in the atemporal, rather than mundane state. This is the end of a reversion exercise achieved by extracting the essence from the trigrams *li* 離 and *kan* 坎, which represent yin within yang and yang within yin respectively (I. 25). These purified energies are then caused to “copulate” (*jiaogou* 交媾)—the word is unabashedly sexual, though not particularly erotic—in a cauldron located in the practitioner’s lower abdomen (III. 4). The gestation occurs over “10 [lunar] months”—i.e., completed cycles of the circulation of inner substances, the means by which one strips one’s self of yin impurities and creates a perfect, pure yang body. This is then birthed out the *sinciput*²⁰² and nurtured for three

734: 543 and 545-546). Attributed to Chu Cheng 褚澄 of the Southern Qi (479-502), the text is most likely a Song forgery. On the history of this “contested classic,” see Furth 1999: 53 n. 27.

²⁰⁰ 5: 1369. Cited in Furth 1994: 13.

²⁰¹ Furth 1994: 13-14.

²⁰² I.e., the crest of a skull; the area that is the fontanel in infants before the cranial plates expand and meet.

more years before it achieves independence. Once it does so the new body can be multiplied infinitely.

Wu Shouyang 伍守陽²⁰³ (1552-1641), the influential patriarch of the Dao-Buddhist (more the former than the latter in Wu's day) Wu-Liu school (Wu Liu pai 伍柳派), describes the perilous apotheosis in his 1638 *Explication for Laymen of the Direct Discourse of the Upright Principles of Celestial Transcendents* (Tianxian zhengli zhilun qianshuo 天仙正理直論淺說)²⁰⁴:

To nurture the Spirit to come out of the husk is a moment of utmost importance, a moment of grave danger. In the initial stage of inducing it, withdraw it back as soon as it comes out. It is not appropriate to let it stay out for long, nor let it see or hear the distant boundaries. Having regulated it for a long time, its outings may be gradually prolonged before drawing it back. It may then be allowed to view and hear the distant boundaries before you retract it. Without such training and cultivation, the Spirit may, upon being let out all of a sudden, gallop outward only to stray and lose its own nature, so all the initial outings must be carefully regulated.

Follow the master's method in inducing the Spirit to come out. From the Upper Field [of elixir], let out the Thought, holding it outside the body. Then retract the Thought from outside the body into the Upper Cinnabar Field. One outing followed by one retraction. Step by step, it becomes increasingly proficient. Nurture it tenderly so that it becomes full and robust. This is called nourishing. In three years, the Spirit attains perfection and is capable of myriad changes. It reaches the Earth and the Heaven. It crosses oceans and moves mountains. It alleviates drought and eradicates the pernicious. All these are achieved at will by the Spirit's single exertion of its divine power for change and transformation. Then it is called a divine transcendent.²⁰⁵

The pure yang spirit does not burst forth in a brilliant moment of enlightenment; the birth itself requires the same meticulous control required by the adept to reach this

²⁰³ On whom see "Wu Shou-Yang: The Return to the Pure Essence," in Liu 1984: 184-208.

²⁰⁴ *DZJY* division *bi* 畢, *juan* 5: 1-45.

²⁰⁵ Slightly modified from translation in Liu 2001: 259. I have not yet had the opportunity to examine the original text.

advanced stage. The fruit of this labor is that one becomes an actor on a cosmic scale, a godlike being able to relieve suffering in the mundane world.

Sexing Sexlessness

What can women's cultivation practices tell us about gender and the sacred in this period? The first important point is that transformation of the male body in Inner Alchemy belies a broader androgynous ideal. We would do well to remember, however, that "In China, the androgynous body is a male body"²⁰⁶: i.e., the male is the normative body, the female produced only due to an inadequacy of yang in the mother.²⁰⁷ Thus, as Elena Valussi observes, female cultivators can embark upon the same path of transcendence as men, but to do so they must first change their bodies into male bodies by flattening their breasts and cutting off menstruation.²⁰⁸

The term *nüdan* 女丹, or "women's elixir [cultivation practices]," first appears in 1683, and has been used ever since to indicate Inner Alchemical procedures specific to women. The primary difference is in the first stage of practice, in which women refine blood into *qi*, rather than refining essence (*jing*), which is conflated with semen. This is consistent with the Chinese medical motto "In women regard blood as the ruler" (*nüzi yi xue wei zhu* 女子以血為主). Thus the slogan is "Refine the blood to transform it into *qi*"

²⁰⁶ I'm grateful for Gil Raz's comments on Elena Valussi's presentation at the conference on Daoist Historical Documents at the University of Colorado, Boulder, March 8, 2008.

²⁰⁷ Kristofer Schipper claims the opposite: "We can now assert without any hesitation that in this world the body of the Dao is a woman's body. The female body, the body of the pregnant mother, is the only complete body" (Schipper 1993: 129). I consider this an idealistic romantic projection, and disagree for the reasons laid out in the body of this chapter.

²⁰⁸ This sexist inequality was only confronted within the Internal Alchemical tradition in the early 20th century by Chen Yingning, who emphasized differentiation from the atemporal realm rather than a deficiency of yang as the original cause of human mortality (Liu 2001: 239).

For more on female Daoist cultivation practices see Valussi 2003 and Li 2004.

(*lian xue hua qi* 煉血化氣), rather than “Refine the [seminal] essence to transform it into *qi*” (*lian jing hua qi* 煉精化氣). This leads to the cessation of menstruation, which is called “decapitating the red dragon” (*zhan chilong* 斬赤龍). A regimen of breast massage combined with breathing and visualization exercises results in the diminishment of the breasts. Taken together this causes the female adept’s body to become “like that of a man’s” (*ru nanzi yiban* 如男子一盤).²⁰⁹ Just as men’s penises should shrink and detract as they advance on the path of transcendence,²¹⁰ so too should women regain a prepubescent body whose greater proximity to the cosmic origin is evinced by its lack of sexual differentiation.

Consistent with the Inner Alchemical process for men, women also conceive the “holy” and “transcendent embryo.”²¹¹ This is not depicted in body charts, as it is for men, which is not surprising because there is only one body chart depicting a female cultivator in the late imperial period (Illustration 3.1). But two rare images of a female adept producing the transcendent infant body and bodies occur in the 1890 set of 22 paintings commissioned by Gao Rentong 高仁峒 (1841-1907), abbot of the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing.²¹² These paintings, funded by a female patron to honor the folk goddess Niangniang 娘娘,²¹³ are primarily based on images in *Principles*.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ Fu n.d.: 3a.

²¹⁰ “Relevant terms include: *suogui* 縮龜 (retraction of the turtle[-head]), *guisuo buju zhi jing* 龜縮不舉之景 (scene in which the turtle[-head] retracts and does not rise), *mayin cangxiang* 馬陰藏相 (the horse’s nether-region hides its marks)” (Hudson 2008: 352 n. 459).

²¹¹ E.g., Fu n.d.: 7a.

²¹² For more on Gao see Goossaert 2007a: esp. 172-175.

²¹³ She is more grandly titled “Primordial Mistress of the Azure Mists, Divine Transcendent Holy Mother of the Eastern Peak” (*Dongyue taishan tianxian shengmu bixia yuanjun* 東岳泰山天仙聖母碧霞元君) and commonly referred to as “Taishan Niangniang” (*Taishan niangniang* 泰山娘娘) or “Venerable Mother of Taishan” (*Taishan laomu* 泰山老母). Zhongguo dao jiao xiehui 1995: 110.

²¹⁴ A comparative table is provided in Liu 2004: 67.

The upper half of the 15th painting, “The Yang Spirit Manifests Its Appearance” (*Yangshen xian xiang* 陽神現像; Illustration 3.2) shows the goddess and her seated, meditating replicant suspended on a five-hued cloud above her. The 21st, “Dividing the Self in Responsive Transformation” (*Fen shen gan hua* 分身感化; Illustration 3.3), reveals the multiplication by five of the replicant selves.²¹⁵ Significantly, the female practitioner is *not* depicted with an infant inside her abdomen, but she does have proof of the latter fruits of this process hovering above her, a common motif from the Song dynasty on in illustrations accompanying the Shangqing scriptures.



Illustration 3.1 1906 or earlier. “Discourse and Chart of the Female Practice of Refining the Self and the Reverted Elixir” (*Nügong lian ji huandan tu shu* 女功煉己還丹圖書). In He ed., 1906. *A Compilation on the Female Elixir* (*Nüdan hebian* 女丹合編).

²¹⁵ Reproduced in Zhongguo daojiao xiehui 1995: 118 and 121.



Illustration 3.2 “The Yang Spirit Manifests Its Appearance” 1890
White Cloud Monastery, Beijing



Illustration 3.3 “Dividing the Self in Responsive Transformation” 1890 White Cloud Monastery, Beijing

Competitive Transcendence: Inferior Practices and Failed Practitioners

Since at least the advent of the Complete Perfection Teachings in the disordered period preceding the establishment of the Yuan dynasty, a distinction between a yin spirit (*yin shen* 陰神) and a yang spirit (*yang shen* 陽神) has played a role in Daoist polemic against Buddhism. Complete Perfection identified the yin spirit as that which can travel apart from the body but which has no physical presence, while the yang spirit can not only travel great distances but can concretely influence material objects far away from the practitioner’s original body. The former, cultivated by Buddhists, is clearly inferior.

The difference between these two spirits is highlighted in a story about the Complete Perfection patriarch Lü Yan 呂巖, *zi* Dongbin 洞賓, contained in *Record of the Divine Transformations and Sublime Powers of the Thearch Lord of Pure Yang* (*Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 純陽帝君神化妙通記 DZ 305), a collection of accounts of Lü's miraculous manifestations.²¹⁶ As Stephen Eskildsen summarizes it:

Lü Yan and the spirit of a prominent deceased Buddhist monk visited a home where a vegetarian feast was being held. Lü Yan was fed immediately by the hosts but had to ask for another serving for the Buddhist spirit, whom the hosts were unable to see. Lü Yan ended up eating both servings himself, since the Buddhist spirit was incapable of eating his (he could only suck on air).²¹⁷

The modern reformulator of Inner Alchemy Chen Yingning 陳撓寧 (*hao* Yuandun *zi* 圓頓子 1880-1969) reiterated the distinction between yin and yang spirits as a weapon of anti-Buddhist polemic.²¹⁸ He asserted in 1945:

The yang spirit is capable of manifesting its form for all to see. It can speak and gesticulate. But the yin spirit only possesses the Numinous Resonance, without form and substance. While it can see other people, it cannot be seen by them. Whereas the Way is intrinsically formless, transcendents value the possession of the physical body. So cultivators have traditionally valued the yang spirit over the yin spirit.²¹⁹

The infant motif appears as a parody in several major works of late imperial fiction, indicating that it was popular enough for long enough that it cried out to be made

²¹⁶ Authored by Li Daochun's disciple Miao Shanshi 苗善時 (fl. 1324). See the entry by Kwong Hing Foon in *TC*: 1138-39.

²¹⁷ Eskildsen 2004: 92.

²¹⁸ Liu 2001: 33-34.

²¹⁹ Slightly modified from translation in Liu 2001: 260. The quote comes from Chen's unpublished *Xuexian bicheng* 學仙必成.

Chen distinguished two paths for attaining the yang spirit, a "Rapid Advance" in which it was attained directly, and a "Gradual Advance" in which the yin spirit was refined into the pure yang spirit (Liu 2001: 256-60; 277 n. 116). Although this itself is a Buddhist formulation, argued most famously by the so-called Northern and Southern schools of Chan in the 8th century, Bokenkamp suggests that this initial distinction is due in part to early Buddhist interaction with Shangqing and Lingbao Daoism (1990: 132, 135-37).

fun of. We see this in *Journey to the West* (*Xiyouji* 西遊記), in the episode of the Daoist Abbey of Five Villages on Longevity Mountain (chapters 24-26). The most distinctive feature of this locale, the narrator relates, is that

There was...a strange treasure grown in this temple, a spiritual root which was formed just after chaos had been parted and the nebula had been established prior to the division of Heaven and Earth. Throughout the four great continents of the world, it could be found in only the Temple of Five Villages in the West Aparagodaniya Continent. This treasure was called grass of the reverted cinnabar, or the ginseng fruit. It took three thousand years and still another three thousand years before they ripened. All in all, it would be nearly ten thousand years before they could be eaten, and even after such a long time, there would only be thirty such fruits. *The shape of the fruit was exactly that of a newborn infant* not yet three days old, complete with the four limbs and the five senses. If a man had the good fortune of even smelling the fruit, he would live for three hundred and sixty years; if he ate one, he would reach his forty-seven thousandth year.²²⁰

The abbot of the Abbey, Zhenyuanzi 真元子, is a great friend of Xuanzang 玄奘, but as he is not able himself to be present to greet the Tang monk, he instructs two of his initiated lads to provide the fullest hospitality in his absence. This includes offering up the infant fruit. Yet, due to its uncanny human form, the Tang monk recoils from the proffered gift:

When the elder saw the fruits, he trembled all over and backed away three feet, saying, “Goodness! Goodness! The harvest seems to be plentiful this year! But why is this temple so destitute that they have to practice cannibalism here? These are newborn infants not yet three days old! How could you serve them to me to relieve my thirst?”²²¹

Miffed, the Daoist lads privately eat the fruit themselves. Sun Wukong 孫悟空 overhears, and, never one to pass on a tasty treat and unencumbered by the moralism that afflicts his master, seeks the source, which he promptly finds. He and the Sha Monk 沙僧

²²⁰ Translation Yu 1977: 464: emphasis added.

²²¹ Translation Yu 1977: 469.

have an infant fruit each, then when Piggy (Zhu ba jie 豬八戒) starts whining about being excluded, they all have another round. The Daoist lads discover the theft and berate their guests vigorously. Monkey's bile rises, and he fells the tree in retaliation. This sets off an excursion throughout the cosmos, as Monkey is compelled to find an authority with sufficient power to undo his malicious mischief. The deity not only with the power but the willingness to help the troublesome bodyguard is none other than the bodhisattva Guanyin.

We find amusing evidence of the popularity among the literati of the technique of creating a new body in a tale from Pu Songling's *Accounts of the Strange from the Liao Studio* (*Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異), "The Man Inside the Ear" (*Er zhong ren* 耳中人).²²²

One Tan Jinxuan 譚晉玄 has profound faith in the ancient "stretching and guiding" (*daoyin* 導引) exercises, which he practices devotedly. One day while in seated meditation he hears a little voice that sounds like a fly say "I'm becoming manifest" (*ke yi xian yi* 可以見矣). Tan concludes delightedly that his internal elixir is reaching completion (*dan jiang cheng* 丹將成). He continues his regimen with renewed dedication, the minute voice reminding him of its imminence all the while. When one day Tan finally replies, a little being tumbles out of his ear (Illustration 3.4). It is not, however, a purified replication like that depicted in *Principles*, but instead "a small man some three inches tall, fierce like a *yakṣa*" 小人長三寸許貌獐惡如夜叉狀. Tan marvels at his creation until a neighbor knocks at his gate, disrupting the rapture of the proud parent and sending

²²² This story appears in the first *ce* of Pu's manuscript (2nd in Zhang 1978: 4). It can be dated roughly to 1670s?-1683? (Barr 1985: 153). The tale opens Minford's selection of English translations as "The Homunculus" (Minford 2006: 3-5).

his demon progeny off in fright. Feeling he has lost his soul completely,²²³ Tan disconsolately falls into a terrible illness, which only gradually begins to improve after six months of herbal ministrations.

What deserves comment about this anecdote is that it is not elite men seeking to physically replicate themselves that Pu presents as strange. This practice is only worthy of note when an adept's endeavors go awry, producing a monstrous deviation within the cultivation process: a birth from the ear, rather than the sinciput, not of the pure *yang* spirit, but of a miniature demon. Pu delights in depicting a credulous peer in a comic light, the way that we might laugh at a yoga neophyte who gets stuck in an overly ambitious posture. But he is clearly familiar with the procedure of Inner Alchemical creation practitioners pursued, from visualizations causing conception to the importance of nurturing the *yang* spirit after its eventual emergence.²²⁴

Pu's tale corresponds exactly to contemporaneous Inner Alchemical treatises. The late Ming or early Qing text *True Words in Praise of the Way* (*Changdao zhenyan* 唱道真言)²²⁵ states:

When the spirit appears prematurely before the yin has been completely shed, it is known as the yin spirit. If, at the time it emerges, one sees a white light like the Milky Way, then the spirit emerges from the eyes; if one hears the music of metal bells, stone chimes, lutes and windpipes, *it emerges from the ears*. This is because the yang qi is still not sufficiently mature and robust to burst through the Celestial Pass. Instead it picks these convenient sideways and off-paths to come out.

²²³ Literally: "feeling he had lost both his spirit and his ethereal souls" (*jue shen hun ju shi* 覺神魂俱失).

²²⁴ Pu does not use the term "infant," but it does appear in the digest of the illustrated edition of 1886, *Xingzhu Liaozhai zhiyi tuyong*, reputed to be the finest (Minford 2006: xxxv), which I take as Illustration 3.4. For a more detailed study of Pu, see Zeitlin 1993.

²²⁵ The following translation is based on Chen 1991. He is drawing upon *Quotations from the Venerable Qinghua* (*Qinghua laoren yulü* 青華老人語錄). This text appears in no Daoist collection, but as Liu Xun observes, the quoted portions correspond (with omissions and minor textual differences) to *True Words*. As the latter is also in the voice of the deity Qinghua, it is possible that the two texts are one and the same.

Once it has emerged, it may happily wander about “free and easy.” It may take a leisurely walk through the streets in a town, may linger on a river bank, or scale a mountain. It may even take physical form. But it certainly cannot divide its form. While it may be able to range far and wide in the human world, it can not ascend in flight and transform. When the sun of a high summer blazes in the sky, then the yin spirit would scurry into hiding for fear of it. Therefore, even though it may have acquired an air of transcendence, it has never departed from the realm of the ghosts.²²⁶ [...]

If the ground of the heart has not been rendered void and bright, the gestated fetus will surely not be a holy fetus; the spirit which has emerged will carry with it its impurities. At the site of anything horrible it will be stricken with fright; one glance and it can be stricken with desire. Captivated, it lingers on and forgets to return, only to fall prey to the way of demons. As its body dies, those who do not know will believe [they] have attained immortality through sitting transformation [i.e., dying while meditating]. Who knows that those for whom the yin spirit does not return after its [initial] emergence are not worthy of inquiry.²²⁷ (emphasis added)

Into the 1920s or 1930s certain practitioners continued to insist on the physical corroboration of the transformation of the practitioner’s body into a divine body:

The *Laozi* says: “Leave your self behind, and your self is in the fore; go beyond your self, and your self is preserved.”²²⁸ ... One must first give up the sensory body (*se shen* 色身) and arrive outside at nothingness; concentrate the spirit and control the breath, only then can you produce being in non-being; complete the subtleties of the Seven Reversions and Nine Returns. This is why the alchemical methods of the Mystic Order from the very start begin with the void beyond the self and end at the final completion with the void beyond the self as well. From start to finish not one step departs from the void, and [the efficacy of] each method is proven, then completed in its manifestations in the sensory body such as the hair changing [i.e., white to black], the teeth changing [i.e., lost teeth grow back], the blood changing [i.e., red to white], the pupils changing [i.e., the color changes], until the spirit transforms with the departure of the [holy] embryo and ascends straight up in flight. This serves to show that one can really go beyond the self; that is, change one’s physical form.²²⁹

²²⁶ Chen 1991: 669.

²²⁷ This paragraph only: original *DZJY*: division *bi* 5: 12b3-7. Also see Chen 1991: 665. Modified from translation in Liu 2001: 162-63.

²²⁸ [聖人] 後其身而身先外其身而身存. Verse 7. This “body” in the original refers to the sage himself: e.g., “the Sage/Puts himself in the background; but is always to the fore./Remains outside; but is always there.” (Waley 1958: 150); “the Sage places himself in the rear yet finds himself in front. He puts aside his person, yet his person is preserved.” (Lynn 1999: 63)

²²⁹ Xu 1991: 614.

This late passage, from an essay by Chen Yingning's peer Xu Songyao 徐頌堯 (*hao* Haiyin 海印子 1893?-c. 1966-76) called “Transforming the Physical Form and the Self Beyond the Self” (*Wai shen yi xing* 外身易形) gives us a glimpse of the way in which the “post-mortem immortality” of early Daoism accommodated a Buddhist stress on the void: one practices in the void (equivalent here to the atemporal realm?), but the results are evident in the age regression of the physical body. The adept is both here and there, simultaneously an extraordinary human and a celestial citizen. In this conception of transcendence, one goes beyond having to leave the world and realizes the eternal in the present.

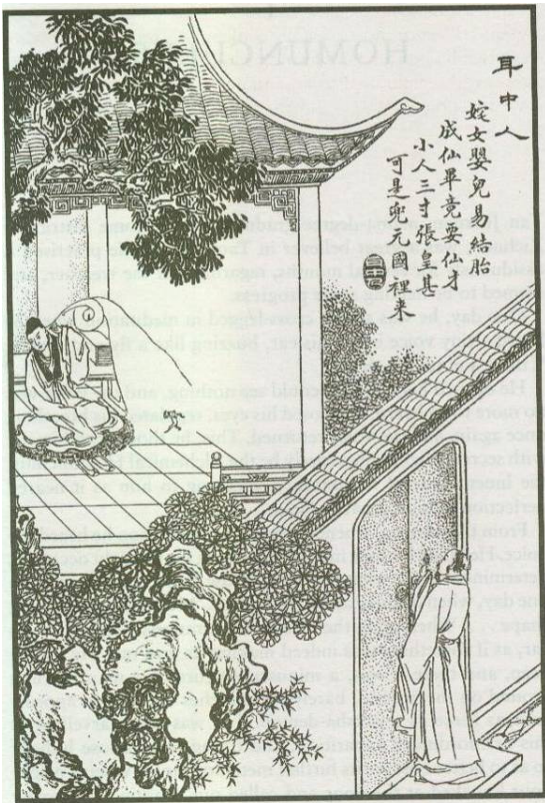


Illustration 3.4 Pu Songling's *Accounts of the Strange from the Liao Studio*, “The Man Inside the Ear.” Illustrated edition of 1886, *Xingzhu Liaozhai zhiyi tuyong*

Conclusion

This survey of one particular motif demonstrates a remarkable continuity from the earliest Daoist communities to modern practitioners. These latter practitioners specialized in arts they considered largely Daoist, though they themselves had not received ordination and collaborated with a close circle of friends rather than a devotional community administered to by a priest (*daoshi* 道士) or monk. What remains to be explored is the way in which from the Tang on an emergent Inner Alchemy and liturgical Daoism mutually influenced one another: i.e., while the borrowings of the former from the latter are obvious, it is also likely that alchemical elements were also absorbed into Daoist liturgy.

II

Translations

Prefaces

1a. Dedicatory Inscription on the Complete Edition of the Perfected Yin's *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*

This book came from the brush of the high disciple of the Perfected Yin. [It] sets forth his Master's ideas and fully expounds them. The various illustrated explications which are recorded therein, as well as the [presentation] of the stages of the Work in cultivating one's conduct, could be called detailed and exhaustive. The books of the Mystic Lineage are enough to make the oxen pulling a cart of them sweat and to fill a house to the rafters,²³⁰ but nothing is better at directly pointing out the boundaries and subtleties²³¹ than this compilation. Those who perch in perfection,²³² supposing they can use this and enter the Dao—would this not be a rare event? My friend Yu Changji 余長吉 is a clan descendent of [Yu] Dezong 德宗. In regards to the Mystic Teachings (*Xuan jiao* 玄教) he is not lacking in minor accomplishments.²³³ He is of the opinion that this book emphasizes one's own body, accordingly lengthening life and extending vision, ultimately [containing] nothing other than [that evident in] the physiognomy of a long-lived person. These insights are solid. Only in the patient guidance of this text [can one find] a pointer for men to transcend in one [step] and enter [enlightenment] directly,

²³⁰ This is a stereotyped phrase which also appears in preface 1e. It stayed in currency for centuries in the Jiangnan region, indicative of the print profusion of the era. Marta Hanson translates it "[These texts] 'made oxen sweat filling the [house] to the rafters' [because there were so many]," when rendering Bi Changqing's 畢長慶 preface to *A Discriminating Examination of Southern Diseases* (*Nanbing biejian* 南病別鑑) (Hanson 1998: 537).

²³¹ A reference to the penultimate couplet of *Laozi*, verse 1.

²³² *Qi zhen* 棲真. I.e., seekers after the Dao; recluses.

²³³ Literally (hereafter "Lit."): "the things under his control are not insignificant" (*bu wu shao yi* 不無少抑).

thereby continuing the class of teachers of both mortals and celestials.²³⁴ How could it be that it is disseminated without reason? If there was someone who received [these teachings] then they would progress from long life to producing life, from producing life to evidentiating no-birth.²³⁵ Where is this impermissible?

Different paths return to the same point. A hundred thoughts all of one mind—how could the Dao be divided? Discussing the Three Teachings, the Eminent Emperor²³⁶ said: “Under heaven there are not two ways; sages are not of two minds.”²³⁷ How great are these august words! This is its ultimate!

In all cases those people who are subjects of the emperor are united in their ideas regarding the charter. None of them dare to turn their backs on the ruler. Alas, people of the world roam in life and death [*samsāra*], always placing innate disposition and endowment in a category of unconcern.²³⁸ If they get this then because of it they will have one startled awakening. Among those people who had an attainment with regards to body and the mind [it?] is not insignificant. It is in circulation among the academies.²³⁹ The Perfected Teachers and disciples will certainly recite and praise it!

²³⁴ *Tian* 天; *devas*.

²³⁵ I.e., 1) escaping the cycle of rebirth or 2) the pre-heaven state in which one was never born and is thus undying

²³⁶ *Gao Huang* 高皇, a common way to refer to Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, the founder of the Ming Dynasty, in the 16th century revival of Three Teachings thought (e.g., Langlois and Sun 1983: 138). This revival prompted new editions of the founding emperor’s works: “prior to this his writings had been poorly circulated,” (*Ibid.*: 137-38).

²³⁷ 天下無二道聖人無兩心. In his “On the Three Teachings” (*San jiao lun* 三教論), Zhu Yuanzhang cites this as a phrase of others. The essay is translated in its entirety in Taylor 1983: 31-33 and with one minor omission in Dardess 1993: 791-93. This is one of only two of the five essays revealing the founder’s syncretic thought which can be found in the Inner Palace (*Neifu* 內府) edition of the emperor’s works (Langlois and Sun 1983: 120). *Yu zhi wenji* 御製文集 11.9b. (1965 Taipei edition cited in *Ibid.*: 106).

²³⁸ Lit: “never glance back at or hear of it.”

²³⁹ Variorum (hereafter “Var.”): the Baiyun guan edition states “already” *ji* 既, rather than “academy” *yuan* 院.

Master of the Benevolent Culture 仁文 [Academy],²⁴⁰ Zou Yuanbiao 鄒元標

²⁴⁰ The name of Zou's academy in Jishui 吉水 (Jiangxi) (Hucker 1976b: 1313).

1c. Postscript to *Principles of the Myriad Spirits Dual Cultivation of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*

It's not like when Zhihe 之鶴 [i.e., the author] still had my hair in a topknot, I admired the Perfected of the Way then in [the home of] my maternal grandfather the Grand Archivist Tang [whose cognomen] was the Gentleman Xin'an,²⁴¹ I subsequently obtained the collection *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*. It is said a family of eastern Zhe[jiang] had originally stored it away. I treasured it for more than twenty years. Although I couldn't immediately match myself up to²⁴² this profound [device for obtaining perfection]²⁴³ I gradually awakened to the realm of man and heaven.

This *yimao* [1615] year I took it out to show the layman Feng Gan 豐干, who was immensely gratified. He asked for permission to show it to like-minded companions. I, thinking that to obtain the [life-]counters of a crane and the years of a turtle, those who cultivate perfection still look back to [emulating] bears' alignment and the head-turning of owls, valuing them more the further [their origin] recedes into posterity,²⁴⁴ how much more so [will they value] this [collection], [which provides one with the means to] cast off the physical body, directly transcend *dharmadhātu*, exhaust the Sea of Suffering, and find superlative joy in the repose body? Would there be one in a mass of millions and billions who not take refuge in the Buddha [if they saw this work]? Those who are

²⁴¹ Lit: "new hut" 新庵. In preface 1b She Yongnian writes the homophonous 新安, "new peace," for the same individual

²⁴² *Qi* 契. The analogy is of ancient contracts which were made by breaking a strip of bamboo and distributing the two pieces to the committed parties.

²⁴³ *Quan* 筌. An allusion to a passage the "External Things" (*Waiwu* 外物) chapter of *Zhuangzi*: "A *quan* is that which, when fishing, one discards after catching the fish."

²⁴⁴ Wu is deriding those who practice exercises described in *Zhuangzi*. See I. 5.

ignorant of this Way, some speak in condemnation of both.²⁴⁵ They are called ones who take note of an autumn hair but can't see Mount Tai; of a drop of water but not the azure sea. It is not the Way that is far from men, but men who are far from the way. I wrote this at the end [of this collection] for this reason.

43rd year of the Wanli era of the August Ming

15th day of the 5th month [June 10, 1615], sincerely composed postface by Wu Zhihe 吳

之鶴 of Guxi 古歙 in the Hall of Protecting [character illegible] 葆[]堂

²⁴⁵ This is a tentative reading, primarily because it isn't clear what the "both" might refer to. Possibly the innate disposition and the lifespan, but they're mentioned nowhere else in this composition.

1d. Preface

Principles of the Innate Nature and the Lifespan doesn't have an author. It was transmitted by the brush of a high disciple of the Perfected Yin. Hitherto the copies in circulation were very rare.²⁴⁶ Only the Gentleman Yin 殷 had a copy of the scripture which has been in existence for some years. Master Cao Ruoji 曹若濟 saw it and delighted, carried it over to show Master Zhou Yuxian 周興閑. Happily they appreciated it and together commissioned these printing blocks. Then Master Qian Yuzhen 錢羽振 supervised its completion. When the book was finished he asked me for a preface. I said: "Although I yearn to be able to do it, how dare I add a word?" Even so, this is what I have to say.

The Three Teachings are equally established; deviant doctrines unpleasant to the ear are concealed like an enemy. We encounter them every day. This book reveals only the Great Way, as well as the subtle meaning of the Ruist and Śākyaist teachings which are elaborated in tandem. What is essential is put into the center, joined as the One [to do justice to] the principle of exhausting one's innate disposition and living out one's lifespan.²⁴⁷ Different tracks have the same point of origin. Were it not for the Imperial Archivist's 5,000 [*Character Scripture*]²⁴⁸ [by what means could one uphold] this standard of discarding and perserving? The same applies to the 64 hexagrams and the 42 chapters, which invariably are strung together like a thread of pearls. As for Daoist

²⁴⁶ You Tong is discussing the way in which the edition of 1669 came about, not that of 1615 whose gestation is described in prefaces 1a-c.

²⁴⁷ This phrase is the title of I. 17.

²⁴⁸ I.e., Laozi and the *Daodejing*.

discourse there are 96 kinds of deviant paths, 3,600 heterodox schools.²⁴⁹ Disciples fond of material goods, those who enjoy talking about alchemy, lecherous disciples, those who compose fine words about other lineages,²⁵⁰ [that is, practices like] the “bear’s alignment and bird’s flexibility,”²⁵¹ or “the dragon’s sigh and tiger’s roar,” may all be clarified as formalities which bear no relation to the original substance taught to people.

Recently a master of esoteric methods (*fangshi* 方士) taught people to subdue the *qi* by twisting their fingers, rapidly opening the Pass, suddenly laughing, suddenly crying, limbs shaking. Those who see them fear that they are mad, while they themselves boast of divine arts. How sad! This book sweeps away all ornate obstacles. [It] strives to eradicate [the illness] symptom and root by devotion to the void and preserving quiescence, by concentrating and gathering in the atemporal realm. Its turning of the heterodox into the orthodox is the true earth. Extreme movement results in stillness. This meaning belongs to yin. It is *ji*-earth. Extreme stillness results in movement. This meaning belongs to yang. It is *wu*-earth. Refine the *ji*-earth and achieve the mercury of *Li* and the sun. Refine the *wu*-earth and achieve the lead of *Kan* and the moon. With lead and mercury returned the Golden Elixir comes together of its own accord. *Wu* and *ji* are an image of “earth” doubled.²⁵² Is this not taken from *Principles* (*Guizhi* 圭旨)? The author pondered deeply, it is directly related to the Yellow Court [i.e., the center].

Master Zhou published and publicized it. “The deaf drummer dispels confusion.” The achievement is immense. The Masters Yin and Cao are both excellent practitioners

²⁴⁹ These figures are those of the Perfected Yin, quoted in I. 5.

²⁵⁰ *Ta jia* 他家. Also see I. 5.

²⁵¹ Deviant technique 27 in I. 5.

²⁵² *Wu* and *ji* are the two Heavenly Stems that correspond to the center (the yang and yin aspects, respectively). The center is represented by earth in Five Phases cosmology (See I. 24). You Tong is pointing out the code in the title of *Principles*: the untranslatable *gui* 圭 is “the image of ‘earth’ [tu 土] doubled,” reflecting the concern with combining the yin and yang aspects in the center.

of nurturing the procreative aspect and I invoke “Feng Gan 豐干 is a chatterbox.” This is also what Zhuang[zi] [meant when he] said: “Those who speak don’t know.”

Written by You Tong 尤侗 in the Wu Gate 吳門 in the third month of summer²⁵³ in the *jiyou* 己酉 year of the Kangxi reign [i.e., between May 30 and June 27, 1669]

²⁵³ *Meng xia* 孟夏.

1e. Preface to *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*

I have admired the Dao from an early age. Inside the Seas²⁵⁴ is *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*. I have often heard of, but never seen, this book. What could I do? In late spring of this *gengxu* year [1670] I received the favor of two elder brothers, Yu Xian 興閑 and Ruo Ji 若濟, who showed me the illustrated volume. In my moments of respite from reciting [it] I was impressed by the calligraphy of the highest disciple of the Perfected Yin. (Otherwise, how could I recognize this book's providence?)

I have on occasion discussed the Dao. Each time I use [Li Daochun's 李道純 *Collection of Central Harmony* and [Chen Zhixu's 陳致虛 *Shang Yangzi's Great Essentials of The Golden Elixir* [上陽子] 金丹大要,²⁵⁵ two collections sought out by perfected transcendents. I think the texts of the Mystic Order (*Xuan zong* 玄宗) [are sufficiently numerous] to make the oxen pulling a cart of them sweat and to fill a house to the rafters, with an increasing number constantly coming into being. [Yet] I've never seen a book with diagrams that includes the order of the Work and whose seminal meaning is so outstanding, brilliant like the sun and the stars; they do not have the same intriguing quality as this book. Truly it resembles *The Dragon-Tiger [Scripture]*, *Concordance of the Three*, and *Awakening to Perfection*, three scriptures which are parallel tracks on the same road.

²⁵⁴ "Inside the Sea" is an allusion to the ancient Chinese belief that the "Central Kingdom" was closed in by seas in each direction. For a visual depiction, see: Strassberg 2002: 40-41.

²⁵⁵ DZ 249 and DZ 1067.

Alas! A jade envelope for a secret letter. Study it and begin in earnest. Why should you worry if you do not transcend it immediately and directly enter [enlightenment]? You have already encountered the teachers of mortals and celestials. From the physical body then evidentiate the *dharma* body, from continuous propagation²⁵⁶ to ending the cycle of rebirth. The mutual according of the principles is fundamentally like this. Chou Ke 疇克 said: “It’s a minor improvement.” Although this is so, if someone knows it and practices it he is called a sage. If he knows it and does not practice it he is called a fool. The attention to detail of my two elder brothers Yu Xian and Ruo Ji is like this. [Applying themselves] from dawn to dusk they come to fully comprehend miraculous truths. They discussed it quickly and took it to have the blocks carved, the only means by which to reach everyone and treat the entirety of the patient,²⁵⁷ to clear away the inferior schools and corrupt customs and drive [the undeserving] out of the three residences.²⁵⁸ Assigned to write this preface I have set forth a few words to respond to him with this.

Composed by Li Pu 李樸 (Purple Center 紫中?) in the Preserving the Center Hall 守中堂 on a pleasant day²⁵⁹ in the third month²⁶⁰ of the *gengxu* year²⁶¹ of the Kangxi reign [April 20-May 18, 1670]

²⁵⁶ *Sheng sheng* 生生. This is a phrase that appears in the commentaries to the *Yijing* and in the *Laozi*, verse 50.

²⁵⁷ *Ding zhong xia zhen* 頂踵下針. Lit.: “provide acupuncture from the top of the head to the bottom of the feet”; i.e., heal the country.

²⁵⁸ *San she* 三舍. Divisions of the Imperial Academy (*Taixue* 太學) (upper [*shang* 上], inner [*nei* 內], and outer [*wai* 外]) created in the Song.

²⁵⁹ *Gou dan* 穀旦.

²⁶⁰ *Bing yue* 病月.

²⁶¹ *Shang zhang yan mao* 上章闡茂. *Shang zhang* means *geng* 庚, while *yan mao* is equivalent to *xu* 戌.

I. 1 Three Sages



The above image is presented as if the reader is facing an altar to the deified founders of each of the Three Teachings. Śākyamuni is in the center; Laozi, to whom the Daodejing is attributed, is to his right; and Confucius, compiler of Six Canons,²⁶² is on the left.

The following are the banners that flank the image:

All great teachings²⁶³

Like the salvation of self and others of the Ruists, the Daoists, and the Śākyists

Arise from this

The knowledge of True Reality

Is the self-creation and self-transformation of heaven, earth, and man

Only in this

²⁶² *The Book of Odes, The Book of History, The Book of Changes, The Book of Rites, The Spring and Autumn Annals, and The Book of Music* (lost or incorporated elsewhere).

²⁶³ *Ju da zongchi men* 具大總持門. This can also mean “Tantric school.”

Buddha

The *dhāraṇī*²⁶⁴ door opens and the Tathāgata emerges
Brilliant wisdom rises like a sun in the Sea of Perfect Enlightenment
True words²⁶⁵ were spoken at the assembly on Vulture Peak²⁶⁶
His whole tongue covered with lotus blossoms²⁶⁷
The Buddha of Ancient Culture²⁶⁸

Laozi

On the Golden Platform of the Jade Office, surrounded by scarlet clouds
Is a Perfected called “The Old Lord”
Eighty-one transformations;²⁶⁹ the formula for long life
5,000 plus characters; an eternal composition

Confucius

The Six Canons produced by editing ancient texts
The region of the Zhu 洙 and the Si 泗 [rivers] is the origin of profound teachings and
enduring influence
Connection with the past and the future is what constitutes Creation and Transformation
Greatly Perfected Most Sage King of Cultural Propagation

²⁶⁴ *Ta Luo* 陀羅. Also a name for the tantric goddess Tārā.

²⁶⁵ *Zhen yan* 真言. I.e., the catchword of the sect that takes Vairocana as their central deity.

²⁶⁶ *Lingshan* 靈山; Skt. Gṛdhrakūṭa-parvata.

²⁶⁷ An allusion to the *Lotus Sutra*.

²⁶⁸ *Guwen fo* 古文佛. A later edition has “10,000 *zhang* Buddha” (*Wan zhang fo* 萬丈佛).

²⁶⁹ The number of verses in the received edition of the *Laozi*.

The images accompanying this discourse vary more dramatically from edition to edition than any other illustration. The first image below is from 1615, in which the icon that appears on Laozi's scroll is that of the "Kan-Li Diagram of the Supreme Polarity," the second image down on the chart given in 1.10. The second image below is from the 1669 edition used by Needham. It contains a significant difference in the depiction of the central figure. Needham asserted that rather than Sākyamuni it depicts "Dharanī-bodhisattva, a form of the Tantric goddess Tārā, Our Lady of the esoteric schools of Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna, Yogācārya, and the 'true words' [*Zhenyan* 真言]." ²⁷⁰ Darga disputes this contention on the grounds that the depicted figure displays the dharmacakra mudra, symbolic of the turning of the dharma wheel and teaching, while the varada mudra is typical of Tārā. ²⁷¹ The final image below is from the 1670 Di'e tang edition. Though often attributed great antiquity by Chinese scholars from the Ming on, the yin-yang design in the Ding Fubao edition that opens this section is a Ming invention. ²⁷²



1615

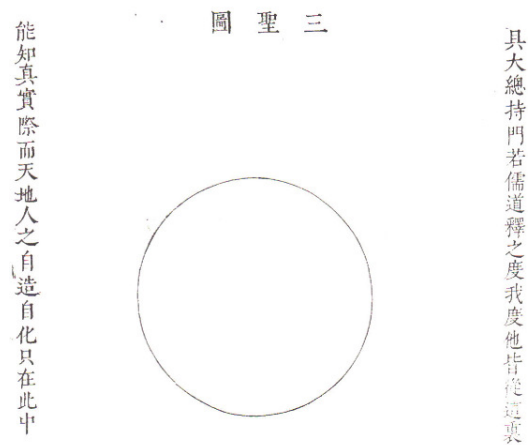
²⁷⁰ Needham and Lu 1983: 230.

²⁷¹ Darga 1999: 383-384 n. 1.

²⁷² Louis 2003: 185.



1669



1670 Di'e tang

I. 5 The Heterodox and the Orthodox

The Great Dao produces Heaven and Earth. Heaven and Earth produce people and creatures. Heaven, Earth, people, and creatures share one innate disposition and a common substance. In heaven there is yin and yang, on earth there is hard and soft. Among creatures there is the male and female, among people man and woman. When there is yin and yang then there is the sun, the moon, and the asterisms; when there is the hard and the soft then there is the existence of mountains and rivers, grasses and trees; when there is the existence of the male and the female then there is viviparous, oviparous, water-born, and metamorphic [birth]²⁷³; when there are men and women then there is coupling and the birth of children. The presence of a spouse causes lascivious desire to be aroused in the multitudes. Having given birth to and raised children there is love and affection between husband and wife. Because of lascivious desire, love, and affection there are evil obstacles (*mara*) and afflictions (*klesha*). Having evil obstacles and afflictions then one has all bitter adversity,²⁷⁴ one has birth, old age, sickness, and death.²⁷⁵

This is why the Most High²⁷⁶ fostered the virtue of concern for the living, opened the gate to salvation, composed the scripture and established rules, and instructed the people to revert to simplicity and return to the pure; be without desires so that one may see the subtleties, to be possessed of desires so that one may see its boundaries (1),²⁷⁷

²⁷³ I.e., the four forms of birth *si sheng* 四生 (Skt. *Catur-yoni*), the Buddhist classification of the four forms of birth (Skt., respectively, *jarāyuja*, *aṇḍaja*, *saṃsveda*, *aupapāduka*). 四生 DDB.

²⁷⁴ *Ku e* 苦厄. Skt. *duḥkhita*. 苦厄 DDB.

²⁷⁵ I.e., the “four encounters.”

²⁷⁶ *Taishang* 太上. The Most High Lord Lao, the divinized Laozi.

²⁷⁷ Parenthetical numbers in this paragraph refer to verses alluded to in the *Laozi*.

summon the void so as to preserve quiescence; return to the root so as to restore one's vital force (*ming*) (16); early return, repeatedly accumulate [virtue], deepen one's root so as to solidify one's stem (59); obtain the One (39), preserve the inner (5), empty the mind and fill the belly (3), soften the will and harden the bones, blunt the acuity, cut the knots, harmonize with [one's own] brilliance, become one with the dust (56), focus the *qi* and call forth suppleness, embrace the one [until] there's no division (10), know the male, preserve the feminine, know the white, preserve the black (28), close the gate, block one's openings (*dui* 兌) (52), drape burlap on one's shoulders while harboring jade in one's bosom (70), obscurely and mysteriously²⁷⁸ (21), its essence is produced daily,²⁷⁹ elusive and indistinct (14 [21]),²⁸⁰ its essence doesn't leak out. Produced every day, every day it grows. Because it doesn't leak out, it is not exhausted. Seminal essence can transform into *qi*, *qi* can transform into spirit, spirit can return to the Void. The Five Phases cannot steal it, yin and yang cannot control it. It becomes a single body with the Dao, transcending both heaven and earth. This then is Laozi's path of nameless pure quiescence.

Arriving at the Han, the Perfected Wei Boyang fathered the *Scripture of the Golden Cliff* and authored the *Concordance of the Three*, starting to employ the names "dragon and tiger," "lead and mercury." Continuing into the Tang and the Song, many transcendents came forth. The elixir books were glorious, propounding all sorts of ideas. All kinds of different names were recorded in the elixir texts; one cannot count them all.

²⁷⁸ The order of these two characters *yao* 宵 and *ming* 冥 is inverted from their original usage (indicating the author was working from memory?).

²⁷⁹ Not a phrase from the *Laozi*.

²⁸⁰ The doubling of adjectives *huanghuang huhu* 恍恍惚惚 does not appear in the original, but it does (inverted) in the *Heshang gong* commentary to verse 14.

In actuality, however, they are nothing but a revelation of the one thing that is

“differently named [but] of the same origin.”²⁸¹

[...]

The Daoists of today wear *e guan* [a tall cap] and *fangpao* [an ornate robe],²⁸² are proud and self-important, unwilling to humble themselves²⁸³ and lower their position. They seek teachers one after another to instruct them in the Great Way. Only the blind lead the blind quickly entering the divergent, crooked path. Who could know that the methods of the Dao are three thousand six hundred in number? That there are twenty-four Great Elixirs? All are sects. There is only this one path of the Golden Elixir, only this is a correct path for cultivating one’s conduct. There is no path other than this by which one can achieve become a transcendent, a buddha. Therefore during the *Lotus Sutra* sermon the World-Esteemed One pointed out: “There is only this one affair; the other two are false.”²⁸⁴ The Perfected Yin said: “There are ninety-six kinds of exoteric paths, three thousand six hundred sects. Each and every one of them is illusory. It is only these [methods] of mine that are true.” The Perfected of the Cloudy Chamber [i.e., Zhongli Quan] said: “Thirty-six thousand schools of self-cultivation. Everyone grasps a seedling. Who knows the aperture of the Mystic Pass of these masters? It is not among the thirty-six thousand schools.”

Mystic Pass of the Great Dao is difficult to encounter but easy to complete; one sees the effect 功 slowly. Sects and inferior arts are easy to study but difficult to complete, then see the proven effect quickly. Disciples who are greedy for wealth and like sex are

²⁸¹ An allusion to a line from the first verse of the *Laozi*.

²⁸² For a similar passage by Chen Zhixu, see Hudson 2007: 74-75.

²⁸³ Lit.: “lower their emotions” (*di qing* 低情).

²⁸⁴ A line taken out of context, originally relating to the doctrine of non-duality, from the *Lotus Sūtra* (Darga 262 n. 67).

frequently confused and do not awaken. Among them are [1]²⁸⁵ those who like the furnace fire,²⁸⁶ [2] those who like taking from elsewhere,²⁸⁷ [3] those who look upon the Summit Gate,²⁸⁸ [4] those who meditate 守 on the navel, [5] those who exercise the eyes, [6] those who meditate on the *Yintang* 印堂, [7] those who circularly rub their navels,²⁸⁹ [8] those who shake the Spinal Handle, [9] those who cup their testicles,²⁹⁰ [10] those who turn the pulley,²⁹¹ [11] those who collect fighting *qi* on the Three Peaks,²⁹² [12] those who feed milk to the furnace,²⁹³ [13] those who close off the breath and circulate *qi*,²⁹⁴ [14] those who practice flexibility 屈伸 and stretching and guiding 導引 exercises,²⁹⁵ [15] the Return-Reversions of the Three [Elixir] Fields, [16] those who dually raise the Golden Well (?),²⁹⁶ [17] those who bear their backs to the sun and lay on the ice, [18] those who eat [numinous] mushrooms and ingest rhizomes, [19] those who receive *qi* and swallow saliva, [20] those who look inside and visualize, [21] those who cease eating grains and cereals, [22] those who withstand cold and eat weeds [i.e.,

²⁸⁵ A sequential number in brackets is assigned to each heterodox technique in order to facilitate classification.

²⁸⁶ I.e., laboratory alchemy.

²⁸⁷ *Bi jia* 彼家. Fu 2005 divides this into three categories: 1) ingestion of medicines; 2) treating the *xing* as the “other”; and 3) taking from a sexual partner.

²⁸⁸ I.e., using inner vision to focus on the Hundred Convergences (*bai hui* 百會) point.

²⁸⁹ Manually warm the Lower Elixir Field.

²⁹⁰ *Wai shen* 外腎. Lit.: “external kidneys.”

²⁹¹ *Zhuan lulu* 轉轆轤. I.e., rotate the shoulders?

²⁹² Fu states that the term “three peaks” comes from what he identifies as the three most popular herbs taken by inner alchemy practitioners: red lotus, water chestnut, and gill fungus (*ganoderma sinense*; “purple mushroom”). In this schema they are a woman’s mouth, breasts, and Mons Venus. The “gathering” is of *qi*, “fighting” refers to the common Chinese practice of referring to one’s sexual partner as one’s “enemy” (*diren* 敵人).

²⁹³ I.e., drink a pregnant woman’s milk.

²⁹⁴ See *Baopuzi*, chap. 8.

²⁹⁵ Referred to in *Zhuangzi* 17 and 15, respectively.

²⁹⁶ *Shuang ti jin jing* 雙提金井. Darga: “Raise both hands to the Golden Well” (Darga 1999: 90)—i.e., she isn’t sure either!

hunger], [23] those who transport the essence and carry the *qi*²⁹⁷, [24] those who gaze at the nose and regulate the breath, [25] those who leave their wives and enter the mountain, [26] those who fix the gaze and examine the body (?), [27] those who emulate a bear's alignment and a bird's flexibility, [28] those who imbibe auroral mists and consume *qi*,²⁹⁸ [29] those who sit for long periods without lying down, [30] those who hit themselves seven times over in order to refine away demons (?),²⁹⁹ [31] those who meditate fixedly³⁰⁰ without speaking, [32] those who fast and observe the precepts, cutting off the flavors, [33] those who travel in dreams to the realm of the transcendents, [34] those who silently consult the High God, [35] those who use esoteric incantations to drive away the evil and perverse, [36] those who see and hear ritualized recitations (?),³⁰¹ [37] those who ingest their own seminal essence in order to return it to its origin, [38] those who press on the Caudal Funnel in order to close the Pass,³⁰² [39] those who process (*lian* 煉) urine to make Autumn Stone,³⁰³ [40] those who collect menses to make Red Lead,³⁰⁴ [41] those who bolster the *yang* using the placenta³⁰⁵ and process the purple waterwheel,³⁰⁶ [42] those who open the gate using black lead and cast the feminine and masculine sword,³⁰⁷ [43] those who close their eyes and obscure the mind³⁰⁸ and practice the Eight Lengths of

²⁹⁷ I.e., drawing the sensation of sexual stimulation back into the body and converting that which would, if ejaculated, be seminal essence, into *qi*.

²⁹⁸ A specifically Shangqing connotation?

²⁹⁹ *Da qi lian mo* 打七練魔.

³⁰⁰ *Chan ding* 禪定.

³⁰¹ *Jian wen zhuang tong* 見聞轉誦.

³⁰² I.e., blocking ejaculation by pressing on the perineum (other texts specify the Yin Convergence [CV-1] point).

³⁰³ *Qiu shi* 秋石.

³⁰⁴ *Hong qian* 紅鉛.

³⁰⁵ *Bao yi* 胞衣.

³⁰⁶ *Zi he che* 紫河車. Also a name for the placenta.

³⁰⁷ A sexual cultivation technique used to make the reproduction organs strong.

³⁰⁸ *Ming xin* 冥心.

Brocade,³⁰⁹ [44] those who vomit out the old and absorb the new [*qi*] and then practice the Six Sounds *Qi*³¹⁰, [45] those who face the wall and concentrate on subduing the dragon and taming the tiger, [46] those who make their bodies light³¹¹ and imagine they can ride a phoenix and harness a *chi*,³¹² [47] those who consume the essence and swallow the fluorescence in order to gather the sun and the moon,³¹³ [48] those who walk the mainstays and tread on the dipper in order to peek into the asterisms,³¹⁴ [49] those who rely on the sequence of the lines of the hexagrams and in the morning *Tun* 屯 hexagram and in the evening *Meng* 蒙 hexagram (?),³¹⁵ [50] those who give free play to the arts of yellow and white, burning water mallows and handling fire,³¹⁶ [51] those who are desirous of long life without death, [52] those who give free reign to their desire to ascend to heaven in broad daylight,³¹⁷ [53] those who because of attachments do not [want to] transform [i.e., die], [54] those who circulate in emptiness³¹⁸ (?) and never return, [55] those who strictly observe the precepts, meditation, and wisdom³¹⁹ and hope to be liberated, [56] those who dispel greed, anger, and foolishness and imagine themselves pure and quiescent, [57] those who while still alive want to transcend to the

³⁰⁹ A system of exercises the name of which dates back at least to the Yuan (*DZ* 263.19). The Eight Lengths of Brocade was one of only four methods permissible to the Chinese state after the *qigong* crackdown in 1999. It was considered sufficiently orthodox due to its antiquity (Palmer 2007: 280). It remains popular in China and the West.

³¹⁰ A series of sounds each represented by one character corresponding to the five organs plus the *san jiao*, used to purge, regulate, or tonify. This is related to the “six character formula” also permitted after the *qigong* crackdown (Palmer 2007: 280).

³¹¹ *Qing ju* 輕舉.

³¹² 驂螭. A hornless dragon.

³¹³ I.e., collecting and internalizing the energies of the sun and the moon.

³¹⁴ 罡履斗以窺星辰. Another stab at Daoist liturgists, those practicing the ritual of *bu gang* 步罡.

³¹⁵ 依卦爻之序而朝屯暮蒙. A form of *qigong* based on concordances of the *Cantongqi*?

³¹⁶ A criticism of laboratory alchemists.

³¹⁷ As opposed to those who realized this goal as the result of a well ordered process, as depicted in I. 31?

³¹⁸ *Kong liu* 空流.

³¹⁹ *Jie ding hui* 戒定慧. I.e., the “Three Treasures” (*san bao* 三寶) of the *sangha*.

Western land,³²⁰ [58] those who [when they] die vow to ascend to paradise.³²¹ Those
confused and disordered like this [are so numerous that] it's difficult to identify them all.

Commentary

This fascinating list deserves a detailed comment. For the time being I will simply suggest a
comparison to the list in Li Daochun's *Zhonghe ji*.³²²

³²⁰ Amitaba's paradise or a pilgrimage to India?

³²¹ *Yuan deng Tiantang* 願登天堂.

³²² Usefully summarized in Hudson 2007: 361-366.

Diagram of a human figure from behind, showing the back and spine. The spine is marked with various points and labels. At the top is '元神' (Yuan Shen). Below it are '玉樓' (Yu Lou) and '風' (Feng). Further down are '天大胸' (Tian Da Xiong), '自神靈至' (Zi Shen Ling Zhi), '第一' (Di Yi), '命' (Ming), '命' (Ming), '命' (Ming). At the bottom are '元君' (Yuan Jun), '龍' (Long), '虎' (Hu), '水' (Shui), '火' (Huo), '土' (Tu), '金' (Jin), '木' (Mu).

95

	Numinous Platform (GV 10)	
	Utmost Yang (GV 9)	
	Sinews Contraction*	
Dual Gate	Mid-Spring	Spinal Handle
	Mystic Pivot (GV 4)	
	Lifeforce Gate	
	Tiger-Water	Dragon-Fire
Mystic Sublime Lord**		Mystic Primordial Lord**
	Kidney Depot	Endowment Gate
Sacral Point (GV 2)		Enduring Strength (GV 1)

**Jin suo* 筋縮. Var.: After the Ming and early Qing editions the second character was dropped, resulting in “Sinews” only. Ding Fubao notes this absence in his edition, revealing that he hasn’t been able to consult any of the three earliest editions. “Sinew Bender” (*jin shu* 筋束) is another name for this location, GV 8 in TCM.

** Var.: The “mystic” (*xuan* 玄) is dropped in later editions. The “Mystic Sublime Lord” is usually female, consistent with her pairing on the yin side in this chart.

Bracketing this body chart above and below are listings of the myriad names by which the upper- and lowermost points on the human body are referred in alchemical discourse. There is an odd number for each of the two points, and the names lengthen as they fan out to the sides. I have chosen to invoke this quasi-symmetrical structure by giving the central name first, then the following names paired in columns.

	<u>Uppermost</u>	
	Celestial Valley	
Hall of Heaven		Mud Pill

Inner Court	Jasper Pool
Purple Depot	The Other Shore
Desolate Heavens	Mystic Gate
Thearch Yi (<i>Di Yi</i> 帝乙)	Celestial Root
Steamer Mountain	Upper Island
Celestial Talisman	True Boundary
Mystic Capital	Celestial Palace
God of Fire (<i>zhu rong</i> 祝融) Peak	Yellow Chamber
Great Tenuity Palace	Mystic Room
[Śākya]muni Pearl	Mt. Kongtong*
Upper Elixir Field	The Highest Peak
Imperial [“Purple”] Gold City**	The Realm of Samadhi (<i>sanmodi</i> 三摩地)
Flowing Pearl Palace	Shared Sensation Palace (<i>jiaogan gong</i> 交感宮)
Jade Capital Mountain	Upper Celestial Gate
Purple Purity Palace	Pure Void Mansion
Pool of the Great Abyss	Summit of Kunlun
Upper Earth Cauldron	Azure (<i>cui</i> 翠) Tenuity Palace
Powerful Brilliance Tripod	Sea of Perfect Enlightenment
<i>Prājñā</i> Shore	Central One Palace
<i>Pāramitā</i> Ground	<i>Dhāraṇī</i> Gate
Endowment Mansion of the Hundred	Carnelian Chamber of Brain-blood
Numinocities	

Mountain Spring of Saliva

Jade Room of Cloudsoul-Essence

**Kongtong shan* 崆峒山. A Peak in Gansu Province where the Yellow Emperor is said to have inquired of Guangchengzi about the extension of life.

***Zijin cheng* 紫金城. This may be a pun on “the Forbidden City” (*zijin cheng* 紫禁城).

Lowermost Point

Earth Scroll

Yin Raising (*yin qiao* 陰蹻) (KI 6)

Whitesoul Gate

Peach Vigor*

Enduring Strength (GV 1)

Humanity Gate

Convergence of Yang (BL 35)

Ghost Path**

Forbidden Gate

Convergence of Yin (CV 1)

Outermost Yin

Path of Grains

Full Pool

Dragon-Tiger Cavity

Peaceful Change Cavity

Three Divergences Bone

Three Divergences Mouth

Precipice Cavity

Path of Cao's Stream

Waterwheel Road

Gate of the Sea of *Qi*

Stairway to Heaven

Audience with Heaven Ridge

Cavity of Life-and-Death

Caudal Funnel Cavity

Concealing Gold Container

Great Mystery Gate

Three-footed Golden Toad

Nine-tiered Iron Drum

The Native Land of the Change and

The Road of the Umbilical Separation of

Transformation of Yin and Yang

Mother and Child

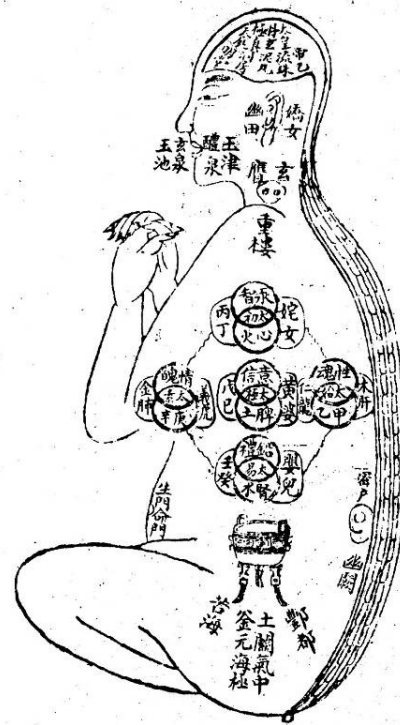
The Place Where the Conception and
Governing Vessels Combine and Connect

The Trigger of the Harmonizing and
Coming into Play of Heaven and People

*Taokang 桃康. Lit.: “Peach Vigor”; an early Daoist body god illustrated in *Shangqing da dong zhen jing*
上清大洞真經 (DZ 6).

**Also a name for BL-62, PC-5 and PC-8.

I. 8 Illumination of Time



Inside the head are the names of the Nine Palaces, although they don't correspond exactly to the canonical names for these locations. They are: (1) Mutual Hall;³²³ (2) Cavern Chamber; (3) Mud Pill; (4) Flowing Pearl; (5) [Jade³²⁴] Emperor; (6) Heavenly Court; (7) Ultimate Boundary; (8) Mother Standing (?)³²⁵; (9) Great Emperor.³²⁶ There is also a floating "Yellow" (huang 黃) in the upper right that I cannot account for. The same labels appear in the head of I. 9 below.

Every day people's primordial *qi* comes forth at 11 am

Fu qi arrives at the Caudal Defile (GV 1) at 1 pm

³²³ *Xiang tang* 相堂 instead of Hall of Brilliance (*ming tang* 明堂).

³²⁴ *Yu* 玉.

³²⁵ *Mu li* 母立. Here one would expect Dark Elixir (*xuan dan* 玄丹)

³²⁶ See: Monica Esposito entry on "ni wan 泥丸 Muddy Pellet" in Pregadio 2007: 775-777.

Lin qi arrives at the Kidney Hall at 3 pm
Tai qi arrives at the Mystic Pivot³²⁷ at 5 pm
Da zhuang qi arrives at Spinal Handle at 7 pm
Guai qi arrives at Kiln Path (GV 13) at 9 pm
Qian qi arrives at Jade Pillow (BL 9) at 11 pm
Gou qi arrives at Mud Pill³²⁸ (GV 20) at 1 am
Dun qi arrives at Hall of Brilliance (GV 23) at 3 am
Pi qi arrives at the Center of the Chest (CV 17) at 5 am
Guan qi arrives at Central Venter (CV 12) at 7 am
Bo qi arrives at Spirit Gate (CV 8) at 9 am
Kun qi then returns to the Sea of *Qi* (CV 6)

A person's body has two channels, the Conception and the Governing (*ren du er mai* 任督二脈), which are the summation of Yin and Yang. The Conception Vessel arises under the Central Pole, proceeds through the abdomen to the Primordial Pass above arriving at the throat. It is the Sea of the Yin Vessels. The Governing Vessel arises at the Lower Pole point, pierces through the spine, ascends to the Wind Palace, proceeds past the forehead arriving at the nose. It is the Sea of the Yang Vessels.

The deer transports the Caudal Defile so can penetrate its Governing Vessel. The turtle controls the breath of the nose so can penetrate its Conception Vessel. If a person

³²⁷ *Xuan shu* 玄樞. GV 5 bears the homophonic name "Suspended Pivot" 懸樞.

³²⁸ "Mud Pill Palace" (*ni wan gong* 泥丸宮) is an alternate name for the "One Hundred Convergences" point.

can penetrate these two channels, then a hundred channels will also be pierced and there will be no sickness.

Commentary

The first passage describes the path of *qi* over the course of a day. It moves through the Governing and Conception vessels, pooling *qis* with particular balances of yin and yang. The twelve particular *qis* are assigned the qualities of the twelve Sovereign Hexagrams (*bi gua* 辟卦) of the *Yijing*: *Fu qi*, *Lin qi*, *Tai qi*, etc. Each represents an interval of approximately two hours, depending on the proportionality of day to night. Practitioners coordinate their inner cycle with the cosmic one; calculations are precise because minor errors can obliterate immense effort.

The chart begins at 11 in the morning, with yang beginning to rise in yin. Ultimate yang is reached at 11 at night; yin begins rising in yang two hours later. Ultimate yin is reached as the cycle begins again the next day.

The times of day are identified by the 12 “Earthly Branches.” For the sake of convenience the following chart uses the western hour system, but this is misleading as the Earthly Branches themselves carry correspondences.³²⁹ It should also be remembered that we are dealing with both cyclical and linear time: i.e., the same cycle repeats itself daily, but the practitioner is also advancing on the Path.

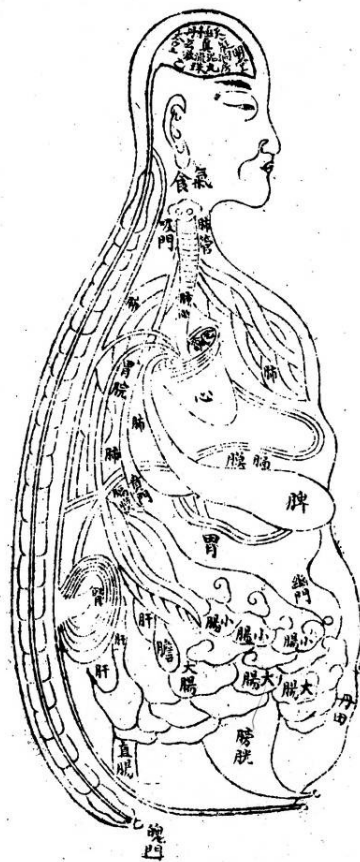
Regarding comparisons to contemporary TCM, the depiction of “Jade Pillow” as an area broader than the contemporary point of the same name on the Governing Vessel indicates that the Jade Pillow was considered to have covered a greater area than that of the discrete point it is considered to be today.

The second passage describes the course of the Conception and Governing Vessels, which were considered to have had a path differing somewhat from that charted in TCM, itself only codified in the 1950s. As set out in *Principles*, the Conception Vessel begins just below Central Pole, a point one *cun* above the pubic bone, charted in TCM as CV 3. The vessel ends at the throat, while in TCM it plunges into the lower gum. According to our text the Governing Vessel (GV) begins at the Lower Pole, more commonly known as Yin Convergence, TCM’s CV 1. It ends at the nose; not quite the upper gums, TCM’s

³²⁹ A detailed discussion of these correspondences is available in Walter 2002: 58-61.

point of completion. Contemporary designations for other point names mentioned are: Primordial Pass (CV 4) and Wind Palace (GV 16).

I. 9 Inner Illumination



The heart holds the office of the emperor, from which divine brilliance³³⁰ emanates. The lung holds the office of the minister, from which governing and regulation emanate. The liver holds the office of general, from which strategies emanate. The gall bladder holds the office of justice, from which justice emanates. The center of the chest holds the office of courier, from which happiness emanates. The spleen and the stomach hold the office of depots and granaries, from which the five flavors emanate. The large intestine holds the office of conveyance, from which transformation (*bianhua* 變化) emanates. The small intestine holds the office of reception, from which the

³³⁰ *Shen ming* 神明. These were originally two categories of divine beings.

transformation of things emanates.³³¹ The kidneys hold the office of labor (*zuo qiang* 作強), from which agility emanates. The brain is the Sea of Marrow; all marrow belongs to it. Therefore above it arrives at the Muddy Pellet, below it arrives at the coccyx. It is ruled by both kidneys. The Center of the Chest is in between the two breasts. It is called the Sea of *Qi*.³³² IT can scatter yin and yang as the source of life transformations, therefore its called “Sea.” The diaphragm is below the lungs. It covers the area of opposition between the underarms and the abdomen like a curtain in order to block turbid *qi* from causing the lukewarm from rising to the Upper Burner. The Dark Gate³³³ is in between the large and small intestines. The lymph and saliva seep into the urinary bladder. The dregs flow into the large intestine and the transformed [product] is expelled.

Commentary

The important passage from the *Yellow Emperor's Inner Canon* (*Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經) is the only quote from a canonical medical work which appears in *Principles*, a testament to the finitude of the intersections between canonical medicine and Inner Alchemy.

³³¹ The preceding passage is a verbatim quote from the first chapter of the eighth *pian* of the *Ling lin mi dian lun* of the *Su wen* in the *Huangdi neijing* (Ren 1986: 28).

³³² Again, this location is quite different from that of TCM, in which it is CV 6, located on and a half *cun* below the navel.

³³³ In TCM both CV 10 and KI 21 are referred to by this name, a tacit acknowledgement that this area is larger than a single precise point.

I. 6-9. Outro

[Three Registers]

The upper register of the “Diagram of Universal Illumination” [I. 6] points directly to the Mind-font Sea of Innate Disposition aperture. The middle register points directly to the Yellow Center Correct Position aperture. The lower register points directly to the Gate Origin Sea of *Qi* aperture. These are called the “Anterior Three Gates.” The bottommost portion of the “Diagram of [the Course of] Reverse Illumination” [I. 7] points to the Caudal Defile Supreme Mystery aperture. The central portion points to the Spinal Handle Dual Pass aperture. The uppermost portion points to the Celestial Valley Mud Pill aperture. These are called the “Posterior Three Passes.” [Ma] Danyang said: “The anterior are nine. The latter are nine.”³³⁴ Pick up a load and pole it.”³³⁵ It’s this meaning. The “Diagram of the Illumination of Time” [I. 8] clarifies the mechanism of yang coming forth and yin descending, the subtlety of the Four Heraldic Creatures surrounding the center.³³⁶ The “Diagram of Inner Illumination” [I. 9] directly shows the five viscera, six bowels, twenty-four vertebrae, and the Governing and Conception Vessels, causing those who [practice] inner contemplation to understand the starting place.

If people don’t understand the aperture but speak about cultivation, it is like people who can’t stand but discuss walking. Since antiquity various transcendents have transmitted to one another from mouth to mouth, and received from one another from heart-mind to heart-mind, not daring to illuminate these apertures to show others

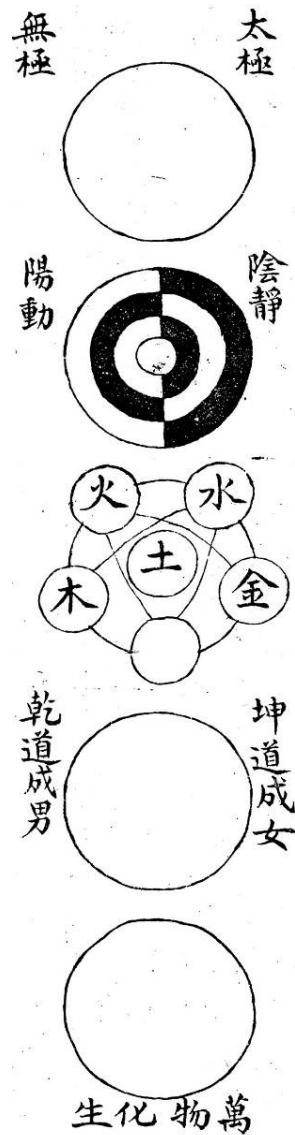
³³⁴ Each pass is considered to have three cavities within it.

³³⁵ I.e., thread through all of them, as one would put a pole through baskets in order to lift them together.

³³⁶ See I. 24.

because they feared to expose the Celestial Trigger. My master Lord Yin, who initiated the Buddhists' upright [manner] of knowing and seeing and treats all living things as if they were a child, drew these four diagrams in order to guide the lost ones of posterity, his intention in the universal salvation of those with karmic affinity [so that we can] together emerge from [the cycle of] life and death, the Sea of Sorrow.

I. 10 Diagram of the Supreme Polarity



Zhou Dunyi's (1017-1073) explication of this chart, the "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity" (*Taijitu shuo* 太極圖說),³³⁷ as interpreted by Zhu Xi (1130-1200), "became the accepted foundation of Neo-Confucian cosmology."³³⁸ The Supreme Polarity (*Taiji*) or Non-Polar (*Wuji* 無極) divides into two opposites which contain one another: yin and yang, stillness and movement. They also retain the fundamental unity at their center (represented by the empty circle). The next division is into the

³³⁷ Translated in de Bary and Bloom 1999: 672-677.

³³⁸ De Bary and Bloom 1999: 670.

Five Phases (wood, fire, earth, metal, water), which also retain the fundamental unity (again represented by an empty circle, this time not in the center, but at the base, on which see below). The text beside the fourth of the five large circles declares: “The way of Kun [the ultimate yin hexagram] becomes woman”: on the opposite side is written: “The way of Qian [the ultimate yang hexagram] becomes man.” Kun and Qian stand for earth and heaven respectively. The empty circle at the bottom of the diagram is captioned: “Ten thousand things are transformed and produce.”

This chart is conventionally considered to have derived from the quasi-historic Daoist recluse Chen Tuan. Aside from two works of Zhou Dunyi, the chart only appears in *Diagrams of the Marvelous Scripture of True Origin, the Great Cavern, and the Highest Direction* (*Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing tu* 上方大洞真元妙經圖 DZ 437).³³⁹ In the Daoist reading, from bottom to top, it describes the path of reversion to the primordial unity.

The earliest version of the 2nd circle down, known as the “Li-Kan Diagram of the Supreme Polarity,” appears without the white circle in the center in a text by the fifth Huayan patriarch Zongmi 宗密 (780-841), where it is used to symbolize *ālayavijñāna*.³⁴⁰ In Berling’s explication of both the Song classicists top-to-bottom cosmological reading of this chart and of the Inner Alchemical bottom-to-top reading, she points out that this small empty circle in The Five Phases diagram is crucial: “Fire and Water (the lights of spirit and vitality, respectively) are combined in the small circle below, representing the lower elixir field. (The lines from Fire and Water to the unidentified circle... betray the Daoist origins of the chart; there is no necessary Neo-Confucian function for that small circle attached to Fire and Water.)”³⁴¹ The earliest representations of the second and third circles down, exactly as they appear here, is in the tomb of Shi Shengzu (1191-1274) in Quzhou, Zhejiang.³⁴²

This ○ the Śākyaists call “Perfect Enlightenment,” the Daoists call “Golden Elixir,” and the Ruists call the “Supreme Polarity.” That which is called the Non-Polar

³³⁹ On which see: Yuan Bingling’s entry in TC: 1220-1221. Yuan does not attempt to date the text, beyond noting that it quotes several late Song sources.

³⁴⁰ Louis 2003: 177 n. 71; on *ālayavijñāna*, see: I. 28.

³⁴¹ Berling 1980: 130.

³⁴² Louis 2003: 160. A chart identical to the one in *Principles* appears on page 167 of Louis’ article, reprinted from Needham, *SCC* v. 2: 461.

and the Supreme Polarity is the designation of the polar which cannot be carried to the pole. Universally at the beginning before people's birth there is a spark of spirit light that masters the body (*xinghai* 形骸). This is the Supreme Polarity. Before the parents were born there was only a trace of the Great Void that did not belong to your body. This is the Non-Polar. Salvation Masters³⁴³ say: "If you wish to know your original true face, in the place of the unborn body there was a wheel of light."

Lord Yin 尹公 said: "The Supreme Polarity has one underlying principle. In regards to its ability to orbit of its own it is called 'Time' (*shihou* 時候), although Heaven and Earth are not beyond a breath. In regards to its ability to coagulate of its own it is called the 'True Seed,' although one grain of millet can encompass Heaven and Earth." Hibernating and returning to the root and leisurely breathing in profound obscurity are the Supreme Polarity of Time. Bearing fruit during pregnancy and conceiving the embryo during copulation are the Supreme Polarity of the True Seed. If a person can protect and maintain the integrity of the two poles without loss, then he can extend life and not transform.³⁴⁴ Why just stop with fulfilling the years and dictating the end³⁴⁵ and that's it!

Commentary

The "bright wheel" of which the Buddhists speak is the karma wheel of death and rebirth. "Lord Yin," presumably the Perfected Yin whose disciple composed this work, provides a gloss on the second down of the five circles in the chart of the Supreme Polarity. He explains that, though the Supreme Polarity is One, it can be examined as two distinct entities, Movement (*dong*) and Stillness (*jing*), yang and yin respectively. Breath is movement/yang, coagulation is stillness/yin.

³⁴³ *Du shi* 度師; i.e., Buddhists.

³⁴⁴ I.e., death.

³⁴⁵ *Jinnian lingzhong* 盡年令終. I.e., live out the ultimate lifespan considered normative by the ancients, 120 years (Fu 2005: 71 nt. 2).

The Supreme Polarity Comes Into Play

Great is my own Supreme Polarity! Being born and transforming means ending only with Heaven and Earth. But long life without transformation, this transcends Heaven and Earth. Precepts injure life; taboos harm transformation.

If you can fulfill your years and dictate the end, if you cut off life and sever transformation, and are able to extend life and halt transformation, fulfilling your years and dictating the end, you are different from ordinary people. Extending life without dying, you are the same as buddhas and transcendents. The two [ways] invariably emerge from the midst of the Supreme Polarity, but the way in which they are made is not the same.

People all know that the Supreme Polarity proceeded Heaven and Earth and the Myriad Things, but don't know that as soon as there are Heaven and Earth and the Myriad Things each possesses the Supreme Polarity. The Supreme Polarity has Time, has the True Seed. The Supreme Polarity of Heaven and Earth and the Myriad Things is in the *xu* and *hai* 戌亥³⁴⁶ conjunctions.³⁴⁷ In these two conjunctions the Supreme Polarity has one epoch of Creation-and-Transformation. The Supreme Polarity of every year is in the 9th and 10th months. There is the Supreme Polarity of these two months. This has one year's Creation-and-Transformation. The Supreme Polarity of every month occurs from the 26th to the 30th day. In the Supreme Polarity of these five days there is one month's

³⁴⁶ The 11th and 12th Heavenly Branches.

³⁴⁷ The writer here is adopting a temporal schema articulated by Shao Yong in his *Huangji jing shishu* 皇帝經世書: 36 years are a generation (*shi* 世), 12 generations are a cycle (*yun* 運), 30 cycles are a conjunction (*hui* 會) (following the translation in Zürcher 1982: 2), and 12 conjunctions are an epoch (*yuan* 元) (Fu 2005: 71 nt. 3). The *xuhai* conjunctions are the 11th and 12th components that comprise an epoch. The *xuhai* conjunctions are thus units of 12,960 which occur together every 129,600 years.

Creation-and-Transformation. The Supreme Polarity of the double hours occurs in *xu* and *hai*. The Supreme Polarity of these double hours has one day's Creation-and-Transformation. The Supreme Polarity of one hour is in the two times of deep darkness.³⁴⁸ The Supreme Polarity of these two moments has one time of Creation-and-Transformation.

Animal Supreme Polarity is in hibernation and pregnancy. Plant Supreme Polarity is in returning to the root and bearing fruit. The human body Supreme Polarity is in leisurely breathing in profound obscurity, copulating and forming the embryo. If copulation has a particular time, and if the regulation of nurturance has a particular method, then it does not injure the Supreme Polarity. This exhausts one's years, dictates the end, severs excessive desire.³⁴⁹ [If at the] time [one] enters profound obscurity, one protects the primordial Supreme Polarity, then this is the way of long life without death. The way of exhausting one's years and dictating the end is also the way of destruction. The way of long-life without death [enables one to] become a transcendent, become a buddha. In the end it is without destruction. Indeed it is truly different from the common people, separate from plants and beasts [I] say!

³⁴⁸ *Yaoyao mingming* 窈窈冥冥.

³⁴⁹ *Yinyu* 淫慾.

I. 12 The Fire Dragon and the Water Tiger



The technique of the Five Phases Reversal *The dragon emerges from fire*

The Five Phases do not follow [the generative cycle] *The tiger is born of water*

Black Lead—the Water Tiger—is the root of the emission and development of Heaven and Earth. Only then is there substance (*zhi* 質) and *qi*. Red Lead—the Fire Dragon—is the foundation of the emission and development of Heaven and Earth. Only then is there *qi* and no substance. That which has substance is True Lead. Ultimate Yin is the essence of the moon. It is the mother that nurtures the form of Heaven, Earth, and the 10,000 Things. That which is without substance is True Mercury. Ultimate Yang is the brilliance of the sun. It is the father that emits and causes the development of Heaven, Earth and the 10,000 Things. The substance (*ti* 體) of lead and mercury nurture one

another and reproduce in profusion,³⁵⁰ cycling without cease. It can be said to be the ancestor that produces Heaven, Earth and the 10,000 Things.

The utmost man of antiquity knew that divine objects³⁵¹ are concealed within this. Rely upon systematic symbolism,³⁵² then gather up the Essence of Ultimate Yin. Establish the cauldron, then lead [the Essence of Ultimate Yin] to meet Ultimate Yang *Qi*. Return them to the Spirit Room,³⁵³ where they wantonly (*hun hun* 混混) copulate. Their copulation does not cease; their productive capability is inexhaustible. The whitesoul is produced in the Wood [i.e., the liver]; the cloudsoul is born in Metal [i.e., the lungs]. The whitesoul and the cloudsoul congeal naturally. This transforms and becomes the body.³⁵⁴ The copulation results in one hundred treasures. It is named “Golden Liquid Reverted Elixir.”

Commentary

In the generative (*sheng* 生) cycle of the Five Phases Fire produces Earth and Water produces Wood. The poem speaks of reversing this cycle, so that Fire becomes Wood and Water becomes Metal. By this process the “Fire Dragon” and the “Water Tiger” become the “Green Dragon” and the “White Tiger” employed (among other places) in the Four Heraldic Creatures visualization (I. 24): they move from the position of Fire-Red to Wood-Green and Water-Black to Metal-White respectively. In so doing, the correspondences associated with the positions change. Here Fire and Water are associated with the two ways that human life is consumed: excessive emotions, such as anger (Fire, corresponding to the heart-mind) and sexual depletion (Water, corresponding to the kidney orb broadly and seminal essence in particular).

³⁵⁰ *Huxiang xiyin* 互相孳胤.

³⁵¹ *Shen wu* 神物. In earlier periods this phrase meant “divine beings.” Here it refers to Black Lead-Water Tiger and Red Lead-Fire Dragon, etc.

³⁵² *Fa xiang* 法象. For this reading see Skar 2003: 192 n. 68.

³⁵³ I.e., the Yellow Court, halfway between the kidneys and the heart-mind.

³⁵⁴ *Yin e* 鄢鄂. An allusion to *Cantongqi*, which speaks of “nurturing” *yin e* (Fu 2005: 79 n. 9).

A significant portion of this discourse was included in *Questions and Answers in the Liao Yang Palace* (*Liao Yang dian wen da pian* 寥陽殿問答篇 ZW 339), which is also attributed to “the Perfected Yin.” Needham dates this text to the early seventeenth century, making it contemporaneous with *Principles*. Min Yide 閔一得, 11th patriarch of the Dragon Gate Sect of the Complete Perfection order, edited it around 1830.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁵ Needham and Lu 1985: 224.

I. 13 The Sun Raven and the Moon Hare



The Beautiful Maiden catches the raven in order to possess the Jade Hare

The raven is inside the moon. The raven is the spirit. The spirit is fire.

Fire belongs to the mind. The mind is mercury. Mercury is *li*.

The Infant commands the hare in order to inhale the Golden Raven

The hare is in the moon. The hare is *qi*. *Qi* is the pharmacon.³⁵⁶

The pharmacon belongs to the body (*shen* 身). The body is lead. Lead is *kan*.

“The body” and “the mind” are two distinct characters, “the pharmacon” and “fire” respectively. The time for plucking is called “the pharmacon.” Fire is inside the pharmacon. The time for refining is called “fire.” The pharmacon is inside fire. Use fire to refine the pharmacon and achieve the Elixir. Promptly use spirit to control *qi* and achieve the Dao.

³⁵⁶ This translation of *yao* 藥 follows Hudson 2007.

The sun is yang. Yang contains yin, just as mercury is inside [vermillion] sand.³⁵⁷ If yang is without yin, then it cannot cause its own cloudsoul to shine. Therefore it is called “female fire.” Yang contains yin. The raven is inside the sun. Its trigram belongs to the South and is called the “*Li* Girl.” Therefore it is said: “The sun resides in the position of *li*. Reversed, however, it becomes female.”³⁵⁸

The moon is yin. Yin contains yang, just as silver is inside lead. If yin is without yang it cannot cause its own whitesoul to glow. Therefore it is called “male metal.” Yin contains yang. The hare is in the moon. Its trigram belongs to the North and is called the “*Kan* Boy.” Therefore it is said: “*Kan* corresponds to the Toad [i.e. Moon] Palace but is male.”³⁵⁹

*Wulou*³⁶⁰ says: “Lead pursues the essence in the Jade Hare’s brain. Mercury seeks the blood in the heart of the Golden Raven. One must only control only these two things in order to cause the elixir to congeal. The Utmost Dao is neither complex nor difficult.”

Awakening to Perfection says: “First make *Qian* and *Kun* into the cauldron implement. Next, catch the raven and the hare and the pharmacon will be cooked. Now that you’ve controlled them the two things return to the Yellow Dao.³⁶¹ How could the Golden Elixir not be produced?” The two things are of one substance (*ti*).

³⁵⁷ “Sand” is shorthand for *zhu sha* 朱沙, mercury [sulfide]. This is also the name for the pharmaceutical *Dansha* 丹沙, or Cinnabaris.

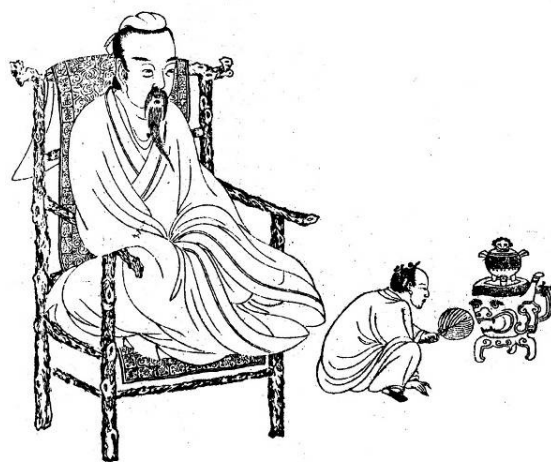
³⁵⁸ *Wuzhenpian*.

³⁵⁹ Also from the *Wuzhenpian*.

³⁶⁰ *Wulou* 無漏 “Without leakage.” This is the name for a famous monk and possibly a moniker for Zhang Boduan, who also uses the phrase.

³⁶¹ *Huang Dao* 黃道. In the Inner Alchemical context, this term refers to the Governing Vessel from the Yin Convergence to the Muddy Pellet point (Fu 82 n. 8).

I. 14 The Greater and the Lesser Cauldrons and Their Furnaces



Scoffing, you placidly call it the “crescent moon furnace”

What sages imagine is not the Work

Inside it is a life-extending pharmacon

Don’t discuss being and nonbeing with ordinary people

Scoffing, you placidly call it the “crescent moon furnace”

The Golden Pill is only here, not in another diagram

Still the wind in the realm of desire:³⁶² watch from there³⁶³

Observing [Śākya]muni’s pearl of wisdom

Why is the physical form called the “suspended embryo”?

One true lead flower opens upright

³⁶² *Ai he* 愛河, literally “river of love”: i.e., the world of desire. The quieting of wind (*feng jing* 風靜) indicates that the desire is stilled.

³⁶³ Var.: Fu 2005: *wai* 外 for *na* 那, “watch from outside.”

Only because the Golden Pill is good news
 Seek and return [it] into the cauldron, then it will bear children

 Why is the physical form called the “suspended embryo”?
 Not only does it give birth to people and myriad things,
 It makes your name known far and wide
 If you want to become a transcendent, become a buddha, it must come

 “Stabilizing the furnace and establishing the cauldron
 is the method of *Qian* and *Kun*,”³⁶⁴
 Forge³⁶⁵ the essence and spirit in order to control the cloudsouls and the
 whitesouls
 As if there were no true seed in the cauldron
 Just as the pot is empty, but you’re using the fire to burn it³⁶⁶

 The Jade Bud is produced in the crescent moon furnace
 The vermilion sand is in the cauldron, aqueous silver³⁶⁷ is calmed
 Only because the force of the fire has been steadied
 The seeds’ yellow sprouts gradually mature

³⁶⁴ Quotation from *Wuzhenpian*.

³⁶⁵ Var.: Fu 2005, inverts these two characters, having *lianduan* 煉[火段], instead of *duanlian* (“forge” versus “refine”).

³⁶⁶ An allusion to a famous passage from *Wuzhenpian*.

³⁶⁷ *Yin shui* 銀水. Or “argentine water”?

In all cases in order to cultivate the Great Elixir of the Golden Liquor,³⁶⁸ one must first stabilize the furnace and establish the cauldron. The cauldron is the vessel: it is neither gold nor iron.

The furnace is the implement: it is neither jade nor stone. The Yellow Court is the cauldron: the *Qi* Cavity is the furnace. The Yellow Court is directly above the *Qi* Cavity. They are connected by a thread at the place where the hundred channels of the human body converge. The [commentary on the] “Cauldron” hexagram [of the *Yijing*]³⁶⁹ says: “Rectify positions and make the mandate firm.”³⁷⁰ This is what is called the lesser cauldron and the lesser furnace.

The position of *Qian* is the cauldron. The position of *Kun* is the furnace.³⁷¹ Inside the cauldron is the yin of aqueous silver, which is to say the fire dragon-innate disposition root. Inside the furnace is the yang of the Jade Bud, which is to say the water tiger-lifespan stem. The tiger is below in order to emit the trigger of fire. The dragon resides above, setting the clouds off in a blustering storm. Just as the yang in the furnace ascends, yin invariably descends, then the celestial cloudsouls and terrestrial whitesouls in the cauldron preserve their transformations. The Green Dragon and the White Tiger contain one another,³⁷² as do the Jade Hare and the Golden Raven. The firing time acts as an intermediary. Refined, it becomes the superlative treasure.³⁷³ For this reason the Master

³⁶⁸ *Jinye dadan* 金液大丹. See Kim Daeyeol’s entry on this term in Pregadio 2008: 586-587.

³⁶⁹ Hexagram 50: This hexagram derives its name from the placement of the fire *gua* on top, wood *gua* below.

³⁷⁰ Lynn 1994: 452.

³⁷¹ *Qian* is the head in human correspondence, *Kun* the abdomen (Fu 2005: 86 n. 7).

³⁷² Here the green dragon is synonymous with the Fire Dragon, the White Tiger with the Water Tiger: i.e., true yang and true yin respectively. “In reality, the Green Dragon and the Golden Raven, the White Tiger and the Sun Hare are all one thing” (Li 1993: 91).

³⁷³ I.e., the Great Elixir of the Golden Liquor.

Qing Xia 青霞子³⁷⁴ said: “The [true] cauldron is not the Golden Cauldron. The [true] furnace is not the Jade Furnace. Fire is emitted from below the navel. Steam rises from the cauldron.³⁷⁵ The three families³⁷⁶ meet and harmonize.³⁷⁷ Two things contain one another. Solidify the embryo: don’t permit any dispersion. Transformation occurs in an instant.”

This is called the Great Cauldron and the Great Furnace.

Commentary

This cauldron (*dīng* 鼎) is a ritual vessel on three or four legs. The character is a pictograph. The belly of the cauldron is heated so as to transform the chemical state of its contents.

A portion of this discourse is nearly identical to the passage “Diagram of and Discourse on the Furnace and the Cauldron” (*Luding tulun* 爐鼎圖論) found in *The Secret Compositions of (the deity) Qinghua (contained in) the Golden Casket of Jade Purity* (*Yuqing jinsi Qinghua miwen* 玉清金笥青華秘文 ZW 281).³⁷⁸

³⁷⁴ Lit.: “Azure Radiance,” the *hao* of Su Yuanlang 蘇元朗, also known as Su Xuanlang 蘇玄朗 (Fu 2005: 86 n. 13).

³⁷⁵ Var.: Fu 2005: *dīng* 頂 “summit” for homophone 鼎 “cauldron”.

³⁷⁶ *San xing* 三姓, i.e. *san jia* 三家.

³⁷⁷ See: I. 24.

³⁷⁸ See also: I. 20.

I. 16 Following and Reversing Course and the Three Passes



My method is deeply profound

It is difficult for people to recognize [its] subtle usage

Following and reversing course—both are completely forgotten

The Void subdues with enduring solitude

Following

The mind is born in the innate disposition and intention is born in the mind

Intention turns into passions and passions produce illusion

Therefore: Chan Master Lingrun 靈潤 said:

“From only one illusory thought 10,000 physical forms manifest”

Reversing Course

Restrain illusions to return passions, passions returned become intention

Regulate intention to pacify the mind and the mind returns to the ground of innate
disposition

Therefore the Perfected [Wei] Boyang said:

“The arrival of gold leads to the insipience of innate disposition

Which is why it came to be called the Reverted Elixir”

The Dao gives birth to One, One gives birth to Two,

*Two gives birth to Three, Three gives birth to 10,000 Things*³⁷⁹

This is what is called “Following produces people and creatures.” Now if the physical form transforms into essence,³⁸⁰ essence transforms into *qi*, *qi* transforms into spirit, and spirit transforms into the Void. This is what is called: “Reversing course and becoming a buddha, becoming a transcendent.”

Those who refine essence and transform it into *qi* at the First Pass must recognize the time in which Heavenly Water³⁸¹ is produced. *Speedily grasp it!* At the moment of grasping it you must, by means of non-fixed intention,³⁸² lead fire to compel gold. [This is] what is called: “The Fire [phase] compels the course of the metal [phase] to reverse and the Great Elixir spontaneously solidifies in the cauldron.”

Those who refines *qi* into spirit at the Central Pass mount this fire, powerfully ablaze, ride the waterwheel [up the Governing Meridian] from the Great Mystery Pass reversing the flow until reaching the Heavenly Valley cavity, [at which point] *qi* and spirit harmonize, then descend to the Yellow Chamber. [This is] what is called: “The copulation of *Qian* and *Kun* ceases and one drop descends to the Yellow Palace.”

³⁷⁹ The opening of the verse 42 of the *Laozi*.

³⁸⁰ This is an odd step, one I haven’t seen elsewhere.

³⁸¹ *Tian gui* 天癸.

³⁸² *Paihui zhi yi* 徘徊之意.

Those who refine the spirit and return to the Void at the Upper Pass Guard the One and Embrace the Primordial in order that the spirit to return to the Vairocana Innate Disposition Sea.

For in regard to the Three Passes: those who from doing enter non-doing [practice] the gradual method; those who cultivate the Upper Pass concurrently with the lower two passes [practice] the sudden method. As for those who directly refine the spirit and return to the Void, at the critical moment when the Work arrives at the Void, the extremity of quiescence, essence transforms into *qi* of itself, *qi* transforms into spirit of itself, meaning Gatekeeper Yin's³⁸³ principles on forgetting essence and spirit and transcending life.

Commentary

This discourse discusses one of the constitutive principles of Inner Alchemy: the conviction that, rather than following one's desires, one must restrain and redirect the base urges to achieve transcendence. Hence the slogan "Following [one's desires] produces a person, reversing [one's desires] achieves transcendence" (*shun ze cheng ren, ni ze cheng xian* 順則成人逆則成仙): i.e., following one's desires results in procreation, but if one can turn these desires inward and cultivate the powers they would have released one can achieve transcendence.

The essence—materializable as semen—thus preserved is refined into finer substances, which are circulated internally along the energetic seam of the body, the Conception and Governing vessels. One does not follow the normal course of the circuit—up the front and down the back but reverses it, directing the cultivated substance up the back (illustrated in I. 7). In order to progress one must open Three Passes: 1) the Lower Pass, located in the coccyx, commonly called the Caudal Funnel and here referred to as the "Grand Mystery Pass"; 2) the Middle Pass, located in the brain, commonly called the Mud Pill and here referred to as the "Heavenly Valley cavity"; 3) the Upper Pass, located in the chest, commonly called the Yellow

³⁸³ *Yin guan* 尹關子. The official of the border town who in popular legend compelled Laozi to put his thoughts to paper before passing to the Western mountains, resulting in the *Daodejing*.

Court and here referred to as the “Yellow Chamber.”³⁸⁴ When these are open one completes the final step of the popular Inner Alchemical slogan: “The essence refines the *qi*, the *qi* refines the spirit, and the spirit returns to the Void.”

³⁸⁴ This is a different schema than the three posterior and three anterior passes discussed in I. 6-9 Outro.

I. 19 The Whitesouls and the Cloudsouls



The yang spirit is called “the cloudsoul”

The yin spirit is called “the whitesoul”

The cloudsoul being together with the whitesoul

They are one another’s room and mansion

The cloudsoul is the qi’s spirit; it has purity and turbidity

It is breathed by the mouth and the nose

The exhale is the yang stretching (*shen* 伸); the inhale is the yin bending (*qu* 屈)³⁸⁵

The whitesoul is the essence’s spirit

It has depletion and repletion

It is that with which the ear and eye hear and see

To look is yang’s³⁸⁶ clarity; to hear is yin’s acuity

³⁸⁵ A pairing of phrases from the “Qiu shui” 秋水 chapter of *Zhuangzi*. The Baiyun guan edition misses the allusion by mistaking *yang shen* 陽伸 for the homophonous 陽神.

³⁸⁶ Var.: Baiyun guan error: *yin* 陰.

From the perspective of life it is called “essence” and “*qi*”

From the perspective of death it is called “the cloudsoul” and “the whitesoul”

From the perspective of the entirety of Heaven and Earth it is simply called “ghost” and
“spirit”³⁸⁷

“Ghost” (*gui* 鬼) and “cloud” (*yun* 云) make the character “cloudsoul” (*hun* 魂).

“Ghost” 鬼 and “white” (*bai* 白) make the character “whitesoul” (*po* 魄). The cloud is wind, the wind is wood [i.e., the liver]. The white is *qi*, the *qi* is metal [i.e., lungs]. Wind disperses so is light and pure. Being light and pure, the whitesoul follows the ascent of the cloudsoul. Metal-wind is solid so it is heavy and turbid. Being heavy and turbid, the cloudsoul descends and the whitesoul follows. Therefore sages use the cloudsoul to move the whitesoul. The common people use the whitesoul to clasp the cloudsoul.

In the daytime the whitesoul resides in the eyes. In the night the cloudsoul is housed in the liver. When it resides in the eyes one can see; when it resides in the liver one can dream. In the one who dreams much, the whitesoul controls the cloudsoul. In the one who is often awake, the cloudsoul conquers the whitesoul.

Therefore: because of the whitesoul there is essence, because of essence there is the cloudsoul, because of the cloudsoul there is spirit, because of spirit there is intention, and because of intention there is the whitesoul.³⁸⁸ The five circulate unceasingly. As a

³⁸⁷ This passage establishes parallels based on perspective. From the perspective of life, there is essence and *qi*; from death, the cloudsoul and the whitesoul; from all creation, ghost and spirit. Thus, essence, the cloudsoul, and “ghost” are equivalent; ditto *qi*, the whitesoul, and spirit.

³⁸⁸ This is a parallel of the controlling cycle of the Five Phases: the lungs control the kidneys, the kidneys control the liver, the liver controls the heart-mind, the heart-mind controls the spleen, and the spleen controls the lungs.

result, my true mind roams the heavens for³⁸⁹ millions upon millions of years. It doesn't have a limit. A seed and a sprout mutually engender. One cannot know how many thousands of plants there will be. Although Heaven and Earth are great, they cannot produce a sprout from a seed in nothingness. The female of a species and an egg mutually engender. One cannot know how many myriads of birds there will be. Although yin and yang are subtle, they cannot make a female bird birth an egg without the male. Therefore, as 10,000 things come, sages use their innate disposition, not their heart-minds [to deal with them]. The innate disposition does not sprout the mind.

When there's no heart-mind, then there's no intention; when there's no intention, then there's no whitesoul. When there's no whitesoul, then one does not receive life,³⁹⁰ and the revolving wheel (*lun hui* 輪迴) rests forever.

Commentary

The concept of whitesoul and cloudsoul seems to have become widespread beginning in the 3rd century BCE. It appears in both the *Chuci* and the Ruist classics.³⁹¹ David Keightley speculates that this idea may have originated with the “vapors associated with the decomposition of the body” (cloudsoul) and the “whitesoul” that “remained with the white bones in the [funerary] urn.”³⁹²

³⁸⁹ Var.: “false mind” (*wei xin* 偽心) for “true mind” (*zhen xin* 真心), “moves” (*fa dong* 發動) for “wanders about” (*liu zhuan* 流轉). Ding 1922 follows this variation, while Li 1993 and Fu 2005 note it but opt for the alternative, as I have above.

³⁹⁰ I.e., ending the cycle of re-birth.

³⁹¹ Robinet 1997: 13.

³⁹² Keightley 1998: 783.

I. 20 Toad Light



The Grand Ultimate through this produces the Three Powers³⁹³

My parents through this nurtured my body (*ti*)

I *should*, using this, achieve the Reverted Elixir

Gestated in the Great Mist

Produced from the *Kun* and *Fu* [hexagrams]³⁹⁴

Round, bright and scintillating

This is the Light of the Toad

Yuguzi 玉谿子³⁹⁵ said: “Cut open the casing of the Grand Ultimate

Out comes dew from the heart of Heaven and Earth³⁹⁶

³⁹³ Var.: Baiyunguan ed., *wu xing* 五行 “Five Phases” for *san cai* 三才.

³⁹⁴ I.e., pure yin and the initial rising of yang within yin.

³⁹⁵ This is the *hao* of Li Jianyi 李簡易, a Quanzhen Daoist from Yichun 宜春. The Daoist Canon contains his *Master Jade Stream’s Basic Directions on Alchemical Texts* (*Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao* 玉谿子丹經指要 DZ 245), with prefaces dated 1264 and 1266 (Baldrian-Hussein in TC: 837). According to Darga, the above quote is not included in this collection (Darga 1999: 382 n. 149).

The Void is vast and limitless

A sliver of moon appears over the solitary peak”

On the bank of the Western river raise your head and look into the distance

A beam of the light of the toad [i.e., moonlight] dips into the emerald waves

It’s a good time to cultivate two and eight³⁹⁷

Courteously and punctiliously entrust the charge to the Yellow Grannie

The Great Void is vast and empty. The luminous moon is bright and brilliant.

Waves of snow billow and surge. The Metallic Toad spits out a dazzling light. People see that which makes the moon bright then say: “When the metallic essence is replete the moon is bright.” Who knows³⁹⁸ that that which birthed [the] metallic [gleam] was produced by the moon? People assume the metallic [gleam] is produced in the moon, not knowing the moons brightness originally comes from the sun.

The moon is a metaphor for the primordial disposition. Water is a metaphor for the Kan Palace.³⁹⁹ The Metallic Toad is a metaphor for the orifice from which emerges one spark of pure yang. Primordial disposition is a metaphor for the moon; [it represents] the functioning of innate disposition. The initial appearance of disposition is round and

³⁹⁶ This couplet is garbled in many contemporary editions. Fu 2005 writes 剖出太極巴 for 剖開太極包. He also omits 出 in the next line, disrupting the pentasyllabic rhythm. The Baiyun guan edition also substitutes *ba* 巴 for *bao* 包.

³⁹⁷ According to Li Daochun in *Zhongheji* the “two” is half a *jin* of lead, the “eight” eight *liang* of mercury. These were equal measurements at the time. Thus the phrase means to balance equally dichotomously defined elements (i.e., yin and yang) (Darga 1999: 390 n. 151).

A contemporary Taiwanese cultivator, unaware of the Li Daochun reference, interpreted this passage in terms of sexual cultivation: “It’s a good time to practice with one of sixteen/ Courteously and punctiliously/Entrust the charge [of procurement] to the Yellow Grannie [i.e., an intermediary].

³⁹⁸ Var.: Baiyun guan edition has “know well” (*zhi zhi* 孰知) for *shu zhi* 熟知.

³⁹⁹ I.e., the kidneys.

craggy, bright and shiny, in form similar to a meteor. Surely the physical disposition⁴⁰⁰ pauses (*xiaoxi* 稍息),⁴⁰¹ then the true disposition of primordial yang will manifest. Like the clouds open and the moon appears, the fog disperses and sunlight shines, only then can this object be seen. Clearly then this is produced by primordial *qi*. Quickly gather and collect it. This is like seeing and grabbing a thief.⁴⁰² Don't let him go again. Collect it back into the cauldron vessel. Then one spark of primordial *qi*—light of the toad—in the end cannot escape.

Commentary

The Encyclopedia of Chinese Daoism (Zhonghua daojiao dacidian 中华道教大辞典) defines “Light of the Toad” as “the first appearance of the primordial yang of true disposition,” or “the flourishing of true lead.”⁴⁰³ “True lead,” in turn, is defined as both “primordial disposition” and “primordial *qi*.”⁴⁰⁴ In the preceding discourse, however, it is stated that the emergence of primordial *qi* is predicated on that of primordial disposition.

While some experience the Light of the Toad as a bright, shining circle that manifests in a state of deep meditation, it can also be distinguished by the presence of an erection in the practitioner. The latter is what is being alluded to in the above image of a toad “spitting out a dazzling light.” The discourse below advocates cultivating this energy at the moment of the first stirring of sexual desire.

A portion of this discourse is nearly identical to that found in three closely related texts:

Alchemical Teachings on the Internally Refined Gold Jewel, The Secret Compositions of (the deity) Qinghua (contained in) the Golden Casket of Jade Purity (Yuqing jinsi Qinghua miwen 玉清金笥青華秘文 金寶內鍊丹訣 DZ 240), ascribed to Zhang Boduan and recorded by his disciple Wang Bangshu 王邦叔;⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁰ *Qi zhi zhi xing* 氣質之性. A phrase coined by Zhang Zai. *Zhi* 質 appears in *Lunyu* 16.8.

⁴⁰¹ “[The movement] of physical nature pauses for a bit.” (Darga 1999: 150)

⁴⁰² Var.: Fu 2005 repeats *zei* 賊: “seeing a criminal and capturing a criminal.”

⁴⁰³ Bie Zuyun 别祖云, “chan guang 蟾光,” in Hu 1995: 1223.

⁴⁰⁴ Bie Zuyun and Zhongfuzi 中孚子 [i.e., Hu fuchen], “Zhen qian 真铅,” in Hu 1995: 1219.

⁴⁰⁵ Baldrian-Hussein in *TC*: 829.

The Secret Compositions of (the deity) Qinghua (contained in) the Golden Casket of Jade Purity (Yuqing jinsi Qinghua miwen 玉清金笥青華秘文 ZW 281);⁴⁰⁶ and Alchemical Doctrines on the Internally Refined Gold Jewel, The Secret Compositions of (the deity) Qinghua (contained in) the Golden Casket of Jade Purity (Yuqing jinsi Qinghua miwen 玉清金笥青華秘文金寶內鍊丹訣 ZW 150).⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ Overlapping portions of “Light of the Toad” ZWDS 9: 309. See also: I. 14.

⁴⁰⁷ Overlapping portions of “Light of the Toad” ZWDS 6: 149.

I. 21 Subduing the Dragon



Without obtaining the submission of the dragon how does one become a transcendent?

Subdue the true dragon and the elixir can be perfected

One must have faith in the viable means of divine transcends

One hair on the head; “See the dragon in the sky”,⁴⁰⁸

The head-horn is extraordinary, [the dragon’s] power unrivaled

The clouds disperse, the rain stops

[the dragon withdraws to] a dark concealed cavern

From this point on do not permit it to reemerge from the pool grotto

Nourish the pearl the dragon holds in it’s mouth, illuminated every night.

⁴⁰⁸ This is the first phrase in the *Classic of Changes* explication of the fifth line of the *Qian* hexagram.

Li and the sun are mercury, in its center is *ji*-earth, the forced name⁴⁰⁹ of which is “dragon.” Its form is hideous and ferocious, it is the master of the power to give birth to people and to kill people. Concentrate on the way of becoming a buddha, becoming a transcendent. Its power can transform. “When it responds, one can understand everything.” “It allows clouds to scud and rain to fall and things in all their different categories to flow into form.”⁴¹⁰ The second yang line of the *Qian* hexagram is: “See the dragon in the field. It is beneficial to see a great person.” The Master [Confucius] said: “This refers to one who has a dragon’s virtue and has achieved rectitude and the Mean.”⁴¹¹

People of the world do not understand the procreative work of this dragon. Each suffer its harm. If people understand and fear it, look after it and control it, and they can subdue this hideous and ferocious dragon, then amass the utmost essence of mercury.⁴¹² Those who have subdued it control the true fire in the heart-mind. When the disposition of fire does not flare, then the dragon can be controlled and possessed. One can then obtain the time of lead. Therefore it is said: “If you don’t amass mercury, how can you seek lead? If you don’t subdue the dragon, how can you tame its tiger?” Both true lead and true mercury are not easily brought to bear. It is also difficult to tame the true tiger and force the true dragon to submit. If those who study the Dao can understand this one word then all their affairs will become minor concerns.

⁴⁰⁹ *Qiang ming* 強名. This phrase is an allusion to Laozi’s disclaimer regarding naming the Dao. The relevant passage in the twenty-fifth passage of the *Laozi* reads: “I do not know its name, but name it the Way. Forced to name it, I call it Great.”

⁴¹⁰ Translation Lynn 1994: 129.

⁴¹¹ Lynn 1994: 133.

⁴¹² Prior Heaven original spirit.

Commentary

This passage and the one that follows concern controlling the mind. “Subduing the Dragon” can be understood as dominating the wily intellect, while “Taming the Tiger” entails mastering sexual desire—by gaining control over the mind, hence the order. Throughout *Principles* the trigrams *Li* and *Kan* symbolize the mixed energies of the temporal state. In these paired discourses they also signify the mind (housed in the heart) and the kidneys, respectively, as do the pairings mercury and lead, the sun and the moon. The Heavenly Stems *wu* and *ji* refer to the yang line within *Kan* and the yin line within *Li*. *Li* represents the spirit inside the mind, while *Kan* stands for the *qi* inside the kidneys. Each of the Heavenly Stems corresponds to either the yang or yin aspect of one of the Five Phases. *Wu* and *ji* are earth’s yang and yin, hence they are sometimes called “*wu*-earth” and “*ji*-earth.”

I. 22 Taming the Tiger



Pluck the pharmacon, seek perfection and arrive at the tiger stream

In the stream the tiger establishes his masculine power

Controlled by me I take it back to it's residence

In the future as it come and goes I'll ride it like a horse

Enter the tiger's den seeking the tiger's *laosu* 酪酥⁴¹³

Its flavor surpasses that of clarified butter⁴¹⁴

There are people who arrive at these places;

They are the great heroes of creation

Neither subduing the dragon nor taming the tiger is difficult

Subdued and tamed they return to the Locked Jade Pass

⁴¹³ A twice processed cream cheese.

⁴¹⁴ These dairy analogies, borrowed from Buddhist phraseology for knowledge, refer to the rich taste of the practitioner's saliva.

One can see the sun and the moon clearly as they cook in the cauldron

Why be anxious about failing to make the great Reverted Elixir

Kan and the moon are lead, in its center is *wu*-earth, the forced name of which is “tiger.” Its form is furious and insane. Though it can injure and kill people, it also contains the *qi* form⁴¹⁵ of the Great Vehicle. Its rising and awesome wind can transform, and when it strikes there is an immediate response. “Its vast power to accommodate makes it glorious and great. Things in all their different categories are provided their birth by it.”⁴¹⁶ King Wen [of Zhou], who propagated and elaborated upon the *Changes*, said: “Even if one treads on the tiger’s tail here, as it will not bite, so he will prevail.”⁴¹⁷ He also said: “The path to tread on is level and smooth, and if one secluded here practices constancy, he will have good fortune.”⁴¹⁸ Confucius said: “To set forth in such a way that one treads with simplicity means that one is devoted exclusively to the realization of his heartfelt goals.”⁴¹⁹

If people understand and fear it, bring it under control and look after it, then they can tame this furious and insane tiger in order to produce pre-temporal lead. Those who tame the tiger tame the true water inside the body. When the font of the water is of the utmost purity, then the tiger can be tamed; it won’t harm people by biting. Therefore the sage teachers of old regarded subduing the dragon as refining themselves, regarded taming the tiger as grasping the heart-mind. This is why Master Chongyang said: “[As

⁴¹⁵ *Qi xiang* 氣象.

⁴¹⁶ This is a slight modification of a phrase explaining the *kun* hexagram in *Yijing*. The passage speaks of the way in which: “The myriad things are provided their birth by it,” and how, among other qualities, *Kun*’s “vast power to accommodate makes it glorious and great—so that things in all their different categories can prevail as they should” (Lynn 1994: 143).

⁴¹⁷ This the first line of the tenth hexagram, *Lü* (Treading). Trans., Lynn 1994: 200.

⁴¹⁸ Commentary on the second line of the *Lü* hexagram. Lynn 1994: 201.

⁴¹⁹ Commentary on the image of the first line of the *Lü* hexagram. Lynn 1994: 201.

for] the seven times returned Reverted Elixir in people, one must first refine oneself and await the time.” Master Ziyang said: “Just as you cultivate and achieve the Nine Transformations, you must first refine the self and grasp the heart-mind.” They all have this meaning.

I. 23 The Three Families Call Upon One Another



The practitioner is depicted holding interlocking spheres bearing the words “essence” (left), “spirit” (top), and “qi” (right).⁴²⁰

Body, mind, and intention—who separated them into three families?

Essence, *qi*, and spirit—through me they unite and become One

The Great Way is obscure and subtle

Regard this diagram

Clearly it has appearance but is indistinct

First take one and two and make use of them

Three and four between the two of them make a city⁴²¹

Do not use the five metals together with the eight stones⁴²²

⁴²⁰ Var.: the Baiyuan guan edition drops the characters from the circles.

⁴²¹ “One” and “two” are the heart-mind and the kidneys, respectively; “three” and “four,” the lungs and liver. These are directional correspondences: see the quotations from *Wuzhen pian* that closes the discourse.

Only seek the three items which combine into one residence

Through refinement complete one as-you-like-it pearl

Pliable like cotton,⁴²³ red like the sun

Liver-green is the father

Lungs-white are the mother

Heart-mind-vermilion is the daughter

Spleen-yellow is the patriarch

Kidney-black is the son

Concerning the beginning of the Five Phases

“The three things are one family

All return to *wuji*” [i.e., the center]⁴²⁴

Body, mind, and intention are called the “Three Families.” If the Three Families call upon one another, the embryo is perfected. Essence, *qi* and spirit are called the “Three Originals.” If the Three Originals integrate into one, the elixir is achieved. Absorb the three and return to one in the void-quietness. Empty your mind, then spirit and innate disposition integrate. Still your body, then essence and emotion are still. Greatly fix your intention, then the Three Originals combine into one. The integration of emotion and innate disposition is called “the combination of metal and wood.” The integration of essence and spirit is called “the joining of water and fire.” The setting of intention is

⁴²² The “five metals” and “the eight stones” are common metaphors in external drug alchemy. In this stanza the author contends that outer drug techniques are not necessary; one must only practice inner alchemical methods.

⁴²³ This can be read “a lady’s undergarments” (Darga 1999: 310).

⁴²⁴ Quote from *Cantongqi*.

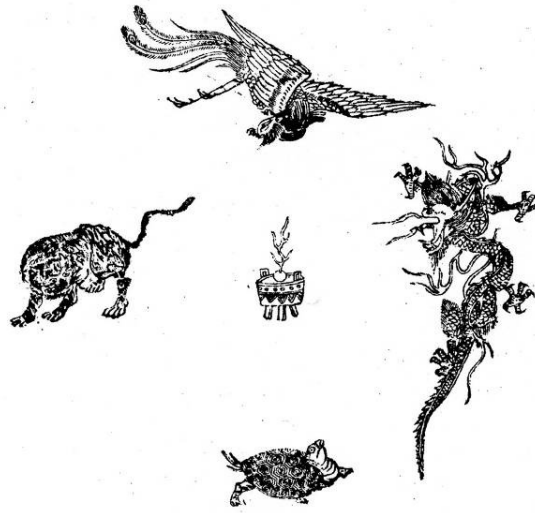
called “the completion of the Five Phases.” Nevertheless essence transforms into the *qi* by means of the stillness of the body. *Qi* transforms into spirit by means of the stillness of the mind. Spirit transforms into the Void by means of the stillness of the intention.

If the mind does not move, then “East (3) and South (2) unite to become fire [i.e., the center].” If the body does not move, then, “North (1) and West (4) combine.”⁴²⁵ If the intention does not move, then *wuji* returns from birth number five.⁴²⁶ Body, mind, and intention combine then the Three Families call on one another, forming the Infant.

⁴²⁵ These quotations come from *Wuzhen pian*.

⁴²⁶ In the numerological system of divination derived from the *Yijing*, 1-5 are “birth numbers,” while 6-10 are “achievement numbers.” “Birth number 5” is still 5; the intention, the center.

I. 24 Harmonious Combination of the Four Heraldic Creatures



When the eyes don't see the whitesoul is in the liver

When the ears don't hear the essence is in the kidneys

When the tongue doesn't move the spirit is in the heart-mind

When the nose doesn't smell the cloudsoul is in the lungs

When the four don't leak, then essence-water, spirit-fire, cloudsoul-wood, and whitesoul-

metal all gather in the intention-earth's center

This is called the "Harmonious Combination of the Four Heraldic Creatures"

Close your eyes, shut your ears, regulate your breath, hold your tongue

The Four Greats⁴²⁷ don't move

Causing metal, wood, water, fire, and earth to all assemble in the Central Palace

This is called "Gathering Together⁴²⁸ the Five Phases"

⁴²⁷ *Si da* 四大. The Dao, Heaven, Earth, and Man, from the *Laozi*. In Buddhism, this phrase refers to the Aryurvedic Four Elements: earth, ether, fire, water, from which is derives the meaning "physical body."

⁴²⁸ *Cuan cu* 攢簇. The same phrase appears both later in this discourse and in I.29, where it is "the Five" that are "gathered" (*cuan*)—i.e., the symbolic equivalents of the four listed here, plus the Center—and "the Four" that are "clustered" (*cu*).

Therefore it is said: “Essence, spirit, the cloudsoul, the whitesoul, and intention cluster

and return to the position of *Kun*

In the extremity of stillness the Celestial Mind appears

Spontaneously the divine brightness⁴²⁹ arrives”

Metal and water co-habitate

Wood and fire are companions

If the four mix⁴³⁰ chaotically

They appear as the dragon and the tiger

In the place where the green dragon descends, the white tiger coils

In the place where the vermillion bird alights, the Dark Warrior stands⁴³¹

The Four Heraldic Creatures harmoniously combine and enter the Central Palace

Where they transform into one spirit that returns to the Purple Mansion

Heaven (3) produces wood, which resides in the East

Its manifestation is a green dragon

Earth (2) produces fire, which resides in the South

Its manifestation is a vermillion bird

Heaven (1) produces water, which resides in the North

Its manifestation is the Dark Warrior

Earth (4) produces metal, which resides in the West

⁴²⁹ *Shenming* 神明.

⁴³⁰ Var.: *hun* 渾 for synonym and homophone 混 in Needham Institute edition.

⁴³¹ Var.: *chu* 除 (“be appointed to office”?) for *ba* 拔 (“stand proudly”) in Needham Institute edition.

Its manifestation is a white tiger

The Four Heraldic Creatures are the green dragon, white tiger, vermillion bird, and Dark Warrior. The Five Phases are metal, water, wood, fire and earth.

Dragon-wood produces fire. Together they belong to the heart-mind. The heart-mind, which “manifest before the thearch did,”⁴³² is the numinously subtle true-nonbeing originating within being. If the heart-mind does not move, the dragon howls and clouds arrive, the vermillion bird folds its wings then Original *Qi* gathers.

Tiger-metal produces water. Together they’re connected in the body. The body, having passed through calamities, is the pure quiescent being originally within nonbeing. If the body does not move, the tiger growls and wind stirs, the dark tortoise conceals itself and descends, then original essence congeals. If essence congeals, *qi* gathers, then metal, wood, fire, and water blend in the center of True Earth; and essence, spirit, the cloudsoul and the whitesoul cluster inside True Intention.

The True Intention is of *Qian*-origin. Thus it is the mother of heaven and earth, the root of yin and yang, the origin of water and fire, the ancestor of the sun and the moon, the source of the Three Powers and the progenitor of the Five Phases. Ten Thousand Things depend on it so as to come into being; One Thousand Spirits hold to it so as to have feeling.⁴³³

⁴³² I.e., before civilization. Quotation from *Laozi*, verse 4, in which the subject is the Dao.

⁴³³ *Shu can* 舒慘. A compound that alludes to the two emotional poles of joy and grief. The phrase originates in Zhang Heng’s 張衡 “Xijing ze” 西京賦, collected in *Wen xuan* 文選: 夫人在陽時則舒在陰時則慘.

If the intention does not move, then Two Things join, Three Treasures form, Four Manifestations⁴³⁴ harmoniously combine, and the Five Phases gather together. All can enter into the Central Palace and the Great Elixir is achieved. It is for this reason that [Zhang] Ziyang⁴³⁵ said: “All Five Phases have to enter the center.” That is what he was talking about.

⁴³⁴ *Xiang* 象. This is the same phrase I’m translating “heraldic creatures” in this context.

⁴³⁵ Zhang Boduan, author of *Wuzhen pian*.

I. 25 Taking from *Kan* to Fill *Li*



The two circles in the practitioner's hands represent the atemporal state. The one in his left hand contains the fire trigram Li; on the right, the water trigram Kan. When the yang line is taken from inside the water trigram in order to fill the fire trigram, the atemporal state of pure yin—Kun—and pure yang—Qian—is restored.

If the *Kun* image is filled then the *Li* trigram becomes *Qian*

The position of Heaven and Earth is established

Restoring the root and returning to the origin⁴³⁶

If you take out the line inside *Kan* to fill *Li* then it returns to *Qian*

The pure yang foundation of the lifespan is originally solid

The numinous and wonderful⁴³⁷ innate disposition is round as a pearl

Controlling your thoughts completes the heavenly principle

⁴³⁶ Var.: Needham Institute edition reads “origin” (*yuan* 元) for homophone “source” (*yuan* 原).

⁴³⁷ Var.: Needham Institute edition reads “sand” (*sha* 砂) for “wonderful” (*miao* 妙).

Departing this dusty world join in superior *dhyāna*

Gather lead and know how to get started

“The triple reprise... will set the embryonic transcendents dancing”⁴³⁸

The yang elixir congeals in a Sea of Yin like a male line⁴³⁹ inside *Kan*

To capture it inside *Li* and warm and nurture it is divine transcendents’ work of reversal

Lead and mercury are the atemporal *qi* of the initial division of the Supreme Polarity. Atemporal *qi* is the dragon-tiger⁴⁴⁰ new moon *qi*.

The tiger resides in the North, in *Kan*-water, but the yang line in *Kan* originally belonged in *Qian*. Before the beginning of *kalpas* and cycles, *Qian* galloping, swiftly fell into the trap of *Kun*. The middle line in *Qian* then was lost and became *Li*. *Li* originally is the residence of mercury.⁴⁴¹ Therefore it is said that the Yellow Man inside *Kan* is called “the ancestor of mercury.”

The dragon resides in the South, in *Li*-fire, but the yin line in *Li* originally belonged to *Kun*. After the downfall of primordial chaos because *Kun* received procreation and birth it paired with *Qian*. The middle line in *Kun* was filled and became

⁴³⁸ Quotation from *Huangting neijing jing* (DZ 331). The full line is 琴心三疊舞胎仙, which Paul Kroll translates as: “The triple reprise of a concinnate heart will set the embryo’s transcendents dancing” (Kroll 1996: 151). I have adapted Kroll’s translation to follow Pregadio’s interpretation of *taixian* as “immortals at the embryonic state” (Pregadio 2006: 142).

⁴³⁹ Var.: Ding *yao xiong* 爻雄, Needham Institute *yao dui* 爻碓, Fu 2005: 120 *yan dui* 炎堆.

⁴⁴⁰ Here this means the 8th day of the lunar month.

⁴⁴¹ Or “the root of *Li* resides in mercury”?

Kan. *Kan* originally was the residence of lead. Therefore it is said the Mystic Woman⁴⁴² in *Li* is of “the lead family.”

This is like a man and woman in different rooms, lead and mercury in different furnaces, yin and yang not connecting, then [the connection of] heaven and earth being obstructed (*pi* 否).⁴⁴³ The sage uses his intention as the Yellow Grannie to guide the Yellow Man in *Kan* to be matched with the Dark Woman in *Li*. As soon as husband and wife copulate they change into pure Qian. This is called “Taking from *Kan* to Fill *Li*,” restoring one’s atemporal original substance. It is for this reason that *Wuzhen pian* says: “Take the filled heart inside *Kan* to transform the yin in the belly of the *Li* Palace.”⁴⁴⁴ This is the correct meaning.

⁴⁴² *Xuan nü* 玄女. The figure who, in common mythology, taught martial techniques to the Yellow Emperor in order to prepare him for his battle with the monster Chi You. Later she became associated with sexual arts (e.g., the *Scripture of the Dark Woman* [*Xuan nü jing* 玄女經]).

⁴⁴³ The name of hexagram 12.

⁴⁴⁴ Chapter 26.

I. 26 Guanyin's Esoteric Incantation



Begin at the top and descend to the navel⁴⁴⁵

When [the cycle is] completed go from the bottom to the top, arriving at the throat

The “*Om*” must arrive at the navel;⁴⁴⁶ the “*me*” is below the navel

This incantation is the mind seal⁴⁴⁷ of subtle wonders of the bodhisatva Guanyin.

If people write the six characters of the Great Brightness incantation, it is the same as writing the entire dharma jewel of the Tripiṭaka.⁴⁴⁸ If people grasp and recite the Six Characters of the Great Brightness Incantation, it is the same as intoning the Numinous

⁴⁴⁵ The practitioner begins the sound in the throat and causes it to descend to the navel, at which point the cycle described below begins.

⁴⁴⁶ Var.: *Zhong* 中 added without changing the meaning.

⁴⁴⁷ *Xin yin* 心印 This phrase “indicates the intuitive method of the Chan school, which was independent of the spoken or written word.” “The mind is the Buddha-mind in all, which can seal or assure the truth.” (Soothill and Hodous 2003: 150).

⁴⁴⁸ This is not necessarily the orthodox Tripiṭaka (a division of the Buddhist canon into sūtras, vinaya, and abhidharma: i.e., scriptures, regulations, and discourses): it may be the sūtra of the esoteric sect, on which see *Ibid.*: 347.

Writ of the Seven Scrolls.⁴⁴⁹ It can also open the gate of wisdom, can save [people] from hundreds of hardships. The karmic oppressions of the Three Ages⁴⁵⁰ will be entirely cleansed and purified, every sin completely expunged. [You will be] liberated from [the cycle of] life and death and find repose [in a] *dharmakāya* body.⁴⁵¹

Even so recitation of an incantation also has a secret phrasing. Therefore the first sound: [focus on] the Center and make the “*Om*” sound, thereby using it to call our person Vairocana buddha. The second sound: [focus on] the East and make the “*ma*” sound, thereby using it to call our person Akṣobhya buddha. The third sound: [focus on] the South and make the “*ṇi*” sound, thereby using it to call our person Ratnasambhava buddha. The fourth sound: [focus on] the West and make the “*pa*” sound, thereby using it to call our person Amitābha buddha. The fifth sound: [focus on] the South and make the “*me*” sound, thereby using it to call our person Amoghasiddhi buddha. Then you return up to the throat and make the “*hūm*” sound, thereby calling our body’s great power to arrive at *vajra*.⁴⁵²

After a long while, the five *qi* return to the Origin, meaning to achieve ineffable merit and virtue and evidentiate the wisdom to penetrate [the nature of all things].⁴⁵³

Commentary

⁴⁴⁹ *Zhou* 轴, the roller of a scroll.

⁴⁵⁰ *San shi* 三世 (Skt. *Tryadhvan*). The past, present, and future. This is one of only a handful of Buddhist concepts Zürcher deemed to be “correctly stated” in early Daoist scriptures, in this case the *Numinous Treasure Supreme Grotto Mystery Scripture of Penetrating the Subtleties of Wisdom and Fixing the Intention* (*Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing* 太上洞玄靈寶智慧定志通微經 DZ 325).

⁴⁵¹ The *dharmakāya* is equivalent to “the Buddha’s true body” or the godhead: i.e. the realization of one’s own buddha nature. In Tiantai, it is represented by the *dhyāni* Buddha Vairocana.

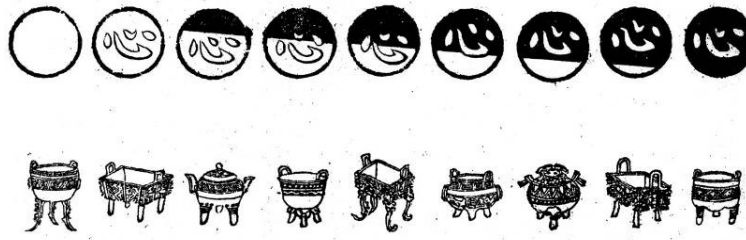
⁴⁵² The adamantine indestructible state.

⁴⁵³ *Yuan tong* 圓通. Lit. “perfectly penetrating.” (DDB)

The esoteric incantation or *dhāraṇī* discussed above is the popular Lamaistic charm “*Oṃ maṇi padme hūm*,” given in Sanskrit on the left of the illustration. It is a prayer to Padmapāṇi, a form of Guanyin, “[e]ach of the six syllables having its own mystic power of salvation from the lower paths of transmigration, etc.”⁴⁵⁴ The five Buddhas whom the practitioner envisions turning into are the Five Wisdom or Dhyāni Buddhas.

⁴⁵⁴ Soothhill and Hodous 2003: 344.

I. 27 Nine Cauldrons Refine the Mind



The illustration depicts nine cauldrons, each labeled “heart-mind,” progressing left to right from black to white, obscured to opaque.

First Transformation

Scouring the ground of the heart-mind, refining the Golden Pill, and stopping thought
must be the First Pass

Cutting off thought spontaneously severs the consciousness of passions

One must know calm waters, without waves great or small

Second Transformation

When the ancestral cavity opens enter dark obscurity

Kan and *Li*, lead and mercury, cloud of their own accord

Disposition’s True Fire knows the time for refining

Out of the refinement comes Western *qian*⁴⁵⁵; the moon is half full

Third Transformation

From outside [it] penetrates straight to the core

⁴⁵⁵ *Qian* actually corresponds to the northwest: *Dui* is the Western hexagram.

People of the world have seldom heard of it
As [they] only seek the leaves and branches, not the root
From this place [it] approaches calmly and steadily
One spark of spirit light gradually brightens

Fourth Transformation

Yang crow, sea bed,⁴⁵⁶ the exertion of spirit's impressive power
It is the proper time for the fourth transformation of the Golden Pill
Steal the atemporal True Seed [and]
Carry [it] on the waterwheel up Cao's mountain stream⁴⁵⁷

Fifth Transformation

This is the time the golden crystal ascends in flight
With the numinous light brilliant the gate at the crest of the head opens
Three flowers gather at the summit; the dragon and tiger cook
The pearl descends to the Yellow Court and forms the Holy Embryo

Sixth Transformation

The Golden Raven flies into the Palace of Vast Cold⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁶ Wilhelm writes that the "sea bed" is the "germinal vesicle" (Wilhelm 1931: 70). It is also an alternative name for contemporary Chinese medicine's Conception Vessel 1 point, "Yin Convergence" (*Yinhui*).

⁴⁵⁷ "Cao's mountain stream" (*Cao xi*) is the birthplace of the Chan patriarch Hui Neng. Both "River Cart Road" (*Heche lu*) and "Cao's Mountain Stream" are alternate names for contemporary Chinese medicine's Governing Vessel 1 point, "Long Strong" (*Changqiong*). Combined with the coded reading of "sea bed," this proffers the interpretation that the author is discussing moving *qi* from CV 1 on the perineum to GV 1 on the lower sacrum, in preparation for running it up the spine on the channel dubbed "Cao's mountain stream."

⁴⁵⁸ The moon palace of the beautiful goddess Chang E.

The white tiger displays its impressive power while awaiting the vermillion dragon⁴⁵⁹

The vermillion dragon exerts its strength and returns to the golden cauldron

In its palm it holds a divine pearl; its eyes glow red

Seventh Transformation

In the tenth month the embryo-numina springs forth

The Infant requires three years of *dharma* milk

Concealed in hibernation, residing in the breath, [it is] warmed and nurtured

Just as the dragon on the pool floor sleeps embracing the pearl

Eighth Transformation

Yang reaches its apex and yin diminishes: the elixir is complete

The divine light glows bright, the Golden Court is dazzling

Separating [from its progenitor] the Infant emerges from the Sea of Suffering

Freely ascending to the summit of the Kunlun Mountains

Ninth Transformation

There is no elixir, no fire, nor is there gold

Discard your hammer: there's nothing for your pincers to hold onto⁴⁶⁰

My original true face returns

The place of the unborn body is a shining wheel

⁴⁵⁹ Why not "green dragon" as one would expect?

⁴⁶⁰ A metallurgical metaphor: the hammer is the method. The pincers, seeking to hold an object being shaped in place, find nothing to grasp.

The sun is heaven's brightness; if you put black in it and shake it up⁴⁶¹ the sun cannot shine. The heart-mind is people's brightness (*dan* 丹); when day-to-day matters cloud it the heart-mind cannot shine. Therefore that which is called "refining the elixir" removes the dirty things in order to restore the heart-mind's original substance and the spontaneity of its celestially-mandated lifeforce.

Celestially-mandated disposition is our True Gold, that which everyone must have. The physical disposition is the impurities of gold, that which [even] those of superior wisdom are not without. Just as the fire of the daily employment of human ethical relationships refines it, so too is the physical disposition purged daily. When the physical disposition is purged daily, celestially-mandated lifespan will show itself spontaneously.

Therefore the Five Emperors and Three Kings were noble rulers and they used the Way of the Noble Ruler to refine their minds daily. Yi, Fu, Zhou, and Zhao were ministers, and used the Way of the Minister to refine their minds daily. Kong[zi], Ceng[zi], [Zi]si[zi], and Meng[zi] were teachers, and used the Way of the Teacher to refine their minds daily.

There is no time when your mind is not in the Dao, no time when you are not using the Dao to refine your mind; this is the requisite method of study of the Prior Great Sages and Worthies of antiquity, these are the clear instructions of refining the mind, refining the disposition 100 times over.

Commentary

The Nine Cauldrons are "sacrificial vessels... cast by Yu the Great, legendary founder of the Xia dynasty." [In the popular conception] they followed the Mandate of Heaven "shifting from Xia to Shang to

⁴⁶¹ The metaphor in the original treats the sun as if it were a liquid—as indeed it is.

Zhou until they came to symbolize the Chinese polity and the legitimacy of its rule.”⁴⁶² The relevant passage in the *Records of the Historian (Shiji)* states that the cauldrons disappeared when the virtue of Zhou diminished.⁴⁶³

The opening of the discourse relies on several meanings of the word *dan*. It is the “elixir” derived from cultivating, as well as a vibrant red, the color of cinnabar. Thus the sun’s “brightness”—or “redness”—is the same luster present in the practitioner cultivating the elixir.

⁴⁶² Kleeman 1994: 223.

⁴⁶³ 28/1391; cited in Kleeman 1994: 223 n. 282.

I. 28 Eight Consciousnesses Return to the Primordial One



In the uppermost center of the chart is a sphere containing five smaller circles. Each of the circles is labeled with one of the five senses: right to left, “sight,” “sound,” “smell,” “taste,” and “touch.” Each of these circles are attached to the one labeled “discriminating consciousness.” Below this the text reads: “The seventh [consciousness] is the transmission consciousness.” The left-hand side of the circle at the base of the chart bears the words: “Number Eight: The *ālayavijñāna*, the *ādāna*⁴⁶⁴ storage.” At the center of the circle, transcending the polarity represented by the division into white and black on the inner rim of the circle, is the ninth consciousness, “Pure Consciousness” (lit.: “white quietude consciousness”).

Extending the duality of the white and the black in the inner circle is the pairing reality and illusion, then the essence and the spirit are correlated to the Aryurvedic Four Elements (lit.: “Four Greats”), earth and fire respectively. The essence and the spirit are situated opposite the cloudsoul and the whitesoul in turn, with these souls correlated with wind (cloudsoul) and water (whitesoul). The essence is placed on the white side of the circle, the spirit on the black. Consistent with the intention of the diagram, these are the divisions that are also transcended by the Ninth Consciousness.

⁴⁶⁴ Another name for *ālayavijñāna*.

Xuan Yuan [i.e., the Yellow Emperor] called them the “Nine Cauldrons”

Tathāgata [i.e., the Buddha] designated them the “Eight Consciousnesses”

The Supreme Polarity returns to the Non-Polar

The boundary (*jing* 境) belongs to wind, which is the Five Senses

The wavelet belongs to the sixth sense; the breaker to the seventh⁴⁶⁵

The eighth consciousness belongs to the mind ocean

The ninth consciousness belongs to profound innate disposition

Among eight brothers one is an idiot. One is the cleverest. In front of the gate five are engaged in trade. In the family there is a master on whom all others depend.

“The cleverest” is the sixth, discriminating consciousness. This consciousness is the master of the Five Thieves,⁴⁶⁶ the seed of *saṃsāra*. Among ordinary people in the Three Realms not one can avoid suffering sinking down into this [sea of sensation]. Therefore the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* says: “First sever the root of beginningless *saṃsāra*. What is severed is the discriminating consciousness.” “The idiot” indicates the seventh, transmission consciousness. The “master on whom all others depend” is the eighth, *ālaya* consciousness. This consciousness is called the “Final Manger [of Deeds].”⁴⁶⁷ When someone is born it is the first to arrive. When someone departs it is the last to leave. For this reason it is said “That which leaves last and arrives first is the Master.”

⁴⁶⁵ “Wavelets” and “breakers”: The sixth and seventh consciousnesses are only larger swells in the “mind ocean.”

⁴⁶⁶ *Wu zei* 五賊. A common Buddhist term for the five senses.

⁴⁶⁷ *Zongbaozhu* 總報主.

The eight consciousnesses all belong to the affairs of the ignorance [*avidya*]⁴⁶⁸ body. Beyond these the ninth consciousness arises. It is named “Pure Consciousness.” It does not belong to *avidya*, nor does it fall into [the realm of] karmic fruits. One needn’t falsely cultivate and prove it. No dust can attach itself to it. Therefore the Ancestral School⁴⁶⁹ calls it “Realm of Pure Reality.”⁴⁷⁰ Leave all discriminating marks.⁴⁷¹ Construct and transform inside the school (?). Don’t disregard one *dharma*. Together they complete everything.

Reality, as it relates to the aforementioned Eight Consciousnesses, belongs to gradualness. The Ninth Consciousness belongs to suddenness. Why? Because the physical body dies,⁴⁷² therefore it is falsely realized and cultivated. The *dharmakāya* is without discriminating marks like the void so it cannot be cultivated.⁴⁷³ Now by means of this chart, one can comprehend the meaning. Identify the illusory and understand the real. Don’t make the consciousness-thieves your sons.

The Buddhists believe that the life people receive must come from the father’s [seminal] essence, the mother’s [menstrual] blood and one’s past-life consciousness: the three combine to become the embryo. Essence and *qi* are received from the father and mother; Spirit Consciousness is not received from the father and the mother. Coming from the beginningless flow of *kalpas*, it is also called the “Life-Annihilating Innate

⁴⁶⁸ Var.: Needham Institute edition has “nameless” (*wuming* 無名) for homophone “ignorance” (*wuming* 無明).

⁴⁶⁹ *Zongmen* 宗門. The Chan school.

⁴⁷⁰ *Shiji li di* 實際理地 (DDB).

⁴⁷¹ *Xiang* 相.

⁴⁷² *Huanhua* 幻化. Lit.: “illusory transformation.”

⁴⁷³ Var.: *xiuwei* 修為 instead of *xiuzheng* 修證.

Disposition.” Therefore it is said: “Life-annihilating and not life-annihilating harmoniously combine and become the Eight Consciousnesses.”

It follows that in Creation and Transformation there is an eternally ancient and unmovable ruler.⁴⁷⁴ There is also perpetually changing *qi* orbiting. The Ruler and *qi* movement combined are called “Celestially Mandated Innate Disposition.” The Celestially Mandated Innate Disposition is the Original Spirit. Physical Disposition⁴⁷⁵ is Spirit Consciousness. Therefore Ruists have the phrase “Transform the Physical Disposition.”⁴⁷⁶ The Chan sect has the doctrine “Consciousness Reversed Is Wisdom.”⁴⁷⁷

People of today falsely assume that inside the heart⁴⁷⁸ there is a brilliantly numinous thing with which they are completely identical. So they wrongly conclude that the Original Spirit is there. Little do they know that this means the root of birth and death. It’s not the unborn and inextinguishable Original Spirit. *Alas!* To let the sense be the senses is easy but to cast off the senses is difficult. If you don’t take Celestially-Mandated Original Spirit in order to fight back *avidya* karmic consciousness, in the end you’ll never see the day when you lift your head above the field of birth and annihilation.

Commentary

The Eight Consciousnesses is a doctrine of the Consciousness Only (*Weishi* 唯識) school of Chinese Buddhism. In the Ming the Buddhist reformer Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546-1623) employed this concept to rank and explain the Three Teachings. Sung-Peng Hsu writes that according to Hanshan:

⁴⁷⁴ *Zhenzai* 真宰. An allusion to the second chapter of *Zhuangzi*.

⁴⁷⁵ *Qi zhi zhi xing* 氣質之性.

⁴⁷⁶ *Bianhua qizhi* 變化氣質, a phrase coined by Zhang Zai (Fu 2005: 132 n. 2).

⁴⁷⁷ *Fan shi wei zhi* 返識為智. This term doesn’t appear in the Taishō Buddhist canon. The more common phrase is *zhuan shi cheng zhi* 轉識成智, which appears nine times.

⁴⁷⁸ *Fangcun* 方寸. Lit.: “Square inch,” see I. 6.

[T]he Confucian teachings deal primarily with the functioning of the sixth consciousness, the sense-center (*mano-vijñāna*), by means of the seventh consciousness, the center of intellection (*manas-vijñāna*). He calls the sixth consciousness the center of making *karmas*, and the seventh consciousness the center of originating life and death. In other words, Confucianism deals with good and bad *karmas* by means of human-heartedness, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge. But these virtues do not solve the problem of life and death.⁴⁷⁹

Daoism, however, was more advanced, Hanshan contended,

for it deals with the seventh consciousness by means of the eighth consciousness, the store-house consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*). He regards the eighth consciousness as equivalent to the Daoist teaching of the subtle truth of emptiness (*xuwu miaodao* 虛無妙道). In other words Daoism has solved the problem of life and death, but fails to go beyond the store-house consciousness of the mind, and mistakes the subtle truth of emptiness as the mind itself.

Predictably, “[a]ccording to Hanshan, Buddhism alone can penetrate the veil of the eighth consciousness. This is because Buddhist ‘cessation and concentration’ is superior to those of the other three religions in breaking the ignorance of self-attachment.”⁴⁸⁰

By asserting that these are the nine cauldrons associated with the Yellow Emperor, the author of *Principles* claims a great antiquity—and Chinese origin—of the eight consciousnesses plus one.

⁴⁷⁹ Hsu 1975: 422.

⁴⁸⁰ Hsu 1975: 422-23.

I. 29 The Five *Qi* Have an Audience with the Primordial



One *qi* initially differentiates then is ordered as the Two Polarities. The two Polarities position themselves then divide into the Five Constants.⁴⁸¹ Each of the Five Constants occupies a different place and protects one direction. Each of the Five Directions has a different *qi* and protects one child.

The Azure Emperor's child is named Dragon Mist. It receives the 3⁴⁸² *qi* of *jiayi* Wood Potency.⁴⁸³ The Vermilion Emperor's son is named Cinnabar Origin.⁴⁸⁴ It receives the 2 *qi* of *bingding* Fire Potency. The White Emperor's child is named White Florescence. It receives the 4 *qi* of *gengxin* Metal Potency. The Black Emperor's child is named Dark Profundity. It receives the 1 *qi* of *rengui* Water Potency. The Yellow Emperor's child is named Constant Preservation. It receives the 5 *qi* of *xuji* Earth Potency.

Therefore Metal reaches Earth and produces; Wood reaches Earth and prospers; Water reaches Earth and ceases; Fire reaches Earth and rests.

⁴⁸¹ I.e., the Five Phases.

⁴⁸² I read this and the following four numbers as Magic Square designations. Grammatically it is also possible to interpret them as quantities: i.e., there are *three jiayi* Wood Potency *qis*.

⁴⁸³ Each of the two syllable phrases following an elemental Potency refers to that element's yang and yin aspect, respectively.

⁴⁸⁴ *Dan yuan* 丹元. This phrase occurs in the invocation at the beginning of many Daoist scriptures.

Only sages know the Way of Returning to the Trigger,⁴⁸⁵ of attaining the Principle of Returning to the Origin.

Accumulate the Five, cluster the Four, cause the Three to converge, combine the Two and, by doing so, return to One.

When the body doesn't move the essence firms and Water worships the Primordial as its ruler. When the mind doesn't move the *qi* is firm and Fire worships the Primordial as its ruler. When true innate disposition is still the cloudsoul is concealed and Wood worships the Primordial as its ruler. When illusory emotion⁴⁸⁶ is forgotten the whitesoul is subdued and Metal worships the Primordial as its ruler. When the Four Greats⁴⁸⁷ are pacified the intention is calm and Earth worships the Primordial as its ruler.

This is called "Five *Qi* Have an Audience with the Primordial." All gather on the summit.

Commentary

In religious Daoism this Primordial is the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (*Yuanshi tianzun* 元使天尊), one of the Three Purities (*Sanqing* 三清). A common motif in Daoist fine art since the Song, "The Diagram of Having an Audience with the Primordial" (*chao yuan tu* 朝元圖) shows myriad immortals clasping *hu* 笏 (commonly called "paying court boards [*chaoban* 朝板]) in reverence to their Lord. A famous example is in the Temple of Perpetual Happiness [*Yongle gong* 永樂宮] in Shanxi. Here the meaning has been stripped of its communal devotional intent and adopted for the purely personal ends of transformation through Inner Alchemy: the *qis* of the Four Directions converge in the Center, producing the calm necessary to continue along this path of development.

⁴⁸⁵ *Hui ji* 回幾. The "trigger" is a concept found in the *Laozi*.

⁴⁸⁶ *Wang qing* 忘情. A term usually used to indicate excessive thinking, especially about money, power, and sex.

⁴⁸⁷ I.e., "the body," which is composed of the Aryurvedic Four Elements.

I. 30 Awaiting Imperial Summons



Physical form and spirit are together marvelous disciples of the Way

Innate disposition and the lifespan are mutually perfected

and combine with the Great Void

At the time the precious summons descends a crane-drawn carriage [arrives]

After the inscribed jade appointment comes mount the dragon carriage

The dragon carriage gently rides cloudy *qi*

The six voids are vast without boundary

Transcendents of the Great Heaven welcome one another with smiles

Together [you] arrive at the Mystic Capital⁴⁸⁸ and worship the High God as your ruler

⁴⁸⁸ Parish from which the Most High Lord Lao rules atop Mount Kunlun or city from which the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Commencement rules. Most importantly, it is “a celestial capital where registers of life and death are maintained” (Bokenkamp 2007: 215, 426, 117 n. 60).

After nine years of facing a wall⁴⁸⁹ the spirit platform emits a light soft as if reflected off jade. The sea of awareness is round and bright; innate disposition and the lifespan blend. Physical form and spirit are together marvelous; they harmonize their virtue with heaven and earth and are of one substance with the Great Void. At this time the Way of Elixir has already been achieved.

Amass [inner] work (*gong* 功) and accumulate meritorious deeds (*xing* 行): one cannot ignore [this latter aspect of cultivation], for the way in relation to virtue is like yin in relation to yang. Meritorious deeds in relation to inner work is like the the eyes in relation to the feet. Master (*weng* 翁) Zhongli⁴⁹⁰ said: “Doing inner work without meritorious deeds is like being without feet. If one does meritorious deeds without inner work one’s eyes are not complete. When inner work and outer conduct are both perfect one is equipped with both feet and eyes. Who said you are not destined to become a divine transcendent?” It is by means of ancient transcendents and superior sages that the affair of the Golden Elixir is achieved.

When the matter of warming and nurturing is completed, wander and play in the human world, harmonize your light with the common people,⁴⁹¹ follow chance and build inner work; liberate people from their bonds in whatever direction your feet take you, prop up that which is precarious, deliver from adversity and relieve suffering, rectifying the ills of the times, saving all the lost and connecting with and leading the late learners.

⁴⁸⁹ Here an episode from the biography of Chan patriarch Bodhidharma is used as a metaphor for the Nine-fold Reverted Elixir (Fu 2005: 138 nt. 1).

⁴⁹⁰ Zhongli Quan, one of the Eight Immortals. He is popularly known as “Han Zhongli” because he is believed to have discovered the elixir in the Han Dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE). In the Tang (618-907) he is credited with bringing Lü Dongbin, the primary ancestral patriarch of the Complete Reality order, to transcendence.

⁴⁹¹ The fourth chapter of the *Daodejing* speaks of the way in which the Dao “tempers its own brightness; unites itself with dust,” or “harmonizes its light, uniting with the common world.” (*he qi guang tong qi chen* 和其光同其塵) In the legends which developed around Laozi, it is said that he “harmonized his light” with that of the common people, both aiding them and rendering himself invisible.

On the Path there is inner effort; in the human world there are meritorious deeds. Inner effort and meritorious deeds together are complete. Conceal and subdue, biding your time. You await only the descent of the celestial document summoning you. The Jade Girl will come to welcome you. You will ride the mists and float on the clouds. Directly enter the Three Pure Sage Realms. Like Master (*weng*) Zhang Ziyang's *Awakening to Perfection* says: "The cultivation of virtue and conduct exceeds 800 acts. Amass 3,000 hidden meritorious deeds." The precious talisman descends; go for an audience in heaven. Steadily ride the phoenix-drawn imperial jade chariot.

Commentary

This discourse instructs the adept on how they should bide their time once the elixir is complete but they have not yet received a summons from the Jade Emperor. Those pursuing the Path of Transcendents are instructed to "warm and nurture" that which they have created by carrying it into the common world, where they are to perform meritorious deeds while awaiting the imperial summons. Thus, in this discourse, the dual cultivation with which the *Principles* concerns itself is that of inner cultivation and the commission of meritorious deeds.

I. 31 Flying Ascension



Transcendents have five ranks,⁴⁹² Buddhists have three vehicles. Cultivating, grasping [the precepts?], [performing] meritorious deeds, and proper conduct are unequal, so that whereby they transcend [the profane world] and escape [the Sea of Suffering] is slightly different. Those who ascend flying by soaring directly up are the best. Those who transform [i.e., die] while in seated meditation [or] perform corpse liberation are second. Those who enter into the womb⁴⁹³ [or] snatch a residence⁴⁹⁴ come after this.

Those who ascend flying mounted upon a dragon are like the Yellow Emperor, Mao Meng, Wang Xuanfu, and Wei Shanjun; those who ascend flying riding clouds are like Yang Xi,⁴⁹⁵ Li Xiao, Lan Caihe, and Sun Bu'er;⁴⁹⁶ those who ascend flying directing a

⁴⁹² Ge Hong classified transcendence into three ranks, in descending order: Celestial Transcendents (*tian xian* 天仙); Earthly Transcendents (*di xian* 地仙); and Corpse Liberation Transcendents (*shijie xian* 尸解仙). The Zhong-Lü cult recognized five: Celestial Transcendents; Divine Transcendents (*shen xian* 神仙); Earthly Transcendents; Human Transcendents (*ren xian* 人仙); and Ghost Transcendents (*gui xian* 鬼仙). (Fu 2005: 141 n. 1).

⁴⁹³ *Tuo tai* 投胎: i.e., choosing one's own reincarnation?

⁴⁹⁴ *Duo she* 奪舍: i.e., body snatching: evicting someone else's soul and occupying their physical form.

⁴⁹⁵ 330-386/388 CE. Receiver of the Shangqing revelations (biography in TC: 1285).

carp are like Zi Ying and Qin Gao; those who ascend flying being drawn by a *luan* 鸢⁴⁹⁷ are like Zi Jin and Deng Yu; those who ascend astride a crane are like Huan Kai and Qu Chuji; those who ascend flying driving the wind are like Ge You and Wu Yijun; those who ascend flying with their entire abodes uplifted are like He Hou, Yin Xi,⁴⁹⁸ the Prince of Huainan, and Xu Jingyang;⁴⁹⁹ those who soar up directly in broad daylight are like Cai Qiong, Feng Chang, Ma Chengzi, and Fu Qiubo.

When I once examined lists and biographies of the arrayed transcendence I for the first time understood that from antiquity to the present those who have achieved transcendence are more than ten million; that the places where an entire abode was uprooted are more than eight thousand. Therefore Master (*weng*) Chongyang composed a couplet on the wall of the Jingfu Temple 景福寺 stating:

Don't say divine transcendents have no place to study

From antiquity to today how many people have ascended?

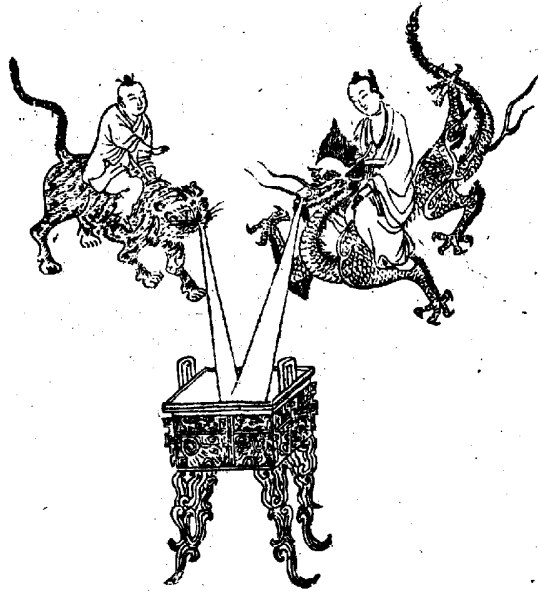
⁴⁹⁶ One of the seven first generation disciples of Quanzhen founder Wang Zhe; patroness of *nüdan* to whom numerous alchemical poems are attributed.

⁴⁹⁷ A phoenix-like creature.

⁴⁹⁸ "Guardian of the Pass" who prompted the writing of the *Daodejing* in the Laozi myth.

⁴⁹⁹ I.e., Xu Xun (biography in *TC*: 1284-85).

II. 9 The Dragon and the Tiger Copulate



The white-faced young gent rides the white tiger

The green-clad girl straddles the green dragon

Lead and mercury meet in the cauldron

And, for a period, interlock in its midst

“The dragon exhales into the tiger

The tiger inhales the dragon essence

They are one another’s food and drink,

They both crave union”⁵⁰⁰

“Men and women need each other

⁵⁰⁰ This stanza is from *Cantongqi*, chap. 60.

They kiss deeply⁵⁰¹ in order to nourish one another

Female and male intertwine

In order to find a match”,⁵⁰²

The tiger is in the West, the dragon is in the East

The eastern dragon and the western tiger each contend for dominance

As if comprehending that to take possession of one another means return to a single place

[One becomes a] divine transcendant in an instant, without onerous effort

The Infant and the Comely Maiden emerge side by side

Lead by the Yellow Grannie into the room

The clouds soar and bestow rain

One doesn't notice that the sun has already risen in the East

Method of Copulation of the Dragon and the Tiger

As for people, when *Kan* and *Li* connect there is life; when they separate, death.

There is no one who doesn't know the inviolability of this principle.

So *Li* is yang and resides in the South. Because its outside is yang its inside yin, it is called “True Mercury.” *Kan* is yin and resides in the North. Because its outside is yin and its inside yang, it is called “True Lead.” For this reason, the Perfected Purple Yang said: “The sun, which resides in the *Li* position, returned, is woman. *Kan* resides in the

⁵⁰¹ *Han tu* 含吐. Lit.: “Holding in the mouth and spitting out.”

⁵⁰² *Yi lei xiang qiu* 以類相求. Lit.: “Seek each other according to type.” This stanza is also from *Cantongqi*, chap. 74.

Toad Palace,⁵⁰³ yet is man.”⁵⁰⁴ That is to say *Kan* is man and *Li* is woman, just like: father is essence, mother is blood, sun is the raven, moon is the hare, sand is mercury, lead is silver, the sky is mysterious, and earth is yellow.⁵⁰⁵ The enumerated all show the two *qi* of the dragon and the tiger.

Cantong qi says: “*Li*-*ji* [central yang] daylight. *Kan*-*wu* [central yin] moon essence.” Therefore *Li*’s *ji* is like the dragon’s new moon *qi*, while *Kan*’s *wu* is like the tiger’s new moon *qi*. For *wu* and *ji* are the substance of the Yellow Court-True Earth. Because the Supreme Polarity divided they separately occupy the two substances of the dragon and the tiger.

The elixir-cultivating noble conducts himself as if desiring to return to his origin, to recover his initial *qi*, causing the dragon and the tiger to return in the caldron, and emotion and innate disposition to harmonize in the apertature. One should use the paired instructions: “the dragon emerges from fire; the tiger is born of water.”⁵⁰⁶ Then the peerless dragon flies out of the scorching fire and the voracious tiger leaps from the deep lake. Beginning to achieve the mutual combination of dragon and tiger, face the Great Mist and surreptitiously return to Primordial Chaos. Continue, then husband and wife combine their bodies, from indistinctness entering into the Void, together they arrive at the Yellow Chamber where, mutually consuming, the two bodies (*qing* 情) are reluctant

⁵⁰³ I.e., the moon. See: I. 20.

⁵⁰⁴ Cleary renders this: “the sun, in the position of *fire*, turns into a woman; *water*, in the moon palace, turns out to be a man” (Clearly 2003: 80 v. 2).

⁵⁰⁵ These last two pairings come from the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Qianzi Wen* 千字文), an ancient reader for students, which begins: “Heaven and earth, mysterious and yellow.” Earlier the *Yijing* characterized dragon’s blood as “mysterious yellow.”

⁵⁰⁶ Quote from I. 12, the meaning of which is elaborated in I. 14.

to part, the two *qi* combine, and it is as if Heaven and Earth were copulating,⁵⁰⁷ the sun and the moon combining their light, circling in the Ancestral Cavity, spontaneously restoring undifferentiated atemporal *qi*, and completing the essence of the Perfect Unity of Primordial Origin, which is the root of the Great Pharmacon, forming the foundation of the Reverted Elixir.

⁵⁰⁷ Var.: Ding *gou* 構 for homophonous 媾.

13. Four Ways of Meditating

13a. Moving Meditation



Ten thousand *dharma*s return to the One

To whence does the One return?

Something is here

Where does it go?

One can meditate moving as one can meditate sitting. Sages can do this, but in all cases it is not to be discussed casually with people. While walking one mustn't hasten. If you're in a great rush then the movement of breath injures the embryo. One must move composedly and without haste in order to maintain a state of harmonious *qi* and fixed mind. Going or coming, sometimes moving, sometimes pausing, the eyes look down and the mind is recessed deeply. For this reason Wang Chongyang⁵⁰⁸ said:

⁵⁰⁸ The moniker of Wang Zhe, the founder of the Complete Perfection school.

The two feet [are permitted to] go from the place of movement

The spirit (*ling*) and the *qi* constantly follow one another

Sometimes when you're⁵⁰⁹ slightly inebriated you might ask the azure skies

“Who am I?”

Bai Letian 白樂天 said:

“The mind doesn't choose a suitable moment

The feet don't choose comfortable ground

The extreme point connects with the near and the far

A thread without endpoints”

Bao Zhigong 寶誌公 said:

“If you can drop everything and be nothing

Then you are moving in the Tathāgata storehouse”

The *Vimalākīrti Sūtra*⁵¹⁰ says:

“Raise and lower your feet

All comes from the field of the Dao”⁵¹¹

The *Dharma Storehouse Collection* 法藏集 says:

“The day mind and the night mind constantly travel in the *dharma* garden”

⁵⁰⁹ The identifier of the person here is “the Four Greats” (*si da* 四大), a reference to the Indian four elements (earth, water, fire, wind) indicating the body-mind.

⁵¹⁰ *Weimojing yishu* 維摩經義疏 (T. 2186).

⁵¹¹ T. 2186 0041c03-0046c26: 舉足下足皆從道場來.

13c. Sitting Meditation



The “peace”⁵¹² of Emperor Yao

The “harmony”⁵¹³ of King Wen

The “ease”⁵¹⁴ of Confucius

The “stopping”⁵¹⁵ of Zhuang Zhou

Sitting for a long period forget what you know

Suddenly become aware of the moon[light] on the earth

A cool celestial wind blows in, arriving suddenly at the liver and lungs

Lean over to examine a deep water: there is nothing hiding in the clear depths

⁵¹² *An* 安. Each of these four lines contains an allusion to a well-known passage in the classical canon. This first is a description of Emperor Yao, a sage king of yore (accession c. 2356 BCE), from the *Canon of Documents* (*Shujing* 書經).

⁵¹³ *Yong* 雋. A description of King Wen from the *Canon of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經).

⁵¹⁴ *Shen* 申. An allusion to *Lunyu* 7.4: “In his leisure hours the Master’s manner was very free-and-easy, and his expression alert and cheerful” (Waley 1989: 123).

⁵¹⁵ *Zhi* 止. An allusion to the passage on the “fast of the mind” (*xinzhai* 心齋) in the fourth chapter of *Zhuangzi*. In explaining the concept of the fast of the mind to Yan Hui Confucius explains that “listening stops at the ears, the mind stops at what tallies with it” (translation adapted from Graham 2001: 68).

In it swim minute fish, silently creating an understanding with you⁵¹⁶

Without affairs in this quiet-sitting one day is like two

If you live 70 years, then it is [really] 140

Quietly sitting there is little thought and scant desire

Darken the mind, nurture the *qi*, preserve the spirit

This is the essential oral secret of cultivating perfection

Those who study it can write it down (for other gentlemen?)

It isn't requisite to sit cross-legged; one should sit as one ordinarily would. For although the sitting is the same as that of ordinary people, with it one can grasp the Confucian mind method,⁵¹⁷ thus differing from ordinary people. As to that which is called the Confucian mind method, it is only that one must preserve in the true place of departure. The ear and the eye orifices are my body's gates. The ground of one square *cun*⁵¹⁸ is my body's hall. The establishing life force orifice is my body's room. Therefore everyone's mind is located in the ground of one square *cun*. As people's place is in the hall, sounds and colors agitate the center by way of the doors. The mind of the utmost person is stored in the establishing life force orifice. As people's place is in the room, then sounds and colors are without means to enter and look upon what is inside. Therefore those who are good at serving their own minds [use] the concealed room to

⁵¹⁶ A Zhuangzi allusion.

⁵¹⁷ *Kongmen xin fa* 孔門心法. The technique developed by Lin Zhao'en.

⁵¹⁸ *Fangcun zhi di* 方寸之地: i.e., the heart-mind.

nourish in darkness,⁵¹⁹ then the eyes and ears are empty. Approach the room⁵²⁰ in order to hear political matters, then the eyes and ear are the means (*yong* 用). If when sitting you don't grasp the Confucian mind method, then you're [practicing] "unbridled horse sitting,"⁵²¹ you're "letting the mind go."⁵²²

The Altar [of the Sixth Patriarch] Sūtra says: "When thoughts of the mind don't arise, this is called 'sitting,' when your disposition doesn't move, this is called 'meditation' (*chan* 禪)." The wondrous meaning of sitting, its end is not beyond this.

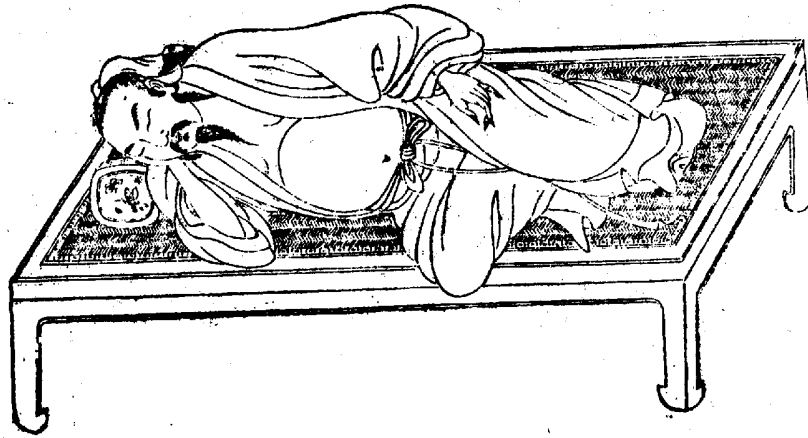
⁵¹⁹ *Yi hui* 頤晦 is a neologism. The first character comes from the *Yijing*, the second from the *Daodejing*. The meaning is something like "don't show off," or "nourish humility."

⁵²⁰ *Yu tang* 御堂. Ascend the dais?

⁵²¹ *Zuo chi* 坐馳. A phrase from the fourth chapter of *Zhuangzi*.

⁵²² *Fang xin* 放心. A phrase of Confucius', as quoted by his disciple Mengzi.

II. 13d Lying Meditation



If when lucidly sleeping you can cut off wanton imaginings

Your mind will be empty and clear

If when confused you are only as you ordinarily are

Then your affairs will be resolved of their own accord

Dust off the stone [bed] and light incense in deliberate sleep

When you awake there will be a visitor to discuss the mysteries

A breeze blows through the pines, so there's no need to use a *fukui* 莆葵 fan

Sit opposite the azure cliffs, a spring one hundred *zhang* [deep]

An ancient grotto of dark profundity, cut off from the people of the world

A bed of stone; the light breeze won't stir up dust

Throughout the day the Emperor [Fu] Xi sleeps

One can again see the wheel of the moon over the crest of the peak

On a clear day among people being awake is like being asleep

Laozi in the mountain sleeps yet is awake

Consciousness and sleep both return from being done improperly to being done properly

A stream of clouds gather; the water is cold

Every night the Original Spirit resides in the Elixir Field

Clouds fill the Yellow Court, the moon fills the heavens

Two mandarin ducks float on the green water

At the center of the [pond] is a purple-gold lotus

Open the ancestral disposition of the mind

Show the immovable body

Awaken to the true awareness of dreams

Enter the quietude of listening and pondering

III. 12 Long-Nurture the Holy Embryo



The miniscule chamber conceals a *śarira*

A mustard seed contains Mount Sumeru

[He] recently refined an unborn body (*ti*)

When [he] later leaves this life he knows he has some place to return to

If you simultaneously cultivate innate disposition and the lifespan, you must reopen primordial chaos and once again establish the placenta and the embryo (*bao tai* 胞胎), then create for yourself this innate disposition and lifespan.

For if innate disposition and lifespan have already been created then it is in the midst of the parents' innate disposition and lifespan. Then spontaneously one drop of innate disposition and lifespan develops and emerges, like it was in my mother's belly then became my own innate disposition and lifespan;

For since it already has become my innate disposition and lifespan, then it is again spontaneously in the midst of my innate disposition and lifespan, then returns me to nothingness and becomes my Great Void;

For since it has become my Great Void, then it is again spontaneously in the midst of my Great Void, once again *Qian* and *Kun* create and become my true innate disposition and lifespan;

For since it has become my true innate disposition and lifespan then once again spontaneously in the midst of my true innate disposition and lifespan are exposed the outlines⁵²³ and becomes my original primordial spirit.

A *gāthā* of the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* says:

Vajragarba, you should know
The Tathāgata's perfectly tranquil nature
Has never had a beginning or end.
If you use the cyclic mind
Discursive thought just revolves,
At most, reaching the limits of cyclic existence,
And you are unable to enter the Buddha-ocean.
It is like smelting gold ore:
The gold does not exist because of smelting,
Yet crude gold, from smelting
Once subsequently perfected,
Never returns to the state of ore.⁵²⁴

⁵²³ *Duan er* 端倪. A phrase from *Zhuangzi*.

It follows that gold ore is not gold. Those who smelt it and then achieve gold, by means [of this acquire] the golden innate disposition. Plant innate disposition is not the Buddha. Those who refine it and achieve buddhahood by means [of this acquire] the Buddha-nature.

Commentary

The quote from the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* consists of 13 of the 20 lines that compose the fourth *gāthā* of this core Chan scripture. In the original it is a versified peroration of the perceeding sermon by the Buddha, the content of which was prompted by the interlocutor for this chapter, the bodhisattva Vajragarba 金剛藏. Charles Muller writes:

[T]he most important simile in this chapter is that of “purifying gold ore.” The gold, a symbol for enlightenment, is already contained in the ore (original enlightenment)—it is not something that is newly created by the smelting. Nonetheless, once the smelting is accomplished (realization of enlightenment), gold (enlightenment) never reverts back to the condition of ore (ignorance). The realization of enlightenment in sentient beings can be understood in the same way.⁵²⁵

⁵²⁴ Translation Muller 1999: 134-135.

⁵²⁵ Muller 1999: 43.

IV. 1 The Infant Manifests Its Form



Now that the elixir is cooked a loving mother is needed to cherish the Infant
One day you will fly in the clouds; only then will you see the perfected paying court to
the High God

The *dharma* name of the *qi* cavity is “infinite storehouse”
The storehouse encompasses the aperture and the aperture encompasses the Void
I ask: “The [person] in the midst of the void is the scion of whose clan?”⁵²⁶
It says: “It is you, the master”

The hidden dragon completes its transformation into the flying dragon
The transformation is revealed; the spirit connects and cannot be exhausted

⁵²⁶ Var.: Fu writes *shi* 是 for the homophonous 氏.

One morning it leaps out of the pearly light
The body springs directly into the Purple Tenuity Palace

Walking, standing, sitting, lying;⁵²⁷ embrace the male and preserve the female

“Continuously it seems to exist”⁵²⁸

If you concentrate on this point it is at this point

The divine water dissolves; irrigate the plant

Inside and out are unbesmirched

Long-nurture the holy body

For insects with nictitating membranes gestate the larvae of dragonflies

Transmitting their passions *qing* and exchanging their essences

Mixing *qis* and combining spirits

According to the size of things each achieves its perfect state

Commentary

The Infant taking form is a crucial juncture. Ten lunar months have passed since conception occurred as a result of the copulation of the dragon and the tiger (II. 9) and the copulation of *Kan* and *Li* (III. 4). The infant is born, but, fresh from its host, needs intense care and supervision.

⁵²⁷ See II. 13.

⁵²⁸ *Laozi*, verse 6.

IV. 5 Sitting with Hands Clapsed and the Mind Recessed in Darkness



If you have not reached the other shore, you cannot be without method

Once you've reached the farthest shore, of what use is method?

The crown of your head constantly releases a fine white beam of light

While the idiots hang around asking when the bodhisattva is going to come

The Primordial Lord sits with hands clasped in the Mystic Capital

“The triple reprise of a concinnate heart will set the embryonic transcendents dancing”⁵²⁹

They transform pure yang; heaven and earth unite

Long life relies upon this subtle work

⁵²⁹ *Huangting neijing jing*, section 1. Translation adapted from Kroll 1996: 151.

Abandon illumination outside; house the spirit inside
Merging the mind in darkness is the ultimate destination
You with good fortune will meet

If you have no concerns about affairs and you have no affairs in your heart-mind
Then you will transcend the myriad illusions and assuredly unify your spirit

IV. 9 The Yang Spirit Manifests



The unconditioned⁵³⁰ golden body springs out of the end of a shining white hair

Scorching in the light of the *śarīra*, universally manifest a great chiliocosm⁵³¹

Vairocana circumambulates on the crest of your head

Play in the Sea [of Suffering] is extinguished in quietude

Strange, this wondrous gate

The Buddha patriarch once bestowed [upon you] a prophecy of future enlightenment

⁵³⁰ *Wu xiang shi xiang* 無相實相 Literally: “Devoid of marks,” “things as they really are.” DDB

⁵³¹ *Sanqiandaqian shijie* 三千大千世界 (Skt. *trisāhasra-mahāsāhasra-lokadhatu*) One Buddha world, or a billion small worlds.

The yang spirit manifests, shining golden bright
Board that white cloud; roam free and easy in the Emperor's country

The Buddha heard half a *gāthā* and abandoned his entire body⁵³²
Loftily evincing his position as a person revered for 10,000 virtues
Completely attain *nirvana*, the eyes of the true *dharma*
The diamond indestructible body long-endures

See that your body has no reality; it is the Buddha body
Understand that your mind is like an illusion: this is the Buddha's illusion
Completely realize that the foundational nature of the body and mind is void
This person and the Buddha, how can they be different?

The mind is the same as the Void Realm
It shows you that it is equivalent to the Void's *dharma*
Attain the Void body
The *dharma* of non-affirming and non-denying

The Void has no inner and outer.
The mind *dharma* is also like this.
If you understand that things are empty,
Then you've understood the principle of true thusness.

⁵³² Probably a reference to a *jātaka*.

Abbreviations

- DDB Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>. I've checked all of the phrases cited in this electronic encyclopedia by March 2009 at the latest.
- DZ Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign* Numbering according to Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds. *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004 3 vols.
- DZJA Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 (*Essentials of the Daoist Canon*), Chengdu: Er'xian an, undated (1990s?) reprint of 1906 edition.
- ET* Fabrizio Pregadio, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. New York: Routledge. 2008 2 vols.
- TC* Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds. *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004 3 vols.
- SKQS Siku quanshu*
- ZWDS Zangwai dao shu* 藏外道書 (*Extra-canonical Daoist Texts*). Chengdu: Ba shu, 1992, 1994. Numbering of texts according to Komjathy 2002: 83-105.

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Appendix I

Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan

Complete Table of Contents

Prefaces⁵³³

- 1a. Zou Yuanbiao 鄒元標 (1551-1624) undated “Dedicatory Inscription on the Complete Edition of the Perfected Yin’s *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*”
- 1b. She Yongnian 舍永年 (Chang Ji 常吉; Zhen Chuizi 震初子) 1615
- 1c. Wu Zhihe 吳之鶴 1615 “Postscript to *Principles of the Myriad Spirits Dual Cultivation of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*”
- 1d. You Tong 尤侗 (1618-1704) 1670 “Preface”
- 1e. Li Pu 李樸 1670 “Preface to *Principles of the Myriad Spirits Dual Cultivation of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*”

Part I 元

- 1. Three Sages (Image)
- 2. The Great Dao (Discourse)
- 3. Innate Disposition and the Lifespan (Discourse)
- 4. Death and Birth (Discourse)
- 5. The Heterodox and the Orthodox (Discourse)
- 6. Universal Illumination (Diagram)

⁵³³ Prefaces are listed in chronological order, the opposite of how they appear in the original.

7. Illumination of [the Course of] Reversal (Diagram)
8. Illumination of Time (Diagram)
9. Inner Illumination (Diagram)
[Three Registers]
10. The Supreme Polarity (Diagram and Instructions for Bringing the Supreme Polarity into Play)
11. Center of the Mind (Image)
12. The Fire Dragon and the Water Tiger (Image and Discourse)
13. The Sun Raven and the Moon Hare (Image and Discourse)
14. The Greater and the Lesser Cauldrons and Their Furnaces (Image and Discourse)
15. The Inner and Outer Pharmaca (Image and Discourse)
16. Following and Reversing Course and the Three Passes (Image and Discourse)
17. Exhausting the Innate Disposition and Living Out the Lifespan (Image and Discourse)
18. The True Earth (Image; and Rooting the Mind in True Earth, Discourse)
19. The Whitesouls and the Cloudsouls (Image and Discourse)
20. Light of the Toad (Image and Discourse)
21. Subduing the Dragon (Image and Discourse)
22. Taming the Tiger (Image and Discourse)
23. The Three Families Call Upon One Another (Image and Discourse)
24. Harmonious Combination of the Four Heraldic Creatures (Image and Discourse)
25. Taking from *Kan* to Fill *Li* (Image)
26. Guanyin's Esoteric Incantation (Image)

27. Nine Cauldrons Refine the Mind (Image and Discourse)
28. Eight Consciousnesses Return to the Origin (Image and Discourse)
29. The Five *Qi* Have an Audience with the Primordial (Image and Discourse)
30. Awaiting Imperial Summons (Image and Discourse)
31. Flying Ascension (Image and Discourse)

Part II 亨

1. Embracing and Nourishing the Foundation (Image)
2. First Section Oral Secrets: Embracing and Nourishing the Foundation, Protecting and
Rescuing the Treasure of Life
3. Washing the Mind and Recessing and Hiding [It Away] (Image)
4. Concealing and Restraining, Bathing (The Proper Time)
5. Liquid Jade and the Refining of the Form (Image and Rules)
6. Giving Repose to the Spirit in the Ancestral Cavity (Image)
7. Second Section Oral Secrets: Giving Repose to the Spirit in the Ancestral Cavity and
Concentrating Atemporal [*Qi*]
8. The *Dharma* Wheel Turns Itself (Image and the Proper Time)
9. The Dragon and the Tiger Copulate (Image and Principles)
 - 9a. Method of Copulation of the Dragon and the Tiger
10. Hibernating and Hiding in the *Qi* Cavity (Image)
11. Third Section Oral Secrets: Hibernating and Hiding in the *Qi* Cavity, Many
Wonders Return to the Root
12. Instructions on Embryonic Breathing

13. Moving, Standing, Sitting, Lying: Four Ways of Meditating (Images)

13a. Moving (Image)

13b. Standing (Image)

13c. Sitting (Image)

13d. Lying (Image)

Part III 利

1. Gathering the Pharmacon and Returning It to the Pot (Image)

2. Fourth Section Oral Secrets: The Co-germination of Heaven and People, Gathering
the Pharmacon and Returning It to the Pot

3. Gathering Fire, Carrying Gold (Image, Orally-transmitted Method)

4. *Qian* and *Kun* Copulate (Image)

5. Fifth Section Oral Secrets: *Qian* and *Kun* Copulate, Discarding the Slag to Preserve
the Gold

6. Cosmological Ecliptic (Image)

7. The *Mao You* Cosmos (Oral Secrets)

8. The Numinous Elixir Enters the Cauldron (Image)

9. Sixth Section Oral Secrets: The Numinous Elixir Enters the Cauldron, Prolonged
Nurturance of the Holy Embryo

10. Firing Timing and the Exaltation of the Correct (Image)

11. Rules for Firing Times (Rules)

12. Prolonged Nurturance of the Holy Embryo (Image)

Part IV 貞

1. The Infant Manifests Its Form (Image)
2. Seventh Section Oral Secrets: The Infant Manifests Its Form and Emerges from the
Sea of Suffering
3. Refining the Form in the True Void (Image and Discourse)
4. Escaping from the Sea of Suffering (Image)
5. Sitting with Hands Clasped and the Mind Recessed in Darkness (Image)
6. Eighth Section Oral Secrets: Transfer the Spirit to the Inner Courtyard, Offering up
the Obscured Mind
7. Transforming the Self and Multiplying It by Five (Image)
8. Riding the Phoenix Up Into the Clouds (Image)
9. The Yang Spirit Emerges and Manifests (Image)
10. Ninth Oral Secrets: Foundational Substance of the Void; Transcending the Three
Realms
11. Transcending the Three Realms (Image)
12. Confirmation as Vairocana (Image)⁵³⁴

⁵³⁴ These two images appear without titles in the first and second editions, those of 1615 and 1670.

Appendix II

Editions of *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*

The following list primarily contains works I've personally examined. Listings of other editions are available in Xue 1991 and Fu 2005: 8-9.

明 (1368-1644)

Wanli 萬曆 43 [1615] *Xingming shuangxiu wanshen guizhi* 性命雙修萬神圭旨 in four *juan*. Wu Zhihe 吳之鶴.

Harvard-Yenching Rare Book T 1938 9842. Acquired in 1953. Included in Shen 1999. Facsimile copy in Stanford's Hoover Institute library.

Includes prefaces 1a-c, with 1a appearing first and 1c appearing as a postface.

清 (1644-1911)

Kangxi 康熙 8 [1669] *Xingming shuangxiu wanshen guizhi* 性命雙修萬神圭旨 in four *juan*.

Held at Needham Institute in Cambridge. Contains prefaces 1a, 1b, and 1d. Crude edition with numerous illegible characters. From this edition on all traditionally printed editions drop preface 1c while consistently including the other four.

Kangxi 康熙 9 [1670] *Xingming shuangxiu wanshen guizhi* 性命雙修萬神圭旨 in four *juan*. Di'e tang 棣鄂堂.

Harvard-Yenching Rare Book T 1938 9842b. The front page bears the words "Secretly bestowed by the Perfected Yin/Collector's edition Di'e tang [Publishers] 尹真人秘授 棣鄂堂藏板.

Kangxi 康熙 9 [1670] *Xingming shuangxiu wanshen guizhi* 性命雙修萬神圭旨 in four *juan*. Sanhuai tang 三槐堂

Princeton University, Gest East Asian Library Rare Book TC831/1469. In this catalog the text is incorrectly attributed to “Yinzhenren,” rather than his unknown disciple. It is also incorrectly dated “Qing Kangxi 8 nian i.e. 1669,” though it contains You Tong’s preface dated 1670. This is a very rough edition, with several pages in the prefaces printed out of order, ink stains on many pages, and numerous illegible characters due to crude woodblock pressing. The Di’e tang edition held by Harvard must have been printed practically simultaneously. The front page bears the same formula with only the publisher information modified: “Secretly bestowed by the Perfected Yin/Collector’s edition Sanhuai tang [Publishers] 尹真人秘授性命圭旨 三槐堂藏板. All the images in these two 1670 editions are not, however, the same: e.g., I. 10.

Shanghai xinbeimen nei jiangdong shuju yinhang 上海新北門內江東書局印行

Original in the personal collection of a friend of Li Yuanguo’s in Chengdu. Photocopy in author’s possession.

Xingming guizhi gailiang huitu 性命圭旨改良繪圖

Housed in the collection of the Sichuan Original Dao Museum (Sichuan sheng yuandao wenhua bowuguan 四川省原道文化博物館). The 1989 Baiyun guan edition is a copy of this or an identical edition.

Title Unknown. Published by Xidi xuan ge 歙滌玄閣

Mentioned by Li 1993: 111 n. 6 as containing significant variations.

Republican (1911-49)

1922. Ding Fubao’s 丁福寶(守一子) *Record of the Essential Flowers of the Daoist*

Canon (Daozang jinghua lu 道藏精華錄). juan 9.

Contemporary Editions

1989. *Xingming guizhi quanji* 性命圭旨全集. Beijing: Baiyun guan 白雲觀.

1989 (2nd ed. 1990). Yin zhenren dizi 尹真人弟子, author, Ma Jiren 馬濟人, ed.

Xingming guizhi 性命圭旨. Library of Qigong and Nourishing Life (*Qigong yangsheng congshu* 氣功養生叢書). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe. ISBN 7-5325-0034-9.

1990 (2nd printing 1992). Xu Zhaoren 徐兆仁 ed. *Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨 in *Tianyuan danfa* 天元丹法. Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe. Dongfang xiudao wenku 8. 70-243.

Paired with Li Daochun's *Collection of Central Harmony* (1-69). Renders prefaces, *wen*, and *shuo* into simplified characters.

1992-94. *Extra-canonical Daoist Texts* (*Zangwai dao shu* 藏外道書; ZW 314). v. 9: 506-95.

1993 (2nd printing 1998). Li Jianzhang 李建章. *Instructions on Nature and Life: A Modern Chinese Rendering* (*Xingming guizhi baihua jie* 性命圭旨: 白话解). Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe.

Renders *shuo* into simplified characters, translates them into modern Chinese and provides inconsistent annotation. Omits prefaces and I. 30-31. Includes introduction.

1999. Darga, Martina. *Das alchemistische Buch von innerem Wesen und Lebensenergie*,

Munich: Diederichs Gelbe Reihe.

Translates Part I only, providing a commentary for each *shuo*. Includes introduction and names index. Reviewed by Skar 2003.

2005. Fu Fengying 傅鳳英. *Xinshi xingming guizhi* 新釋性命圭旨. Taipei: Sanmin shuju.

Best contemporary Chinese edition. Reproduces *shuo* with *zhuyinfuhao*, provides modern Chinese translation and annotation. Types out but does not translate *wen*. Prefaces 1a, 1b, 1d, and 1e provided in facsimile. Includes introduction.

Electronic

There are numerous sites that post the text, most of them in simplified characters, nearly all of them without identifying the editions they're based on. These sites below are only a sampling.

Complete Perfection Transcendent Lineage (*Quanzhen xian zong* 全真仙宗)

<http://www.qztao.url.tw/taoism8.htm>

Official website of Complete Perfection order. Full text in complex characters of first twelve discourses of Part I.

<http://www.ctcwri.idv.tw/cgi-bin/b2g.exe/http://www.ctcwri.idv.tw/CTCWRI->

[XMGZ/xmgz00-xx.htm?Xxurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ctcwri.idv.tw](http://www.ctcwri.idv.tw/XMGZ/xmgz00-xx.htm?Xxurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ctcwri.idv.tw)

[%2FCTCWRI-XMGZ%2Fxmzg00-xx.htm](http://www.ctcwri.idv.tw/%2FCTCWRI-XMGZ%2Fxmzg00-xx.htm)

Appendix III

Works Cited in *Principles of the Innate Disposition and the Lifespan*

Names and personal dates are listed following the format used in “Biographical Notices” in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen’s *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (hereafter *TC*), with the modification that, when available, I provide appellations beyond *ming* 名, *zi* 字, and *hao* 號 following the *xing* 姓, i.e., the *sangha* name (*seng ming* 僧名) and posthumous name (*hou ming* 後名).

I’ve drawn biographical dates from *TC*, dynastic dates from the revised and enlarged edition of Endymion Wilkinson’s *Chinese History: A Manual*,⁵³⁵ and supplementary biographical dates from the second edition of William de Bary and Irene Bloom’s *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*. I indicate when a text is covered in Michael Loewe’s *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (abbreviated *ECT*).⁵³⁶ I also indicate when authors have biographical entries in either *TC* or Fabrizio Pregadio’s *Encyclopedia of Taoism* (*ET*). All works with *Daozang* (*DZ*) numbers have entries in *TC*, while bibliographic digests in *ET* are also indicated. Further dates come from a range of secondary materials listed in “Works Cited” but not cited below. *Taishō Canon* numbers are abbreviated with a “T.” I take care to indicate the reference materials I’ve cited because this list bridges many disciplines, including Early China, Daoist Studies, (Neo-)Confucian Studies, Buddhist Studies, Manuscript Studies and History of the Book.

⁵³⁵ Wilkinson 2000: 10-12.

⁵³⁶ Loewe 1993.

Brackets [] are my attempt to preserve the way in which *Principles* refers to the individual or the work in question: i.e., that which is within the bracket is what does not appear in *Principles*: e.g., [Lü Yan 呂巖], *zi* Dongbin 洞賓. The exception is the designations of appellations, which are not enclosed but do not appear in the original text. Names and titles that appear entirely in brackets are quoted but not sourced within *Principles*. The reader should bear in mind that this is not a full listing of the *ways in which* an individual or text is identified in *Principles*, but rather a full listing of these individuals and texts. Nor is it comprehensive list of works by these individuals. Likewise, I have not correlated these entires to a particular edition of *Principles*: the interested reader can easily find their location by using one of the many electronic versions of *Principles* available online. I have listed Buddhist texts separately, not for any methodologically defensible reason, but because I am insufficiently knowledgable of the tradition at this time to integrate it into the chronology.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Li Yuanguo of the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences in Chengdu for his assistance in identifying many of the Daoist authors and works in this list.

Zhou 1045-256 BCE

The Five Canons (*Wujing* 五經)

Yijing 易經 (*Canon of Changes*)/*Zhouyi* 周易 (*Changes of the Zhou*) Shang material

incorporated in the Zhou; canonical form in the Han.⁵³⁷

Shangshu 尚書 (*Canon of Documents*) Latest components 4th century CE.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁷ ECT: 216-228.

Shijing 詩經 (*Canon of Odes*)⁵³⁹

Zuozhuan 左傳 Early Han at the latest.⁵⁴⁰

Kong Qiu 孔[丘] (Confucius) *Lunyu* 論語 (*The Analects*)⁵⁴¹ *Yi* 異 (*Wings*:

Commentary on the *Changes of Zhou*)

[Wang] Zijin [王]子晉 [Ziqiao 子喬] Crown Prince of the Zhou King Ling 靈.

Warring States 475-221 BCE

Lao-Zhuang

Laozi 老子 (fictional personage) *Laozi* 老子/*Daodejing* 道德經⁵⁴²

see also: Eastern Han, Taishang [Laojun] 太上[老君]

[Yin Xi 尹喜] Guanling⁵⁴³ 關令. Also called Guanyin zi 關尹子.

Zhuangzi 莊子 *Zhuangzi* 莊子/*Nanhua jing* 南華經 (*Scripture of the Southern*

Florescence) 4th century Guo Xiang 郭象 recension.⁵⁴⁴ DZ 670.

Early Disciples of Kongzi or Ruist (*Rujia* 儒家)

Zisi 子思 (492?-431? BCE) *Zhongyong* 中庸 (*Doctrine of the Mean*) Traditionally

attributed. Ca. 200 BCE at latest.

Daxue 大學 (*Great Learning*)

⁵³⁸ ECT: 376-389

⁵³⁹ ECT: 415-423.

⁵⁴⁰ ECT: 67-76.

⁵⁴¹ ECT: 313-323.

⁵⁴² ECT: 269-292.

⁵⁴³ Referenced, not quoted.

⁵⁴⁴ ECT: 56-66.

[Meng Ke 孟軻] *Mengzi* 孟子⁵⁴⁵

Qin Gao 琴高 of the state of Yue 越

Qu Yuan 屈原. *Yuanyou pian* 遠遊篇. Attributed. In *Chuci* 楚辭.⁵⁴⁶

Han 202 BCE–220 CE

Western Han 202 BCE–23 CE

[Zhang Liang 張良 Duke Liu 留侯] *zi* Zifang 子房

Guangcheng zi 廣成子 and Xuan Yuan 軒轅 *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經 (*Inner Cannon of the Yellow Emperor*) Current version edited 762 CE, revised 11th century.⁵⁴⁷

[Liu An 留安, patron (d. 122 BCE)] *Huainai zi* 淮南子⁵⁴⁸

Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53-18 BCE) *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 (*Canon of Supreme Mystery*)⁵⁴⁹

Yin Changsheng 陰長生

Eastern Han 25-220 CE

Heshang gong 河上公 (likely mythical) *Guoming ji* 過明集 (*Collection of Mistakes Illuminated*)

Taishang [Laojun] 太上[老君] Deified Laozi.⁵⁵⁰

Wei Ao 魏翱, *zi* Boyang 伯陽 See below: Tang Dynasty, *Zhouyi* Commentaries,

⁵⁴⁵ ECT: 331-335.

⁵⁴⁶ ECT: 48-55.

⁵⁴⁷ ECT: 196-215.

⁵⁴⁸ ECT: 189-195

⁵⁴⁹ ECT: 460-466. Translated by Nylan 1994.

⁵⁵⁰ See Seidel 1969.

Cantongqi (attributed), *Jinbi jing* (attributed)

[Zuo Ci 左慈] Zuo Yuanfang 左元放 (ca. 155-220)

Six Dynasties 222-589

Locale Occupied by Eastern Jin 東晉 317-420

Ge Family Lineage

Ge Xuan 葛玄 Ge xian weng 葛仙翁 (“The Divine Master Ge; traditionally 164-244)

Liuzhu ge 流珠歌 (*Song of the Flowing Pearl*) (received), *Xuanxuan ge* 玄玄歌

(*Song of the Mystery [and yet more? 之有?] Mystery*)

Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343), *hao Baopu* 抱朴 *Baopu zi* 抱朴子 (*The Master Who Embraces Simplicity*) DZ 1185.

[Li Tuo 李脫 *hao Ba Bai* 八百]

[*Taishang*] *huangting waijing* [yu][jing [太上]黃庭景外[玉]經 (*[Precious] Book of the Exterior Landscape of the Yellow Court*) DZ 332.

[Xu Xun 許遜] Jingyang 旌陽 (239-229-374?) *Zuisi xian ge* 醉思仙歌

Xisheng jing 西昇經 (*Scripture of the Ascent to the West*) DZ 726.⁵⁵¹

[*Lingbao Wuliang*] *Duren* [pin miao] jing [靈寶無量]度人[品妙]經 (*Wonderous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Limitless Salvation*) DZ 1.⁵⁵²

⁵⁵¹ Translated by Kohn 1991.

⁵⁵² Translated by Bokenkamp 1997: 405-438. See also Strickmann 1978.

Highest Purity (*Shangqing* 上清)

The Three Perfected Mao [Brothers] 三茅真人

[*Taishang*] *huangting neijing* [yu] *jing* [太上]黃庭景內[玉]經 (*[Precious] Book of the Interior Landscape of the Yellow Court*) (DZ 331)

Huangdi yinfujing 黃帝陰符經 (*The Yellow Emperor's Scripture of the Hidden Talismans*) 1st half of 8th century? DZ 31.

Sui Dynasty 589-618

Tang Dynasty 618-906

Zhouyi Commentaries

Cantongqi 參同契 (5th – 7th century CE)

Jinbi jing 金碧經 (*Book of Azure Gold*)

Guwen longhu jing 古文龍虎經

Daoism

?Luo Gongyuan 羅功遠 *Longwan ji* 弄丸集

Qingjing jing 清靜經 (*Scripture on Purity and Tranquility*) DZ 620.

Shi Jianwu 施肩吾 (I have not yet ascertained whether this is the individual *zi* Xisheng

希聖 or the personage *hao* Dongzhai 東齋)

Sima [Chengzhen] 司馬[承貞] *zi* Ziwei 子微 (646-735) *Tianyinzi* 天隱子 (*Master*

Hidden in the Heavens) DZ 1026 (attributed) *Zuowang lun* 坐忘論 (*Treatise on*

Sitting and Forgetting) DZ 1046

[Su Yuanming 蘇元明] *hao Qing Xiazi* 青霞子⁵⁵³

[*Taishang Laojun*] *Neiguan jing* [太上老君]內觀經 DZ 641 (*Book of the Inner Vision* [*of the Most High Lord Lao*])

[Wang Fangping 王方平]

Xu Xuanping 許宣平 *Zhuyu ji* 珠玉集

Yijiao jing 遺教經

Five Dynasties 906-960

[Chen Tuan 陳搏 (871?-989), *zi Tu'nan* 圖南, *hao Boyun xiansheng* 白雲先生] *shi cheng Xiyi* 希夷 *Zhixuanpian* 指玄篇 (“*Folios on Pointing Out the Mysteries*”?)

Peng Shao 彭曉, *zi Xiuchuan* 秀川, *hao Zhen yi* 真一 (d. 955)

Zhang Yuanxiao 張遠霄 From present-day Sichuan; no major [extant] works.

Liao Dynasty 916–1125

Liu Cao 劉操, *zi Zongcheng* 宗成, *hao Haichan zi* 海蟾子 (fl. 1031?) *Huanjin pian* 還金篇 (“*Folio on Reverted Gold*”?), *Jiandao ge* 見道歌

Song Dynasties 960-1279

Zhong-Lü School

⁵⁵³ For more detailed information see: Sharf 2003: 293 n. 12. and Skar 2003: 178 n. 34.

Zhongli Quan 鐘離權, Yunfang 雲房, Zhengyang 正陽 (hagiography first lived ca. 200

CE; first reference mid-11th century) *Pomi zhengdao ge* 破迷正道歌 (*Song for*

Dispelling Doubts Concerning the Correct Path) DZ 270 Attributed⁵⁵⁴

Cui Xifan 崔希范 (fl. 880-940) *Ruyao jing* 入藥鏡 (*Mirror for Compounding the*

Medicine) Attributed

[Lü Yan 呂巖], *zi* Dongbin 洞賓, *hao* Chunyang 純陽 (hagiography ca. 800 CE; first

reference in the Song) *Chunyang wenji* 純陽文集

Southern School (Nanzong 南宗)⁵⁵⁵

Wuzhenpian Primary Lineage

1st Patriarch (retroactive) Zhang Boduan 張伯端, Ziyang 紫陽, Pingshu 平叔, *houming*

Yongcheng 用成 (984?-1082) *Wuzhenpian* 悟真篇 (*Folios on Awakening to*

Perfection) DZ 263.26,⁵⁵⁶ *Jindan sibaizi* 金丹四百子 (*The Elixir Explained in*

Four Hundred Words) DZ 1081.

2nd Patriarch (retroactive) Shi Tai 石泰, *zi* Dezhi 得之, *hao* Xinglin 杏林 (d. 1158)

Huanyuan pian 還原篇 (*Book on Returning to the Origin*) DZ 1091.

3rd Patriarch (retroactive) Xue Daoguang 薛道光 (“Light of the Dao”), *ming* Shi 式,

sengming Zixian 紫賢 (“Purple Virtue”?) *Huandan fuming pian* 還丹復命篇

(*Book of the Return to Life and the Cyclically Transformed Elixir*) DZ 1088,

⁵⁵⁴ There is also a *Pomi ge* 破迷歌 attributed to the otherwise unknown Wang Liangqi 王良器.

⁵⁵⁵ On this lineage see Skar 2003, particularly “Chapter Five: The Social Foundation of Golden Elixir Alchemy,” 208-257.

⁵⁵⁶ There are three English versions of this work: Davis and Chao 1939, Cleary 1988, and Crowe 1997, of which Crowe’s is the best.

Xuzhong shi 虛中詩 (“Poems from Inside the Void”?).

4th Patriarch (retroactive) Chen Nan 陳楠 *hao* Cuixu weng 翠虛翁, Niwan xiansheng 泥

丸先生 (1171?-1213) *Xuan’ao ji* 玄奧集 (Collection of Mystery and Profundity)

[Chen Tuan?], *Luofu ling* 羅浮吟

5th Patriarch Bo Yuchan 白玉蟾, Ziqing 紫清 (“Purple Purity”) (1194-ca. 1227) *Wanfa*

guiyi ge 萬法歸一歌 (“The Song of Myriad *Dharmas* Returning to the One”)

6th Patriarch Peng Si 彭耜, *hao* Helin zhenyi 鶴林貞逸 (1185-after 1251)

[Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 *zi* Yuan Rui 元瑞] *hao* Liao zhenzi 了真子 (fl. 1260)

Wuzhenpian Secondary Lineage

Zhang Boduan 張伯端

[Liu Yongnian 劉永年] Fengzhen 夔真 *Bailong dong* 白龍洞 (*White Dragon Grotto?*)

Weng Baoguang 翁葆光 (possibly *hao* Wumingzi 無名子 fl. 1173)

Long Meizi 龍眉子 (fl. 1218)

Chen Xianwei 陳顯微, *hao* Baoyizi 抱一子 (fl. 1223-1254) *Xiandao tu* 顯道圖

Daoism

Han xiaoyao 韓逍遙 (Xiaoyao Weng 逍遙翁?)

Heche ge 河車歌 (“Song of the Waterwheel”)

Huiguang ji 回光集 (“Folios on Returning the Light”)

Li Jianyi 李簡易 hao 玉谿子. A Quanzhen Daoist from Yichun 宜春.⁵⁵⁷

Neizhi tongxuan jue 內指通玄訣

Sanyao ge 三藥歌 (erroneously attributed to Xu Xun in *Principles*)

Taiyi zhenren 太乙真人 (Chen Nan?)

Yuandao ge 原道歌 (“Song on the Source of the Dao”)

Zhang Wumeng 張無夢 (952?-1051)

Zitong huashu 梓潼化書 (*Book of Transformation of the [Divine Lord] Zitong*) A

composition dictated by the deity Wenchang 文昌.⁵⁵⁸

Northern Song 960-1127

Chen Momo 陳默默, hao Chaoyuanzi 朝元子 *Chongzhengpian* 崇正篇

[Lingyuan dadao ge 靈源大道歌] *DZ* 1257, *DZ* 1017 [Cao Wenyi 曹文逸 Dao Chong 道

沖 Xi Yun 希蘊]

Gao Xiangxian 高象先 *Jindan ge* 金丹歌 (*Song of the Golden Elixir*)

Xu Shouxin 徐守信, Shen weng 神翁 (1033-1108) *DZ* 1251

[*Wang zhishu* 王芝書]

Southern Song 1127-1279

[Du Daojian 杜道堅] hao Nangu zi 南谷子 (1237-1318)

Lü Zhichang 呂知常

⁵⁵⁷ *TC*: 837.

⁵⁵⁸ Translated by Kleeman 1994.

Wu gouzi 無垢子

Wu Wu 吳悟 hao Ziran zi 自然子

[Zhang Jixian 張繼先] hao Xujing zhenren 虛靖真人 (1092-1126)

Ruist: Learning of the Way/Learning of the Principles

Chengzi 程子. I have not yet determined whether the individual quoted in I. 17 is

Cheng Yi 程頤 or Cheng Hao 程顥.

[Shao Yong 邵雍] Kangjie 康節 (1011-1077) *Huangji jingshi* 皇極經世[書]

[Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤] *Taijitu* 太極圖 (“Chart of the Supreme Polarity”)

[Zhu Xi 朱熹] Yuanhui 元晦 (1120-1200)

Jin (Jurchen) Dynasty 1115-1234

***Complete Perfection* 全真**

Donghua dijun 東華帝君 Legendary figure retroactively claimed as a Complete

Perfection patriarch.

Wang Zhe 王[?] hao Chongyang 重陽 (1113-1170) Founder.

Seven Perfected (*Qi zhen* 七真)

Ma Danyang 馬丹陽 (1123-1184)

Qiu Chuji 丘處機 hao Changchun 長春 (1143-1227)

Tan Chuduan 譚處端 hao Changzhen 長真 (1123-1185)

Wang Chuyi 王處一 (1142-1217)

Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 hao Changsheng 長生 zi Tongmiao 通妙 (1147-1203) *Xian le ji*

仙樂集 (*Collection on the Delight of Transcendents*)

Second Generation Disciples

Yin Zhiping 尹志平 hao Qinghe 清和 (1169-1251)

Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty 1279-1368

Chen Zhixu 陳致虛 hao Shangyang 上陽 Zhuanyujie 轉語偈

Li Daochun 李道純(ming), ming Qing'an 清庵 hao Ying Chanzi 瑩蟾子 zi Yuansu 元素

Zhonghe ji 中和集 (*Collection of Central Harmony*) DZ 249.⁵⁵⁹

Zhao Lüdu 趙緣督. Also known as Zhao Yuandu 趙緣督.

Ming Dynasty 1368-1644

Daoism

Qianhuo mijue 鉛火秘訣 (“*Confidential Oral Instructions on [the Firing of Lead?]*”)

Wangding zhenren 王鼎真人

Zhang Sanfeng 張三丰. Legendary transcendent. Most likely never an historical personage.

Yin Gong 尹公. Deity to whom *Principles* is attributed.

Confucianism

[Chen Mozhang 陳默章] Baisha xiansheng 白沙先生

Hu Jingzhai 胡敬齋 [Ju ren 居仁]

Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529)

⁵⁵⁹ See Crowe 2003.

Buddhism

Miaofa lianhua jing [妙]法[蓮]華經 ([Lotus] Blossom of the [Wonderous] Dharma Sutra)

Skt. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, **Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* T. 262.9.1c-62b.⁵⁶⁰

Translated by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 into Chinese 406 CE. English translation by

Hurvitz 1976 and Watson 1993.

Yongming yan shou 永明延壽

Guan [wuliangshou] jing 觀[無量壽]經 (*Meditation Sutra [on (the Buddha of)*

Immeasurable Life]) T. 365. “Given the reconstructed Sanskrit title of *Amitāyur-*

dhyāna-sūtra; 1 fasc. translated in 424 by Kālayaśas 量良耶舍, believed to be of

Central Asian origin. T 365.12.340c-346b. The catalog name is 佛說觀無量壽佛

經, and it is also known as the 無量壽佛經, 無量壽佛觀經, 無量壽觀經, 十六觀

經, and abbreviated as 觀經. There was reportedly one other translation, but it has

been lost since 730. This is one of the three principal scriptures 三部經 of the

Pure Land school 淨土宗.”⁵⁶¹

Qixin lun [大乘]起信論 (*Treatise on the Arising of [Mahāyāna] Faith*) Attributed to

Aśvaghoṣa; T 1666.32.575b-583b (Skt. **Mahāyāna-śraddhōtpāda*,

**Mahāyānādhimukty-utpāda*). “One of the most important texts of the emerging

indigenous East Asian Mahāyāna tradition.”⁵⁶²

⁵⁶⁰ DDB “法華經” (Accessed April 2009).

⁵⁶¹ DDB “觀無量壽經” (Accessed April 2009).

⁵⁶² DDB “大乘起信論” (Accessed April 2009).

Unidentified Individuals and Works

Presumably Daoist

An Qi 安期 (Period unknown; a *fangshi* also known as Ben xian qin 本先秦 [One whose roots reach before the Qin dynasty?]. As a Daoist transcendent he was said to have lived over 3,000 years.)⁵⁶³

Bai Letian 白樂天

Cuihu 翠湖

Chao Wen yuan 晁文元

Chen Guanwu 陳觀吾

Chen Chongsu 陳冲素

Chen Xubai 陳虛白

Chong miao 冲妙

Chuncui yin 純粹吟

Ding Lihe 丁理鶴 *Xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊

Dong Hanchun 董漢醇

Duan jiong 段炅

Fabao yizhu 法寶遺珠 [related to the Ming 法寶遺珠 (*Pearls Received from the Sea of Rite*) DZ 1166?]

Fu da shi 傅大士

Huanyangzi 還陽子 *Jianxing pian* 見性篇

⁵⁶³ Li 1993: 18 n. 22.

Huiguzi 回谷子

Jiemi ge 解迷歌

Jindan cuoyao 金丹撮要

Jindan fu fu 金丹賦父

Jing Ling 景岭

Jingmingjing 淨名經

Li Changyuan 李長源 *Hunyuan baozhang* 混元寶章

Li Lingyang 李靈陽 *Zuqiaoge* 祖竅歌 (“Song of the Ancestral Aperature”)

Ling Run 靈潤

Long ya song 龍牙頌

Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 *hao Nian an* 念庵 *Taixi pian* 胎息篇

Mei Zhixian 梅志仙 *Caiyao ge* 采藥歌

Mo Renzhen 莫認真

Nei jing 內經 I have not yet determined if this refers to a category or one of a number of
works that includes these characters in the title.

Qun xian zhu yu 群仙珠玉[集]

Sha yi dao ren 莎衣道人

Shen xiu 神秀

Shengshen jing 生神經

Sheng tai jue 聖胎訣

Shui xiu zi 水丘子

Taibai zhen ren 太白真人

Taixuan zhenren 太玄真人

Taoguangji 韜光集

Tianlaizi 天來子 *Bai hu ge* 白虎歌 (“Song of the White Tiger”)

Tianyingzi 天穎子

Wang Guozhai 王果齋

Wang Liangqi 王良器 *Pomi ge* 破迷歌 (“Song for Dispelling Doubts”)

Wang Zizhe 王子真

Wulou 無漏 [張伯端?]

Wushang shi 無上師

Wuxin changlao mijue 無心昌老秘訣

Xi xing yan shi 西星眼詩

Xian Yan 仙諺

Xiao Zixu 蕭紫虛 *Da dan ge* 大丹歌 (“Song of the Great Elixir”)

Xin yao jue 心要訣

Xuanxue tongzong 玄學統宗

Yu hua jing 玉華經 (*Scripture of the Jade Fluorescents*)

Yu shi jian 俞石澗

Yuan jue dao chang xiu zheng yi 圓覺道場修證儀

Yuanhuang jue 元皇訣 (*Oral Instructions of the Primordial August*)

Yuanyi ge 元一歌 (“Song of the Primordial Unity”)

Zhang Hongmeng 張鴻蒙 *Huan yuan pian* 還元篇 (*Folios on Returning to the*

Primordial)

Zhang jing 張景 *Zhen zhong ji* 枕中記

Zhang Quanyi 張全一

Zhang Ziqiong 張紫瓊

Zhang Silian 章思廉

Zhang Yuanhua 張元化

Zhang zhuo xiucan 張拙秀才

Zhengdao ge 證道歌 (“Song of Evidentiating the Dao”)

Zhong ling 中吟

Zhujiang daoshi 主敬道士

Buddhist Texts

Baozang lun 寶藏論 T. 1857.45.143b-150a. Attributed to Sengzhao 僧肇 (374-414).⁵⁶⁴

There is also a lost alchemical text by this name attributed to Qingxiazi (Sharf 2002: 293 n. 12), who is quoted elsewhere in *Principles*. It is thus possible that the text cited here is claiming to be from that lost work.

Zhigong heshang 志公和尚

Chan 禪

Hui Ke 慧可 Second Chinese Chan Patriarch.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁴ DDB “寶藏論” (Accessed April 2009). Translated by Sharf 2002.

⁵⁶⁵ DDB “慧可” (Accessed April 2009).

Fourth Patriarch. Referred to in *Principles* only as *si zu* 四祖.

Hong Ren 弘忍. Fifth Patriarch.

Liuzu tanjing 六祖壇經 (*Platform Scripture of the Sixth Patriarch*) T. 2008.48.346a-

362b. “Centered on the discourse given at Shaozhou 韶州 temple attributed to the sixth Chan patriarch Huineng 慧能 [638-713].”⁵⁶⁶ Translations by Yampolsky 1967 and McRae 2000.

Yuanjue jing [大方廣]圓覺[修多羅了義]經 ([*Great Corrective Extensive*] *Perfect*

Enlightenment Sutra [of the Complete Doctrine]) T. 842.17.913a-922a. “A

Chinese Mahāyāna Sūtra which was probably written in the early eighth century

C.E.”⁵⁶⁷ Quoted in I. 28 and III. 12.⁵⁶⁸

Presumably Buddhist

Baoji jing song 寶積經頌 (Song of *Sūtra of the Accumulated Treasures*?)

Bei ta zuo 北塔祚 (*Blessing of the Northern Stupa*?)

Cao Tang chanshi 草堂禪師

Chan yuan ji 禪源集 (*Collection on the Source of Chan*)

Da guan chan shi 達觀禪師

Da jue Chan shi 大覺禪師

Dawei zhisong 大[水為]智頌

Dai Tang chanshi 戴堂禪師

⁵⁶⁶ DDB “六祖壇經” (Accessed April 2009).

⁵⁶⁷ DDB “圓覺經” (Accessed April 2009).

⁵⁶⁸ Translated by Muller 1999.

Dao jue chan shi 道覺禪師

Dao xuan ju shi 道玄居士

Foguo chanshi 佛國禪師. Error for Foguo chanshi 佛果禪師, i.e. Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063-1135)?⁵⁶⁹

Gaoseng Miaoxu 高僧妙虛

Haiyue chanshi 海月禪師

He ze chan shi 荷澤禪師

Liao xin jing 了心經

Jian nan he shang 劍南和尚

Jing ye chan shi 淨業禪師

Kuan ji jing 寬積經

Miao Pu 妙普. Called the “venerable monk Miao Pu” (*Gao seng Miao Pu* 高僧妙普)

Pang jushi 龐居士

Puzhao foxin 普照佛心

Ruru jushi 如如居師

Seng Yuanzhao 僧圓照

Shi jianyuan 釋鑑源 *Qinglian jing* 青蓮經 (*Sūtra of the Azure Lotus?*)

Shi qi shouzu 世奇首座

Shouya chanshi yulu 壽涯禪師語錄

Shui an chanshi 水庵禪師

⁵⁶⁹ 克勤 DDB.

Suntuoluo 孫陀羅

Tianran chanshi 天然禪師

Wei Kuan chanshi 惟寬禪師

Xin ying jing 心印經

Xuzhao chanshi 虛照禪師

Yuan Wu chanshi 圓悟禪師. Yuanwu Keqin 園悟克勤 (1063-1135).⁵⁷⁰

Zhijue chanshi 智覺禪師

Zhongfeng chanshi 中峰禪師

Presumably Confucian

Heng Chuangong 橫川珙

⁵⁷⁰ 克勤 DDB.