

Cultivating Perfection
*Mysticism and Self-transformation in
Early Quanzhen Daoism*

—

by
Louis Komjathy



BRILL

Cultivating Perfection

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On the cover: Lamenting the Skeleton. Wang Chongyang instructs Ma Danyang and Sun Buer on the impermanence of human existence. Temple Mural, Hall of Chongyang, Palace of Eternal Joy, Ruicheng, Shanxi. Yuan dynasty, 1358. Ink and colors on plaster. (Photo: Louis Komjathy)

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PREFACE

This book is a study of early Quanzhen 全真 (Ch'üan-chen; Complete Perfection) Daoism, a Daoist religious movement and subsequent monastic order. The Quanzhen movement began in the twelfth century under the leadership of Wang Zhe 王喆 (Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170). This study focuses on the early phases of the Quanzhen religious movement, here spoken of as its formative, incipient organized, and organized phases. It emphasizes the lives and teachings of Wang Chongyang and his first-generation disciples. Employing a comparative religious studies methodology, this study examines early Quanzhen Daoism in terms of conceptions of self, religious praxis, and mystical experience. The study also contains a complete annotated translation of the *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣 (Perfected Chongyang's Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156). Attributed to the founder Wang Chongyang, the text is one of the most technical discussions of early Quanzhen practice principles, training regimens, and models of attainment. In terms of Daoist Studies, I argue, based on historical contextualization and textual analysis, that in its formative and incipient organized phases Quanzhen was a Daoist religious community consisting of a few renunciants dedicated to religious praxis. In contrast to many previous studies that characterize Quanzhen as a “syncretistic” or “reform” movement, this study repositions Quanzhen in the history of Daoism as a soteriological system, complete with distinctive views of self, training regimens, and mystical experiences. The primary characteristics of this Daoist movement center on self-cultivation, alchemical transformation, and a shift in ontological condition herein referred to as “mystical being” and “mystical experiencing.” With regard to comparative religious studies, I suggest that in order to gain a nuanced understanding of any religious system more attention needs to be given to the complicated interplay among views of self, specific training regimens, and the types of experiences that are expected to follow from dedicated praxis. Every practice or training regimen embodies, quite literally, specific views of self, and the attainment of more advanced states requires these views of self. Moreover, specific techniques may lead to tradition-specific experiences, and the soteriological import of these techniques and their related experiences are directly related to the ultimate concerns of a given religious tradition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is, perhaps, dangerous to title a work “cultivating perfection.” While I have done my best, this study is far from perfect, though it is about various aspects of cultivating perfection (*xiuzhen* 修真) in early Quanzhen 全真 (Complete Perfection) Daoism.

This study would be far more imperfect if not for the support, insights, and contributions of many people.

I am grateful, first, to the scholars and academic community of the Department of Religion at Boston University, specifically the late John Clayton (1943–2003) and Stephen Prothero, both Chairman during my graduate stint. I here wish to remember John Clayton’s acceptance and support, his dedication to intellectual freedom and encouragement of my sometimes unconventional approach to the study of religion. I remember his emphasis on Vacaspati Misra (910–970), Advaita Vedanta adherent and Indian commentator, as a model of authentic and dedicated scholarship: Vacaspati Misra’s sympathetic readings of the texts of *other*, non-Vedanta schools evidenced such hermeneutical sophistication and philosophical depth that many members of those traditions accepted his commentaries as the most important interpretations of *their* traditions. Most of all, I remember John Clayton’s unnoticed bows.

I would also like to thank Stephen Prothero for supporting my research and helping me to understand the requirements and challenges of an engaged academic life. With regard to the former, it was my privilege to be challenged by and reflect on his Americanist sensibilities, specifically his clarification of my interpretations of “American Daoism.” Steve Prothero’s accessibility, kindness, and inclusiveness alleviated some of the indeterminacy of graduate life.

While a graduate student in the Department of Religion, I was fortunate to receive a variety of teaching fellowships, travel grants, and the Angela and James Rallis Memorial Award from the Humanities Foundation. I thank the members of the department and the associated committees for such consideration and support. In this respect, I have benefited especially from working relationships with David Eckel, who embodies the craft of teaching, and Frank Korom, who taught me much during my two-year appointment as editorial assistant for the *Religious Studies Review*. Few know the degree of skill concerning ego management required on the part of an editor.

In terms of language study, I here wish to remember the late Wang Chien, my first Chinese language teacher, who accepted and engaged my frequent questions concerning etymology. Without our small and almost eremitic class meetings, the language would never have taken root. Chang Hsiao-chih of Boston University also taught me important things about Chinese language and Chinese culture.

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以	唯	知	不
不	病	知	知
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The quiet sophistication and cultural refinement of both of these men remains with me.

I am grateful to the academic community of Harvard University, specifically Robert Gimello, Michael Puett, and Paul Rouzer of the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, for allowing me to attend classes, conferences, and seminars. My gratitude to Paul Rouzer (now of the University of Minnesota) cannot be overstated: when many would have refused my participation and withheld linguistic training, he treated me as an equal. My training with him in classical Chinese provided the foundation for reading and translating Daoist scriptures, the vocation that led me to graduate school in the first place.

The present book has also benefited from the contributions of various members of the Daoist Studies community as well as of the larger academic community. I wish to thank Stephen Eskildsen (University of Tennessee) and Vincent Goossaert (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) in particular. These scholars are two of the leading Western authorities on Quanzhen Daoism, and they shared their knowledge without reservation. I am especially grateful to Stephen Eskildsen for providing me with his then unpublished manuscript on Quanzhen Daoism, now in print through the State University of New York Press (2004), and Vincent Goossaert for providing a copy of his dissertation and many difficult-to-obtain articles. While there are divergences in our understandings and interpretations of early Quanzhen Daoism, my views have consistently benefited from their work. I also thank Robert Sharf (University of California, Berkeley) for his support of my research and for clarifying my understanding of his views on the concept of “experience” in Religious Studies.

The writing of this study was completed while I was Visiting Instructor, History of Religions in the Department of Religion at Pacific Lutheran University. It was my honor to have the support of the members of the department and of the larger academic community of PLU. Some of my perspectives on the relationship among views of self, religious praxis, and religious experiences were clarified during my participation in the faculty colloquium. I also learned much about the craft of teaching from our many conversations and about the way in which religious convictions might play a role in Religious Studies. In particular, I cannot adequately express my appreciation for the support of Patricia Killen and Samuel Torvend. Patricia Killen's commitment to authentic academic inquiry and her consistent words of encouragement helped to ensure that this work was completed. Samuel Torvend, my academic neighbor and constant friend, daily reminded me that alternative approaches to the study of religion and ways of being always meet with challenges. It is the search for and reaffirmation of vocation that ultimately matter.

Along the way, various friends reminded me that my work had the possibility to make a larger contribution, providing support and encouragement at important moments in the process of writing the present study. In particular, David Bowles, Paul Duffy, Mattice Harris, Chad Mattos, and Kevin Wagner not only provided me with physical nourishment, but also taught me about the enduring applicability of early Quanzhen views and practices. I am especially grateful to Chad Mattos and Kevin Wagner. Chad Mattos, a participant in the awakening of consciousness that occurred among the mountains and rivers of northern California, has been there from the beginning. I thank him for his enduring friendship as well as for his silent contemplation and enjoyment of life. Kevin Wagner, Daoist mountain hermit, respected my perspective as much as anyone and revealed to me that there is no going back.

The writing process was also facilitated by the interest of Shijing and Shidao of the British Taoist Association and Michael Rinaldini of the Daoist Medical Qigong Center. Knowing that there were Daoist practitioners anticipating this study, knowing that someone might actually read and benefit from the work, gave inspiration for completion.

Two of my closest friends in Daoist Studies, Elijah Siegler (College of Charleston) and James Miller (Queen's University), gave much needed support and stood on the other side of the process as beacons.

My views on Daoism and the possibility of a new model for Daoist Studies have been inspired and clarified by their work and voices. The loneliness of academic research was often alleviated by our annual meetings, whether in the streets of Boston, Denver and Toronto or in the mountains of China.

As with every life, there are families involved. If not for the melding of Mallock and Mascia, of Komjathy and Holton, and then of Komjathy and Mascia (Marsh), the being behind the language would not have been. I am grateful to my grandparents for their love and support. At this moment of accomplishment, I must leave a little space for them to stand next to me. Early on, both of my grandfathers, Louis A. Komjathy and George Marsh, convinced me that something *more* was possible. They held this vision for as long as they could. My deep appreciation goes out to members of both families as well. In particular, Beryl Hogshead, my aunt, and Louis A. Komjathy II, my father, supported my wandering towards this moment. Their willingness to consider new and strange landscapes and to allow the space for such unfolding helped to ensure that I would find my real work. And, of course, there is the unwavering love and deep wellspring of support that my mom, Nancy Salyer, embodies. She deserves her own space.

I am also deeply indebted to the careful consideration and critical clarification of my dissertation committee: John Berthrong, Steven Katz, Livia Kohn, Harold Roth, and Robert Weller. I have learned so much from each of them, not just from their research, writings, and teachings, but also from their existential commitments. In addition to their ongoing encouragement and gentle, but vigorous responses to my work, they have clarified my perspective and made this study stronger than it might otherwise have been. I thank each of them for their perspectives and participation. In this respect, the manuscript has also benefited from the suggestions and guidance of Albert Hoffstädt, Patricia Radder, Barend ter Haar and the anonymous readers of Brill.

Finally, I can honestly say that without the presence of three women I doubt this study would have been completed. I cannot adequately express my gratitude to Livia Kohn, my advisor, mentor and friend, Nancy Salyer, my mom, and Kathryn Townsend, my wife and love. Livia Kohn has shown me the way toward becoming a contributing member to the field. She has helped me to understand what an engaged academic life looks like and to recognize the difference between risk and brashness. She embodies an intellectual openness, breadth of consideration, and equanimity that truly deserves emulation. My mom has been constant

in her support and unwavering in her belief. When the heaviness and gloom of Pacific Northwest rain patterns threatened to obstruct this endeavor, she reminded me of the value of gradual progress. She also showed me the importance of balance between focus and neglect, of realizing how fortunate I am. Kate Townsend's willingness to forsake comfort for aliveness, to embrace experience over convention, is one of the primary inspirations behind this study. I have learned so much from our lives together, and I thank her for everything that deserves more than thanks.

I hope that this study is somehow worthy of each person's contributions. Still, no one acknowledged above bears any responsibility for this study, except to the extent that they deem it a sign of respect and an honor. All of us are, after all, fundamentally responsible. The imperfections that remain are my own.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- DZ *Daozang* 道藏. Refers to the *Zhengtong daozaang* 正統道藏 (Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign), the Ming-dynasty (1368–1644) Daoist Canon of 1445, including the 1607 supplement. Numbers follow *Title Index to Daoist Collections* (Komjathy 2002b), which parallel *Concordance du Tao-tsang* (CT) (Schipper 1975a).
- JH *Daozang jinghua* 道藏精華 (Essential Blossoms of the Daoist Canon). Numbers follow *Title Index to Daoist Collections* (Komjathy 2002b).
- JY *Daozang jiyao* 道藏集要 (Collected Essentials of the Daoist Canon). Numbers follow *Title Index to Daoist Collections* (Komjathy 2002b).
- T. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (Taisho Buddhist Canon). Cited by number in Taisho edition, followed by volume number, page and column.
- TY *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要 (Descriptive Notes on the Daoist Canon) (Ren and Zhong 1991). Numbers follow *Title Index to Daoist Collections* (Komjathy 2002b).
- ZW *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 (Daoist Books Outside the Canon). Numbers follow *Title Index to Daoist Collections* (Komjathy 2002b).

INTRODUCTION

The present book, a revised version of my Ph.D. dissertation (Boston University, 2005), is a study of early Quanzhen 全真 (Ch'üan-chen; Complete Perfection) Daoism, a Daoist religious movement and subsequent monastic order.¹ The Quanzhen movement began in the twelfth century under the leadership of Wang Zhe 王嘉 (Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170).² In its earliest historical phase, Quanzhen was a Daoist religious community comprised of a few renunciants dedicated to religious praxis centering on asceticism, alchemical transformation, and mystical experiencing. The present study focuses on the early phases of the Quanzhen religious movement, here spoken of as the formative, incipient organized and organized phases. Generally speaking, emphasis is placed on the lives and teachings of Wang Chongyang and his first-generation disciples. However, this is not a straightforward historical study of the early Quanzhen movement or the early Quanzhen adepts. Such studies have already been done (see, e.g., Yao 1980; 2000; Boltz 1987, 64–68, 143–73; Reiter 1988, 55–90; Eskildsen 1989; 2001; 2004; Tsui 1991; Hachiya 1992; 1998; Zheng 1995; Qing et al. 1996, vol. 3; Goossaert 1997; 2001; Katz 1999; 2001; Marsone 2001; Belamide 2002). The present study examines early Quanzhen

¹ On the appropriateness of categorizing Quanzhen as “Daoist” see Tsui 1991, 19–34. From my perspective, various characteristics of the early movement point toward its Daoist pedigree, including the Dao 道 as its ultimate concern, veneration of Laojun 老君 (Lord Lao), the central importance of the *Daode jing* 道德經 and *Zhuangzi* 莊子, its emphasis on clarity and stillness as well as other forms of Daoist quietistic and meditative practice, and its members’ performance of traditional Daoist *zhai* 齋-purification and *jiao* 醮-offering rituals. On the latter see, for example, Tsui 1991, 26–28; Eskildsen 2004, 171–93. Moreover, within fifty or so years after its founding, Quanzhen became a Daoist monastic order and gained control over the whole of China’s monastic communities, including such centrally important Daoist sacred sites as Tianchang guan 天長觀 (Monastery of Celestial Perpetuity; Beijing; a.k.a. Baiyun guan 白雲觀) and Louguan tai 樓觀臺 (Lookout Tower Monastery; Zhouzhi, Shaanxi). Finally, in terms of contemporary Chinese Daoism, the Quanzhen monastic order is probably the most influential representative in determining what and who qualifies as “Daoist.”

² In the contemporary world, Quanzhen Daoism, in its Longmen 龍門 (Dragon Gate) branch, is the official, government-sponsored form of monastic Daoism in mainland China. In addition, there are now Longmen and Longmen-inspired organizations outside of mainland China. In the West, the two most prominent organizations are the British Taoist Association and Ching Chung Taoist Association. See Komjathy 2003b; 2003c; 2004.

Daoism from the perspective of comparative religious studies, specifically in terms of conceptions of self, religious praxis, and comparative mysticism. Utilizing classical Chinese source materials from the early Quanzhen textual corpus, this study gives particular attention to textual, interpretative, and terminological issues. Here I examine Quanzhen views and practices in terms of conceptions of self, consciousness studies, psychology, embodiment issues, meditation, and mysticism. Quanzhen Daoism offers alternative and challenging perspectives on the nature of self and the human condition, as well as radical training regimens intended to lead to mystical experiences and self-transformation.

The primary title of the present study, “Cultivating Perfection,” alludes to the opening section of the *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣 (Perfected Chongyang’s Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156; abbr. *Jinguan yusuo jue*), a complete, annotated translation of which is rendered herein. Attributed to the founder of Quanzhen and composed in question-and-answer format, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* presents itself as Wang Chongyang’s oral instructions on a variety of Daoist cultivation principles and practices. The text begins as follows:

Someone asked, “What are the subtle principles for cultivating perfection?”³

Perfected Chongyang responded, “First, you must remove ignorance and vexations. Second, you must get rid of greed and craving, alcohol and sex, wealth and anger. This is the method of cultivation.”⁴

³ “Cultivating perfection” (*xiuzhen* 修真) is a central concept in Song-dynasty internal alchemy lineages. “Perfection” (*zhen* 真) refers to both the Dao in its completeness and the completion of alchemical training. The reference to “cultivating perfection” also recalls a seminal collection of Song-dynasty Daoist texts, namely, the *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 (Ten Works on Cultivating Perfection; DZ 263). The *Xiuzhen shishu* is an anonymous anthology of internal alchemy texts, which was compiled around 1300 and gathers together Gold Elixir (*jindan* 金丹) works associated with the so-called Nanzong 南宗 (Southern Lineage). See Boltz 1987, 234–37; Pregadio and Skar 2000, 478; Skar 2003. On the meaning of *xiuzhen* in Daoism see Li 1991, 387; Min and Li 1994, 728; Hu 1995, 979.

⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own. The numbering system for citing Daoist texts follows *Title Index to Daoist Collections* (Komjathy 2002b), which contains a comparative numbering chart of the *Concordance du Tao-tsang*, Harvard-Yenching index, *Daozang tiyao*, and the volume and page numbers of the reduced 36-volume edition. “DZ” refers to the Ming-dynasty Daoist Canon, with numbers paralleling those found in Kristofer Schipper’s *Concordance du Tao-tsang* (CT). Other abbreviations utilized are the following: Dunhuang manuscripts (DH), *Daozang jiyao* (JY), *Daozang jinghua li* (JHL), *Daozang jinghua* (JH), *Zangwai daoshu* (ZW), *Qigong yangsheng congshu* (QYC), and *Daozang xubian* (XB). A standardized numbering system for these Daoist collections is presented in Komjathy 2002b.

Here we see the presence of Buddhist concepts (ignorance [Chn.: *wuming* 無明; Skt.: *avidyā*] and vexations [Chn.: *fannaο* 煩惱; Skt.: *kleśa*]) joined closely with traditional Chinese ascetic ideals (abstention from greed, alcohol, sex, anger, etc.) immediately in the beginning of Wang's detailed instructions concerning Daoist cultivation. Based on such elementary purification and moral rectification, Wang explains, "Then and only then can you practice the exercises of perfection (*zhengong* 真功)." This involves complicated alchemical methods together with various meditative, medical, and visionary techniques, described in the text's highly technical instructions for self-transformation.

With regard to early Quanzhen, I am arguing for a fuller appreciation of the Daoist training regimens advocated and employed by that tradition, including ascetic discipline, internal alchemy practice, and an emphasis on mystical experience. With regard to concerns deriving from comparative religious studies, I am emphasizing three primary issues. First, a nuanced appreciation of any religious system requires one to recognize the ways in which models of self and spiritual technologies relate to each other; that is, it is difficult to fully understand a particular training regimen without understanding the particular models of self (whether explicit or implicit) embedded in and required by that system. Second, specific training regimens may lead to tradition-specific experiences—a practice program based on Daoist principles and Daoist views of self most often leads to types of experiences that are particularly and recognizably Daoist. This does not entail that it is impossible to have Daoist religious experiences outside of a Daoist religious context or that Daoist training can only lead to types of experiences defined by the tradition as "Daoist." It simply means that experiences occurring during Daoist training will tend either to have a recognizable Daoist pattern or to be interpreted by practitioners as relating to specifically Daoist goals and ideals. Finally, as these comments suggest, I am employing and advocating the category of "experience", which I believe remains viable and heuristically important and which is necessary for a more complete understanding of early Quanzhen Daoism. The connective tissue that binds this study together is the complicated interrelationship among views of self, religious praxis, and religious experience in early Quanzhen Daoism in particular and in religious traditions more generally.

In this chapter, I begin with a discussion of theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of Daoism, emphasizing that a Sinological approach has been the dominant interpretative framework utilized to date and has gained hegemonic standing in the still emerging

field of Daoist Studies. Space is given to a self-reflective consideration of approaches to Daoist Studies because this study attempts to take a stronger and more-conscious step in the direction of a comparative religious studies approach to the study of Daoism and to make room for other possible approaches. Next, I discuss the meaning of *quanzhen* in the context of the early Quanzhen religious community. I argue that “Complete Perfection” is the most accurate and viable translation based on the technical meaning within the movement itself. While this may seem like a mere academic exercise, it is required in order for readers to understand the actual goals and ideals of the early adepts. Through constant practice, daily application, and self-refinement, the early Quanzhen adepts attempted to actualize the condition of “complete perfection.” In this condition, innate nature, associated with the heart-mind, consciousness, and spirit, becomes perfected. For the early adepts, Quanzhen was the path towards spirit immortality, the Way of Complete Perfection. Following this terminological discussion, attention is given to the defining characteristics of early Quanzhen Daoism. In contrast to many previous studies that characterize Quanzhen as a “syncretistic” or “reform” movement, this study repositions Quanzhen in the history of Daoism as a soteriological system, complete with distinctive views of self, training regimens, and mystical experiences. The primary characteristics of this Daoist movement center on self-cultivation, alchemical transformation, and a shift in ontological condition herein referred to as “mystical being” and “mystical experiencing.” The chapter concludes with a survey of the contents that follow, in which emphasis is placed on the primary structure of the study: the interrelationship among views of self (chs. 3 and 4), religious praxis (chs. 5 and 6), and religious experience (chs. 7 and 8) in early Quanzhen Daoism.

APPROACHES TO DAOIST STUDIES

Until the present day, the study of “Daoism” has been equated with the study of Chinese culture, history, and religion, and the field of Daoist Studies has been dominated by a “Sinological approach.” When one considers the history of this still-emerging field (see Barrett 1981; 1987; 2000; Seidel 1989–90; Li 1993; Kirkland 1997; 2000; 2002; Clarke 2000; Ding 2000; Kohn 2000; Girardot 2002; Komjathy 2002a), the reasons for the dominance of certain defining questions and concerns are obvious. The study of Daoism originated in English, French, German

and Japanese colonial interests in China, and the early history of Daoist Studies was similarly dominated by French and Japanese Sinology. This was followed by the “discovery” of Daoism by American Sinology (modeled on its French counterpart) and, more recently, by Chinese historians themselves. These interpretative traditions have established not only a host of mandated skill-sets, but also dominant evaluative criteria. Moreover, they express and have helped to maintain the elite status of certain institutions and their graduates, specifically those of East Asian Languages and Civilizations departments, in academic discourse concerning Daoism. Few thus far have questioned the hegemonic standing of a Sinological approach to Daoist Studies, or the reduction of the Daoist religious tradition(s), Daoist communities and practitioners and their religious expressions, to data for the study of Chinese culture and history.⁵

The Sinological approach to Daoist Studies emphasizes the importance of Daoism for increasing knowledge of Chinese culture and history.⁶ For this, the would-be scholar of Daoism must dedicate himself or herself to acquiring specific linguistic skills; emphasis is placed on the ability to read primary source material (Daoist scriptures, epigraphy, hagiographies, historical documents, gazetteers, and so forth). This must be complemented with a comprehensive knowledge of other relevant Chinese historical and cultural phenomena, as well as secondary scholarship written in Chinese, English, French, German, Italian and

⁵ The Sinological approach to Daoist Studies often also assumes a reified conception of Daoism, primarily centering on the Tianshi 天師, Shangqing 上清, and Lingbao 靈寶 movements and the Han and Six Dynasties periods of Chinese history. Sometimes the Tang is also included. However, when Daoist history gets “messy,” specifically during the Song dynasty and through the modern period, interest drops off dramatically. Fortunately, in recent years more scholars are beginning to research Daoism in the Ming, Qing and modern period.

⁶ Here it should be noted that until relatively recently, and even today in certain circles, Daoism has been largely neglected in the study of Chinese culture and history. The reasons for this are complex, involving both conventional Chinese prejudices and modern categorizations. Thus, Sinologists interested in Daoism were forced to fight for the inclusion of this religious tradition in Chinese history. Representatives of the Sinological approach to Daoism had to legitimize their topic of study and to have Daoism recognized as an integral but neglected aspect of Chinese civilization. They have succeeded. However, in the process, like the absorption of *Taoist Resources* into the *Journal of Chinese Religions* (see Komjathy 2001), Daoism has been reduced to a “Chinese religion.” While Daoist history primarily centers on Chinese Daoism, there are now Daoist teachers and organizations throughout the world. Similarly, Daoist Studies may benefit from a broadening of theoretical and methodological approaches.

Japanese. For such scholarship to be taken seriously and evaluated in a positive light, conventional and pre-patterned models must be adhered to and must be easily identifiable. Acceptance by the dominant discourse community is ensured by establishing certain cultural and scholarly demarcations at the onset of any study: “Ellen Johnston Laing, in her 1975 article ‘Li Sung and some aspects of Southern Sung Figure Painting’ . . . Dieter Kuhn, in his recent *Die Song-Dynastie (960 bis 1279), Eine neue Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer Kultur . . .*” (Idema 1993, 191). Everyone knows that most scholarship is created out of previous scholarship, but the signpost of multi-lingual erudition presents a recognizable face to potential readers, peers, and critics entrenched in Sinology.

Similarly, if one has some interest in larger interpretative, philosophical, and/or comparative questions, the most reliable way to ensure serious consideration is to arrange one’s research according to dominant Sinological concerns. For example, in his study of the “Neiye” 內業 (Inward Training) chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子 (Book of Master Guan) (1999), Harold Roth begins with a discussion of philological issues and dating. This is followed by a critical edition of the text, complete with character variants and engagement with relevant international scholarship. Following these more technical chapters, Roth presents information on the text in the context of early Daoist mysticism and of early Daoism, which includes insights drawn from the comparative study of meditation and mysticism. If *Original Tao* were organized in the reverse sequence (i.e., comparative chapters first, philological chapters last), it would have had clear negative consequences in terms of academic reception. The received chapter-sequence may also be a contributing factor in the almost complete lack of consideration among scholars of comparative mysticism (Livia Kohn’s *Early Chinese Mysticism* [1992] has, generally speaking, suffered the same fate).

Probably the fullest recent expression of the Sinological model and a philological *tour de force* is Robert Campany’s *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth* (2002), an annotated study and critical evaluation of the received *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 (Biographies of Spirit Immortals). The text-critical method developed, employed and advocated by Campany identifies distinct textual stratas within extant editions of the *Shenxian zhuan* (distinct *Shenxian zhuan*s if you will), mostly datable to between the fourth and seventh centuries C.E. Campany’s study also contains a highly detailed and specialized consideration containing his text-critical notes, which include sources for extant *Shenxian zhuan* hagiographies. Such an academic approach has, of course, met with wide-ranging approval by members of the discourse community of Sinology. In the

back-cover promotions of the book, one finds endorsements from four major Sinologists and researchers of Daoism (emphasis added):

This book marks a new milestone in the study of *Chinese religious history*. (Paul Katz)

This is a pathbreaking work of lasting significance to the field of *Chinese religious history*. The scholarship is solid and current, drawing upon the best research from America, Europe, China, and Japan. (Terry Kleeman)

The book's emphasis on practices related to the cult of the immortals and the hope for transcendence squarely places its subject in *the religious life of traditional Chinese society*. (Franciscus Verellen)

Together, these two-works-in-one constitute the best available portrait of *religion and society in early fourth-century China*. (John Lagerwey)

Here one notices the emphasis on culture, society, history, philology, and international secondary scholarship for determining the importance of Campany's contribution. I draw attention to such assumptions not to lessen Campany's accomplishment (it is an excellent book), but rather to point out the dominance of a particular set of assumptions, values, and evaluative criteria. One could also evaluate Campany's research in terms of theoretical and methodological sophistication and/or relevance to the comparative study of religion. In terms of these and other unmentioned criteria, the most Sinologically impressive section of the book (Part Three: Text-critical Notes) would be far less relevant.

It is not my intention here to criticize the Sinological model per se—knowledge of Daoism does deepen one's understanding of Chinese culture and history, and knowledge of Chinese culture, history and language is required for an accurate understanding of Daoism—but rather to take issue with its hegemonic position within the still-emerging field of Daoist Studies. I have great respect and admiration for the Sinological approach, and my understanding of the Daoist tradition would not be what it is if not for the lives and work of the founding members and second- and third-generation scholars. In fact, the present study would probably have remained unwritten if not for earlier Sinological studies of Quanzhen Daoism. However, the cultural constructs, methodological approaches, and academic control exerted by representatives of the Sinological position have not only increased our understanding of Daoism—they have also limited our understanding.⁷

⁷ For a different interpretation of the relationship between Sinology and Daoist Studies see Kirkland 2004.

Daoism is a Chinese religious tradition which has been continually modified and transformed for some two thousand years and which is currently being transmitted and adapted to a global context. Daoism is no longer simply a Chinese religious tradition; it is now a global religious and cultural phenomenon, existing in Brazil, Canada, Denmark, England, France, Italy, Japan, Korea, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam, and practiced by people of a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds. It is also slowly becoming established in the United States in various forms, with varying degrees of connection with the earlier Chinese religious tradition. Interestingly, Quanzhen, as expressed in its Longmen (Dragon Gate) branch, is one of the major Daoist presences in a trans-Chinese Daoist tradition (see Komjathy 2003b; 2003c; 2004).

Daoist Studies, conventionally associated with Sinology, textual study and Chinese area studies, is now expanding to include other theoretical and methodological approaches: anthropology, archaeology, comparative religion, cultural studies, intellectual history, material culture studies, philosophy, sociology, women's studies, and so forth. Daoist Studies may no longer be equated with or encompassed by the study of "Chinese religions." The field of Daoist Studies recognizes Daoism *as a religious tradition worthy of independent research*; Daoist practitioners and communities cannot be reduced to data for the study of Chinese culture, history, or religion.

As yet, alternative interpretative approaches to Daoist Studies either have not been proposed or are in initial stages of development. The most prevalent alternative model, which is usually dismissed or ignored by historians of Chinese Daoism, centers on intellectual history (see Bradbury 1992; Thompson 1993; Herman 1996; Hardy 1998; Clarke 2000; Girardot 2002). Representatives of this model often present their research in terms of "comparative philosophy" (see, e.g., Hansen 1992; Kjellberg and Ivanhoe 1996; Cook 2003; Ziporyn 2003), focusing on classical Daoist texts, specifically the *Daode jing* and *Zhuangzi*, in terms of "thought" and "thinking" (see also Schwartz 1985; Graham 1989). While intellectual history has some important things to say about the ways in which "Daoism" has been understood and constructed, like comparative philosophy it fails to consider Daoism for what it is, a global *religious* tradition with radically different visions of the human condition. That is, reducing Daoism to an "intellectual" or "philosophical" tradition and studying it as a system of "thought" involves a process of domestication and colonization. In addition, it often presupposes an antiquated and inaccurate interpretation of Daoism in terms of

an original, pure “philosophical Daoism” that is wholly different from later “religious Daoism” (see Creel 1970; Sivin 1978; Seidel 1989–90; Kobayashi 1995; Kirkland 1997; Komjathy 2002a).

Recently, a new model based on comparative religious studies has begun to be utilized and explored (see Kohn 1992, especially 17–39; Miller 2000; Girardot et al. 2001; Kohn 2003). As mentioned, the Sinological approach to Daoist Studies emphasizes the *primary* contribution of the study of Daoism as relating to a fuller appreciation of Chinese history and culture; in terms of secondary scholarship, it utilizes historical studies in Chinese, English, French, German, Italian, and Japanese, with French and Japanese studies being most influential. In contrast, the comparative religious studies model, as yet not fully developed, focuses on Daoism *as a religious tradition deserving of independent study* and not reducible to data for the study of Chinese history. In terms of secondary scholarship, this comparative model utilizes various theoretical and methodological insights developed in the interdisciplinary study of religion. Broader issues derived from and applicable to the comparative study of religion play a central role in this approach. Specifically, one might concentrate on anomalous experiences, death and immortality, ecology, funeral practices, gender issues, hermeneutics, medical therapies, monasticism, ritual, spiritual technologies, views of self, and so forth. Branching out still further, one could profitably study these and other issues not solely in the Daoist tradition, but also in a larger comparative study of other religious traditions.

In this discussion of a self-conscious understanding of interpretative approaches to Daoist Studies, I have attempted to make space for new possibilities. Mutual respect and appreciation among scholars will help to ensure both a fuller appreciation of the Daoist tradition(s) (Daoist practitioners, communities and their religious expressions [“material culture”]) and a more comprehensive orientation in Daoist Studies. The present study attempts to occupy a middle ground between these two models, but it also takes a stronger and more-conscious step in the direction of a comparative religious studies approach to Daoist Studies.

ON THE MEANING OF *QUANZHEN*

Quanzhen 全真, as the name of a twelfth-century Daoist religious movement, has received numerous translations. Such translations entail competing interpretations, and each requires reflection concerning

accuracy and heuristic viability. In terms of English renderings, *quanzhen* has been translated as follows: Complete Reality (Cleary 1991; 2000; Wong 1997; 2000),⁸ Complete Perfection (Eskildsen 1989; Boltz 1987; Tsui 1991; Yao 2000; Belamide 2002; Despeux and Kohn 2003), Complete Realization (Pas 1998; Eskildsen 2004), Perfect Realization (Katz 1999), and Total Perfection (Yao 1980). As these renderings indicate, there has been general agreement concerning *quan* 全 as “complete,” while the meaning of *zhen* 真 remains open to debate and interpretation. Of the translations mentioned thus far, most academic specialists focusing on Quanzhen, those familiar with both its socio-historical and religio-cultural context as well as its primary literature, have favored “Complete Perfection,” at least this was the case before the publication of the 2001 issue of the *Journal of Chinese Religions*.

That publication was a special issue dedicated to more recent scholarship on Quanzhen. The various contributors to the issue argue for and utilize the rendering of “Completion of Authenticity,” which is both linguistically awkward and philologically incongruent. The only explicit discussion of such a translation choice, which stands as the *de facto* justification of the entire group of contributors, is that of Pierre Marsone.⁹ According to Marsone,

The term *zhen* has often been translated as “perfected” or “perfection,” but this is more of a transposition or an interpretation than a translation. “Perfection” implicates the successful end of a process: it is an achievement. *Zhen* has the opposite meaning; it is an original and ontological authenticity of nature which has not been *corrupted* by the process of creation or by the passions. Wang Chongyang clearly speaks of the “original authenticity” [*benlai zhen* 本來真] (*Chongyang quanzhen ji*, 13.14a; and *Chongyang jiaohua ji*, 1.11a). Thus, the *zhenren* are the “authentic persons” who have returned to authenticity through ascesis. In this sense, they can be called “perfected,” but “perfected” cannot be a translation for *zhen*. Moreover, in the term “Quanzhen,” *quan* has the verbal sense “to complete” (by recovering). Therefore, “Quanzhen” may be better translated as “Completion of

⁸ I include the studies of Thomas Cleary (b. 1949) and Eva Wong (b. 1951) because these two individuals and their general-audience books have probably exerted the greatest influence on the popular understanding of Quanzhen Daoism.

⁹ The articles on Quanzhen were written by Pierre Marsone (École Pratique des Hautes Études), Vincent Goossaert (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), Stephen Eskildsen (University of Tennessee), and Paul Katz (National Central University; Taiwan). The contributors point to Marsone’s note as being representative. Interestingly, in their earlier publications Stephen Eskildsen (1989) favored “Complete Perfection,” Vincent Goossaert (1997) “Plénitude du Vrai,” and Paul Katz (1999) “Perfect Realization.”

Authenticity.” (Marsone 2001, 95, n. 2; emphasis added; also Goossaert and Katz 2001, 91, n. 1; cf. Goossaert 1997, 5, n. 1)

Lest it needs to be said, *every translation is an interpretation*. Within the above comments, one may detect a certain Judeo-Christian view of “creation” and the influence of French Existentialist thought, with the latter’s emphasis on “authenticity.” Moreover, there is a certain murkiness of thought in the above comments. If one has “original authenticity,” why must one engage in “ascesis” (ascetic training)? If becoming a *zhenren* involves training and progressive attainment, why should we not translate this Daoist *technical* term as “Perfected”? If Quanzhen religious praxis involves “recovery” (uncovering?) of something innately so, then what is there “to complete”? Finally, Marsone suggests that *quan* should be taken in a verbal sense as “to complete,” but another character, *cheng* 成, is usually used in this way, as in the phrase “completing the Dao” (*chengdao* 成道), which is a *human* undertaking.

While the justification for my own choice of “Complete Perfection” will become clear in the pages that follow, a few initial points should be made. Etymologically speaking, one reading of the character *zhen*, prominent especially among contemporary Daoist practitioners, sees it as representing a sacrificial or reaction vessel, an alchemical crucible. In this sense it may be related to a family of pictographic and ideogrammatic characters utilized in both external alchemy (*waidan* 外丹) and internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹), including *qi* 器 (“vessel”), *ding* 鼎 (“tripod”), *dan* 丹 (“elixir”), and so forth. That is, what is *zhen* is anything or any being that participates in or embodies a transformative process. In the human realm, this specifically refers to individuals and communities engaging in alchemical practice, in conscious and dedicated self-transformation. As Marsone suggests, translating *zhen* as “perfection” implies a process, which is exactly what alchemical transformation is.¹⁰ In addition, meaning is always determined by context, and, especially in the case of religious traditions, *technical connotations* often diverge from standard or conventional designations. While *zhen* conventionally means “true” or “real,” one cannot neglect historical context and the technical

¹⁰ Here one might argue that in the context of classical Daoism and in terms of cosmology the Dao *is* an unending transformative process, and so every being always participates in the Dao’s “perfection” or “reality.” However, if this is the case, there is nothing to be done. Such a view clearly contrasts with the early Quanzhen adepts’ attempt to become “perfected” through alchemical praxis. That is, there are *different models* of Daoist practice, which are outlined and discussed below.

terminology of the Daoist tradition. The character *zhen* appears quite frequently in much of the Daoist literature from the Song-Jin period (tenth to thirteenth century), a time when internal alchemy was becoming systematized and the Quanzhen movement emerged. In this context and when applied to Daoist adepts, *zhen* refers to becoming “perfected,” to the attainment of a condition of “perfection,” that is, complete alchemical transformation that results in immortality or transcendence. An adept who has *attained* such a condition through *intensive religious training* is a *zhenren* 真人, a perfected being.¹¹ Thus, while “Complete Truth” or “Complete Reality” makes sense in terms of more standardized meanings, the rendering of “Complete Perfection” is more viable if Quanzhen Daoism is an alchemical tradition, which this study suggests that it is.¹² Here the aspiring adept engages in training regimens that involve cultivation, refinement, and transformation; internal alchemy is process-oriented and developmental.¹³ This rendering is, in turn, related to both the *contextualized meaning* of *quanzhen* in the early Quanzhen movement itself and to its defining characteristics, herein identified as ascetic, alchemical, and mystical.

In Daoist literature, the earliest occurrence of the phrase *quanzhen* appears in chapter twenty-nine of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Book of Master Zhuang; DZ 670), which is entitled “Dao Zhi” 盜跖 (Thief Zhi). Here *quanzhen* is employed in the context of a dialogue between Kongzi 孔子

¹¹ In the present study, *zhenren* is most often translated as “Perfected.” In the context of early Quanzhen, a *zhenren* is a high-level adept who has attained a shift in ontological condition through alchemical praxis. Other translations, such as “Authentic Man” or “Realized Man,” are both awkward and deficient. First, *female* adepts can become *zhenren*. Similarly, the adept does not become “authentic” through Quanzhen religious praxis—he or she becomes alchemically-transformed and perfected.

¹² This claim must be qualified, as one cannot deny the secondary implications of *quanzhen*. For one thing, like other religious movements of the time (e.g., Dadao 大道 [Great Dao], Taiyi 太一 [Great One], Zhengyi 正一 [Orthodox Unity], etc.; see Yao 1980, 8–40; Goossaert 1997, 17–66), there seems to be a sectarian layer of meaning: the Quanzhen movement is the lineage which is “completely true.” On another level, Quanzhen adepts focus on purifying consciousness to the point where they attain spiritual realization: the Quanzhen movement is the lineage focusing on “complete realization.” Finally, the ultimate concern of this tradition is communion with the Dao: the Quanzhen movement is the lineage oriented toward the Dao as “complete reality.” Nonetheless, I would argue that these are secondary characteristics; each one is encompassed by the early adepts’ attempts to actualize a shift in ontological condition, which involves becoming an *embodiment* of the Dao: the Quanzhen movement is the lineage dedicated to actualizing a condition of “complete perfection.”

¹³ Recall also the emphasis placed on “cultivating perfection,” a term related to *self-cultivation* and *self-transformation*, in both early Quanzhen and Song-Jin alchemical traditions more generally.

(Confucius) and Thief Zhi. Hearing that this Thief Zhi and his followers have been pillaging the countryside, Kongzi decides to seek him out and rectify his behavior.¹⁴ After finally securing a meeting with Zhi, Kongzi berates him, emphasizing the inappropriateness of his behavior from the perspective of Ruist (Confucian) ethics.

Thief Zhi was greatly angered and said, “Come forward, Qiu [Kongzi]! Any person who can be controlled by profit and remonstrated by words is stupid, vulgar, and mediocre. . . . Now I will tell you something about human nature: the human eye desires to see colors; the human ear desires to hear sounds; the human mouth desires to taste flavors; and the human will and breath desire to be full. A person of the greatest longevity will live a hundred years; a person of middle longevity will live eighty years; and a person of lowest longevity will live sixty years. If you exclude the time spent being sick, mourning the dead, and worrying, considering one who can delight in laughter, the time does not exceed four or five days per month. The heavens and earth are inexhaustible, but human death has its time. Take up this instrument that is finite or limited in time and try to find a place among the inexhaustible—suddenly [you realize] it is not different from a horse galloping past a hole in a wall. Anyone who cannot be pleased with his will and thoughts and who cannot nourish his longevity and destiny cannot be called someone who understands the Dao. With regard to your words, I reject all of them. You should go immediately, flee and return home without another word! Your “way” (*dao* 道) is irrational and useless, a deceptive, clever, empty, and false thing. It is not capable of *quanzhen*. How can it be adequate to discuss the Dao!” (*Zhuangzi zhuzi suoyin* [Lau and Chen 2000b], 29/87/16–29/88/22)

In typical Zhuangzian fashion, there is an inversion of conventional ethical and social standards: Thief Zhi, who should represent the worst of humanity, actually expresses a set of spiritual insights beyond Kongzi’s limited and limiting moral assumptions. According to Thief Zhi, one must rest and rejoice in a state of carefree play, within which one has abandoned sickness, mourning, and worry. The person who wishes to live through and merge with the Dao, “the inexhaustible,” must recognize his or her own limited perspective. One must attend to one’s

¹⁴ It should be mentioned that prior to this decision, Kongzi has a discussion with Thief Zhi’s brother named Liuxia Ji. After being berated by Kongzi for his failure as an elder brother, Liuxia Ji responds, “Zhi is a man with a heart-mind like a gushing fountain and intentions like a whirlwind. He is strong enough to resist all enemies and clever enough to gloss over every wrong-doing” (*Zhuangzi zhuzi suoyin* [Lau and Chen 2000b], 29/86/21–22). Note that Zhi is described as a “whirlwind” (*piaofeng* 飄風), recalling Wang Chongyang’s adoption of *Haifeng* 害風 (lit., Harmful Wind [Lunatic]) to describe himself.

own aspirations and well-being and follow the endless transformations of the Dao. Only then may one have an experiential understanding of the Dao in its mysteriousness and numinosity. Then, perhaps, one's communications can express what is *quanzhen*, here meaning something like "completely real" or "completely true." That is the Dao.

It is impossible to know if this classical reference was the inspiration for "Quanzhen" as the designation for Wang Chongyang's community of disciples. However, given Wang's familiarity and creative engagement with Daoist literature, and the influence that the *Zhuangzi* seems to have exerted on the early Quanzhen adherents (see below),¹⁵ it is possible that the connection is a historically accurate one.

With regard to the actual origin of the name Quanzhen as the primary designation for the religious movement associated with Wang Chongyang and his disciples, the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror of Successive Generations of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embody the Dao; DZ 296; 297; 298; see Boltz 1987, 56; also below) tells us that it was the name of Wang Chongyang's meditation hut on Ma Danyang's 馬丹陽 property. After Wang Chongyang arrived in Ninghai (Shandong), he established a hermitage on Ma Danyang's property, which he called the Quanzhen

¹⁵ The *Zhuangzi* occupied a much more central position in the early Quanzhen movement than is commonly recognized. The early adepts borrowed technical terminology, specific practices, and a literary model from the *Zhuangzi*. In particular, one finds references to "carefree wandering" (*xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊; ch. 1), "heart-mind like dead ashes" (*xin ruo sifu* 心若死灰; ch. 2), and "seven cavities" (*qiqiao* 七竅; ch. 7). In addition, the Quanzhen emphasis on eremitic withdrawal and the Quanzhen practice of "meditation enclosures" (*huandu* 環堵) may be traced back to relevant passages in the *Zhuangzi* (chs. 23 and 28). Finally, I would argue that the model of direct instruction from teacher to student and the literary genre of "discourse records" (*yulu* 語錄), although conventionally associated with Chan Buddhism, finds one of its earliest and most influential expressions in the *Zhuangzi*. Other soteriological concerns, such as concern over emotional dissipation and the importance of nonaction (*wuwei* 無為), have an early precedent in classical Daoism in general and the *Zhuangzi* in particular. In this respect, it is noteworthy that Wang Yizhong 王頤中 (Lingyin 靈隱 [Numinous Seclusion]; fl. 1180), one of Ma Danyang's disciples, was reprimanded by Ma for excessive study of the *Zhuangzi*: "One day the master yelled for me. After a long time he came out and asked, 'Where did you go?' I responded, 'At the hour of *wu* [11am–1pm], I retire to my sleeping quarters, so that my spirit and emotions may attain deep serenity. A section of the *Zhuangzi* rests on the headboard of my bed because I enjoy reading various passages. Therefore, I was not here.' The master said, 'Now, the Dao wants to form a contract with the heart-mind. If you can attain such a condition through literature, when is it time to awaken? Thus, in terms of awakening to the Dao, [reading] the *Nanhua* 南華 [*Zhuangzi*] is delusion becoming even more deluded'" (*Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 3b; cf. *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 1.7b–8a).

an 全真庵 (Hermitage of Complete Perfection) (DZ 297, 1.4a). People eventually came to refer to Wang's religious system as the "Teachings of Complete Perfection" (*quanzhen zhi jiao* 全真之教) (see *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, preface, 11b; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, preface, 2b). Thus, the Daoist religious movement known as Quanzhen draws its inspiration from its founder's dedicated religious praxis, focusing on ascetic, meditative, and alchemical methods, in an isolated hermitage.

Quanzhen textual sources written by the early adepts also contain a variety of relevant occurrences of the phrase *quanzhen*. Here a few examples will suffice to provide insight into the contextualized meaning of *quanzhen* in the early Quanzhen religious community and to substantiate "Complete Perfection" as the most accurate rendering. According to Wang Chongyang,

Engage in cultivation as though being attentive to a path,
And you may open the gateway to Quanzhen (Complete Perfection).
With mercury known and lead recognized, you may become a patriarch;
Cared for and grasped, innate nature stays and life-destiny resides.
In this way yin and yang revert in progression.
Today clearly distinguish the spoken decree.
Simply follow the four characters announced herein—
They point to the day when you can join immortal departure.
(*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 11.18b)

The entrance to Quanzhen, as both an ontological condition and a religious movement, relates to "cultivation," "mercury" and "lead," as well as "innate nature" and "life-destiny," which I discuss in detail in subsequent chapters. Here it is enough to note that the Way of Complete Perfection involves some type of self-cultivation and alchemical transformation. In other poems in this anthology where *quanzhen* is mentioned, Wang Chongyang also speaks of the following: "qi and blood circulating," "being without dissipation," "vital essence and spirit uniting" (1.20a), "nourishing and completing original qi," "numinous spirit being undissipated," "celestial perfection" (10.1b), "spirit immortality" (11.8b), "the perfected heart-mind" (12.1a), "being free from vexations," "carefree meditation" (12.1b), and "a spark of numinous luminosity" (12.12a).

Thus, it appears that the meaning of *quanzhen* in the earliest historical phases of this Daoist religious movement corresponds to an alchemically-transformed ontological condition. Here *zhen*, "perfection," refers to both macrocosmic and microcosmic aspects of reality. In terms of the former, the Dao is *zhen*, it is "perfect" in the sense of being without

flaws, complete in its own suchness, as well as unified and integrated (or unification and integration itself). According to Liu Changsheng 劉長生, one of the first-generation adepts, the Dao stands in contrast to *su* 俗, what is “ordinary,” “mundane,” or “crude” (*Changsheng yulu*, DZ 1058, 22a–22b). Similarly, the early Quanzhen adherents often speak of the Dao as *zhendao* 真道, the “perfect Dao.” In the ultimate sense, the Dao is “Perfection” or “Reality.” In terms of the microcosmic aspect, specifically as referring to the Daoist adept, *zhen* refers to a shift in ontological condition attained through religious praxis and alchemical transformation. Here the Daoist adept becomes *zhen*, “perfected,” in the sense of being without flaws, complete in his or her own suchness, as well as unified and integrated. Moreover, such an individual was said to be able to leap beyond the mundane world and join the ranks of the immortals, referred to as “casting off the husk” (*tuoke* 脫殼) and becoming a “spirit immortal” (*shenxian* 神仙). In early Quanzhen Daoism, it is only through the cultivation and activation of the “body-beyond-the-body” (*shenwai shen* 身外身) or the “yang-spirit” (*yangshen* 陽神), the subtle body within the ordinary body, that one may transcend the limitations of habituation, materiality, and mortality.

This understanding of the technical meaning of *quanzhen* within the Quanzhen movement continued in the later phases of the tradition as well. For example, according to the “Quanzhen jiaozu bei” 全真教祖碑 (Inscription on the Patriarch’s Teachings of Complete Perfection; *Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.2b–10a; see Chen Y. 1988, 450–54),

His [Wang Chongyang’s] teaching is called Quanzhen. It involves the elimination of delusion. It aims solely at complete perfection. This is spirit immortality. (2b)

In this mid-thirteenth century stele inscription, *quanzhen* refers to the purification of consciousness, to removing every trace of delusion from one’s being. This process of spiritual realization relates to spirit immortality, the ability of spirit to transcend physical mortality.¹⁶ Similarly, the *Jin zhenren yulu* 晉真人語錄 (Discourse Record of Perfected Jin; DZ 1056), a text that seems to have exerted some influence on the early Quanzhen adherents, contains a later, appended section entitled “Quanzhen.” Here we are informed,

¹⁶ With regard to the most accurate interpretation of this passage, I cannot agree with Tsui’s identification of a Chan Buddhist sentiment (1991, 37–38). While there may be parallels, even adaptation, the language here emphasizes the Daoist concern with immortality. Tsui recognizes this fact in his later discussion.

Quanzhen refers to the way of merging the heart-mind with heaven. Spirit does not depart; qi does not scatter; and vital essence does not leak. When these three are intact, the Five Phases assemble and the Four Symbols are harmonized. This is *quanzhen*.

Constantly practice the teachings of the Patriarch [Wang Chongyang]. Daily apply (*riyong* 日用) the heart-mind of Lord Lao. Through refinement, innate nature resembles Perfection. How can this not be *quanzhen*? (8b–9a)

Both of these passages suggest that the training regimens advocated in the early Quanzhen movement centered on transformative techniques. It is through constant practice, daily application, and self-refinement that the condition of “complete perfection” is actualized. In this condition, innate nature, associated with the heart-mind, consciousness, and spirit, becomes perfected. For the early adepts, Quanzhen was the path towards spirit immortality, the Way of Complete Perfection.¹⁷

DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS

In terms of its historical importance, both within the Daoist tradition and within Chinese history, Quanzhen is one of the least understood and most misrepresented movements. Often dismissed as “bastardized Buddhism” or “political patsy,” especially in its contemporary Longmen (Dragon Gate) branch, early Quanzhen is, in fact, a sophisticated Daoist religious movement with a nuanced understanding of the human condition and the path of self-cultivation and transformation. In addition, although it is not the primary purpose of the present study to document or emphasize its socio-political or cultural contributions (see, e.g., Yao T. 1977; 1980, 185–219; Komjathy 2002b), Quanzhen is one of the most significant Daoist movements in Chinese history and in the history of Daoism. While the tendency to elevate the Tianshi 天師 (Celestial Masters) movement and Zhang Daoling 張道陵 remains, including a reification of early (Tianshi-inspired) Daoism as “original,” “orthodox,” or pristine (i.e., “uncontaminated” by Buddhism), one cannot deny the significance of Quanzhen Daoism.

Many accounts of early Quanzhen Daoism, the majority of which are in Chinese and Japanese, attempt to identify the “core” or “nature” of

¹⁷ For an alternative discussion of the meaning of *quanzhen* see Tsui 1991, 37–40. Note that Tsui’s discussion focuses on later textual sources, some of which may or may not be of Quanzhen provenance. Belamide (2002, 31–33) follows Tsui’s study.

this Daoist religious movement. Such studies are concerned with what Quanzhen is in its “essence,” and the resulting interpretations diverge radically. For some, early Quanzhen Daoism was a patriotic movement comprised of Song-dynasty loyalists in resistance to the Jurchens and their Jin dynasty (1115–1234) (see, e.g., Chen M. 1974; cf. Hou 1957–63, vol. 4, pt. 2).¹⁸ Other scholars have seen early Quanzhen as a humanitarian and culture-preserving movement (see, e.g., Yao C. 1966; Nan 1962; Qian 1966; Sun 1981). Much of the impetus for these interpretations comes out of Chinese nationalist agendas and Chinese historico-cultural concerns, and there is a corresponding neglect of the “religious” characteristics of the tradition.

Another major hermeneutical trend in studies of early Quanzhen centers on its “syncretic nature” (see, e.g., Chen Y. 1962 [1941]; Yoshioka 1958–1976; Yao C. 1959; de Rachewiltz 1962; Sun 1968; Boltz 1987).¹⁹ Here emphasis is placed on the movement’s attempts to “harmonize the Three Teachings,” namely, Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism.²⁰ An alternative, but not irreconcilable interpretation identifies early Quanzhen as a “reform” or “revitalization” movement (see, e.g., Kubo 1967; Yao T. 1980; 1995). From this perspective, the early Quanzhen adepts attempted to reform the “decline” of the Daoist tradition by adopting

¹⁸ The Jurchens (Chn.: Nüzhen; Mongl.: Jürched/Jürchid), a people of Tungusic linguistic identity and related to the Manchus of later history, were part of the Mohe (Kor.: Malgal) tribes who once lived along what is now the border between Koryŏ (Korea) and Manchuria. Although earlier foreign groups, nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples from the modern-day regions of Tibet in the west, Mongolia in the north, and Manchuria in the northeast, and related dynasties, from the Toba-Wei (386–535) through the Tangut-Xixia (990–1217) and Khitan-Liao (907–1125) (see Franke and Twitchett 1994; Mote 1999), held various lands inhabited by indigenous “Chinese,” it was the Jurchen-Jin dynasty that ultimately prepared the way for the eventual conquest of the whole of China by the Mongol-Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), the first people to do so, and that literally provided the ancestral qi (“genetic” and cultural blueprint) for the Manchu-Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the only other non-Chinese dynasty to control the entire region known as “China.” For information on this dynasty see Tao 1976; Franke and Twitchett 1994; West and Tillman 1995; Mote 1999. For some Western language attempts at contextualizing Quanzhen in the larger historical and cultural contours of twelfth and thirteenth century China see Yao 1980; 1995; Goossaert 1997.

¹⁹ Some of these scholars go so far as to deny that Quanzhen is a Daoist movement at all. Instead, they argue that it is a new religious movement that should simply be called “Quanzhen” (see Yoshioka 1958–1976, 1.193–94; de Rachewiltz 1962, 12, n. 10).

²⁰ For some critical thoughts on the applicability of “syncretism” to early Quanzhen see Tsui 1991, 28–34. For discussions of the heuristic value of the term see Berling 1980, 9–13; Taylor 1982; Steward and Shaw 1994; Orzech 2002. In other fields of study, the notion of “creolization” has come to replace “syncretism.” See, for example, Korom 2002.

Buddhist-like discipline. The reformist interpretation has also influenced the categorization of early Quanzhen as “new” Daoism (see, e.g., Yao 1980) or “modern” Daoism (see, e.g., Goossaert 1997; Kirkland 1997; 2002).²¹ According to this view, Quanzhen Daoism represents something seemingly without historical precedent and becomes the model for something that is no longer “traditional” or “archaic.” Among these competing claims concerning the “nature” or “essence” of Quanzhen, the supposed “syncretistic” and “reformist” tendencies of this Daoist movement have been most influential and frequently emphasized.

Much of the previous scholarship, of course, involves competing concerns: Chinese politics, Chinese history (social and institutional), as well as Confucian- or Buddhist-centric views of Chinese religions. From my perspective none of the above-mentioned hermeneutical accounts is fully satisfactory. This is based on engagement with more recent scholarship and familiarity with primary source material, what I am here referring to as the “early Quanzhen textual corpus” (i.e., the writings of Wang Chongyang and his first-generation disciples). It is also based on certain theoretical concerns, including distrust of any search for or claims concerning the “nature,” “essence,” or “original teachings” of religious practitioners and communities. In the present study, I am advocating studying early Quanzhen as a twelfth-century Daoist religious movement in terms of its *own* beliefs, practices, goals, and ideals.

Moreover, in place of the search for some elusive “nature” or “essence” of Quanzhen, I would propose two alternative approaches. The first emphasizes “defining characteristics” (primary and secondary), while the second centers on an interpretative framework based on “models.” As the latter is a larger theoretical stance and may be applied to the study of Daoism more generally, I will begin with this.

While it may seem self-evident that “realization of the Dao” or “attunement with the Way” is both the origin and culmination of a Daoist training regimen, one cannot deny that Daoists have developed and advocated different and perhaps competing models for such realization

²¹ The characterization of Quanzhen as “modern” deserves closer scrutiny, as there is roughly seven hundred years between the founding of this Daoist religious movement and what is generally thought of as the “modern period.” In addition, our knowledge of post-Song Daoist traditions is relatively scant. For some additional thoughts on this issue see my review of *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Komjathy 2005).

or attunement. In terms of traditional models of Daoist praxis, one may identify at least the following: (1) quietistic; (2) ritualistic; (3) cosmological; (4) exorcistic; (5) behavioral/ethical; (6) mediumistic/shamanic; (7) dietetical; (8) ascetical; (9) literary/artistic; (10) alchemical; (11) meditative; (12) hermeneutical; (13) medical; (14) mystical; and (15) syncretistic. Many more could be proposed, and these various models can be either individualistic or communal. While such categories may have heuristic value, careful historical study of the Daoist tradition shows that various models and methods were combined and integrated in unique and convincing ways. Some Daoists may have embraced, applied, and developed one particular model, but most Daoist sub-traditions employed and recommended a combination.

For example, available historical information suggests that the early Tianshi 天師 (Celestial Masters) movement, emerging in the late second century C.E. under Zhang Daoling 張道陵, the legendary founder, and his grandson Zhang Lu 張魯, emphasized a cultivation program which combined (at least) the following models: ritualistic, meditative, cosmological, exorcistic, behavioral, dietetical, and medical. The Celestial Masters saw disease as relating to moral transgressions (medical/behavioral/ethical) and to the negative influences of deceased family members (ancestral/communal). The sick were, in turn, sent to so-called “pure chambers” (*jingshi* 靜室), where they meditated on their mistakes and purified themselves (meditative). In the process, a libationer performed a communal rite (ritualistic/exorcistic), after which a confession in the form of a petition was submitted to the Three Bureaus (ritualistic/cosmological). It seems that the early Celestial Masters also emphasized precept adherence (behavioral/ethical) and dietary regimens (dietetical) (see Hendrichke 2000).

The Tianshi religious system stands in contrast to the one advocated by the Tang-dynasty (618–907) Daoist Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647–735) in his *Zuowang lun* 坐忘論 (Discourse on Sitting-in-Forgetfulness; DZ 1036). Here Sima Chengzhen, the twelfth Shangqing 上清 (Highest Clarity) patriarch, recommends a training regimen that utilizes a quietistic model, in combination with meditative, alchemical, hermeneutical, and mystical models. According to the *Zuowang lun*, the Daoist adept should follow a meditation practice (meditative), adapted from Buddhist insight (*vipassāna*) meditation (syncretistic), which also integrates principles from the *Daode jing* and *Zhuangzi* (quietistic/hermeneutical). This involves a stage-based process of self-transformation (alchemical) (see Kohn 1987).

As a thorough and detailed account of these various models is beyond the scope of the present discussion, I will here simply make a few comments on differences between the “quietistic” and “alchemical” models; such considerations are especially relevant as there has been confusion with regard to Quanzhen Daoism (see, e.g., Marsone 2001; Eskildsen 2004). The quietistic model is most clearly expressed in classical Daoism, or the early “inner cultivation lineages” as Harold Roth as referred to this moment in Daoist history. Representative texts include the *Daode jing*, *Zhuangzi*, and “Techniques of the Heart-mind” chapters of the *Guanzi*. The alchemical model is advocated and employed both in early medieval external alchemy traditions and in late medieval internal alchemy lineages. Representative texts of the latter include those associated with the so-called Zhong-Lü textual tradition. In the quietistic model, the adept endeavors to “return to” his or her original nature, which is a manifestation of the Dao. Emphasis is placed on “nonaction” (*wuwei* 無為), “simplicity” (*pu* 朴), and “suchness” (*ziran* 自然). Here death is part of the natural, cosmological process, and the adept accepts his or her death as a dissolution into, a merging with, the cosmos. In the alchemical model, the adept endeavors to perfect or transform his or her nature, which is simultaneously “biological” limitation and the latent spark of Perfection. Emphasis is placed on cultivation, refinement, and transformation. Here death as dissolution is the destiny of the ordinary human being, but the aspiring adept wishes to *transcend* such a given. The alchemist attempts to alchemically-transmute defilements and to actualize a transcendent spirit, which may transcend physical mortality. One aspires to move from ordinary human being to perfected and immortal being.

For some the question of the complementarity or mutual exclusivity of the alchemical model and the quietistic model may seem irrelevant or a mere academic exercise, but this is not the case. Leaving aside the importance of examining the ways in which seemingly competing models were reconciled and modified, the adoption of a particular model *matters* in terms of both Daoist practice and Daoist soteriology. If the principles and methods of the alchemical model are followed, then the Daoist adept must *transform* his or her self. The Daoist practitioner must literally shift ontological conditions, must become a different kind of being. One is no longer merely human (*ren* 人); one becomes immortal (*xian* 仙) or perfected (*zhen* 真). What exactly this means remains open to debate and differs from tradition to tradition, and often from practitioner to practitioner. However, what is clear is that one must

become other than what one is when one begins the alchemical process. This is not the case in the quietistic model. From the beginning, one is “perfect” or “complete.” There is nothing to perfect or complete; one must simply return to one’s original connection with the Dao, one’s original place in the cosmos. That is, the quietistic model emphasizes “decreasing” and “sufficiency.” Here the Daoist adept is not trying to become something else or something more. The upshot is the following: either one learns more, does more, and becomes more, or one unlearns, undoes, and simply is. These are different practice regimens with different outcomes. In the alchemical model, one seeks personal survival and transformation; in the quietistic model, one merges with and disappears into the cosmos.²²

The above discussion is directly applicable to early Quanzhen Daoism and takes us into the second interpretative approach advocated here, namely, identifying “defining characteristics” (primary and secondary) of religious traditions. Drawing upon and responding to more recent scholarship (Boltz 1987; Hachiya 1992; 1998; Eskildsen 1989; 2001; 2004; Zheng 1995; Katz 1999; 2001; Qing et al. 1996; Goossaert 1997; 2001; Marsone 2001),²³ I would identify the following as primary characteristics of the early Quanzhen movement: asceticism, internal alchemy, and mystical experiencing. Here one notes the parallelism with the above-mentioned models. While the early Quanzhen adepts clearly adapted classical Daoist models centering on quietistic and apophatic praxis, including the importance of emptiness and stillness, their primary model of spiritual realization centered on ascetic, alchemical, and mystical praxis. That is, stilling and emptying practices were encompassed by a more inclusive alchemical model.²⁴ Although

²² This discussion helps to clarify the confusion of translating *quanzhen* as “completion of authenticity.” The conception of *zhen* as “authenticity” assumes that the Quanzhen movement placed primary emphasis on a quietistic model, when, in fact, quietistic practices were incorporated into a larger alchemical system aimed at “perfection.” If all one is trying to do is to become “authentic,” what one really is, one would need to *do* very little. This is clearly not the case in early Quanzhen. Note also that the ideal of the quietistic model is usually identified as the “sage” (*shengren* 聖人), the human being who listens to the sonorous patterns of the Dao.

²³ For helpful overviews of scholarship on early Quanzhen Daoism see Yao 1980, 220–40; Eskildsen 1989, 24–37; Goossaert and Katz 2001. See also Belamide 2002, 33–35; Ding 2000; Li 2000.

²⁴ My characterization of early Quanzhen as an alchemical movement receives support from the names of some of the early Quanzhen associations (*hui* 會), including the Yuhua hui 玉華會 (Jade Flower Association) and Jinlian hui 金蓮會 (Gold Lotus Association). According to Wang Chongyang, “The Jade Flower is the ancestor of qi,

there is definitely ambiguity in the tradition, the primary characteristics of early Quanzhen outlined herein parallel other Song-Jin religious movements. In addition to this historical insight, one gains some clarity when one considers Quanzhen views of death and immortality. In the quietistic model, death is disappearance into the cosmos, an absorption into the Dao as cosmological process. Here one is not an “immortal;” one is a composite human being destined to decompose, both materially and spiritually. In the case of Quanzhen, the goal is to become an immortal, to leave behind the mundane world and join the ranks of celestial immortals or Perfected. This is not accomplished through “recovery” (see Marsone 2001; Eskildsen 2001; 2004), through returning to or just being what one is from the beginning. Instead, early Quanzhen religious praxis involved intensive training regimens centering on a radical stripping down, alchemical transformation, and a shift in ontological condition.

These views will be clarified in the pages which follow. Here I will simply suggest that, when speaking of early Quanzhen Daoism, emphasis should be placed on its ascetic, alchemical, and mystical characteristics as primary. Other, secondary characteristics include communal, altruistic, ritualistic, reformist and “syncretistic” tendencies. However, these are *secondary* characteristics because they are not part of the principal or conscious motivations of Wang Chongyang and the first-generation adepts, at least not until Qiu Changchun 丘長春 assumed national leadership and Quanzhen became a national monastic order. For example, when criticizing other religious movements, the early adepts are most often attempting to show the superiority and efficacy of Quanzhen; they are not trying to “reform” those movements. In terms of adopting and modifying aspects of Buddhism and Confucianism, this often seems haphazard, contextual, or expedient. Inclusivity often leads to increased membership. Moreover, especially with regard to adaptations of Buddhist, Chan 禪 (Zen) or otherwise, views of consciousness and soteriology, the Quanzhen adepts almost always incorporate them into a specifically Daoist set of views, practices, and goals. One also needs to

while the Gold Lotus is the ancestor of spirit. When qi and spirit are bound together, we refer to this as ‘spirit immortality’ (*shenxian*)” (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 10.20a). One of the alternative names for Quanzhen was Jinlian 金蓮 (Gold Lotus) (see *Jinlian ji*, DZ 173; *Jinlian xiangzhuan*, DZ 174). Moreover, I would argue that many of the Daoist names (*daohao* 道號) of the early adepts (e.g., Chongyang, Danyang, Yuyang) point toward alchemical praxis as central (see below).

pay attention to the historical phase of Quanzhen under consideration. Here I am concentrating on the earliest historical phases. If one turns one's attention to the subsequent phases (see, e.g., Yao 1980; Zheng 1995; Goossaert 1997; 2001), other primary characteristics must be recognized. Perhaps most central in the transition from community of renunciants to religious movement to monastic order is professionalization and institutionalization.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study consists of two parts. Part one, "Early Quanzhen in Historical and Comparative Perspective," consists of eight chapters. Chapter one, "Historical Development," and chapter two, "Self, Praxis, Experience," provide the necessary historical, cultural, and theoretical background for subsequent chapters. Chapter one begins with a historical periodization of the Quanzhen tradition, based on six "stages of development," beginning with the "formative phase" and ending with the "modern phase." I offer an overview of the early history of the Quanzhen movement, specifically its formative, incipient organized and organized phases. Emphasizing the life and missionary activity of the founder, Wang Zhe (Chongyang [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170), I concentrate on the emergence of Quanzhen from the religious vision of a solitary ascetic and alchemist through the gathering of a core group of adherents. In its earliest historical phases, Quanzhen was a Daoist religious community comprised of a few renunciants dedicated to religious praxis centering on asceticism, alchemical transformation, and mystical experiencing. Through the endeavors of these committed adherents, the "first-generation disciples," Quanzhen began a process of social transformation from a small-scale religious community to a regional religious movement, composed of formal renunciants and supportive lay communities. This socio-historical moment was succeeded by the transition from regional religious movement to nationwide monastic order, with corresponding increases in membership, patronage, professionalization, and institutionalization.

The major contribution of the present study really begins after the first chapter, most of which summarizes and develops earlier scholarship, but which is nonetheless required for a thorough understanding of the history and defining characteristics of early Quanzhen, especially for those outside the confines of elite specialist discourse. Chapter two discusses theoretical issues that emerge from the comparative study

of religion and from the study of Quanzhen Daoism in particular. I concentrate on philosophical and pragmatic issues relating to views of “self,” religious praxis, and mystical experience. First, I argue that one possible approach is to understand “self” as a heuristic device that refers to the entire spectrum of human experience understood subjectively; “self” refers to psychosomatic processes involving corporeal attributes and sensations (including anatomy and physiology), psychological conditions and responses, and consciousness and mind in a more abstract sense. Next, I discuss dimensions of “religious praxis.” The suggestion is offered that more attention needs to be given to the specific techniques, including the postural (physical/structural) aspects of training, utilized within religious communities. There are specific types of practices, herein referred to as “transformative techniques” and “techniques of transformation”, that are soteriological in intent: they aim to facilitate and initiate a shift in ontological condition from habituated being to realized being. Advanced religious praxis involves a transformative aspiration and a soteriological orientation. Finally, a discussion of “mysticism” and “experience” is presented. After reviewing some salient scholarship in order to clarify dominant interpretative approaches, I suggest that there is a whole spectrum of mystical experiences, and that mysticism involves an “experience” of, “encounter” with, or “consciousness” of that which a given individual or religious community identifies as “sacred”²⁵ or “ultimate.” Such anomalous experiences are, in turn, best understood in terms of ontology and their transformative effects. The interpretive framework developed in this comparative and theoretical chapter is, in turn, applied to dimensions of the early Quanzhen religious system in subsequent chapters. Here it should be mentioned that such theoretical commitments were developed in dialogue with extant Quanzhen materials, which are discussed in Appendix Three: Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus; they are not simply “superimposed onto the data.”

²⁵ The “sacred” refers to that which a given religious community identifies as its “ultimate concern” (see Tillich 1963, 4–5; also Otto 1958 [1917]; Eliade 1987 [1957]). Here the sacred refers to that aspect of reality, often unperceived, which is mysterious and “trans-human.” Although problematic, the “sacred” must be retained as a referent to an ultimately indefinable aspect of the cosmos. Part of “its” reality involves the inability of human language and rationality to encompass it—no definition is adequate. One might go so far as to say that the term “sacred” represents (anticipates) a lived experience.

Chapters three through eight are, then, bound together by an underlying connective tissue: there is a complicated interplay among views of self, specific practices, and related experiences (see Moore 1978, 113; also Kohn 1992, 17–39), and a nuanced understanding of any religious system requires detailed study of these defining characteristics. These chapters provide support for a larger cross-cultural and comparative perspective: every practice or training regimen embodies, quite literally, specific views of self, and the attainment of more advanced states requires these views of self. Moreover, specific techniques may lead to tradition-specific experiences, and the soteriological import of these techniques and their related experiences are directly related to the ultimate concerns of a given religious tradition. Throughout these chapters I give particular attention to the tradition-specific characteristics of Quanzhen religious praxis, including the diversity of techniques advocated and employed and the types of experiences that were expected to result from dedicated training.

Chapters three through eight form pairs and follow a recurring pattern: the first chapter of each pair (chs. 3, 5, & 7) begins with foundational dimensions of the topic under consideration, while the second chapter of each pair (chs. 4, 6 & 8) cover more advanced facets. Chapter three, “Ordinary Human Being,” and chapter four, “Self in Cultivational Context,” cover early Quanzhen views of self. As herein employed, the concept “self” refers to the entire spectrum of human experience understood subjectively; “self” refers to psychosomatic processes involving corporeal attributes and sensations (including anatomy and physiology), psychological conditions and responses, and consciousness and mind in a more abstract sense. That is, “self” encompasses phenomena often designated as “body” and/or “mind” in dualistic conceptions of human being. Chapter three gives particular attention to early Quanzhen views on ordinary human being. On the most basic level, the early Quanzhen adepts identified the ordinary human being, including their own lives before Daoist conversion and training, as characterized by emotional and intellectual turbidity, personal habituation, familial and societal entanglement, and self-disruption. Here the early Quanzhen religious community identified self as decaying corpse. The ordinary human being is following patterns of dissipation and the path toward dissolution. Departing from attention to the existential and ontological limitations of human being, chapter four examines the ways in which the early Quanzhen adepts conceived of self in a cultivational context, that is, in the context of dedication to Quanzhen religious praxis. According to the

early practitioners, there was another possibility beyond disorientation and misalignment. Through dedication to Quanzhen training regimens, one could actualize latent spiritual capacities and become an alchemically-transformed being. Such transformative techniques required and embodied alternative views of self, of human psychosomatic possibility. Self in a Quanzhen cultivational context was an embodiment of the larger cosmos, a locale of numinous phenomena and abilities, and an alchemical vessel. Such views were simultaneously applied in and activated through advanced training regimens. Higher-level practice-realization required the aspiring Quanzhen adept to *embody* something different, to become a different kind of being.

Chapter five, “Foundational Practices,” and chapter six, “Advanced Training Regimens,” provide detailed information on early Quanzhen religious praxis. The early Quanzhen movement advocated complex and integrated training regimens. Such training regimens consisted of practice guidelines as well as specific methods. These methods were intended to lead to a shift in ontological condition, a movement from ordinary and habituated being to perfected and transformed being. Such methods are what I refer to as “transformative techniques” or “techniques of transformation.” Ultimately soteriological in intent, these techniques of transformation, in the case of early Quanzhen, involved self-rectification and alchemical transformation. Chapter five begins with a discussion of the foundational practices advocated and employed in early Quanzhen Daoism. These foundational practices included ethical rectification and purification, seclusion and meditation enclosure, and ascetic commitments. Chapter six moves on to examine more advanced training regimens. Having established a root in foundational Quanzhen practices, forms of training that were not only preliminary but also identified as a continuing necessity, the early adepts engaged in more advanced training regimens. These included *wugeng* training and more intensive meditation. The former involved engaging in religious praxis during the five night-watches, the periods of darkness from 7pm to 5am. The aspiring adept modified conventional sleep patterns to create the space and increase the time for alchemical training. During these intensive training periods, and while residing in meditation enclosures, various transformative techniques were employed. Here meditation was central, specifically the cultivation of clarity and stillness, inner observation, and internal alchemy. While in the early stages of religious praxis these various aspects of Quanzhen training appeared distinct from each other and from daily life, at the higher

stages of spiritual attainment the adept embraced and actualized them as all-inclusive existential approaches. Every aspect of the practitioner's life became the opportunity for alchemical transformation and mystical pervasion. Through advanced training regimens, the early Quanzhen adepts endeavored to complete a process of rarification, alchemical transformation, and self-divinization that would result in a condition of mystical being and mystical experiencing.

Chapter seven, "Mystical Experiences and Numinous Abilities," and chapter eight, "Mystical Being and Mystical Experiencing," examine the types of experiences, abilities, levels of attainment, and ontological conditions that were believed to follow from dedication to Quanzhen training regimens. Chapter seven provides details on early Quanzhen encounters with immortals, the yang-spirits of previous adepts and Daoist Perfected. Many of the early Quanzhen adepts had encounters with immortals, Perfected, and Daoist deities. Such mystical experiences were often triggers for a conversion process, inspiring the early adherents to fully embrace a religious way of life. In addition, encounters with immortals and with the yang-spirits of other adepts, especially Wang Chongyang, were identified as inspiration for greater commitment and as guidance for deeper understanding and practice. Specific kinds of mystical experiences also indicated and confirmed successful training. The early Quanzhen adepts claimed that intensive training regimens would result in the attainment of specific types of experiences. After consistent ascetic and alchemical praxis, one might receive "signs of successful training" and gain numinous abilities. Chapter eight both summarizes and goes beyond the previous chapters. In this final chapter of part one, I provide a summary of the interrelationship among views of self, transformative techniques, and religious experience in early Quanzhen Daoism. Next, more details are given concerning the yang-spirit, the transcendent spirit, actualized through alchemical praxis as well as the specific characteristics of "immortality" or "perfection" in early Quanzhen. The chapter concludes with a larger argument concerning the shift in ontological condition envisioned to follow from intensive Quanzhen religious praxis. This is what I refer to as "mystical being" and "mystical experiencing." I also suggest that Quanzhen Daoism in particular and internal alchemy lineages more generally may represent a previously unrecognized type of mysticism, referred to here as "somatic mysticism." In this respect, one must acknowledge that "mystical praxis" and "mystical experiences" *always* involve the body, whether or not a given mystic, religious tradition or researcher recog-

nizes this, and that many religious traditions emphasize the importance of *embodiment* in mystical praxis.

Part two contains an introduction to and a complete, annotated translation of the *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣 (Perfected Chongyang's Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156; abbr. *Jinguan yusuo jue*). Attributed to the founder Wang Chongyang, this text is one of the most technical discussions of early Quanzhen practice principles, training regimens, and models of attainment. Composed as a series of thirty-two questions and answers exchanged between Wang Chongyang and one or more of his disciples, the topics covered are wide-ranging: from the causes of and cures for various illnesses, through transformative techniques that are soteriological in intent, to discussions of the characteristics and ontological levels of alchemically-transformed and perfected beings. Throughout the pages of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, one encounters a religious community, a teacher and his senior disciples, dedicated to self-cultivation and transformation. Here Wang Chongyang emerges as a teacher whose pedagogical approach involves one-to-one instruction and dialogic clarification. The text documents a teacher focused on the individual needs and experiences of his disciples. In short, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* seems to represent an actual discourse record, based on first-generation disciples' transcriptions and recollections, of instructions given by Wang Chongyang on a variety of occasions and in a variety of contexts. The translation introduction, "Approaching Perfected Chongyang's Instructions," covers issues of dating and authorship and provides a survey of the text's contents. Throughout this introduction, I argue that there is no convincing or conclusive evidence for rejecting the traditional association of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* with Wang Chongyang. In fact, internal evidence suggests that the text was composed during the Song-Jin period, originates in an early Quanzhen context, and more than likely preserves some authentic teachings of Wang Chongyang. This introductory material is followed by my complete, annotated translation of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, which utilizes contemporaneous Quanzhen documents and related internal alchemy works to elucidate the technical aspects. These annotations have benefited from and are indebted to Hachiya Kunio's earlier Japanese study (1972).

The main body of the study is followed by six appendices: (1) Concise Chronology of Early Quanzhen Daoism; (2) Genealogy of Early Quanzhen Daoism; (3) Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus; (4) Chinese Text of *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue*; (5) Towards a Technical

Glossary of Early Quanzhen Daoism; and (6) Comparative Chart of Hachiya's Annotations with the Text Contained in the Daoist Canon (DZ 1156). The discussion of the early textual corpus provides the necessary information on the date, authorship and contents of the works associated with the early Quanzhen religious movement. These texts form the basis on the present study. The technical glossary is an attempt to provide greater access into the technical aspects and contextualized meanings of early Quanzhen cultivation principles and religious praxis. It also sets a necessary foundation for a future anthology of Quanzhen literature, tentatively titled *The Way of Complete Perfection* (Komjathy forthcoming).

PART ONE

EARLY QUANZHEN IN HISTORICAL AND
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

*The winds of Quanzhen rose in the West
and flourished in the East.*¹

Fan Yi 范懌 (fl. 1190)

Drawing upon the work of Russell Kirkland (1997; 2002) and Livia Kohn (1998, 165; 2000b) on periodizing the Daoist tradition more generally, the history of the Quanzhen movement may be divided into six major phases: (1) formative, (2) incipient organized, (3) organized, (4) expansive, (5) resurgent, and (6) modern.² The “formative phase” includes the seclusion and spiritual determination of Wang Zhe 王嘉 (Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170), the founder, and his subsequent attempts to communicate his vision of religious vocation to others. As certain individuals became convinced of its relevance and efficacy, a group of dedicated disciples began forming around Wang Zhe. This marks the beginning of the “incipient organized phase” and included the establishment of meeting halls or associations (*hui* 會/*she* 社/*tang* 堂), sometimes rendered as “congregations” or “assemblies.” Here Quanzhen was, first and foremost, a regional religious community, composed of formal renunciants (*chujia* 出家) and supportive lay communities.

The “organized phase” involved the diffusion of Quanzhen throughout different geographical regions in northern China, especially under the leadership of Ma Yu 馬鈺 (Danyang 丹陽 [Elixir Yang]; 1123–1183),

¹ This statement comes from Fan Yi’s preface to Wang Zhe’s *Quanzhen ji* (Anthology of Complete Perfection; DZ 1153), with Ganhe 甘河 (Shaanxi) being in the West and Ninghai 寧海 (Shandong) being in the East (see below).

² Other phase-based models have been utilized. Yao Tao-chung (1980) employs the following: formation, expansion, and decline. Vincent Goossaert (1997) considers the tradition in terms of formation, institutionalization, consolidation, and expansion. Although there is a hint of “developmental language” in this section and the discussion which follows, such an interpretative framework is used only as a convention. In addition, by referring to contemporary Longmen as “modern Quanzhen,” I am implicitly critiquing the categorization of early Quanzhen as “modern Daoism,” an interpretation employed in Kirkland 1997 and Goossaert 1997.

Wang Chuyi 王處一 (Yuyang 玉陽 [Jade Yang]; 1142–1217), and Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (Changchun 長春 [Perpetual Spring]; 1143–1227); this included both a more inclusive stance concerning the requirement of an “ascetic” or “renunciant orientation”³ and a commitment to establishing and/or inhabiting formal monasteries. That is, at this point there was both a greater recognition of lay participation and a movement toward monasticism. One may say that Quanzhen as an identifiable religious movement, with a distinct sense of religious identity (see Goossaert and Katz 2001; Katz 2001; Kohn and Roth 2002), commences at this point. In the organized phase, Quanzhen leaders and proponents also had increasing contact with imperial households and courts, culminating in Qiu Chuji’s meeting with Chinggis Qan (Genghis Khan; ca. 1162–1227; r. 1206–1227) in 1222 and the Qan’s granting Qiu *de facto* control of the whole of north China’s organized religious communities. This marks the beginning of the “expansive phase,” during which Quanzhen was transformed from semi-autonomous ascetic communities and a form of proto-monasticism into institutionalized monasticism.

Quanzhen continued to gain power and increase in membership during the years of 1222 to 1280, partially due to its attraction as the primary tax-exempt religious institution during the Mongol-Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). Quanzhen monasteries and temples were established throughout northern China and its clerical membership grew, so that by the late thirteenth century there were some 4,000 Quanzhen sacred sites and 20,000 monks and nuns (Goossaert 2001, 114–18). However, under Qubilai Qan (Khubilai Khan; Emperor Shizu 世祖; 1215–1294; r. 1260–1294), a number of anti-*Daoist* edicts were issued, culminating in the burning and destruction of *Daoist* texts, textual collections, and printing blocks in 1281 (see Yao 1980; Zheng 1995; Goossaert 2001). Although devastating at the time, these events did not inhibit Quanzhen’s long-term development as a monastic order. “In fact, it had already gained recognition as an ‘orthodox,’ valuable part of *Taoist* religious tradition, and secured its place in the institutional and ideological construction of *Taoism* as an ascetic order devoted to both individual self-cultivation and communal disciplines” (Goossaert and Katz 2001, 92).

³ By a “renunciant orientation” or “ascetic requirement,” I mean Wang Zhe’s emphasis on abstinence from such things as alcohol and sex and complete dedication to a religious way of life. The place of asceticism in Quanzhen is discussed below.

Quanzhen continued to exist into the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), but its place of supremacy was replaced by the Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity) tradition, associated with the earlier Tianshi 天師 (Celestial Masters) movement (see Chen B. 1985; Qing 1996; DeBruyn 2000).⁴ The period of “resurgence” begins in the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), when the Longmen 龍門 (Dragon Gate) branch of Quanzhen was formally established by Wang Changyue 王常月 (Kunyang 崑陽 [Paradisiacal Yang]; 1622–1680) (see Chen B. 1988; Esposito 1993; 2000; 2001; Qing 1996; Goossaert 2000; 2004).⁵ During the resurgent phase, we encounter such influential figures as Min Yide 閔一得 (Lanyun 懶雲 [Lazy Cloud]; 1758–1836) and Liu Yiming 劉一明 (Wuyuan 悟元 [Awakening to the Origin]; 1734–1821).⁶ The “modern” phase, finally, parallels the end of Chinese imperial rule in 1911 (see Koyanagi 1934; Yoshioka 1979). It includes the near-catastrophic devastation inflicted on the tradition during the Ten Years of Chaos (1966–1976), the so-called Cultural Revolution. However, Quanzhen’s place in the modern world, primarily through the recognition of Longmen by the Chinese Communist government as the official form of organized Daoism in mainland China, has become more stable since the loosening of governmental control since 1978 (see Pas 1989). Quanzhen temples and monasteries are currently being built or restored throughout mainland China (see Hachiya 1990; Li Y. 1993; Lai 2003). In addition, the Longmen tradition, at least in name, has spread to not only Hong Kong and Taiwan (see Tsui 1991; Shiga 2002), but also Canada, England, France, Italy, and the United States (see Komjathy 2003b; 2003c; 2004).⁷

In the present study, and in this chapter specifically, I give particular attention to the first three phases. That is, my primary focus aims at

⁴ On the early Tianshi movement see Stein 1963; Kleeman 1998, 61–85; Bokenkamp 1997, 1–148; Hendrischke 2000.

⁵ Wang Changyue is traditionally regarded as the seventh patriarch of Longmen. The issue of historical continuity, including worldview, techniques, as well as goals and ideals, among early Quanzhen, Qing-dynasty Longmen, and contemporary Longmen has yet to be determined.

⁶ Liu Yiming is well-known in the West through Thomas Cleary’s translations of the various texts contained in Liu’s *Daoshu shier zhong* 道書十二種 (Ten Daoist Texts) (see Komjathy 2003a).

⁷ The most well-known Longmen organizations in the West are Ching Chung Taoist Association (Qingsong guan 青松觀 [Temple of the Azure Pine]), originating in Hong Kong with branches in New York City, San Francisco, Toronto, and Vancouver, and the British Taoist Association (BTA). The latter publishes a quarterly newsletter titled *The Dragon’s Mouth*.

understanding the early Quanzhen tradition during the Jurchen-Jin dynasty (1115–1237), with some reference to events under the Mongol-Yuan (1279–1368). For this, I utilize what I am referring to as the “early textual corpus,” that is, the writings associated with Wang Zhe and his first-generation disciples. A systematic discussion of these texts, including dates, authorship and contents, is presented in Appendix Three: Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus.

FORMATIVE PHASE

The Daoist religious movement⁸ and eventual monastic order⁹ that came to be called Quanzhen originated in the solitary ascetic practice and mystical visions of Wang Zhe 王嘉 (1113–1170; *zi* Zhiming 智明 [Wisdom Illuminated], *hao* Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]).¹⁰ Wang Chongyang was born in the village of Dawei in Xianyang, near Chang’an (present-day Xi’an, Shaanxi). His family consisted of fairly wealthy land-owners, who suffered greatly from the social and economic turmoil that occurred during the Jurchen takeover of Shaanxi in 1131.¹¹

⁸ On the appropriateness of categorizing Quanzhen as “Daoist” see Tsui 1991, 19–34.

⁹ I am following Vincent Goossaert’s distinction between Quanzhen as a religious movement and monastic order. “I define here a ‘movement’ as a distinct religious ideology, faith, and/or textual tradition that transmits itself without a durable organization devoted to that purpose. An ‘order’ is a large-scale organization of religious specialists, with their own resources and normative texts (e.g., rules, liturgies, etc.)” (Goossaert 2001, 113, n. 6; see also Goossaert 1997).

¹⁰ Wang Chongyang’s original given name was Zhongfu 中孚 and his original style name was Yunqing 允卿. Traditionally speaking, Chinese people in general and Daoists in particular have a variety of names, both given and self-selected. These include one’s given surname (*xing* 姓) and personal name (*ming* 名). In addition, one has a “style-name” (*zi* 字), which is usually self-selected. Next, there is one’s secondary style-name (*hao* 號), which is sometimes self-selected and sometimes given. The French *sobriquet* (“nickname”) is sometimes used to refer to style-names. Finally, in the case of religious adherents, a religious name (*faming* 法名/*daohao* 道號) may be given, usually upon formal initiation or ordination and as a sign of lineage standing. In the case of early Complete Perfection, Wang Chongyang often gave his disciples religious names beginning with *chu* 處 (“abiding”) and style-names beginning with *tong* 通 (“pervasive”). Note also the frequent appearance of *yang* 陽 (“bright”) and *chang* 長 (“perpetual”). On the name system utilized in early Quanzhen see Goossaert 1997, 136–46; 2001, 129–32; Marsone 2001, 101–2. Throughout the present study, I will, for the most part and after their initial introductions, use the Daoist religious names of each Quanzhen adept. Thus, Wang Zhe will be referred to as Wang Chongyang, Ma Yu as Ma Dan-yang, Qiu Chuji as Qiu Changchun, and so forth.

¹¹ The early history of Quanzhen Daoism coincides with a time of immense socio-

At this time, Wang was eighteen years old, and one can imagine the psychological trauma that this event may have caused for Wang. Early Quanzhen hagiographies¹² also note that he received a classical education, and that he eventually entered the prefectural academy in Jingzhao (Xianyang) to study for the civil service examinations. It is unclear what degree of success Wang achieved in this pursuit. Between 1138 and 1140, he reoriented his aspirations from officialdom to the military. It seems that Wang was quite serious about military service, as he changed his personal name to Dewei 德威 (Virtuous Majesty) and his style-name to Shixiong 世雄 (Hero of a Generation). Again it is unclear how successful this attempt at military service was.¹³ Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that Wang's early career choices parallel the two avenues open to the Chinese elite under the Jurchen-Jin dynasty, namely, official or military careers. As Pierre Marsone points out, "Wang probably pursued a career in the army, but it is impossible to determine even whether he served the Song or the Jin. Assertions that portray him as a Song patriot are influenced, from the late Qing period [1644–1911] on, by anti-Manchu political positions" (2001, 98).

Most hagiographies tend to ignore the next phase of Wang Chongyang's life. Around the age of thirty, after abandoning his aspirations for

political upheaval in Chinese culture. Different geographical regions were controlled by different political factions, both Chinese and non-Chinese. These peoples and their related dynasties included the Tangut-Xixia (990–1217), Khitan-Liao (907–1125), indigenously Song (Northern: 960–1126; Southern: 1127–1279), Jurchen-Jin (1115–1234), and Mongol-Yuan (1260–1368). The latter was the first non-Chinese dynasty to control of the whole territory known as China. For information on these various dynasties and distinct cultures see especially Franke and Twitchett 1994; Mote 1999. The issue of ethnic composition of Daoism during this historical period has yet to be considered.

¹² On these sources see the discussion under "Hagiographies" in Appendix Three: Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus. There are a variety of sources on the life of Wang Chongyang, including the *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (Record of the Immortal Stream of Ganshui; DZ 973, 1.2b–10a, 10b–14a), *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (Record of the Orthodox Lineage of the Gold Lotus; DZ 173, 2.1a–10a), *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* (Illustrated Biographies of the Orthodox Immortal Stream of the Gold Lotus; DZ 174, 18a–23a), *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* (Comprehensive Mirror of Successive Generations of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embody the Dao, Supplemental Folios; DZ 297, 1.1a–11b), *Qizhen nianpu* (Chronological Account of the Seven Perfected; DZ 175), and *Zhongnan shan Zuting shenxian neizhuan* (Esoteric Biographies of Immortals and Perfected of the Ancestral Hall of the Zhongnan Mountains; DZ 955). The most thorough and historically nuanced account of Wang's life is Hachiya 1992.

¹³ One gazetteer does inform us that Wang obtained a prefectural graduate (*juren* 舉人) degree, after which he gained a minor post in Ganhe township near Chang'an. There he is said to have supervised tax collection on alcoholic beverages (see Shen and Wu 1933).

official and military success, Wang had something resembling a nervous breakdown. It is possible that these events, specifically his lack of success and subsequent disillusionment with dominant models of cultural meaning and participation, planted the seeds for his future religious undertaking. Extant hagiographical accounts gloss over the years of 1143 to 1159 or present them as the beginning of his ascetic discipline. Thus, we know next to nothing about Wang's life from the age of thirty to forty-six, the longest period of his adult years. Nonetheless, it does appear that he lost all hope, sinking deeper into drunkenness and becoming more and more alienated from his family.¹⁴ Wang's erratic and eccentric behavior inspired his acquaintances to refer to him as Haifeng 害風 (Wild and Crazy) or Fengzi 瘋子 (Lunatic) (see *Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.3a; *Jinlian xiangzhuàn*, DZ 174, 18b), a designation which, judging by his poetry, Wang welcomed.¹⁵

The next major event in Wang Chongyang's life according to Quan-zhen hagiographies occurred in 1159. In the summer of that year, at the age of forty-eight, he allegedly encountered one or more supernatural beings, identified variously as "immortals" (*xian* 仙), "unusual



Wang Zhe 王嘉, Master Chongyang 重陽
Source: *Jinlian xiangzhuàn*

¹⁴ At some point, Wang Chongyang married, and it seems that he had at least one daughter and may have had more children as well (see Eskildsen 2004, 205, n. 17).

¹⁵ Interestingly, Ma Danyang, one of Wang's earliest disciples in Shandong, also adopted the nickname of Haifeng. For the translation of *haifeng* as "lunatic" or "crazy" see Hawkes 1981, 155.

people” (*yiren* 異人), or “exceptional people” (*zhiren* 至人), in a tavern in Ganhe township, near Huxian, Shaanxi. The tradition identifies these two supernatural beings as Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 (Zhengyang 正陽 [Aligned Yang]; 2nd c. C.E.?) and Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (Chunyang 純陽 [Purified Yang]; b. 798 C.E.?) (see Chen Y. 1988, 478–79), and the later Quanzhen tradition reveres them as the origin of Wang’s spiritual lineage.¹⁶ Most extant hagiographies identify the divine being as Lü Dongbin (see Eskildsen 2004, 4). Wang Chongyang’s mystical experience was in turn the beginning of a conversion process. Following this experience, he changed his personal name to Zhe 嘉 (Wise), his style-name to Zhiming 智明 (Wisdom Illuminated), and his Daoist name to Chongyang 重陽 (Redoubled Yang) (Yao 1980, 45).¹⁷

About a year later, in 1160, Wang again met an immortal in the town of Liquan, located about twenty miles northwest of Xianyang. The immortal is sometimes again identified as Lü Dongbin, who is said to have transmitted a “secret formula in five sections” (*miyu wupian*

¹⁶ See especially the *Lishi tongjian xupian* (DZ 297), *Jinlian ji* (DZ 173), and *Jinlian xiangzhuo* (DZ 174). Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin were the central figures in the so-called Zhong-Lü textual tradition of internal alchemy (see Baldrian-Hussein 1984; Boltz 1987, especially 139–43; also Pregadio and Skar 2000), and Lü Dongbin became highly venerated throughout all strata of Chinese society during the Song-Jin period (see Baldrian-Hussein 1986; Ang 1993; 1997; Katz 1999). The *Jinlian xiangzhuo* identifies these two figures as two of the so-called Five Patriarchs (*wuzu* 五祖), with the other three being Laozi 老子, Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Sovereign Lord of Eastern Florescence), and Liu Cao 劉操 (Haichan 海蟾 [Oceanic Toad]; fl 1031) (see Boltz 1987, 64; Yao 2000, 579). The deity Donghua dijun was the source of a revelation that Wang Yuyang received at seven years old (*Yuguang ji*, DZ, 3.29a; Marsone 2001, 106), while Liu Haichan was an eleventh-century Zhong-Lü adherent, who later became incorporated into the so-called Nanzong 南宗 (Southern Lineage) of internal alchemy (see Boltz 1987, 173; Skar 2003). In contemporary Longmen liturgy (*gongke* 功課), Laozi is dropped from the Five Patriarchs, while Wang Chongyang is added.

¹⁷ It is interesting to note that Wang Zhe’s Daoist name, Chongyang 重陽 (Redoubled Yang), suggests a connection (spiritual lineage) with Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin. The inclusion of *yang* in Wang’s name echoes the Daoist names of these two venerated figures, Zhengyang 正陽 (Aligned Yang) for Zhongli Quan and Chunyang 純陽 (Purified Yang) for Lü Dongbin. This parallelism recalls the Daoist practice of including a particular character as a signifier of lineage. Wang Chongyang’s Daoist name also contains a number of other layers of meaning. First, it suggests the calendrically important “double-nine day,” the ninth day of the ninth month. Second, it recalls Laozi’s two names mentioned, for example, in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 (Biographies of Spirit Immortals; JHL 89). “Laozi (Master Lao, or the Old Master) had Chong’er 重耳 as his name, Boyang 伯陽 as his style” (Campany 2002, 194). One might also reflect on the fact that Shi Chuhou as Dongyang 洞陽 (Cavernous Yang), Ma Yu as Danyang 丹陽 (Elixir Yang), and Wang Chuyi as Yuyang 玉陽 (Jade Yang) were the only disciples to receive *yang* as part of their Daoist name.

秘語五篇). This oral transmission is recorded in the *Jinlian ji* (Record of the Gold Lotus; DZ 173, 2.2b–3b). It reads as follows:

The first instruction said, “Leap over this land of Qin [Shaanxi]. Drift and travel through Chang’an. Sell the elixir in the marketplaces and towns, or hide your traces in the mountains and forests. Then, after several years like this, you will be able to perceive living beings with open eyes—they eventually end up as lower ghosts, inhuman and wayward. Today I have met you, my disciple. Why don’t you immediately abandon the ocean of the mundane? Courageously awaken from the insubstantial clamor. Enjoy eating vapor in front of the blue ridges, and continue to refine your qi below the pine-covered peaks. Intercede in the transformative process (*zaohua* 造化), and invert yin and yang. Make the arrayed constellations resplendent in the nine cauldrons. Collect the ten thousand transformations inside the single pot. After a thousand dawns of accomplishment being fulfilled, your name will be suspended in the immortal metropolis. After three years of diligent work, you will forever ward off negative influences through the ten thousand *kalpas*. I am afraid that if you undertake this too late, your body will sink beneath the springs.”

The second instruction said, “Do not delight in the insubstantial clamor like holding a jug of wine; restrain yourself each day in the marketplace. When the dragon and tiger become agitated [internal sexual movement], cast icy waves towards them; when the sound of water comes down, the blue dust disperses. As soon as you awaken to the appearances of mundane life, allow your thoughts to go forth without any set plan! One morning, the nine-times reverted divine elixir appears, and we will go to Penglai together.”

The third instruction said, “When the snake and dragon are refined in the pavilion of the beacon fire, the fierce tiger is caught and corralled in the vital essence of Water. Through strong determination, do not speak and recklessly discuss the Dao, chaotically concerning yourself with rival theories about affairs and emotions.”

The fourth instruction said, “Lead is the medicine of mercury; mercury is the vital essence of lead. If you recognize lead and mercury, innate nature will abide and life-destiny will settle.”

The fifth instruction said, “When nine reversions are completed, you will enter Nanjing (Southern Capital). Through deep familiarity, you will go to Peng[lai] and Ying[zhou].”

In 1161, two years after his initial conversion experience, Wang Chongyang abandoned his family and moved to Nanshi villiage, near Ganhe and Huxian.¹⁸ There he dug himself a “grave” that he named “Tomb for

¹⁸ Vincent Goossaert characterizes this decision as “brutal rejection” (2001, 123). While this may have been true from the perspective of his family, for Wang it was a spiritual necessity, having certain resemblances to the life of Śakyāmuni Buddha (the

Reviving the Dead” (*huo siren mu* 活死人墓), often translated as “Tomb of the Living Dead.”¹⁹ This was a mound of dirt several feet high, with a ten-foot high ceiling dug under it (see *Lishi tongjian xupian*, DZ 297, 1.2b). Near the entrance to this underground enclosure Wang placed a plaque which read, “Wang Haifeng” 王害風 (Lunatic Wang) (*Jinlian ji*, DZ 173, 2.3b; see Yao 1980, 46). Wang spent three years in this enclosure, most likely engaging in ascetic practices, practicing internal alchemy, and exchanging poetry with those who came to visit him.

In the autumn of 1163, Wang Chongyang filled in his meditation enclosure and moved to the village of Liujiang, about three miles from Nanshi township. Located in the Zhongnan mountains,²⁰ Liujiang was home to a small eremitic community. There Wang trained with two hermits, He Dejin 和德瑾 (Yuchan 玉蟾 [Jade Toad]; d. 1170) and Li Lingyang 李靈陽 (Lingyang 靈陽 [Numinous Yang]; d. 1189) (see *Jinlian ji*, DZ 173, 2.10a–14a; *Zhongnan neizhuan*, DZ 955, 1.1a–4a). It seems that the three renunciants lived on a small piece of land near a stream, where each had a separate grass hut. Within a year of moving to Liujiang, Wang allegedly had a third mystical encounter. In 1164, while returning to Liujiang from an outing to Ganhe, a man asked Wang for a drink from his liquor pot.²¹ Wang Chongyang complied, after which the still-unidentified man filled the pot with water from a nearby river. Wang drank the water and found that it had been miraculously transformed into the “brew of the immortals” (*xianzhou* 仙酎)

historical Buddha). It should also be mentioned that Wang Chongyang clearly taught sexual abstinence as well as freedom from familial and societal obligations as prerequisites for more advanced Daoist training *for both men and women*.

¹⁹ Here I am following Pierre Marsonne’s translation, taking *huo* as “to revive” rather than “to be alive” (2001, 100). Regarding the more conventional translation of “Tomb of the Living Dead,” Eskildsen has made the interesting comment, “His living inside the burial mound most likely symbolized his resolution to put to death his old, worldly self” (2004, 5). The importance of solitary ascetic training will be covered in subsequent chapters on early Quanzhen training regimens. For some poems by Wang Chongyang on his time in the Tomb for Reviving the Dead see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.10a–13a.

²⁰ The places of Wang’s early life were in close proximity to the Zhongnan mountains, a famous location in Daoist history more generally, where Laozi was believed to have transmitted the *Daode jing* to Yin Xi 尹喜 (see Kohn 1997) and where Louguan 樓觀 (Lookout Tower Monastery), the first Daoist monastery, was established (see Kohn 2003). The Zhongnan mountains would later become home to a number of important Quanzhen sacred sites.

²¹ During this time, Wang Chongyang was said to have carried around a liquor pot and to have been frequently intoxicated.

(*Jinlian ji*, DZ 173, 2.3b–4a; cf. *Qizhen nianpu*, DZ 175, 5b–6a; *Jinlian xiangzhuàn*, DZ 174, 19b). After identifying himself as Liu Cao 劉操 (Haichan 海蟾 [Oceanic Tortoise]; fl. 1030),²² the man, now immortal, suddenly disappeared. Following this event, Wang Chongyang refrained from consuming alcohol.

The veracity of Wang's mystical encounters is open to debate and may be interpreted as a later hagiographical accretion.²³ At the very least, the identification of the supernatural beings by name (Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin, Liu Haichan) seems questionable.²⁴ However, two points must be emphasized. First, whatever the actual events, it was after 1159, the time of his first supposed mystical experience, that Wang Chongyang committed himself to more serious Daoist training and after 1164, the time of his third supposed encounter, that he fortified his resolve to completely dedicate himself to a religious way of life. Second, Wang's major disciples and future leaders of the Quanzhen movement identified specific types of religious experiences as verifications of successful training (see Eskildsen 2001), which are discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

Since Wang Chongyang dedicated himself to solitary ascetic training from at least the age of forty-eight to fifty-four, the following question arises: Did he have any formal training? If so, who were his teachers? Pierre Marsone has suggested a number of possibilities. As noted above, Wang's involvement with the eremitic community at Liujiang created the opportunity for him to commingle with fellow recluses. Although some hagiographies present He Yuchan and Li Lingyang as Wang Chongyang's peers and companions, the *Zhongnan neizhuan* (Esoteric Biographies from Zhongnan; DZ 955, 1.1a; 1.3a) suggests that they had ten years more experience than Wang in Daoist cultivation. In addition, Wang's direct disciples regarded them as "uncle-masters" (*shishu*

²² Liu Haichan is best known as one of the "Five Patriarchs" of the so-called Nanzong (Southern Lineage) of internal alchemy (see Boltz 1987, 173; Pregadio and Skar 2000, 470; Skar 2003).

²³ For critical remarks see Kubo 1967, 87–103; Eskildsen 2001, 145–47; 2004, 4–5; Marsone 2001, 97–100; also Hachiya 1992. Pierre Marsone is perhaps the strongest voice expressing a hyper-critical perspective. For Marsone, Wang's mystical experiences were later fabrications, produced for political purposes by Ma Danyang. "Ma's major contribution to the development of the Quanzhen movement was the introduction of the legend of the immortal's revelation and the cult of Wang Chongyang" (2001, 103).

²⁴ Preliminary research on Wang Chongyang's poetry leads to different conclusions concerning these mystical encounters. Compare Marsone 2001, 98–99 with Eskildsen 2001, 145–47.

師叔) (Marsons 2001, 100; cf. Yao 1980, 65). Thus, He and Li may have provided Wang Chongyang with instruction on Daoist practice. Moreover, based on Wang's extant poetry, specifically his *Quanzhen ji* (Anthology of Complete Perfection; DZ 1153), we know that he had contact with a variety of local Buddhists, Daoists, and Ritual Masters (*fashi* 法師)²⁵ while living in Shaanxi. In the *Quanzhen ji*, Wang mentions a certain Ritual Master Chi 遲 (1.4a; 2.22b), who wrote a commentary on the *Daode jing* (Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power), and Buddhist Master Ren 任, who taught him repentance (*jiangchan* 講懺) and gave him eighteen precepts (*shiba jie* 十八戒) (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.20b, 2.24b; Marsons 2001, 100).²⁶ It remains unclear how influential such acquaintances or mentors were on Wang's later teachings, but such historical details do suggest as much human as divine inspiration on early Quanzhen. It should also be mentioned that Wang gathered his first disciples while living in Liujiang. These were Shi Chuhou 史處厚 (Dongyang 洞陽 [Cavernous Yang]; 1102–1174) and Yan Chuchang 嚴處常 (1111–1183), both of whom are excluded from the standard hagiographies revolving around Wang's main Shandong disciples.²⁷

After spending four years in the eremitic community of Liujiang and engaging in intensive ascetic practice, Wang Chongyang burned down his hut, dancing while he watched it burn to the ground.²⁸ This occurred in the summer of 1167, when Wang was 54 years old. Thereupon, Wang began traveling eastward toward Shandong province. The motivations behind and details concerning this journey are obscure. It may have been as simple as a longing for dedicated disciples. Another possibility is the relative isolation, and thus insulation

²⁵ On the development of new ritual lineages during the Song-Jin period, including the independent ritual masters known as *fashi*, see Davis 1994; 2001; Skar 2000.

²⁶ Here it also seems likely that a certain Perfected Jin 晉, possibly Jin Daocheng 晉道成 (Chongzhen 崇真 [Exalted Perfection]; fl. 1110?) (Eskildsen 2004, 7) who is associated with the *Jin zhenren yulu* (Discourse Record of Perfected Jin; DZ 1056), as well as certain Zhong-Lu texts exerted some influence on both Wang Chongyang and early Quanzhen Daoism. See Appendix 2: Genealogy of Early Quanzhen Daoism, below.

²⁷ It was perhaps this core group of practitioners (He, Li, Shi, and Yan) in the Zhongnan mountains of Shaanxi, standing in contrast to Wang's disciples in Shandong, that adds credence to Judith Boltz's distinction between "western" and "eastern" branches of Quanzhen (1987, 145). We also know that He Dejin and Li Lingyang became residents of Taiping gong 太平宮 (Palace of Great Peace) in the Zhongnan mountains some time after Wang left for Shandong (*Qizhen nianpu*, DZ 175, 9a; *Zhongnan neizhuan*, DZ 955, 1.2a).

²⁸ Hagiographies attribute a prophecy to Wang Chongyang at this time: "There will be someone here to rebuild this hut in three years" (see Yao 1980, 47).

from the socio-political and military upheaval that plagued China at the time, which the Shandong peninsula provided. However, it is not even clear that Wang Chongyang set out for Shandong in particular; Shandong may have just been the final point east on a journey that required about two and one-half months to complete. One hagiography informs us that while *en route* Wang met Xiao Daoxi 蕭道熙 (b. 1157; a.k.a. Han Daoxi 韓道熙), the second patriarch of the Taiyi 太一 (Great Unity) movement, in Weizhou (Henan) (*Jinlian ji*, DZ 173, 2.4b–5a; see also *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 12.9b).²⁹ While this is most likely a later historical addition, it does appear that the later Quanzhen movement formed some alliance with and received influence from Taiyi (see Kubo 1967, 116–18; Hachiya 1992, 75–76). Shortly after arriving in Shandong in 1167, Wang Chongyang converted his first known Shandong disciple. This was Liu Tongwei 劉通微 (Moran 默然 [Silent Suchness]; d. 1196). Liu Tongwei did not continue on with Wang, but instead went west to the Zhongnan mountains (*Zhongnan neizhuan*, DZ 955, 1.4ab), most likely to join the eremitic community at Liujiang; Liu Tongwei would become an important figure in the later Quanzhen movement (see Goossaert 1997, 158).³⁰

While it seems that Wang Chongyang did make some attempts at communicating his religious vision during his residence in Shaanxi,³¹ he attracted most of his dedicated disciples after he moved to Shandong.³² About a month after arriving in Shandong and proceeding to Ninghai (present-day Muping) on the eastern peninsula, Wang visited the estate of a local official named Fan Mingshu 范明叔, who was entertaining a group of guests (*Jinlian xiangzhuan*, DZ 174, 23b–24a; Katz 1999, 70; Eskildsen 2004, 8). There Wang met and attracted the interest of Ma Yu 馬鈺, who would become one of his most influential students. Ma agreed to allow Wang to build a meditation hut on his property. This

²⁹ A variety of new Daoist movements developed during the Song-Jin period. In addition to Quanzhen, the most well-known northern schools are Taiyi 太一 (Great Unity) and Dadao 大道 (Great Dao) (see Yao 1980, 27–40; Qing 1996, 3.2–29; Goossaert 1997, 40–47). On similar developments during the Song and Yuan dynasties see Skar 2000.

³⁰ Like the biographies of He, Li, Shi, and Yan, Liu Tongwei's biography appears in the *Zhongnan neizhuan*. See Appendix Three: Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus.

³¹ From 1113 to 1167, that is, until the age of fifty-four, Wang lived within twenty miles of his original birthplace in Shaanxi province.

³² Because of this fact as well as the subsequent establishment of the Quanzhen movement in Shandong following Wang's arrival in 1167, some scholars choose to date 1167 as the formal beginning of Quanzhen (see Eskildsen 1989, 14–16; Hachiya 1992, 72–94; Katz 1999, 70).

meditation hut was the Quanzhen an 全真庵 (Hermitage of Complete Perfection) (*Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, preface; *Jinlian ji*, DZ 173, 3.5a; *Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.4a).

The name of this hermitage is the earliest usage of the phrase *quanzhen*, and it was within this and similar meditation enclosures (*huandu* 環堵; *huanqiang* 環牆) that Wang and early Quanzhen adepts engaged in ascetic and alchemical training (see Goossaert 1997, 171–219; 2001, 122–29), commonly referred to as “cultivating perfection” (*xiuzhen* 修真) (see below). If the name of this hermitage is the origin of Quanzhen, one may be justified in understanding early Quanzhen as centering on solitary ascetic practice. This is not to say that communal and social interaction did not occur and was not important. The exchange of poetry and the establishment of meeting halls clearly suggest the importance of communal contexts. It is rather to suggest that the core of Wang’s personal practice and his religious vision involved lengthy periods of seclusion and intensive self-cultivation.

Wang lived in the Quanzhen an until the following spring. While spending much of his time in seclusion,³³ Wang also wrote poetry and began attracting disciples. It seems that initially many people were interested in Wang Chongyang, most likely more as a charismatic teacher³⁴ than for his religious vision per se. Many individuals gathered around Wang in Ninghai, but his increasing demands for ascetic discipline and religious commitment, including the requirement of sexual abstinence, alienated many potential adherents.

Because he frequently manifested his divine extraordinariness (*shenyi* 神異), people of the east [Shandong] followed him. He forged and purified those who were authentic and reliable, and excluded and purged those who were hollow and false. Refining them a hundred times, he punished and angrily insulted them. The unworthy fled. (*Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.10b; Chen Y. 1988, 451)

Nonetheless, Wang did convince a small group of dedicated individuals that his religious vision was relevant, efficacious and viable. These were the individuals who would come to exert the greatest influence

³³ From November 14, 1167 to February 20, 1168, Wang Chongyang observed a 100-day retreat.

³⁴ Charisma, a Weberian category used especially in the sociology of religion (see Weber 1993 [1956]), is by no means unproblematic. Although one may find it convenient to refer to “charisma” and the “institutionalization of charisma” when studying religious traditions (see, e.g., Goossaert 2001), the sociologist’s “charisma” (strong personality traits) is the adherent’s numinosity.

on the establishment of Quanzhen as a formal and large-scale religious movement.

While living in the Quanzhen an, Wang Chongyang converted Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (Changchun 長春 [Perpetual Spring]; 1143–1227), Tan Chuduan 譚處端 (Changzhen 長真 [Perpetual Perfection]; 1123–1185), and Wang Chuyi 王處一 (Yuyang 玉陽 [Jade Yang]; 1142–1217).³⁵ In order to become a fully-recognized disciple one had to commit to the life of a renunciant (*chujia* 出家; lit., “leave the family”). Under Wang Chongyang’s influence, Tan Changzhen separated from his wife and all three disciples accepted Wang’s ascetic requirements (*Lishi tongjian xubian*, DZ 297, 2.2a; also *Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.28a–28b).

At this time Wang also had frequent discussions and poetry-exchanges with Ma Danyang 馬丹陽 and Sun Buer 孫不二, Ma’s wife, about sexual abstinence and freedom from familial and societal obligations as prerequisites for more advanced training. Many of the poetry-exchanges between Wang and Ma are included in the *Fenli shihua ji* (Anthology of Ten Conversions through Dividing Pears; DZ 1155). According to the preface to this work, Wang sent poems accompanied with a divided pear (*fenli* 分梨) to Ma and Sun every ten days. The purpose of this gesture was to convince the couple to divorce, with the Chinese phrase “divided pear” also being a pun on *fenli* 分離 (“separation” or “division”) (Yao 1980, 52). According to early Quanzhen practice guidelines, the aspiring adept must separate himself or herself from every possible source of distraction and dissipation. One such distraction was marriage and sexual activity. Although it seems that the inspiration for Ma’s complete religious commitment was a personal dream, wherein Wang Chongyang is said to have manifested his yang-spirit (*yangshen* 陽神) (*Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.5a–5b; *Lishi tongjian xubian*, DZ 297, 1.4a–4b; Yao 1980, 52–53; Eskildsen 2004, 9; see also *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 1.2a), Wang Chongyang and Ma Danyang formed a sustained teacher-student relationship. If Wang’s extant writings are any indication, Ma received the most in-depth training from the founder of Quanzhen. Of the six independent works attributed to Wang Chongyang, three are directly addressed to Ma, while a large amount of the poetry documents their close relationship. Ma Danyang’s central importance in early Quanzhen

³⁵ Wang Yuyang’s time of conversion is ambiguous. Some hagiographies inform us that he became Wang Chongyang’s disciple around the same time as Qiu and Tan, while others suggest that he only studied with Wang Chongyang during the final year of his life (1169).

is also supported by his ascent to leadership following Wang's death. Ma's extant writings may, in turn, bear a closer connection with Wang's teachings than many of those by other early disciples.

Following Ma Danyang's conversion in 1168, after which he separated from Sun Buer and handed over his property to his son, Wang Chongyang took his disciples to the Kunyu 崑嶺 mountains (in eastern Shandong), where they established Yanxia dong 煙霞洞 (Grotto of Misty Vapors) (*Qizhen nianpu*, DZ 175, 8a).³⁶ There Wang, overseeing the religious practice of Ma, Qiu, Tan, and Wang Yuyang, initiated a program of intensive training that included sleep deprivation, exposure to extreme heat and cold, scoldings, and beatings when their diligence faltered. Wang Chongyang also forced them to beg for alms in their hometowns.³⁷ During his six months in the Kunyu mountains, Wang Chongyang also attracted more disciples. One important adept who converted at this time was Hao Datong 郝大通 (Guangning 廣寧 [Expansive Serenity]; 1140–1213), whose elderly mother had just died. Unlike Wang's other early disciples who sought out Wang as their teacher, it appears that Hao Guangning, a well-known Ninghai diviner said to have a certain supernatural quality, was courted by Wang himself (see Yao 1980, 56–57; Reiter 1981; Eskildsen 2004, 210, n. 61).³⁸ Also noteworthy, Wang Yuyang's widowed mother, maiden name Zhou 周, came to Yanxia dong and became a renunciant. Wang Chongyang gave her the personal name Deqing 德清 (Inner Power Purified) and religious name Xuanjing 玄靖 (Mysterious Stillness) (*Jinlian xiangzhuan*, DZ 174, 36a–36b).

About six months later, in the autumn of 1168, Wang Chongyang and his disciples left the Kunyu mountains and began a more formal and sustained ministry in Shandong. In Ninghai, Sun Buer 孫不二 (Qingjing 清靜 [Clear Stillness]; 1119–1183), Ma Danyang's ex-wife, decided to become a fully-recognized disciple (1169), while Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (Changsheng 長生 [Perpetual Life]; 1147–1203) converted in Laizhou

³⁶ Relevant materials relating to the history of Kunyu shan and Quanzhen Daoism may be found in Shandong sheng Wendeng shi zhengxie 2005. On the place of *dong* 洞 (“caverns” or “grottos”) and their related *dongtian* 洞天 (“cavern heavens” or “grotto havens”) in the Daoist tradition see Hahn 1988; 2000; Verellen 1995. The term *dong* eventually became used to designate shrines or temples.

³⁷ On ascetic practice in early Quanzhen see Hawkes 1981; Eskildsen 1989, 38–66; 2004, 39–56; Hachiya 1992, 94–103; Goossaert 1997, 171–219; 2001; below.

³⁸ Hao Guangning is also the only member of the so-called Seven Perfected not to have received his religious names from Wang Chongyang.

(late in 1169).³⁹ During the years of 1168 and 1169, Wang and his disciples established associations throughout Shandong. Through active proselytizing, charitable deeds, and rituals they were able to attract a large number of lay believers and patrons, which Paul Katz estimates numbered in the thousands (1999, 70).

Wang's seven principal Shandong disciples received a variety of group designations within the Quanzhen tradition. The most well-known among these is the Seven Perfected (*qizhen* 七真). Their names and dates are as follows:

1. Ma Yu 馬鈺 (1123–1184), *zi* Xuanbao 玄寶 (Mysterious Treasure), *hao* Danyang 丹陽 (Elixir Yang). Original name: Ma Congyi 馬從義.
2. Tan Chudian 譚處端 (1123–1185), *zi* Tongzheng 通正 (Pervasive Alignment), *hao* Changzhen 長真 (Perpetual Perfection). Original name: Tan Yu 譚玉 (*zi* Baiyu 白玉).
3. Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (1148–1227), *zi* Tongmi 通密 (Pervasive Obscurity), *hao* Changchun 長春 (Perpetual Spring). Original name: Unknown.
4. Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (1147–1203), *zi* Tongmiao 通妙 (Pervasive Subtlety), *hao* Changsheng 長生 (Perpetual Life). Original name: Unknown.
5. Wang Chuyi 王處一 (1142–1217), *zi* Yuyang 玉陽 (Jade Yang), *hao* Sanyang 傘陽 (Enveloping Yang). Original name: Unknown.
6. Hao Datong 郝大通 (1140–1213), *zi* Taigu 太古 (Great Antiquity), *hao* Guangning 廣寧 (Expansive Serenity). Original name: Hao Sheng 郝昇. Sometimes referred to as Hao Lin 郝璘 or Hao Tianran 郝恬然.
7. Sun Buer 孫不二 (1119–1183), *hao* Qingjing 清靜 (Clear Stillness). Original name: Sun Fuchun 孫富春. Sometimes referred to as Sun Yuanzhen 孫瑗禎 or Sun Xiangu 孫仙姑 (Immortal Lady Sun).⁴⁰

³⁹ The first-generation Shandong disciples were of varying ages when they converted: Hao (28), Ma (45), Liu (22), Qiu (19), Sun (50), Tan (44), and Wang (26) (see also Goossaert 1997, 121).

⁴⁰ See also Yao 2000, 569–70; Marsone 2001, 96. Biographical details on Wang's disciples, including personality traits, may be found in the various hagiographies discussed in Appendix Three: Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus. See also Yao 1980, 50–64, 111–50; Boltz 1987; Qing 1996, vol. 3; Goossaert 1997, 67–87; Hachiya 1998; Marsone 2001; Despeux and Kohn 2003, 140–49; Eskildsen 2004, especially 10–13. For information relating specifically to their activities in Shandong and Quanzhen's contributions to regional religiosity see Mou et al. 2005. These works provide information on the circumstances of conversion and Wang's bestowal of names. Eskildsen has commented as follows: "In sum, the 'Seven Realized Ones' [Seven Perfected] varied in their social and economic backgrounds. However, most or all of them had

Pierre Marsone has attempted to trace the development of this conception (2001, 107–10), which I here summarize adding a few comments. The first formal designation is the “Four Worthies” (*sixian* 四賢), which refers to Ma, Tan, Liu, and Qiu. Sometimes alternatively designated as the “Four Immortals” (*sixian* 四仙) or “Four Wise Ones” (*sizhe* 四哲), “Four Worthies” appears in Ma Danyang’s *Shengguang can* (On the Luster of Spiritual Radiance; DZ 1150, 31b) as well as in the first stele inscription of the Quanzhen movement (commissioned by Tan Changzhen) (see Chen Y. 1988, 430), both of which date to 1175. Extant stele inscriptions and information provided in poetry collections dating from 1175 to 1202, mention either the Four Immortals or no such grouping. Thus, during the first thirty years of the Quanzhen movement, it seems that there was no clear formulation of a group of seven disciples. In 1202, after his third visit to the Jin court, Wang Yuyang made an oblique reference to “seven petals of the Gold Lotus” (*qiduo jinlian* 七朵金蓮) (*Yinguang ji*, DZ 1152, 4.4b). A listing of seven principal adepts (including Wang Chongyang and excluding Sun Buer) first appears in a stele erected in 1214, which commemorates Wang Yuyang’s activities at Yuxu guan 玉虛觀 (Monastery of Jade Emptiness; Shengshui). A list of seven disciples including Sun Buer first appears in a stele dating to 1219.⁴¹ Finally, it was not until 1241, with the publication of the *Jinlian ji* (Record of the Gold Lotus; DZ 173), that the Seven Perfected begin to become standardized, but lists even after this time (1255 and 1271) continue to exclude Sun Buer. After 1271, lists without Sun Buer become less and less common (see Despeux and Kohn 2003, 140–49). For Marsone, these historical details suggest that the conception of the Seven Perfected originates with Wang Yuyang and his disciples. “One hypothesis [regarding motivations] may be that Yuyang wished to give his great missionary activity legitimacy and recognition” (Marsone 2001, 109). It may also suggest that there was division within the Quanzhen movement regarding lineage construction and leadership authority.

prior interest or participation in some aspect of Taoist religion—whether philosophy, meditation, mystical experience or the worship of immortals and deities” (2004, 13). Information directly relating to training regimens and related experiences is provided in subsequent chapters of the present study.

⁴¹ It should also be mentioned that Hao, Wang, and Sun are referred to as the “Three Great Adepts” (*sandashi* 三大士) in a stele dating to 1225 (*Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.8a).

INCIPIENT ORGANIZED AND ORGANIZED PHASES

The years from 1167 to 1169, the three years of Wang Chongyang's missionary activities in Shandong, also correspond to the beginning of the incipient organized phase of Quanzhen.⁴² After moving to Shandong in 1167, Wang converted the core group of dedicated disciples who would transform Quanzhen from a small-scale religious community to a regional religious movement. As mentioned, many of these disciples were trained at Yanxia dong in the Kunyu mountains. After an initial period of instruction, Wang and his disciples began a more publicly-oriented religious mission. With the assistance of both formal disciples and lay patrons, Wang's emerging religious movement began to establish meeting halls or associations (*hui* 會/*she* 社/*tang* 堂), sometimes translated as "congregations" or "assemblies."

Five principal early associations were located in northeastern Shandong: Yuhua hui 玉華會 (Association of Jade Flower; Dengzhou), Qibao hui 七寶會 (Association of Seven Treasures; Wendeng), Jinlian hui 金蓮會 (Association of Gold Lotus; Ninghai), Sanguang hui 三光會 (Association of Three Radiances; Fushan), and Pingdeng hui 平等會 (Association of Equal Rank; Laizhou) (*Jinlian ji*, DZ 173, 2.5a; *Lishi tongjian xubian*, DZ 297, 1.5b–6a).⁴³ It is generally unclear who initiated such establishments, how many people participated, what types of activities occurred, and what, if any, lasting influence they had on the later development of Quanzhen as a formal monastic order. As Yao Tao-chung has pointed out, "Since all of these places are in the northern part of Shan-tung peninsula and cover an area approximately two hundred miles long, it is fair to say that at the beginning the Ch'üan-chen sect claimed a rather small sphere of influence" (Yao 1980, 48). However, these meeting halls did provide a communal context for the early Quanzhen adepts, a place for potential adherents to become familiar with Quanzhen views and practices, and an opportunity for lay participation and involvement.

⁴² In this section, I am emphasizing the socio-political and institutional history of early Quanzhen, rather than specific details concerning the lives of the early adepts. Some of this biographical information will be addressed in subsequent chapters.

⁴³ The names of these associations are usually listed in scholarship as including the phrase *sanjiao* 三教 (Three Teachings), e.g., Sanjiao yuhua hui 三教玉華會. However, only one extant list includes *sanjiao* in the designations (*Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.6b–7a). For a list of poems addressed to these various associations see Goossaert 1997, 368–70.

A number of other points should be made concerning these associations. First, although it is generally unknown who established them and how many people participated, we do have some fragmentary information. It seems that the Yuhua hui was established by two lay patrons by the name of Zhang and Shao (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 3.17a; Marsone 2001, 102). In addition, another source informs us that the Pingdeng hui may have had as many as one thousand members (*Lishi tongjian xubian*, DZ 297, 1.6a; Hachiya 1992, 132; Eskildsen 2004, 10). Second, the early Quanzhen associations were lay organizations overseen by Wang Chongyang and his more dedicated disciples. We know that Wang accepted very few full-fledged disciples, as few were ready for his form of extreme renunciation and training.

By establishing these associations, Wang created a context where those with less resolve and fortitude could gain spiritual benefits. The fact that the alternative names of these associations included *sanzhao* (Three Teachings, namely, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism) suggests that Quanzhen's notoriety for "syncretism" may have come more from its popularized form than its internal dynamics. That is, in the context of lay associations, elite members of early Quanzhen seem to have emphasized parallels among the three traditions, especially with regard to basic morality. However, in their own religious praxis, ascetic and alchemical practices played a much stronger role. The associations also were places where communal ritual was carried out and where basic forms of meditation, emphasizing clarity (*qing* 清) and stillness (*jing* 靜), were taught. Finally, while the formation of these associations was at least partially intended to introduce the general population to the Quanzhen beliefs as well as basic ethical and meditation practice, there can be little doubt that these community centers also created patterns of patronage. Such lay patronage and popular support were instrumental in transforming semi-independent Quanzhen renunciants into a clerical and monastic elite.⁴⁴

In late 1169, Wang Chongyang left Shandong and traveled west. He was accompanied by four disciples, namely, Ma Danyang, Tan Changzhen, Liu Changsheng, and Qiu Changchun. While it seems

⁴⁴ For more insights concerning these associations and the place of the so-called Three Teachings in early Quanzhen see Tsui 1991, 28–34; Eskildsen 2004, especially 14–15. The most detailed discussion of Quanzhen associations and their place in the tradition as a whole appears in Goossaert 1997, 354–75.

that Wang intended to establish and disseminate Quanzhen in his native region of Shaanxi, the group took lodging in an inn in Bianliang (present-day Kaifeng, Henan), most likely due to the onset of illness. Wang Chongyang died in Bianliang in 1170, about two months later, and leadership responsibilities were transferred to Ma Danyang. After burying Wang's body in Bianliang, the four disciples honored Wang's request and made their way to Shaanxi. There they met with He Dejin and Li Lingyang, Wang's earlier companions, and Shi Chuhou, Yan Chuchang, and Liu Tongwei, Wang's earlier disciples (*Qizhen nianpu*, DZ 175, 9a–9b). The nine adepts constructed a tomb and small temple (*an* 庵) at the very site in Liujiang village where Wang had burned down his meditation hut. They then retrieved Wang's body from Bianliang and interred it in the Liujiang temple. This temple was known as the Zuting 祖庭 (Ancestral Hall), which was later renamed Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Redoubled Yang) and Lingxu guan 靈虛觀 (Monastery of Numinous Emptiness).⁴⁵ After spending three years in mourning at Zuting, Ma, Tan, Liu, and Qiu parted ways to pursue their own training and missionary work.

Wang's death in 1170 did not have a major impact on the growth and success of the Quanzhen movement in north China.⁴⁶ Formal leadership passed to Ma Danyang, Wang's senior disciple, and all of his first-generation disciples, especially Ma Danyang, Wang Yuyang, and Qiu Changchun, began attracting large numbers of followers.⁴⁷

Due to the efforts of these early figures and their disciples, Quanzhen began the transition from a relatively small religious community to a regional religious movement. Extending its influence beyond the northern part of Shandong, Quanzhen communities and associations

⁴⁵ There are various *zuting* associated with Quanzhen in contemporary Longmen (Dragon Gate). Louguan tai 樓觀臺 (Lookout Tower Monastery; Zhouzhi, Shaanxi) is considered the Ancestral Hall of Daoism, as it is where Laozi is believed to have transmitted the *Daode jing* to Yin Xi. Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Huxian, Shaanxi) is considered the Ancestral Hall of Quanzhen, as it is where Wang Chongyang is buried. Finally, Longmen dong 龍門洞 (Dragon Gate Cavern; near Longxian, Shaanxi) is considered the Ancestral Hall of Longmen, as it is where Qiu Changchun engaged in intensive training. During my visit to Chongyang gong and Longmen dong in June of 2004, both sacred sites were being renovated. Judging from a mural depicting Chongyang gong during the Yuan dynasty, the temple compound was fairly extensive, consisting of many buildings. At the present time, it is inhabited by three to four Longmen monks.

⁴⁶ On the fate of groups after the death of the original charismatic leader see Miller 1991.

⁴⁷ On the Quanzhen patriarchal succession see Appendix Two: Genealogy of Early Quanzhen Daoism.



Ma Yu 馬鈺, Master Danyang 丹陽
Source: *Jinlian xiangzhuan*

became established throughout northern China, from Shaanxi in the west to Shandong in the east, and as far north as Hebei. The late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries thus mark the beginning of the organized phase of Quanzhen history.

By the 1180s, Quanzhen began gaining more formal recognition by the Jurchen-Jin rulers. In 1187, Wang Yuyang, ministering to the needs of Quanzhen communities in Shandong, was summoned to the court of the Jin emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161–1189) (*Qizhen nianpu*, DZ 175, 13a). Qiu Changchun was summoned the following year. Wang and Qiu discussed immortality with the emperor, while also performing healing and funerary rituals on behalf of the Jin court.

Although Wang Yuyang's summons marks the first such event in Quanzhen history, the *Qizhen nianpu* (Chronology of the Seven Perfected; DZ 175) mentions a variety of ritual undertakings, both local and national (see Tsui 1991, 27).

Representatives of the early Quanzhen tradition, from Ma Danyang onwards, were trained in classical Daoist liturgy and performed the two major traditional forms of Daoist ritual, including both “offerings” (*jiào* 醮) and “purgations” (*zhai* 齋). In particular, we know that the Yellow Register Offering (*huanghu jiao* 黃籙醮) as well as rituals of remembrance occupied an important position during the incipient organized and organized phases.⁴⁸ The Yellow Register Offering is a funeral rite intended

⁴⁸ On the place of ritual in early Quanzhen see Eskildsen 1989, 311–412; 2004,



Wang Chuyi 王處一, Master Yuyang 玉陽

Source: *Jinlian xiangzhuan*

to liberate the dead and, in turn, ensure health and prosperity for the living. This attention to the religious needs of the laity, including the incorporation of cultic activity revolving around immortals such as Lü Dongbin (see Katz 1999), may have been one of the reasons for the success of the early Quanzhen movement. Regarding the formal training of early Quanzhen ritual experts, Vincent Goossaert has provided the following comments:

It would appear that during the first generations Quanzhen adepts learned the liturgy with non-Quanzhen Taoists (who are never named precisely in the biographies), and that only at a later stage did the liturgical training take place normally within the larger Quanzhen education. . . . [The stele inscriptions] show that, besides the fundamental Lingbao liturgy, Quanzhen also integrated quickly all the major new exorcistic liturgical traditions of the Song period, such as Tianxin dafa, Wulei fa, etc.⁴⁹ There is ample evidence to prove that Quanzhen masters regularly performed all kinds of rituals, but there is no hint that they did so any differently from other Taoist priests. (Goossaert 2001, 119)

In 1181, three years before his own death, Ma Danyang transferred leadership responsibilities to Qiu Changchun.

171–93; Goossaert 1997, 162–68, 348–54). On Daoist ritual more generally, including the characteristics of *jiao* and *zhai*, see Saso 1972; Lagerwey 1987; Dean 1993; Schipper 1993.

⁴⁹ On these new Song exorcistic lineages see Boltz 1987, especially 23–53; Skar 2000; Davis 2001.



Qiu Chuji 丘處機, Master Changchun 長春
Source: *Jinlian xiangzhuan*

Under the leadership of Qiu, Wang Chongyang's first-generation disciples, their disciples, and lay patrons continued to establish associations and convert large numbers of individuals. It seems that this increase in membership and the corresponding socio-political influence created anxiety among the Jurchen-Jin rulers. In 1190, a proscription against the Quanzhen movement was issued by the Jin emperor Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1190–1208). This proscription was lifted in 1197, when representatives of the Quanzhen movement petitioned and gained imperial recognition for Quanzhen monasteries (*guan* 觀/*gong* 宮). Imperial patronage for the movement was strengthened after Wang Yuyang successfully performed a *jiao*-ritual in 1201 at Taiqing guan 太清觀 (Monastery of Great Clarity; Shanxi), which resulted in the birth of Zhangzong's heir (Guo 1983; Yao 1995, 160; Zheng 1987, 33–47). Two years later, Wang ordained some 1,000 monks and nuns at Taiqing guan.

By 1210, the Mongols began their conquest of the Jurchen-Jin empire, and by 1215 the region north of the Yellow River was under Mongol control. During this time various imperial summons were issued requesting Qiu Changchun's presence at court.⁵⁰ The Jin emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 1213–1224) sent of a summons in 1216, which Qiu declined. Two years later, in 1219, the Song emperor Ningzong 寧宗 (r. 1195–1224) summoned Qiu to the Southern Song court, but Qiu declined again

⁵⁰ Qiu was still living in Shandong, the earliest center of Quanzhen where support was strongest, when these summons were issued.

(Hu 1990; Zheng 1987, 38–39, 51; 1995). As northern China was being overtaken by violence and destruction under the invading Mongols, it seems that Qiu saw the inevitable fall of the Jurchen-Jin and Southern Song dynasties. Qiu's position as central Quanzhen authority was further strengthened after the death of Wang Yuyang in 1217.⁵¹ This resulted in Qiu being the only remaining member of Wang Chongyang's first-generation disciples.

In 1219, the Mongol leader Chinggis Qan (Genghis Khan; ca. 1162–1227; r. 1206–1227) sent his emissary Liu Zhonglu 劉仲錄 (a.k.a. Liu Wen 劉溫; fl. 1219), with an escort of twenty Mongols, to Shandong to visit Qiu. There they presented Qiu with an imperial summons requesting his presence at the Qan's camp in the Hindu Kush (present-day Afghanistan).⁵² Qiu accepted, and in 1220 he set out for Central Asia with nineteen select disciples.⁵³ Among those who accompanied Qiu, there was Li Zhichang 李志常 (Zhenchang 真常 [Perfected Constancy]; 1193–1256) and Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (Qinghe 清和 [Clear Harmony]; 1169–1251), future successor to Qiu as Quanzhen patriarch. Most accounts inform us that the Qan wished to learn “methods of preserving and prolonging life.” However, a major determining factor must have been the organizational strength of Quanzhen in northern China. In addition, Shandong was creating political instability due to regional rebellions (see Franke and Twitchett 1994, 255–57). An alliance, however tenuous, between Quanzhen and the Mongols would have been mutually beneficial—the Mongols would receive support in pacifying northern China and preparing the way for further conquests south of the Changjiang (Yangzi) River, while Quanzhen would receive imperial patronage and political legitimacy (as well as protection from Mongol violence). It also seems likely, as conventional accounts would have one believe, that Qiu and members of Quanzhen had a sincere concern for the plight of the indigenous Chinese population. If Qiu's

⁵¹ The death dates of Wang Chongyang's first-generation disciples is as follows: Shi (d. 1174), Yan (d. 1183), Sun (d. 1183), Ma (d. 1184), Tan (d. 1185), Liu Tongwei (d. 1196), Liu Changsheng (d. 1203), Hao (d. 1213), and Wang (d. 1217).

⁵² This area is referred to as Samarkand in earlier scholarship.

⁵³ The *Xiyou ji* (DZ 1429, 1.1b) mentions nineteen, but in the appendix (5b–6a) to the same text only eighteen names are given. Judith Boltz notes that section 1.22b of the same text informs the reader that one disciple, a certain Zhao Jiugu 趙九古 (a.k.a. Zhao Daojian 趙道堅; Xujing 虚静 [Empty Stillness]; 1163–1221), died *en route* (1987, 315, n. 421). However, Zhao is listed as one of the eighteen disciples, so the identity of the nineteenth, if there were nineteen, remains unknown.

negotiations with the Mongols were successful, much violence, destruction, and death could be averted.

After traveling for some nine months, Qiu Changchun and his entourage arrived in the Hindu Kush in 1221, where they spent the winter. In the following spring, Qiu, several of his disciples, and Mongol envoys departed for Chinggis Qan's camp. They arrived on the fifth day of the fourth month in 1222. Qiu Changchun and Chinggis Qan had four formal meetings, one after Qiu's initial arrival and the next three, postponed due to a local insurrection, five months later, in the ninth month of 1222. It seems that the Qan was pleased with these meetings, as he had Qiu accompany him on an eastward journey. The *Xiyou ji* (Record of Westward Travels; DZ 1429; trl. Waley 1931) and similar works are vague concerning the contents of the discussions, but another text, the *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* (Record of Celebrated Meetings of Mysterious Winds; DZ 176),⁵⁴ presents itself as a transcription of instructions delivered by Qiu to the Qan (see Yao 1980, 133–39; Boltz 1987, 159–60). Based on the information provided in this text, the Quanzhen patriarch provided Chinggis Qan with wide-ranging advice, from guidelines for personal health and well-being to principles for beneficial governing. The Qan showed his appreciation by issuing an edict in 1223 exempting Quanzhen Daoists from taxes and corvée (conscripted) labor. Six months later, Chinggis Qan issued another edict granting Qiu authority over “all of those who left their families.”⁵⁵ This gave Qiu Changchun and the Quanzhen order *de facto* control over all monastic communities, including Chan monasteries, in northern China.⁵⁶ Particularly significant in this respect is the fact that the edict granted authority not only over religious personnel but also over all religious property.

After Qiu's return to northern China in 1223, he was installed as abbot of the newly-restored Tianchang guan 天長觀 (Monastery of

⁵⁴ “Mysterious winds” (*xuanfeng* 玄風) was a designation for Daoism during the Jin and Yuan dynasties.

⁵⁵ The text of these edicts can be found in Chavannes 1904; 1908; Cai 1955.

⁵⁶ The argument cannot be developed here, but it is clear that Chan Buddhism, in terms of organization, practice modalities, and literary genres, exerted major influences on Quanzhen Daoism. A profitable study might compare mature Quanzhen monasticism with that of Chan Buddhism. Important information on the latter may be found in Foulk 1987; 1993. Preliminary work on the Quanzhen side has been done by Vincent Goossaert (1997).

Celestial Perpetuity).⁵⁷ During the last four years of Qiu's life, Quanzhen was transformed from a regional religious movement to a nationwide monastic order, growing enormously in membership.⁵⁸ Qiu continued to follow the pattern established by Wang Chongyang, Ma Danyang, and Wang Yuyang, that is, meeting halls for lay patrons in support of hermitages and monasteries. We know that while residing in Tianchang guan Qiu Changchun was involved in the establishment of eight associations, all affiliated with Tianchang guan. These were as follows: Pingdeng hui 平等會 (Association of Equal Rank), Changchun hui 長春會 (Association of Perpetual Spring), Lingbao hui 靈寶會 (Association of Numinous Treasure), Changsheng hui 長生會 (Association of Perpetual Life), Mingzhen hui 明真會 (Association of Illuminated Perfection), Ping'an hui 平安會 (Association of Peace), Xiaozai hui 消災會 (Association for Dispelling Calamities), and Wanlian hui 萬蓮會 (Association of Ten Thousand Lotuses) (*Xiyou ji*, DZ 1429, 2.16a). While lay patronage and popular support of Quanzhen continued, there can be little debate that the power and privilege afforded to the movement after Qiu Changchun's meeting with Chinggis Qan led to a new phase of expansion.⁵⁹ With the imperial patronage of the Mongol-Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), Quanzhen began a more systematic and coordinated effort at monastic institutionalization.

The early history of Quanzhen monasteries is currently unknown, as is the institutional situation of Daoism in northern China before the emergence of Quanzhen.⁶⁰ However, certain characteristics of early

⁵⁷ Tianchang guan was partially destroyed in 1202. It was subsequently restored and renamed Taiji gong 太極宮 (Palace of the Great Ultimate). After Qiu's death in 1227, the temple was renamed Changchun gong 長春宮 (Palace of Perpetual Spring) and his remains were interred in a hall on the temple's eastern side. This was the original site of Baiyun guan 白雲觀 (White Cloud Monastery). See Koyanagi 1934; Marsone 1999; also Yoshioka 1979.

⁵⁸ Citing Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257), historian of Jin-dynasty literati traditions, Yao Tao-chung suggests that as much as one-fifth of the population in northern China may have been followers of Quanzhen (1995, 154; also Yao 1980, 144).

⁵⁹ Because of his "western travels" and success with Chinggis Qan, Qiu Changchun is probably the most well-known and influential figure in Quanzhen history. He is also recognized as the founder of the contemporary Longmen (Dragon Gate) branch of Quanzhen. For more on Qiu Changchun see Yao 1959b; 1966; Yao 1986; Katz 2001; Marsone 2001; Belamide 2002. For a chronology of Qiu's early life and religious activities see Yao 1959b.

⁶⁰ Based on his extensive analysis of Daoist epigraphy, Vincent Goossaert has suggested that existing twelfth-century institutions, apart from a few state-sponsored monasteries, were controlled by lay organizations such as families and territorial temple associations, which did not maintain formal relations with other similar groups. Access to clerical positions was limited and positions of control in the liturgical system, such as

Quanzhen are well-established. First, asceticism and hermitages, both aspects of proto-monasticism (see Kohn 2003), occupied a central place in the formative and incipient organized phases. We also know that many of Wang Chongyang's first-generation disciples resided in or established formal monasteries. For example, after Wang Chongyang's interment at Liujiang in the Zhongnan mountains (Shaanxi), a tomb and small temple was built on the very site where Wang had earlier engaged in ascetic practices. Originally called Zuting (Ancestral Hall), by the late 1190s this site was a well-established monastic community under the abbacy of Lü Daoan 呂道安 (1142–1221). In 1197, it was renamed Lingxu guan 靈虛觀 (Monastery of Numinous Emptiness) and contained a hall named Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Redoubled Yang) (Goossaert 1997, 70–72). We also know that Qiu Changchun resided for a time at Taixu guan 太虛觀 (Monastery of Great Emptiness; Shandong) and Wang Yuyang at Yuxu guan 玉虛觀 (Monastery of Jade Emptiness; Hebei), where in 1208 they each received a copy of the *Da Jin xuandu baozang* 大金玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis of the Great Jin; a.k.a. Daoist Canon) (see Komjathy 2002b). This honor suggests that by the early thirteenth century Quanzhen was already recognized as part of “orthodox Daoism.” By the time that Qiu Changchun visited the court of Chinggis Qan in the early thirteenth century, Quanzhen monasteries and lay associations were distributed throughout northern China.

It was, nonetheless, fundamentally after this event, under the leadership of Qiu Changchun and his successor, Yin Zhiping,⁶¹ that Quanzhen became a nationwide monastic order. The patronage of northern China's ruling classes, both Han Chinese and non-Han (Khitan, Jurchen, Mongol, and so forth), in combination with the massive support among the local population initiated an upsurge of temple construction and reconstruction throughout the region. During the years from 1221 to

temple managers, were most often hereditary monopolies (Goossaert 2001, 114). The shift from hereditary temples to public monasteries, which occurred in the context of Quanzhen monasticism, parallels similar developments in Buddhism during the Song dynasty. For details on these new patterns of institutionalization in Buddhism see the contributions to *Buddhism in the Sung* (Gregory and Getz 1999).

⁶¹ Following Qiu Changchun's death, the Quanzhen patriarchal succession was as follows: Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (1169–1251), Li Zhichang 李志常 (1193–1256), Zhang Zhijing 張志敬 (1220–1270), Wang Zhitan 王志坦 (1201–1273), and Qi Zhicheng 祁志誠 (1219–1293) (see Appendix 2). Note that each of these monks has the religious name *zhi* 志 (“aspiring”), an indication that they stand in the lineage of Qiu Changchun (see Goossaert 1997; 2001; Marsone 2001).

1260, over seventy-six such projects were recorded in official histories and Daoist texts (Zheng 1987, 114–141; Katz 1999, 72–73).

The order continued to grow in membership throughout the thirteenth century, so that by the middle and later part of the century its geo-political distribution was enormous. In his dissertation “La création du taoïsme moderne: l’ordre Quanzhen” (1997), Vincent Goossaert studied some 480 Quanzhen inscriptions (see Goossaert 1997, 531–557; forthcoming).⁶² According to this study, the Quanzhen order had over four thousand sacred sites by the end of the thirteenth century (Goossaert 1997, 316–321).⁶³ These included palaces (*gong* 宮), monasteries (*guan* 觀), hermitages (*an* 庵), as well as temples (*miao* 廟) to popular deities, among whom Lü Dongbin occupied a prominent place (see Katz 1999; also Baldrian-Hussein 1986; Ang 1993). “Among them, some, probably most, had been built from scratch by Quanzhen clerics; older ones had been converted to Quanzhen sacred sites, either when a resident cleric was converted or when the empty establishment was entrusted to a Quanzhen cleric by the lay community” (Goossaert 2001, 117). Goossaert, in turn, estimates that the size of the Quanzhen clergy was around 20,000.⁶⁴ This was probably lower than both non-Quanzhen Daoists and Buddhist clerics, but was still a large, highly visible, and self-conscious population (*ibid.*). Of the 20,000 members of the Quanzhen clergy, it is probable that between 6,000 and 7,000, about one-third, were nuns (*ibid.*, 118; see Despeux 1990, 111–38; Despeux and Kohn 2003, 151–74). Maintaining such a large clerical population and national monastery system was an unprecedented task in the history of Daoism (Goossaert 2001, 118).⁶⁵

⁶² The chronology of stele erection reveals an intense process of institutionalization that remained constant, except for a major peak in activity during the 1260s, from the 1240s to the 1320s (Goossaert 1997, 11). A number of other patterns deserve mention. In addition to a peak of activity around 1180, ten years after Wang Chongyang’s death, one notices a steady increase of stele erection, which has a direct relationship with the establishment of temples and monasteries as well as increases in patronage (both imperial and local), beginning in the 1220s, the years of Qiu Changchun’s leadership. In addition, almost fifty percent of the steles originate in Shaanxi and Shandong (*ibid.*, 480), the two centers of early Quanzhen Daoism.

⁶³ Goossaert’s dissertation provides in-depth details concerning the activities of Quanzhen monks and nuns within these monasteries.

⁶⁴ The largest monasteries had over one hundred residents, with some of the major Quanzhen monasteries being Yongle gong 永樂宮 (Palace of Eternal Joy) (see Katz 1999), Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Redoubled Yang), and the complexes on Wangwu shan 王屋山 and Louguan tai 樓觀臺 (Goossaert 2001, 117).

⁶⁵ Vincent Goossaert has, in turn, identified a variety of “institution-building mecha-

Some additional details concerning the expansive phase of Quanzhen should be mentioned before moving on. First, under the sponsorship of the local administration of Shanxi, two prominent Quanzhen monks undertook the task of compiling a new Daoist textual collection. Song Defang 宋德方 (1183–1247), a disciple of Liu Changsheng and later of Qiu Changchun, and his student Qin Zhian 秦志安 (1188–1244) established an editorial headquarters at Xuandu guan 玄都觀 (Monastery of the Mysterious Metropolis) in Pingyang (Shanxi). In 1244, this massive editorial project culminated in the engraving of the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis).⁶⁶ This collection was the only such project in history initiated and carried out by an individual Daoist sub-tradition without government sponsorship. The *Xuandu baozang* contained some 7,800 *juan* and was the largest Daoist Canon ever compiled (Liu 1973, 114–15; Boltz 1987a, 6; Komjathy 2002b, 4–5; see also Goossaert 1997, 462–70).

Second, in the middle of the thirteenth century, a controversy developed concerning the infamous Daoist *huahu* 化胡 (“conversion of the barbarians”) theory, which claimed that Laozi, after his western travels, became Śakyāmuni Buddha (the historical Buddha) and created Buddhism as a religion fit for “barbarians” (i.e., non-Chinese people) (see Chen 1964, 184–86; Kohn 1995). The Buddhist monk Fuyu 福裕 (1203–1275) complained to the Mongol court that Quanzhen Daoists had been distributing the *Huahu jing* 化胡經 (Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians) as well as its illustrated counterpart, namely, the *Laozi bashiyi hua tushuo* 老子八十一化圖說 (Illustrated Explanations of the Eighty-one Transformations of Laozi) (see Reiter 1990). In addition, the Buddhists claimed that members of the Quanzhen order

nisms,” one of the most important of which was a formal naming system. In its fully developed form, advocated from the time of Qiu Changchun’s leadership through the end of the Yuan dynasty, almost all names follow a simple rule: the first character in a monk’s name was one of three choices (*zhi* 志, *dao* 道, or *de* 德), while the first character in a nun’s name was also chosen from three possibilities (*miao* 妙, *shou* 守, and *hui* 慧) (see Goossaert 1997, 136–146; 2001, 129–32; also Marsone 2001). Another reason for Quanzhen’s success was its veneration of immortals, including its adoption and development of the cult of immortals, including the veneration of Lü Dongbin (see Katz 1999; also Baldrian-Hussein 1986; Ang 1993).

⁶⁶ According to Liu, the *Xuandu baozang* was compiled using a copy of the earlier *Da jin xuandu baozang* left complete in Guanzhou (1973, 115). However, Boltz suggests that almost all of the copies of this collection are thought to have been lost during the years of Mongol devastation (1987a, 6).

had occupied Buddhist temples and destroyed Buddhist images.⁶⁷ The Mongol government in turn issued an edict in 1255 declaring that printing blocks for these texts should be destroyed and that thirty-seven temples should be returned to the Buddhists. It seems that the Daoists did not satisfactorily comply, so in 1256 a Buddho-Daoist debate was scheduled. However, the Daoists refused to participate. Two Buddho-Daoist debates were then held in 1258 and 1281. Interestingly, unlike the first debate during which the Daoist view was only represented by Quanzhen monks, the Daoist side in the second debate consisted of members of each of the major Daoist sub-traditions. These included the Quanzhen patriarch Qi Zhicheng 祁志誠 (1219–1293), the Celestial Master Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 (1244–1291), and the Dadao patriarch Li Dehe 李德和 (d. 1280).⁶⁸ The Daoists lost both of these debates, which resulted in a series of anti-Daoist edicts by Qubilai Qan (Khubilai Khan; Emperor Shizu 世祖; r. 1260–1294) of the Mongol-Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). This culminated in the burning and destruction of Daoist texts, textual collections, and printing blocks in 1281 (only the *Daode jing* was to be spared), under which much of the *Xuandu baozang* was lost.⁶⁹

Although devastating at the time, it seems that Quanzhen's fall from imperial grace was fairly short-lived. Quanzhen temple construction and restoration continued throughout the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). In addition, the commission and erection of steles remained fairly constant from 1230 through 1350 (Goossaert 1997, 11). Moreover, in 1310 Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 1308–1311) bestowed honorary posthumous titles on major Quanzhen figures (see *Jinlian xiangzhuan*, DZ 174, 3b–10b).⁷⁰

⁶⁷ As the sources on these historical events come from Buddhist polemical texts, the actual situation remains debatable. One of the most important accounts is Xiang Mai's 祥邁 *Zhiyuan bianwei lu* 至元辯僞錄 (T. 2116) (see Qing 1996, 3.216–226).

⁶⁸ On Dadao and similar Daoist movements during the Jin, Song, and Yuan periods see Yao 1980, 27–40; Goossaert 1997, 17–66.

⁶⁹ Scholarly opinion differs on the overall effects of these edicts on the Quanzhen order.

⁷⁰ Information on the honorific titles bestowed by Qubilai Qan in 1269 appear in the same text, section 2a–3b. For some additional and supplemental accounts of early Quanzhen Daoism see Yao 1980; 2000; Eskildsen 1989; 2004; Tsui 1991; Hachiya 1992; 1998; Qing 1996, vol. 3; Goossaert 1997; Katz 1999; Ren 2001, vol. 2; Belamide 2002. See also the contributions to the special issue of the *Journal of Chinese Religions* on Quanzhen (2001).

CHAPTER TWO

SELF, PRAXIS, EXPERIENCE

Early Quanzhen Daoism was a community of religious adherents orienting themselves towards the Dao as sacred and seeking to realize a condition of Complete Perfection. As such, the early Quanzhen adepts embraced and advocated a religious system wherein existential and soteriological concerns were central. This Daoist eremitic community consisting of at least thirteen elite renunciants, the Quanzhen adepts who had fully dedicated themselves to Wang Chongyang's religious model, as well as the subsequent monastic order represent a fundamentally different way of understanding and organizing personal identity and social involvement. They represent a way of life rooted in religious commitments. Intensive religious training involves a radical reorientation in one's life. Committing oneself to ethical rectification, ascetic discipline, poverty, abstinence, seclusion, sustained meditation and so forth, as the early Quanzhen adepts did, also involves a commitment to a different understanding of personhood and the nature of existence. Assuming that one wants to understand such a religious system, one must determine which aspects or attributes deserve careful investigation. The biographical, historical and textual contours of early Quanzhen Daoism point towards religious praxis as primary. But what is religious praxis? Does religious praxis involve specific views of self, and how does religious praxis express and actualize such views of self? Is "self" encountered, constructed or actualized? In what ways do such concerns influence the types of experiences that are expected to follow from dedicated training? In order to answer these and related questions, one must clarify the possible meanings and applications of "self," "praxis," and "experience." In terms of the present discussion, I seek to understand how best to conceptualize personhood, transformative praxis and mystical experience, especially as these categories pertain to religious traditions in general and Quanzhen Daoism in particular. Such theoretical reflection and clarification will then be employed as an interpretative framework to understand the religious system which was early Quanzhen Daoism.

CONSIDERING SELF

Theoretically speaking, conceptions of self are ubiquitous.¹ Every discussion, whether anthropological, historical, philosophical, psychological, or scientific, assumes some conception of self. So, when Varela and his colleagues combine cognitive science and Buddhist mindfulness/awareness meditation (Pali: *vipassana*; Skt.: *vipaśyana*), with its emphasis on the five aggregates (*skandha*) and the emptiness (*śūnyata*) of independent existence (personal identity), to conclude “not only [that] cognition and experience do not appear to have a truly existing self [*anatman*] but also that the habitual belief in such an ego-self, the continual grasping to such a self, is the basis of the origin and continuation of human suffering and habitual patterns” (1993, 80), this too is a conception of self, however experientially sound or soteriologically convincing it may be.² As Gallagher and Shear comment, “[The] variety of responses to the problem of self includes assertions that there is no self; that the idea is a logical, psychological, or grammatical fiction; that the sense of self is properly understood and defined in terms of brain processes; that it is merely a constructed sociological locus, or the center of personal and public narratives, or that it belongs in an ineffable category all its own” (1999, x). These are fundamentally normative issues (i.e., what is “the self” really?).

Reflections and insights concerning self in turn involve some of the most perennial and pragmatically-significant questions. What does it mean to be a human being? (Or alternatively conceived, how did one come to be a human being?) What does personhood, whether a social endowment or condition of self-actualization, entail? Is self body, mind, consciousness, animal, human, divine, or some combination of these or other attributes? Beyond one’s own perceptions and/or social circumstances, is there some *thing* that may be identified as “self”? What capacities, both known and unknown, do I or you as human beings have?

Such considerations could take one in an unending array of theoretic-

¹ Throughout the present discussion, I will use the phrase “self” rather than “the self” in an attempt to avoid the essentialist and reified implications of the latter. For some helpful insights concerning this distinction see Mischell 1977; Toulmin 1977; Strawson 1999.

² Alternatively explained, it is possible to experience oneself as a bare locus of consciousness, but this apparent unity of self is only synchronic (existing momentarily at single, phenomenologically defined, generally short time durations) and not diachronic (existing across time). See Strawson 1999.

cal and methodological directions, from anthropology to zygotes,³ from biofeedback to trans-personal psychology and mysticism studies, from Buddhist soteriology to cognitive science and philosophy of mind.⁴ If one were to shift the focus to historical and cultural issues (see, e.g., Shweder and LeVine 1984; Allen 1997), the *concept* of “self” could be seen as a helpful heuristic device for studying the ways in which individuals/communities understand and represent subjective/communal experiences and experiencing. This is my fundamental point of departure: views of self must be historically and culturally situated. “[Studies of self] need to contextualize specific views of self and to analyze such views in terms of the dynamic, dialectical relations between self and culture” (Allen 1997, xi–xii; see also Deutsch 1993).

Closely associated with this requirement of historical contextualization, one must emphasize that the study of self is also the study of body. With regard to the latter, “the body” is not, as counter-intuitive as it may be, simply an invariable, cross-cultural entity. Although some take the body as a biological given, or assume that this self sitting here is the same kind of self that undertook ascetic discipline and alchemical transformation in the twelfth century, careful analysis reveals something else. Research on the social nature of the body (Feher et al. 1989; Kuriyama 1999) and the radical diversity of conceptions of self/body (Rouner 1992; Kasulis et al. 1993; Bermúdez 1995; Coakley 1997; Gallagher and Shear 1999) suggests that in different cultures and in different religious traditions we are dealing with different bodies and different selves.

The kind of body to which we have been accustomed in scholarly and popular thought alike is typically assumed to be a fixed, material entity

³ A zygote is a fertilized egg with the diploid number of chromosomes formed by the union of the nuclei of male and female gametes. This is, thus, a genetics-based view of self that also may bring in questions relating to genetic engineering.

⁴ Studies of self, including views concerning body, brain, consciousness, and mind, most often proceed along two distinct lines: first-person approaches (from the point of view of the experiencing subject) or third-person approaches (from the point of view of an external observer). An additional approach centers on relational interactions, namely, inter-subjectivity (see Thompson 2001). On the first-person accounts see, for example, Varela and Shear 1999. Both first-person and third-person approaches have deficiencies. In the former, the subject may be mistaken in his or her interpretations of given events, while in the latter subjective experience is often displaced or denied, most often in the name of “science” with its propensity to alienate individuals from their own experiences and innate capacities. On the consequences of the denial of experience by “authorities” see below.

subject to the empirical rules of biological science, existing prior to the mutability and flux of cultural change and diversity and characterized by unchangeable inner necessities. The new body that has begun to be identified can no longer be considered as a brute fact of nature. In the wake of Foucault (e.g. Foucault 1979, 1980), a chorus of critical statements has arisen to the effect that the body is ‘an entirely problematic notion’ (Vernant 1989: 20), that ‘the body has a history’ in that it behaves in new ways at particular historical moments (Bynum 1989: 171), and that the body should be understood not as a constant amidst flux but an epitome of that flux (A. Frank 1991: 40). (Csordas 1993, 1–2; see also Feher 1989, 1.11–13)

The human body is simultaneously cultural construct, historical artifact, experiencing agent, and, for some, soteriological locus. In addition, more reflection and reservation concerning reference to “the body” should probably be exercised. Is *Fragments for a History of the Human Body* (Feher et al. 1989) really a history of “the human body”? Or is “the body” simply a reified entity like “the self”? It seems that such research is the history of specific “bodies” (persons) at specific times. Perhaps there is only myself as *experiencing agent* and *psychosomatic process*, and you as experiencing agent and psychosomatic process.⁵ This is not to deny the horror and violence inflicted on different individuals (specific “bodies”) throughout history (see, e.g., Scarry 1985; Good et al. 1992).

To say that there are different bodies in different cultural and religious contexts is not to deny certain morphological features or anatomical givens (Kasulis et al. 1993, xi); it is, rather, to suggest that departures are as important as convergences. While it may be unproblematic, for instance, to note that the human body is composed of organs, skin, sinews, muscles, bones, blood, and so forth,⁶ the functions and associations of “anatomical and physiological givens” as well as the *metaphors* through which the body and its constituents are understood often differ.⁷ So

⁵ Such considerations may lead to radical doubt concerning “the body” as abiding and integrated entity. This is brought into sharper focus when one realizes that the cells that make up one’s body, and one’s bones themselves, perhaps the seemingly most solid aspect of the body, are completely different every seven years. See, e.g., Mees 1984.

⁶ This “anatomical view” of the body is, on a certain level, based in the Western practice of dissection. The cultural theorist or medical anthropologist is left to wonder if a dead body on a dissection table has any relationship to a living/lived body. That is, does an organ removed from the body tell us anything about the condition/vitality of that same body/person prior to death? On the “divergence” between Western and Chinese medical traditions see Kuriyama 1999.

⁷ On the ways in which metaphors condition perception and consciousness see, for example, Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Deutsche 1993; Jaynes 2000 (1976),

when one sees the body as a “machine,” one may come to believe that “parts” can be removed and (sometimes) replaced without any lasting disruption. However, if one sees the body as a “country” or “universe,” one may recognize the interrelationship and interdependence among its “inhabitants.” It is also possible that philosophical reflection on and body-based practices employing alternative body-self models may reveal and/or actualize other aspects of human being.⁸

The study of self in Asian contexts (see, e.g., Kasulis et al. 1993; Allen 1997; Coakley 1997) begs the question of the relation among “self,” “body,” “consciousness,” and “mind.” There can be little doubt that the idea of a disembodied, metaphysical mind, so often assumed in philosophical contexts indebted to Rene Descartes’ (1596–1650) notion of *res cogitans* (ego-self as “thinking thing”) (see Descartes 1985; Allen 1997, 7–9),⁹ is absent from classical Chinese and Daoist views of self. However, is “self” synonymous with body in Chinese cultural and religious traditions? Expressed differently, when the body dies does personal identity cease? In a Chinese context, this issue relates to further questions concerning death and immortality.

The relationship between Chinese views of self and body is discussed in Roger T. Ames’ contribution to *Self as Body in Asian Theory and Practice* (Kasulis 1993). Ames argues that in classical Chinese philosophy “person” (“self”) is properly regarded as a “psychosomatic process.” According to Ames, Chinese views of self, generally speaking, emphasize “polarism” over “dualism.” “By ‘polarism,’ I am referring to a symbiosis:

48–66. Specific ways of acting (practice) follow from specific ways of perceiving (world-views). Seeing the world as “natural resources,” in contrast to a “sacred vessel,” leads to radical restructuring and exploitative patterns of interaction.

⁸ This insight comes from reading and reflecting on humanistic and trans-personal psychology. See, for example, Wilber et al. 1986; Murphy 1992; Walsh and Vaughan 1993; Andresen and Forman 2000.

⁹ Recently, the concept of “embodiment” has become central in various studies of self (see, e.g., Varela et al. 1993; Csordas 1994). “For Merleau-Ponty, as for us, *embodiment* has this double sense: it encompasses the body as a lived, experiential structure and the body as the context or milieu of cognitive mechanisms” (Varela et al. 1993, xvi; cf. Csordas 1994, 12). However, *embodiment* presupposes some distinction between my “self” (here meant as “conscious subjectivity”) and my body. There is some *thing* which is “embodied.” Thus, the claim that “One escapable fact of human existence is that it is experienced *in* a body” (Law 1995, ix; emphasis added) is by no means clear. Perhaps each human existence is experienced *as* or *through* the body which is oneself. Arguably, the construction of a “divided self” is, psychologically speaking, a pathological condition (see Gallagher and Shear 1999, section 4). This insight may, in turn, justify the claim that unity of mind and body is not to be discovered, but achieved (Kasulis 1993, xx; see also Deutsch 1993).

the unity of two organismic processes which require each other as a necessary condition for being what they are” (Ames 1993, 159), and “When we combine the process ontology of the early Chinese tradition with its polar conception of the psychological [heart-mind/spirit] and physical [body], it would appear that ‘person’ was seen holistically as a psychosomatic process” (163). Ames in turn suggests that there are three senses of “body” in classical Chinese philosophy, as expressed in three technical Chinese terms. First, *shen* 身, possibly a pictograph of the human physique, seems to be used most frequently to refer to one’s entire psychosomatic process. In passages where *shen* as “self” refers to the physical body, it is one’s “lived body” seen from within rather than “body as corpse” seen from without (165). The second character relating to Chinese notions of “body” is *xing* 形, which is the “form” or “shape,” the three-dimensional disposition or configuration of the human process. *Xing*-form has a morphological rather than genetic or schematic nuance (*ibid.*). Finally, a third character designating “body” is *ti* 體, which relates to “physical structure” said to be a “combination of twelve groups” or parts. *Ti*-physical structure relates to the scalp, face, chin, shoulders, spine, abdomen, upper arms, lower arms, hands, thighs, legs, and feet (Kohn 2002 [1991], 74–75; cf. Ames 1993, 168–170).¹⁰ In addition to clarifying Chinese conceptions of body-self, Ames’ study is helpful for revealing that concern over “self” is not foreign to Chinese culture, contra to facile and conventional Feminist or post-modern critiques (see, e.g., Coakley 1997, 1).

Moving on to the Daoist tradition, Livia Kohn has provided one of the most systematic analyses of Daoist views of the body-self.¹¹ In her article “Taoist Visions of the Body” (1991), Kohn identifies three major Daoist views of the body, corresponding to three distinct methods and “intellectual” traditions within Daoism: (1) the body as an administrative system, rooted in the worldview of the *Daode jing* (Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power), and realized in quietistic and medically-oriented

¹⁰ In her article “Taoist Visions of the Body,” Livia Kohn details technical connotations of the terms *shen*-self and *xing*-form in terms of Tang-dynasty (618–907) Daoist mystical literature: “[One] may come to understand *shen* as the ‘personal body’ or the ‘extended self.’ The term in this context obviously implies much more than the physical body . . . The personal body with its afflictions is evaluated critically by the Daoists. *Xing*, on the other hand, the shape one’s body takes in the world, is understood very positively. It is an exact replica of the universe” (Kohn 2002 [1991], 76–77).

¹¹ A number of publications have appeared on the “Daoist body.” These include Schipper 1978; 1993 [1982]; Lévi 1989; Despeux 1994; 1996; Andersen 1995; Saso 1997. See also Needham et al. 1983. The discussions by Despeux, Kohn, and Schipper are the most nuanced and germane.

meditation; (2) the body as the residence of spirits or gods, associated with Shangqing 上清 (Highest Clarity) visualization practices; and (3) the body as immortal universe, a vision developed under the influence of Buddhist insight meditation (Chn.: *guan* 觀; Skt.: *vipāṣyanā*) (Kohn 2002 [1991], 68–69; see also 1993, 161–88). In the following pages, we will have the opportunity to reflect on the extent to which Kohn’s interpretative framework is applicable to the early Quanzhen tradition.

As a final point, some distinction between the psychical and physical aspects of “self” is clearly present in various Daoist sub-traditions. Such a distinction receives sharper focus when one considers Daoist responses to death and the possibility of “immortality” or “transcendence,”¹² specifically in the context of alchemical lineages. In the case of early medieval Daoism, which provided much of the core worldview and concerns for Song-dynasty internal alchemy movements,¹³ we find a hierarchical categorization of types of immortality. The *locus classicus* for such a typology is found in Ge Hong’s 葛洪 (*Baopuzi* 抱朴子 [Master Embracing Simplicity]; 283–343) *Baopuzi neipian* 抱朴子內篇 (Inner Chapters of Master Embracing Simplicity; DZ 1185; trl. Ware 1966).

Superior adepts who rise up in their forms (*xing* 形) and ascend to the Void are called celestial immortals (*tianxian* 天仙). Mid-level adepts who wander among renowned mountains are called terrestrial immortals (*dixian* 地仙). Lesser adepts who first die and then slough off (*xiansi houshui* 先死後蛻) are called corpse-liberated immortals (*shijie xian* 尸解仙). (2.11a; cf. Ware 1966, 47–48; Campany 2002, 75)

There are degrees of substantiality/insubstantiality among levels of attainment (see Campany 2002, 75–80; also 47–60). One reading of “corpse-liberation” (*shijie* 尸解) suggests that it is a lesser form of immortality because it only occurs after death. One’s body must first die before one’s spirit can be liberated. In some sense, then, when immortality is achieved through corpse-liberation one’s death is not consciously directed, unless *shijie* is interpreted as a form of ritualized suicide.¹⁴ Moreover, one of the primary goals of medieval external alchemy was to become a celestial official (*tianguan* 天官), and there was no

¹² For recent discussions of the most appropriate translation of *xian* see Bokenkamp 1997, 21–23; Campany 2002, 4–5.

¹³ On internal alchemy see Needham et al. 1983; Robinet 1995; Pregadio and Skar 2000.

¹⁴ With regard to medieval Daoism, this reading has recently been challenged. For the pioneering discussion of corpse-liberation see Robinet 1979; also Seidel 1987. For more recent revisionist scholarship see Lai 1998; Cedzich 2001; Campany 2002, 52–60.

way around the fact that such inhabitants of Daoist numinous realms were not embodied, at least they did not have the same kind of bodies (earth-bound, fleshy, and substantial) as the aspiring Daoist adept. This reading of corpse-liberation may receive further support when combined with Daoist notions of the Three Death-bringers (*sanshi* 三尸), also designated as the Three Worms (*sanchong* 三蟲). The *sanshi* were not “corpses” in the sense of “cadavers” (i.e., dead bodies), but rather they were “biospiritual parasites” that endeavored to bring about the Daoist adept’s death. In this sense, they were “death-bringers.” This meaning of *shi* 尸 may, in turn, suggest that *shijie*, in certain cases, refers to “liberation from *the* death-bringer,” namely, the human body.¹⁵ The ultimate abandonment of corporeality was a requirement for “immortality.” There were clearly aspects of “self” that were seen as more celestial/ethereal/transcendent (*yang* 陽) in nature and others that were understood as more terrestrial/substantial/prone to decay (*yin* 陰) in nature. The question of how interdependent and mutually supportive the physical and psychical are is germane and central to the subsequent discussion of Quanzhen views of self.

The subsequent discussion focuses primarily on Quanzhen views of self, emphasizing historical, philosophical, and psychological concerns. However, my task is not so simple as saying “historically speaking, Quanzhen adepts understood self as . . .” As I use the term, “self” refers to the entire spectrum of human experience understood subjectively; “self” refers to psychosomatic processes involving corporeal attributes and sensations (including anatomy and physiology), psychological conditions and responses, and consciousness and mind in a more abstract sense.¹⁶ That is, “self” encompasses phenomena often designated as

¹⁵ This is not to deny the historical accuracy and philosophical clarity of Company’s claim that *shijie*, especially in Ge Hong’s writings, most often refers to “escape by means of a simulated corpse” (2002, 52–61). That is, according to Company (and Cedzich 2001, to which Company is indebted), *shijie* usually involves using a corpse-simulacrum or body-impersonator to “trick” the celestial bureaucracy in charge of the registers of death. My claim is much more modest: there are examples from Chinese religious traditions, and specifically within the Daoist tradition itself, that support a distinction between body and spirit. (For textual support see the hagiography on Wang Yuan in Company’s translation of the *Shenxian zhuan* [Biographies of Spirit Immortals; JHL 89] [Company 2002, 259–64, especially 260]). Thus, neither a naïve belief about “Daoism’s high regard for the body” nor an assumed dualism between body and spirit is justified. Each Daoist sub-tradition must be studied in detail to understand the views of self emphasized therein.

¹⁶ For arguments in favor of understanding self as psychosomatic process see Deutsch

“body” or “mind” in dualistic conceptions of human being. It should also be added that my focus on Quanzhen views of self is not simply *my* concern, but was a central concern of early Quanzhen adepts themselves. This will become clear in the pages which follow.

TRANSFORMATIVE PRACTICE

Every enduring religious tradition emphasizes specific training regimens, that is, specific practice-based systems that dedicated adherents practice. In their most comprehensive, integrated, and developed expressions, training regimens are the province of a religious elite. While certain techniques or exercises may be disseminated to and practiced by community members in general (e.g., charitable deeds, prayer, meditation, etc.), a complete religious system is most often reserved for those who have fully embraced a given tradition’s views, goals, and ideals. In terms of training, such commitment is due, first and foremost, to time requirements: one must have a relatively unrestricted schedule, unimpeded by non-religious concerns, in order to learn and practice a religious system in its entirety.¹⁷ Time must be given to instruction, study, and practice. Commenting on contemporary (1970s) Taiwanese Daoist ritual, Michael Saso makes the following point:

The ritual of religious Taoism is esoteric; that is, it is not meant to be directly understood and witnessed by all the faithful. The esoteric meaning of Taoist ritual and magic is concealed from all but the initiated; only after many years of training and a gradual introduction to religious secrets is the disciple deemed worthy of elevation to the rank of master and full knowledge of the esoteric meanings of religious ritual. . . . The expertise of a Taoist priest is judged by several criteria, the first one being his external performance of ritual. . . . The second criterion for judging a Taoist [priest], which determines his rank at ordination, is his knowledge of the esoteric secrets of the religion, including the ability to perform the meditations and breath-control techniques of internal alchemy (*nei-tan*),

1993; Ames 1993. Holistically understood, “self” may not be reduced to body, mind, or ego. Such approaches are forms of reductionism: whether biological, neuroscientific, or behavioral.

¹⁷ Alternatively conceived, a religious adherent seeking higher-levels of attainment must be willing to embrace a completely controlled regimen, one in which all extraneous or mundane concerns are abandoned and in which one solely dedicates oneself to religious practice oriented toward the sacred.

and to recite the classical orthodox lists of spirits' names [*lu*-registers] and apparel and the mantric summons found in the Taoist Canon. (Saso 1978, 325–26; see also Saso 1972)¹⁸

That is, one's degree of training (instruction and practice) depends on one's position within the community and one's dedication to the given tradition. This training in turn most often leads to a different level of practice, even when one is practicing the "same" technique or performing the "same" ritual.

When I speak about "praxis" and "techniques," I mean very particular aspects of religious traditions. This perspective is influenced by both comparative religious studies as well as the study of Daoism in general and Quanzhen in particular. Like religious traditions in general, Quanzhen Daoism utilizes a whole set of technical terminology when discussing religious praxis: *fa* 法 ("method"), *gong* 功 ("exercise"), *lian* 煉/鍊 ("refine"), *shu* 術 ("technique"), *xing* 行 ("practice"), and *xiu* 修 ("cultivate"). As herein employed, "praxis" or "practice" refers to the entire spectrum of religious training regimens, which include specific exercises, methods, practices, and techniques. Praxis or practice means dedication to and proficiency in a specific technical subject or art, a soteriological system in the case of religious traditions. Religious praxis involves tradition-specific methods and tradition-specific goals. "Practice" includes both preparation and proficiency (the common usage) and the embodiment of a given way of life. That is, religious practice is not simply remedial or preparatory; instead, it refers to a complete existential approach and spiritual orientation. Religious praxis in turn involves specific exercises, methods, and techniques. These are both "techniques of transformation," intended to lead to certain "accomplishments," and expressions of different ontological conditions. Such techniques are simultaneously linear and progressive (a forward advance) as well as atemporal and centering (an inward abiding). In Daoist technical usage, the technical terms are relatively synonymous: a *shu* is a *fa* is a *gong*. Nonetheless, I wish to be clear on the meaning as here employed. When practiced soteriologically, techniques or practices are

¹⁸ Saso's research has, of course, been criticized on a number of grounds. See, for example, Strickmann 1980; Bokenkamp 2001. However, if Saso's work is read emicly, that is, as the perspective of a Daoist participant-observer and scholar-practitioner, then many of his insights are still relevant. For additional and alternative discussions of Daoist ritual see Lagerwey 1987; Bell 1988; Andersen 1991; Dean 1993; 2000; Benn 2000.

not “habitual.” They are aspects of religious training with the aim of leading to self-transformation, to a shift in ontological condition.

Thus, religious praxis, in its more advanced and authentic expressions, differs from personal and societal practices in their more enculturated and unquestioned forms. Higher-level religious training involves *awareness and attentiveness*; advanced religious praxis involves a transformative aspiration and a soteriological orientation.¹⁹ This perspective on “practice” differs from the way in which the term is utilized in the social sciences, specifically in anthropology, economics, and sociology. For example, in “Les techniques du corps” (1935), Marcel Mauss explains, “By this expression [body techniques] I mean the ways in which from society to society men [*sic*] know how to use their bodies” (97), and “In group life as a whole there is a kind of education of movements in close order” (120). On a certain level, Mauss is interested in “society” and “societal enculturation.” He is, at least partially, interested in how different human beings come to act in specific socially-conditioned ways. Similarly, in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), Pierre Bourdieu makes the following comment:

The habitus, the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations, produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle, while adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation, as defined by the cognitive and motivating structures making up the habitus. . . . These practices can be accounted for only by relating the objective *structure* defining the social conditions of the production of habitus which engendered them to the conditions in which this habitus is operating, that is, to the *conjuncture* which, short of a radical transformation, represents a particular state of this structure. In practice, it is the habitus, history turned into nature, i.e. denied as such, which accomplishes practically the relating of these two systems of relations, in and through the production of practice. (78, italics in original)

While Bourdieu’s insights are relevant and important concerning social conditioning, they have a certain deficiency with regard to transformative practice. For Bourdieu, “practice” (worldly activity) is habitus (enculturation) reproducing itself through personal agency (self as

¹⁹ In the present discussion, “soteriology” does not simply refer to “salvation,” but also includes “liberation,” “realization,” “transformation” or similar concerns. That is, soteriology refers to the ultimate goal of a given religious adherent or community, the resolution of the ultimate “problem” of human existence as defined within specific traditions.

cultural product). However, this is exactly the opposite of what practice is in higher-level training regimens. Dedicated religious praxis involves a movement from habituation to realization, from egoistic and socially-determined concerns to meta-personal and ultimate concerns.²⁰ Advanced religious praxis is a conscious, dedicated, and sustained orientation towards that which a given individual or community defines as “sacred.” While there can be little doubt that habitus and enculturation (deconditioning leading to reconditioning) plays a major role in certain aspects of religious traditions, more advanced training clearly aims at radical transformation. To reduce such transformative praxis to a different type of societal conditioning is to fail to confront one of the radical challenges of religious traditions.

Generally speaking, the training regimens of religious traditions include and emphasize various aspects of human potential: corporeal, ethical, psychological, energetic, relational, physiological, and so forth. That is, specific aspects of self are activated and cultivated through praxis. I would, in turn, suggest that the study of religious praxis might profitably begin with a typological analysis of the field. One may benefit from classical cartographies (see Eliade 1969, 49–100), comparative models (see Brown 1986) as well as modern formulations (see Murphy 1992, 41–51, 568–75, also 579–86).²¹ Such cartographies of religious praxis express different interpretative approaches: from traditional, practice-based perspectives to contemporary comparative and normative ones. I would emphasize a typology of training regimens based on the kinds of practices involved: (1) Ethical; (2) Purificatory; (3) Meditative; (4) Ascetic; (5) Dietetic and Hygienic; (6) Slumberic (sleep/dream);

²⁰ My reference here to “ultimate concerns” is influenced by Paul Tillich’s discussions of “religion”: “Religion is the state of being grasped by an ultimate concern, a concern which qualifies all other concerns as preliminary and which itself contains the answer to the question of the meaning of life. Therefore this concern is unconditionally serious and shows a willingness to sacrifice any finite concern which is in conflict with it” (Tillich 1963, 4–5).

²¹ Michael Murphy, the co-founder of Esalen Institute, is concerned with “human potential” understood comprehensively and has a generally negative or under-appreciative perspective on religious *tradition*. Under the section “Shortcomings of Transformative Practice” in *The Future of the Body* (1992), Murphy comments, “Several psychotherapeutic, somatic, and martial-arts practices, and most religious disciplines, aim to promote some version of personal wholeness. Few if any, however, cultivate all of our capacities for extraordinary life or address the full range of our greater possibilities” (555). From my perspective, Murphy often presupposes a certain “transpersonal” agenda and often fails to seriously consider the challenges, implicit critiques if you will, that certain religious traditions provide concerning his definitions of “spiritual development.” He is also overly influenced by cultural constructivist views of self (see 160–68).

(7) Alchemical; (8) Respiratory; (9) Gymnastic (broadly understood); and (10) Ritualistic. Some of these overlap, and some place a greater emphasis on consciousness over physicality or vice versa. As will become clear in the discussion which follows, the early Quanzhen adepts advocated and employed most of these types of transformative techniques.

In terms of theoretical and philosophical discussions of religious praxis, specific *techniques*, including the postural (physical/structural) aspects of training, are often ignored or deemphasized. However, this aspect of training regimens is a central characteristic of any religious system. Here I will begin my discussion with “technique” broadly understood and “posture,” that is, the actual alignment and configuration of one’s body, as a larger argument concerning the possibility of technique-related experiences will be put forward here and in proceeding chapters.

Much has been written about a particular technique, namely, meditation,²² but relatively little research has been done on the actual *practice* of spiritual techniques and on the postural or body-based aspect of religious praxis. Most of the research presupposes that meditation is a mind-based technique, with little connection to corporeal alignment. Because of this presupposition, little attention is given to actual techniques; instead, researchers become primarily concerned with “states,” physiological changes, or neurological patterns achieved through meditation. The most notable exceptions to this tendency are studies of Yoga, with its emphasis on posture (see, e.g., Eliade 1969, 53–55; Hewitt 1977, 18–36, 165–364), practitioner presentations of Zen Buddhism (see, e.g., Sekida 1975; Omori Sogen 2002), and modern “body awareness” techniques and movements (see, e.g., Murphy 1992, 386–414; Johnson 1995). It seems to me that without attention to the specifics of technique and importance of posture, one neglects a central feature of any religious discipline. More consideration needs to be given to “technique” and “posture” as well as to the body in its actual physicality. Posture involves the most physical aspects of being human, namely, muscles, bones, joints, sinews, and skin.

Marcel Mauss is one of the only researchers to provide a theoretical discussion of “technique.” In his seminal “Les techniques du corps” (1935; see Mauss 1979, 95–123), Mauss engages in a descriptive ethnology of various types of body techniques, including swimming, walking,

²² One must also be aware of the fact that the English category of “meditation” is so broad as to include quite diverse practices, including visualization, respiratory methods, emptying techniques, incantation (mantra), etc. For some discussions of the term see West 1987; Goleman 1988; Engel 1997, 11; Taylor 1999, 1–3; Andresen 2000.

running, etc.²³ Mauss also notes how most of these practices and postures are culturally defined and socially conditioned.

I call technique an action which is *effective* and *traditional* . . . It has to be *effective* and *traditional*. There is no technique and no transmission in the absence of tradition. This above all is what distinguishes man [*sic*] from the animals: the transmission of his techniques and very probably their oral transmission. . . . In this case all that need be said is quite simply that we are dealing with *techniques of the body*. The body is man's first and most natural instrument. Or more accurately, not to speak of instruments, man's first and most natural technical object, and at the same time technical means, is his body. . . . Before instrumental techniques there is the ensemble of techniques of the body. (1979 [1935], 104; italics in original)

Some of Mauss's claims are, of course, debatable, especially the view that there is "no technique without tradition." Every technique (e.g., Taiji quan 太極拳) has an origin, and many techniques diverge from and often subvert dominant cultural models (e.g., an Indian yogi meditating in a cremation ground or a Vietnamese Buddhist monk performing self-immolation). Nonetheless, Mauss' point is well-taken when considering religious praxis in general; most religious traditions emphasize specific techniques and are based on the transmission and reproduction of those techniques, including the views of self and soteriological goals *that they embody*.²⁴ For Mauss, body techniques have physiological, psychological, and sociological dimensions, and these methods may be more or less habitual and more or less ancient in individual lives and social history. Interestingly, Mauss, drawing on Marcel Granet's studies of Daoist techniques (1929; 1930), concludes his study as follows: "I believe precisely at the bottom of all our mystical states there are body techniques which we have not studied . . . I think that there are necessary biological means of entering into 'communion with God'" (Mauss 1979 [1935], 122). These are what I refer to as "techniques of transformation" based in "subtle anatomy and physiology" (see also Eliade 1969, 47–100; Tart 1969, 3; Murphy 1992, 541–89).

²³ Mauss provides a variety of classifications of body techniques, including sexual division, age factors, degree of efficiency, and educational approaches and requirements. He also considers body techniques in terms of life stages (birth, infancy, adolescence, etc.), sleep, waking, activity/movement (walking, running, dancing, etc.), hygiene, consumption (eating and drinking), and reproduction.

²⁴ Overemphasis, both academically and practically, on "technique" is also dangerous. To reduce religious praxis to techniques or practices is also to neglect essential features or to confuse technique for accomplishment. However, one predominant tendency in contemporary research is overemphasis on "ideas" "thought," and "belief" (i.e., making religious traditions into intellectual traditions).

Moving from “technique” considered more generally to “postures” in particular, Gordon Hewes has studied the “world distribution of postural habits” (1955) and the “anthropology of posture” (1957). From Hewes’ perspective, human body configuration has anatomical and physiological limitations, but the number of significantly different body attitudes is probably around one thousand (1955, 231; 1957, 123).²⁵ One thousand different body postures! In addition to anatomical constraints, Hewes notes that the ways in which humans sit, squat, kneel, or stand are also determined by culture. “Plainly a whole complex of factors—anatomical, physiological, psychological, cultural, environmental, technological, is involved in the evolution of the many different postural habits that the peoples of the earth have assumed” (1957, 128). Hewes also speaks of posture in terms of a number of classifications: sitting, squatting, standing, lying down, all of which he places into a broader category of “static” in contrast to “moving” (Hewes 1957, 123). The issue of classification is a central one, as different types of postures may lead to different kinds of experiences. In his discussion of Yoga postures, Hewitt gives the following tentative list: standing, sitting and kneeling, supine (lying on the back), prone (lying on the stomach), inverted, and balancing. In Chinese, one thinks of the common phrase *xing zhu zuo wo* 行住坐臥, “walking, standing, sitting, and lying down” (see, e.g., *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 17b). Though no typology is fully satisfactory, such attempts help to bring one’s attention to the diversity and specificity of posture and body alignment in various religious traditions.

In terms of religious praxis, the overall configuration of body is clearly seen as soteriologically significant: note the emphasis placed on *mudrā* (sacred hand gestures) in Buddhism and Daoism, for instance (see Mitamura 2002; Ren 2002). The specific postures advocated and practiced have specific functions and consequences as well as express distinct worldviews. Although Mauss, Hewes, and Murphy emphasize the cultural determinism of various techniques and postures, one cannot deny intra-cultural variation, communal diversity, and individual innovation. Historically speaking, the number of individuals and communities dedicated to upright meditation would be (and is) a very small percentage of the overall population. There is a radicalness implicit in postural change, both culturally (one stands out) and soteriologically (one aligns and orients oneself with something else).

²⁵ For some illustrations of these various postures see Hewes 1955, 235; 1957, 124–25. For an overview of research on body-based techniques see Murphy 1992, 160–68.

So why emphasize technique and posture to such an extent? Two primary reasons may be given. First, I believe that *actual physical body postures* (techniques) express very important and distinct aspects of religious praxis and traditions. That is, bodily posture, holding patterns, and movement practices are not arbitrary and/or irrelevant. They tell us something vitally important about the practitioner and community involved. In a symbolic and embodied sense, they express the concerns and priorities of a given tradition. For example, bowing one's head in obedience to God, with hands joined together at heart-level, is very different than sitting upright in a Zen meditation hall. The former expresses a relationship of subordination: the supplicant recognizes God's superiority and his or her dependency on that being's grace and mercy. The placement of the hands also reveals an emotional and spiritual disclosing: the heart opened up to God. In contrast, the posture of *zazen* is one of stability, independence, and immovability, almost to the point of obstinacy. The Zen practitioner is alone in his or her practice and firmly established as the center of the cosmos. A final example from the Daoist tradition is the modified "Burmese" meditation posture, sometimes used in internal alchemy practice. Here the practitioner forms an energetic circuit within the body by linking the fingers and heels, while placing the hands at the level of the navel. The posture is one of cosmological alignment and energetic attunement. Meridians are connected through the configuration of limbs, while the heavens and earth are joined through the crown of the head (heaven in the human cosmos) and perineum region (earth in the human cosmos). Something important is being communicated and embodied through posture.

In an elaboration and application of Hewes' early studies, Felicitas Goodman has researched the connection between specific techniques and specific experiences (see also Emerson 1972; Goodman 1988). This is the second reason for emphasizing technique and posture: specific techniques may lead to specific experiences. In *Where the Spirits Ride the Wind* (1990), Goodman documents her experimental and experiential research on what may be called "postural anthropology."²⁶ By studying ethnographic material on body techniques (carvings, illustrations, etc.), Goodman eventually identified and reconstructed seventy specific postures, which she refers to as "trance induction techniques" (Good-

²⁶ After retirement from Denison University in 1978, Felicitas Goodman established the Cuyamungue Institute near Santa Fe, New Mexico. See <www.ritualbodypostures.com>. This website also contains a bibliography of Goodman's various publications.

man 1990, 16; see also Tart 1969, 3). Through group experimentation in a variety of locations, Goodman and her participants found that specific techniques lead to specific, reproducible experiences. These were not vague, perennialist experiences like “a feeling of oneness” or “mystical unification”; they were, instead, very distinct experiences with detailed visual content (ecstatic visions) that seemed to be related to the culture with which the given technique was associated. That is, there was agreement and consistency in visionary content.

In fact, the conclusion was inescapable: We had rediscovered the ancient art of embarking on a spirit journey. . . . It was now evident that the altered state of consciousness that was induced by the simple rhythmic stimulation of the gourd rattle was indeed the religious trance, for my participants in the experiment had experienced a spirit journey through the agency of this induction method. Not only that . . . we had begun at the same time to rediscover a system of signals to the nervous system, a complex strategy capable of shaping the amorphous trance into a religious experience. Put differently, *guided by hitherto unnoticed traditional body postures, these “subjects” of a social-science experiment had taken the step from the physical change of the trance to the experience of ecstasy; they had passed from the secular to the sacred.* (Goodman 1990, 23; italics in original)

And perhaps more radically,

The archaeological record, by no means complete, of course demonstrates that a particular posture will appear at a certain point in time and space, and then unaccountably will spread to [or appear in] other regions as well. This process behaves very much like morphic fields [see Sheldrake 1988]. When a posture dies, that is, is no longer performed as part of a particular ritual, it does not simply go away. If the conditions are right, as when we began combining the physiological arousal of the trance with a particular way to tune the body in posture, the entire behavioral and experiential complex reappears. (218)

According to Goodman’s (admittedly preliminary and controversial) research, each technique and its distinct posture place the practitioner in relation to and alignment with distinct sacred realities. The adept becomes immersed in a “morphic field” (qi-pattern, if you will) that activates a specific experience, an experience that re-members the lives of previous and contemporaneous adepts.²⁷

²⁷ For Goodman’s critique of constructivist and cultural-deterministic explanations of her experiments see Goodman 1990, 218–19. For a counter-critique see Sharf 1998, 112–13.

MYSTICISM AND EXPERIENCE

As herein employed, *mysticism* involves an “experience” of, “encounter” with, or “consciousness” of that which a given individual or religious community identifies as “sacred”²⁸ or “ultimate.”²⁹ In short, mysticism involves experience of a trans-human reality, an interaction between an individual and/or communal subject and a sacred dimension. Mysticism centers on sacrality and ultimacy. Such a “definition” suggests a beginning point (an anxiety-causing and intellectually-intimidating condition for many) that cannot be denied: *There is no mysticism without the possibility of some “thing” more significant than human beings.*³⁰ Mysticism is meaningless without the presupposition of, belief in, or transformation through a “reality” or “dimension” that is more meaningful or enduring than ordinary human existence.³¹ A larger consequence of this suggestion is that *the study of mysticism* cannot be reduced to “states of mind” or “problems of knowing.” Theological and soteriological issues are central in the study of mysticism,³² and these concerns are

²⁸ The “sacred” refers to that which a given religious community identifies as its “ultimate concern” (see Tillich 1963, 4–5; also Otto 1958 [1917]; Eliade 1987 [1957]). Here the sacred refers to that aspect of reality, often unperceived, which is mysterious and “trans-human.” Although problematic, the “sacred” must be retained as a referent to an ultimately indefinable aspect of the cosmos. Part of “its” reality involves the inability of human language and rationality to encompass it—no definition is adequate. One might go so far as to say that the term “sacred” represents (anticipates) a lived experience.

²⁹ The prepositional phrase “of” is being used conventionally here. It includes the possibility of “with,” “in,” “as,” and/or “through.” For some insights into the history of the term of “mysticism” see Bouyer 1980; de Certeau 1964; Dupré 1987. For some alternative attempts to define “mysticism” and/or “mystical experience” see Brainard 1996; 2000, 49–68; Ellwood 1999, 36–39; Forman 1990; 1999, 1–8.

³⁰ This “definition” does not exclude the realization that the human being contains the divine and/or is God. What it does suggest is that without some distinction, “mystical experiences” are not any more significant than any shift in consciousness or cultural phenomenon.

³¹ My views on “religion” are indebted to James, Otto, Eliade, and Tillich. To use James’ phrase (1999 [1902], 552), mysticism involves a “more.” What exactly this “more” (i.e., the sacred or divine) is varies depending on the individual practitioner and/or religious community under consideration. It is exactly at this point in the discourse where a fissure occurs: hyper-materialist and ultra-rationalist interpreters deny the meaningfulness or relevance of sacrality, while theologians and mystics identify a relationship, alignment or unification with the sacred as the primary concern of human being.

³² I use the term “theology” in the more inclusive sense of “discourse on the sacred.” That is, as herein employed, “theology” does not simply relate to traditions centering on a thearch.

also implicit in any conception of consciousness. One may choose to neglect these issues, but by doing so one is also failing to provide an accurate account of a given mystic or mystical system.

Recent discussions of mysticism have been dominated by two interpretative approaches, both of which have advantages and limitations.³³ While the answers to the proposed problem differ, the primary concern of these accounts centers on two defining criteria: mystical experiences and the nature of the human mind are closely related, and understanding mystical experiences must center on epistemological issues (“knowing”).

The first and probably most influential approach to mysticism is referred to as Contextualism. As the name implies, Contextualism emphasizes the importance of context for understanding any mystic or mystical system. In its nascent form, a Contextualist approach to mysticism was advocated by Gershom Scholem in his *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (1995 [1941]):

The point I should like to make is this—that there is no such thing as mysticism in the abstract, that is to say, a phenomenon or experience which has no particular relation to other religious phenomena. There is no mysticism as such, there is only the mysticism of a particular religious system, Christian, Islamic, Jewish mysticism and so on. . . . History rather shows that the great mystics were faithful adherents of the great religions. (5–6; see also Scholem 1965; 1967)

Experiences and phenomena defined as “mystical” do not occur and cannot be understood outside of a given religious tradition.³⁴ As

³³ In a valuable and intellectually-clarifying appendix to *The Foundations of Mysticism* (1991), Bernard McGinn summarizes modern research on mysticism (265–343). McGinn identifies three possible approaches to the study of mysticism, including theological approaches, philosophical approaches, as well as comparativist and psychological approaches. The study of mysticism has been and continues to be dominated by philosophical approaches. Although McGinn has reservations about psychological and neuroscientific accounts of mysticism, he does support a larger interdisciplinary conversation: “The stand-off between empiricism and transempirical epistemology is as strong now as it was at the beginning of the [twentieth] century. Even those, like myself, who are convinced that a purely empirical reading of mystical texts from a reductive psychological perspective has only an ambiguous contribution to make to the present study of mysticism, cannot but be troubled by the lack of conversation between psychological investigators and those involved in studying the history and theory of mystical traditions. Both sides seem equally at fault in this unrealized conversation” (343). The same can be said regarding the exclusion of theological and soteriological questions.

³⁴ This perspective, of course, contradicts claims by members of New Age discourse communities, who believe that they have access to some trans-historical, perennial, and

Scholem's pioneering and still-standard account of Jewish mysticism reveals, there are complex doctrinal and historical factors that, at least partially, determine a given mystic's experiences as well as the recognized significance of such events.

The Contextualist approach became more fully developed by Steven Katz and his colleagues and is most well-known through two volumes edited by Katz (1978; 1983; see also Katz 1992; 2000; Berger and Luckmann 1966; Berger 1967). Throughout these volumes, emphasis is placed on the socio-cultural and religio-historical aspects of mystical experiences, specifically the diverse and alterior forms of mysticism as expressions of *different religious traditions with different conceptions of the sacred*. However, Contextualism, which is also referred as a Constructivism due to this point, *assumes* a very specific view of human consciousness:

There are NO pure (i.e. unmediated) experiences. Neither mystical experience nor more ordinary forms of experience give any indication, or any grounds for believing, that they are unmediated. That is to say, *all* experience is processed through, organized by, and makes itself available to us in extremely complex epistemological ways. The notion of unmediated experience seems, if not self-contradictory, at best empty. . . . The significance of these considerations is that forms of consciousness which the mystic brings to experience set structured and limiting parameters on what the experience will be, i.e. on what will be experienced, and rule out in advance what is 'inexperienceable' in the particular given, concrete, context. (Katz 1978b, 26–27, italics in original; see also Gimello 1984; Gill 1984)

Claiming parallelism between ordinary human consciousness and mystical forms of consciousness, Katz argues that *every* experience is conditioned and determined by both the limited nature of the human mind and enculturation into a given religious tradition. Human consciousness, whether mystical or not, is mediated by epistemological categories and enculturated beliefs, which are at work before, during, and after the experience (27). From a Contextualist perspective, this is so much the case that deconditioning (e.g., the Daoist emphasis on forgetting and emptying) is really only reconditioning (57; cf. Evans 1989, 54).

Few serious and conscientious researchers of mysticism would take issue with the Contextualist "plea for the recognition of differences" (Katz 1978b, 25) and the importance of being attentive to relevant his-

"ultimately real" reality. However, there are equally complex cultural and sociological factors at work in this type of account as well. For one relevant study on the historical and intellectual background of New Age movements see Hanegraaff 1996.

torical, cultural, and religious factors, the life-world of a given mystic if you will.³⁵ However, many scholars, especially those with a background in philosophy, psychology and/or consciousness studies, have pointed out the problems in the Contextualist account of consciousness (see Forgie 1985; King 1988; Evans 1989; Stoeber 1992; Janz 1995; Adam 2002). In particular, the Contextualist approach *presupposes* a Neo-Kantian view of mind, in which human consciousness is believed to be conditioned by both Kantian epistemological categories (inherent, delimiting structures) and enculturated belief.³⁶

In response to this explanation of mystical experience and account of human consciousness, an alternative perspective has recently entered

³⁵ Here it is important to contextualize Contextualism. A Contextualist approach to the study of mysticism was a *response to and critique of* Perennialism. Perennialism, represented by such people as Huston Smith (1976; 1987), Aldous Huxley (1944), and Frithjof Schuon (1984), holds that the “divine” is unitary in nature (monotheism or monism), that consciousness is unmediated, and that mystical experience is the experience of the same reality with different *interpretations* superimposed onto that experience. Contextualism was partially formulated as a challenge to Perennialism, with its naïve view of human consciousness and experience, often superficial reading of primary texts (in translation), and unquestioned belief in a single divine source that exists beyond the confines of religious beliefs and characterizations.

³⁶ Although currently excluded from the debate, the Contextualist position is also challenged by circumstantial evidence of trans-tradition experiences. That is, *there are those who convert to religions based on tradition-specific mystical experiences that they had before having knowledge of that tradition*. These experiences are quite different from some perennial experience of “mystical unity.” Rather, they are encounters with divine beings with very distinct qualities and phenomenal attributes. One documented example of such conversion is Lu Sheng-yan (b. 1945), head priest of the Ling Shen Ching Tze Temple (Redmond, Wash.) and leader of the Purple Lotus Society. In 1969 while watching a Buddhist festival, Lu, originally a Taiwanese Christian, was called out of the crowd by a trance medium and told that the Buddhas wanted him to spread the Dharma. This led to a variety of mystical encounters with bodhisattvas and Daoist immortals, which eventually resulted in Lu becoming a Buddhist priest and leader of a vast international religious community (see Lu 1984; 1995). See also <<http://www.tbsn.org/english2/liansheng.php>>. Cf. Yogananda 1946. See also <<http://www.yogananda-srf.org>>. In terms of Daoism, both Hsien Yuen of the American Taoist and Buddhist Association (see 1988a; 1988b) and Reverend Yau of the Ching Chung Taoist Association (see Eskildsen 1989, 153–54) claim similar experiences. Another, weaker example is Jiang Weiqiao (Yinshizi; 1872–1954) (see Lu 1964, 167–90; Kohn 1993). In personal interviews, Daoists, both American and Chinese, have informed me of similar mystical experiences which were part of a conversion process. Some of these individuals have asked to remain anonymous, but both Harrison Moretz (Taoist Studies Institute) and Debbie Penny (Ching Chung Taoist Association; Australia) made such experiences public record at the Daoist Studies Today conference (June 6–10, 2004; Sichuan, China). According to Penny’s personal accounts, she had an experience with a divine being whose attributes were later identified by Daoists of CCTA as those of Lü Dongbin. For information on these various Daoist groups see Komjathy 2003b; 2003c; 2004.

the debate. Acknowledging the conditioned and determined nature of *most* types of mystical experience, and the accuracy of understanding *ordinary* states of consciousness as limited by perceptual, epistemological, and doctrinal factors, the Decontextualists or Perennial Psychologists, represented by Robert K.C. Forman and his colleagues and most well-known through two volumes edited by Forman (1990; 1998; see also Forman 1999; Andresen and Forman 2000), nonetheless argue that there are certain unitive experiences that transcend such limitations. These are referred to as instances of the Pure Consciousness Event (PCE) (Forman 1990).³⁷ Here the mystic is said to experience consciousness itself, which the Perennial Psychologists *identify as* the ground of being and/or as unification with the divine as ineffable and qualityless. The representatives of this position are quite clear regarding certain issues relating to human psychology and consciousness: ordinary consciousness is not analogous to or identical with “mystical consciousness,” and the PCE is an “event” that is wholly different from every other type of mystical experience, so much so that Forman goes so far as to claim that it is the only anomalous experience which should be referred to as “mystical experience.” From this it follows that there are states of consciousness that are unmediated and beyond subject-object dichotomies. Forman (1993) has referred to this as “mystical knowledge” or “knowledge by identity,” which stands in contrast to “intentional knowledge” or “knowledge by acquaintance” (cf. James 1890, 1.221; Barnard 1997). “In knowledge by identity . . . the subject knows something by virtue of being it. . . . I know my consciousness simply because I am it” (1993, 726; see also Forman 1999, 109–27; Roy 2003).

Various issues emerge from the Contextualist-Decontextualist debate that deserve careful consideration and more systematic discussion than can be addressed here. Some of these remain within the confines of the debate itself, while others express alternative questions and different interpretative approaches. With regard to the former, the reduction of mystical states of consciousness and mystical experiences to ordinary ones is both problematic and inadequate. Something “*extra-ordinary*” or

³⁷ Attempting to distinguish a proposed part of the brain which is “the mystical mind,” d’Aquili and Newberg (1999) identify a state of consciousness which may parallel or supercede “pure consciousness.” This is referred to as Absolute Unitary Being (AUB) (see especially 1999, 109–20; also d’Aquili and Newberg 1982; 1993; Newberg and d’Aquili 2001), and is one of nine proposed states of consciousness.

“anomalous” does occur during mystical experiences,³⁸ which may be referred to as transformations of consciousness and/or transformational experiences (see Wilber et al. 1986). While the Pure Consciousness Event is one such “anomalous experience,” it remains unclear whether or not such “events” have any import (philosophical, soteriological, or theological) beyond specific religious traditions. Is the “experience of consciousness itself” more important than the “experience of pure anger”? One answer to this seems to be that mystical experiences have soteriological significance for the mystic. Mystical experiences are inherently transformative and often lead to radical reorientations in the lives of the given individual. Still, one is left wondering whether or not a Pure Consciousness Event would be able to provide meaning and identity to the mystic involved if a tradition such as Advaita Vedanta did not define this experience as unification with Brahman, the Absolute. The same point can be made regarding the “zero experience” of Zen Buddhism.

It is also important to note the ways in which specific fields of study (and participant-observation) condition academic perspectives.³⁹ That is, *contextualizing* the debate about Contextualism may prove useful. The views of Contextualism and Perennial Psychology have clear consequences for a variety of religious traditions; theological and soteriological issues are implicit in the positions maintained.⁴⁰ Steven Katz, one of

³⁸ This, of course, begs the question as to what is “normal” or “ordinary.” The argument could be made that what is generally taken to be “normal” or “ordinary” is actually pathological. Anticipating Quanzhen perspectives, human beings have an inherent capacity for immortality and perfection, but most are satisfied with being “walking corpses”.

³⁹ Here it should be mentioned that the issue of sources comes to the forefront when considering larger theoretical perspectives on mysticism. Most of the research relies on textual material, which is often limited in scope depending upon the mystic, tradition involved, and socio-historical context. However, the Decontextualists often supplement classical sources with contemporary, first-hand and autobiographical accounts (see Roberts 1984; Merrell-Wolff 1994; 1995), interviews (see James 1999 [1902]; Ellwood 1999; Forman 1999), as well as personal testimonials (see Forman 1990, 28; 1999, 20–21; Ellwood 1999, 13). While such additions may challenge certain entrenched views, it is also possible that the “pure consciousness” and/or “unitive state” achieved by those involved are also historically and culturally determined (see Dilworth 1969).

⁴⁰ As both Grace Jantzen (1995) and Richard King (1999) have pointed out, there are complex power issues in the study of mysticism: “Defining mysticism then is a way of defining power” (King 1999, 10). Similarly, Robert Forman (1990, 52), makes the following point concerning Contextualist accounts of mystical experience: “Mysticism here becomes a kind of delusion fostered by the indoctrination system. But it thereby loses its authenticity. Rather than a contact with any element that is extrinsic to culture

the foremost historians of Judaism, understands the human mind as limited. This view parallels that of Judaism itself, which understands the human being as bearing the likeness of God while remaining wholly inferior and subordinate to God. To say that human experience is always mediated does not have any dire consequences for Judaism, as humans by their very nature, a nature created by God, cannot comprehend God in his glory (*kavod*). Like the covenant given to Moses, the human mind is endowed by God as means by which (a lens through which) to communicate with God in the way in which God intended (cf. Smith 1987, 558; Evans 1989, 55). In contrast, Robert Forman, whose primary academic interests focus on Upanishadic monism and Advaita Vedanta, understands the human mind as limitless. This view parallels Advaita Vedanta itself, which understands the human being as containing the seed of the divine (*atman*) and thus the capacity to merge with Brahman, the Absolute. The nature of reality *is* consciousness and consciousness is Brahman. To say that human experience is always mediated in this context means that Vedantins are fundamentally mistaken about the nature of reality and their own experience. It also means that the salvific end envisioned by Vedantins is impossible. However, if the Pure Consciousness Event is possible, and if it is an actual “encounter” with the divine as Supraconsciousness, then the god of Judaism is not who Jews think he is. Views of consciousness and experience have political, soteriological and theological consequences.⁴¹

The study of mysticism thus includes consciousness studies, embodiment issues, and questions concerning human potential. Something

and indoctrination, constructivism exclusively emphasizes the role of intrinsic features of culture and language.”

⁴¹ In *The Politics of Experience* (1967), R.D. Laing comments on the practice of psychiatrists determining which persons (“patients”) are unwell: “‘Schizophrenia’ is a diagnosis, a label applied by some people to others. This does not prove the labeled person is subject to an essentially pathological process, of unknown nature and origin, going on *in* his or her body. It does not mean that the process is, primarily or secondarily, a *psycho*-pathological one, going on *in* the *psyche* of the person. But it does establish as a social fact that the person labeled is one of Them. . . . There is no such ‘condition’ as ‘schizophrenia,’ but the label is a social fact and the social fact a *political event*. This political event, occurring in the civic order of society, imposes definitions and consequences on the labeled person. . . . The person labeled is inaugurated not only into a role, but into a career of patient, by the concerted action of a coalition” (1967, 82–84, also 78–79; italics in original). The negation or interpretation of other people’s experiences is a political act, often involving attempts to establish or maintain authority. This should give scholars of religion pause when categorizing and interpreting the experiences of “other.” There are, of course, much more subtle, but no less problematic, forms of alienation, marginalization and subjugation.

“extra-ordinary” or “anomalous” does occur during mystical experiences. That is, the study of mysticism is also the study of “altered states of consciousness” (see Tart 1969; Zinberg 1979) and “anomalous experience” (see Cardeña et al. 2000). I seriously doubt that mystical experiences can be adequately accounted for either by studying ordinary human being or by neuroscientific approaches to consciousness (see Austin 1998; d’Aquili and Newberg 1999; Russell et al. 1999; Newberg and d’Aquili 2001; Andresen 2001).⁴² Similarly, while the evidential, veridical, and epistemological standing of mystical experiences will remain open to debate *within philosophy* (see Katz 1978, 22; David 1989; Alston 1991; Yandell 1993; Burhenn 1995), there can be little doubt that they do occupy that position *within individual lives, specific communities, and religious traditions*. From an anthropological and sociological perspective (see Poloma 1995; Winkelmann 1997; Ellwood 1999), mystical experiences are often personally transformative and communally significant. With regard to the latter, the experiences of a given mystic may confirm religious tradition (see Katz 1983) or they may lead to radical upheaval and transformation within a religious community (see Lewis 1989; Poloma 1989; 1995; Poloma and Pendleton 1989; Hood 1995). Mystical experience can be both conservative and subversive with regard to religious tradition.

Before moving on to discuss the concept of “experience” and provide a typology of mystical experiences, a few additional points should be made. First, recent emphasis on consciousness and mind has revealed the necessity and importance of considering *views of consciousness* beyond those which dominate Euro-American philosophy and scientific paradigms.⁴³ That is, the researcher is required to seriously consider alterior (Hindu, Buddhist, Daoist, etc.) views of human being as well as to learn to *think through* a given mystic or mystical system, including whether or not one’s account would be recognizable to them and what possible critiques they might issue regarding one’s interpretation. As Richard King comments in *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India, and ‘The Mystic East’* (1999),

⁴² A fairly well-rounded discussion appears in an edited volume published as a special issue of the *Journal of Consciousness Studies*. See Andresen and Forman 2000.

⁴³ Some relevant publications include Wilber 1977; 2000; Mann 1984; Paul 1984; Wilber et al. 1986; Dilworth 1989; Nishida 1990; Walsh and Vaughan 1993; Merrell-Wolff 1994; 1995; Varela et al. 1999.

The study of non-Western cultures by Western scholars necessitates an awareness of the wider power dynamic in which such discursive practices operate and are received, as well as an openness and appreciation of indigenous categories, theories, and forms of life in and on their own terms. . . . [M]y point is that Western scholars should pay far more attention to the nature and operation of the ‘fusion of horizons’ that occurs in comparative analysis. Engagement with theories, categories, and world-views of the cultures under examination also requires an acknowledgment of the cultural particularity of Western concepts and theories and a recognition of the politics of comparative analysis. (185–86; see also 175–86)⁴⁴

In addition, one must raise the possibility that the (over)emphasis on consciousness and concern over epistemology may also be partially misguided. In the words of Donald Evans (1989), can philosophers limit what mystics do? This is the point at which larger questions concerning human potential (see Deikman 1982; Maslow 1964; Walsh and Vaughan 1993; Ellwood 1999; Kohn 1992) and embodiment enter the discussion. From my perspective, “knowing” and “rationality,” the hallmarks of modern academic discourse, are themselves limited, and obsession over these aspects of human being results in a failure to provide a more comprehensive account of human capacities and existence (as well as ecological well-being). For instance, the place of *embodied experience* is completely marginalized from the discussion. Religious traditions emphasizing subtle anatomy and physiology, techniques of transformation, and mystical experience (e.g., classical Yoga, Buddhist and Hindu Tantra and Daoist internal alchemy) cannot be adequately understood in conventional accounts of mysticism. Mystical experiences are challenging precisely because they cannot be domesticated or reduced to “states of mind” or “forms of knowing.” One question that needs to be asked is the following: Is there an ontological condition, a *way of being*, that can and/or should be identified as “mystical”? If so, what

⁴⁴ Within the pages of *Orientalism and Religion*, King applies these insights by critiquing Western epistemological accounts of consciousness with Hindu and Buddhist ones. After providing examples of “indigenous views” through the translation of primary texts, King draws a distinction between “epistemologies of limitation” and “epistemologies of enlightenment.” The former, represented by Neo-Kantian perspectives, are epistemologies that restrict the potential of human beings to achieve some form of unmediated awareness. In contrast, epistemologies of enlightenment map a way out of cultural and linguistic conditioning through religious praxis and develop a non-dual and unconstructed or unconditioned awareness (179). Another example of this discourse strategy may be found in Harold Roth’s thought-provoking study of the “Neiye” (Inward Training) chapter of the *Guanzi* (Roth 1999).

are the defining characteristics (ethical, physiological, psychological, sociological, etc.) of “mystical being”?

As the above discussion suggests, I believe that the concept of “experience” is important and remains viable in Religious Studies. This must be stated explicitly because the usefulness and relevance of the category has been contested recently. Before addressing some of the criticisms, let me state my position clearly: as herein employed, “experience” refers an individual’s conscious awareness of and/or interaction with some other being, reality, or realm. That is, experience includes every aspect of subjective being—energetic, physical, psychological, physiological, conscious, etc.⁴⁵ “Mystical experience,” then, is experience of that which a given individual or community identifies as “sacred” or “ultimate.” I use the phrase “mystical experience” as a convention for a whole set of sacred interactions or unifications. There is no single, perennial “mystical experience”; “mystical experience” encompasses a wide variety of *experiences* identified as “mystical.” Mystical experiences must also be distinguished from the broader interpretative categories of “religious experience” and “anomalous experience.” From my perspective, mystical experience is a sub-category of religious experience, albeit one that is often singled out as the most significant type of “religious experience.”⁴⁶ The category religious experience includes a wide variety of experiences: any experience that occurs or is identified as significant within a religious community is a religious experience. Thus, ritual activity, prayer, meditation, scripture study, theological discourse, and the like are religious experiences; they are activities that produce meaning and feelings of belonging in community members with regard to something defined as “sacred” (see Ellwood 1999 [1980], 42–43; Hood 1995).⁴⁷ It is also

⁴⁵ I am making no claim concerning the mediated or immediate nature of “experience,” or denying the possibility of experiences, here beyond Cartesian dualism, that are unitive, i.e., beyond subject-object dichotomies. That is, mystical experience may involve absorption, the merging of the adept’s being with a sacred realm to the point where “pure awareness” (mystical identification) occurs.

⁴⁶ For some insights on the bias of “mystocentrism” in Religious Studies see Wasserstrom 1999.

⁴⁷ Psychologically and normatively speaking, such experiences may originate in personal and/or cultural deficiencies (e.g., the search for a loving father in a transcendental realm) or in authentic aspirations for communion with the sacred (e.g., purification of self thorough ascetic discipline). Some have seen religion and mysticism as pathological in nature (e.g., Freud 1918; 1928; 1939; Kirkpatrick and Shaver 1990; Kirkpatrick 1997). For an overview see McGinn 1991, 326–43; Wulff 1997; also Andresen 2001. This is not my view, and I believe that such perspectives most often reveal a superficial and personally unreflective engagement with a given religious tradition.

helpful to distinguish “mystical experiences” from other “altered states of consciousness” or “anomalous experiences,” including hallucinatory experiences, synesthesia, lucid dreaming, out-of-body experiences, psi-related experiences, alien abduction experiences, past-life experiences, possession, channeling, near-death experiences, and anomalous healing experiences (see Cardeña et al. 2000). While there may, at times, be overlap among some of these anomalous experiences, mystical experience is “religious” in content—it involves some type of experience of the sacred as defined by a given discourse community.

While I am in full agreement with the Contextualists that human experience is at least partially determined by a complex set of cultural, historical, psychological, religious, and sociological factors, I also take seriously the claims of specific religious adepts and communities that these aspects of human being may be limitations to the ultimate purpose of existence, that is, salvation, liberation, realization, or however such an ontological condition is expressed. As mentioned, critiques of the ways in which “religious experience” is employed and of the category of “experience” itself have become prominent recently in Religious Studies (see Proudfoot 1985; Bagger 1999; also King 1999, 7–34, 161–86; cf. Barnard 1992).⁴⁸ On a broader level, these discussions parallel those mentioned above with regard to mysticism: “experience” is complex and determined by inherent and enculturated characteristics of the human mind. Thus, “mind” or “consciousness” is really the most appropriate point of discussion. A clearly articulated example is the following:

Part of this [limitations in the study of mysticism], at least, seems due to the impression and ambiguity of the term “experience,” which many investigators scarcely bother to define—as if they were sure that everyone has the same thing in mind when the term is used. The term mystical experience, consciously or unconsciously, also tends to place emphasis on special altered states—visions, locutions, raptures, and the like—which admittedly have played a large part in mysticism but which many mystics have insisted do not constitute the essence of the encounter with God. Many of the greatest Christian mystics (think of Origen, Meister Eckhart, and John of the Cross) have been downright hostile to such experiences, emphasizing rather the new level of awareness, the special and heightened consciousness involving both loving and knowing that is given in the

⁴⁸ These concerns also involve the relationship, assuming there is a distinction, between experience and interpretation (see Smart 1965; 1978; Proudfoot 1985; Bagger 1999) and the place of language in mystical experience and textual accounts (see Katz 1992; Sells 1994).

mystical meeting. For this reason alone we can welcome the suggestions of some recent investigators [Bernard Lonergan and his followers] who have found the term “consciousness” a more precise and fruitful category than “experience.” (McGinn 1991, 17–18, also 13–17; Roy 2003)

As McGinn has at least some affinities with the theological dimension of mysticism, he attempts to avoid the possible reduction of mysticism to “states of mind” by introducing a second, important concept: “I have come to find the term ‘presence’ a more central and useful category for grasping the unifying note in the varieties of Christian mysticism. Thus we can say that the mystical element in Christianity is that part of its belief and practices that concerns the preparation for, the consciousness of, and the reaction to what can be described as the immediate or direct presence of God” (ibid., also 18–20). While possibly accurate in the case of Christian mysticism, McGinn’s proposal has certain deficiencies when applied to non-Abrahamic forms of mystical encounter. In traditions where the body, both in its actual physicality and as numinous locale, is given greater importance, there may be “consciousness of Presence,” but this Presence becomes embodied in, through, and as the adept’s entire psychosomatic being. That is, “experience,” broadly conceived, encompasses the entire spectrum of human being, including subtle, energetic aspects.

The most vocal and radical critic of the concept of “experience” is Robert Sharf (1995a; 1995b; 1998; cf. Fitzgerald 2000).⁴⁹ Perhaps most germane to the present discussion is Sharf’s appeal to the historical genealogy of specific terms and his emphasis that *accounts* of “religious experience” do not give one access to some supposed “originary event.” Drawing upon Proudfoot (1985; cf. Bagger 1999), Sharf notes the recent pedigree of the concepts of “religious experience” and “mystical experience” in Western discourse as well as of *keiken* and *taiken*, the Japanese equivalents of “experience” (1995a, 229, 249). “There is

⁴⁹ Here it should be mentioned that Sharf’s primary field of study is Buddhism and that he is particularly concerned with the failure of certain Buddhologists to understand *Buddhist* theories of consciousness and discourses on the “path” (*marga*). Although not explicitly stated, Sharf attempts to advocate a modified Yogācārin (mind-only; “reality” as determined by consciousness) perspective in these writings (personal communication). The observant reader will recognize that this is only one conception of “self,” only one among many viable accounts of the relationship between “consciousness” and “reality.” Note also that Sharf’s contribution to *Critical Terms* was reprinted under the title “The Rhetoric of Experience and the Study of Religion” in Andresen and Forman 1999, 267–87.

simply no premodern Japanese lexical equivalent for ‘experience.’ Nor, would I add, is there a premodern Chinese equivalent” (1998, 102). However, the relative late provenance of “mystical experience” and lack of non-Western equivalents of “experience” do not negate their *heuristic value* in the study of human beliefs, practices, and activities. In addition, I would draw attention to the Chinese character *ling* 靈. While this character has the connotation of “magical efficacy” in late imperial and modern Chinese religious traditions (see, e.g., Sangren 1987; Hansen 1990), especially in terms of folk and ritualistic practices, in the context of certain Daoist communities the character often means “numinosity” (i.e., manifestations of a divine being or power as spiritual presence) (see, e.g., Roth 1999). Etymologically, the character consists of “rain” (*yu* 雨) over three “mouths” (*kou* 口) and “shamans” (*wu* 巫). Under one reading, the latter component depicts two “humans” (*ren* 人) connecting (|) the “heavens” (*tian* 天; represented as the upper 一) with the earth (*di* 地; represented as the lower 一). By extension, *ling* involves the communal movements and voices of ritual specialists to connect the heavens and the earth, to establish harmony and beneficial patterns of interaction. This character may be understood, in certain contexts, as paralleling the Western category of “mystical experience”: *ling* involves an interaction between the human realm and a sacred realm that produces discernable results. Such interactions may be a communal experience and/or an individual experience, and they closely resemble Eliade’s notion of *hierophanies* (see Eliade 1987 [1957], 10–11). In the case of Quanzhen Daoism, *ling* often appears as *lingtong* 靈通 (“numinous pervasion”) or *shentong* 神通 (“spirit pervasion”). In this religious context, the appearance of *ling* suggests that the Daoist adept has attained a state of mystical communion with the Dao, has come to be pervaded by the Dao as unnamable mystery and numinous presence. Here the Dao’s numinosity may manifest as a unitive experience, in which the adept merges with the Dao and abides in a condition of cosmological attunement; as an affective and somatic experience, in which the adept senses the Dao circulating as his or her own subtle physiology; and/or as a dualistic and theistic experience, in which the adept encounters immortals, Perfected, or deities. With regard to the latter, one must keep in mind that, from the perspective of classical Daoist “theology” and cosmology, based on emanation and immanence, such divine beings are *embodiments* of the Dao. They are expressions of the Dao in a more differentiated form. That is, deities are simply differently differentiated aspects of the Dao, and encountering deities is not, in and of itself, different than realizing mystical communion with

the unnamable mystery which is the Dao. Such cosmology also reveals a continuum among gods, immortals, and physically-embodied beings, which may be charted on a spectrum from the most rarified (yang) to the most material (yin).

Perhaps more serious is Sharf's critique of the relevance of "experience" in Western academic discourse. Drawing a parallel between "mystical experience" and "alien abduction experiences" (1998, 108–9),⁵⁰ Sharf believes that researchers have no access to the "originary event"; they only have access to the subsequent "account" or "interpretation" (reconstruction):

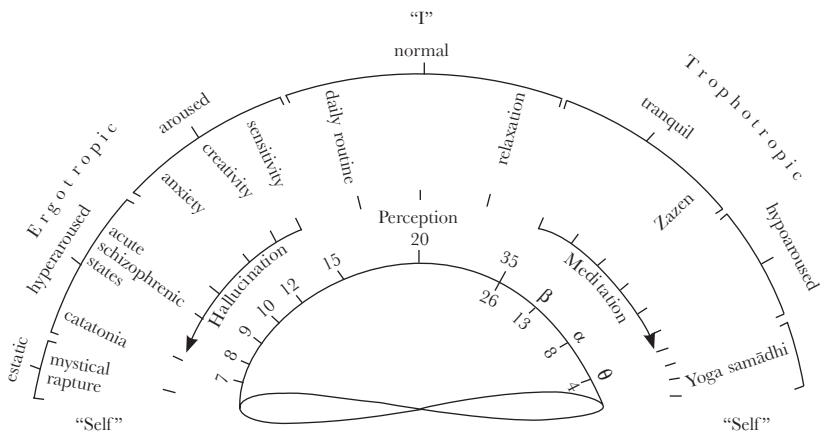
The word "experience," insofar as it refers to that which is given to us in the immediacy of perception, signifies that which by definition is non-objective, that which resists all signification. In other words, the term experience cannot make ostensible a *something that exists in the world*. The salient characteristic of private experience that distinguishes it from "objective reality" is thus its unremitting indeterminacy. (1998, 113)

Here Sharf's intent is not to deny subjective experience per se, but to destabilize the perceived importance of "experience" as a concept in Religious Studies and other academic disciplines. That is, Sharf's critique challenges the epistemological standing and academic relevance of "experience." Outside of taking the position of absolute relativism, a number of responses are possible. First, while there is a certain accuracy in the distinction between *accounts* of mystical experiences and mystical experiences themselves, one could argue that part of what makes religious traditions *traditions* is a common heritage of subjective and communal practice and experience. That is, there is an ontological mode and existential approach that is advocated, embraced, and actualized. In terms of traditions that endorse soteriological systems with transformative techniques and corresponding signs of successful training (like Quanzhen Daoism), there is a reproducibility of certain types of experiences among members of the same community as well as among later adherents. As discussed in chapter seven, the early Quanzhen adepts referred to these signs of successful training as *zhengyan* 證驗,

⁵⁰ This analogy of course has a certain philosophical slippage. Generally speaking, alien abduction experiences involve beings who are physically embodied and who use mechanical objects to travel. That is, aliens resemble human beings in the sense that they are, at least to some degree, biological organisms. This stands in contrast to the "sources" of mystical experiences, which are believed to reside in subtle and unseen realms. Where the analogy does hold up is in terms of the *assumptions* of modern secular materialists who believe that only *human* culture and human mental constructs exist.

(Eskildsen 2001; 2004, 95–114), which could be translated as “experiential confirmation” or “verification.” Such experiences confirm the efficacy of training regimens, and *zhengyan* may represent one “pre-modern Chinese lexical equivalent” for the Western category of “religious experience.” The emphasis on religious praxis and corresponding transformational experiences of course proves challenging for those who would seek solely to study religious adherents and communities in terms of “history” and “texts.” Moreover, as we have seen, there are political consequences that follow from the denial, negation, or reinterpretation of other people’s experience. Instead of discussing accounts of mystical experiences as manipulative, deceptive, or deluded, one may take them as approximations of subjective experience and as expressions of the specific goals and ideals of a given religious community and/or practitioner. In addition, what cannot be denied is the significance that certain events or moments of consciousness have *within individual lives, specific communities, and religious traditions*. Researchers cannot limit either what mystics or what mystical experiences do.

Here a typology of mystical experiences may be helpful, as this is directly applicable to my subsequent discussion of the types of mystical experiences attained and advocated by the early Quanzhen adepts. While many have attempted to provide such typologies (see Stace 1960, 41–133, especially 131–32; Zacher 1961, especially 198–207), Roland Fischer’s (1980 [1971]) physiology- and perception-based model is one of the most useful cartographies. Fischer distinguishes “meditative states” and “ecstatic states” along a spectrum comprised of three major categories: ergotropic, normal (at the center), and trophotropic.



Ergotropic states are characterized by intense physiological and cognitive arousal or “work” (Grk.: *ergon*). They include experiences involving hallucinations, visions, and auditions. The pinnacle of ergotropic, or hyperaroused, states is ecstasy or mystical rapture. Trophotropic states are characterized by low levels of physiological and cognitive activity or “nourishing” (Grk.: *trophon*). They include experiences involving contentless awareness, quiescence, or mystical absorption. The pinnacle of trophotropic, or hypoaroused (hyperquiescent), states is enstasy or yogic *samādhi* (also Davidson 1984; cf. Walsh 1993, 751–52; d’Aquila and Newberg 1993; 1999, 21–45, especially 25–26). Expressed differently, ergotropic states primarily involve the sympathetic nervous system, while trophotropic states primarily involve the parasympathetic nervous system. Leaving aside Fischer’s association of specific techniques with specific experiences, the typology is quite helpful for understanding mystical experiences.⁵¹

In terms of comparative mysticism, Jewish Merkabah mysticism, centering on a visual encounter with the Throne of YHWH (see Scholem 1961, 40–79; Blumenthal 1978), is representative of an ergotropic or hyperaroused mystical experience. In contrast, Advaita Vedāntin mysticism, centering on unification with Brahman as Supraconsciousness (see Prabhavananda and Isherwood 1947; Forman 1990; 1999, 11–30), is representative of a trophotropic or hyperquiescent mystical experience. Here it should also be mentioned that some researchers have attempted to reduce “mystical experience” to Fischer’s “trophotropic (hypoaroused) experiences” (see Forman 1990, 5–7; Roy 2003, xx, 37–51; see also Stace 1960, 47–55; Zacher 1961, 198–99; cf. d’Aquila and Newberg 1999, 109–20). However, as a historian of comparative mysticism, I see this as unjustified and protective in intent. Such a perspective disparages the standing of specific types of religious experiences, ergotropic mystical experiences (e.g., Catherine of Siena’s mystical marriage with Jesus Christ), within religious traditions and within Religious Studies, and simultaneously redefines certain mystics as schizophrenics.⁵² Such

⁵¹ Any typology is, of course, inherently limited and insufficient. In terms of Fischer’s map, one must recognize that mystical experiences cannot be *reduced to* “brain states” or measurable physiological alterations. A more complete cartography of mystical experiences, based in comparative religious studies, would need to include other distinguishing characteristics: monotheistic, polytheistic, pantheistic, or monistic; unitive, dualistic, or interactive; kataphatic or apophatic; speculative, affective, or somatic; and so forth.

⁵² This brings us back to Bernard McGinn’s above comment that certain Christian mystics (e.g., Origen, Eckhart, and John of the Cross) have been antagonistic towards

a stance, especially on the part of a historian of religion, represents a sectarian and political act. Moreover, one might argue that it assumes a quasi-secular divine and/or monotheism/monism. However, there are numerous religious traditions (Buddhism, Daoism, Hinduism, etc.) that claim that the “sacred” is multi-layered. That is, there are countless, perhaps innumerable, sacred realms with distinct characteristics and inhabited by different kinds of beings. From such a “polytheistic” perspective, mystics are encountering different sacred realities, and claims concerning the “theological” or “soteriological ultimacy” of such encounters and their subsequent importance are what distinguish religious traditions.

SELF, PRAXIS, EXPERIENCE

There is a complicated interplay and interrelationship among views of self, specific practices, and related experiences. A nuanced understanding of any religious system requires attention to these defining characteristics, characteristics that also relate to the ultimate concerns and soteriological aims of specific religious communities. Every practice or training regimen embodies, quite literally, specific views of self, and the attainment of more advanced states requires these views of self. Moreover, specific techniques may lead to tradition-specific experiences, and the soteriological import of these techniques and their related experiences are directly related to the ultimate concerns of a given religious tradition. At the more advanced levels of religious commitment, adepts become familiar with alternative views of self, techniques of transformation, and religious experiences that inform and confirm the efficacy of the system.

In the case of early Quanzhen Daoism, the early adherents had a sophisticated understanding of self, which included a distinction between

ergotropic or ecstatic experiences such as visions, locutions, and raptures. One must ask *why* people, whether religious leaders, scholars, adherents, or politicians, react strongly to any aspect of religious traditions. In the case of visionary experiences in Catholicism, one can reasonably argue that part of the uneasiness derives from the radical subversiveness inherent in such experiences. If a mystic, especially a medieval female mystic, has a direct encounter with Jesus Christ or God and receives direct communications, this poses considerable challenges to the dominant patriarchal and hierarchical power structure. It is equally plausible that some of the inspiration for ergotropic mystical experiences derived from such socio-political restrictions. See, e.g., Lewis 1989; Jantzen 1995.

ordinary human being and actualized human being. Wang Chongyang and his first-generation disciples investigated and sought to transform the various dimensions of self outlined above, including physical, energetic, psychological, and spiritual aspects. Such views of self also informed and expressed specific training regimens. As an ascetic, alchemical and mystical tradition, the early Quanzhen community embraced and advocated a complex set of transformative techniques, techniques that were claimed to lead to self-transformation. Quanzhen transformative praxis was multidimensional and integrated, requiring complete abandonment of mundane concerns as well as dedicated and prolonged application. Through such transformative praxis, the early Quanzhen adepts had certain types of mystical experiences. These mystical experiences not only confirmed the efficacy of Quanzhen training models, but also led to a shift in ontological condition that became an enduring model of attainment for the second- and third-generation adepts. The specificities of these views of self, training regimens and mystical experiences are fundamental for understanding early Quanzhen as a religious movement.

CHAPTER THREE

ORDINARY HUMAN BEING

The early Quanzhen tradition¹ emphasized specific and distinctive views of self. Without a nuanced understanding of these views as well as other foundational principles, it is difficult to appreciate the tradition's diverse practices and models of attainment. First and foremost, the early Quanzhen adepts made a distinction between the ordinary, habituated human being and those engaging in religious training. The ordinary human being is following and reproducing patterns of dissipation and disruption; they are living through desire, emotionality, and turbidity, both personal and interpersonal. The early Quanzhen adepts referred to such people as “skeletons” (*kulou* 骷髏), “walking corpses” (*xingshi* 行尸), and “running bones” (*zougu* 走骨). This stands in contrast to individuals committed to Quanzhen lifeways, adepts dedicating their lives to “cultivating the Dao” (*xiudao* 修道) and “cultivating perfection” (*xiuzhen* 修真). Separated from the mundane world of society, family, and personal ambition, alternative views of self emerge. Members of early Quanzhen viewed self as psychosomatic process, microcosm (universe within the universe), and corporeal administration. They also identified self as locale of the Dao made manifest and the abode of numinous inhabitants. Finally, self was seen as an alchemical crucible, wherein the work of internal alchemy was conducted, with the aspiration for cosmological alignment and for immortality or perfection. Thus, at least four primary early Quanzhen views of self may be identified: (1) Self as decaying corpse; (2) Self as psychosomatic process, including cosmological affinities and influences; (3) Self as divine endowment and spiritual abode; and (4) Self as alchemical crucible. The first was to be overcome through Quanzhen religious praxis, while the latter three became actualized through dedicated training. These are not “separate selves” or

¹ In this chapter and those which follow, when I speak of the “early Quanzhen tradition” I am referring to the teachings of Wang Chongyang and his first-generation disciples, to the Daoist religious community which was early Quanzhen. This is not to deny that there are individual and divergent opinions on some of these matters among the early adepts.

“fragmentations of personality”; they represent different dimensions of transformed being according to the early Quanzhen adherents.

In addition to providing insights into early Quanzhen views of self, this chapter and the following one also set the foundation for a larger cross-cultural and comparative perspective. Every transformative technique or training regimen embodies, quite literally, a specific view of self. There is a complicated interplay and interrelationship among specific worldviews, techniques, and experiences. At times, the views underlying spiritual techniques are explicit and presented in detail. At other times, one must move into and through the techniques to identify the worldviews, specifically views of self, embedded in those techniques. This means that even when views of self are not explicit, which in Quanzhen they often are, it is possible to extract such views from the practice of specific techniques. Expressed differently, distinct practices are only undertaken in the context of distinct worldviews. For example, Daoist internal alchemy requires a body composed of qi storehouses and pathways. It makes little sense to practice internal alchemy if one views self in terms of a transcendental, eternal soul and a series of mechanical operations. Without an openness to the body's subtle energetic locations, such practice is a waste of time. Now, one may imagine an inherent transformative effect of techniques, but, assuming that a new landscape of being is activated, one must also be willing to amend one's views based on one's experiences. These experiences confirm both the efficacy of the practices and the validity of related experiences.

This chapter and the following one emphasize Quanzhen views of self in a cultivational context. “Different selves” might emerge if one studied the poetry in terms of literary voices adopted on different occasions or if one researched early Quanzhen ritual activity in detail. However, as the present study is principally concerned with self-cultivation in early Quanzhen, which I believe was the primary orientation of the early adepts, I concentrate on views of self connected with the training regimens and mystical experiences discussed in subsequent chapters. What cannot be denied is that the early Quanzhen religious community had complicated views of self. On one level, self, as habituated and disrupting entity, had to be transcended and abandoned. On another level, the body was seen as necessary for spiritual work. Although Quanzhen at times appears to have a fairly radical ascetic orientation, the early adepts nonetheless recognized the importance of

psychosomatic health and the divinity inherent within the body. The body was not to be transcended through diminishment or emaciation, but alchemically transformed into a different kind of “body.”

As discussed, in the present study “self” refers to the entire spectrum of human experience understood subjectively; “self” refers to psychosomatic processes involving corporeal attributes and sensations (including anatomy and physiology), psychological conditions and responses, and consciousness and mind in a more abstract sense. In short, “self” encompasses both “body” and “consciousness” as conventionally conceived. With regard to the former, it is imperative to remember that “the body” is not simply an invariable, cross-cultural given. The human body is simultaneously cultural construct, historical artifact, experiencing agent, and, for some, soteriological locus. In this chapter, I examine early Quanzhen views of the ordinary human being. According to the early adherents, ordinary people, individuals uncommitted to self-cultivation and transformation, exhaust their spiritual capacities and disrupt their innate connection to the Dao. From the perspective of the early Quanzhen movement, ordinary human being is an ontological condition characterized by almost complete habituation and self-disruption.

SELF AS DECAYING CORPSE

According to the early Quanzhen adherents, ordinary human beings (*suren* 俗人) are habituated, turbid, and self-disrupting entities. The ordinary human being is conditioned by societal obligations, familial expectations, and personal habituation. In the context of early Quanzhen, such people, broadly understood, are entangled in numerous dissipating activities, which separate them from the Dao as Source and squander their capacities for becoming an immortal (*xian* 仙) or Perfected (*zhen* 真).

Ordinariness (*su* 俗) relates to the ordinary body-self (*suqu* 俗軀) of human beings. Perfection (*zhen* 真) relates to exalted spirit (*zhishen* 至神). We refer to [ordinariness] as “being” (*you* 有) and “thingness” (*wu* 物). The Dao is beyond being and is the predecessor of the heavens and earth. Innate nature (*xing* 性) is inside of thingness and is beyond yin and yang. When one is a being and becomes illuminated, this is like seeing the jade within stone. When one is a thing and becomes illuminated, this is like seeing a pearl within an oyster. Being is the form (*xing* 形) of human beings. Thingness is the innate nature of Perfection. When form ends, innate nature constantly abides. When thingness is exhausted, qi is constantly

preserved. Through delusion, being, and thingness, the ethereal soul (*hun* 魂) and corporeal soul (*po* 魄) become dispersed. Through awakening, the Dao, and innate nature, the transformative process (*zaohua* 造化) is completed. (*Changsheng yulu*, DZ 1058, 22b)²

Ordinary human beings concern themselves with materiality and are entangled with the mundane world (*chenshi* 塵世); in contrast, members of early Quanzhen were urged to focus on the more subtle, energetic aspects of being and orient themselves towards the Dao as sacred. In the above passage, Liu Changsheng suggests that habituated states of being enmesh one in the realm of “being” and “thingness,” that is, in materiality, attachment, and desire-based ways of life. In the present context, the analogies of jade to stone and pearl to oyster suggest that one must find what is precious within the insignificant, what is refined within the coarse. This involves a movement from delusion towards spiritual illumination, from external sensory engagement to internal transformation.

When speaking of ordinary human beings, including their own lives before Daoist conversion and training, the early Quanzhen adepts frequently make mention of “skeletons” (*kulou* 骷髏) and “marionettes” (*kuilei* 傀儡) (Yao 1980, 87; 2000, 587–88; Idema 1993).³

I lament the skeleton,
Lying in the open fields.
...
Your mouth filled with mud, sand filling your eyes,
This is the way you will decay.
Forever, day and night,
You count the yearly change of autumn, winter,
Of spring and summer too—
Through all four seasons lonely and alone.
Come to your senses, people old and young
And do not flaunt your smartness, flash your charms.
(*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 3.8a; adapted from Idema 1993, 204–5; see also Tang 1979, 1.167)⁴

² In the *Changsheng yulu*, each technical term is discussed in comparison to a paired, opposite term. Thus, “great” is discussed with “small.” Interestingly, in the case of “ordinariness” (habituation), the positive term is “Dao” (ultimate reality). With regard to Dao, Liu Changsheng comments, “The Dao is what pervades thingness (*tongwu* 通物), while remaining beyond thingness (*wuwu* 無物)” (DZ 1058, 22a). Similar insights concerning habituated modes of being may be found throughout the *Changsheng yulu*.

³ I have benefited from Idema’s translations and discussions, but I have retranslated the poems in places to emphasize their technical religious content.

⁴ Clearly readable, punctuated versions of early Quanzhen poetry may be found

Here and in other places (e.g., *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.18b, 5.7a, 10.14b, 10.20a; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 1.20b),⁵ Wang Chongyang uses the image of a skeleton to emphasize the impermanence of human existence.⁶ Death, at least physical death, is inescapable and inevitable; recognition of this fact may inspire human beings to undertake religious training.

However, skeletons are more than representations of human mortality in the early Quanzhen religious community; skeletons also represent the life of the ordinary human being as such.⁷

Skeleton, oh skeleton, your face is so ugly,
 Only because in life you loved beauty and alcohol.
 Cunningly smiling you became fattened on ideas and pleasures
 So your blood and flesh gradually wasted away.
 Gradually wasting away—But you still continued to lust.
 Through greed and avarice, you dissipated (*lou* 漏) your vitality
 with no completion,
 Your desires were without limit but your body (*shen* 身) had its term
 And now today you have become a skeleton!
 Becoming a skeleton—Listen to me:
 It is not easy to acquire a human body with Seven Treasures!
 Realize that innate nature and life-destiny are like pulling-strings,
 So do not blindly follow your emotions!

in the *Quan Jin shi* (Complete Jin Dynasty Poetry; Xue and Guo 1995) and *Quan Jin Yuan ci* (Complete Jin and Yuan Dynasty Lyrics; Tang 1979).

⁵ Section 10.14b of the *Quanzhen ji* contains the poem “Painting a Skeleton to Instruct Ma Yu.” Here Wang Chongyang writes, “Lamenting that everyone lives in pain and sorrow,/Today I have decided to paint this skeleton./In life, such people only lust after reckless indulgence,/And will not cease until they become like this.” It was this poem and the related story that inspired the temple mural of the Chongyang dian 重陽殿 (Hall of Redoubled Yang) of Yongle gong 永樂宮 (Palace of Eternal Joy; Ruicheng, Shanxi) that appears on the cover of this book. See Katz 1999, 153–54.

⁶ This recalls the story of Zhuangzi’s encounter and dialogue with an old skull on the way to the state of Chu (*Zhuangzi*, ch. 18). Using this skull for a pillow, Zhuangzi falls asleep. The skull in turn appears in a dream, addressing Zhuangzi as follows: “You chatter like a rhetorician and all your words betray the entanglements of a living man. The dead know nothing of these! Would you like to hear a lecture on the dead? . . . Among the dead there are no rulers above, no subjects below, and no chores of the four seasons. With nothing to do, our springs and autumns are as endless as heaven and earth. A king facing south on his throne could have no more happiness than this!” (Watson 1968, 193–94).

⁷ It should also be mentioned that, historically speaking, encounters with abandoned and decaying corpses were probably all-too-real and frequent experiences of the early Quanzhen adepts. The political and military strife of the Song-Jin-Yuan period left the countryside strewn with dead bodies, both from warfare as well as from droughts and famines. One can also imagine the gaunt and bone-protruding bodies of Quanzhen adepts after undertaking extended ascetic training.

That's why I have painted this form to show to you
 And see whether or not you will today become awakened!
 (*Shuiyun ji*, DZ 1160, 1.18b–19a; adapted from Idema 1993, 206)⁸

In the above poem Tan Changzhen is emphasizing the dissipation that comes from being concerned with external appearances and stimuli as well as the corresponding internal disruption that responds to them. Living through desire and emotional reactivity exhausts one's core vitality. The poem contains a variety of technical terms that relate specifically to Quanzhen practice, namely, "completion," the "Seven Treasures," as well as "innate nature" and "life-destiny," which are discussed below. The appearance of the character *lou* 漏 (dissipation) is also not coincidental. *Lou* is a technical term relating to a number of specific things, including karma-producing activities, sensory outflow, as well as desire-based, qi-dissipating entanglements. One might, in turn, suggest that the ordinary human being as *kulou* (skeleton) is contrasted with the Quanzhen adept who has attained the state of *wulou* 無漏 (non-dissipation; lit., "without leakage").⁹

From the perspective of early Quanzhen, people undedicated to religious training and transformation are "walking corpses" (*xingshi* 行尸) and "running bones" (*zougu* 走骨). They are following lifeways based in dissipation that easily lead to illness and pre-mature death.¹⁰ Two of the most influential sources of personal confusion and spiritual disruption are familial expectations and societal conditioning. In this way, the ordinary human being is like a marionette (*kuilei* 傀儡), whose motivations and activities, compared to "pulling-strings" (*xuansi* 懸絲) for puppets, are being controlled by external sources.¹¹

Providing amply for my wife,
 And lusting for a living
 My body (*shen* 身) was like a marionette.

⁸ Note that Idema misidentifies this poem as occurring in section 2.18, rather than 1.18b–19a.

⁹ Other relevant poems on skeletons from the early Quanzhen corpus include the following: *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.3a; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 8.16ab; 10.21a; and *Shengguang can*, DZ 1150, 27ab, 31ab. Some of these poems have been translated in Idema 1993. See also Eskildsen 2004, 166–68.

¹⁰ For discussions of early Quanzhen views of death and disease see Eskildsen 1989, 85–128; 1992; 2004, 57–94, 139–153.

¹¹ Like a marionette, one is also being made to perform for the entertainment of others.

Led by fame and profit
 I busily did my tricks.
 Pulled in a thousand different ways
 I was made to act out
 All kinds of postures and mad behavior.
 Flashing my style
 I shook my head, played with my shadow
 And made a full display of my finest sides.

But then I encountered my teacher [Wang Chongyang] who told me
 My comportment was that of a walking corpse,
 My tramping around that of running bones.
 When anger resembles the pulling-strings,
 How can there be no impermanence?
 Hastily I recognized the clouds and waters within the gourd¹²
 And tapped the Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan* 玄關),
 Where hemp and wheat smell so fragrant.
 The Dragon coils around the Tiger,
 Mercury and Lead are refined:
 When the elixir congeals, I'll become an immortal (*penglang* 蓬郎).
 (*Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 10.19b–20a; adapted from Idema 1993, 210–11; see
 also Tang 1979, 1.391–92)¹³

This *ci*-lyric by Ma Danyang is perhaps one of the clearest expressions of the earliest Quanzhen religious ideal: the socially and professionally successful householder abandons such concerns for the life of a religious renunciant.¹⁴ The aspiring adept must realize that social honor or disgrace and familial entanglements hinder spiritual progress. One is urged to abandon ordinary human concerns and undertake alchemical transformation.

SOURCES OF DISSIPATION

In addition to the disrupting influence of family and society, early Quanzhen practitioners also identified a variety of personal behavior patterns and psycho-physiological conditions as forms of dissipation, which were

¹² Interestingly, Tan Changzhen's extant literary anthology is entitled the *Shuiyun ji* (Anthology of Water and Clouds, DZ 1160).

¹³ Note that Idema misidentifies the passage as appearing in section 19–20, instead of 10.19b–20a.

¹⁴ Such an early ideal derives directly from the lives of Wang Chongyang and Ma Danyang. During the organized phase of Quanzhen, the ideal shifted from householder-become-renunciant to renunciant-now-cleric.

characteristic of ordinary, habituated ways of being. Perhaps most central among these are alcohol (*jiu* 酒), sex (*se* 色),¹⁵ wealth (*cai* 財), and anger (*qi* 氣).¹⁶ While this four-character combination appears throughout the early Quanzhen textual corpus (Yao 1980, 86; 2000, 587; Hawkes 1981, 160; Boltz 1987, 144), the most systematic presentation belongs to Wang Chongyang, as contained in his *Quanzhen ji*. This collection contains an individual poem addressing each of these terms/conditions. According to Wang Chongyang, alcohol obscures innate nature, retards spirit, squanders perfection, and exhausts longevity (DZ 1153, 1.18ab). Sexual activity dissipates vital essence, injures bodily fluids, spoils qi and spirit, and corrupts virtue. Through sexual activity, the Three Fields (*santian* 三田) become empty and the five yin-orbs (*wuzang* 五臟) are thrown into disorder (1.18b).¹⁷ Wealth, or avarice, creates confusion, leads to excess, dissipates virtue, and brings about suffering (1.18b–19a). Finally, anger dissipates spirit, injures the stomach, generates contention, and allows emotions to supersede the Dao (1.19a). Wang's senior disciples continued his emphasis on the dissipating effects of alcohol, sex, wealth, and anger.¹⁸ Ma Danyang, for instance, referred to these disrupting influences as the “Four Hindrances” (*sihai* 四害) (*Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.3a; see also *Jinyu ji*, 1149, 3.2b).

¹⁵ “Sex” (*se*) is not understood simply as sexual intercourse, that is, relational sexual activity. “Sex” is any activity involving the loss of vital essence, associated with semen in men and menstrual blood in women. Quanzhen adepts, elite spiritual practitioners who accepted abstinence as a prerequisite for higher-level training and accomplishment, also concerned themselves with unconscious seminal emissions (i.e., “wet dreams”). See, for example, *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 6b.

¹⁶ The use of the character *qi* 氣, usually referring to “subtle breath,” for “anger” is noteworthy. It suggests that anger is subtle breath in its dissipating pattern. Classically speaking, both anger and subtle breath are associated with the liver. The former is a disruptive and dissipating adjunct of the latter.

¹⁷ In translating *zang* and *fu* as “yin-orb” and “yang-orb” respectively, I follow Manfred Porkert. Although *zang* has been translated in numerous ways (organ, viscera, depot, etc.), orb seems the best choice as it includes the larger process-oriented qi theory. “The ambiguity of the technical ‘orb’ (*orbis*) reflects almost exactly that of the Chinese term *tsang*, which refers on the one hand to a bodily substratum with ill-defined material and spatial contours, and on the other hand to a physiological function associated with the substratum and qualitatively defined in time with precision and subtlety” (Porkert 1974, 107). One requirement of the translator is to create “cognitive dissonance” when the original context demands it; the rendering of *zang* as “organ” allows too easy of a transition from one medical system into another, very different one.

¹⁸ Some other relevant occurrences of the “Four Hindrances” appear in the following: *Jinyu ji*, 1149, 3.7a, 8.23a; *Shengguang can*, DZ 1150, 23a, 33a; *Yingguang ji*, DZ 1152, 3.20ab; *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 4.14a, 5.12a; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 1.8b; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 1a; *Shuiyun ji*, DZ 1160, 1.14a.

In a certain sense, the Four Hindrances (alcohol, sex, wealth, and anger) may be understood as relational. They are socially orientated sources of dissipation, that is, they primarily involve “external” behavior patterns. Ordinary human beings tend to be externally oriented, while those following Quanzhen practice principles and guidelines must embrace an internal orientation. In addition to the above-mentioned disrupting influences, the early Quanzhen adepts identified the phenomenal world, referred to as the “world of dust” (*chenshi* 塵世) or “external projections” (*waijing* 外境/外景), and sensory perception as sources of dissipation.

When your eyes see colors, your ears hear sounds, your mouth enjoys flavors, and your innate nature follows your emotions, you dissipate your *qi*. This resembles a ball filled with air (*qi* 氣)—if the air is full, it is firm; if the air dissipates, it loses firmness. If people allow anger (*qi* 氣) to be their ruler, they will follow things and give rise to thoughts. Then the original *qi* (*yuanqi* 元氣) will dissipate like air escaping from an air-filled ball. (*Xuanfeng qinghui lu*, DZ 176, 1b; cf. Waley 1931, 22)

This passage, attributed to Qiu Changchun, recalls a parallel one in the *Daode jing* 道德經 (Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power), a text which, along with the *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620; trl. Wong 1992; Kohn 1993, 25–29; see Komjathy 2003a) and *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31; trl. Rand 1979; Cleary 1991, 220–22; see Komjathy 2003a), was considered of primary importance in the early Quanzhen tradition.¹⁹

The five colors cause one’s eyes to become blind.
 The five sounds cause one’s ears to become deaf.
 The five flavors cause one’s mouth to become frail.

¹⁹ Technical terminology deriving from these texts appears throughout the early Quanzhen textual corpus. One also finds direct reference to the texts. For instance, in the *Quanzhen ji* (DZ 1153, 13.7b–8a), Wang Chongyang explains, “[To practice spiritual refinement] you must fully understand the three hundred characters of the *Yinfu jing* and read up on the five thousand words of the *Daode jing*” (13.7b–8a; also 10.21b; *Shixu lun*, DZ 1233, 4b). Wang also mentions the *Qingjing jing* (see *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 3a) and *Huangting jing* (Scripture on the Yellow Court) (see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 10.6a; *Ershisi jue*, DZ 1158, 2b). There are also Liu Changsheng’s commentaries on the *Yinfu jing* (DZ 122) and *Huangting jing* (DZ 401) and Liu Tongwei’s commentary on the *Qingjing jing* (DZ 974). See also Yao 1980, 97; 2000, 582; Hachiya 1992, 149–51; Eskildsen 2004, 7. Both Yao and Eskildsen mention the importance of the Buddhist *Xinjing* 心經 (Heart Sūtra; T. 250–57), while Yao also emphasizes the Confucian *Xiaojing* 孝經 (Classic of Filial Piety) and Eskildsen the *Jingang jing* 金剛經 (Vajra-cchedikā Sūtra; Diamond Sūtra; T. 235–37, 273, 2734; trl. Red Pine 2001).

Racing around and hunting cause one's heart-mind

To become mad.

Difficult-to-get goods cause one's activity to become disrupted.

Therefore, the sage is for the belly, not for the eyes.

Thus, he abandons that and receives this.

(ch. 12)

According to both classical Daoism and the early Quanzhen religious movement, ordinary human beings are overly engaged with external stimulation and sensory perception. Visual, auditory, and oral-factory phenomena and corresponding sensory responses may disrupt and disorient the Daoist practitioner.²⁰

The eyes (seeing), ears (hearing), nose (smelling), and mouth (tasting) in turn receive a number of technical designations in early Quanzhen, including the Three Bandits (*sandao* 三盜),²¹ Three Essentials (*sanyao* 三要),²² Four Gates (*simen* 四門),²³ Five Gates (*wumen* 五門/*wuhu* 五戶),²⁴ Five Thieves (*wuzei* 五賊),²⁵ Six Roots (*liugen* 六根),²⁶ Six Thieves (*liuzei* 六賊),²⁷ Seven Cavities (*qiqiao* 七竅),²⁸ and Nine Cavities (*jiuqiao* 九竅).²⁹ These referents are different ways of mapping the same corporeal constituents and capacities, while maintaining a certain nuance with regard to Quanzhen practice. Numerologically speaking, “three” most often refers to the eyes, ears, and mouth; “four” to the eyes, ears, nose, and mouth; “five” to the eyes (2), ears (2), and mouth (1); “six” to the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, body, and thought (*si* 思); “seven” to the eyes (2), ears

²⁰ Some other relevant passages include the following: *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 4.4b, 6.4b, 6.9b, 10.11a, 13.9a; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 2.1a; *Fianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.16a; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 3.6b, 8.19b; and *Panxi ji*, DZ 1159, 4.13b.

²¹ See, for example, *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 5.3b; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 3.4b.

²² See, for example, *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 3.18b, 3.23b, 4.1a, 10.6b; *Yinfu jing zhu*, DZ 122, 6ab.

²³ See, for example, *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.2a, 5.9b, 8.11b, 12.19a; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 5b.

²⁴ See, for example, *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.2b, 2.28b, 5.13b, 9.5a, 10.5a, 13.8a; *Fianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 1.29b; *Yingguang ji*, DZ 1152, 1.2b, 1.16a–17a, 4.22b.

²⁵ See, for example, *Panxi ji*, DZ 1159, 5.5a.

²⁶ See, for example, *Panxi ji*, DZ 1159, 4.9b; *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141 5.2b; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 11b, 18a.

²⁷ See, for example, *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 1.7b; *Fianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.14a, 2.26b, 3.2a; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 4.6b, 10.7b; *Shengguang can*, DZ 1150, 7b, 22b, 29a; *Yingguang ji*, DZ 1152, 3.20a, 4.14b; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 4b, 18a.

²⁸ See, for example, *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.19b, 10.4b, 11.5a, 11.10a; *Yingguang ji*, DZ 1152, 2.26a, 4.17a.

²⁹ See, for example, *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 3.15b, 8.2a; *Fianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.34b; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 2.20b; *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.2a; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 16a, 19b.

(2), nose (2), and mouth (1); and “nine” to the previous seven plus the urethra and anus.³⁰ “Restrain and seal the Four Gates, namely, the eyes, ears, mouth and nose. Do not allow the external world (*waijing* 外境) to enter in” (*Shiwu lun*, DZ 1233, 3b). And, according to Ma Danyang,

When the gate of the ears listens,
The heart-mind becomes vexed (*fanna* 煩惱).
Day by day, in grief and anxiety,
One does not realize the agedness of one’s complexion.
When the eyes act as the gate of seeing, one incites premature disease.
When the mouth acts as the gate of calamities (*huo* 禍),³¹
With virtue squandered, the body wastes away.
The nose is the Mysterious Gate (*xuanmen* 玄門);
It [has the capacity] to connect one to the great Dao.
(*Fianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.16a; Tang 1979, 1.335; see also *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 3.17b)

The senses are “gates” (*men* 門) in the sense that they are the passageways into the body that allow entrance from outside to inside.³² They are “thieves” (*dao* 盜/*zei* 賊) because they have the capacity to rob the Daoist adept of his or her vitality.³³ In addition to being “cavities” (*qiao* 竅), that is, openings in the body,³⁴ the sense organs are “roots” (*gen* 根)

³⁰ For definitions of these and related Daoist technical terms see especially Li 1991; Li 1994; Hu 1995. For guidance see Komjathy 2002b. See also Appendix Five, “Towards a Technical Glossary of Early Quanzhen Daoism.”

³¹ Wang Chongyang identifies the “tongue as the root of disaster” (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 3.17b; also 13.9a; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 2.6b).

³² The metaphor of “gates” or “doors” appears throughout the *Daode jing*. See, for example, chapters 1, 10, 52, 56, and 69. Commenting on the phrase “close the gates” (*bi qi men*), the Heshang gong commentary (DZ 682) explains, “The gate is the mouth. You must make sure the mouth is not reckless in speech” (ch. 52). And, with regard to the appearance of the same phrase in chapter 56, the commentary reads, “Blocking and closing mean that desires are severed at their source.” Interestingly, in his commentary on the *Yinfu jing*, Liu Changsheng cites Heshang gong (see *Yinfu jing zhu*, DZ 144, 5b).

³³ The classical Daoist location for the “Five Thieves” appears in the sixth-century C.E. *Yinfu jing* (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31, 1a). See Liu Changsheng’s commentary on the relevant passage (*Yinfu jing zhu*, DZ 144, 2b–3a).

³⁴ The phrase “Seven Cavities” first appears in chapter seven of the *Zhuangzi* (7/21/24), as appearing in the *Zhuangzi zhuzi suoyin* (Lau and Chen 2000). “The emperor of the southern ocean was called Brevity (*shu* 儻). The emperor of the northern ocean was called Suddenness (*hu* 忽). The emperor of the Center was called Primordial Chaos (*hundun* 混沌). Brevity and Suddenness often met in the land of Primordial Chaos, and Primordial Chaos treated them very generously. Brevity and Suddenness discussed how they could repay the inner power of Primordial Chaos. They said, ‘All people have the Seven Cavities so that they can see, hear, eat, and breathe. Primordial Chaos alone does not have them. Let’s try boring some.’ Each day they bored another hole. On

because, as causes of desire, they may generate calamities (*huo* 禍/*zai* 災) and vexation (Chn.: *fanna* 煩惱; Skt.: *kleśa*).³⁵

Closely associated with the senses, the early Quanzhen adepts also emphasized the negative effects of emotional and intellectual reactivity. Emotions (*qing* 情), thoughts (*nian* 念/*si* 思/*yi* 意),³⁶ and knowing (*zhi* 知) were seen as sources of confusion, which control ordinary human life and obscure one's innate, spiritual capacities.

Those cultivating the Dao must first sever their dependency on these twelve things: Alcohol, sex, wealth, anger (*qi* 氣), craving (*pan* 攀), karma (*luan* 緣), selfish love (*ai* 愛), recollection (*nian* 念), grief (*you* 憂), anxiety (*chou* 愁), rumination (*si* 思), and scheming (*lü* 慮). (*Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 2.3b; see also *Shuiyun ji*, DZ 1160, 1.14a; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 1a)³⁷

Such internal conditions create psychosomatic disruption and spiritual disorientation. Sometimes the emotions are also referred to with a number of technical terms, including the Three Poisons (*sandu* 三毒), Six Desires (*liuyu* 六欲), and Seven Emotions (*qiqing* 七情).³⁸ In addition to referring to the body, thinking and the mouth or to the eyes, ears, and mouth, the Three Poisons, following technical Buddhist usage, may be a designation for greed (*tan* 貪), anger (*chen* 嗔), and ignorance

the seventh day Primordial Chaos died" (cf. Watson 1968, 97). The Nine Cavities are mentioned in the *Yinfu jing* (DZ 31, 1a).

³⁵ A Buddhist technical term, the Six Roots (Chn.: *liugen* 六根; Skt.: *sad-indriya*) are the six sense-organs: eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and thought. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 135–36; Ding 1939, 648, 1806. The Six Roots are, in turn, associated with the Six Thieves and Six Desires.

³⁶ Each of these characters may be used as a general term for "thought" or "thinking" and for specific intellectual activities. In the latter sense, *nian* 念 relates to "recollection," *si* 思 to "rumination," and *yi* 意 to "intention."

³⁷ In the *Danyang yulu*, one finds a different list of twelve: "[Cultivating] the Dao simply [consists of the following]: clarity and stillness (*qingjing* 清靜), non-action (*wuwei* 無為), carefree being (*xiaoyao* 逍遙), self-dependence (*zizai* 自在), remaining undefiled (*buran* 不染), and remaining unattached (*buzhuo* 不著). If you can thoroughly digest and lay bare these twelve characters, you will be a Daoist (*daoren* 道人) who has fathomed the depths" (DZ 1057, 4b).

³⁸ Interestingly, the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* 修真太極混元圖 (Diagram on Cultivating Perfection, the Supreme Ultimate and Primordial Origin; DZ 149; trl. Baryosher-Chemouny 1996) contains a diagram depicting dissipation and loss (see DZ 149, 6a; Baryosher-Chemouny 1996, 147). This diagram provides a visual representation of the Six Desires and Seven Emotions associated with the heart. The Seven Emotions are listed as pleasure (*xi* 喜), anger (*nu* 怒), sadness (*ai* 哀), joy (*le* 樂), grief (*bei* 悲), grief (*you* 憂), and worry (*si* 思). The Six Desires are listed as those associated with the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and thought. This diagram and a paired one (DZ 150) provide detailed illustrations of internal alchemy.

(*chi* 痴).³⁹ The Six Desires, another technical term adopted from Buddhism, are desires generated by the above-mentioned Six Roots or Six Thieves, namely, desires relating to the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, body, and thought.⁴⁰ Finally, the Seven Emotions most frequently refer to pleasure (*xi* 喜), anger (*nu* 怒), worry (*you* 憂), thought (*si* 思), grief (*bei* 悲), fear (*kong* 恐), and fright (*jing* 驚). These and other emotions receive a separate entry in the *Changsheng yulu*.⁴¹ While Quanzhen adopts sometimes identified specific emotional and intellectual tendencies as harmful, it seems that it was excessive emotional and intellectual activity *in general*, understood in its multitude of manifestations, that was seen as detrimental to one's internal harmony and energetic vitality. That is, referring to specific emotional and intellectual tendencies was primarily a process of identification and a way of bringing one's attention to such dissipating influences.⁴²

On the broadest level, emotional and intellectual activity, as understood in early Quanzhen Daoism, relate to the heart-mind (*xin* 心).⁴³ One of the clearest discussions of the heart-mind appears in the eighth discourse of the *Shiwu lun* entitled “Jiangxin” 降心 (Controlling the Heart-mind).

³⁹ See, for example, *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 5.18a; *Shuiyun ji*, DZ 1160, 1.20b; also *Zhenxian yulu*, DZ 1256, 9b.

⁴⁰ See, for example, *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 5.18a; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 8.17b, 10.31a; *Shenguang can*, DZ 1150, 7b; *Tunguang ji*, DZ 1152, 2.32b; *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.2b; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 18a.

⁴¹ The entries include joy (*le* 樂), sadness (*ku* 苦), pleasure (*xi* 喜), grief (*you* 憂), worry (*si* 思), and anxiety (*lü* 慮). There is also an entry on emotions (*qing* 情) in general, wherein emotionality is associated with dissipation (*lou* 漏).

⁴² The *Dadan zhizhi* also mentions and describes the Ten Demon Lords (*shi mojun* 十魔君): (1) Demon of the Six Desires; (2) Demon of the Seven Emotions; (3) Demon of Wealth; (4) Demon of Nobility; (5) Demon of Affection; (6) Demon of Calamity; (7) Demon of Violence; (8) Demon of Sagely Excellence; (9) Demon of Prostitute Pleasure; and (10) Demon of Women and Sex (DZ 244, 2.5a–6b; trl. Belamide 2002, 208–10). This discussion parallels one on the Ten Demons (*shimo* 十魔) in the *Chuandao ji* (Record of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, 16.25a–26b; trl. Wong 2000, 138–40). See also chapter seven; Eskildsen 2001, 152; 2004, 106.

⁴³ I have translated *xin* as “heart-mind” in order to emphasize that it is not some disembodied, transcendental faculty. *Xin* in classical Daoism, classical Chinese medicine, and Quanzhen Daoism relates to both the heart-mind as physical location in the chest (the heart as “organ”) and as relating to thoughts and emotions (the heart as “consciousness”). As conscious center, the heart-mind is also associated with spirit and numinous capacities more generally. While there are clearly a variety of Buddhist influences on early Quanzhen, the question remains open concerning the degree to which Quanzhen accepted the Buddhist mind-based approach towards spiritual liberation (see, for example, Kubo 1967; Hachiya 1992, 134; Hu 2001). That is, did Quanzhen adopt a more classical understanding of *xin* or did it tend towards Tang-dynasty Daoist (e.g., Sima Chengzhen; see Kohn 1987; 1989) and Chan Buddhist views?

Let me explain the way of the heart-mind. If the heart-mind is constantly deep, then it remains unmoving [unagitated]. Obscure and dark, it does not give attention to the ten thousand beings. Profound and vague,⁴⁴ there is no such thing as internal or external. Not even the slightest trace of thought remains. This is the stabilized heart-mind (*dingxin* 定心). It needs no control.

However, if the heart-mind is generated by pursuing external appearances (*jing* 境), it becomes upset and overturned, searching for the head and chasing after the tail. This is called the chaotic heart-mind (*luanxin* 亂心). You must urgently extract and expel it. Do not let it become unrestrained. Such a heart-mind ruins and spoils the Dao and inner power. It harms and diminishes innate nature and life-destiny.

Whether standing, walking, sitting, or lying down, [if the heart-mind] is constantly exhausted by hearing and seeing, knowing and perceiving, then there will only be sickness and suffering. (*Shiwu lun*, DZ 1233, 3b–4a)

Here a distinction is being made between the ordinary heart-mind, the “chaotic heart-mind,” and the perfected or realized heart-mind, the “stabilized heart-mind.” The former relates to ordinary consciousness, with the ordinary human being controlled and confused by the heart-mind in its agitated and habituated state. The early Quanzhen adepts frequently refer to the ordinary heart-mind as the “monkey-mind and horse-thought” (*yanxin mayi* 猿心馬意; *xinyuan yima* 心猿意馬) (Yao 1980, 86; 2000, 587; Hawkes 1981, 162–63; Boltz 1987, 152), as it is characterized by jumping from one external appearance to another, by galloping from one thought to another.⁴⁵ The “stabilized heart-mind” relates to purified consciousness, with the Daoist adept attaining a point of clarity and stillness wherein internal harmony is constant.

In sum, the early Quanzhen adepts understood the ordinary human as an emotionally and intellectually tumultuous being, separated from

⁴⁴ The adjectival phrases “obscure” (*hunhun* 昏昏) and “deep” (*momo* 默默), “profound” (*mingming* 冥冥) and “vague” (*miaomiao* 杳杳), come from the *Daode jing*, wherein they are used as positive descriptions of the mysteriousness and subtlety of the Dao, and the Daoist adept by extension. See, for example, chapters 20, 21, and 28.

⁴⁵ References to the “heart-mind” in the early Quanzhen literature are too numerous to note. For some examples concerning the “monkey-mind and horse-thought” see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 3.1b, 4.11b, 7.2a, 8.10ab, 9.15b, 10.2a, 10.10a, 10.19a, 12.3a, 13.2b; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 1.8b, 2.4a, 3.2a; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 1.11a; *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 1.30a, 1.32b, 1.39a, 3.12b, 8.18b, 10.7a; *Shenguang can*, DZ 1150, 1a, 19b; *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 2.9ab, 3.18a, 5.17b; *Yinguang ji*, DZ 1152, 3.17b; *Ershisi jue*, DZ 1158, 1b. David Hawkes, drawing on Dudbridge (1970, 167–176), suggests that these terms were Buddhist in origin (1980, 163). Interestingly, this analogy also appears in the tenth-century *Chuandao ji* (Record of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, 14–16; also DZ 1309; trl. Wong 2000): “The heart-mind [is like] a monkey, and thought [is like] a horse. Neither can stop” (16.16b).

the Dao as Source and squandering their innate vitality and spiritual capacities. The ordinary human being takes a condition of external preoccupation, internal agitation, and interpersonal strife as “normal.” From the perspective of early Quanzhen, this is, in fact, a disrupted and abnormal condition. The heart-mind also has innate spiritual capacities, which may be consciously cultivated. However, the ordinary human being has not yet become dissatisfied to the point where he or she recognizes the sources of suffering: societal expectations, familial obligations, and personal habitation. For this reason, the early Quanzhen adepts saw ordinary human beings as “skeletons,” “walking corpses,” and “running bones.”

ABANDONING HABITUATION AND CONDITIONING

The fundamental Quanzhen response to such an ontological condition was to “leave the family.” This is what I refer to as the “ascetic” or “renunciant ideal” of early Quanzhen, meaning that separating oneself from the mundane world and dedicating oneself to intensive religious training was a spiritual necessity.⁴⁶ As one can see from the above discussion, renouncing society, family, and habituated self, as well as purifying and stilling emotional and intellectual turmoil, entailed withdrawal and austerity. The early Quanzhen adepts emphasized a radical “stripping down” and “laying bare” what was essential and necessary, a vigilant attentiveness to separating the pure/sacred from the impure/mundane. The ascetic tendencies of early Quanzhen, discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters, formed a “proto-monastic ideal.” For all intents and purposes, the early Quanzhen approach of “giving up” and “separating from” was the beginning of a monastic orientation.

The decision to leave the mundane world and embrace a religious way of life, to dedicate oneself to a movement from habituation to self-transformation, was justified in early Quanzhen Daoism along at least four specific lines. That is, there were at least four primary reasons for becoming a renunciant, for undertaking intensive Daoist training. First, in keeping with a classical Daoist model, the ordinary

⁴⁶ This is not to say that early Quanzhen practitioners abandoned humans to their suffering and chaos. As Stephen Eskildsen has shown, the early adepts had a certain commitment to assisting humans through both charitable deeds and ritual intervention. See Eskildsen 1989, 137–204; 2004, 155–70. This is in keeping with the Mahāyāna Buddhist emphasis on compassion and the “bodhisattva ideal,” i.e., universal salvation.

heart-mind, with its patterns of turmoil and agitation, disrupted one's innate connection with the Dao. Through Quanzhen practice, one could return to a condition of cosmological integration; one could realize one's innate nature as a manifestation of the Dao. Second, following insights from classical Chinese medicine (see Kleinman 1980, 77–78; 1986; Unschuld 2003, 227–34), disease in early Quanzhen was understood as psychosomatic (and/or somato-psychic). Specific emotions, in excess, could injure the corresponding orb-system (*zangfu* 臟腑/藏府) and generate specific diseases. For example, anger has the potential to injure the liver and its related function of moving qi throughout the body and purifying blood, which could eventually create a condition of imbalance leading to specific diseases (e.g., eye problems) and premature death. Through Quanzhen practice, one could live in a condition of internal harmony; one could maintain health through attentiveness to psychosomatic tendencies. Third, adopting aspects of a Buddhist worldview, ordinary human life was seen as characterized by suffering and impermanence. Desire-based living created karmic connections (*yinyuan* 因緣), which would inevitably lead to further suffering, sometimes referred to as “vexations” or “calamities.” Through Quanzhen practice, one could purify one's karma and free oneself of desire; one could become liberated from the endless cycle of suffering and transmigration. Finally, advocating an alchemical approach, the early adepts viewed ordinary human beings as engaged in patterns of dissipation, which squandered their innate capacity for alchemical transformation and mystical experiencing. Through Quanzhen practice, one could preserve one's corporeal constituents and use them as material for radical alchemical transformation; one could activate and actualize one's innate capacities to the point where one would become an “immortal” or “Perfected” (see Kohn 2002 [1990]). The movement from habituated self to alchemically transformed and spiritually realized being in turn involved coming to see oneself in the fullness of one's psychosomatic possibility, that is, perceiving and activating self in its multiple layers of subtlety.

CHAPTER FOUR

SELF IN CULTIVATIONAL CONTEXT

As documented in the previous chapter, the early Quanzhen adepts viewed ordinary human beings, including their own lives before conversion and Daoist training, as “walking corpses,” “running bones,” and “marionettes.” From a Quanzhen perspective, the ordinary human is following patterns of dissipation that will eventually lead to dissolution. Such individuals are characterized by emotional and intellectual turbidity as well as by psychosomatic disruption. The aspects of human being identified as most detrimental to human flourishing include sensory over-stimulation, psychological reactivity, alcohol consumption, material accumulation, sexual activity, and so forth. Those uncommitted to Daoist religious praxis were seen as leading lives based in personal habituation, familial and societal entanglement, and self-disruption. In short, they were following a path to dissolution characterized by desire-based, qi-dissipating existential modes. Such a path of dissipation and dissolution involved corresponding experiences: internal turmoil, relational disharmony, and external difficulties.

However, the early adepts claimed that there was another possibility beyond such disorientation and misalignment. Through dedication to Quanzhen training regimens, one could actualize latent spiritual capacities and become an alchemically-transformed being. Such transformative techniques required and embodied alternative views of self, of human psychosomatic possibility. Self in a Quanzhen cultivational context was an embodiment of the larger cosmos, a locale of numinous phenomena and abilities, and an alchemical vessel. Such views were simultaneously applied in and activated through advanced training regimens. Higher-level practice-realization required the aspiring Quanzhen adept to *embody* something different, to become a different kind of being.

FOUNDATIONAL VIEWS

The early Quanzhen religious community adopted an understanding of the human body that parallels classical Chinese medicine, as documented in such texts as the *Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問 (Yellow

Thearch's Inner Classic: Basic Questions; DZ 1018; abbr. *Suwen*; trl. Veith 1966) and *Huangdi neijing lingshu* 黃帝內經靈樞 (Yellow Thearch's Inner Classic: Numinous Pivot; DZ 1019; abbr. *Lingshu*; trl. Wu 1993) (see Unschuld 1985; 2003). In *The Taoist Experience*, Livia Kohn makes the following point: "The basic Taoist understanding of the body is identical with that of traditional Chinese medicine, which in turn is based on the system of Five Agents [*wuxing* 五行]" (1993, 163; see also 2002 [1991], 68–71; Schipper 1993, 100–1).¹ This should probably be qualified as follows: generally speaking, Daoist self-cultivation lineages, including internal alchemy traditions, adapted a classical Chinese medical view of the body-self as foundational (see Robinet 1989, 301; 1997, 207; Pregadio and Skar 2000, 464).² In keeping with this observation, and familiarizing oneself with the early textual corpus, the foundational view of self in early Quanzhen derives from classical Chinese medicine.³

In a variety of passages from the early Quanzhen textual corpus, there are references to the Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行), five yin-orbs (*wuzang* 五臟), five qi (*wuqi* 五氣), six yang-orbs (*liufu* 六腑), and Triple Warmer

¹ Throughout the present study, I use "classical Chinese medicine" to refer to the Chinese medical system based on correlative cosmology, which was standardized during the early Han dynasty (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.) and became "medical orthodoxy" into the modern period. As herein understood, the "classics" to which this system refers are the *Huangdi neijing* (Yellow Thearch's Inner Classics) texts, *Nanjing* 難經 (Classic of Difficulties; trl. Unschuld 1986), *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 (On Cold-induced Disorders; trl. Mitchell et al. 1999), and *Shennong bencao jing* 神農本草經 (Shennong's Classic of Herbolology). "Traditional Chinese Medicine" (TCM) more appropriately refers to a modern form of Chinese medicine, "modernized" by the Chinese Communist government by incorporating aspects from Western allopathic medicine and scientific paradigms.

² A counter-example, specifically emphasized in Daoist asceticism (see Eskildsen 1998) and texts such as the ninth-century *Taishang chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing* 太上除三尸九蟲保生經 (Great High Scripture for Protecting Life and Expelling the Three Death-bringers and Nine Worms; DZ 871; abbr. *Chu sanshi jiuchong jing*), emphasizes a "demonological approach" to illness and corresponding exorcistic therapy. As Paul Unschuld has recently argued, the *Suwen* and similar Han-dynasty medical texts represent a movement away from illness understood in terms of demons, ancestors, and/or bugs/parasites, and towards a "naturalistic approach" to health and illness, focusing on environmental conditions, climatic influences, and behavior as causal in the emergence of disease (2003, especially 319–49; see also Unschuld 1985). The former view, emphasizing proto-parasitology, is evident in the Mawangdui medical manuscripts (see Harper 1998). On the various Chinese medical "models" see Unschuld 1985. For a proposed interpretative framework based on "models" with regard to Daoism see the introduction to the present study.

³ In the present context, it should be kept in mind that "self" includes the entire spectrum of psychosomatic experience (consciousness and physicality) as subjectively understood.

(*sanjiao* 三焦). For example, in the *Quanzhen ji*, we find the following poem by Wang Chongyang:

Dwelling in a realm of clear coolness,
 Among this seclusion,
 I establish a new school.
 Attaining serenity, immersed in serenity,
 Perfect sweetness, beautiful taste,
 The Sweet Dew (*ganlu* 甘露) responds in kind.
 I cleanse the Triple Warmer and six yang-orbs,
 While the five yin-orbs become completely resplendent.
 Flowing and circulating without obstruction,
 Through inversion, all are interpenetrating.
 (DZ 1153, 3.6b; Tang 1979, 1.166; cf. Eskildsen 2001, 154)

A more explicit and detailed passage appears in the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, which is attributed to Wang Chongyang.

When yin and yang are inverted,⁴ the Five Phases are perfectly manifested. The Five Phases consist of Metal, Wood, Water, Fire, and Earth. In spring, Wood prospers. If the internal Wood [the liver] does not prosper, people commonly suffer from eye problems. In summer, Fire prospers. If the internal Fire [the heart] does not prosper, people commonly suffer from loose stools. In autumn, Metal prospers. If the internal Metal [the lungs] does not prosper, people commonly suffer from respiratory problems. In winter, Water prospers. If the internal Water [the kidneys] does not prosper, people commonly suffer from hernias.

The spleen relates to the phase Earth. The four seasons are divided and completed by the spleen qi. When yin and yang are inverted, then there is reversal. Each of the Five Phases controls the next. Metal controls Wood; Wood controls Earth; Earth controls Water; Water controls Fire; and Fire controls Metal. Water and Fire relate to yin and yang, respectively; one yin and one yang are the perfect Dao. They are also vital essence and blood. People have myriad diseases. [This is because] they do not attend to the condition of the five yin-orbs. Instead, they diminish the vital essence and blood that they received from their fathers and mothers. With the elixir field weakened, they bring forth disease and sickness. Therefore, hasten to collect spirit and stabilize innate nature. (DZ 1156, 20b)⁵

⁴ A variety of diagrams relating to the “inversion of the Fives Phases” (*wuxing diandao* 五行顛倒) appear in the *Dadan zhizhi* (DZ 244). For some other passages on the Five Phases and the related orb-system see the following: *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.4b, 1.9b, 1.13b, 2.14b, 5.5b, 10.9a, 11.10a, 11.11b, 12.9b, 13.13a; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 1.7b, 1.8a; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 2.7b; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 7.9a; *Panxi ji*, DZ 1159, 4.14b, 4.15a; *Yinguang ji*, DZ 1152, 1.9b, 2.5a, 2.12b, 3.7a, 3.20a, 4.2a; *Taigu ji*, DZ 1161, 2.8ab.

⁵ In the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, Wang Chongyang also explains, “If there are people who

Generally speaking, this traditional Chinese understanding of self is *assumed* and part of the religio-cultural milieu of early Quanzhen. Because this was the primary received worldview with respect to conceptions of body-self and body-based practices, familiarity was assumed and very few explicit explanations were deemed necessary.

However, in order to more fully understand both Quanzhen views of self and the training regimens discussed in subsequent chapters, one must be familiar with classical Chinese medicine. First and foremost, it should be emphasized that classical Chinese medicine is a form of “naturalistic medicine” based on what is referred to as “correlative cosmology” or “systematic correspondence.” This medical system emphasizes a “naturalistic” understanding of disease and wellness; that is, disease was seen as the result of climatic influences (e.g., wind, cold, etc.) and personal behavior patterns (lifestyle, emotions, etc.) that disrupted one’s health, understood principally as the smooth flow of qi throughout the body. Herein, the human being was identified as a manifestation of the cosmos; there was a correspondence between “macrocosm,” universe and world, and “microcosm,” self and bodily constituents. In order to elucidate the views of early Quanzhen and their indebtedness to classical Chinese medicine, in this section I will make use of the early Chinese medical classics.⁶

The so-called “correlative cosmology” or “system of correspondences” rests on yin-yang interaction and the Five Phases. With regard to the former, yin and yang are the foundation of a traditional Chinese worldview. Etymologically speaking, yin depicts a hill covered by shadows, while yang depicts a hill covered by sunlight. At the root-meaning level, yin and yang are ways of speaking about the same place at different times/moments of the day. Yin and yang are not “polar opposites” or antagonistic substances; they are, in fact, complementary principles, aspects, or forces. As the characters suggest, yin and yang are used to

are diseased, it is ultimately because they have not attended to the needs of the five yin-orbs” (5a).

⁶ One would, of course, like to know the defining characteristics of medicine during the Song-Jin period. Unfortunately, not much research has been done on this subject. For some insights see Unschuld 1985, 154–88; Yang and Duan 1994; Furth 1999. Unschuld suggests that through the Song-Jin period Chinese medicine “as far as the surviving literature indicates, developed along the lines established by the compilation of the *Huang-ti nei-ching* and the *Shen-nung pen-ts’ao ching*” (166). In addition, Tang-dynasty “cosmobiology” (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣) exerted a major influence (see *ibid.*, 168–72; Unschuld 2003, 387–488).

represent different dimensions of the same phenomenon or situation. By extension, there are various associations: yin/female/earth/dark/heavy/turbidity/rest and yang/male/heavens/light/light/clarity/activity. At times, “yin” may also be used to designate negative or harmful aspects of life more generally (immorality, ugliness, disease, etc.), while “yang” becomes related to positive or beneficial aspects of life (morality, beauty, health, etc.).

Conventionally rendered as “Five Elements,” *wuxing* 五行 literally means something like “five activities” or “five movements.” This dynamic and process-orientated aspect becomes more satisfactorily rendered in the designation of “Five Phases.” The Five Phases are Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water. While these five do, in fact, relate to actual substances as well as related phenomena and energetic qualities, the system is much more complex and dynamic than “elements” would lead one to believe. For example, the Five Phases are also associated with the five yin-orbs (*wuzang* 五臟).

The five yin-orbs store the following: The heart stores spirit; the lungs store the corporeal soul; the liver stores the ethereal soul; the spleen stores intention; and the kidneys store will.

The five yin-orbs rule the following: The heart rules the vessels; the lungs rule the skin; the liver rules the sinews; the spleen rules the flesh; and the kidneys rule the bones. (*Suwen*, ch. 23; DZ 1018, 18.8a–9b; see also *Suwen*, chs. 3, 8, 9 and 10)

In the context of *Quanzhen* practice, reference to Wood may thus refer to any number of correspondences or associations, as seen in the passage from the *Jinguan yusuo jue* cited above.⁷ Again drawing on classical Chinese medicine, the following associations (phase/season/emblem/direction/life-stage/orientation/climate/orbs/spiritual dimension/color/flavor/odor/sound/beneficial emotion/injurious emotion/sense organ/grain/planet/tissue) deserve note:

(1) Wood: spring: Azure Dragon: east: birth: outward: wind: liver/gall bladder: ethereal soul: azure: sour: rancid: shouting: humaneness (*ren* 仁): anger (*nu* 怒): eyes: wheat: Jupiter: sinews.

⁷ So, when Wang Chongyang identifies the “tongue as the root of disaster” (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 3.17b; also 13.9a; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 2.6b), in addition to the obvious ethical association with “right speech,” Wang may have had the Five Phase correspondences in mind. As the tongue is associated with the heart, which in turn relates to “mind” and spirit, speaking may disturb the qi of the heart and destabilize one’s spiritual capacities.

- (2) Fire: summer: Vermillion Bird: south: adolescence: upward: heat: heart/small intestine: spirit: red: bitter: scorched: laughing: respect (*li* 禮): excessive joy (*xi* 喜/*le* 樂):⁸ tongue: beans: Mars: vessels/blood;
- (3) Earth: late summer:—: center: adulthood: centering: dampness: spleen/stomach: intention: yellow: sweet: fragrant: singing: honesty (*xin* 信): worry (*si* 思): mouth/lips: rice: Saturn: flesh;
- (4) Metal: autumn: White Tiger: west: maturation: inward: dryness: lungs/large intestine: corporeal soul: white: pungent: rotten: weeping: righteousness (*yi* 義): grief (*ku* 苦/*bei* 悲/*you* 憂): nose: oats: Venus: skin/hair;
- (5) Water: winter: Mysterious Warrior: north: old-age: downward: cold: kidneys/bladder: vital essence: black: salty: putrid: groaning: wisdom (*zhi* 智): fear (*kong* 恐): ears: millet: Mercury: bones. (see, e.g., *Suwen*, ch. 5; also Unschuld 2003, 99–124)

The Five Phases, including their various associations, are understood to relate to each other in patterns of dynamic interaction. First, there is the so-called “production cycle,” wherein Wood generates Fire, Fire generates Earth, Earth generates Metal, Metal generates Water, and Water generates Wood. There is also the “destruction cycle,” wherein Wood destroys Water, Water destroys Metal, Metal destroys Earth, Earth destroys Fire, and Fire destroys Wood. Finally, in the “control cycle” Wood controls Earth, Earth controls Water, Water controls Fire, Fire controls Metal, and Metal controls Wood.

For present purposes, special attention needs to be given to the various orbs (*zangfu* 臟腑/藏府) and their related functions.⁹ Generally speaking, the *zang*, here translated as “yin-orb” but more conventionally rendered as “yin organ,” “storehouse” or “depot,” are responsible for transformation and storage; they are “yin” because they are solid and more internalized. The yin-orbs store the body’s vital substances, namely, vital essence (*jing* 精), subtle breath (*qi* 氣), blood (*xue* 血), and body fluids (*jinye* 津液). The *fu*, here translated as “yang-orb” but more conventionally rendered as “yang organ,” “palace,” or “receptacle,” are responsible for transportation and excretion of wastes; they are “yang” because they are hollow and primarily interface with the exterior (digestion, elimination, etc.). The yang-orbs digest food, absorb nutrients, and excrete wastes.

⁸ One must add “excessive” here, as there are passages in the *Suwen* that suggest joy in the appropriate degree is beneficial to the heart. For example, chapter 39 of the *Suwen* explains, “Joy (*xi* 喜) makes the heart peaceful and relaxed. It benefits the nutritive qi (*yingqi* 營氣) and protective qi (*weiqi* 衛氣) as well as makes the qi relax and slow down.” One finds a similar perspective in early Quanzhen literature, wherein joy (*le* 樂) is seen as a beneficial result of dedicated practice.

⁹ For discussions of the orb functions based on classical sources see, e.g., Ross 1985; Maciocia 1989, 67–110; Unschuld 2003, 124–44.

They do not store substances, but rather provide temporary holding spaces that get filled and emptied on a regular basis. There are five yin-orbs (liver, heart, spleen, lungs, and kidneys) and six yang-orbs (gall bladder, small intestine, stomach, large intestine, urinary bladder, and Triple Warmer). In order to create parallelism, the pericardium is added to the five yin-orbs as the paired orb of the Triple Warmer.¹⁰

In Daoist psychosomatic training in general (e.g., early Shangqing, late Tang-dynasty *neidan*) and Quanzhen practice in particular, the five yin-orbs are most important, and for understanding alchemical practice some information on the orb functions is necessary. The liver stores blood, ensures the smooth flow of qi, controls the sinews, and houses the ethereal soul (*hun*, associated with dreaming). The heart governs blood, controls the blood vessels, houses consciousness/spirit (*shen* 神), and controls sweat. The spleen governs transformation and transportation, controls blood, controls the muscles and limbs, transforms fluids for the stomach, is the root of post-natal qi (*houtian qi* 後天氣), and houses intention/thought (*yi* 意). The lungs govern qi and respiration, control the meridians, control the skin and hair, and house the corporeal soul (*po* 魄, associated with emotionality). Finally, the kidneys store essence and govern growth and reproduction, produce marrow and nourish the brain, govern water, are associated with the Gate of Life (*mingmen* 命門), are the root of pre-natal qi (*xiantian qi* 先天氣), and house the will (*zhi* 志).¹¹ Moreover, one occasionally finds reference made to the “five qi” (*wuqi* 五氣) or “five spirits” (*wushen* 五神) associated with the five yin-orbs.

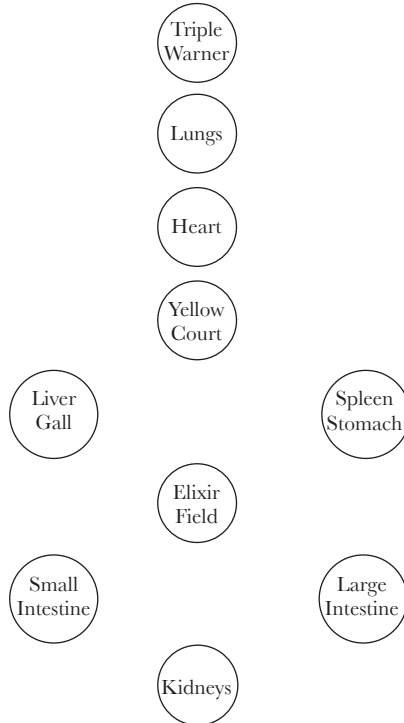
It is also noteworthy that in some passages in the early Quanzhen textual corpus one finds mention of the Triple Warmer, also known as the Triple Burner. As in the above passage, the Triple Warmer sometimes appears *in addition to* the six yang-orbs. At first glance, this may seem strange, given the fact that the Triple Warmer is one of the six yang-orbs. However, the Triple Warmer may have received a place of distinction in the early Quanzhen literature because of its associations in classical Chinese medicine. As the name suggests, on the most basic level

¹⁰ Chinese medicine also identified six “curious orbs” (*qiheng zhi fu* 奇恒之腑), namely, the brain (*nao* 腦; “sea of marrow”), marrow (*sui* 髓), bones (*gu* 骨), uterus (*bao* 胞/*baogong* 胞宮), blood vessels (*xuema* 血脈), and gall bladder (*dan* 膽). See Maciocia 1989, 123–25; Ross 1985, 177–78.

¹¹ A good introductory textbook on Chinese medicine is Giovanni Maciocia’s *The Foundations of Chinese Medicine* (1989), wherein Maciocia discusses the various orbs in detail and generally provides classical references for his views. For a less technical overview see Kaptchuk 2000 (1983).

the Triple Warmer is not an “organ” *per se*, but rather represents three subtle regions of the body and related functions. In classical Chinese medicine, the Triple Warmer is three things simultaneously: one of the six yang-orbs, a thoroughfare for original qi, and three divisions of the body (Maciocia 1989, 117–21; also 64–65). As a yang-orb, the Triple Warmer is in charge of irrigation and controls the water passages (*shuidao* 水道) (*Suwen*, ch. 8). It is also responsible for “letting out,” specifically with regard to protective qi (*weiqi* 衛氣) in the Upper Warmer, nutritive qi (*yingqi* 營氣) in the Middle Warmer, and fluids (*jinye* 津液) in the Lower Warmer. With regard to the connection between the Triple Warmer and original qi, chapter sixty-six of the *Nanjing* 難經 (Classic of Difficult Issues), an elucidation of the *Suwen*, has the following:

The qi moving below the navel and between the kidneys is the vitality (*shengming* 生命) of human beings. This qi is the basis of the twelve meridians. Thus, it is called “original [qi].” The Triple Warmer is the special envoy of original qi. It rules the pervasion and circulation of the three qi (*sanqi* 三氣) through the five yin-orbs and six yang-orbs. (cf. Unschuld 1986, 560–61; see also ch. 31; Unschuld 1986, 347)



The Orbs (*Zanghi*)

Based on *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.6a

The association with original qi also aligns the Triple Warmer with the Gate of Life (*mingmen* 命門), the area between the kidneys. Finally, the Triple Warmer as regions of the body leads to the following divisions: Upper Warmer above the diaphragm; Middle Warmer between the diaphragm and umbilicus; and Lower Warmer below the umbilicus (see *Lingshu*, chs. 18 and 30; *Nanjing*, ch. 31). Sometimes the Upper Warmer is associated with the heart and lungs, the Middle Warmer with the spleen and stomach, and the Lower Warmer with the liver and kidneys. Thus, it may be that attending to the Triple Warmer in its various dimensions is also attending to the body as a complete system.¹² Particularly noteworthy, is the fact that the Triple Warmer is associated with original qi and its circulation through the orb-meridian networks. As will be discussed in the subsequent chapter on early Quanzhen training regimens, this is a central aspect of internal alchemy practice.

The various orbs are not simply material/anatomical “things,” but rather a complex system encompassing anatomical entities and corresponding emotions, tissues, sense organs, mental faculties, energetic functions, and more. Particularly relevant in this respect is the understanding of the body as a network of subtle energetic pathways and exchange systems. Each orb is embedded within an overall qi cycle and is associated with specific qi pathways, called “meridians” (*mai* 脈/*jing* 經). These meridians follow distinct pathways through and within the body. There are twelve principal meridians, associated with the five yin-orbs plus the pericardium and the six yang-orbs, and “eight extraordinary vessels” (*qijing bamai* 奇經八脈). The latter are not related to any orb in particular; they are “extraordinary,” in the sense that they are physic networks that, when activated, lead to increased energetic sensitivity and spiritual abilities.¹³ Of these eight extraordinary vessels, four occupy a

¹² For some insights concerning the connection between the kidneys, Gate of Life, and Triple Warmer see Matsumoto and Birch 1988, 108–25.

¹³ In terms of classical sources, information on the Eight Extraordinary Vessels may be found in chapters 17, 21, and 62 of the *Lingshu*, and chapters 27, 28, and 29 of the *Nanjing*. For a systematic discussion see Larre 1997 as well as Matsumoto and Birch 1986. According to Maciocia (1989, 355–56), there are four primary functions of these meridians: (1) They act as reservoirs of qi in relation to the main meridians, meaning that they are can both absorb qi from the main meridians and transfer qi to them when needed; (2) They derive their qi from the kidneys and contain the essence stored in the kidneys, meaning that they are the link between pre-natal and post-natal qi; (3) They circulate protective qi over the thorax, abdomen, and back, meaning play a role in the body’s resistance to pathogenic factors; and (4) The Governing and

central place in internal alchemy practice: (1) Governing Vessel (*dumai* 督脈), moving from the base of the spine, up the middle of the back, around the crown-point, to the upper lip; (2) Conception Vessel (*renmai* 任脈), moving from the perineum, up the centerline of the front of the body, to the lower lip; (3) Thrusting Vessel (*chongmai* 衝脈), moving through the center of the body, between the crown-point and perineum; and (4) Belt Vessel (*daimai* 帶脈), the only horizontal channel, moving around the waist from the lower abdomen to the Gate of Life. The other four psychic channels include two arm meridians and two leg meridians; in Daoist praxis, these meridians are most often understood to go down the outside of the arms and legs, and up the inside of the arms and legs. In addition to being utilized in the technical literature (i.e., *Dadan zhizhi* and *Jinguan yusuo jue*), there are a few references to the meridians more generally.¹⁴ Of particular interest, Wang Chongyang speaks of the “eight meridians” (*bamai* 八脈).

With the Three Fields nine times reverted, illumination is lustrous.
 [The reverted elixir] ascends through the eight meridians,
 While the openings of the Four Gates are withdrawn.
 A spark (*yidian* 一點) of Emptiness is complete and gleaming.¹⁵
 Refraining from speaking,
 I am spontaneously invited to [the immortal realms].
 (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 12.19a; also Tang 1979, 1.239)

Through alchemical practice, the Quanzhen adept refines and transforms the body’s vital substances. This purified qi is circulated through the body’s various psychic channels, and the subtle body, the body of pure qi and spirit, is activated. The “spark of Emptiness,” one’s innate connection with and personal manifestation of the Dao, is awakened. The early Quanzhen practitioner recognizes and lives through this divine endowment.

Conception vessels regulate the seven and eight year cycles of the lives of women and men, respectively (see *Suwen*, ch. 1).

¹⁴ See, for example, *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.22a, 12.19b; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 1.19b; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 3.15a, 3.20b, 7.9b, 7.12a; *Shenguang can*, DZ 1150, 11a; *Yingguang ji*, DZ 1152, 4.17a; *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.2b; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 16b.

¹⁵ *Yidian* may be translated somewhat literally as “speck,” “dot,” or “bit.” In secondary usage, *yidian* 一點 means “a spark,” in the sense of lighting a lamp. I have debated about “seed,” but this could be expressed in Chinese as *yili* 一粒 if “seed” were meant. In alchemical practice, a “spark” is that aspect of self endowed by and manifested as the Dao. It is the divine seed or spark in each human being, the inherent capacity for spiritual illumination and immortality.

The early Quanzhen understanding of corporeal “substances” also parallels classical Chinese medicine. Five principal vital substances of the human body deserve note: vital essence, blood, subtle breath,¹⁶ *jīn*-fluids, and *yè*-fluids, with the latter two often combined as a designation for body fluids more generally. Vital essence is considered the core vitality of the human beings, the physical matrix of health.¹⁷ Generally speaking, vital essence is the most substantial of the body substances, relating to semen in men and menstrual blood in women. It principally relates to one’s constitution and physicality, as originating in “genetic” endowments from one’s ancestral line and parents. In this sense, one only has a finite amount of vital essence. Associated with the kidneys, vital essence relates to growth, reproduction, and development, produces marrow (associated with the brain), and is the basis of constitutional strength. Here one notices the connection between sexual reproduction and health and vitality. *Qì* is more subtle than vital essence, and from one perspective everything may be understood as *qì*, charted along a spectrum from the most substantial (rocks, for example) to the most rarified (gods, for example). *Qì* is the all-pervasive animating force within the body and cosmos. It is what circulates through the meridians and what gives life to stars. *Qì* is the actual physical breath (associated with the lungs), the vapors circulating through and as the universe, and everything that moves into the body, inside the body, and out of the body. In the paragraph below I discuss the different types of *qì*, but for now it may be noted that *qì* is also responsible for various body functions: transforming, transporting, holding, raising, protecting, and warming. In classical Chinese medicine, blood is a very dense and material form of *qì*. Without *qì*, blood would be an inert fluid. The main function of blood is that of nourishing the orbs and moistening the tissues. In

¹⁶ Generally speaking, I have left “*qì*” untranslated. Etymologically speaking, the character 氣 depicts vapor (*qì* 气) generated through the cooking of rice (*mǐ* 米). Its variant is simply the “vapor” radical (*qì* 气). *Qì* may refer to the material breath as well as to the subtle breath within the body and the etheric vapors of the cosmos. If one must translate it, “subtle breath” or “vital breath” is probably the most historically accurate translation. It has a parallel in the Indian *prana* and the Japanese *ki*. The translation of *qì* as “energy” is anachronistic, while “pneuma” simply obscures the matter by supplying another unfamiliar, non-English (Greek) equivalent. *Qì* has also become enough of a part of the English language that it probably no longer needs to be placed in italics, similar to “yin” and “yang”.

¹⁷ The character *jīng* 精 consists of *mǐ* 米 (“rice”) and *qīng* 青 (“azure,” but also “pure”). Etymologically, it refers to young or unprocessed rice. By extension, it refers to the essence of things.

addition, it is believed to house spirit. In the early Quanzhen literature, blood receives primary consideration as a possible form of dissipation for women through menstruation, the main way in which women lose vital essence, and as a substance associated with spirit.

One of the most important vital substances in Quanzhen is body fluids. One finds frequent mention of the *jin*-fluids and *ye*-fluids, often appearing with an added alchemical connotation in the form of “gold *jin*-fluids” (*jinjin* 金津) and “jade *ye*-fluids” (*yuye* 玉液).¹⁸ On the most general level and as a composite term, *jin*ye, body fluids, refer to all normal physiological fluids in the body, including internal fluids which may be secreted by the yin-orbs, such as tears, saliva, sweat, normal nasal mucus, and stomach or intestinal fluids, as well as the fluids which act to moisten the various tissues in the body, such as the skin, flesh, tendons, bones, and marrow. In classical Chinese medicine and in Quanzhen Daoism, a distinction is also made between *jin*-fluids and *ye*-fluids.

That which is distributed in the space between skin and muscles and comes out as sweat is called *jin*-fluids. . . . [When] food enters [the body] and qi is abundant, that moistening nourishment that pours into the bones and allows the bones [and joints] to bend and straighten, that [fluid] which benefits and supplements the brain and marrow, and moistens the skin, is called *ye*-fluids. (*Lingshu*, ch. 30; also ch. 36; *Suwen*, ch. 21)

The *jin*-fluids follow the circulation of the qi and blood as well as assist their flow, spreading throughout the surface of the body to warm and moisten the muscles, flesh and orifices, and flush the skin with nourishment. *Jin*-fluids are thin, clear and watery, and flow quickly and easily. In contrast, the *ye*-fluids are distributed to the various orbs, bones and joints, brain and marrow, but do not flow with the qi and blood. They are thick and viscous, move slowly, and function as a moistening lubricant and supplement to the vital essence, especially in the deep yin areas of the body, such as the joints and marrow (Clavey 1995, 11). In the early Quanzhen tradition, the *jin*-fluids and *ye*-fluids are often simply designations for the “saliva” produced during Daoist training.¹⁹

¹⁸ See, for example, *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.10b, 1.23b, 2.16b, 2.21a, 3.9a, 8.4a, 8.7b; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 2.3b, *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 1.26b; *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 3.3b; *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.14b–15a, 16b–17a; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 2a, 8b–10a, 14a.

¹⁹ It is interesting that Chinese medicine identifies two extra acupoints under the tongue called Jinjin 金津 (Gold Liquid) and Yuye 玉液 (Jade Fluid). These points are located on either side of the frenulum of the tongue, Jinjin to the left and Yuye to the right (see Deadman et al. 2001, 570–71).

However, as the terms are also used in a more technical sense, the specific associations should be kept in mind.

Vital essence, qi, blood, *jin*-fluids, and *ye*-fluids are, then, the basic vital substances of the human body. However, qi deserves a few additional comments, as there are a number of specific forms utilized in Daoist cultivation. First, qi may be distinguished in terms of pre-natal qi (*xiantian qi* 先天氣), sometimes translated as pre-heaven qi or deuterocosmic qi, and post-natal qi (*houtian qi* 後天氣), sometimes rendered as post-heaven qi or protocosmic qi. The former refers to the qi acquired before birth, namely, cosmic qi and ancestral qi. Post-natal qi refers to the qi acquired after birth, namely, qi derived from food and breath. Pre-natal qi is also referred to as original qi (*yuanqi* 元氣). Next, there is perfect qi (*zhenqi* 真氣), sometimes translated as “real” or “true qi.” Perfect qi is the final stage in the process of refinement and transformation of qi; it is the qi which circulates in the meridians and nourishes the orbs. In classical Chinese medicine, perfect qi in turn assumes two different forms: nutritive qi and protective qi. Nutritive qi has the function of nourishing the internal orbs and tissues, flowing with the blood and in the meridians (see *Suwen*, ch. 43). Protective qi has the function of protecting the body from attack by exterior pathogenic factors (e.g., wind, cold, etc.) as well as of warming, moistening, and nourishing skin and muscles, opening and closing the pores, and regulating body temperature (see *Lingshu*, ch. 47). Finally, classical Chinese medicine distinguishes between “aligned” or “orthopathic qi” (*zhengqi* 正氣) and “deviant” or “heteropathic qi” (*xieqi* 邪氣). Sometimes synonymous with “perfect qi,” orthopathic qi is qi flowing harmoniously and beneficially throughout the body and its ability to resist disease. Heteropathic qi is disruptive, injurious, and diseasing-causing, specifically qi relating to exterior pathogenic factors and the various causative factors of disease (see *Suwen*, ch. 32 and 72; Porkert 1979, 166–76; Maciocia 1989, 41–48; Unschuld 2003, 149–67).²⁰

The final bodily constituents that require explanation are “spiritual” faculties, including the corporeal soul(s) (*po* 魄), ethereal soul(s) (*hun* 魂),

²⁰ The term qi appears too often to mention in Quanzhen literature. For some occurrences of the various types of qi (*xieqi*, *yuanqi*, *zhenqi*, etc.) see *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 2ab, 3b, 7a–8b, 12a, 21a; *Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 4b; *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.19b, 2.2b; *Yanguang ji*, DZ 1152, 3.13a; *Panxi ji*, DZ 1159, 4.10a; *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.2b.

intention/thought (*yi* 意), will/aspiration (*zhi* 志), and spirit (*shen* 神).²¹ All of these aspects of human being are more rarified or etheric in nature. Yin in nature, the corporeal soul, also referred to as “white-soul,” resides in the lungs and relates to the body and emotionality. At death, it is said to descend into the earth with the flesh and bones, eventually dissolving with them. Yang in nature, the ethereal soul, also referred to as “cloud-soul,” resides in the liver and relates to an etheric form and dreams. At death, it is said to abandon the body and ascend to the heavens, eventually dissolving into the cosmos. It should also be mentioned that these “souls” are sometimes identified as multiple in number: seven *po* and three *hun*. The reasoning and associations behind these numbers (apart from their yin-yang symbolism) remain obscure. Thought, or intention, resides in the spleen and corresponds to the human capacity for applied thinking, studying, concentrating, and memorizing. Will, or aspiration, resides in the kidneys and corresponds to mental drive that gives one determination and single-mindedness in the pursuit of goals. Finally, spirit resides in the heart and corresponds to consciousness. However, spirit also relates to divine capacities inherent in the human being. Each of these psychosomatic aspects of self plays a central role in Quanzhen practice.

BEYOND ORDINARY HUMAN BEING

In the previous section on ordinary human being, it became clear that the early Quanzhen adepts identified ordinary life as characterized by desire-based modes of living. One is conditioned by societal expectations, familial obligations, and personal habituation. However, these are just the most easily identifiable sources of disruption and dissipation. In a cultivational context, the early Quanzhen adept also began to become aware of more insubstantial, insidious influences. In particular, the early Quanzhen practitioners, in keeping with Daoist ascetic concerns more generally, frequently refer to the Three Death-bringers (*sanshi* 三尸), also translated as the Three Corpses. “When the Seven

²¹ It is somewhat misleading to translate *po* 魄 and *hun* 魂 with the English word “soul.” Soul carries the connotation of some divine, eternal, and transcendental substrate, while the *po* and *hun* are ephemeral in nature. Both characters contain the component *gui* 鬼 (“ghost”). With some reservations, I have followed the conventional rendering.

Po (*qipo* 七魄) and Three Death-bringers are expelled, / Through nine reversions of the five directions springtime [youthfulness] once again arrives” (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 8.7b). In the technical literature, namely, the *Dadan zhizhi* and *Jinguan yusuo jue*, one finds more sustained treatments. For example,

Guard against the yin-ghosts (*yingui* 陰鬼), external demons (*waimo* 外魔), Seven Po, and Three Death-bringers from dispersing celestial perfection (*tianzhen* 天真) by confusing the yang-spirit (*yangshen* 陽神) and inhibiting it from ascending to the Celestial Palace (*tiangong* 天宮). (*Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 2.2b; see also 2.3b, 2.5a; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 2b, 4b, 16a; cf. *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 16.22ab; trl. Wong 2000, 133)

According to early Quanzhen Daoism, the human body is inhabited by malevolent entities and spiritual forces that seek to bring about disease and premature death. Yin-ghosts refer to dream-time phantasms, objects of sexual attraction that may lead to seminal emission (wet dreams), to the loss of vital essence and one’s foundational vitality. External demons are images and sources of attraction relating to the external world; such external stimuli initiate sensory responses in the form of desire and dissipation.²² On a more esoteric level and distinguishable from the standard usage of *po* as relating to the body in its physicality and emotionality, the Seven Po are additional dissipating influences.²³

The Seven Po consist of yin and deviant qi (*yinxie zhi qi* 陰邪之氣). They are ghosts (*gui* 鬼). They can make people into walking corpses, causing them to be stingy and greedy, jealous and full of envy. They give people bad dreams and make them clench their teeth. They command the mouth to say “yes” when the heart-mind thinks “no.”

In addition, they cause people to lose their vital essence in sexual passion and become dissipated by hankering after luxury and ease. Through them,

²² In addition to the “ten demons” mentioned in the chapter three and discussed in chapter seven, here one also thinks of the Buddhist concern with the “four demons” (Chn.: *mo* 魔; Skt.: *māra*) which produce human suffering: (1) Demon of vexations, who injures body and mind; (2) Demon of aggregates; (3) Demon of death, who cuts off the lives of living beings; and (4) Great Demon King, king of the sixth and highest heaven in the realm of desire who tries to prevent humans from doing good. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 148; Ding 1939, 432, 815, 2926; Xingyun 1989, 1854.

²³ Visual representations of the Seven Po appear in the ninth-century *Chu sanshi juchong jing* (Scripture on Expelling the Three Death-bringers and Nine Worms; DZ 871, 3a). Here they are identified as follows: (1) Shigou 尸狗 (Corpse Dog), (2) Fushi 伏矢 (Concealed Arrow), (3) Quycin 雀陰 (Sparrow Yin), (4) Tunzei 吞賊 (Seizing Thief), (5) Feidu 非毒 (Negative Poison); (6) Chuhui 除穢 (Oppressive Impurity), and (7) Choufei 臭肺 (Putrid Lungs) (54.7ab). For a brief discussion of the various malevolent entities that inhabit the human body see Kohn 2002 (1998), 17.

people completely lose their purity and simplicity. (*Chu sanshi jiu chong jing*, DZ 871, 2a; cf. Kohn 2002 [1998], 17)

The Three Death-bringers most often refer to three “biospiritual parasites” residing in the three elixir fields.²⁴ Traditionally speaking, the Three Death-bringers were believed to want to free themselves by either accelerating the death of the body through diseases or by shortening the life span through reporting a person’s faults to the celestial bureaucracy (see Campany 2002, 47–52). Various malevolent intentions and activities are ascribed to the Three Death-bringers. The upper death-bringer or worm creates sensual desire and causes madness; the middle death-bringer generates greed for wealth and causes moodiness; and the lower death-bringer stimulates desire for elegant clothes, alcohol, and sex.²⁵

In medieval sources, the Three Death-bringers are also said to depend on grains for sustenance. The elimination of the Three Death-bringers is, in turn, associated with the practice of “abstention from grains” (*quegu* 卻穀) or “avoidance of grains” (*bigu* 辟穀) (see Maspero 1981, 331–39; Lévi 1983). Sometimes interpreted as fasting more generally (see Eskildsen 1998, 43; Campany 2002, 22–24), abstention from

²⁴ The ninth-century *Chu sanshi jiu chong jing* (Scripture on Expelling the Three Death-bringers and Nine Worms; DZ 871) contains illustrations of the Three Death-bringers (7a–8a), wherein they are identified as follows: Peng Ju 彭踞 (upper), Peng Zhi 彭質 (middle), and Peng Jiao 彭矯 (lower) (also DZ 817). Other texts, such as the *Sanchong zhongjing* 三蟲中經 (Central Scripture on the Three Worms; *Yunji qiqian*, DZ 1032, 81.15b–17a), provide alternative names: Qinggu 青古 (Blue Decrepitude; upper), Baigu 白姑 (White Hag; middle), and Xueshi 血尸 (Bloody Corpse; lower) (also DZ 303, 4a). The Three Death-bringers are, in turn, associated with the three elixir fields: Palace of Nirvana (*nivuan gong* 泥丸宮; center of head), Vermilion Palace (*jiangong* 絳宮; heart region), and Ocean of Qi (*qihai* 氣海; lower abdomen). For more detailed information on the Three Death-bringers see Kubo 1961; Maspero 1981, 331–39; Lévi 1983; 1989, 109–14; Yamada 1989, 102–3, 107–12; Eskildsen 1998, 46–49, 60–61; Campany 2002, 49–52; Kohn 2002 (1998), 18–19.

²⁵ One also finds occasional mention of the Nine Worms (*jiuchong* 九蟲) in early Quanzhen literature. See, for example, *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 12.20b; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 2.9a. In terms of medieval sources, it seems that the Nine Worms were more material than the Three Death-bringers; that is, they were actual physical parasites. For example, visual representations appear in the ninth-century *Chu sanshi jiu chong jing* (Scripture on Expelling the Three Death-bringers and Nine Worms; DZ 871, 9a–14a). Here they are identified as follows: (1) Fuchong 伏蟲 (Slinking Worm), (2) Huichong 蛔蟲 (Coiling Worm), (3) Baichong 白蟲 (White Worm), (4) Rouchong 肉蟲 (Flesh Worm), (5) Feichong 肺蟲 (Lung Worm), (6) Weichong 胃蟲 (Stomach Worm), (7) Gechong 膈蟲 (Diaphragm Worm), (8) Chichong 赤蟲 (Crimson Worm), and (9) Qiaochong 蹺蟲 (Stilted Worm). This and related texts also provide the length and colors of the various worms, indicating that they were seen as material in nature.

cereals, in early Daoist contexts, is associated with eliminating the Three Death-bringers. These harmful entities depend on cereals or grains for nourishment and attempt to bring the human being to early death. By eliminating cereals, the Daoist adept aims at expelling these negative influences. In this respect, it is noteworthy that, as far as my reading goes, there is no reference to the Three Death-bringers in combination with either “abstention from grains” or Siming 司命 (Director of Life-destiny) in early Quanzhen literature.²⁶ One conclusion might be that such a connection was taken for granted. However, it may also be that the Three Death-bringers have become more “spiritualized” or “psychologized” in early Quanzhen. There are frequent occurrences of the phrase “Three Death-bringers Six Thieves” (*sanshi liuzei* 三尸六賊).²⁷ As noted above, the Six Thieves refer to the sense organs and their related desires. The Three Death-bringers may relate to the Three Essentials, namely, the eyes, ears, and mouth. That is, the Three Death-bringers may no longer be distinct spiritual parasites, but rather a symbolic way of speaking about the sense-organs and related sensory engagement.

As will become clear in subsequent chapters, one of the principal aims of early Quanzhen training regimens was purification and conservation. By abandoning patterns of dissipation, one could realize one’s original condition of numinosity, one could cultivate one’s spiritual capacities. In this respect, the early Quanzhen practitioners endeavored to move from habituation to self-transformation. Such a shift in ontological condition centered on the heart-mind. Here a distinction is made between the chaotic or ordinary heart-mind and the stabilized or realized heart-mind. The ordinary heart-mind is characterized by emotional and intellectual turmoil, confused by desire and agitation; the perfect (or perfected) heart-mind (*zhenxin* 真心) is characterized by clarity and stillness (*qingjing* 清靜). In addition to the capacity for confusion and exhaustion, the heart-mind, as ruler of the body-self,²⁸ could also attain numinous pervasion (*lingtong* 靈通). As mentioned, in the

²⁶ The only reference that I have been able to locate on “not eating the five grains” appears in *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.12b.

²⁷ Some relevant examples include the following: *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.14a, 2.16b; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 3.2a, 6.5a, 10.7b; *Shenguang can*, DZ 1150, 7b, 22b, 29a; *Yunguang ji*, DZ 1152, 4.14b.

²⁸ According to chapter eight of the *Suwen*, “The heart is the official (*guan* 官) [functioning as] lord and ruler (*junzhu* 君主).” See also *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 11.14a, and Liu Changsheng’s comments on the line “The human heart-mind is the pivot” (*Yinfu jing zhu*, DZ 122, 3a–4b).

Five Phase system of correspondences the heart-mind relates to spirit. When the heart-mind is purified, spirit becomes pervasive. While the ordinary heart-mind, in turbidity and agitation, disrupts one's innate connection with the Dao, the perfected heart-mind, in clarity and stillness, becomes pervaded by the Dao. In early Quanzhen, the purified and awakened condition of the heart-mind is sometimes spoken of as being "without a heart-mind" (*wuxin* 無心; i.e., "no-mind") or as the "dead heart-mind" (*sixin* 死心).²⁹ In more positive terms, it is referred to as the "aligned heart-mind" (*zhengxin* 正心), "perfected heart-mind" (*zhenxin* 真心), or "stabilized heart-mind" (*dingxin* 定心). The Quanzhen adept becomes so free from emotional and intellectual turmoil that he or she no longer has a heart-mind as conventionally and mistakenly understood.

As mentioned, the *Daode jing*, *Qingjing jing*, and *Yinfu jing* provided much of the foundational worldview, cultivation guidelines, and technical terminology for early Quanzhen Daoism, and the Quanzhen view of the heart-mind finds inspiration in those texts. In terms of classical Daoist sources, some of the clearest discussions of the heart-mind appear in the so-called "Xinshu" 心術 (Techniques of the Heart-mind) chapters of the *Guanzi* 管子 (Book of Master Guan).³⁰ For example,

²⁹ The phrase "without a heart-mind" may originate in section 1b of the *Qingjing jing* (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620). The notion of a "dead heart-mind" recalls chapter two of the *Zhuangzi* (2/3/15), where Zi Qi is described as absorbed in some form of meditation. He is said to have a form like withered wood and a heart-mind like dead ashes. Some relevant passages from early Quanzhen may be found in the following: *Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 5ab; *Shengguang can*, DZ 1150, 19b. The latter actually speaks of the "heart-mind resembling dead ashes," thus clearly alluding to the relevant passage in the *Zhuangzi*. As mentioned, from my perspective preliminary evidence suggests that the *Zhuangzi*, at least terminologically, occupied a much more central place in early Quanzhen than has hitherto been recognized. For example, the phrases *quanzhen* (complete perfection), *sihui* (dead ashes), *xiaoyao you* ("carefree wandering"), and *huandu* (meditation enclosure) come from the *Zhuangzi*. Moreover, the recluse ideal and pedagogical model of early Quanzhen finds a precedent there.

³⁰ The so-called Techniques of the Heart-mind chapters include the "Xinshu shang" 心術上 (Techniques of the Heart-mind I; ch. 36), "Xinshu xia" 心術下 (Techniques of the Heart-mind II; ch. 37), "Baixin" 白心 (Purifying the Heart-mind; ch. 38), and "Neiye" 內業 (Inward Training; ch. 49). Sometimes the "Zhouhe" 宙合 (All-Encompassing Unity; ch. 11) and "Shuyan" 樞言 (Pivotal Sayings; ch. 12) are also added. See Rickett 1998; Roth 1999. A close reading of these and related early "Daoist" texts may radically alter our understanding of the so-called "Buddhist conquest of China" (see Zürcher 1959; 1980); that is, Daoist views of the heart-mind may have been as influential on the transformation of Buddhism (the "Daoist conquest of Buddhism"), as is commonly expressed and claimed concerning the opposite directional influence. For some insights see Kirkland 2004.

Now then, the Dao is without a set place;
 But the calmness of an adept heart-mind (*shanxin* 善心) makes a place.
 When the heart-mind is still and *qi* is patterned,
 The Dao may then come to rest.
 (“*Neiye*”, ch. 5; cf. Roth 1999, 54–55)

One finds a similar perspective on the heart-mind as simultaneously source of disruption (in its agitated state) and locus for spiritual capacities (in its calmed state) in the *Qingjing jing* and *Yinfu jing*.

The human spirit is fond of clarity,
 But the heart-mind disturbs it.
 The human heart-mind is fond of stillness,
 But desires meddle with it.

If you can constantly banish desires,
 Then the heart-mind will become still naturally.
 If you can constantly settle the heart-mind,
 Then spirit will become clear naturally.
 (*Qingjing jing*, DZ 620, 1b)

Liu Tongwei, one of the lesser known first-generation Quanzhen adepts, provides the following comments:

The heart-mind is the storehouse of the numen; if spirit perches in stillness, it can become calm. Greed, anger and ignorance [the Three Poisons] are easy to act through; morality, concentration and wisdom are difficult to follow. If you deeply long for the alignment within alignment, firmly establish yourself in the seclusion within seclusion. Never giving rise to the Six Desires, the world of the divine law (*fajie* 法界) will naturally broaden.³¹ (*Qingjing jing zhu*, DZ 974, 3a)

Moreover, according to the *Yinfu jing*,

The heart-mind is born from things;
 The heart-mind dies from things.
 The pivot [of the heart-mind] is in the eyes.
 (DZ 31, 1b)

³¹ There is a section of the *Qunxian yaoyu zanjì* (Collection of Essential Sayings from Various Immortals; DZ 1257) on the “world of the divine law,” which may also be translated as “Dharma Realm” (2.8b–9a). Here one is informed, “The Dharma Realm is Great Emptiness (*taixu* 太虛). This is Great Non-being (*taiwu* 太無).”

Liu Changsheng gives the following explanation:

“The heart-mind being born from things” means being concerned with external things. “Dying” means that when the heart-mind dies one pervades (*tong* 通) numinous things. When the world seeks life, innate nature becomes wedded to the road to death. When you pervade the Dao, guarding this dying [of the heart-mind], spirit wanders along the road of life. The roads to the Dao and ordinariness (*su* 俗), to life and death, are different and mutually opposed. The pivot resides beyond the eyes. When the eyes look at things, the heart-mind moves as the pivot.³² If there is profit-seeking, then there is greed and contention. Through wisdom, the eyes see numinous things, illuminating the pivot of the heavens (*tianji* 天機). (*Yinfu jing zhu*, DZ 122, 12a–13b)

When stilled and purified, the heart-mind becomes the agent of spirit and the locus for the Dao as numinous presence becoming manifest in the world. Abandoning the mundane world of sensory engagement and emotional dissipation, one may attain a psychosomatic condition of calm serenity.³³ Within such a condition, the Quanzhen adept becomes oriented toward the universe in its multi-layered numinosity. The conscious cultivation of spiritual capacities brings alignment with innate nature and spirit, one’s innate endowment from and connection with the Dao.

The early Quanzhen religious community in turn conceived of self in terms “innate nature” (*xing* 性) and “life-destiny” (*ming* 命). On the most general level, innate nature relates to consciousness and the heart-mind, while life-destiny relates to physicality and the body. Etymologically speaking, the character *xing* 性 consists of *xin* 心 (“heart-mind”) and *sheng* 生 (“to be born”); innate nature is the heart-mind with which one was born. Thus, innate nature is sometimes referred to as “original nature” (*benxing* 本性). The character *ming* 命 may be associated with *ling* 令 (“mandate”); life-destiny is a decree from the cosmos made manifest as one’s corporeality. While innate nature and life-destiny relate to consciousness and corporeality on the most general level, they receive a variety of designations in the early Quanzhen literature, wherein they

³² “The human heart-mind is the pivot” (*Yinfu jing*, DZ 31, 1a).

³³ According to the *Shiwei lun* (DZ 1233, 4a), “Not giving rise to a single thought, this is the stabilized heart-mind.” In his *Danyang yulu* (DZ 1057, 5b), Ma Danyang comments, “When the heart-mind is stabilized, emotions are forgotten. When the body is empty, qi circulates. When the heart-mind dies, spirit flourishes.”

are two of the most frequently appearing technical terms (see Chen 1984, 153–57; Zhang 1995; Yao 2000, 581–82). In the *Shiwu lun*, we are told that “Innate nature is spirit; life-destiny is qi . . . Innate nature and life-destiny are the roots of cultivation and practice” (DZ 1233, 4b). Similarly, the *Ershisi jue* explains, “Innate nature is original spirit (*yuanshen* 元神), while life-destiny is original qi (*yuanyi* 元氣)” (DZ 1158, 1a). However, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* has the following: “Vital essence corresponds to innate nature, while blood relates to life-destiny” (DZ 1156, 2a; see also 5a). At first glance, this may seem problematic, but an elucidation follows:

Vital essence and blood are the roots of the flesh and body. The perfect qi is the root of innate nature and life-destiny. Consequently, it is said that if there is blood, one can generate the perfect qi. When the perfect qi is strong and substantial, then one can naturally attain longevity. Assembling vital essence and blood completes physical form. (ibid.)

The emphasis on “blood” in this passage may indicate a greater attentiveness to women’s practice, wherein menstruation is the main way in which vital essence is lost. However, in classical Chinese medicine, blood is believed to be the “mother of qi.” When blood is sufficient, it circulates to and nourishes the five yin-orbs.³⁴ This in turn generates qi. The aspiring Quanzhen adept is advised to cultivate both innate nature and life-destiny, to be attentive to both corporeal and spiritual aspects of self. Conservation is the foundation of alchemical transformation.

The early Quanzhen practitioner also learned to envision and relate to his or her body as an internal landscape. As Kristofer Schipper has noted, “‘The human body is the image of a country,’ say the Taoists. There they see mountains and rivers, ponds, forests, paths, and barriers, a whole landscape laid out with dwellings, palaces, towers, walls, and gates sheltering a vast population” (1993, 100; see also Schipper 1978; Kohn 1993, 161–88; 2002 [1991]). One of the clearest expressions of the Daoist vision of body as landscape appears in the *Jinguan yusuo jue* (DZ 1156, 18a–20a; trl. Kohn 1993, 175–80). This passage is by no means unproblematic, in terms of both its relationship to the text itself and the most appropriate interpretation. As this topic is covered in my introduction to the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, for the moment one may note that

³⁴ “Sufficient blood” is not a given. There are various forms of “blood deficiency” in Chinese medicine relating to the five yin-orbs. For a brief discussion see Maciocia 1989, 193–94.

similar expressions are rare in Quanzhen literature. The passage begins with Wang Chongyang explaining, “Speaking of those who practice cultivation, externally there are various great ways and teachings, while internally there is just the proper route. There is no one who knows this place” (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 18a). Wang continues on to describe the body in its various dimensions, using the metaphor of an internal path going deeper and deeper into the landscape of self. A representative passage is the following:

Traveling for another three miles, you encounter six deep aqueducts, which you cannot advance beyond . . . These six aqueducts are the Six Perfections (*liudu* 六度) and their various practices. [They enable one to] clarify and still the Six Roots, behead the Six Thieves, guard against the Six Desires, and establish the Six Stages (*liuti* 六梯). (ibid.)

This section of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* in turn speaks of the body as consisting of forests, gardens, rivers, terraces, mountains, caverns, temples, monasteries, towers, palaces, guards, gods, and demons. It is not at all clear how this section of the text should be interpreted. Livia Kohn categorizes it as “a spiritual and meditational journey through the body” (1993, 175); under this interpretation, the passages in question relate to Daoist visualization practice. However, it also seems viable to interpret the section as an imaginative and metaphorical journey. That is, rather than instructions for visualization practice, it is an allegorical tour through Quanzhen doctrine and the body’s various constituents from a Quanzhen perspective. These two interpretations are, of course, not mutually exclusive.

THE ALCHEMICAL BODY

Members of the early Quanzhen movement also perceived and interacted with the body as an alchemical crucible. This aspect of self may be referred to as “subtle anatomy and physiology” (cf. Maspero 1981, 455–59; Eliade 1969, 59–65). It is the subtle, energetic aspect of self that is activated and cultivated in internal alchemy practice.³⁵

³⁵ In their contribution to the *Daoism Handbook* (Kohn 2000), Fabrizio Pregadio and Lowell Skar make the following comments concerning the religio-practical legacies of internal alchemy: “Although its origins are obscure, scholars have isolated several strands that have contributed to its development. They derive from diverse sources, including classical Daoist texts, correlative cosmology, *Yijing* (Book of Changes) lore,

It is the body within the body, or, according to Liu Changsheng, the body-beyond-the-body (*shenwai shen* 身外身) (*Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 5.1b; also *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 2.8b). This corporeal and energetic dimension is most often kept hidden from non-initiates, so that it will not be inappropriately transmitted or used for illicit purposes. Because of such a possibility, internal alchemy lineages in general and Quanzhen in particular use a symbolic and esoteric vocabulary in their discussions of alchemical practice. Throughout the early Quanzhen textual corpus, one encounters frequent reference to technical terms relating to internal alchemy. Unfortunately, it is rare to find straightforward explanations of the symbolic referents for such terms. For this, one must turn to the three texts that are probably the most problematic regarding issues of authorship and dating, namely, the *Dadan zhizhi* (DZ 244), *Ershisi jue* (DZ 1158), and *Jinguan yusuo jue* (DZ 1156). This section, like the previous ones, does not require accurate attribution concerning authorship; rather, the more modest assumption of association with the early Quanzhen religious community is employed. A more systematic discussion of issues of authorship and dating is presented in the introduction to my translation of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* and in Appendix Three: Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus.

The psycho-physiological and spiritual ingredients for Quanzhen internal alchemy practice are the same as those mentioned above. At the most basic level, the human body is composed of the so-called Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶), namely, vital essence, qi, and spirit. “There are the internal Three Treasures and the external Three Treasures. The Dao, scriptures, and teachers are the external Three Treasures. The internal Three Treasures are vital essence, qi, and spirit” (*Ershisi jue*, DZ 1158, 2a; also *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1142, 1.8a, 10.9b).³⁶ The Three

meditational and physical disciplines of *yangsheng* (nourishing life), cosmological traditions of *waidan* (external alchemy), medical theory, Buddhist soteriology and Confucian moral philosophy. By the twelfth century, adepts had woven these various strands into codified traditions” (Pregadio and Skar 2000, 464; see also Robinet 1989, 301; 1997, 207). Quanzhen Daoism was one of these “codified traditions.” It should also be mentioned that much of the technical terminology for Daoist subtle anatomy and physiology comes from the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 (Scripture on the Yellow Court; DZ 331; DZ 332). For translations of these texts see Huang 1990. For guidance see Komjathy 2003a. For some insights on the body in alchemical practice see Needham et al. 1983; Baldrian-Hussein 1984; Despeux 1994; Baryosher-Chemouny 1996; Pregadio and Skar 2000, 486–87.

³⁶ These references actually list the Three Treasures as vital essence, qi, and spirit. See also *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 5a, 6b, 18a; *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 2.13a. The

Treasures are also sometimes referred to as the Three Elixirs (*sandan* 三丹). In internal alchemy, these corporeal constituents are understood in terms of degrees of substantiality and subtlety, with vital essence being the most substantial and spirit being the most rarified. Perhaps in a clarification or development of these, the early Quanzhen adepts also mention the Seven Gems (*qizhen* 七珍) and Seven Treasures (*qibao* 七寶).³⁷ Unfortunately, not even the technical literature provides correlates for these technical terms. However, there is a reference to the Seven Treasures in the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) *Taishang laojun nei riyong miaojing* (Wondrous Scripture for Daily Internal Practice of the Great High Lord Lao; DZ 645; abbr. *Nei riyong jing*; trl. Kohn 2000c; Komjathy 2002/03), a text which Stephen Eskildsen has conjectured bears the imprint of early Quanzhen (see Eskildsen 2004, 32–33, 216, n. 38).³⁸

Essence is quicksilver;
 Blood is yellow gold;
 Qi is beautiful jade;
 Marrow is quartz;
 The brain is numinous sand;
 The kidneys are jade rings;
 And the heart is a glittering gem.

These are the Seven Treasures—
 Keep them firmly in your body, never letting them disperse.
 Refine them into the great medicine of life.
 (1b–2a)

phrase, without comment, appears quite frequently in the early Quanzhen literature. Some examples include the following: *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.10a, 4.12a, 5.5b, 6.10b, 7.11a, 12.14b; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 5.2a, 8.20b, 8.23b, 9.2a, 10.2b, 10.12b; *Shengguang can*, DZ 1150, 24b; *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 2.14a, 3.9b, 5.2b, 5.8a; *Yunguang ji*, DZ 1152, 1.2b, 2.13b, 2.18ab, 2.37a. Interestingly, the emphasis on the “external Three Treasures” continued in the later Quanzhen tradition (see Despeux and Kohn 2003, 165). This is, of course, a Daoist adaptation of the Three Refuges of Buddhism, namely, Buddha, Dharma (teachings), and Sangha (community).

³⁷ One may recall that one of the five Quanzhen associations in Shandong was called the *Qibao hui* (Association of Seven Treasures). For some occurrences of *qibao* as a technical term see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.12b, 4.10a, 5.13b, 12.13a, 13.7b; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 3.16a, 8.4b; *Shengguang can*, DZ 1150, 8a; *Shuiyun ji*, DZ 1160, 1.5b; *Panxi ji*, DZ 1159, 1.5a; *Yunguang ji*, DZ 1152, 1.28a, 2.1b, 3.13a, 4.14a; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 13b.

³⁸ For some occurrences of “daily practice” (*riyong* 日用) in the early Quanzhen literature see *Danyang zhiyan*, DZ 1234, 2ab; *Zhenxian yulu*, DZ 1256, 1.4a, 1.15b; *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 2.5b, 2.6b, 2.8a, 2.9b, 2.13b, 2.14b. Relevant translations and discussion appear in Eskildsen 2004, 26–33.

When mention is made to the Seven Treasures in early Quanzhen literature, and if one substitutes the above associations,³⁹ it appears that the Seven Treasures do, in fact, refer to essence, blood, qi, marrow, the brain, kidneys, and heart.⁴⁰ Here we once again see the body as a “storehouse” of precious gems and treasures, which the Quanzhen adept must guard and protect.

These treasures in turn relate to “fields” in the body, specifically the so-called “cinnabar” or “elixir fields” (*dantian* 丹田). There are three elixir fields located in the upper, middle, and lower regions of the body.⁴¹ The three elixir fields are subtle energetic locations that are associated with each of the Three Treasures. Speaking of internal alchemy in general, the three fields most often refer to the Palace of Nirvana (*nivan gong* 泥丸宮; upper),⁴² Vermilion Palace (*jiangong* 絳宮; middle), and Ocean of Qi (*qihai* 氣海; lower). The Ocean of Qi corresponds to the lower abdominal region and relates to the transmutation of vital essence into qi (*lianjing huaqi* 煉精化氣). The Vermilion Palace corresponds to the heart region and relates to the transmutation of qi into spirit (*lianqi huashen* 煉氣化神). The Palace of Nirvana corresponds to the center of the head and relates to the transmutation of spirit to return to emptiness (*lianshen huanxu* 煉神還虛). According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, the names of the three elixir fields are as follows: (1) Palace of Spirit (*shengong* 神宮), located in the center of the head and

³⁹ As the early Quanzhen literature provides few explicit referents for technical terminology, one is left with little recourse for understanding its alchemical methods than what I here refer to as a “substitution method.” That is, by taking terminology from other early Quanzhen texts and/or from contemporaneous documents, one “plugs-in” the associated terms to see if the methods in question make sense.

⁴⁰ The thirteenth-century *Zazhu jiejing* (Short-cuts by Various Authors), which appears in the *Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Works on Cultivating Perfection, DZ 263, 17–25), has the following: “The Seven Treasures are spirit, qi, meridians, vital essence, blood, saliva, and water” (21.5a). In later Quanzhen, the Seven Treasures are a rush mat, quilted robe, calabash [begging bowl], palm-leaf hat, palm-leaf fan, blue satchel, and flat staff (*Qinggui xuanmiao*, ZW 361, 10.598; see Despeux and Kohn 2003, 166).

⁴¹ The phrase “elixir field” appears too frequently to mention. For some appearances of *santian* or *san dantian* see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.6a, 1.18b, 2.6b, 2.16a, 3.5b, 4.2a, 5.9b, 8.4b; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 1.17ab, 2.1a, 3.1a; *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 1.7b, 2.7b, 2.36b; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 1.18b, 3.7b, 7.4a; *Shenguang can*, DZ 1150, 17b, 25a; *Shuiyun ji*, DZ 1160, 1.9a; *Panxi ji*, DZ 1159, 4.10a; *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 4.1b, 5.17b, 5.19b; *Tingguang ji*, DZ 1152, 1.5b, 3.23a. For occurrences of the technical names of these elixir fields see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.4a; *Tingguang ji*, DZ 1152, 4.28a; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 11a.

⁴² *Nivan*, literally “mud-ball,” is the Chinese transliteration of *nirvana*. Sometimes the Palace of Nirvana is associated with the crown-point.

also called Ocean of Marrow (*suihai* 髓海); (2) Courtyard of Qi (*qiyuan* 氣院), located somewhere between the abdominal and heart regions; and (3) Area of Essence (*jingqu* 精區), located in the perineum region (DZ 244, 1.12b; also 1.4ab, 1.5a). As this agricultural imagery suggests,⁴³ the Quanzhen adept must learn to tend to and cultivate these subtle energetic locations in the body.

The internal corporeal fields also relate to the Three Passes (*sanguan* 三關).⁴⁴ In Quanzhen practice, paralleling earlier aspects of Daoist self-cultivation lineages (see Kohn 2001, 82–99), the spine and head region is viewed as a mountain range (see Needham et al. 1983, 103–114; Despeux 1990; Schipper 1993, 100–112; Despeux and Kohn 2003, 177–97). The spine is a series of ridges, which eventually rise up to a peak in the head. This is the land of Mount Kunlun, wherein the nine peaks (*jiufeng* 九峰), nine palaces (*jiugong* 九宮), and nine heavens (*jiutian* 九天) are located. The adept must find the pathway through the ridgeline of the spine to ascend to the mountain summit of the head. Such an ascent leads through the Three Passes, located along the spine, through which it is difficult for the qi to pass.

The gold essence is the gold water, which consists of the unseparated qi of the lungs and kidneys harmonized and made one. When applied through this method, it begins from the lower pass of Tailbone Gate (*weilü* 尾閭), moving up through the middle pass of Narrow Ridge (*jiuji* 夾脊). From the middle pass, it ascends to the upper pass of Jade Capital (*yujing* 玉京). The passes are opened in order, one at a time. When [the gold essence] moves through the Three Passes, it enters [the Palace of] Nirvana. (*Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.12b–13a; also 1.4a, 1.5a, 1.15a; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 7b–8a)

⁴³ Daoists frequently speak of practice in terms of “cultivation” (*xiu* 修). The concept of cultivation invokes an agricultural metaphor. Cultivation implies that the earth or land is *field*. The ground is a field, and the fields are waiting to be planted, tended, and harvested. As one acquires the necessary knowledge and learning, perfecting the relevant skills and methods, one can expect greater fertility and higher yields. There is a *telos* in cultivation—cultivation involves a stage-based process, a progressive endeavor with discernable results. See the relevant discussion on “models” in the introduction to the present study.

⁴⁴ The phrase *sanguan* appears as the title of verse 18 of the *Huangting neijing jing* (Scripture on the Internal View of the Yellow Court; DZ 331). Unfortunately, Liu Changsheng, as is characteristic of his commentary in general, does not provide a technical exegesis on the Three Passes (see *Huangting jing zhu*, DZ 401, 21a). For actual occurrences of the phrase *sanguan* in early Quanzhen literature see *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.12b, 1.21a; *Yingguang ji*, DZ 1152, 4.28b.

This is a description of an internal alchemy practice known as “reverting vital essence to restore the brain” (*huanjing bunao* 還精補腦), which will be discussed in chapter six. Here one may note that the Quanzhen adept comes to see the spine as a mountain path with Three Passes. The first and lower pass, corresponding to the coccyx, is called Tail-bone Gate (GV-1).⁴⁵ The second and middle pass, corresponding to the mid-spine, is called Narrow Ridge (GV-6; lit., “Beside-the-Spine”). Finally, the third and upper pass, corresponding to the occiput, is Jade Capital (GV-17).⁴⁶ The latter is also referred to as Jade Pillow (*yuzhen* 玉枕) or Pillow Bone (*zhenggu* 枕骨). Through the use of intent (*yi* 意), the Quanzhen practitioner guides the “gold essence,” the transformed aspect of vital essence, through the Three Passes to enter the head.

The head in turn contains various “palaces” (*gong* 宮), specifically the Three Palaces (*sangong* 三宮) and Nine Palaces (*jiugong* 九宮). The Three Palaces most often refer to the Hall of Light (*mingtang* 明堂), Grotto Chamber (*dongfang* 洞房), and Elixir Field (*dantian* 丹田). According to an eighth-century commentary on the *Huangting waijing jing* 黃庭外景經 (Scripture on the External View of the Yellow Court, DZ 263, 58.1b), “The Hall of Light, Grotto Chamber, and Cinnabar Field are the three [head] locations. Enter between the eyebrows towards the back of the head. After one inch, there is the Hall of Light; after two inches, there is the Grotto Chamber; after three inches, there is the Cinnabar Field. These three constitute the Upper Prime (*shangyuan* 上元).” One of the most interesting aspects of these cranial cavities is their non-spatial or semi-spatial dimensions. Although entry is often described in terms of “inches” (*cun* 寸), the palaces are subtle energetic locations, which cannot be located anatomically. They are mystical locales *within the body*.

The Nine Palaces are also energetic locations in the head. In a standardized list, the Nine Palaces are usually the following: (1) Palace of the Luminous Hall (a.k.a. Hall of Light), (2) Palace of the Grotto Chamber, (3) Palace of Nirvana, (4) Palace of the Flowing Pearl, (5) Palace of the Jade Thearch, (6) Palace of the Celestial Court, (7) Palace of Utmost Perfection, (8) Palace of the Mysterious Elixir, and

⁴⁵ When referring to Daoist subtle energetic locations that have corporeal correspondences in the Chinese medical acupoint system, I provide the relevant point in parentheses. Abbreviations follow Ellis et al. 1989. So, for example, “GV-1” refers to the first point on the “Governing Vessel”.

⁴⁶ For appearances of these passes see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.19a; *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 1.19a; *Panxi ji*, DZ 1159, 3.15b; *Yunguang ji*, DZ 1152, 2.6b; *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, *passim*; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 11b.

(9) Palace of the Celestial Sovereign (see *Daojun yuandan shangjing*, DZ 1345, 2b; *Suling Dayou jing*, DZ 1314, 13b–21b; Robinet 1993, 127–31; also Homann 1971, 72–74; Kalinowski 1985; Kohn 2002 [1991], 72). Although mention is made to the Nine Palaces as a whole, the early Quanzhen practitioners most often remain silent concerning the names and associations of these internal palaces.⁴⁷ The one exception that I have located appears in the *Jinguan yusuo jue*.

Throughout the four directions, you also notice the Nine Palaces. These correspond to the Nine Cavities in the human body. These nine cavities and palaces are as follows: the Palace of Wind and Thunder and the Palace of Twin Forests in the east; the Palace of Purple Tenuity and the Palace of Śakyamuni in the south; the Palace of the Sage Mother and the Palace of the Gracious Arhat in the west; the Palace of Brahma and the Palace of the Water Crystal in the north; and the Palace of Peace in the center. These are the names of the Nine Palaces. They are arranged in the same manner as the Nine Provinces on earth. (DZ 1156, 19b)

This admittedly obscure passage nonetheless provides another glimpse into the multiple and diverse energetic layers of the alchemical body in Quanzhen Daoism. It also once again reveals the human body as internal landscape.

In addition to the passes, palaces, and various meridians, there are other esoteric and mystical gateways and passageways in the body, namely, the Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan* 玄關), Gold Pass (*jinguan* 金關), Gold Portal (*jinque* 金闕), Gate of Heaven (*tianmen* 天門), Jade Lock (*yusuo* 玉鎖), and Paired Passes (*shuangguan* 雙關). In Daoist cultivation, the Mysterious Pass, also appearing as Mysterious Gate (*xuanmen* 玄門), may refer to multiple corporeal aspects, but it most frequently refers to the nose (see, for example, *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.16a; *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 3.17b; also *Huangjing waijing jing zhu*, DZ 263, 60.5b). However, contextually speaking, section 6b of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* seems to suggest that the Mysterious Pass is the perineum, while section 11b of the same text has the following:

The teeth are the [upper] mysterious pass; keep them closed. The elixir field is the lower mysterious pass; keep it raised. As the gold essence ascends to the Mysterious [Pass], it reaches the Gold Pass; keep it tight. Tapping the teeth is known as the Jade Lock. . . . The nose is the Gate of Heaven. Narrow Ridge is Paired Passes.

⁴⁷ For some occurrences of *jingong* see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1156, 11.4b; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 1.7b; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 19b; *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.18a.

According to this passage, there are two *xuanguan*, an upper one, the teeth, and a lower one, the lower elixir field. Here one also notices reference to the Gold Pass and Jade Lock. The general area of the Gold Pass remains somewhat obscure. It could be synonymous with the upper pass of Jade Capital or it could be a variant of the Gold Portal, a mystical brain cavity.⁴⁸ The Jade Lock seems to refer to the “locking mechanism” of the jaw, whereby the upper and lower teeth are joined. The alchemical body also contains the Gate of Heaven (nose), so named because it is through this passageway that the celestial qi (breath) enters. The Paired Passes refer to the kidney region.

The alchemical body also consists of rare minerals, wild animals, aristocratic residents, and youthful beings. Quanzhen Daoism, like internal alchemy lineages in general, adopted terminology from external alchemy, also referred to as laboratory or operational alchemy, which became a symbol system for understanding self-cultivation.⁴⁹ In addition to the language of reaction vessels, stoves (*zao* 灶), cauldrons/tripods (*ding* 鼎), furnaces (*lu* 爐), and pots (*hu* 壺) (see Needham 1983 et al., 53–60), reference is made to “lead” (*qian* 鉛) and “mercury” (*hong* 汞). According to the *Ershisi jue* (DZ 1158, 1b) lead corresponds to original spirit (*yuanshen* 元神) and thus to innate nature, while mercury corresponds to original qi (*yuanqi* 元氣) and thus to life-destiny (see also *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 2.10b–11a; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 2a).

The animals inhabiting the body are both the animals of the four cardinal directions (vermillion bird [heart], white tiger [lungs], azure dragon [liver], and mysterious warrior [snake-turtle; kidneys]),⁵⁰ and the “dragon” (*long* 龍) and “tiger” (*hu* 虎) of internal alchemy practice. In Quanzhen practice, the dragon most often corresponds to spirit and

⁴⁸ The “Yuanqi tixiang tu” 元氣體象圖 (Diagram of the Body’s Original Qi), a diagram depicting the body as mountain, which appears in the early fourteenth century *Jindan dayao tu* 金丹大要圖 (Diagram of the Great Essentials of the Gold Elixir; DZ 1068; Needham et al. 1983, 105; Despeux 1994, 41), locates the Gold Portal at the center of the head. Other important head locations in this diagram include the Jade Chamber, Jade Capital, Palace of Nirvana, Yuluo Heaven, Moon Stove, Celestial Gate, and Yang Pass (DZ 1068, 3a).

⁴⁹ One of the most influential *waidan* texts in this respect is the *Cantong qi* (Token for the Kinship of the Three; DZ 999; trl. Zhou 1988) (see Wu and Davis 1932; Needham 1974; Pregadio 2000). Interestingly, Hao Guangning wrote a selected commentary on this text (see *Taigu ji*, DZ 1161, 1.1–8b). In addition, according to the *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (DZ 173, 5.10a), Ma Danyang transmitted the *Cantong qi* to Sun Buer (see Despeux and Kohn 2003, 146).

⁵⁰ For visual representations of the orb animals see *Yunji qiqian*, DZ 1032, 14.4b–11a; Robinet 1993, 69.

thus to lead and innate nature, while the tiger usually corresponds to qi and thus to mercury and life-destiny (*Ershisi jue*, DZ 1158, 1ab).

The body is also inhabited by an aristocratic couple known as the Gold Duke (*jingong* 金公) and Yellow Matron (*huangpo* 黃婆). According to the *Ershisi jue* (DZ 1158, 1b), the Gold Duke corresponds to the heart, while the Yellow Matron corresponds to the spleen and thus to the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭). The *Jinguan yusuo jue* explains that the Gold Duke is spirit, while the Yellow Matron is qi (DZ 1156, 17a). As became clear in the discussion of classical Chinese medical views above, the heart is considered to be the lodging place of spirit, while the spleen (the color “yellow” in Five Phase correspondences) is associated with the production of qi.

Finally, a youthful couple, known as the Child (*ying'er* 嬰兒) and Maiden (*chanü* 姪女), dwell in the corresponding orbs of the liver and lungs, respectively (*Ershisi jue*, DZ 1158, 1b; also *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 17a).⁵¹ As if in summation, Ma Danyang explains,

Spirit and qi are innate nature and life-destiny. Innate nature and life-destiny are the dragon and tiger. The dragon and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water and fire. Water and fire are the Child and Maiden. The Child and Maiden are perfect yin (*zhenyin* 真陰) and perfect yang (*zhenyang* 真陽). (*Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 15b)

All of the alchemical pairings, lead and mercury, dragon and tiger, Gold Duke and Yellow Matron, as well as Child and Maiden, form intimate relationships and patterns of co-dependent interaction in internal alchemy practice.

The alchemical body in Quanzhen also consists of other subtle energetic and mystical locations. One of the most important of these is the Yellow Court. Like much of the technical terminology of internal alchemy, this name originates in the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 (Scripture on the Yellow Court; DZ 331; DZ 332; trl. Huang 1990; see Homann 1971; Schipper 1975; Kohn 1993, 181–88; Kroll 1996). The Yellow Court is an esoteric and mystical location that receives various designations.

⁵¹ Some occurrences of these various technical terms may be found in the following: *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.21b, 2.26b, 9.9b, 13.15a, 13.18b; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 3.5a; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 1.1b; *Shiwu lun*, DZ 1233, 4b; *Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 4a; *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 1.31a, 2.4a, 2.9b, 2.13b, 2.29ab, 3.37b; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 1.7ab, 1.24a, 2.2a, 2.8a, 3.14a, 3.23b, 7.1b, 7.10a, 9.1a, 9.7a, 9.8b; *Shengguang can*, DZ 1150, 4b, 12a, 14a; *Danyang zhiyan*, DZ 1234, 3ab; *Panxi ji*, DZ 1159, 3.15b; *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 1.13b, 4.17ab, 5.16b; *Yingguang ji*, DZ 1152, 3.23b, 3.25b, 4.15b; *Taigu ji*, DZ 1161, *passim*.

It most often refers to the spleen region, with the color yellow being associated with the Earth phase. The *Huangting jing* itself does not give a specific location, but an eighth-century commentary informs one that some practitioners understand it to be a cranial location while others associate it with the spleen (*Huangting waijing jing zhu*, DZ 263, 58.1b–2a). No early Quanzhen texts give a clear correlate, but the *Dadan zhizhi* provides visual representations locating it between the heart region and abdominal region (see DZ 244, 1.3ab, 1.4ab, 1.5a, 1.12b). The Quanzhen adept's body also contains ponds and dragons of a different sort. The mouth is referred to as the Celestial Pond (*tianchi* 天池) or Jade Pond (*yuchi* 玉池). The mouth is a “pond” because it is where fluids (saliva) pool. It is “celestial” because it is located in the head, the “heaven” of the body. It is associated with “jade” because the “jade fluids” emerge and are collected there.

Collect the *ye*-fluids from the right and left corners of the mouth. This in turn is the Mysterious Pearl (*xuanzhu* 玄珠) and the Sweet Dew (*ganlu* 甘露). Use the Crimson Dragon (*chilong* 赤龍) to stir and obtain the proper blending, so that it coagulates into a snow flower. (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1153, 8b)

The fluids generated through alchemical practice are the Mysterious Pearl and Sweet Dew. The Celestial Pond is also inhabited by the Crimson Dragon, a symbolic name for the tongue. In the above passage, the Quanzhen adept is urged to circle the tongue around the inside of the mouth, so that the fluids are mixed before swallowing them. This was a central practice in early Quanzhen training regimens.⁵²

THE QUANZHEN SYNTHESIS

From the above discussion, it becomes clear that the early Quanzhen adherents and religious community had a unique conception of self, which simultaneously incorporated earlier Chinese medical views, Buddhist conceptions, and contemporaneous *neidan* understandings. The early Quanzhen account and analysis of the human condition also developed out of the direct personal experiences of the early adherents. On the most basic level, human beings were understood as

⁵² For additional information on the technical aspects of Quanzhen views of self see Appendix 5: Towards a Technical Glossary of Early Quanzhen Daoism.

self-disrupting entities. The aspects of human being identified as most detrimental to human flourishing include sensory over-stimulation, psychological reactivity, alcohol consumption, material accumulation, sexual activity, and so forth. Those uncommitted to religious training were seen as leading lives based in personal habituation, familial and societal entanglement, and self-disruption. In short, they were following a path to dissolution characterized by desire-based, qi-dissipating existential modes. For Wang Chongyang and his first-generation disciples, this recognition necessarily led to dedicated personal religious praxis and to developing a viable system that would facilitate self-transformation. Such a reorientation of one's life involved the abandonment of everything that obstructed one's connection with the Dao.

Beyond the disorientation and chaos of habituated being, the early Quanzhen adherents identified and sought to actualize something else. Here they understood human beings as endowed with other possibilities and capacities. In addition to the tendency towards inner turmoil, relational disharmony, and misalignment with the Dao, humans could attain a state of complete psychosomatic health. For this, a classical Chinese medical understanding of the body, in combination with a psychology influenced by classical Daoism and Buddhism, formed the foundation of self-cultivation and transformation. One had to become familiar with the body's vital substances and the orb-meridian system. Through training and direct experience, aspiring adepts also had to identify the deeper sources of disruption in their own consciousness because Quanzhen Daoism held that, beneath this turbidity, was a heart-mind that was one's original nature and the storehouse of spirit. One's body-self was simultaneously an alchemical crucible, wherein the work of internal alchemy could be carried out. The "alchemical body" consisted of subtle anatomical and physiological aspects, including mystical locales. According to early Quanzhen, one's body has dimensions that become activated through specific transformative techniques: subtle openings along the spine, mystical cranial locations, numinous presences in the yin-orbs, and so forth. Here one may note the way in which the early Quanzhen religious community incorporated and developed early Daoist views of the body-self. As noted in chapter two, Livia Kohn has identified three primary Daoist conceptions: body as an administrative system; body as the residence of spirits or gods; and body as immortal universe. From the above discussion, it becomes clear that the early Quanzhen adepts combined these aspects of Daoist religious praxis with other concerns deriving from their immediate socio-historical context,

religious milieu and personal experiences to create what could be called the early “Quanzhen synthesis” with respect to views of self, psychosomatic capacities, and the human condition. This “synthesis” of course had traditional Daoist goals at its foundation: attunement with the Dao as an existential mode, and immortality, perfection and self-divination as a post-mortem promise. Such views of self simultaneously informed, were required for, and became actualized through different aspects of early Quanzhen religious praxis. The techniques discussed in the next two chapters were expected to lead to a new form of embodiment, to a different ontological condition. Through transformative praxis the early adepts discovered and created another body, another existence. It is this perfected being, this “perfect numen” or “yang-spirit”, which the Quanzhen religious community believed was their endowment from the Dao and their ultimate destiny as human beings.

CHAPTER FIVE

FOUNDATIONAL PRACTICES

Members of the early Quanzhen movement advocated complex and integrated training regimens. Such training regimens consisted of practice guidelines as well as specific methods. These methods were intended to lead to a shift in ontological condition, a movement from ordinary and habituated being to perfected and transformed being. Such methods are what I refer to as “transformative techniques” or “techniques of transformation.” Ultimately soteriological in intent, these techniques of transformation, in the case of early Quanzhen, involved self-rectification and alchemical transformation. Through consistent and dedicated practice, the early Quanzhen adepts endeavored to refine the coarse aspects of self and to discard everything that inhibited their alignment with the Dao. Through consistent and dedicated practice, the early Quanzhen adepts endeavored to actualize the subtle aspects of self and to embrace a way of life that facilitated their absorption in the Dao. For this process to be completed, the practitioner had to fully embrace a renunciant orientation and have single-pointed dedication to religious praxis.

Underlying and embodied in such techniques of transformation are the views of self discussed in the previous chapters. Through systematic and intensive practice, one could overcome self as habituated and disruptive influence. One could abandon patterns of dissipation, heal diseases or energetic imbalances, and change the inevitability of dissolution. Through systematic and intensive practice, one could realize self as transformative and divine manifestation. One could return to one’s inherent integrity, activate the subtle body, and attain numinous pervasion and immortal life. The early Quanzhen adherents committed themselves to specific training regimens in order to complete alchemical transformation, in order to become embodiments of the Dao and transcend the limitations of mortality.

In this chapter and the following one, I discuss some of the most central methods practiced and advocated by the early Quanzhen adepts. As mentioned in chapter two, more attention needs to be given to the actual *practices* advocated by religious traditions and practitioners. In

particular, it is important to understand and document the body-based nature and body-specific characteristics of techniques. This is especially true when one recognizes the diversity and complexity of postural configuration. Such postural (physical/structural) aspects of training tell us something vitally important about religious traditions: they simultaneously embody a specific worldview and orient the given practitioner or community to different sacred realities. It is also possible that particular techniques lead to tradition-specific experiences. In the present chapter, ethical rectification and purification, seclusion and meditation enclosure, and ascetic commitments are discussed. The subsequent chapter covers *wugeng* training, cultivating clarity and stillness, inner observation, and alchemical methods. Although each of these is covered as a distinct aspect of early Quanzhen religious praxis, throughout the discussion I suggest that these various components formed a more integrated system of alchemical transformation. In addition, on preliminary examination the cultivation of clarity and stillness, inner observation, and alchemical methods seem like meditative techniques. With deeper familiarity and reflection, however, one begins to recognize that they simultaneously represent an all-encompassing existential approach.

ETHICAL RECTIFICATION AND PURIFICATION

There was clearly an ethical dimension of early Quanzhen religious praxis. One aspect of this involved virtuous deeds (*xing* 行) and the accumulation of merit (*gong* 功). For example, in a poem entitled “Jiande” 建德 (Establishing Virtue), Ma Danyang writes,

Daoists (*daojia* 道家) have neither relatives nor no relatives,
 They have sympathy for beings, for humans, and for themselves.
 Their hearts give rise to compassion and they practice great virtue;
 Their intentions are free from emotions and thoughts, [thus] manifesting
 pure spirit.
 Mental projections of having and doing—they dispel them every time;
 Palaces of non-leakage (*wulou* 無漏)—they renew them each day.
 They secretly amass deeds and merit, until their deeds and merit are
 sufficient;
 Departing with the accompanying clouds, they pay their respects to
 masters and perfected. (*Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 3.12a)

This poem expresses the interconnection between self-cultivation and meritorious action. In the context of Quanzhen ethics, *xing* and *gong*,

following technical Buddhist usage, often refer to beneficial and virtuous activity that purify one's karma and generate "merit," with increased levels of merit being required for rebirth into more karmically-beneficial ontological conditions.¹ Interestingly, however, in the above poem Ma Danyang frames meritorious deeds in terms of Daoist praxis. Such ethical commitment and engagement are required for purity of spirit, energetic completeness, and finally the ascent to Perfection.

There was more to Quanzhen ethics than engaging in beneficial and compassionate activities (i.e., a karma-based model). One also finds evidence that self-rectification through ethical reflection and application occupied a central place in the early tradition. Here ethical practice is seen as a fundamental aspect of self-cultivation and spiritual realization. The process of ethical rectification centered on specific guidelines, referred to as "precepts" (*jie* 戒) and "admonitions" (or, "exhortations"; *quan* 勸).

As mentioned in chapter three, there was a general understanding concerning the disruptive effect of the Four Hindrances, namely, alcohol, sex, wealth, and anger (see especially *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.18a–19a). According to Wang Chongyang, each of these psychosomatic conditions and behavioral patterns dissipate the adept's innate capacity for transformation and mystical abiding. Reversing Wang's analysis of the detrimental effects of the Four Hindrances, one discovers the practical benefit of renunciation and purification. If one abstains from alcohol consumption, one's innate nature becomes clear and spirit becomes more prominent. One is more likely to have a longer life and actualize one's spiritual capacities. If the aspiring adept abstains from sexual activity, he or she preserves vital essence and bodily fluids, the basic constituents of the alchemical process, as well as maintains the integrity of qi and spirit. One is no longer disoriented by external appearances of beauty and sexual attraction, and one is less likely to lose one's innate goodness. The three elixir fields will become activated and flourishing, while the five yin-orbs are harmonized and enlivened. If one renounces avarice or acquisitiveness, including the existential concern with material accumulation, one's underlying motivations will

¹ In Quanzhen discussions of alchemical practice, *xing* most often refers to "practice," while *gong* refers to "exercises." See the following discussion and translation of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*.

become clarified and one's life will become oriented towards what is essential and fundamental, namely, the process of self-transformation leading to a more complete relationship with the Dao as sacred. Such renunciation stabilizes the adept's core virtue. By abandoning desire-based modes of living, one becomes free from suffering. Finally, if the Quanzhen adherent renounces anger, he or she stabilizes spirit and nourishes the stomach. One reading of Wang Chongyang's emphasis on calmness (over anger) as beneficial to the stomach involves the Five Phase correspondences mentioned in the previous chapter. Anger and excess alcohol consumption injure the liver (Wood), which, in turn, "overacts on" or "invades" the spleen-stomach nexus (Earth). By compromising the basic function of the spleen-stomach, one inhibits basic digestive functions and the extraction of essential nutrients. That is, one does not optimize the nourishment gained from food, a primary source of post-natal qi. Similarly, the liver is the yin-organ responsible for the smooth flow of qi throughout the body and for purifying the blood, which seems to have been understood as the material basis of spirit in early Quanzhen Daoism. By identifying the internal sources of anger and rectifying them, by committing oneself to a calm and quiet psychosomatic condition, one may attain a heightened state of energetic aliveness and spiritual integration. According to Wang Chongyang, one becomes free from contention, and alignment with the Dao cannot become disrupted by emotional turmoil. In early Quanzhen Daoism, ethical rectification and self-cultivation thus involved accepting prohibitions against the Four Hindrances, discarding such harmful influences. Such religious commitment and praxis established and maintained some of the foundations for more advanced training regimens and ways of being. Here one gains a clear insight into the relationship between views of self, religious praxis and religious experience.

In addition to renouncing the Four Hindrances and gaining personal experience with the corresponding purification, the early Quanzhen adepts emphasized and embraced a more systematized form of precept study and application. During his time in Liujiang Wang Chongyang had some contact with a certain Buddhist Master Ren who taught him repentance (*jiangchan* 講懺) and gave him eighteen precepts (*shiba jie* 十八戒) (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.20b, 2.24b; Marsone 2001, 100). Unfortunately, these eighteen precepts are not listed in any of Wang's extant works. Nonetheless, precepts do seem to have played some role in early Quanzhen praxis.

Someone asked, “What is this Method for [Refining] the Five Phases?”

Perfected Chongyang instructed, “First, you must observe the precepts and develop clarity, stillness, forbearance, compassion, genuineness, and goodness. You must abstain from the ten evils, practice expedient means, and strive to save all sentient beings. You must also be loyal to the ruler and king, and be filial and reverent to parents and teachers. This is the method of cultivation. *Then and only then* can you practice the exercises of perfection (*zhengong* 真功).” (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 1b; also 13a, 15a, 16a, 22b)

Here ethical practice is emphasized as a necessary foundation for more advanced religious training, referred to in this passage as “exercises of perfection” and in other passages as “cultivating perfection.” The ten evils (Chn.: *shi'e* 十惡; Skt.: *daśakuśala*),² expedient means (Chn.: *fang-bian* 方便; Skt.: *upāya*), and the commitment to save all sentient beings derive from Buddhism, and the aspiring Quanzhen adept is urged to embrace the Mahāyāna bodhisattva ideal of universal compassion and liberation. Being loyal to ruler and king and filial to parents and teachers relate to the social ethics of Confucianism. That is, Buddhist and Confucian ethical principles establish a necessary root for more advanced Daoist cultivation and alchemical transformation. In earlier scholarship, this characteristic of early Quanzhen has been referred to as “syncretism.”³

In the early Quanzhen textual corpus, the precepts that the adept is supposed to observe are, generally speaking, not mentioned. However, section 16a of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; trl. below) does contain a reference to the five precepts (*wujie* 五戒), which originally derive from Buddhism:⁴

- (1) Do not destroy life
- (2) Do not steal
- (3) Do not engage in sexual misconduct
- (4) Do not practice false speech
- (5) Do not take intoxicants

² The ten evil deeds are killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, lying, slander, coarse language, equivocating, coveting, anger, and false views. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 50; Ding 1939, 252, 2052; Xingyun 1989, 471.

³ For a critique of “syncretism” as a primary defining characteristic of early Quanzhen see the introduction to the present work.

⁴ By the Song-Jin period the so-called “five Buddhist precepts” had already become incorporated into and transformed by the Daoist tradition. See, for example, Kohn 2004a, 145–53.

Beyond this, the two earliest lists of admonitions are those of Liu Changsheng, appearing in his *Xianle ji* (DZ 1141, 2.18a–18b), and those of Ma Danyang, appearing in the late thirteenth-century *Zhenxian yulu* (DZ 1256, 1.8b–9b) (Hachiya 1992, 346–50; Goossaert 1997, 295–97). The former text contains Liu Changsheng's Ten Admonitions.

- (1) Do not consider yourself right, while criticizing the transgressions of others and despising them. Do not be dissolute in intention and unrepentant.
- (2) Do not lose self-control and wrongly rage against people or the Dao. Do not constantly give rise to thoughts of resentment.
- (3) Do not praise yourself for being right while constantly discussing the faults of others.
- (4) Do not praise yourself as lofty while diminishing all others and especially those who have entered the Dao.
- (5) Do not, without relying on the scriptural teachings, talk about the Dao or universal principle.
- (6) Do not start things without bringing them to conclusion, but keep your mind and intention constant as if you were just seeing them for the first time
- (7) Do not constantly speak about the shortcomings of worldly people. You should only want to mention their admirable qualities.
- (8) Do not be without evenness when going about affairs. Do not regard someone who creates benefits for you with affection and someone who does not offer benefits to you with jealousy.
- (9) Do not, when around people who practice *samādhi* and wisdom or other forms of cultivation, fail to guard stillness. And before you have reached principle and attained awakening, do not fail to study the [sacred] texts.
- (10) Do not develop attachments to what you have or do not have. Do not, before you reach awakening, fail to constantly maintain clarity and stillness, whether standing, walking, sitting or lying down.⁵

⁵ In the same section of the *Xianle ji* (Anthology of Immortal Joy; DZ 1141, 2.18a), there is a list of twelve admonitions: (1) Through honesty, people will comply; (2) Through perfection, you will return to reverence; (3) Through humility, virtue will prosper; (4) Through pervasion, principle will become illuminated; (5) Through constancy, there will be no instability; (6) Through concentration, there will be no chaos; (7) Through correctness, there will be no fault; (8) Through continual goodness, there will be no perversion; (9) Through perfect concern, there will be no explanations; (10)

Here Liu Changsheng emphasizes the dissipating and disruptive effects of emotional and intellectual turmoil, ego-centric behavior, and discrimination. One is being urged to become committed to self-examination and self-rectification. There is an overarching insight concerning the dangers of ego-centrism and self-delusion. The admonition not to praise oneself and criticize others occurs repeatedly (admonitions 1, 3, 4, and 7), but closer reading suggests that there are nuances among these. Admonition 1 concerns thought-processes, while admonitions 3 and 4 relate to speech-patterns. In addition, admonition 3 seems to relate to the adept's relationship with ordinary people, while admonition 4 applies to fellow adherents, to those who have become formal religious practitioners. Here personal, interpersonal, and communal harmony occupy a central place. Admonition 7 is a further development, suggesting that not being negative is still deficient—one must also train oneself to see the positive qualities in people. The other admonitions include the importance of scripture study, equanimity, non-attachment, concentration, and wisdom.⁶ By “guarding stillness” and cultivating clarity and stillness in all of one's activities, one may attain awakening.

Ten admonitions are also attributed to Ma Danyang:

- (1) Do not offend the laws of the country.
- (2) When encountering a fellow follower, always be the first to bow. All men and women are like our father or mother because all become fathers and mothers as they pass through the six paths of transmigration.
- (3) Give up all alcohol, sex, wealth, anger, disputation, and egoism.
- (4) Discard worry, grief, planning, scheming, craving, connecting [seeking good karmic connections], selfish love, and thinking.

Through forgetting emotions, there will be no dissipation; (11) Through clarity of qi, there will be pervasion of the subtle; and (12) Through completing the Dao, spirit will become numinous. Many of these terms appear in Liu's *Changsheng yulu*.

⁶ The use of the double-negative construction (*bu bu* 不不) in some of these admonitions suggests that there were others, perhaps fellow Quanzhen adherents, perhaps prominent Chan Buddhist teachers, teaching the irrelevance of scripture study, stillness, concentration, and the like. As mentioned, Liu Changsheng had a deep and abiding interest in scripture study and exegesis, writing commentaries on both the *Yinfu jing* and *Huangting jing*. For some insights concerning divergence of opinion on the importance of scripture study in early Quanzhen see Marsone 2001. It should be mentioned, however, that the early Quanzhen adepts were not absolutist or authoritarian in this respect. One must understand most, if not all, early Quanzhen views as contextual, as place, time, and person specific.

If there is even a single thought, disperse it as soon as it arises. Throughout the twelve double-hours of the day, constantly examine your transgressions and the biases [one-sided views] that diminish your realization, then immediately rectify them.

- (5) Meet positive situations with astonishment and never cheat on good people or receive offerings (Chn.: *gongyang* 供養; Skt.: *pūjā*) from them.
- (6) Guard against ignorance and the fire of the karmic factors [body, speech, mind]. Constantly practice forbearance and humility. Through this, grace will double and you will be free of self-interest toward the myriad beings.
- (7) Be cautious in speech, controlled in food and drink, and moderate in taking rich flavors. Discard luxury and give up all love and hate [for sensory pleasures].
- (8) Do not concern yourself with miraculous events or strange occurrences. Always work within your lot and only wish to strive hard to transform all beings. Never incite even the smallest trace of defilement or suffering.
- (9) Live in a hut no larger than three bays, with no more than three companions in the Dao. If one of you is ill or in discomfort, you can mutually support each other. “If you die, I’ll bury you; if I die, you’ll bury me.”⁷ Or again, if one of you has an opinion but does not reach a conclusion, you can guide each other by pointing out the correct teaching. Do not give rise to a stranger’s attitude with them.
- (10) Do not give rise to a heart-mind of domination but always practice expedient means, lessening yourself and benefiting others. Even if they live in a dank hovel, treat them as if they were sages or wise men, with clarity, simplicity, softness, and weakness, thereby always going along with the needs of others.

Following your karmic connections, go a bit farther beyond every day, giving up all greed and anger and attaining a state of being carefree and self-realization. Keep your will on cultivation and practice, steady from beginning to end. Be careful not

⁷ This part of the admonition echoes section 6 of the *Shiwu lun*, attributed to Wang Chongyang: “Followers of the Dao join together as companions because they can assist each other in sickness and disease. ‘If you die, I’ll bury you; if I die, you’ll bury me’” (3a).

to get lazy or emotionally involved, but maintain a clear mind in a state of nonaction. This is perfection! Let your intention be pure and free from perversion. This is goodness!

Nourish your qi and make your spirit whole, always giving rise to sympathy and compassion. Secretly accumulate meritorious deeds, without letting others know about them but always expecting the scrutiny of the heavens. (cf. Goossaert 1997, 295)

Here Ma Danyang begins by emphasizing that the adept should not break national laws, which would thereby disrupt socio-political harmony and bring harm to the Quanzhen religious community. As many scholars have noted (see, e.g., Yao 1980, 88, Goossaert 1997, 282), this and similar admonitions were probably protective in intent—they attempted to demonstrate that Quanzhen did not have rebellious or millenarian tendencies and to shield Quanzhen from possible proscription. One also notes the recurrent concern with the disruptive effects of the Four Hindrances (admonition 3) as well as of emotional and intellectual turmoil (admonition 4). Purification and simplicity must be central to the aspiring adept's religious praxis. One is advised to abandon the search for fame and personal benefit (admonition 5). In addition, the Quanzhen adherent must live closer to necessity by expelling ignorance and karma-producing tendencies, whether related to thinking, speaking, or acting (admonitions 6 & 7). Interestingly, the above admonitions also provide a warning against becoming concerned with miraculous occurrences (admonition 8) as well as guidelines for living in hermitages (admonition 9). Similar to the Ten Admonitions of Liu Changsheng, Ma's admonitions end with some larger insights concerning Quanzhen religious praxis: the process of self-realization and alchemical transformation requires purification as well as cultivation. In particular, non-attachment, dedication, alignment, energetic aliveness, and spiritual completeness are central. Many of the principles emphasized in admonition 10 derive from classical Daoist scriptures, specifically the *Daode jing* and *Zhuangzi*.

Finally, there is the admittedly late “Jiaozhu Chongyang dijun zefa bang” 教主重陽帝君責罰榜 (Sovereign Lord Chongyang's List of Punishments), which is contained in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century *Quanzhen qinggui* 全真清規 (Pure Regulations of Complete Perfection; DZ 1235, 11b–13a; trl. Goossaert 1997).

- (1) Those who offend national laws will be punished by expulsion from the order.

- (2) Those who steal wealth or property and distribute them to superiors and elders will be punished by having their clothes and bowls burned, in addition to being expelled.
- (3) Those who speak falsely, causing disturbances in the hall and trouble in the community, will be punished by being whipped with a bamboo switch, in addition to being expelled.
- (4) Those who drink alcohol, indulge in sex, seek wealth, lose their temper, or eat strong-smelling vegetables will be punished by expulsion.
- (5) Those who are villainous, treacherous, indolent, crafty, jealous, or deceitful will be punished by expulsion.
- (6) Those who are insubordinate, arrogant, and do not act cooperatively with others will be punished by [compulsory] fasting.
- (7) Those who engage in high-fluent talk and brag, and those who are impatient with their work will be punished by [being made to] burn incense.
- (8) Those who speak of strange occurrences and joke, and those who leave the temple gates without [good] reason will be punished by [being made to add] oil [to the lamps].
- (9) Those who do not concentrate on their work, and those who are villainous, treacherous, indolent, or lazy will be punished by [being made to serve] tea.
- (10) Those who commit minor offenses will be punished with compulsory worship.
(Yao 2000, 588; cf. Yao 1980, 87–88; Goossaert 1997, 281–83; see also Akizuki 1958)

These monastic rules clearly express early Quanzhen religious concerns, but they also clearly date from a more organized historical phase, namely, long after the death of Wang Chongyang when Quanzhen became a fully established and vibrant monastic order. This would correspond roughly to the expansive phase outlined in chapter one. Although problematic in terms of dating, the *Quanzhen qinggui* was most likely compiled in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (see Goossaert 1997, 259–86, especially 269; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1170–71). The above list suggests that the cultivation-context had shifted from small hermitages and renunciant communities to formal meditation halls and monastic communities (i.e., from *an* 庵 to *tang* 堂). In addition, “Chongyang’s List of Punishments,” following the Buddhist Vinaya (Monastic Regulations), seems to reveal a concern over laxity

and corruption within the monastic community, a time when extreme discipline was required to maintain order. Nonetheless, one may note concerns and ethical guidelines that parallel those mentioned in the Ten Admonitions of Liu Changsheng and the Ten Admonitions of Ma Danyang.⁸

SECLUSION AND MEDITATION ENCLOSURE

Quanzhen hagiographies and prefaces to the poetry anthologies inform us that most of the early adepts spent some time in seclusion, in solitary religious praxis. As discussed in chapter one, Wang Chongyang lived in the Tomb for Reviving the Dead (Shaanxi) for three years, in the eremitic community of Liujiang (Shaanxi) for four years, and in the

⁸ Interestingly, all of these ethical guidelines form sets of ten. In the later Longmen (Dragon Gate) branch, formally established by Wang Changyue 王常月 (Kunyang 崑陽 [Paradisiacal Yang]; 1622–1680), another set of ten precepts are emphasized, namely, the *Chuzhen jie* 初真戒 (Precepts of Initial Perfection; JY 292; ZW 404). They are as follows: (1) Do not be disloyal or unfilial, without benevolence or good faith. Always exhaust your allegiance to your lord and family, and be sincere in your relation to the myriad beings. (2) Do not secretly steal things or harbor hidden plots, harm others in order to profit yourself. Always practice hidden virtue and widely aid the host of living beings. (3) Do not kill or harm anything that lives in order to satisfy your own appetites. Always behave with compassion and grace to all, even insects and worms. (4) Do not be lascivious or lose perfection, defile or insult the numinous energy. Always guard perfection and integrity, and remain without shortcomings or violations. (5) Do not ruin others to create gains for yourself or leave your own flesh and blood. Always use the Dao to help others and make sure that the nine clan members all live in harmony. (6) Do not slander or defame the wise and good or exhibit your skill and elevate yourself. Always praise the beauty and goodness of others and never be contentious about your own merit and ability. (7) Do not drink alcohol beyond measure or eat meat in violation of the prohibitions. Always maintain a harmonious energy and peaceful nature, focusing on your duty in purity and emptiness. (8) Do not be greedy and acquisitive without ever being satisfied, accumulating wealth without giving some to others. Always practice moderation in all things and show grace and sympathy to the poor and destitute. (9) Do not have any relations or exchange with the unwise or live among the mixed and defiled. Always strive to control yourself in your living and assemble purity and emptiness. (10) Do not speak or laugh lightly or carelessly, increasing agitation and denigrating perfection. Always maintain seriousness and speak humble words, making the Dao and its virtue your main concern (Kohn 2004a, 255–56). Cf. *Chuzhen shijie* (Ten Precepts of Initial Perfection; DZ 180). For some insights concerning precepts in later Quanzhen, specifically in the Longmen branch, see Hackmann 1920; 1931; Goossaert 1997, 133–36; 509–18; Kohn 2003. For discussions of Daoist ethics and precepts more generally see Kleeman 1991; Hendrichske and Penny 1996; Bokenkamp 1997, 51–52; Schipper 2001; Kohn 2004a; 2004b.

Hermitage of Complete Perfection (Shandong) for about one year.⁹
According to the *Shiwu lun*,

All renunciants (*chujia* 出家) must first retreat to a hermitage (*an* 庵).¹⁰
A hermitage is an enclosure, a place where the body may be attuned and entrusted. When the body is attuned and entrusted, the heart-mind gradually realizes serenity. Qi and spirit become harmonious and expansive. Then you may enter the perfect Dao (*ru zhendao* 入真道).
(DZ 1233, 1a)

Here Wang Chongyang is suggesting that solitary ascetic training, intended to purify body and mind and perhaps to confirm the given adept's sincerity and commitment, was a prerequisite for formal membership in the early Quanzhen religious community. As documented in the hagiographical accounts and the early Quanzhen textual corpus, solitary praxis was embraced, implemented, and transmitted by Wang's first-generation disciples as well as by later Quanzhen adherents.

As discussed in chapter one, shortly after arriving in Shandong in 1167, and gaining the discipleship of Tan Changzhen, Wang Yuyang, Qiu Changchun, and Ma Danyang, Wang Chongyang traveled with his Shandong disciples to the Kunyu mountains.¹¹ There they established the Yanxia dong (Grotto of Misty Vapors) and began intensive religious training. According to Yin Zhiping's (Qinghe [Clear Harmony]; 1169–1251) *Qinghe yulu* (Discourse Record of Qinghe; DZ 1310),¹²

When the Patriarch [Wang Chongyang] was residing in the Kunyu mountains, Master Changchun had already been a disciple for three years and

⁹ For details concerning these various aspects of Wang Chongyang's life see the *Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.2b–10a, 1.10b–14a; *Jinlian ji*, DZ 173, 2.1a–10a; *Qizhen nianpu*, DZ 175; *Zhongnan neizhuan*, DZ 955, especially 1.1a–8a; *Lishi tongjian xubian*, DZ 297, 1.1a–11b; *Jinlian xiangzhuan*, DZ 174, 18a–23a. See, e.g., Hachiya 1992, 23–151. In terms of modern standards of “history” and “biography,” the Quanzhen hagiographies pose certain problems. Most of them date from the late thirteenth century, some sixty years after the death of the last first-generation disciple (Qiu Changchun). The earliest extant Quanzhen hagiography is the *Jinlian ji* (Record of the Golden Lotus; DZ 173), which was compiled and contains a preface dating to 1241 by Qin Zhian 秦志安 (Shuli 樗櫟 [Useless Timber]; 1188–1244). See Appendix Three: Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus.

¹⁰ In certain contexts, *an*, here translated as “hermitage” or “hut,” refers to a “cloister,” a place where one or more renunciants live and often where an altar is maintained. In the earliest phases of Quanzhen, *an* is something more like a “renunciant cabin.” It is a rough-hewn structure for solitary religious praxis.

¹¹ Relevant materials relating to the history of Kunyu shan and Quanzhen Daoism may be found in Shandong sheng Wendeng shi zhengxie 2005.

¹² One will recall that Yin Zhiping was a disciple of Liu Changsheng and Qiu Changchun and became Quanzhen patriarch after the death of the latter in 1227.

was twenty-three years old. Because Master Danyang had a high degree of accomplishment and praxis (*gongxing* 功行)¹³ from previous lives, the Patriarch always discussed the mysterious and subtle with him.¹⁴ But because Master Changchun's accomplishment and praxis were not yet complete, he made him do mundane labor without giving him a moment's rest. One day, the Patriarch was discussing a method for harmonizing the breath behind closed doors. Master [Changchun] listened outside. After a while, he pushed the door open and went in, upon which the conversation ended. Master [Changchun] reflected on this, deciding that harmonizing the breath was subtle and that mundane labor went against it. After this, when he had the time, he diligently practiced the method that he had overheard. (2.9a–9b)¹⁵

Yin Zhiping's account is admittedly not first-hand and may also have other motives than simple biographical documentation. Nonetheless, the passage does give one some insight into the training that occurred at Yanxia dong. First, Wang Chongyang was, in fact, training his disciples using specific kinds of techniques. It also appears that each adept received one-to-one instruction, often resulting in the transmission of different types of practices. Finally, there was, at least in Qiu Changchun's case, a self-directed aspect of early Quanzhen praxis. Qiu Changchun learns a secret method and practices it unbeknownst to Wang Chongyang and Ma Danyang.

After leaving the Kunyu mountains six months later and engaging in more formal and sustained missionary activity, Wang Chongyang and four of his disciples (Ma, Tan, Qiu, and Liu Changsheng) left Shandong and went west, back towards Shaanxi. On the way, Wang Chongyang died in Bianliang in 1170. However, rather than leading to the dissolution of the emerging Quanzhen religious movement, Wang's death

¹³ Or, "merit and good deeds."

¹⁴ "Mysterious and subtle" are adjectives used to describe the Dao and the Daoist adept by extension. The *locus classicus* for these terms is chapter one of the *Daode jing*: "The dao that can be spoken is not the constant Dao;/The name that can be named is not the constant name . . ./Mysterious and again more mysterious,/The gateway to all subtlety."

¹⁵ According to section 3.7a of the same text, the method was called the "Method of Harmonizing the Breath So That the Valley Spirit May Not Die." This recalls chapter 6 of the *Daode jing*: "The Valley Spirit does not die;/It is called the Mysterious Female. The gateway to the Mysterious Female/Is called the root of heaven and earth" (also ch. 10). Interestingly, the "Changchun shu", associated with Qiu Changchun, contains the following exchange: "Someone asked, 'How does one harmonize the breath (*tiaoxi* 調息) so that it becomes subtle (*mianmian* 綿綿)?' Qiu replied, 'Making your breathing like that of a turtle is the way of life of a Daoist (*daoren* 道人). It cannot be forced'" (*Zhenxian yulu*, DZ 1256, 1.16a).

seems to have solidified and strengthened his disciples' resolve. The four Shandong disciples returned to Shaanxi, where they met He Yuchan and Li Lingyang, Wang's earlier companions, and Shi Chuhou, Yan Chuchang, and Liu Tongwei, Wang's earlier disciples. The nine adepts constructed a tomb and small temple at the very site in Liujiang village where Wang had burned down his meditation hut in 1167. This temple was known as the Zuting (Ancestral Hall). The adepts observed a three-year mourning period at the Ancestral Hall, and this period must also have involved personal religious praxis and communal instruction, that is, the sharing of insights, practices, and experiences among the nine practitioners. Liujiang was an eremitic community, and for three years Wang's Shandong disciples became members and residents. For example, in a poem entitled "Zhu huandu" 住環堵 (Living in a Meditation Enclosure), a poem which most likely documents this time, Ma Danyang writes,

Though without fire in winter, I embrace the original yang.
 Though separated from a clean well in summer, I drink the jade nectar.
 No need to burn wax candles—I illuminate the candle of innate nature.
 No need to light aloeswood incense—I offer the incense of my heart-mind.

Three years barefoot, a three-year vow complete.
 My only aspiration the azure sky—This single aspiration grows.
 In mourning, this mountain rustic stays within his enclosure;
 The kindness and support of Lunatic Wang have departed.
 (*Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.21b)¹⁶

Each early adept also spent at least some period of time in seclusion and intensive personal training. Again, according to the hagiographies and prefaces to the poetry anthologies, it is clear that Ma Danyang engaged in periods of seclusion throughout his life, including his final year during which he lived in the Jinyu an 金玉庵 (Hermitage of Gold and Jade; Shandong). Similarly, Wang Yuyang engaged in solitary ascetic training at Yunguang dong 雲光洞 (Grotto of Cloud-like Radiance) of Tiecha shan 鐵槎山 (Mount Tiecha; Shandong). Liu Changsheng lived and practiced as a "city recluse" in Luojing (present-day Luoyang, Henan) for possibly as long as three years. Tan Changzhen wandered between the Henan and Shaanxi area, before settling down at the Chaoyuan gong 朝元宮 (Palace for Attending to the Origin; Luoyang, Henan). Hao

¹⁶ This same section of the *Jianwu ji* contains a poem entitled "Zhu'an" 住庵 (Residing in Hermitage).

Guangning is said to have lived and practiced for six years (1175–1181) under the famous Zhaozhou Bridge near Wozhou (present-day Zhaoxian, Hebei). After meeting with Ma Danyang in Jingzhao in 1172, Sun Buer engaged in solitary practice for seven years, eventually moving to Luoyang where she is said to have attracted a large following. Finally, and most famously, Qiu Changchun lived as a recluse in a cave near Panxi (present-day Panxi, Shaanxi) for seven years. After this, he moved to the Longmen (Dragon Gate) mountains (near present-day Longxian, Shaanxi), the name from which the modern Longmen branch derives, where he continued his solitary ascetic training.¹⁷

Dedication to solitary training was far from haphazard or unsystematic in the earliest historical phases of Quanzhen Daoism. As Vincent Goossaert has shown, the Quanzhen movement emphasized fixed periods of time for seclusion in “meditation enclosure” (*huandu* 環堵; *huanqiang* 環牆) (1997, 171–219; 1999; 2001, 126–29).¹⁸ The earliest occurrences of the phrase *huandu* appear in chapter forty-two of the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites; see *Liji zhuzi suoyin* [Lau and Chen 1992], 42/163/20) and in chapters twenty-three and twenty-eight of the *Zhuangzi* (Book of Master Zhuang; see *Zhuangzi zhuzi suoyin*, 23/64/5–6, 28/83/18).¹⁹ In the first relevant section of the *Zhuangzi*, Gengsang Chu 庚桑楚, a disciple of Lao Dan 老聃 [Laozi], recalls,

When the vernal qi manifests, the various grasses grow. Later, when autumn arrives, the myriad fruits ripen. And how could it not be like this? The way of heaven is already moving. I have heard that the utmost person dwells like a corpse in a four-walled room (*huandu zhi shi* 環堵之室). He leaves the various clans to their wild and reckless ways, unknowing of their activities. (cf. Watson 1968, 248–49)

¹⁷ Many of the locations where the early Quanzhen adepts lived and practiced became incorporated into the titles of their poetry anthologies: *Jinyu ji* (Anthology of Gold and Jade; DZ 1149), *Panxi ji* (Anthology of Panxi; DZ 1159), *Yunguang ji* (Anthology of Cloud-like Radiancy; DZ 1152). Culling each of the poetry collections with the intent of understanding the personal and place-specific aspect of each adept’s practice (Ma at Jinyu an, Qiu at Panxi, Wang at Yunguang dong, etc.) awaits further study.

¹⁸ *Huandu* in more contemporary usage may be translated literally as “enclosed and shut off” and more liberally as “meditation enclosure.” In its early usage, *du* refers to a specific spatial measurement. A *huandu* refers to a small square hut measuring four *du* on each side, with one *du* equaling approximately one *zhang*. During the Song-Jin period this approximately equaled three meters (Goossaert 1997, 172–76; Eskildsen 2004, 212, n. 90; see also Goossaert 1999). A *huandu*, or meditation enclosure, was thus about twelve-feet square.

¹⁹ As suggested in previous chapters, the influence of the *Zhuangzi*, at least terminologically and practically, on early Quanzhen is underappreciated.

Chapter twenty-eight reads as follows:

Yuan Xian 原憲 [a disciple of Kongzi] lived in the state of Lu. He resided in a four-walled room (*huandu zhi shi*). It was thatched with living grasses, had a broken door made of woven brambles and mulberry branches for doorposts. Jars with the bottoms out, hung with pieces of coarse cloth for protection from the weather, served as windows for its two rooms. The roof leaked and the floor was damp, but Yuan Xian sat upright, playing the zither and singing. (cf. Watson 1968, 315–16)

There is an ideal of “voluntary poverty” in these passages that finds parallels in early Quanzhen commitments: retreat from the external allows cultivation of the internal.

Reed-thatched huts and grass-thatched shelters are essential for protecting the body. . . . On the other hand, living beneath carved beams and high eaves is not the action of a superior adept. Great palaces and elevated halls—how can these be part of the living plan for followers of the Dao (*daoren* 道人)? . . . Someone with [religious] aspirations must early on search for the precious palaces within his own body. Vermilion towers outside the body, no matter how unceasingly they are restored, will collapse and crumble. Perceptive and illuminated worthies should carefully examine this. (*Shiwu lun*, DZ 1233, 2b–3a)

Retreat to a meditation enclosure allows the aspiring adept to dedicate himself or herself more fully to religious praxis.²⁰

According to Goossaert’s research, Wang Chongyang popularized the three-year (1000-day) and 100-day enclosure (Goossaert 1997, 176–78; 2001, 126).²¹ The former refers to Wang’s time in the Tomb

²⁰ In the *Zhen’gao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected; DZ 1016; 18.6b–7a), compiled by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536), *huandu* is used as a synonym for *jingshi* 靜室, “pure chamber” (Goossaert 1997, 172; 2001, 126). “Pure chambers,” or “chambers of quiescence” (*jingshe* 靜舍/*jingshi* 靜室/*qingshe* 清舍), date back to the early Tianshi (Celestial Masters) movement and were used in all of the major schools of early medieval Daoism (Tianshi, Shangqing, and Lingbao). Pure chambers were usually small detached, wooden huts, often used for purification and intensive religious practice. Some texts suggest that they should consist of a single, small doorway facing southeast and a south-facing window. In addition, they should be undecorated, with only minimal furnishings, restricted to incense burner, incense lamp, petition table, and scholar’s knife. For some classical references see *Zhen’gao*, DZ 1016, 18.6b–7a; *Daomen kelue*, DZ 1127, 4b–5a; *Tianyinzi*, DZ 1026, 3ab. The latter reference bears striking resemblances to the passage from the *Shiwu lun* cited above. The most detailed study of pure chambers is Yoshikawa 1987. For English-language discussions see Schipper 1993, 91–99; Nickerson 1997, 251, n. 4; 2000, 275. See also Min and Li 1994, 974, 984; Hu 1995, 496.

²¹ Vincent Goossaert has also drawn attention to a little-known ascetic named Liu

for Reviving the Dead, while the latter occurred when Wang Chongyang was living in the Hermitage of Complete Perfection. In this sense, “meditation enclosure” could refer to both a physical structure and a time of intensive solitary training. According to a preface to the *Jiaohua ji* (Anthology on Teaching and Conversion; DZ 1154) dating from 1183, Wang spent one hundred days of his one-year seclusion in a “locked hut” (*suoan* 鎖庵), that is, completely sealed off from the mundane world. Based on what we know concerning the practice of *huandu*, Wang’s material sustenance was mostly likely provided by Ma Danyang, who served as an attendant.

Similarly, Ma Danyang practiced both types of enclosure and built meditation enclosures in various places along his travels. As described by Wang Yizhong 王頤中 (Lingyin 靈隱 [Numinous Seclusion]; fl. 1180), Ma’s disciple who compiled the *Danyang yulu*,

The master lived in a meditation enclosure furnished with a desk, couch, brush, ink tablet and sheepskin. It was empty of unnecessary things. In the early morning he ate one bowl of rice porridge and at noon one bowl of noodles.²² Beyond this, meat and strong-smelling vegetables never entered his mouth. (*Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 4a)

This description of meditation enclosure reminds one of earlier Daoist pure chambers. The emphasis is on simplicity and essentialism. The adept’s practice remains fundamental, while every unnecessary object and external distraction is excluded from inside the meditation chamber, and thus, symbolically speaking, from inside the body of the solitary ascetic. In addition, Ma eats only a minimal amount, only what is necessary to sustain his physical well-being as the foundation for deeper religious praxis.

A hagiography shows just how dedicated to meditation enclosure and ascetic training Ma was:

Biangong 劉卞功 (Gaoshang 高尚 [Exalted Eminence]; 1071–1143), who practiced and taught “meditation enclosure” in Shandong. The influence of this person on early Quanzhen remains an open and intriguing question. For example, in the *Danyang yulu* (Discourse Record of Danyang; DZ 1057), Ma Danyang comments, “Liu Gaoshang lived in a meditation enclosure for forty years. He did nothing else but simply empty his heart-mind, fill his belly, abandon extravagance, forget reputation, discard profit-seeking, clarify spirit, and complete qi. The elixir congealed spontaneously and immortality was spontaneously completed” (8b; Eskildsen 2004, 14). On Liu Biangong and his Daoist ascetic lineage see Goossaert 1997, 47–54; 1999.

²² This follows the Buddhist precept for monks of not eating after mid-day.

The master [Ma Danyang] returned to the Ancestral Hall, locking himself in an enclosure and residing there. On the new moon of the eighth month of 1178, he emerged from enclosure. In the first month of the next year he traveled to Huating county. Li Dasheng 李大乘 invited the master to be attended by him. [Beginning on] the full moon of the second month, [Ma Danyang] lived in enclosure at his [Li's] home, coming out only after one hundred days. The master revived a withered tree outside the enclosure. In spring of 1180, he arrived in Jingzhao (Shaanxi). Zhao Penglai 趙蓬萊 offered his shelter as a hermitage. The master again lived in enclosure for one hundred days and then came out. (*Jinlian xiangzhuàn*, DZ 174, 24b–25a)

Here one encounters Ma Danyang as the model for aspiring Quanzhen adepts—he is committed to consistent and prolonged periods of solitary religious praxis. In the above passage and in other relevant texts describing the early Quanzhen undertaking of meditation enclosure, one is informed that adherents engaging in this practice were often attended to by one or more fellow practitioners, disciples or lay followers. These individuals were responsible for providing any necessary support, such as food, water, and medical attention. Solitary ascetic training in hermitages and meditation enclosures enabled the early adepts to separate themselves from the world of familial and societal entanglements and to purify themselves of excess emotional and intellectual patterns. It represented the opportunity to move from ordinary human being to more actualized ontological conditions, as defined and understood by the early Quanzhen Daoist religious movement.

In terms of actual practices undertaken while in seclusion and meditation enclosure, asceticism, meditation and internal alchemy occupied a central place. Many of the specific practices will be discussed in subsequent sections, but here we may note the following:

One day he [Ma] summoned me to enter the enclosure, asking me to sit for a while. I asked, “Does the way (*dao* 道) of my master make distinctions between either/or?”

The master said, “Wu 無.²³ Even if *ge*-songs and *ci*-lyrics sing about dragon and tiger, Child and Maiden, these are simply words. Therefore, if you long for the wondrousness of the Dao, nothing is better than nourishing qi. But people drift and drown in profit and reputation, and

²³ An allusion to the famous Chan *gong'an* 公案 (Jpn.: *koan*) of Zhao Zhou 趙州 (Jpn. Jōshū), better known through the Japanese Zen tradition as “Mu.” Appearing as the first case in the *Wumen guan* 無門關 (Gateless Gate; Jpn.: *Mumonkan*; T. 48, no. 2005), this *gong'an* is as follows: “A monk asked Zhao Zhou, ‘Does a dog have Buddha-nature?’ Zhao Zhou responded, ‘Wu!’” See Sekida 1977; Yamada 1979.

in the process squander and ruin their qi. Those who study the Dao do not concern themselves with anything other than nourishing qi. Now, if the *ye*-fluids in the heart descend and the qi in the kidneys ascends, eventually reaching the spleen, and the enlivening influence of original qi is not dispersed, then the elixir will coalesce. [Orbs] such as the liver and lungs are pathways through which [the fluids and qi] come and go. If you practice stillness for a long time, you yourself will know this. If you do not nourish qi, even if you carry Mount Tai under your arm and leap beyond the Northern Sea, this is not the Dao.” (*Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 4ab; cf. *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.12b–13a; see chapter 6)

Ma Danyang informs his disciples that the most important practice is “nourishing qi.” This is accomplished, first and foremost, by sealing oneself off from every source of dissipation. By sitting in silent meditation, emptying and stilling excess emotional and intellectual activity, one begins to return to one’s original condition of energetic aliveness and integration. One is no longer swayed by concerns with profit and reputation. The above passage suggests that the cultivation of stillness and concentration on the lower elixir field initiates an inner alchemical process. It is unclear if there are specific *neidan* techniques being employed, but Ma does suggest that *actual practice* must supersede discourse and concern over esoteric technical language. Through consistent meditative praxis, the adept will gain direct experience with shifts in his or her psychosomatic condition. This involves the descent of fluids from the heart and the ascent of qi from the kidneys, which eventually leads to original qi becoming complete and the elixir of immortality forming. It also results in orb harmony and a general state of well-being.

Of the early adepts, it appears that Ma Danyang was the most dedicated practitioner of the meditation enclosure and instrumental in its eventual institutionalization in the later Quanzhen monastic order. The 100-day meditation enclosure was embraced and practiced by Ma Danyang’s various disciples, who in turn disseminated the practice within Quanzhen religious communities throughout Shaanxi, Henan, Shanxi, and Gansu. As the Quanzhen religious movement grew and developed into a monastic order, meditation enclosures became incorporated into monastery architecture and formal monastic training. By the thirteenth century, rows of meditation enclosures were built in and around Quanzhen monasteries, as documented in many monastery inscriptions. According to a stele dated to 1275 erected for Zhenchang guan 真常觀 (Monastery of Perfect Constancy), a subsidiary of Changchun gong 長春宮 (Palace of Perpetual Spring; Beijing), the monastery compound consisted of

the Sanqing dian 三清殿 (Shrine of the Three Purities), Jiuzhen tang 九真堂 (Hall of the Nine Perfected), a dining-hall and kitchens, an altar for rituals, Lingguan ci 霧官祠 (Sanctuary of [Wang] Lingguan), as well as more than ten meditation enclosures. These were intended for the eminent monks of the [Changchun] gong, who, when not on duty, enjoyed practicing exercises of stillness (*jingong* 靜功). (*Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 9.24b; Chen Y. 1988, 615–16; cf. Goossaert 2001, 127)

Vincent Goossaert further suggests that manuals from the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644) document how retreats in meditation enclosures were progressively ritualized and fixed at given dates.²⁴ 100-day winter retreats for large numbers of adepts in rows of *huandu* took place from the winter solstice through the New Year. Participating monks and nuns were strictly monitored by the attending master, who frequently inquired about their psychological condition. “Thus an individual ascetic feat had been institutionalized and turned into a regular rite of passage” (Goossaert 2001, 127).

²⁴ Interestingly, however, the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century *Quanzhen qinggui* 全真清規 (Pure Regulations of Complete Perfection; DZ 1235), which evidences influence from the Chan monastic manual *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪院清規 (Pure Regulations for Chan Monasteries; T. 2025, 48.1157c–1158b; see Cleary 1978; Foulk 1987; 1993; 2004; Yifa 2002), suggests that at least some Quanzhen monastic communities adopted Chan-style group meditation. In section 5b–6a of the *Quanzhen qinggui*, we find the following schedule, beginning at the fifth watch (*wugeng* 五更):

- (1) Hour of *yin* (3–5am): The sound of the plank indicates the non-movement period is over. Everyone washes his face and rinses his mouth. Then one worships the Perfected and sages.
- (2) Hour of *mao* (5–7am): Morning meal.
- (3) Hour of *chen* (7–9am): Group meditation (*hunzuo* 混坐).
- (4) Hour of *si* (9–11am): “Non-movement” meditation. Each person meditates quietly by himself.
- (5) Hour of *wu* (11am–1pm): Noon meal.
- (6) Hour of *wei* (1–3pm): Group meditation.
- (7) Hour of *shen* (3–5pm): Non-movement meditation.
- (8) Hour of *you* (5–7pm): Late gathering.
- (9) Hour of *xu* (7–9pm): Group meditation and offering of tea and soup.
- (10) Hour of *hai* (9–11pm): Non-movement meditation.
- (11) Hour of *zi* (11pm–1am): Chanting. Adepts chant poems meant to enable them to resist the demons of sleep (*shuimo* 睡魔). Each verse is chanted three times and no more.
- (12) Hour of *chou* (1–3am): The gathering is dismissed. One can do whatever one wants.

Adapted from Yao 2000, 589; cf. 1980, 91; Goossaert 1997, 273–74. See also *Quanzhen qinggui*, DZ 1253, 5ab; *Quanzhen zuobo*, DZ 1229.

ASCETIC COMMITMENTS

As mentioned, the early Quanzhen adepts embraced a renunciant orientation. This involved ascetic commitments, a way of life rooted in abandoning everything that inhibits one's alignment with the Dao and one's process of self-transformation, and specific forms of ascetic discipline. Asceticism may, in turn, be considered as a larger cross-cultural phenomenon, having been embraced by various religious practitioners and communities throughout history and throughout different geographical locations. In his contribution to *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (Eliade 1987), Walter Kaelber proposes a cross-culturally applicable definition of asceticism:²⁵

[The] term, when used in a religious context, may be defined as a voluntary, sustained, and at least partially systematic program of self-discipline and self-denial in which immediate, sensual, or profane gratifications are renounced in order to attain a higher spiritual state or a more thorough absorption in the sacred. (Kaelber 1987, 441; see also Eskildsen 1998, 1–2)

Kaelber goes on to note that asceticism most often involves a variety of practices: (1) Fasting; (2) Sexual continence (abstinence or celibacy); (3) Poverty (including begging); (4) Seclusion or isolation; and (5) Self-inflicted pain, either physical or mental. To these, one should also add purification of consciousness, what could be termed “interiorized asceticism,” voluntary silence, and sleep deprivation, or at least the alteration of sleep patterns. Moreover, I would emphasize the radical “stripping down” embodied and advocated in ascetic training. What I have referred to in chapter one as the “renunciant orientation” of early Quanzhen Daoism involved a commitment to simplicity, sufficiency, minimalism, and necessity. As is the case in ascetic movements more generally, the early Quanzhen adepts recognized that an understanding and experience of the fullness of being required a lessening and decreasing of emotional, intellectual, and material concerns. In its most extreme forms, asceticism includes a tendency towards renunciation of the world and derision of the body, that is, a tendency towards complete renunciation of anything defined as “worldly” or “profane.” In religious traditions that see the body as profane, this often leads to extreme forms of self-punishment and bodily mortification (self-flagellation,

²⁵ The word “asceticism” comes from the Greek *askēsis*, meaning “exercise, practice, training” (Kaelber 1987, 441).

self-mutilation, self-immolation, etc.). Such ascetic practices were not part of early Quanzhen training regimens, as the body and psychosomatic well-being were considered necessary for higher levels of spiritual attainment.

There is evidence to suggest that most of the above-mentioned aspects of ascetic discipline were practiced by the early Quanzhen adepts. That is, early Quanzhen training regimens included periods of fasting, sexual abstinence, voluntary poverty, isolation, psychosomatic purification, and sleep deprivation. Some of these ascetic commitments were life-long, while others were short-term requirements for a purification process, for alchemical transformation. Generally speaking, the early adepts accepted and advocated abstinence from alcohol, sex, wealth, and anger as life-long commitments. This was also true of voluntary poverty and psychosomatic purification. However, seclusion, voluntary silence, sleep deprivation, and fasting were most often reserved for periods of intense religious training. In the previous chapters and in the above section on meditation enclosures, I have already provided some details concerning seclusion, purification of consciousness, and sexual abstinence. Here I will examine physical austerities, voluntary poverty, and sleep deprivation.

By “physical austerities” I mean manipulation of the body in “unnatural” ways and conscious alteration of conventional biological patterns. Such practices are ascetic and “austere” because of their intensity and severity. According to Quanzhen hagiographies, and here one must acknowledge the potentially idealistic nature of such texts (see Campamy 2002), each of the early Quanzhen adepts engaged in some kind of physical austerity: from sleep deprivation and voluntary silence to the prolonged holding of specific postures. It seems that the motivation behind such ascetic undertakings was principally purification and self-overcoming, the transcendence of the limitations of consciousness. The early adepts did not see their ascetic commitments as a “denial of the body.” Rather, ascetic praxis was a fulfillment of the body: impurities were cleansed, mystical body locations became opened, subtle vapors circulated through the body, and divine capacities were awakened. The Quanzhen adept, quite literally, actualized a different kind of body, within which something different circulated (see chapters four and eight). As Stephen Eskildsen has pointed out, in early Quanzhen asceticism was seen as foundational for health and well-being (Eskildsen 2004, 39–94).²⁶

²⁶ This, of course, brings up the normative question as to whether or not it worked.

The Quanzhen hagiographies mention various types of physical austerities. It seems that begging and restriction of food intake were general commitments among most, if not all, of the early adepts. In addition, while living as an urban hermit in Luoyang, Liu Changsheng was known for observing voluntary silence, only responding to people's questions with hand gestures (*Jinlian ji*, DZ 173, 4.5a). Qiu Changchun, during his seclusion at Panxi and in the Longmen mountains, is said to have only worn a thatched vest and refrained from sleeping for six years, often carrying rocks up the mountain to stay off sleepiness. The local people called him "Master Thatched Vest" (*suoyi xiansheng* 蓑衣先生) (*Jinlian xiangzhuan*, DZ 174, 32b). While living in Yunguang dong 雲光洞 (Grotto of Cloud-like Radiance), Wang Yuyang engaged in sun-exposure in summer and snow-exposure in winter. He also knelt on rocks and gravel until his knees became bloodied, and walked barefoot along mountain paths. At times, he was also known to stand on one leg throughout the night. Thus, the local people referred to him as "Master Iron Leg" (*tiejiao xiansheng* 鐵腳先生) (*Jinlian ji*, DZ 174, 5.2b). While living under the Zhaozhou Bridge, Hao Guangning wore the same clothing regardless of climatic shifts, and refrained from anger even when insulted.²⁷ It seems that Hao also observed lengthy periods of silence, as the local people called him "Master Speechless" (*buyu xiansheng* 不語先生) (*Jinlian ji*, 5.7a). Finally, Sun Buer engaged in snow-exposure (*Jinlian ji*, 5.10a). Most of the early adepts also accepted verbal and physical abuse without reacting. Such activity, or "nonaction," was identified as efficacious for the purification of karma (see Yao 1980, 50–64; Marsone 2001; Eskildsen 2004, 50–52, also 10–13). While many of these details, coming as they do from hagiographical accounts, are admittedly embellished and intended to provide models of religious dedication, one can, at the very least, take them as giving some insight into the ascetic commitments of the early adepts.

The early Quanzhen emphasis on ascetic, meditative, alchemical, and mystical concerns seems to have involved a certain "transcendental mentality." The health history of the early adepts is currently unknown, but Wang Chongyang died possibly of some unidentified disease at the age of 57. Similarly, many of his first-generation disciples did not have exceedingly long lives, as one would expect if the Quanzhen tradition saw itself as a "longevity movement": Ma died at 61, Tan at 62, Qiu at 79, Liu at 56, Wang at 75, Hao at 73, and Sun at 54.

²⁷ The practice of "patience under insult" is one of the Six Perfections (*pāramitā*) of Buddhism, which include *dāna* (charity or giving), *śīla* (keeping the precepts), *ksānti* (patience under insult), *vīrya* (zeal and progress), *dhyāna* (meditation or contemplation), and *prajñā* (wisdom or insight).

Stephen Eskildsen has done the most sustained research on the ascetic aspects of early Quanzhen Daoism (see Eskildsen 1989, 38–66; 1990; 2004, 39–56). In his most recent contribution, Eskildsen emphasizes the ideal of “pure poverty” (*qingpin* 清貧) in the early tradition (ibid., 40). The early adepts embraced and advocated poverty, both internal and external, as central to Daoist cultivation. According to Ma Danyang,

A Daoist (*daoren* 道人) must not dislike being poor. Poverty is the root of nourishing life. If hungry, eat one bowl of rice porridge. If tired, spread out a grass mat. Pass the days and nights in tattered garments. This truly is the life of a Daoist. Thus, you must realize that the single matter of clarity and purity cannot be acquired by the wealthy. (*Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 10b–11a)

Here one again notes the emphasis on avarice and material accumulation as detrimental to spiritual realization, so much so that Ma Danyang claims that the wealthy *do not have the ability* to understand the central Quanzhen practice of clarity and purity, also referred to as clarity and stillness. That is, a life based in material accumulation not only disrupts psychological and spiritual integrity, but also injures one’s actual physical well-being. For Ma’s fellow adherent Liu Changsheng, such ascetic commitments found historical precedents in earlier Chinese traditions:

Considering the accomplished in ancient times who wanted to distance themselves from the dreams and mirages of the world, in outer appearance they looked like fools. The Ruist [Confucian] Yan Hui 顏回 [embraced] pure poverty and [only owned] a rice bowl and drinking gourd.²⁸ The Buddhist Śākyamuni begged for food and gathered one bowl from seven households. The Daoist Lü Chunyang 呂純陽 [Lü Dongbin] practiced nonaction. He lived like a quail and ate like a fledgling. (*Changsheng yulu*, DZ 1058, 3b)

Again, emphasis is being placed on simplicity, sufficiency, minimalism, and necessity. The adept is urged to follow ancient models of attainment, represented by members of each of the so-called Three Teachings, by embracing simplicity and lessening desires. Material and psychological simplicity leads to spiritual abundance.

Another aspect of early Quanzhen training involved periods of sleep deprivation or the alteration of sleep patterns. There seems to have

²⁸ Yan Hui was one of Kongzi’s senior disciples. He also plays a major role in the Inner Chapters of the *Zhuangzi*, wherein he and Kongzi discuss “fasting the heart-mind” (*xinzhai* 顏回) and “sitting-and-forgetting” (*zuowang* 坐忘). See chapters four and six of the *Zhuangzi*.

been at least three primary motivations for such ascetic commitments. First, as will be discussed in the next chapter, sleep deprivation assisted the adept in attaining certain mystical states, including expansions of consciousness and visitations from immortals or Perfected (“hallucinations”). Second, the night was used for more intensive spiritual cultivation. Instead of sleeping through the periods of darkness, the early Quanzhen adepts utilized the night for sustained meditative and alchemical practice. Third, and closely related to the second motivation, the early Quanzhen adherents, following monastic and internal alchemy concerns more generally, identified the night as a time of danger and spiritual peril. Central to the alchemical endeavor was the conservation of vital essence. As the adept advanced in his or her alchemical training, this state of non-dissipation also led to an abundance of vitality. If one simply slept through the night, dream-time phantasms could come and activate desire and attraction, thus initiating, in the case of male adepts, involuntary ejaculation and a disruption in the alchemical process.

In the early Quanzhen textual corpus, sleep and associated dreaming is often referred to as the “yin-realm” (*yinjing* 陰境). While one is asleep and dreaming, one may be visited by “yin-ghosts” (*yingui* 陰鬼) or “demons of sleep” (*shuimo* 睡魔), that is, by dream-time phantasms or non-material apparitions. To the question of why certain people become sick and die prematurely, Wang Chongyang responds,

This is because the heart-minds of the people in question are caught up in the mundane world of desire, pleasure, greed, and craving. Daily, they do not sever their ties to ignorance and vexations. At night and during various circumstances, they cannot extinguish the Three Death-bringers and yin-ghosts. Men diminish their vital essence [semen], while women diminish their blood. [Forgetting] qi and the Three Treasures, both depart from original yang. Consequently, among people there is sickness and death. Have you not heard the sayings of the spirit immortals? Human beings are like decaying and leaking residences. Because the landlord does not make the needed repairs, the temple crumbles and collapses. The soil, beams, and pillars [all fall into ruin]. Thus, there is sickness.” (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 10b)

Similarly, the *Dadan zhizhi* contains the following:

Guard against the yin-ghosts, external demons, Seven Po, and Three Death-bringers from dispersing celestial perfection by confusing the yang-spirit and inhibiting it from ascending to the Celestial Palace. (DZ 244, 2.2b; also *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 2.3b, 2.5a; cf. *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 16.22ab)

The language of demonology is interesting here, as it suggests malevolent agency. However, the degree to which such “entities” were seen as independent from or outside of the Quanzhen practitioner remains an open question. It appears that these “ghosts” and “demons” were primarily understood as aspects of the adept’s own consciousness. Nonetheless, like ghosts and demons, they had to be neutralized, rectified, and/or exorcized. If the adept did not hold a nightly vigil, yin-ghosts and the demons of sleep would come in the form of seductive forms and steal the adept’s essence, thus leading to sickness and early death.²⁹

The practitioner must, in turn, endeavor to decrease desire and become detached from sensory phenomena, whether in a waking or dream state. Perhaps most importantly, one must abstain from sexual fantasization, sexual attraction, and sexual activity itself. Even if one is physically abstinent, if one does not distance oneself from the root-desire, one will eventually squander one’s core vitality and spiritual resources. However, if one can extinguish desire and craving, one may reach a state of non-dissipation (*wulou* 無漏; lit., “without leakage” or “without outflow”). In early Quanzhen Daoism, the state of non-dissipation, of being without outflow or leakage, included sensory deprivation, psychological and relational minimalism, and psychosomatic conservation. It also involved attention to karma-producing activities, such as interpersonal turmoil and strife. Simply stated, *wulou* refers to a condition where the adept has sealed himself or herself off from every possible source of dissipation. The condition of non-dissipation is an all-pervasive stance of conservation.

Although *wulou* occurs frequently in early Quanzhen literature, I have been unable to find specific lists of *lou* 漏, “outflows” or “dissipations.”³⁰ In Buddhism, a distinction is made between “out-flowing” (Chn.: *lou*; Skt.: *āsrava*) and “free from out-flowing” (Chn.: *wulou*; Skt.: *anāsrava*). The former refers to delusions generated by sensory engagement, while the latter refers to being free from delusions and karma-producing activities (see Soothill and Hodous 1937, 214, 380, 425; Ding 1939, 2186, 2492; Xingyun 1993, 113, 646, 1299, 2452, 5128, 5515, 5825). Out-flowing

²⁹ As discussed in chapter three and seven, the *Dadan zhizhi* also mentions and describes the Ten Demon Lords as additional sources of dissipation.

³⁰ There is one possible exception, which occurs in the *Jinguan yusuo jue*: “If we speak of perfect clarity and stillness, there are no tears within the eyes, no mucous within the nose, and no spittle within the mouth. There is no activity in either the bladder or the bowels. In such a state, men nourish their vital essence, while women stabilize their blood” (3a; also 4a, 10b).

in turn relates to vexation and delusion, and there are various Buddhist lists of “outflows,” including three, six, and seven. Similarly, Song and Yuan dynasty internal alchemy literature identifies various types of dissipation. The preface to the *Jindan sibaizi* 金丹四百字 (Four Hundred Characters on the Gold Elixir; DZ 1081), attributed to Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (Ziyang 紫陽 [Purple Yang]; d. 1082), explains,

The ethereal soul resides in the liver; do not allow the eyes to dissipate it. The corporeal soul resides in the lungs; do not allow the nose to dissipate it. The spirit resides in the heart; do not allow the mouth to dissipate it. The vital essence resides in the kidneys; do not allow the ears to dissipate it. The intent resides in spleen; do not allow the four limbs or various openings to dissipate it. Thus, we may speak of non-dissipation. (1b)

And, according to the fourteenth-century *Jiutian shengshen zhangjing zhu* 九天生神章經注 (Commentary on the *Jiutian shengshen zhangjing* [DZ 318]; DZ 398),

Daoist books mention the Eight Dissipations: eye tears are liver leakage; nose mucus is lung leakage; mouth spittle is kidney leakage; external perspiration is heart leakage; *ye*-stealing perspiration is small intestine leakage; sleep saliva is brain leakage; dream ghosts are spirit leakage; illicit desires are body leakage. When you stop the arising of these various leakages, if the heart lord is stabilized, then [dissipation] stops. (1.14a)

In a Daoist context, *lou*, leakage, outflow, or dissipation, thus includes physiological, sensory, psychological, and behavioral forms of depletion. Interestingly, the identified forms of dissipation, like the Ten Demons mentioned above, draw particular attention to sexual activity, whether imaginary, unconscious, or physical. In particular, dream-ghosts (or, ghosts appearing in/as dreams) are said to injure the spirit, while sexual desire injures the body. To reach a condition of non-dissipation, the adept must cultivate a conservationist orientation toward self and world. As Qiu Changchun comments, “When the body attains perfect clarity and perfect stillness, you will naturally be free of dissipation” (*Zhenxian yulu*, DZ 1256, 1.14b). Through internal cultivation, an inward-directed way of being, the Quanzhen adept endeavored to guard and conserve bodily substances, orb and meridian harmony, and his or her numinous capacities.

CHAPTER SIX

ADVANCED TRAINING REGIMENS

Self-purification, ethical rectification, seclusion, meditative enclosure, and ascetic commitments formed the foundation of early Quanzhen religious praxis. The Quanzhen adepts embraced lifeways based in simplicity, minimalism, and necessity. Before undertaking more advanced training, the aspiring adept had to purify himself or herself through precept study and application. One had to endeavor to live a virtuous life and embody a beneficial presence. In addition, the early Quanzhen adherents advocated and embraced seclusion, withdrawal from the world of social engagement, and meditation enclosure, residence in hermitages, as preconditions for higher-level praxis. These forms of renunciation, in combination with other ascetic practices, enabled aspiring adepts to restore their health, rectify acculturated habits, purify psychosomatic reactivity, and strengthen their resolve to undertake deeper cultivation and more complete self-transformation.

Having established a root in foundational Quanzhen practices, forms of training that were not only preliminary but also identified as a continuing necessity, the early adepts engaged in more advanced training regimens. These included *wugeng* 五更 training and more intensive meditation. The former involved engaging in religious praxis during the five night-watches, the periods of darkness from 7pm to 5am. The aspiring adept modified conventional sleep patterns to create the space and increase the time for alchemical training. During these intensive training periods, and while residing in meditation enclosures, various transformative techniques were employed. Here meditation was central, specifically the cultivation of clarity and stillness, inner observation, and internal alchemy. While in the early stages of religious praxis these various aspects of Quanzhen training appeared distinct from each other and from daily life, at the higher stages of spiritual attainment the adept embraced and actualized them as all-inclusive existential approaches. Every aspect of the practitioner's life became the opportunity for alchemical transformation and mystical pervasion. Through advanced training regimens, the early Quanzhen adepts endeavored to complete a process of rarification, alchemical transformation, and self-divinization that would result in a condition of mystical being and mystical experiencing.

WUGENG TRAINING

One method that the early Quanzhen adepts used to guard against nocturnal dissipation, through the appearance of yin-ghosts and the demons of sleep, was to practice during the time conventionally designated for sleeping. As Vincent Goossaert has shown in an article on Quanzhen poetry (2000), the early religious community gave particular attention to the so-called “five night-watches” (*wugeng* 五更), also referred to as the “five drum-soundings” (*wugu* 五鼓).¹ The five night-watches are the five periods of darkness, and each is associated with a specific branch-time correspondence: (1) *xu* 戌 (7pm–9pm), (2) *hai* 亥 (9pm–11pm), (3) *zi* 子 (11pm–1am), (4) *chou* 丑 (1am–3am), and (5) *yin* 寅 (3am–5am). Generally speaking, the hour of *zi*, midnight, is especially important in Daoist cultivation, as it is the apex of yin and the beginning of yang. Many Daoist training regimens recommend nightly meditation during this time. In the case of early Quanzhen, the entire period of darkness was a time, at least during certain phases of the adept’s training, of intensive meditation practice. At the present time, it is difficult to know how widespread “*wugeng* training” was in the early tradition and to what extent this was a life-long undertaking or intensive training period.² Sustained and committed Daoist training does often lead to natural shifts or reductions in sleep patterns, as deficiencies are rectified and the adept returns to a condition of energetic vitality. However, opinions differ, both in the larger Daoist tradition and in Quanzhen itself, concerning the proper relationship to sleep.

¹ Goossaert identifies sixteen sets of *wugeng* poems, which include a separate poem on each of the night-watches (2000, 266–67). For present purposes, eight are most relevant, four by Wang Chongyang and four by Ma Danyang. They appear in the following collections: *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 7.7b–8a, 8.5a–6a, 8.10a–11a, 13.17b–18a; *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.9b–10a, 2.10ab; *Minghe yuyin*, DZ 1100, 6.7b–8b, 6.12a–13a. Two of the four attributed to Ma Danyang are somewhat problematic, as they are contained in the fourteenth-century *Minghe yuyin* (Lingering Overtones of the Calling Crane; DZ 1100; see Appendix Three: Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus; Boltz 1987, 188–90). In addition to translating two of the sixteen sets, Goossaert also discusses the *wugeng* poems in terms of formalistic literary qualities and their importance in the institutionalization of Quanzhen.

² It seems most likely that *wugeng* training was an intensive practice of limited duration. It also remains unclear if the adept practiced through the entire period of darkness or woke up with the sound of the drum at each night-watch, practiced specific techniques for a short period of time, and then went back to sleep, only to wake up at the next night-watch and repeat the process.

Although there are a variety of poem-cycles on the five night-watches, it is difficult to reconstruct a comprehensive account of this practice. What one is able to do is gain a glimpse into the specific kinds of techniques that were undertaken during *wugeng* training. As mentioned, one aspect of *wugeng* practice involved guarding against dream-time apparitions and the loss of vital essence through involuntary seminal emission (“wet-dreams”). Another, more esoteric dimension included the cosmological associations of the five branches of *xu*, *hai*, *zi*, *chou*, and *yin*. In addition to the above-mentioned time correspondences, Quanzhen practice incorporated cosmological associations, including the Five Phases and directions. In two of the sequences (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 8.5a–6a, 13.17b–18a), Wang Chongyang gives the following associations: *xu* with Water and north; *hai* with Metal and west; *zi* with Fire and south; *chou* with Wood and east; and *yin* with Earth and the center.³ According to Wang, the adept should practice “sitting aligned” (*zuozheng* 坐正) facing the given direction during the associated time. It seems that this meditation method was primarily one of cosmological alignment and energetic attunement,⁴ specifically intended to assist the cultivation of clarity and stillness and alchemical refinement. There is no mention of “absorbing qi” (*fuqi* 服氣) or “visualization” (*cunxiang* 存想), but Wang does advise the adept to engage in rhythmic respiration (*chuanxi* 喘息) (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 8.5a).

In addition to directional orientation and some form of meditation, it is obvious that alchemical refinement occupied a central position in *wugeng* training. According to Wang Chongyang, *wugeng* training involves cultivation and a movement from mundane existence to mystical embodiment: “Inside the Five Night-watches observe the oscillations./Take hold of them to cast off your husk (*tuoke* 脫殼) and become a spirit immortal (*shenxian* 神仙)” (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 13.17b). The technical terminology of internal alchemy appears throughout the *wugeng* poem-cycles of Wang Chongyang and Ma Danyang. Reference is

³ *zi* is more conventionally associated with Water, north, the kidneys, and vital essence.

⁴ It is difficult to know how far and deep the various correspondences went. Each of these branch-times corresponds to one of the orbs: *xu* with the pericardium (Fire), *hai* with the Triple Warmer (Fire), *zi* with the gall bladder (Wood), *chou* with the liver (Wood), and *yin* with the lungs (Metal). In Chinese medicine, the time of *yin* and of the lungs is the beginning of the meridian qi-cycle. See Appendix Five: Towards a Technical Glossary of Early Quanzhen Daoism.

made to Mount Kunlun 崑崙 (the head), the Jade Nectar (*yujiang* 玉漿; saliva), the dragon and tiger (spirit and qi, or liver and lungs), the Li-fire and Kan-water trigrams (heart/spirit and kidneys/vital essence), the Child and Maiden (liver and lungs), the Grotto Chamber (*dongfang* 洞房), the Storied Tower (*zhonglou* 重樓; trachea), the Three Treasures (*sambao* 三寶; essence, qi, and spirit), the Yellow Sprouts (*huangya* 黃芽), the Jade Blossoms (*yuhua* 玉華), and so forth.

In the *Jianwu ji*, Ma Danyang describes *wugeng* training as follows:

At the first drum-sounding, I retire alone, guarded within.
 With a cloud, I thoroughly till the precious landscape.
 A mysterious kind of purple fungus sprouts;
 Then, my grotto heaven is without dissipation.
 Free from leakage, free from outflow,
 The tiger of Kan-water and the dragon of Li-fire commingle.
 (DZ 1142, 2.9b–10a)

At the hour of *xu* (7pm–9pm), the adept practices meditation facing north. One attends to the body as numinous locale, which includes guarding the Three Treasures and Seven Treasures as well as the various mystical storehouses, such as the Three Fields (see chapter 4). Through conservation and transformation, one feels an energetic fullness in the lower elixir field. The adept's own body becomes a "grotto heaven" (*dongtian* 洞天), an entryway into the Dao as mystical landscape. Sealed from dissipation, actualized in spiritual integrity, qi, the "tiger of Kan-water," and spirit, the "dragon of Li-fire," become merged into one. Life-destiny and innate nature become united.

At the second drum-sounding, I retire alone, guarded within.
 With the cloud torn open, I align the celestial constellations.
 The sun and moon exchange their radiance;
 Then, my precious jar is without dissipation.
 Free from leakage, free from outflow,
 Emerging from the earth, the dragon and snake engage in battle.

At the hour of *hai* (9pm–11pm), the adept practices meditation facing west. One aligns oneself with the cosmos as cyclical, energetic pattern and recognizes oneself as the cosmos made manifest. One joins the radiance of the sun and moon, the left and right eye respectively, at the mid-point between the eyebrows. Their combined radiance is then directed downward toward the lower elixir field. Sealed from dissipation, actualized in spiritual integrity, the vital essence of the kidneys, the "dragon," becomes merged with the qi of the heart, the "snake."

At the third drum-sounding, I retire alone, guarded within.
 I redouble my urgent tapping of the Mysterious Gate.
 I summon myself as one of the initiated to awaken;
 Then, my Jade Pass is without dissipation.
 Free from leakage, free from outflow,
 The Maiden and the Child join hands.

At the hour of *zi* (11pm–1am), the adept practices meditation facing south. One continues the practice of tapping the teeth, the Mysterious Gate, but this time with renewed effort. Through this, clear and pure saliva is produced, which the adept swallows down to the lower elixir field. Sealed from dissipation, actualized in spiritual integrity, the *ye*-fluids of the heart, the Maiden, become merged with the vital essence of the kidneys, the Child.⁵

At the fourth drum-sounding, I retire alone, guarded within.
 Attentively, I take care to guard against the thieves.
 Through wisdom and illumination, I disperse deviant demons;
 Then, the gold essence is without dissipation.
 Free from leakage, free from outflow,
 A spark (*yidian* 一點) of numinous radiance congeals.

At the hour of *chou* (1am–3am), the adept practices meditation facing east. One gives particular attention to the dissipating effects of the Six Thieves, the six senses and their related desires. One seals oneself off from the phenomenal world and sense perception. With awareness directed inward, wisdom and illumination emerge and hallucinatory distractions are neutralized. The gold essence, vital essence alchemically-transformed into numinous *qi*, begins to circulate throughout the body's subtle pathways and storehouses. Sealed from dissipation, actualized in spiritual integrity, the adept's innate nature, the spark of the Dao as sacrality and Perfection, becomes actualized as a numinous radiance.

At the fifth drum-sounding, I retire alone, guarded within.
 Immersed in deep silence, I attain the presence (*you* 有) within non-being.
 Resonating with beings, I reside in perfect constancy;
 Then, the spiritual elixir is without dissipation.
 Free from leakage, free from outflow,
 The immortal embryo (*taixian* 胎仙), now manifest, is clear and flourishing.

⁵ Alternatively, the Maiden may refer to spirit, the heart, and/or the lungs, while the Child may refer to vital essence, the kidneys, and/or the liver.

At the hour of *yin* (3am–5am), the adept practices meditation with his or her directional attention directed inward, toward the body’s center. As stillness deepens, silence becomes all-pervading. Within the emptiness, the Dao as mysteriousness and numinous presence becomes manifest. The stillness and clarity remain uninterrupted; the adept remains in mystical abiding. The spiritual elixir, the yang-spirit capable of transcending materiality and mortality, now forms. Sealed from dissipation, actualized in spiritual integrity, the embryo of immortality matures and the adept attains a transformed condition of transcendental perfection.

Through *wugeng* training, which clearly parallels the practice of “meditation enclosure” (*huandu* 環堵) discussed in the previous chapter, the adept becomes sealed off and guarded within. The triple repetition of *wulou* 無漏 in lines four and five of the above stanzas reorients the practitioner towards the importance of conservation and internal cultivation (see chapter five). As Goossaert has commented, “Here a literary technique (*wugeng shi* follow strict prosodic rules) is merged with an actual practice (night meditation and the sound of the five night watches beaten on a drum) and a repertoire of visions and experiences” (2001, 128).⁶ Through nightly vigil, through consistent meditative praxis, the adept gradually attains spiritual illumination and alchemical transformation.

CULTIVATING CLARITY AND STILLNESS

Meditation was one of the primary spiritual disciplines embraced and advocated by the early Quanzhen adepts. The English term “meditation” is sufficiently vague to include a wide variety of Daoist practices, including quiet or empty sitting, visualization, inner observation, internal alchemy, and so forth. Posturally speaking, meditation most often involves seated postures, although there are forms of meditation which utilize standing and supine body configurations and which emphasize meditation as an all-pervasive existential approach. In terms of early Quanzhen, “meditation” is a larger category of religious praxis that most often involves “sitting,” referred to variously as “seated meditation” (*dazuo* 打坐), “quiet sitting” (*jingzuo* 靜坐), “sitting cross-legged” (*jiqifuzuo* 跏趺坐), or “aligned sitting” (*zhengzuo* 正坐). Like Daoist texts on

⁶ Goossaert has also emphasized that the *wugeng* poem-cycles were used as guides for beginners in meditation (2000).

meditation more generally, the early Quanzhen textual corpus, as far as my reading goes, does not provide detailed instructions on the preferred posture. However, based on the technical terminology, specifically the occasional reference to “sitting cross-legged” (see, e.g., *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 8b; *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.6b), and the religio-historical context of early Quanzhen wherein Chan Buddhism occupied a central place (see Ebrey and Gregory 1993; Gregory and Getz 1999), one is able to make a reasonable conjecture on the postural specifics of Quanzhen meditation. *Jiafu zuo* is the Chinese technical term for the “lotus posture.” When taking this meditation posture, the practitioner places the right foot on top of the left thigh and the left foot on top of the right thigh. This is the “full lotus posture.” There is also the “half-lotus posture” wherein one only places the right foot on the left thigh. One may also modify this posture still further by placing the right foot on the left calf or by allowing the heels to touch in front of the perineum. The hands are usually placed in front of the lower elixir field, the navel or lower abdomen. The *mudra*, or hand configuration, varies depending on the community and specific practice. In the case of Chan Buddhism, one hand is placed on top of the other palm and the tips of the thumbs touch, making an oval through the hands.⁷ In the case of early Quanzhen, it is unclear which *mudra* was employed during meditation practice. However, based on the Quanzhen emphasis on focusing on the lower elixir field and on storing qi in this energetic location, it seems likely that the hands were placed in some type of *mudra* near this area. In Quanzhen upright sitting, emphasis is also clearly on the alignment of the spine and limbs.⁸ This allows a comfortable posture in which the orb-meridian networks become harmonized, and in which the adept can encounter and actualize the subtle or mystical dimensions of his or her body. This is the body-beyond-the-body or yang-spirit, which forms the basis of immortality and perfection.

As discussed in chapter four, and as will become clear in subsequent sections, the early Quanzhen adepts sought to complete a transforma-

⁷ For a readily available modern Zen Buddhist presentation of the practice of *zazen*, which includes illustrated instructions on the various postures, see “Zen Meditation Instructions” on the Mountains and Rivers Order’s website (www.mro.org).

⁸ Although the *Dadan zhizhi* most often represents the body abstractly, rather than in its actual physicality, the diagrams nonetheless highlight the spine and internal organs. In fact, I would argue that the illustrations of the “Celestial Cycle” practice (see below) actually depict the Quanzhen Daoist’s energetic body in seated meditation practice.

tion of self, a shift in ontological condition characterized by rarification, mystical absorption and participation, and self-divinization. Recalling my previous emphasis on studying the specific techniques and postural aspects of religious praxis (see chapter 2), one may note the way in which Quanzhen aligned meditation expresses and embodies important aspects of the early worldview and soteriological goals. Here the body is placed in a position of cosmological alignment, especially when the practice involves facing specific directions (e.g., in *wugeng* training) or re-membering seasonal nodes (e.g., during winter solstice). On the most basic level, such cosmological situatedness is expressed in the connection between the crown-point, associated with the qi of heaven, and the perineum, associated with the qi of the earth. This configuration creates the space for the primary movement of qi through the Governing and Conception Vessels, along the spine and front center-line of the body, respectively. In addition, the stilling and emptying of excess emotional and intellectual activity that occurred during Quanzhen religious praxis returned the aspiring adept to his or her innate nature and original connection with the Dao. One could argue that there is an inherent radicalness in the Quanzhen emphasis on meditation: the early adherents separated themselves from the entanglements of aristocratic position, political appointment and military affairs (i.e., there was a critique of dominant models of social meaning), while embracing a life oriented towards the Dao as sacrality and actualizing their own latent numinous abilities (i.e., there was a radical realignment along theological and soteriological lines). Finally, given the fact that the early adherents practiced solitary meditation, the primary locus of transformation and rarification was located in each individual practitioner. It was only through personal dedication and sustained training that a new being could emerge. Through Quanzhen religious praxis, specifically various techniques utilizing aligned seated postures, the early adherents were confident that a series of transformational experiences would follow, confirming the efficacy of the soteriological system and their progress along the Way to Complete Perfection.

Early Quanzhen meditative praxis may, in turn, be considered in terms of three primary sub-disciplines: (1) Cultivating clarity and stillness (*qingjing* 清靜), (2) Inner observation (*neiguan* 內觀), and (3) Internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹). In this section, I discuss Quanzhen meditation more generally and the cultivation of clarity and stillness in particular.

According to Wang Chongyang,

Firmly long for the Dao and have nothing that binds you.
 Isolate your body and sleep in solitude.
 When stillness arises within stillness, you attain the Wondrous.
 When serenity arises within serenity, you unite with the Mysterious.
 Then you can act with free abandon and know contentment.
 Passing the days in refreshing coolness, you will attain worthiness.
 Quit wishing for spirit immortality! Quit speaking about it!
 Let yourself meditate alone on a white lotus flower.
 (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.17a)

Wang again emphasizes the necessity of seclusion and isolation for spiritual realization as well as the importance of single-minded reverence for the Dao. Interestingly, the repetition of “stillness” (*jing* 靜) in line three and reference to the Wondrous (*miao* 妙) and Mysterious (*xuan* 玄), both ways in which the Dao is described, echo chapter one of the *Daode jing*: “Mysterious and again more mysterious, the gateway to the Wondrous.” Through the cultivation of stillness, here specifically associated with solitary meditation, the adept becomes merged with the Dao as all-pervasive numinosity. Mention of the white lotus flower recalls Buddhist descriptions of the enlightened mind. From the mud and murkiness of a pond, a white lotus flower blossoms; from the turbidity and chaos of a habituated mind, the pure and clear mind of wisdom emerges.

While the early Quanzhen adepts engaged in prolonged periods of seated meditation and advocated seated meditation as a foundational practice, emphasis was also placed on meditation as a larger approach towards being. In addition to practicing actual seated meditation, Quanzhen practitioners aspired to embody a meditative presence, whether meditating in a secluded hut or engaging in public missionary activity.

The *Shiwu lun* attributed to Wang Chongyang contains a section entitled “Dazuo” 打坐 (Seated Meditation). According to this text,

“Seated meditation” does not simply mean to sit with the body erect and the eyes closed. This is superficial sitting. To sit authentically, you must maintain a heart-mind like Mount Tai, remaining unmovable and unshakable throughout the entire day. [Maintain this practice] whether standing, walking, sitting, or lying down, whether in movement or stillness. Restrain and seal the Four Gates, namely, the eyes, ears, mouth and nose. Do not allow the external world to enter in. If there is even the slightest trace of a thought about movement and stillness, this cannot

be called quiet sitting. If you can practice like this, although your body resides in the world of dust, your name will already be listed in the ranks of the immortals.

Then there is no need to travel great distances and consult others. Rather, worthiness and sagehood reside within this very body. After one hundred years, with accomplishment fulfilled, you will cast off your husk and ascend to Perfection. With a single pellet of elixir completed, spirit wanders through the eight outer realms. (DZ 1233, 3b; also *Qunxian zuanji*, DZ 1257, 2.2b)⁹

Here Wang Chongyang advises the aspiring adept not to reduce meditation to “sitting.” Rather, meditation must become an all-pervasive existential approach. One must cultivate clarity and stillness in every activity and situation. Closely associated with Quanzhen views of the heart-mind discussed in previous chapters, “meditation” involves stilling emotional and intellectual turmoil. This establishes an emptiness at the center of the body, an internal space that can be filled by qi and spirit.

In the section immediately following the one translated above, entitled “Jiangxin” 降心 (Controlling the Heart-mind), Wang Chongyang provides clarification.

Let me explain the way of the heart-mind. If the heart-mind is constantly deep, then it remains unmoving. Obscure and dark, it does not give attention to the ten thousand beings. Profound and vague, there is no such thing as internal or external. Not even the slightest trace of thought remains. This is the stabilized heart-mind. It needs no control.

However, if the heart-mind is generated by pursuing external appearances (*jing* 境), it becomes upset and overturned, searching for the head and chasing after the tail. This is called the chaotic heart-mind. You must urgently extract and expel it. Do not let it become unrestrained. Such a heart-mind ruins and spoils the Dao and inner power. It harms and diminishes innate nature and life-destiny.

Whether standing, walking, sitting, or lying down, [if the heart-mind] is constantly exhausted by hearing and seeing, knowing and perceiving, then there will only be sickness and suffering. (*Shiwu lun*, DZ 1233, 3b–4a)

⁹ Although entitled the “Chongyang zushi lun dazuo” 重陽祖師論打坐 (Ancestral Teacher Chongyang’s Discourse on Meditation), the relevant section of the *Qunxian zuanji* consists of discourses 7 (“Seated Meditation”), 8 (“Controlling the Heart-mind”), 9 (“Refining Innate Nature”), and 13 (“Going Beyond the Three Realms”) of the *Shiwu lun*.

On the most basic level, Quanzhen meditation practice involves “settling” or “stabilizing” (*ding* 定) the heart-mind. Concern over sensory phenomena must be reduced, desires must be calmed, and intellectual activity must be stilled. Through this process of meditative discipline, the Quanzhen adept could allow the heart-mind to return to its original condition, namely, a lodging place for spirit. The adept could return to innate nature, his or her original endowment from, connection with, and embodiment of the Dao.

The aspiring adept in turn came to understand life *as* Daoist practice-realization. Daily life was not separate from religious training, and religious training did not take place “outside of” or “in spite of” daily life. Every moment could be and should be incorporated into the adept’s process of alchemical transformation. As Stephen Eskildsen has shown (2004, 26–33), this all-pervasive existential approach towards self-cultivation and spiritual realization was referred to as “daily practice” (*riyong* 日用; lit., “daily application”), translated by Eskildsen as “daily sustenance.” Throughout the early Quanzhen textual corpus, one finds references to “daily practice,” especially in the writings of Ma Danyang, Qiu Changchun, and Hao Guangning. According to Ma,

Daily practice involves never deceiving or mocking heaven and earth. Always train yourself diligently. Cherish each moment. Do not pass the day in vain. Decrease your sleep, as this is something that [ordinary] people desire. You should rectify your misdeeds, but this is not [only] to be done through seated meditation. You should keep your heart-mind stable for a long time. Whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, follow the Dao. All adepts should quit giving rise to thoughts. Quickly investigate innate nature and life-destiny. If you can just purify the heart-mind and abandon desires, you will become a spirit immortal. Concern yourself with nothing else and stop having doubts! These are proper and true words. You only need to be constantly clear and constantly pure. (*Danyang zhiyan*, DZ 1234, 1a; adapted from Eskildsen 2004, 27)

And in the same public talk, Ma Danyang admonishes,

Each day, you must not forget the matter of daily practice. Daily practice consists of two types: daily external practice (*wai riyong* 外日用) and daily internal practice (*nei riyong* 內日用).

Considering daily external practice, you are strongly forbidden to see the faults of others, boast about your own virtue, envy the wise and talented, give rise to worldly thoughts that are the fire of ignorance, give rise to feelings of superiority over the masses, [discriminate] between self and other or right and wrong, or to speak of hatred and affection.

Considering daily internal practice, quit giving rise to doubtful thoughts. Never forget the internal. Whether wandering about or standing and sit-

ting, you should clear the heart-mind and discard desires. Have nothing that hangs on or hinders [your progress]. Do not get defiled and do not cling. In perfect clarity and perfect purity, wander about freely according to your aspirations. Consistently throughout the day contemplate the Dao in the same way a hungry person thinks of food or a thirsty person of drink. If you become aware of the slightest imbalance, you must correct it. If you train yourself in this way, you will become a spirit immortal. (*Danyang zhiyan*, DZ 1234, 2a–2b; adapted from Eskildsen 2004, 32)

One must not disorient oneself by associating spiritual realization with seated meditation. That is, technique must not become confused with accomplishment. Instead, self-cultivation and transformation must be applied every moment. One must strive to realize a condition of constant clarity and constant purity, also referred to as constant clarity and constant stillness. Ma Danyang in turn divides daily practice into an outwardly-oriented aspect and an inwardly-oriented aspect.¹⁰ Daily external practice involves ethical commitments and concern for one's interactions with and effects on others. The qualities emphasized parallel those discussed in the above section on ethical purification and rectification. Daily internal practice involves personal religious praxis, with particular attention given to one's psychosomatic states and one's overall orientation. The aspiring Quanzhen adept must attend to the internal and to his or her relationship with the sacred.

In terms of meditation as both a specific transformative technique and an all-pervasive existential approach, the cultivation of clarity and stillness was primary. As one may recall, the anonymous eighth-century *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 670; trl. Legge 1962 [1891]; Wong 1992; Kohn 1993, 25–29) was one of, if not the most important and influential scriptures in the early Quanzhen movement. Here it should be mentioned that the full title of the text is *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing* 太上老君說常清靜妙經 (Wondrous Scripture on Constant Clarity and Stillness as Spoken by

¹⁰ Interestingly, this discussion of daily external practice and daily internal practice parallels that of two anonymous thirteenth-century texts, namely, the *Taishang laojun nei riyong jing* (Scripture for Daily Internal Practice of the Great High Lord Lao; DZ 645; abbr. *Nei riyong jing*; trl. Kohn 2000c; Komjathy 2002–03) and the *Taishang laojun wai riyong jing* (Scripture for Daily External Practice of the Great High Lord Lao; DZ 646; abbr. *Wai riyong jing*; trl. Kohn 2000c). The former emphasizes self-cultivation and meditative practice, while the latter specifically covers ethical principles. Based on the various references to “daily practice” in early Quanzhen, Eskildsen (2004, 216, n. 38) suggests that these anonymous texts may have been authored by later Quanzhen adherents. The *Jin zhenren yulu* also contains a section entitled “Riyong” (DZ 1056, 11b).

the Great High Lord Lao). As the complete title indicates, it was not simply clarity and stillness that should be cultivated, but *constancy* (*chang* 常) or stability (*ding* 定) of clarity and stillness. This meditative state is a more advanced condition resulting from intensive practice and application. The text emphasizes the interconnection among clarity, stillness, turbidity, and movement. Conventionally, “stillness” is seen as different from “movement,” with the former often referring to meditation. However, the adept is exhorted to cultivate clarity and stillness during every moment.¹¹

The human spirit is fond of clarity,
But the heart-mind disturbs it.
The human heart-mind is fond of stillness,
But desires meddle with it.

If you can constantly banish desires,
Then the heart-mind will become still naturally.
If you can constantly settle the heart-mind,
Then the spirit will become clear naturally.
(1b)

In its original condition, the heart-mind is calm and spirit is clear. As desires become more pronounced and insidious, the heart-mind becomes agitated and spirit becomes turbid. One’s original nature is obscured and one’s original connection to the Dao is disrupted. However, if the adept can extinguish desires and calm the emotional and intellectual activity of the heart-mind, the heart-mind returns to stillness.¹² Then spirit again becomes clear, and the Dao in its immediacy and presence is embodied as the adept’s being.

¹¹ There is also evidence that “clarity and stillness” had the added technical meaning of sexual abstinence. For example, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* has the following: “If men can be clear and still for sixty-four days, their vital essence and qi will become abundant. If women can be clear and still for forty-nine days, their blood and qi will become abundant” (16a).

¹² In his discussion of the *Daode jing*, Michael LaFargue identifies “stillness” as a hypostatization in classical Daoism, and it seems that this view is continued in the early Quanzhen movement. As LaFargue has suggested, “To hypostatize something is to speak of it as though it were an independent entity or force. . . . Laoists [members of an early inner cultivation lineage] hypostatized the quality of mind they cultivated, for instance speaking of ‘bringing about Stillness’ as a mental state or quality, but also of Stillness as an independent force that is ‘the Norm of the World’ (5 [45]: 4)” (LaFargue 1992, 229–30; also 53–85; 243).

Constantly resonating, constantly still,
There is constant clarity, constant stillness.

When clarity and stillness are like this,
You gradually enter the perfect Dao.
When you enter the perfect Dao,
This is called “realizing the Dao” (*dedao* 得道).
(1b–2a)

Members of the early Quanzhen movement embraced and advocated this ideal of constant clarity and stillness.¹³ For example, Ma Danyang admonishes aspiring adepts,

“Cultivating the Dao simply consists of the following. Develop clarity and purity and practice nonaction. Be carefree and become self-dependent. Stay undefiled and unattached. If you can thoroughly digest these twelve characters, you will be a follower of the Dao who has delved into the depths. Just believe this old man’s words. If you practice this, you will definitely benefit. I am not misleading you young people. (*Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 4b; cf. *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 2.3b)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the early Quanzhen practitioners endeavored to move from habituation to perfection. Such a shift in ontological condition centered on the heart-mind. As the ordinary heart-mind is characterized by emotional and intellectual turmoil, confused by desire and agitation, the perfect (or perfected) heart-mind (*zhenxin* 真心) is characterized by clarity and stillness. In addition to the capacity for confusion and exhaustion, the heart-mind, as ruler of the body-self, could also attain numinous pervasion (*lingtong* 靈通). While the ordinary heart-mind, in turbidity and agitation, disrupts one’s innate connection with the Dao, the perfected heart-mind, in clarity and stillness, becomes pervaded by the Dao. In early Quanzhen, the purified and awakened condition of the heart-mind is sometimes spoken of as being “without a heart-mind” (*wuxin* 無心) or as the “dead heart-mind” (*sixin* 死心).¹⁴ In more positive terms, it is referred to as the “aligned

¹³ Stephen Eskildsen goes so far as to claim that “This ceaseless meditation of clarity and purity [clarity and stillness] was perhaps the central, most definitive practice of early Quanzhen Taoism” (2004, 26; also 19, 21–38, 114, 195).

¹⁴ With regard to the state of no-mind (*wuxin* 無心), Ma Danyang explains, “[The state of] no-mind is not the same as the stupid mindlessness of cats and dogs. It means striving to keep your heart-mind in the realm of clarity and purity and being free of deviant states of consciousness. Thus ordinary people (*suren* 俗人) have no mind of clarity and purity, while Daoists (*daoren* 道人) have no mind of dust and defilement. But this is not complete mindlessness, and it is not like the condition of trees and rocks or cats and dogs” (*Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 9a). See also *Jin zhenren yulu*, DZ 1056, 7a.

heart-mind” (*zhengxin* 正心), “perfected heart-mind” (*zhenxin* 真心), or “stabilized heart-mind” (*dingxin* 定心). The Quanzhen adept becomes so free from emotional and intellectual turmoil that he or she no longer has a heart-mind as conventionally and mistakenly understood.

Thus, the early Quanzhen adepts emphasized the central importance of meditation, as both a technique of transformation and all-pervasive existential approach, as well as the cultivation of clarity and stillness. Through meditative praxis and daily application, turbidity and agitation would decrease, while clarity and stillness would increase. The early Quanzhen renunciant could realize his or her original context of sacred immersion. As stillness deepens, clarity becomes more expansive. The heart-mind again becomes a lodging place for spirit, and the adept becomes spiritually aligned with the Dao.

INNER OBSERVATION

Observation (*guan* 觀) is a Daoist meditative practice that came to prominence during the Tang dynasty (618–907). Developed through the influence of Buddhist insight meditation (Pali: *vipassanā*; Skt.: *vipaśyanā*), the Daoist practice of inner observation (*neiguan* 內觀) emphasizes conscious introspection of one’s entire psychosomatic experience.

The way of inner observation involves stilling spirit and stabilizing the heart-mind. Confusion and imagining must not arise; deviance (*xie* 邪) and disorder must not usurp. Keep a firm hold on your body and your surroundings. Close your eyes and begin conscious investigation. Internally and externally, empty and silent, both spirit and the Dao are subtle and deep. Externally, observe the myriad mental projections (*wanjing* 萬境). Internally, examine the unified heart-mind. Realized in illuminated stillness, stillness and confusion [as distinguishable] are both dispelled. While one thought follows another, you maintain a deep root, and calmness is complete. Constantly abiding, your obscurity cannot be fathomed. Sorrow and suffering are dispelled forever, and there is no more consciousness (*shi* 識) of right and wrong. (*Neiguan jing*, DZ 641, 6b–7a; cf. Kohn 1989b, 222)

Like practitioners of Buddhist insight meditation, the Daoist adept engaging in inner observation focuses on stilling and stabilizing the heart-mind. This involves quieting emotional and intellectual activity, and realizing a state of serenity and equanimity. However, while Buddhist insight meditation most often involves maintaining an open awareness of all stimuli in an indiscriminating fashion, Daoist inner

observation also incorporates more specifically Daoist concerns. In particular, inner observation, sometimes also referred to as “inner vision” (*neishi* 內視), integrates Daoist cosmological and mystical views of self. As expressed in Tang-dynasty manuals of observation such as the eighth-century *Neiguan jing* 內觀經 (Scripture on Inner Observation; DZ 641; also DZ 1032, 17.1a–6b; trl. Kohn 1989b) and eighth-century *Dingguan jing* 定觀經 (Scripture on Concentration and Observation; DZ 400; also 1032, 17.6b–13a; trl. Kohn 1987), the practice of inner observation involves a systematic exploration of the multi-dimensional layers of the Daoist body, including the various energies and divinities in the body. According to the *Neiguan jing*, the Daoist meditator must identify and explore the body’s cosmological correspondences: the Five Phases with the five yin-orbs, the six pitches with the six yang-orbs, the seven essential stars (the five plants [Mars, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, and Saturn] plus the sun and moon) with the Seven Cavities, and so forth (*Neiguan jing*, DZ 641, 1b; Kohn 1989b, 203–5).

Patterned on heaven and symbolizing earth, inhaling yin and exhaling yang, your body shares in the Five Phases and accords with the four seasons. The eyes are the sun and moon. The hair is the stars and the planets. The eyebrows are the Flowery Canopy (*huagai* 華蓋) [Cassiopeia]. The head is Mount Kunlun. A network of palaces and passes, the body serves to keep essence and spirit at peace.

Among the myriad beings, humans have the most numinosity. With innate nature and life-destiny merged with the Dao, humans can preserve [this numinosity] by internally observing the body. (ibid., 3a–3b; adapted from Kohn 1989b, 210–11)

Here one notes the body as microcosm and internal landscape. Through the practice of inner observation, closely associated with visualization methods, the Daoist adept becomes a cosmologically-infused and mystically-transformed being.¹⁵

The practice of inner observation continued to be seen as viable and efficacious into the Song-Jin period (tenth-twelfth centuries). For instance, the tenth-century *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, 14–16; also DZ 1309; trl. Wong 2000), a work associated the Zhong-Lü textual tradition (see Baldrian-Hussein 1984, especially 23–31; Boltz 1987, 139–43; Pregadio and Skar 2000,

¹⁵ On Daoist inner observation during the Tang dynasty, including translations of most of the important texts see Kohn 1987; 1989b. See also Sakade 1991; Kohn 1993, 168–73; Kohn and Kirkland 2000, 360–62.

469–70), contains a chapter entitled “Neiguan” 內觀 (Inner Observation) (16.16a–22b). Composed as a series of dialogues between Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 (Zhengyang 正陽 [Aligned Yang]; 2nd c. C.E.?) and his student Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (Chunyang 純陽 [Purified Yang]; d. 798?),¹⁶ the relevant section of this text discusses inner observation in relation to “sitting-in-forgetfulness” (*zuowang* 坐忘) and “visualization” (*cunxiang* 存想). In response to Lü Dongbin’s comment that inner observation is different from visualization, Zhongli Quan explains,

Inner observation does not involve specific times of the day or specific methods. You should live in a chamber of quietude and practice day and night. Learn to recognize the yang-spirit (*yangshen* 陽神), and be ready to drive away the yin-ghosts. Bodhidharma faced a wall for nine years before he entered the Inner Courtyard. The World-Honored One [Buddha] silenced his mind for six years before he departed. From these examples you can realize that inner observation is a difficult undertaking in the beginning.

From the upper [regions of the body] to the lower, the Purple Water-wheel circulates to enter the Celestial Palace. The longed-for blessings and riches of the Celestial Palace appear and disappear. Things that are normally difficult to acquire are bestowed. Daoist adepts must daily [cultivate] clarity and stillness, guarding them in silence and solitude through the outflows and upsurges. After a long time, when accomplishment is sufficient, one immediately becomes joyous.

Storied terraces, blue-green pearls, female pleasures, reed pipes, precious delicacies, extraordinary luxuries, wondrous herbs, strange flowers, luminous beings, flowing radiances—each arouses the eyes like a painting does. Humans who have not awakened will take these to be a real, a sign that they have reached the Celestial Palace. They do not know that it is only the Inner Courtyard of one’s own body.

Recognize that when the regions of perfection emerge, there is no exit or entry. Then one may speak of causes residing in obscurity and tenuity. One retains form and stays in world. One does not realize that the husk is substantial, taking it as spirit immortality. One has not yet reached the Celestial Palace. Through such methods in inner observation, yin-ghosts and external demons are caused by thought, which in turn

¹⁶ As mentioned in chapter one, the figures of Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin exerted some influence on early Quanzhen Daoism, whether imaginatively, mystically, textually, or some combination of these. The use of *yang* 陽 (“bright”) in Wang Chongyang’s Daoist name as well as in that of Li Lingyang (d. 1189) may indicate some form of lineage connection with these famous immortals and specifically with the Zhong-Lü textual tradition. There is also evidence that the *Chuandao ji* may have played some role in the Quanzhen formulation of internal alchemy (see *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 13a).

generate images. Through images, you generate visionary landscapes, wherein demon armies are taken as worthy of reverence. As a consequence, people of the Dao become wild and reckless, entering into perversion. One loses oneself in deviant ways (*waidao* 外道). In the end, one cannot complete immortality. Now, the Three Death-bringers and Seven Po only wish human death and sensual pleasure. The Nine Worms and Six Thieves bring suffering to human serenity. (16.21b–22b; cf. Wong 2000, 132–33)

The Daoist adept, represented by Lü Dongbin, is advised to undertake inner observation practice in a pure chamber (*jingshi* 靜室), that is, a secluded room for meditation. There one must cultivate and refine one's divine capacities, referred to as the yang-spirit or original yang, and expel every negative influence that hinders one's spiritual progress and alchemical transformation. Such malevolent and harmful influences are dream-time phantasms (yin-ghosts), external appearances (external demons), bio-spiritual parasites (Three Death-bringers), sensory perception and corresponding desires (Six Thieves), corporeal ghosts (Seven Po), and harmful material parasites (Nine Worms).¹⁷ Through inner observation, here associated with the cultivation of clarity and stillness, the adept eventually becomes quiet enough to see the Daoist subtle body, a body of energetic waterways and internal landscapes. However, one must realize these for what they are: indications of successful completion of a certain stage of alchemical refinement and nothing more. If one becomes overly attached to them, or if one mistakenly identifies them as the culmination of alchemical practice, one will regress. That is, the internal landscape revealed through the practice of inner observation is still preliminary and provisional. The ultimate goal is spirit immortality, the actualization of a divine being capable of transcending the mundane world: "Inner observation enables one to complete the yang-spirit. By refining spirit, one goes beyond the Inner Courtyard. From there, spirit emerges through the Celestial Gate [the crown-point] and enters the ranks of the sages" (*Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 16.22b).

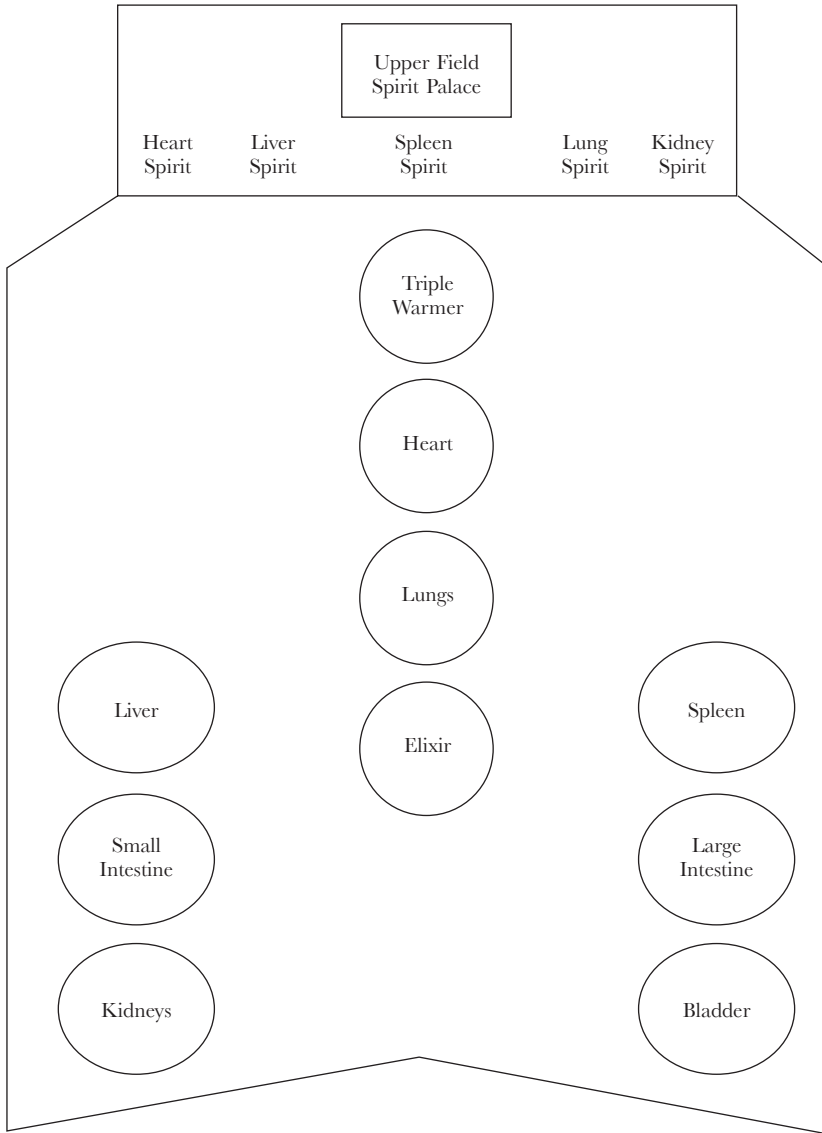
References to "observation" or "inner observation" appear in a variety of passages in the early Quanzhen textual corpus. The relevant discussions suggest that within the early Quanzhen movement inner observation practice involved calming or cessation, visualization, and alchemical transformation. According to Wang Chongyang,

¹⁷ Section 17 of the *Chuandao ji* is entitled "Monan" 魔難 (Demons and Difficulties) (16.22b–26b), wherein the obstacles to spiritual progress are explained.

When practicing this exercise, sit like Mount Tai and stand like a treasure pagoda. Securely guard the Four Gates and firmly lock the Mysterious Pass. Gather a mouthful of the *jīn*-fluids and make three vigorous swallowings. The fluids descend to join with qi and pass through the diaphragm. Do this three times. The qi of the dragon and the tiger will spontaneously arise. Whether walking, standing, sitting or lying down, shut your mouth and close your eyes. When the ears remain unaffected by any sound, the eyes observe the internal landscape (*neijing* 內景). Every day, remain aligned and observe the elixir field, intentionally seeing it in your imagination. As you exhale, feel the qi descend; as you inhale, feel the qi ascend. Do not allow [the exhale] to pass below the diaphragm; do not allow [the inhale] to reach the face and eyes. As each of the six qi reaches the Central Prime, envision the clear qi going right and the turbid qi going left. Each reverts nine times. As the qi goes up and down, make sure it does not escape to the left or right. Then, it coagulates and becomes complete in the furnace. This is called ‘the dragon coiling around and the tiger surrounding the qi.’ (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 17b; see also 18a–20a; Kohn 1993, 175–80)

The aspiring Quanzhen adept is urged to practice meditation every day, both in the more restricted sense of sitting and standing and in the more inclusive sense of an all-encompassing lifeway. After sealing the senses and turning one’s gaze inward, one begins to “observe the internal landscape.” One begins to explore the subtle body, complete with elixir fields, storehouses, waterways, furnaces, as well as dragons and tigers. The proceeding section of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, discussed in chapter four, goes on to describe the body in its multi-dimensional layers, including alchemical, cosmological, physiological, mythological, and mystical aspects. As with Daoist “visualization” practices more generally, it is difficult to determine whether observation of the internal landscape should be understood as involving imagination, actualization, or both. That is, is the subtle body being intentionally created, consciously recognized, or both simultaneously?

The *Dadan zhizhi* (Direct Pointers to the Great Elixir; DZ 244; trl. Belamide 2002), attributed to Qiu Changchun, contains a variety of diagrams on inner observation. The first is entitled the “Neiguan qihuo lianshen hedao tu” 內觀起火鍊神合道圖 (Diagram of Inner Observation for Advancing Fire and Refining Spirit to Merge with the Dao) (1.5ab). The second has the same title (2.3ab), but that diagram includes a textual discussion and is followed by a section entitled “Neiguan qihuo lianshen hedao jueyi” 內觀起火鍊神合道訣義 (Instructions and Explanations of Inner Observation for Advancing Fire and Refining Spirit to Merge with the Dao) (2.4b–5a).



Three Corpses Dispersed Yin-ghosts Destroyed Nine Worms Expelled External Demons Vanquished Seven Po Annihilated

Diagram of Inner Observation for Advancing Fire and Refining Spirit to Merge with the Dao

Based on *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 2.3b

Both diagrams depict the orbs in the torso and the five spirits (*wushen* 五神), the spirits of the five yin-orbs (also related to sense-perception), in the head. The head is identified as the upper field and the Spirit Palace (*shengong* 神宮). The lower sections of the diagrams represent the various harmful influences, the Three Death-bringers, yin-ghosts, Nine Worms, external demons, and Seven Po, expelled from the body. According to the relevant textual section, this inner observation practice is a “method of greater completion,” which is intended to enable one to “transcend the mortal realm and enter the sacred” (*chaofan rushing* 超凡入聖).¹⁸

These instructions are called advancing fire through inner observation. [This method] does not have a specific time. Each day, [you should practice it] when there is spare time. If thoughts arise, control them. Throughout the entire day, practice quiet sitting. With spirit recognized and the interior guarded, unify awareness and do not let it become dispersed. Constantly, continually, maintain the body in aligned sitting (*zhengzuo* 正坐). Silently observe (*moguan* 默觀) the five yin-orbs. Take care to separate perfection from falseness. Never allow the yin-demons to confuse perfection.

The above method of inner observation simply involves maintaining the body in quiet sitting. Advance the qi of purified yang in the elixir [field]. Internally refine the five yin-orbs. Combine qi with spirit so that they ascend to the center of the head. Externally refine the qi of the four limbs. Letting loose the golden radiance, you leap beyond [the mundane world] as a spirit form (*shenti* 神體). Not much later, spirit merges with the Dao. You abandon the husk and ascend to immortality.

Guard against the yin-ghosts, external demons, Three Death-bringers, and Seven Po. They take on false forms to confuse celestial perfection and muddy the yang-spirit, so that it cannot merge with the Dao. Thus, you must not concern yourself with day and night, but constantly follow the circulation of qi (*qizhuan* 氣轉). During the hour of *mao* [5am–7am], observe the liver—the qi of the liver appears azure. During the hour of *wu* [11am–1pm], observe the heart—the qi of the heart appears red. During the hour of *you* [5pm–7pm], observe the lungs—the qi of the lungs appears white. During the hour of *zi* (11pm–1am), observe the kidneys—the qi of the kidneys appears black. The qi of these five colors¹⁹ emerge as a region of perfection inside the pot. This is different from the mundane world. (*Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 2.3b–4a; see also 2.4b–5a)

¹⁸ *Rusheng* 入聖 could be translated as “join [the ranks of] the sages.” This translation indicates the distinctive characteristics of the Daoist sacred realms, inhabited as they are by immortals and Perfected.

¹⁹ The spleen is not mentioned, though implied. The spleen is associated with the phase Earth, the color yellow, and the direction of the center. In Daoist practice, it is, in turn, often taken to represent stillness or timelessness.

Here and in the diagrams, inner observation is described as a particular meditation method. Inner observation is one particular technique in a larger program of religious praxis, namely, internal alchemy and alchemical transformation. The above method involves expelling harmful and malevolent influences from the body²⁰ and activating the five spirits, the spirits of the five yin-orbs.²¹ Through the “visualization” of the corresponding color of each orb (liver as azure, heart as red, spleen as yellow, lungs as white, and kidneys as black) at the corresponding time (liver during *mao* [spring equinox], heart during *wu* [summer solstice], spleen unmentioned, lungs during *you* [autumnal equinox], and kidneys during *zi* [winter solstice]), the psycho-physiological health of each orb is restored and the spirits, the numinous and enlivening presences residing there, become activated.²² Then these spirits merge into a unified, divine subtle being as the elixir or embryo of immortality. Gathering in the Spirit Palace, the center of the head, the five spirits are now the pure yang-spirit (*chunyang shen* 純陽神), a subtle, ethereal presence that can transcend the material world and enter the immortal realms.

ALCHEMICAL METHODS

Given the fragmentary nature of the early Quanzhen textual corpus as well as the general propensity of the early adepts to favor poetic

²⁰ Interestingly, the section immediately following the one currently under discussion is titled “Ten Demon Lords” (*Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 2.5a–6b; trl. Belamide 2002, 208–10; cf. *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 16.25a–26b; trl. Wong 2000, 138–40).

²¹ In terms of the five yin-orbs, one must also keep in mind the various Five Phase correspondences, especially the associated spiritual faculties: liver with ethereal soul, heart with spirit, spleen with intention, lungs with corporeal soul, and kidneys with will. On one level, then, by integrating the orbs, the adept is activating and integrating every aspect of his or her being.

²² This orb-meditation reminds one of similar early Daoist methods, most notably those described in the second-century *Tai ping jing* 太平經 (Scripture of Great Peace) and third-century *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 (Scripture on the Yellow Court). See Kohn 1993, 194–97 and Huang 1990, 221–54. According to the *Huangting neijing jing* (Scripture on the Internal View of the Yellow Court; DZ 331), “The spirit of the heart is [called] Elixir Origin, given name Guarding the Numinous. The spirit of the lungs is [called] Brilliant Splendor, given name Emptiness Completed. The spirit of the liver is [called] Dragon Mist, given name Containing Illumination. . . . The spirit of the kidneys is [called] Mysterious Obscurity, given name Nourishing the Child. The spirit of the spleen is [called] Continually Existing, given name Ethereal Soul Pavilion. The spirit of the gall bladder is [called] Dragon Glory, given name Majestic Illumination. The spirits of the yang-orbs and yin-orbs are the body’s essences. Each resides in the heart and circulates through the celestial pathways. By visualizing [or, preserving] (*cun* 存) them day and night, you naturally attain long life” (3ab).

expression and context-specific teachings over religious manifestos or systematic technical presentations (see Goossaert 2001, 120–21; also Boltz 1987, 137–39), it is probably impossible to reconstruct the early Quanzhen system of internal alchemy in its entirety and in its complexity. While previous sections have introduced some of its salient features, all that one can do is gain glimpses into the types of techniques practiced and prescribed. The most frequently occurring Quanzhen presentations of internal alchemy are less theoretical and practical, more poetic and inspirational. That is, the early adepts most often use alchemical terminology in their poetry without explanation or detailed instruction. A representative example is Hao Guangning's 30-poem sequence entitled "Jindan shi" 金丹詩 (Poems on the Gold Elixir), appearing in his *Taigu ji* (DZ 1161, 4.1a–8b). While one gets some sense of early Quanzhen alchemical practice from the poems, one cannot reconstruct a specific sequence or system. Here one may note the centrality and importance of the master-disciple relationship and the necessity of oral instructions.

Even when one does find some writing like Wang Yuyang's "Jindan jue" 金丹訣 (Instructions on the Gold Elixir), appearing in his *Yunguang ji* (DZ 1152, 3.20ab), one receives more general guidance than specific instruction on alchemical methods. Wang Yuyang's instructions consist of fifteen poetic stanzas of four five-character lines each. Here I translate them stanza by stanza with exegesis.

Alcohol, sex, wealth, and anger must be abandoned!
 Worldly affairs and pleasures must be removed!
 The Three Death-bringers and yin-ghosts must be dissolved!
 The Six Thieves and ten evils must be destroyed!

The aspiring Quanzhen adept is being urged to abandon the Four Hindrances, namely, alcohol consumption, sexual activity, material accumulation, and disruptive psychological states, specifically anger. One must decrease concern over the phenomenal world and sensory engagement. One must inhibit the body's biospiritual parasites from stealing vitality and instituting premature death. The Daoist practitioner must become impervious to dream-time phantasms as well as sensory disruption, including corresponding desires. Finally, the dedicated Quanzhen adherent must reject unethical behavior: killing, stealing, committing sexual misconduct, lying, slandering, using coarse language, equivocating, coveting, being angry, and holding false views.

Mountains of demons must be banished without end!
 All desist from rebelliousness, convolutions, and contortions!
 Just beg for your food, paper, cloth, and robes
 And keep the monkey-mind in tight.

The aspiring Quanzhen adept is being urged to seal himself or herself off from negative influences, whether actual malevolent entities or internal psychological states. In keeping with early Quanzhen social activities more generally (see Eskildsen 2004, 8, 13, 43–45, 51–52, 59, 89, 129, 161–63, 176, 199), the adept must break patterns of arrogance and feelings of superiority by begging for basic life necessities. Throughout every activity, one must rectify the ordinary or chaotic heart-mind's tendencies to disrupt spiritual realization. One cultivates a meditative presence characterized by clarity and stillness.

Unified intention not yet perfectly constant,
 The knife of wisdom splits obstructions.
 When both movement and stillness are forgotten,
 Do not brag about your clarity and purity.

Remembering and applying the insights of the *Qingjing jing*, the aspiring Quanzhen adept must use his or her innate spiritual capacities and illuminating insight to rectify harmful lifeways and realize the nature of existence. One must recognize the types of influences that lead to delusion, defilement, and disruption. As the adept progresses in training, he or she moves beyond distinctions between movement and stillness, between worldly activities and formal meditation practice. One's commitment to self-cultivation and transformation gains a strong enough root that one no longer needs external recognition. The constancy of internal clarity and stillness is one's primary concern and ontological condition.

With innate nature and life-destiny firmly nourished and controlled,
 Deeply store vital essence, qi, and blood.
 Then the myriad spirits are joyful and in harmony
 And numinous currents pervade your bones and joints.

Through consistent practice, spirit and qi become abundant. Through conservation and attentiveness, the aspiring adept stores the Three Treasures, here identified as vital essence, qi, and blood. One may recall that blood is the mother of qi and is often associated with the heart and with spirit. Abundant blood, especially central in women's cultivation, establishes the foundation for more advanced alchemical training.

As one returns to a condition of spiritual integrity, wherein the vital substances are undissipated, the subtle and numinous presences within the body come to flourish. Specifically, the spirits associated with the five yin-orbs and mystical body locations are activated and nourished. The adept begins to feel numinous qi circulating through the psychic networks and pathways, to the point that it penetrates into the deeper, structural layers of the body. Even the most substantial aspects of one's body, the bones and joints, become infused with qi.

Above, harmonize the Palace of the Vermilion Numen;
 Below, enter the Dragon-Tiger Cavern.
 Guard and nourish qi, vital essence, and spirit,
 But watch it, lest you carelessly dissipate the heart-mind.

As the numinous presence of the Dao circulates through the adept's being, it becomes stored in specific mystical body locations. Here attention is drawn to the feeling of energetic fullness in the heart region, the Palace of the Vermilion Numen, and in the lower elixir field, the Dragon-Tiger Cavern. One must again guard and nourish the Three Treasures, here identified as vital essence, qi, and spirit. The alchemical practice shifts from more substantial bodily constituents (blood and vital essence with qi) to more subtle corporeal aspects (vital essence and qi with spirit). Here the adept must be doubly attentive, so that spirit, residing in the heart, does not become dissipated and disrupted through emotional and intellectual activity.

The Four Oceans issue cloud-like radiance;
 The Three Peaks release white snow.
 Meet and merge them in the Palace of Mysterious Prime,
 On and on, continuously, without interruption.

Through dedicated practice, the oceans in the body become enlivened. The Ocean of Blood (heart), Ocean of Qi (kidneys), Ocean of Marrow (brain), and Ocean of Water and Grain (spleen-stomach) become completely resplendent. With the orbs vigorous and harmonized, clear and pure saliva becomes produced in the mouth. From the mystical cranial locations in the head, these alchemically-transformed bodily fluids descend like white snow. They descend through the heart region, eventually becoming stored and mixed with qi in the lower elixir field.

Water and fire are spontaneously extracted and replenished,
 The Celestial Cycle is spontaneously circulated in order.
 Spirit and qi are spontaneously numinous,
 And the Perfected and masters spontaneously give support.

The aspiring adept attends to the kidneys and vital essence and to the heart and spirit. By inhibiting ordinary patterns of dissipation, one begins to stabilize the internal treasures. Vital essence and spirit become intact and abundant. With such spiritual integrity, vital essence and spirit become merged together. Then the adept begins to practice the Celestial Cycle, also referred to as the Microcosmic Orbit. The subtle numinosity, now active within the body, becomes circulated from the base of the spine around the Governing and Conception vessels. Specifically, the adept is urged to open the various locations along the spine in sequence: from Tailbone Gate, the lower pass associated with the coccyx, through Narrow Ridge, the middle pass associated with the area above the kidneys, to Jade Capital, the upper pass associated with the occiput. Then the transformational presence moves to the crown-point, around the head, down the front centerline of the body, to become stored in the lower elixir field. With the yang-spirit, the body-beyond-the-body, now actualized, previous adepts as well as Daoist Perfected and immortals support the adept's alchemical practice.

With the hundred bones spontaneously open and expansive,
Your appearance spontaneously changes.
Sun and moon spontaneously revolve,
As the golden elixir spontaneously congeals.

Then other physical changes occur. Physical obstructions and limitations become rectified and transformed—all of the bones and joints expand and relax away from each other. There is literally more space within the body for the mysterious and numinous presence of the Dao to pervade. The adept becomes more subtle in nature. The movement from materiality to rarification and self-divinization advances, with the adept appearing as a shifting configuration of qi. Spirit, as the manifestation of the Dao, becomes more clearly manifest. The left and right eye, the sun and moon within the body, join their illumination, and the embryo of immortality begins to form. The adept feels a fullness in the lower elixir field and a energetic fullness throughout his or her entire being.

The Child is spontaneously joyous;
The Maiden is spontaneously delighted.
The Five Qi spontaneously attend to the origin,
And the Four Elements unite in harmony.

Spirit, the Child, and qi, the Maiden, alternatively referring to the lungs and liver and their correspondences respectively, become abundant. One is no longer weighed down by the cares and entanglements of

the mundane world. Instead, one's daily life is characterized by joy and liveliness. The subtle numinosity associated with the five yin-orbs is replenished and complete. Then the adept is able to merge such individuated layers of being into a unified, transcendent spirit that manifests as a presence in the center of the head, the Origin. The Quanzhen adept is no longer distinguished by the four impermanent elements of Buddhist cosmology; instead, he or she becomes a single, unified numen.

Mysterious principle is spontaneously pervasive;
 The myriad spirits are spontaneously transcendent.
 With the great Dao spontaneously complete,
 The solid earth spontaneously starts to change.

The Dao as mysteriousness and numinosity pervades the adept's entire being, and all of the subtle presences in the body are active. The adept is simultaneously completely differentiated and completely unified. As a yang-spirit free from the binding of materiality, one gains the ability to transcend physical death. One has completed the Dao through one's own self-actualization. This all-pervading mystical absorption reveals the world as a new place. It is no longer material limitation or personal obstruction. One sees it as fundamentally comprised of qi and thus as an ever-shifting configuration of energy. The earth itself is a manifestation of the Dao, and this earth also exists as the center of the adept's body, the lower elixir field.

In proper *samādhi* you can find perfection.
 In obscurity you can hold the clear mind's fragrance.
 Let your light diffuse and transform into pure spirit—
 Spirit radiance emerges like a bolt of lightning.

Through meditative adsorption, the adept may initiate a shift in ontological condition from ordinary, habituated being to alchemically-transformed, perfected being. Absorbed in the Dao's unnamable mystery, the adept's own innate nature becomes revealed. Purified consciousness, as sacred presence and personal endowment, is all-pervading. One literally becomes illuminated, pervaded by golden light. This golden light fills the adept's entire being and transforms into a spirit capable of immortality and transcendence. Such luminosity of spirit is as bright and penetrating as lightning.

By forging and refining you complete the great elixir,
 Emerging like the moon over a row of houses.
 In a single strike it passes through the Three Passes
 Where ranks of immortals stand arrayed beyond the clouds.

If the adept can maintain vigilant dedication to self-cultivation and transformation, he or she will complete the alchemical work. The elixir of self-transcendence will be fulfilled; the process of rarification and self-divinization will be complete. Like the full moon, in resplendent and infusing illumination, rising above the horizon, the adept's own numinous spirit becomes active. This yang-spirit, or subtle numinosity, moves along the spine and exits through the crown of the head. The adept enters the sacred realms, the regions of perfection.

Open and expansive, the heavens and earth are clear
 While the hidden numen whirls about, becoming vast and pervasive.
 The sun and moon intermingle their light in their revolutions
 As you join the freezing vastness of the Biluo Heaven.²³

The cosmos itself, in its multi-layered numinosity, becomes open and accessible to the transformed adept. As a spirit of pure yang, the adept travels through its unknown tiers of sacrality. The radiance of the celestial spheres illuminates every corner of the cosmos, as the adept's transcendent spirit enters the darkness and obscurity of the Daoist celestial realms.

Your enlightened radiance fills the entire world,
 Greatly joyful, yet also completely free from joy.
 After nine revolutions, the great elixir is complete,
 And once and forever you transcend all life and death.

Such realization and transformation is no longer self-centered. One's spirit radiance, as the manifestation of the Dao's mysteriousness and numinosity, illuminates every aspect of existence. A feeling of other-worldly bliss pervades the adept's subtle body, a joyousness which is beyond description and without internment. The adept completes the alchemical work through redoubling his or her pure yang nature. Completely transformed, the yang-spirit transcends the bounds of materiality, mortality, and transmigration.

A clear song rings through Great Emptiness.
 Feeling flood-like, you visit the Golden Portal.
 With Primordial Origin pervading the Three Worlds,
 You reach out and beckon forth to everyone.

The adept's own transformed being becomes a subtle, almost imperceptible message resonating throughout the cosmos. Simultaneously

²³ On the Biluo Heaven see Bokenkamp 1991.

individual cosmic spirit and all-pervading numinosity, one enters the portal into infinitude, a portal both within the head and beyond every previously known location. The Dao as Source of all that is, undifferentiated obscurity, and all-pervading numinosity circulates through every realm of differentiation. Through alchemical transformation, the Quanzhen adept has become so completely rarified and divinized that he or she is the Dao. With alchemical transformation complete, one becomes one of the Perfected occupying the Daoist celestial realms. In cosmological attunement and spirit pervasion, one realizes that there is no distinction between self, other, community, and world. From transcendent bliss, the adept turns back towards suffering humanity to beckon each being towards self-transformation.

While the above poem does give some glimpses into early Quanzhen alchemy, Wang Yuyang's instructions leave one wondering about the specific techniques employed by the early Quanzhen adepts. One is able to gain some insight into alchemical praxis: it involves conserving and storing blood, vital essence, qi, and spirit; circulating numinous currents, probably a reference to the perfect qi, throughout the body, including through the Governing and Conception vessels along the back and front centerline of the body, referred to as the Celestial Cycle or Microcosmic Orbit (*xiao zhoutian* 小周天); activating and nourishing subtle body locations, such as the Palace of Vermilion Numinosity, most likely a reference to the heart region, and the Dragon-Tiger Cavern, most likely a reference to the lower abdominal region; as well as completing the gold elixir and merging with the Dao, also referred to as Emptiness or the Primordial Origin. However, the specific alchemical methods, *the actual transformative techniques*, are sufficiently vague to require personal instruction. By what means is the aspiring adept supposed to expel of the Three Death-bringers? What specific techniques are practiced to complete the alchemical process?

To answer these and similar questions, one viable and productive approach is to turn to the technical literature, specifically the *Jinguan yusuo jue* and *Dadan zhizhi*.²⁴ These texts reveal that the early Quanzhen religious community employed complex alchemical methods in its training regimens. Such methods included time-specific exercises with

²⁴ It has recently been brought to my attention that Pierre Marsone of the Collège de France has completed a manuscript on early Quanzhen alchemy utilizing the literary anthologies and contemporaneous *neidan* works. We may look forward to that study to clarify the present discussion.

cosmological components, the activation of the subtle body, semen-retention, saliva-ingestion, and qi-circulation. Most of these techniques of transformation relied on a radically different view of human anatomy and physiology. As I have already discussed the alchemical body in chapter four, emphasizing subtle anatomy and physiology, here I will attempt to provide an outline of Quanzhen views concerning fluid and qi production and transformation. Such theoretical information is necessary to understand the justification and perceived necessity of alchemical praxis.

As mentioned, the foundational view of self in early Quanzhen parallels that of classical Chinese medicine, specifically the Five Phase correspondences, five yin-orbs, and bodily substances. In the context of alchemical praxis, the various yin-orbs, including the vital substances associated with them, are held to interact in complex ways. Based on extant sources, it appears that the primary constituents for the elixir of immortality are perfect qi and fluids. That is, producing, conserving, circulating, and storing perfect qi and fluids, specifically the clear saliva activated during alchemical training, formed the essence of alchemical transformation. According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “The gold essence is the gold water, which consists of the unseparated qi of the lungs and kidneys harmonized and made one . . . When [the gold essence] moves through the Three Passes, it enters [the Palace of] Nirvana” (DZ 244, 1.12b–13a; also 1.4a, 1.5a, 1.15a; *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 7b–8a). The gold essence or gold water, which refers to the vital substance circulated in specific alchemical methods, relates to the original or perfect qi. This “gold essence” consists of pre-natal qi, associated with the kidneys, combined and harmonized with post-natal qi, associated with the lungs.²⁵ To do the alchemical work, both the kidneys and lungs must be healthy, while the qi endowed by the cosmos before birth and the qi ingested and stored by the adept after birth must be whole and integrated.

As will become clear in the pages which follow, the practice of swallowing saliva was central in early Quanzhen. This alchemical method, however, involved much more than swallowing ordinary spittle and assuming that something efficacious happened magically. Instead, such fluids were *the result of and a sign of successful alchemical praxis* and an

²⁵ More accurately, post-natal qi is associated with the lungs, responsible for respiration, and with the spleen, responsible for digestion. That is, breath and food are the primary forms of post-natal qi.

ingredient in the formation of the elixir of immortality. Associated with the kidneys and the heart, these fluids were precious and had to be stored. For example, Ma Danyang explains, “One who studies the Dao should not concern himself with anything besides nourishing qi. When the *ye*-fluids of the heart descend and the qi of the kidneys ascends to reach the spleen [Yellow Court], the original qi will be vigorous and will not be dispersed. Then the elixir assembles” (*Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 4a–4b).

Through extrapolation, one may conjecture on a larger theory of orb interaction as well as of qi and fluid production underlying alchemical praxis.²⁶ The kidney orb, also referred to as the Ocean of Essence or the Ocean of Qi, is the foundation of health and vitality; it is associated with pre-natal qi and vital essence. Vital essence in turn relates to marrow, which nourishes the spinal cord and brain, with the latter receiving the alternate designation of the Ocean of Marrow. Through the fire of the Gate of Life (*mingmen* 命門), the kidney orb also transforms vital essence into original qi, refines fluids so that a pure aspect is transported to the spleen, and helps to produce blood. After receiving pure fluids from the kidney orb, the spleen, in coordination with the stomach, generates bodily fluids, which are separated into *jin*-fluids and *ye*-fluids (see chapter 4). This fluid physiology is complicated by the fact that the spleen and stomach, also referred to as the Ocean of Water and Grain,²⁷ are associated with the Middle Warmer; after the production and separation of these bodily fluids, the Triple Warmer is responsible for transporting the fluids throughout the body. One part of these fluids goes to the lung orb, while another is transferred to the heart. The lung orb then mixes the *jin*-fluids, the clear or yang aspect, with qi derived from physical respiration to produce protective qi, that is, the qi which circulates along the surface of the body to protect one from disease. Simultaneously, the *ye*-fluids, the heavy or yin aspect, are transferred to the heart. The heart, or Ocean of Blood, in turn, transforms these *ye*-fluids into blood, and blood is said to be a determining factor in the vitality of spirit,²⁸ as it is one of the material bases of

²⁶ I make no claims to have a complete understanding of the complex nature of early Quanzhen alchemical theory. However, as few if any scholars have attempted to provide a detailed discussion of the physiology of internal alchemy, I offer the following discussion as an initial movement in this direction.

²⁷ That is, the place where digestion, the transformation of food and drink, occurs.

²⁸ As mentioned, spirit is associated with consciousness. The present discussion suggests an interesting material claim concerning consciousness: Blood must be ample for the attainment of higher levels of consciousness.

spirit. As mentioned, the heart is considered the ruler of the body: Abundant and freely-circulating fluids and blood nourish spirit, which in turn leads to harmony among the other orbs. In terms of fluid and qi physiology, the result of the various orb interactions is perfect qi, also translated as “true qi.”²⁹ In classical Chinese medicine, the perfect qi is the qi that circulates through the meridians and supports one’s overall health. In early Quanzhen Daoism, perfect qi has the additional sense of being the culmination of alchemical praxis as well as a pure emanation of the Dao flowing throughout one’s being. That is, perfect qi is not simply given; instead, the adept must consciously activate and refine base material substances through specific training regimens.

The above discussion may, in turn, help one gain a clearer understanding of the physiology of internal alchemy in general and elixir formation in particular. Beyond the simplified formula of refining vital essence and qi to eventually become spirit and merge with the Dao, internal alchemy is a complex process of self-refinement and transformation, of rarification and self-divinization. For example, refining vital essence, associated with the kidneys, leads to the production of blood, with the assistance of the lungs and heart, and the production of fluids, with the assistance of the spleen and stomach. These fluids in turn nourish and moisten the muscles, skin, joints, and orifices of the sense organs. In combination with marrow derived from vital essence, the fluids also nourish the brain and spinal cord. Simultaneously, the fluids transferred to the heart become blood, the material basis of spirit. That is, the seemingly simple formula of “refining vital essence to become qi” (*lian-jing huaqi* 煉精化氣) initiates a complex set of physiological responses. More specifically, producing, conserving, and ingesting fluids leads to both a greater resiliency to disease, through increased protective qi, and an abundance of spirit, through increased blood and marrow production. Nourishing and attending to the various orbs and their related substances initiates a dynamic physiological process.³⁰ This physiology

²⁹ For additional information on the physiology of Chinese medicine see Ross 1985, 12–20; Clavey 1995, especially 1–27; Tyme 1997, 31. I am grateful to Kate Townsend of the Center for Daoist Studies for her insights concerning classical Chinese medicine.

³⁰ The place of the ethereal soul and corporeal soul in alchemical praxis remains an open question. According to the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, “Vital essence generates the corporeal soul. Blood generates the ethereal soul. Vital essence corresponds to innate nature. Blood corresponds to life-destiny. Humans who completely realize innate nature and life-destiny understand that this is the method of perfect cultivation. Vital essence and blood are the roots of the flesh and body. The perfect qi is the root of innate nature and life-destiny. Consequently, it is said that if there is blood, one can generate the

proves a foundation for the activation and opening of mystical body locations, as well as for the patterning of a pathway for the spirit to transcend the mundane world and become an immortal.

Specific alchemical methods were central in early Quanzhen training regimens. These techniques, referred to as “methods” (*fa* 法) or “exercises” (*gong* 功), involved dedicated cultivation and practice and emphasized refinement and transformation. In addition, the early Quanzhen adepts embraced and advocated techniques of transformation as both stage-based practices and responses to specific conditions. One of the clearest expressions in this regard appears in the *Jinguan yusuo jue*:

People have myriad diseases, and each disease is of a particular category. Use the exercises of perfection (*zhengong* 真功) to cure them, and the diseases will respond naturally. The first exercise is the Method of the Nine-Times Reverted Elixir Greatly Refined. There are also the following practices: the Method of Yellow Sprouts Threading the Knee, the Method of Striking the Nine-Layered Iron Drum, and the Method of the Prince Roaming through the Four Gates. There is also the Method of the Gold Whip and Familiar Wheel, the Method of Reeds and Sprouts Threading the Knee, the Method of Xian Yuan [the Yellow Thearch] Passing Over Fire, and the Method of Jade Maidens Massaging the Body. There is also Zhongli [Quan’s] Method of the Sword Behind the Back, Venerable Lü [Dongbin’s] Fishing Method, and Chen Xiyi’s [Chen Tuan’s] Great Sleeping Method. (DZ 1156, 22a; also 1b–2a, 4a–4b, 7a)

Some of these methods are mentioned and discussed in both the *Jinguan yusuo jue* and the *Dadan zhizhi*. For the moment, one may note that here Wang Chongyang emphasizes the specifics of such alchemical techniques:³¹ the present list relates to specific diseases, which have to be cured before more advanced alchemical training. These and similar practices are referred to as “exercises of perfection,”³² and a whole set of foundational commitments had to be embraced before undertaking such intensive training. These included basic Confucian and Buddhist ethical principles:

perfect qi. When the perfect qi is strong and substantial, then one can naturally attain longevity. Assembling vital essence and blood completes form” (DZ 1156, 2a).

³¹ Here I will assume that the *Jinguan yusuo jue* represents a compilation of Wang Chongyang’s oral instructions. For a systematic argument see my introduction to the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, translated below.

³² *Zhengong* would be translated conventionally as “true merit.” However, in the technical literature, the term clearly relates to specific techniques, “exercises of perfection,” which lead to higher levels of attainment, “perfect accomplishments” (*zhengong* 真功). For information on “perfect practice” (*zhengxing* 真行) and “perfect accomplishment” (*zhengong* 真功) in early Quanzhen see Qing 1996, vol. 3, 61–73.

First, you must observe the precepts and develop clarity, stillness, forbearance, compassion, genuineness, and goodness. You must abstain from the ten evils, practice expedient means, and strive to save all sentient beings. You must also be loyal to the ruler and king, and be filial and reverent to parents and teachers. This is the method of cultivation. Then and only then can you practice the exercises of perfection. (DZ 1156, 1b)

One of the primary motivations for such alchemical praxis was conservation and refinement. The aspiring adept was urged to attain a state of non-dissipation (see *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 4a), wherein the various vital substances, the “ingredients” for alchemical transformation, were conserved and stored. As a state of energetic aliveness and completion became realized, as forms of dissipation and psychosomatic disruption were rectified, the adept’s vitality would become more and more abundant. This condition is analogous to a vessel, free from cracks or holes, which becomes filled water: Eventually the water fills the entire container to the point of overflowing. At this point, the male adept in particular had to be vigilant with regard to the loss of vital essence through seminal emission. In the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, a specific method is advocated which will assist the practitioner in preventing such dissipation.

Someone asked, “If the white ox is about to escape, how can one capture it?”

Perfected Chongyang responded, “If the white ox [semen] is about to escape, you should tightly close the Mysterious Pass and securely guard the Four Doors. You should urgently employ the Immortal’s Fishing Method. You should also use the Sacred Gesture of the Three Islands to direct the Yellow River to reverse its course. You should cover the Gold Pass from above and shut the Jade Lock. If this is accomplished in the blink of an eye, then the white ox naturally will not depart. This is called the Method for Mechanically Issuing Water to Ascend the Other Shore. (6b)

The above passage most likely refers to a semen-retention method, relating to solitary practice rather than dual cultivation. As mentioned, early Quanzhen Daoism required sexual abstinence, while simultaneously recognizing the perils of sexuality in the form of dream-time phantasms and apparitional fantasies (“yin-ghosts” and “demons of sleep”). Such an interpretation is supported by water-related terminology, including the “Immortal’s Fishing Method” and the “Yellow River reversing its course.” The latter relates to preventing vital essence, the “water of the kidneys,” in the form of semen from exiting the body through ejaculation, and redirecting vital essence inward and upward. The adept is urged to seal the senses and close the various body

passes and locks; here lifting and contracting the perineum is probably involved. In addition, emphasis is placed on applying a specific hand gesture (Chn.: *shouyin* 手印; Skt.: *mudrā*) and on a mechanism (*ji* 機; lit., “trigger”). Under one reading, this involves using the middle three fingers of the right hand to press the perineum, which in turn inhibits the release of seminal emission.

The centrality of vital essence as the foundation for alchemical training has already been discussed theoretically, but additional methods meant to store and circulate transformed essence appear in the technical literature. Such practices relate to a process known as “activating the waterwheel” (*qi heche* 起河車) and “reverting essence to repair the brain” (*huanjing bunao* 還精補腦), with the brain (Ocean of Marrow) being associated with consciousness and mystical anatomy. The brain, in its subtlety more than its materiality, contains the Nine Palaces and is the portal to spirit immortality and celestial immortality. Based on the technical literature, this modification of the directional flow of vital essence seems to have been one of the most important, or at least most foundational, techniques in early Quanzhen. The specific technique most often receives the designation of the “Method of Flying the Gold Essence behind the Elbow” or the “Method of Flying the Gold Crystal behind the Elbow” (see *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 6b, 7a, 8a, 16b; *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.3b, 1.12a, 1.12b, 1.20a; cf. *Lingbao bifa*, DZ 1191, 2.1a–8a, 2.13b–14a; *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 15.18b, 15.22a). The *Dadan zhizhi* contains a variety of diagrams entitled “Zhouhou fei jinjing” 肘後飛金精 (Flying the Gold Essence behind the Elbow) (see 1.3b, 1.12a, 1.12b, 1.20a; Belamide 2002, 194–96). These diagrams depict the movement of the “gold essence” up the spine to the head region.

Perfected Huayang Shi 華陽施 said,³³ “During the hour of *zi* [11pm–1am], allow the vital essence of the lungs to mix with the flourishing *qi* of the kidneys. This is called the ‘gold essence.’ The gold essence is the gold water, the unseparated *qi* of the lungs and kidneys harmonized and made one. When applying this method, [the gold essence circulates] from the lower pass of Tailbone Gate Cavity to reach the middle pass of Narrow Ridge. From there, it circulates to the upper pass of Jade Capital. These passes are opened consecutively. After [the gold essence passes through] the Three Passes, it directly enters the Palace of Nirvana. This

³³ Most likely Shi Jianwu 施肩吾 (fl. 820), also known as Qizhenzi 棲真子 (Master Perched-in-Perfection) and Huayang zhenren 華陽真人 (Perfected Brilliant Yang), a Daoist adept associated with the Xishan 西山 (Western Mountain) school of internal alchemy and credited with transmitting certain Zhong-Lü texts.

not only replenishes the deficiency in the brain, lengthens one’s lifespan, and reverses aging to regain youthfulness. It also extracts the qi of the kidneys so that the Yellow Court remains uninjured.” (1.12b–13a)

The Method of Flying the Gold Essence behind the Elbow involves circulating the perfect qi from Tailbone Gate, the lower pass, to Jade Capital, the upper pass, in sequential order. This refined essence in turn enters the Palace of Nirvana, a mystical brain location. According to the above passage, this alchemical method restores health and vitality as well as increases longevity. Simultaneously, it helps to nourish the Yellow Court, one of the most important places for the formation of the elixir. Interestingly, the method also includes a time-specific element—the adept must begin practicing during the time of *zi*, that is, the time associated with the apex of yin, the kidneys, and vital essence in alchemical praxis.

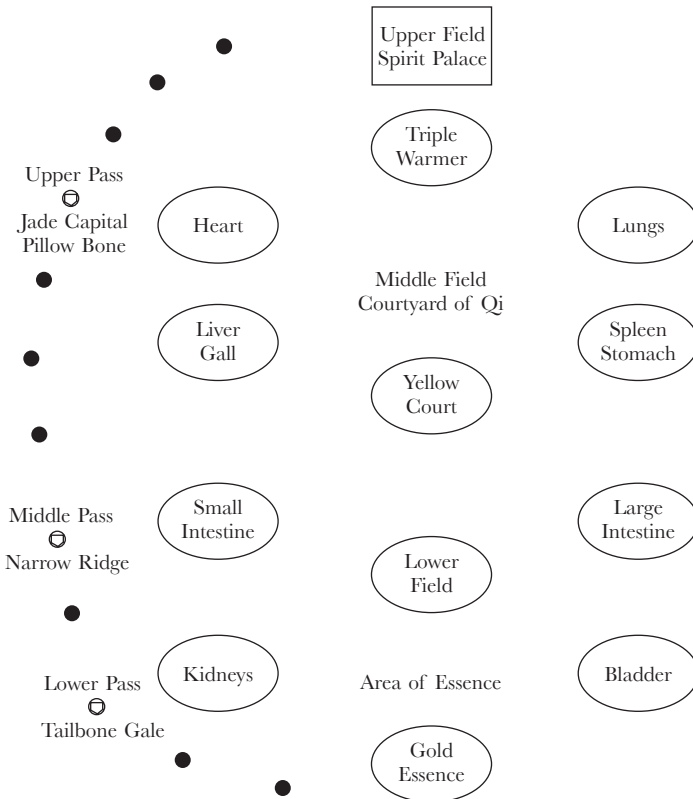


Diagram of Flying the Gold Essence behind the Elbow to Return to the Three Fields

Based on *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 1.5a & 1.12a

A variety of other techniques also emphasize the importance of time-specific aspects, including energetic cycles and cosmological affinities. In particular, mention is made to the Five Phases, twenty-four periods, Eight Nodes, sixty-four hexagrams, Eight Trigrams, five night-watches, and stem-branch combinations. Based on the technical literature, the following correspondences were utilized in Quanzhen training regimens:

1. Wood: liver: east: azure dragon: Zhen-thunder ☳: beginning of spring and vernal equinox: *jiayi* (also *jia* and *mao*): *mao* (5–7am): *jin*-fluids/ethereal soul.
2. Fire: heart: south: vermilion bird: Li-fire ☲: beginning of summer and summer solstice: *bingding*: *wu* (11am–1pm): blood/spirit.
3. Earth: spleen: center: —: —: *wuji*: —: intention/thought.
4. West: lungs: white tiger: Dui-lake ☱: beginning of autumn and autumnal equinox: *gengxin* (also *geng* and *you*): *you* (5–7pm): *ye*-fluids/corporeal soul.
5. North: kidneys: Mysterious Warrior: Kan-water ☵: beginning of winter and winter solstice: *rengui*: *zi* (11pm–1am): vital essence.

One aspect of time-specific training involves seasonal and energetic awareness. According to the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, “The myriad diseases all come from misalignment with the qi of the Eight Nodes. . . . The great elixir of the twenty-four days of avoidances consists of using the twenty-four periods of the year” (DZ 1156, 13b). That is, Quanzhen adepts must become attentive to the energetic cycles associated with the four seasons, specifically the eight and twenty-four qi-nodes (see Appendix Five: Towards a Technical Glossary of Early Quanzhen Daoism).

Practicing during specific times of the day also played some role in early Quanzhen training regimens. In addition to the above-mentioned five night-watches, certain techniques recommend a particular hour for cultivation. For example, in the *Jinguan yusuo jue* time-specific aspects are combined with a qi-circulation technique:

Now, when one uses this exercise, one should begin sitting cross-legged (*jiāfu zuo* 跏趺坐) at the hour of *zi* (11am–1pm) and the hour of *wu* (11pm–1am) and rub the hands together. If the perfect qi is active in the body, pass it through the Celestial Bridge to the forehead skin. Make it go to the area above the jaws. Using the intention, divide the perfect qi in two and have it flow down to move in the center of the Great Yang Prime. Let it flow deeper into the jaw, ascending into the teeth. Then collect the *ye*-fluids from the right and left corners of the mouth. This in

turn is the Mysterious Pearl and the Sweet Dew. Use the Crimson Dragon to stir and obtain the proper blending, so that it coagulates into a snow flower. White in color, it has a sweet flavor. (DZ 1156, 8b; also 11b)

Here Wang Chongyang advises the aspiring adept to meditate when yin is at its apex and the seed of yang emerges, the hour of *zi*, and when yang is at its apex and the seed of yin emerges, the hour of *wu*. An additional layer of this instruction is the association of *zi* with the kidneys and vital essence, and *wu* with the heart and spirit. In the above technique, one circulates the perfect qi to various subtle body locations, as the activation and nourishment of the subtle body is the core of alchemical transformation. This in turn leads to the production of clear saliva, which is mixed together by the tongue, the Crimson Dragon.

Similarly, the *Dadan zhizhi* provides instructions using time-specific associations. Under a diagram identified as a “method of greater completion,” entitled “Wuqi chaoyuan lianshen ruding tu” 五氣朝元鍊神入頂圖 (Diagram of the Five Qi Attending to the Origin and Refining Spirit to Enter the Peak) (see Belamide 2002, 206), one is instructed,

This method is called the “original method for refining qi to complete spirit.” It uses the hours of *zi* [11pm–1am], *wu* [11am–1pm], *mao* [5am–7am], and *you* [5pm–7pm]. On the *jia* and *yi* days, refine the liver. On the *bing* and *ding* days, refine the heart. On the *geng* and *xin* days, refine the lungs. On the *ren* and *gui* days, refine the kidneys. The spleen is not engaged. Store the refined qi in the four yin-orbs.³⁴ On the *wu* and *ji* days [associated with the spleen], do not practice. Such are the days for refining the five yin-orbs. On the *jia* and *yi* days, practice at the hour of *mao*. On the *bing* and *ding* days, practice at the hour of *wu*. On the *geng* and *xin* days, practice at the hour of *you*. On the *ren* and *gui* days, practice at the hour of *zi*. Such are the hours for refining the five yin-orbs.

When practicing the foregoing method and the above-mentioned times, sit quietly in a darkened room. Burn a stick of incense and tap the teeth twenty-four times. Align the body and sit in a balanced position. [Practice] inner observation of the yin-orbs being refined. Breathe through the nose in a subtle and fine [manner], so that it is preserved. When stillness reaches its apex, qi is generated. When qi reaches its apex, spirit manifests. As though dreaming, as though awake, in the midst of obscurity spirit and qi ascend. In the above method, do not be confused

³⁴ Belamide translates these lines as follows: “On the *ren* and *gui* days, cultivate the kidneys and the spleen. Do not store the cultivated *qi* in the four viscera.” While viable, this translation/interpretation not only breaks the rhythm of the passage, but also changes the association of *rengui* with the kidneys and of *wuji* with the spleen.

about the days and hours, as spirit accords with these days. You must have the perfect qi accord with the times in its circulation. You must investigate the days and examine the hours when cultivating it. In one hundred days, qi becomes abundant and spirit manifests. [This indicates] that you will soon ascend to immortality, without stopping at [the state of] perpetual life without dying. (DZ 244, 2.1b–2a; also 2.3a–5a; cf. *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 16.12a–12b, 14a–14b; Wong 2000, 119, 121–23)

In the present technique of transformation, the Quanzhen adept is instructed to refine the qi of the various yin-orbs on the specific days and times associated with those orbs. That is, cosmological alignment is necessary for higher levels of alchemical transformation. Through this practice, which involves both quiet sitting and inner observation, vitality and energetic aliveness increase, while spirit comes to override habitual nature. In particular, the spirits of the various yin-orbs are enlivened, and eventually merge into a unified numen (*yiling* 一靈), the “immortal embryo” (*taixian* 胎仙). Interestingly, the associated diagram identifies the names of the orb-spirits with those found in the *Huangting jing* (Scripture on the Yellow Court; DZ 331; DZ 332).

The spirit of the heart is called Lord Elixir Origin.
 The spirit of the lungs is called Lord Brilliant Splendor.
 The spirit of the liver is called Lord Dragon Mist.
 The spirit of the kidneys is called Lord Mysterious Obscurity.
 The spirit of the spleen is called Lord Perpetual Existence.
 (*Dadan zhihuzhi*, DZ 244, 2.1a; cf. *Huangting neijing jing*, DZ 331, 3a)

The adept, in turn, becomes permeated by the Dao, and achieves a shift in ontological condition from ordinary human being to immortal.

The above methods point to the centrality of subtle anatomy and physiology, qi-circulation, and saliva-ingestion in early Quanzhen training regimens. That is, standard internal alchemy practices also formed part of the core of Quanzhen religious praxis. I have already emphasized the importance of swallowing saliva, but a few additional details require further comment. References to clear fluids produced during alchemical praxis, referred to as the Jade Nectar, Sweet Dew, Mysterious Pearl, and Spirit Water, appear frequently in the writings of the early Quanzhen adepts (cf. Robinet 1993, 90–94). During alchemical praxis, fluids were produced, specifically clear saliva, which had to be swallowed as an essential ingredient for elixir formation. Again, according to the *Jinguan yusuo jue*,

Swallow Spirit Water and make it go to the center of the Qisang 氣頰;³⁵ then the qi of the lungs is transformed into *ye*-fluids. This is good for curing all kinds of coughs. . . . [A scripture] also says, ‘Swallow the *jin*-fluids and make them go to the area above the heart. This makes the human heart-mind become open in awakened understanding. We call this purifying the heart-mind with Spirit Water and purifying the heart-mind to realize innate nature’ Then again, swallow the Spirit Water and make it go to the liver. The liver corresponds to [the phase] wood and is sometimes called the Azure Dragon. When the dragon obtains water, it prospers. This is good for curing every kind of eye problem. [The qi of the liver] transforms into *jin*-fluids. Next, swallow the Spirit Water and make it go to the spleen. The spleen corresponds to [the phase] earth. When earth obtains this water, it generates Yellow Sprouts. (9a; also 20b)

While the actual physiology of the above passage is obscure, it does provide insights into the perceived benefits of saliva-ingestion. Through the use of intent, the corresponding energetic pattern, and the actual swallowing of saliva, deficiencies are rectified and health is stored. Specifically, diseases and imbalances associated with the orbs, including eye problems with the liver and coughs with the lungs, are healed. One aspect of this is clearly the moistening and nourishing effects of both fluid production and conservation. In the case of healthy practitioners, swallowing saliva helps to ensure overall orb health. Moreover, through alchemical praxis, one awakens and strengthens one’s spiritual capacities, associated with the heart-mind and consciousness.³⁶ The adept actualizes a different kind of body, becomes a different kind of being, and realizes a different way of experiencing.

TRANSFORMATIONS OF SELF

Quanzhen transformative praxis, utilizing the above-mentioned practice guidelines and techniques of transformation, simultaneously incorporated,

³⁵ *Qi* refers to subtle breath, while *sang* refers to the forehead. Based on the present context, the character *sang* 頰 (“forehead”) may be a scribal error for *sang* 嚙 (“throat”). Under this reading, Qisang is an alternate name for the Twelve Storied Tower, the trachea.

³⁶ For additional insights on the place of internal alchemy in early Quanzhen see Hachiya 1992; 1998; Zhang 1993; Qing 1996, vol. 3, 56–91; Goossaert 1997; Hu and Lü 1999; Ren 2001, 678–83, 704–9; Belamide 2002; Eskildsen 2004. On internal alchemy more generally see Wu 1974; Needham et al. 1983; Baldrian-Hussein 1984; 1990; Robinet 1989; 1995; Despeux 1990; Sakade 1991; Baryosher-Chemouny 1996; Esposito 1997; Pregadio and Skar 2000; Skar 2003.

embodied and actualized the views of self discussed in chapters three and four. On one level, these views informed and were required for specific dimensions of Quanzhen religious training. On another, Quanzhen transformative techniques expressed and actualized those aspects of the early Quanzhen worldview. In short, there is an inter-relationship between views of self and religious praxis. Views of self inform transformative techniques; transformative techniques embody views of self.

Wang Chongyang and his first-generation disciples compared ordinary human beings, specifically those uncommitted to religious praxis, to decaying corpses and marionettes. Accordingly, ordinary human existence is characterized by disharmony, dissipation, suffering and impermanence. Such individuals are following desire-based modes of living, with the desires most often originating from an unidentified source; ordinary people are also being fashioned into instruments for reproducing the dominant socio-economic order. Most importantly from a Daoist perspective, they are separated from the ground of their being: the Dao as unnamable mystery and all-pervading numinosity. Such a view of self, rooted in the direct personal experiences and observations of the early adepts, influenced the decision to embrace an ascetic and renunciant orientation. The socio-religious practice of abandoning family and society incorporates the belief that such entanglements and attachments hinder spiritual realization.

For the early adherents, the same was true with respect to the negative influences of sensory over-stimulation, psychological reactivity, alcohol consumption, material accumulation, sexual activity, and so forth. These were forms of habituation and self-disruption; they create dissonance in one's internal condition and distort one's innate capacity for participation in the Dao. One early Quanzhen response was to cease engaging in such patterns, but this was still not enough. How could one actually overcome personal habituation and social conditioning? For this, the early movement advocated a form of meditation based in emptying and stilling the heart-mind. Through quiet sitting, by cultivating clarity and stillness, one stills excess emotional and intellectual activity. One may return to one's innate nature and live through the more subtle aspects of self and cosmos. In the case of early Quanzhen Daoism, the transformational technique of silent meditation was rooted in the view that the heart-mind had the ability to disorient or to align the adept with what is ultimately real and meaningful. The former was the ordinary or habituated heart-mind; the later was the realized or perfected

heart-mind. It is the purified and transformed heart-mind that is the lodging place of spirit; it contains latent numinous abilities and becomes a portal to the Dao. Similarly, the actual practice of empty sitting, with its accompanying experiences of inner chaos transformed into tranquility, confirmed this view of the heart-mind. Through dedicated and prolonged quiet sitting, the aspiring adept overcame personal habituation and discovered a spiritual radiance, the Dao's numinous presence, within his or her own being. A transformation of self occurred.

The early Quanzhen adherents also practiced inner observation and internal alchemy. Inner observation involved encountering and activating the internal landscape. Like many Daoists before them, Quanzhen renunciants gazed into the deeper recesses of the body to discover (create?) a landscape populated by multi-colored orbs and their corresponding spirits. It is somatic landscape filled with mountains and rivers, the sun and moon, fields and gateways, and so forth. The Daoist view of the body as landscape and as microcosm (universe within the universe) is required for the practice of inner observation. If the human body is not understood as a replica of the larger cosmos, one would not explore it as such. Viewed from another perspective, the practice of inner observation embodies this Daoist view of self: to direct one's illumination inward and explore the correspondences housed therein is to confirm such a cosmological view. Similarly, internal alchemy relies upon viewing self as "alchemical crucible." Here the body is the locus of alchemical praxis. The body contains the vital "ingredients" for producing the elixir; it consists of qi-storehouses and pathways; and it has subtle or mystical locales that may be opened through focused training. The alchemical body informs alchemical praxis; alchemical praxis actualizes the alchemical body. Moreover, for adepts employing alchemical techniques, especially the complex ones embraced and advocated in early Quanzhen, there is an underlying belief: purification, rarification and self-divinization are not only possible but necessary. Alchemical transformation is the only way to attain immortality and perfection. In short, the early Quanzhen adherents sought to transform self by applying specific views and by practicing certain techniques. These were interrelated. Quanzhen transformative praxis was, in turn, expected to lead to specific types of experiences, experiences that confirmed the efficacy of the training and initiated a shift in ontological condition.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MYSTICAL EXPERIENCES AND NUMINOUS ABILITIES

Many of the early Quanzhen adepts had encounters with immortals, Perfected, and Daoist deities. Such mystical experiences were often triggers for a conversion process, inspiring the early adherents to fully embrace a religious way of life. In addition, encounters with immortals and with the yang-spirits of other adepts, especially Wang Chongyang, were also identified as inspiration for greater commitment and as guidance for deeper understanding and practice. Specific kinds of mystical experiences also indicated and confirmed successful training. The early Quanzhen adepts claimed that intensive training regimens would result in the attainment of specific types of experiences. After consistent ascetic and alchemical praxis, one might receive “signs of successful training” and gain numinous abilities. In this chapter, I provide some information on encounters with immortals that occurred within the early Quanzhen movement. This is followed by a discussion of signs of successful training and various benefits and numinous abilities that were expected to result from Quanzhen religious praxis.

ENCOUNTERS WITH IMMORTALS

Many of the early Quanzhen adepts had mystical encounters (both visionary and auditory) with “immortals” (*xian* 仙) or “Perfected” (*zhen* 真).¹

¹ I have continued the conventional translation of *xian* as “immortal.” *Xian* has been translated alternatively as “transcendent” (see, e.g., Bokenkamp 1997, 21–23; Campany 2002, 4–5). Neither translation is fully satisfying, as both have a certain slippage of meaning. For example, the celestial life-spans of many *xian* are fairly limited, perhaps only seven or nine generations. Thus, they have a higher degree of transcendence, but a lower degree of immortality (if they are “immortal” at all). However, other *xian* have a seemingly unlimited celestial life-span, consisting of both a high degree of transcendence and immortality. The inadequacy of “immortality” comes to the fore when one considers the duration of a *xian*’s trans-human existence. The inadequacy of “transcendence” comes to the fore when one considers the typology of *xian*: there are *renxian* 人仙 (“human immortals”) and *duxian* 地仙 (“terrestrial immortals”), both of which contradict assumed views of transcendence as trans-human and other-worldly. In

Based on the cartography of mystical experiences discussed in chapter two, encounters with immortals, Perfected, and deities were ergotrophic, hyperaroused or extrovertive experiences. Here the early Quanzhen adherents had mystical experiences that were primarily visionary and auditory in content. Such experiences were in keeping with traditional Daoist models of lineage-formation, wherein a founding figure was given a revelation or series of revelations by divine beings that empowered him or her to establish formal Daoist religious movements.² The mystical encounters with immortals documented in early Quanzhen sources also parallel contemporaneous (Song-Jin period) cultural concerns and phenomena. Some socio-historical background must be given here, as recent discussions of Quanzhen Daoism have challenged the veracity of certain mystical experiences recognized as formative in the tradition itself (see Kubo 1967, 87–103; Hachiya 1992, 29–36; Marsone 2001, 98–100, 103). If one turns from the *assumptions* of modern scholars employing social scientific methods to the *actual historical context* of early Quanzhen, one finds that mystical encounters with immortals were far from “uncommon.”

In his study of Yongle gong 永樂宮 (Palace of Eternal Joy; near Ruicheng, Shanxi) (1999), Paul Katz provides detailed information on the “cult of the immortals,” specifically individuals and communities that venerated Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (Chunyang 純陽 [Purified Yang]; b. 798?), which flourished during the Song-Jin period (see also Baldrian-Hussein 1986; Hansen 1990; Ang 1993; 1997; Katz 1996; Shahar and Weller 1996). While Katz places primary emphasis on competing views of Lü Dongbin, from Daoist immortal to popular healer and wonder-worker, from patron god of prostitutes to Quanzhen patriarch,³ his research also

addition, what exactly this shift in ontological condition means remains open to debate and differs from tradition to tradition, and often from practitioner to practitioner. For a justification of translating *zhen* as “perfected” or “perfection” see the introduction to the present study.

² For example, this was the case with the revelation from Lord Lao to Zhang Daoling that established the Tianshi (Celestial Masters) movement and the revelations from various Perfected to Yang Xi and the Xu brothers that established the Shangqing (Highest Clarity) movement. For academic overviews of these and other Daoist revelatory movements see the contributions to Kohn 2000a.

³ Even within the Quanzhen movement, Lü Dongbin represented different things to different people: “Lü Dongbin was probably the most popular of all the immortals whose cults were adopted by the Perfect Realization [Complete Perfection] movement, and he appeared in several guises in the movement’s hagiography—as patriarch, instructor, and role model” (Katz 1999, 79).

documents how mystical encounters with Lü Dongbin were reported throughout this historical period and among members of every socio-economic strata. It was Lü's attributed miraculous abilities, numinous appearances, and magical efficacy that, at least partially, contributed to his rise in religious status (cf. Watson 1985; Hansen 1990). As one may recall from previous chapters, and as will be discussed below, Wang Chongyang was believed to have had two mystical encounters with Lü Dongbin, and the early Quanzhen movement identified Lü and other divine beings as their originary patriarchs and continuing sources of guidance (see also Katz 1999, especially 69–93).⁴ Such mystical encounters with immortals, whether by Wang Chongyang or his first-generation disciples, expressed and conformed to some of the major religio-cultural and soteriological ideals of twelfth and thirteenth century China. There is also substantial evidence that the Quanzhen incorporation and modification of the “cult of Lü Dongbin” contributed to the increased institutional success of the movement—in addition to religious motivations, there were socio-economic factors involved in singling out Lü for veneration and inclusion in an emerging Quanzhen pantheon (Katz 1999). Nonetheless, and this cannot be emphasized enough, many of the first- and second-generation Quanzhen adepts identified encounters with immortals as significant, if not necessary, in the course of religious training.⁵ In addition, the *Quanzhen tradition itself*, including its own histories and hagiographical ideals, maintains that early encounters with immortals were part of the movement's formation.⁶ From an emic perspective, much of the founding impetus resulted from divine inspiration and guidance.

Before presenting some information on early Quanzhen encounters with immortals, an additional point needs to be made. This centers on

⁴ Interestingly, some of the hagiographical accounts of Lü Dongbin identify him as a “superintendent of wine-taxes.” Parallel accounts of Wang Chongyang associate him with the same profession. This may suggest a conflation which occurred as part of a process of deifying Wang Chongyang.

⁵ This viewpoint is also part of contemporary Daoism. Hsien Yuen, mentioned above, maintains constant communication with Daoist immortals and deities. Similarly, during a recent stay at Huashan 華山 (Mount Hua; Huayin, Shaanxi) (June 19–21, 2004), a number of Daoist monks informed me of encounters with immortals as part of both initial conversion experiences and ongoing indications of successful training.

⁶ This is not to deny the complex socio-economic and institutional factors involved in the relationship between the early Quanzhen movement and the “cult of Lü Dongbin.” What I am arguing, however, is that historical contextualization suggests that mystical encounters with immortals is to be expected in the socio-religious context in which Quanzhen emerged.

a fundamental aspect of internal alchemy practice and accomplishment, namely, the formation of a “yang-spirit” (*yangshen* 陽神),⁷ also referred to as a “perfected form” (*zhenxing* 真形), “unified numen” (*yiling* 一靈), or “body-beyond-the-body” (*shenwai shen* 身外身). While this aspect of early Quanzhen religious praxis will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter, one cannot fully appreciate the Daoist view of immortals or Perfected without understanding what the yang-spirit is. As the adept progresses in his or her alchemical practice (see chapter 6), cleansing impurities and actualizing more subtle layers of being, he or she becomes more “divine” in nature. As one progresses in the process of alchemical transformation, a subtle body forms, which can transcend materiality and physical mortality: “The unified numen is real; the four elements (*sida* 四大) of body are false” (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 3a). This is the yang-spirit, or spirit of pure yang (*chunyang zhi shen* 純陽之神), and *the yang-spirit is not an ontological given*. While it may be latent in every human being, it requires intensive and dedicated training to “create” such a transcendent or immortal spirit. In contrast to religious traditions emphasizing an eternal soul or transcendent consciousness, Daoist traditions tend to view the human being in terms of composites and perpetual flux (see chapter 3).⁸ If one is not content to disappear into the cosmos through decomposition (whether physical or energetic), one of the only ways to overcome this condition is to dedicate oneself to an alchemical training regimen that may result in the formation of an “embryo of immortality” (*taixian* 胎仙). Once one has reached this level of attainment, one can send out one’s yang-spirit to more subtle realms, especially after physical death. The advanced adept can also manifest his or her yang-spirit to others (trans-location), whether in a waking-state or in dreams. As the adept becomes more alchemically transformed, he or she becomes less physical and more numinous in appearance and in nature, so much so that higher-level adepts can often appear as a shifting configuration of qi. Thus, in the context of

⁷ In his recent study (2004), Stephen Eskildsen translates *yangshen* as “Radiant Spirit.” This is slightly misleading as the meaning of *yang* here is not simply “illuminated,” but also purified and perfected. *Yang* here refers to those aspects of self which are more rarified in nature. Specifically, the “yang-spirit” is a spirit of *pure yang*, wherein all yin qualities, here connoting negative and impure aspects of being (e.g., intellectual and emotional turmoil, desire-based living, materialistic concerns, and so forth), have been refined and transformed.

⁸ The situation of early Quanzhen becomes slightly more complicated under the influence of Buddhist views of consciousness, including the emphasis on karma (*yinyuan* 因緣) and reincarnation (*lunhui* 輪迴).

internal alchemy lineages, encounters with the yang-spirits of adepts (“immortals”), whether currently embodied or not, were signs of their accomplishment, the efficacy of alchemical practice, and the aspiring adept’s own possibility.

The most important and influential, though by no means the only, mystical encounters with immortals were those of the Quanzhen founder. According to hagiographical accounts, Wang Chongyang had two or three key mystical experiences that resulted in a radical reorientation of his life and in the eventual motivation for guiding the spiritual realization of others. As discussed in chapter one, for the first forty-eight years of his life, Wang Chongyang followed the conventional familial and societal contours of an elite life in twelfth century China. He married and had children. He pursued a classical education, eventually aspiring to official government and then military service. After failing to achieve any substantial success, Wang became despondent and took to heavy drinking, becoming more and more estranged from his family. Then, in the summer of 1159, at the age of forty-eight, Wang is said to have encountered one or more supernatural beings, identified variously as “immortals” (*xian* 仙), “unusual beings” (*yiren* 異人), or “exceptional beings” (*zhiren* 至人), in a tavern in Ganhe township, near Huxian, Shaanxi.

The earliest hagiographical accounts do not mention the immortal(s) by name, but later sources identify them variously as Lü Dongbin and/or as Lü Dongbin and Zhongli Quan.⁹ In addition, there is disagreement as to whether or not Wang Chongyang mentions such encounters in his poetry. This has led Pierre Marsone, drawing upon the research of Kubo Noritada (1967) and Hachiya Kunio (1992), to claim the following: “In his own writings, however, Wang Chongyang never explicitly asserted that he encountered these immortals. . . . So we can conclude, first, that Wang never explicitly asserted to have seen two immortals, and, secondly, that there is a person who played an important role in his conversion, whom he called *mingshi* 明師 [luminous master] or *zhenshi* 真師 [perfected master]. This person is probably not an immortal, but rather an ascetic Wang encountered near Liujiang” (Marsone 2001, 99).

⁹ This leads to the possibility that Wang’s mystical encounters with immortals actually occurred, but that the identification of them as Lü Dongbin and/or Zhongli Quan are later accretions. On early Quanzhen hagiographical sources see Appendix Three: Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus. See also Katz 1999, 69; Marsone 2001, 98; Eskildsen 2004, 4, 101.

As Wang's mystical encounters are central to both the present study and the history of the Quanzhen tradition itself, I will provide a few possible responses to recent academic claims that such experiences are fabrications based on more mundane motivations, whether by Wang himself, his disciples, or members of the later monastic order.¹⁰ First, there *are* some references in the poetry anthologies to events that parallel those mentioned in the hagiographies. For example, a poem by Wang Chongyang entitled “Yushi” 遇師 (Meeting My Teacher) reads,

At the age of forty-eight, I happened to encounter [my teacher]—
When the oral instructions were transmitted, accomplishment arrived.
A granule of cinnabar sand—its color is surpassing;
Above the mountain of Jade Florescence, there appears a red hue.
(*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.6b; cf. *Jinlian ji*, DZ 173, 2.2b–3b)

And

Danyang asked me why I drank nothing but cold water. I answered,
“From the time that I met Perfected Chunyang [Lü Dongbin] in Ganhe,
I have [only] drank water [not alcohol].” (*Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 2.6b;
cf. Marsone 2001, 98, n. 7)¹¹

While by no means conclusive, these passages, as well as poems by Wang Chongyang addressed to Lü Dongbin (see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 3.8a, 9.1a, 11.14a), problematize the out-of-hand rejection of Wang's mystical encounters. In addition, anecdotal evidence that Wang had “actual teachers” (should this surprise us?) does not require an either-or stance on this issue. That is, Wang's mystical encounters with immortals do not exclude or trivialize the influence of his physically embodied teachers, especially since in the Daoist tradition these are only distinguished by a matter of degrees (substantiality, physicality, mortality, and so forth).

Here some additional points should be made. First, Quanzhen in particular and Daoist traditions more generally do not restrict “teachers” to physically embodied humans; immortals or Perfected, subtle or divine beings, are also believed to instruct and guide humans. In addition, after Wang's initial mystical encounter, he changed his name to **Chongyang** 重陽 (Redoubled Yang) and began intensive religious praxis. The name

¹⁰ Compare Vincent Goossaert's claims that “meditation enclosure” became a means by which to increase cultural capital (2001, 125–26; 2003).

¹¹ Note the occurrence of the same character *yu* (“to meet”) in both the poem and the prefatory material to the lyric in the *Fenli shihua ji*.

Chongyang is soteriologically significant as it may indicate *his own identification* as standing in a spiritual lineage associated with Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin, whose Daoist names are Zhengyang 正陽 (Aligned Yang) and Chunyang 純陽 (Purified Yang), respectively. Research on mystical experiences as instrumental in a conversion process also adds support for the possibility of an anomalous occurrence in Wang's life during the period in question. Mystical experiences are often triggers for radical personal reorientations.

Wang Chongyang's unwillingness to document his alleged mystical encounters in poems also should not surprise one. Such autobiographical statements would not, generally speaking, be in keeping with Daoist attitudes and would stand out in comparison to other contemporaneous accounts. That is, subjective mystical experiences most likely would be communicated in personal conversations or in instructional contexts, and such biographical details were most often documented *by others*, by one's direct students, later adepts, and/or hagiographers. The creation of personal identity and authority through self-centered public discourse is not common in the Daoist tradition. Finally, as we will see, Wang Chongyang's mystical encounters with immortals established a model of attainment for successive Quanzhen adepts.¹²

Wang Yuyang also had a number of mystical encounters with immortals. According to hagiographic accounts, at the age of seven he encountered Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Sovereign Lord of Eastern Florescence).¹³ This event is confirmed by Wang Yuyang in his *Xunguang ji*:

When I was seven years old I encountered Donghua dijun. From empty space he admonished me not to allow myself to become confused or deluded. In the *wuzi* year of the Dading reign period [1168], I also had an encounter with Master Chongyang. I wrote this lyric to record these events. (DZ 1152, 4.1a)

Wang Yuyang's identification of his encounters with the immortal Donghua dijun and Wang Chongyang (who was still physically embodied

¹² For information on Wang's other encounters and their subsequent influence on his life see chapter 1.

¹³ Donghua dijun's "biography" appears in the *Jinlian ji* (DZ 173, 1.1a–2b) and *Jinlian xiangzhuan* (DZ 174, 13a–14a). Here we are told that before his apotheosis Donghua dijun was a man named Wang Xuanfu 王玄甫, who became an immortal in ancient times. During the Han dynasty, he is said to have transmitted the Dao to Zhongli Quan in the Zhongnan mountains. According to Eskildsen (2004, 211, n. 72), "The [Quanzhen] movement's decision to glorify this relatively obscure figure may indeed have been inspired by Wang Chuyi's testimony of his personal encounters with him." On Donghua dijun see also Min and Li 1994, 356.

in 1168) as being parallel suggests that the two beings had similar divine qualities and that they could only be distinguished by a matter of degrees. Wang Yuyang in turn had two more anomalous encounters in his youth (*Lishi tongjian xubian*, DZ 297, 3.1b–2a; *Qizhen nianpu*, DZ 175, 7b). At the age of fourteen, he is said to have encountered an old man who, seated on a large boulder, rubbed his head and proclaimed that one day he would become a great leader of the Daoist tradition. On another occasion, the “Palace Master of the Mysterious Court” (*xuanting gongzhu* 玄庭公主) spoke to him from out of empty space (Eskildsen 2004, 11). These events led to erratic behavior on the part of Wang Yuyang and to unwillingness to adhere to conventional social roles, specifically gainful employment and marriage. By the age of twenty-seven, he was living and training in a hermitage on Mount Niuxian. This is when he sought out Wang Chongyang and became his disciple. Thus, one once again notes the influence of encounters with immortals in initiating a Daoist conversion process and in instilling a commitment to undertake intensive Daoist training.

Encounters with immortals also occurred in dreams. Often such dreams were instructional in intent, involving the actual appearance of a given teacher and/or a teacher “sending a dream” to a specific adept. As mentioned, the advanced adept was believed to be able to manifest his or her yang-spirit to others, whether in a waking-state or in dreams. Here a rigid distinction between waking-consciousness and dream-consciousness is not recognized. Instead, the aspiring adept can receive dream visitations and dream instructions from his or her teacher, sometimes referred to as “sending out spirit to enter dreams” (*chushen rumeng* 出神入夢). These experiences relate to the individual needs and the stage of practice of a given adept.

Of the early Quanzhen adherents, dreams played an especially prominent role in the life of Ma Danyang. When Ma first met Wang Chongyang, he was following the life of a householder and of an elite member of Chinese society. Wang identified Ma as a companion in the Dao with extraordinary capacities. However, such potential, according to Wang, could only be actualized if Ma fully embraced a religious way of life. While living in the South Garden of Ma’s estate, Wang Chongyang endeavored to convince him to become a Daoist renunciant, a formal member of the then-emerging religious community of Quanzhen. This was the time of the famous “dividing-pears episode,” during which Wang used divided pears (*fenli* 分梨) as a poetic and pedagogical method for ensuring divorce (*fenli* 分離) between Ma and his wife, Sun Buer. While Wang Chongyang’s personal dedication and conviction

probably played some role in Ma's eventual conversion, it seems that it was other anomalous experiences that were especially influential. According to the *Jinlian ji* (DZ 173, 5.9b), "[Wang Chongyang] would send out his spirit and enter their [Ma and Sun's] dreams in various kinds of transformative manifestations (*bianxian* 變現). He frightened them through [visions of] the Earth Prison (*diyu* 地獄) and enticed them through [visions of] the Celestial Hall (*tiantang* 天堂)."¹⁴ Similarly, a stele inscription preserved in the *Ganshui lu* (DZ 973, 1.2b–10a; Chen 1988, 450–54) contains the following account:

[Wang Chongyang] was locked in the Hermitage of Complete Perfection for one hundred days transforming himself. Sometimes he ate and sometimes he refrained from eating. . . [One night] Master Ma was sleeping on the second floor of his private residence. The doors and windows were all locked. Perfected [Chongyang] arrived during the night to have a face-to-face conversation. Ma did not know where he came from. [Later] a person wanted to draw his [Wang's] spirit. [However,] his left eye revolved to the right, while his right eye revolved to the left. At various moments he appeared as old and young, fat and skinny, yellow and vermilion, as well as azure and white. His form and appearance had no stability. (1.5a; cf. *Jinlian xiangzhuan*, DZ 174, 21b)

According to this inscription, Ma Danyang received a nocturnal visitation from the spirit of Wang Chongyang. Wang's yang-spirit was able to enter Ma's locked residence, after which some unmentioned instruction occurred. In the eyes of Ma Danyang and Quanzhen hagiographers, this event confirmed Wang's achievement of a perfected state in which his numinosity is characterized by formlessness and changeability.

While these accounts are admittedly later, dating from 1241 and 1275 respectively, and hagiographical in intent (see Company 2002), belief in Wang Chongyang's numinous qualities and abilities are mentioned in the writings of the first-generation Quanzhen adepts. Wang's ability to "send dreams" or to know about dreams before being informed inspired his disciples and increased their dedication. For instance, Ma Danyang tells us that his final decision to enter the Dao was the result of a dream.

Master Chongyang used a hundred different ways to persuade and convert me. However, I always proved to have too many attachments and desires. Suddenly one evening I dreamt that I was standing in the central

¹⁴ In the *Panxi ji* (DZ 1159, 3.3a), Qiu Changchun writes, "[Wang Chongyang] sent out his spirit and entered dreams, and people became frightened."

courtyard. I sighed to myself saying, “My innate nature and life-destiny are like a thin porcelain bowl; if I drop it, it will shatter into a hundred pieces.” Before I had finished saying this, a bowl fell from empty space and I awoke crying out in dread. The next day Master [Chongyang] commented, “You were frightened last night, and now you have [decided] to awaken.” (*Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 1.2a)

According to this account, written by Ma as a prefatory remark to a poem on the same topic, Wang seems to have known the content of Ma’s dream experiences. Wang Chongyang may have sent the dream or used his knowledge of the dream to confirm its significance.¹⁵ This dream convinced Ma Danyang of the tenuousness and impermanence of human existence and the necessity of undertaking intensive religious praxis. In this sense, it recalls a similar dream experience that occurred in Ma’s youth (see *Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.14b; *Jinlian ji*, 3.4a–4b; *Lishi tongjian xubian*, DZ 297, 1.13a–13b; Yao 1980, 50–51).

Mystical encounters with immortals thus were often triggers for a conversion process. It is also clear that the early adepts participated in the deification of their fellow practitioners and their incorporation into a Quanzhen cult of the immortals. In addition, the central importance of mystical encounters with immortals and anomalous experiences established models for the second- and third-generation adepts.¹⁶ In the lives of early Quanzhen adepts, such experiences provided spiritual guidance and support as well as signs of successful training.

SIGNS OF SUCCESSFUL TRAINING¹⁷

Various “supernatural abilities” were ascribed to Wang Chongyang and his first generation disciples.¹⁸ Sometimes, the early Quanzhen adepts

¹⁵ The same inscription mentioned above describes how Ma had a series of dreams concerning certain names and titles that Wang Chongyang would bestow upon him, including Tong 通 (Pervasion), Yu 鉦 (Gold-jade), Danyang 丹陽 (Elixir Yang), and Shantong 山侗 (Mountain Fool) (*Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.5b; Chen 1988, 451). See Eskildsen 2004, 232, n. 27.

¹⁶ For instance, Yin Zhiping had personal mystical experiences and documented those of earlier Quanzhen adherents. For a brief discussion see Eskildsen 2001, 140–43; 2004, 96–99. As mentioned above, encounters with immortals also continue to play a central role in the lives of contemporary Quanzhen monastics.

¹⁷ This section is strongly indebted to the work of Eskildsen 2001; 2004, 95–114, 115–38.

¹⁸ It is not at all clear that there is anything “supernatural” in a cosmos as conceived by Quanzhen. There are, of course, radically different ontological conditions

initiated miraculous events while still alive. At other times, posthumous appearances of and guidance from the early Quanzhen adepts, especially Wang Chongyang, were documented (see Eskildsen 2004, 115–38). As Stephen Eskildsen has shown, such events were often taken as “signs of proof” (2001; 2004, 95–114).¹⁹

The early Quanzhen masters cultivated meditative trances and hoped to gain visions, locutions, and other sensory and physical signs indicating they were making progress in their training. They, along with other internal alchemists of their times, referred to these things as “signs of proof” (*zhengyan* 證驗), “signs of response” (*yingyan* 應驗), or “news” (*xiaoxi* 消息). They regarded the “signs” as “proof” of their spiritual progress and the veracity of their beliefs in eternal life and immortal beings. (Eskildsen 2004, 95; also Eskildsen 2001, 139)

Here *zhengyan* could also be rendered as “experiential confirmation” or “verification.” Such signs of proof indicated a certain level of attainment and provided experiential confirmation of a given training regimen.

Mystical encounters with immortals, especially posthumous appearances of former Quanzhen adepts, were one such “sign of proof.” It seems that Ma Danyang, Qiu Changchun, and Yin Zhiping each claimed to have encountered the yang-spirit of Wang Chongyang after his physical death. For example, Yin Zhiping recounts a vision that Qiu Changchun described to him:

One evening in a dreamscape²⁰ I [Qiu Changchun] saw Master [Chongyang] with a child about one hundred days old seated on his knee. When I woke up, there was an awakening in my heart-mind. I knew that my Dao-nature (*daoxing* 道性) was still under-developed. Half a year later, I again beheld a dreamscape similar to the first one. Now the child was two years old. I woke up and awakened to the fact that my Dao-nature was gradually growing. Later I realized that I was free of perverse thoughts (*enian* 惡念). One year later, I had the same dream, but the child was now three or four years old and was able to walk and stand by himself. After

and cosmic realms. However, there is a continuum between beings and realms on the more material end of the spectrum (“terrestrial”) and on the more subtle end of the spectrum (“celestial”).

¹⁹ Eskildsen includes a variety of information on the experiences of Yin Zhiping, a disciple of Liu Changsheng and then of Qiu Changchun, whom I would place in a later moment of Quanzhen history, specifically the organized phase. See chapter 1; also Appendix Three: Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus.

²⁰ Although *jing* 境 may be translated conventionally as “circumstances,” it has the technical meaning of “mental projections.” That is, here Qiu is either having a “visionary hallucination” or a “dreamscape encounter.” The latter seems to be implied since the next lines speak of “waking up” (*jue* 覺).

this, I no longer encountered [the vision]. Then I knew that I had received divine guidance (*tique* 提挈) and that I now had the ability to stand on my own. (*Qinghe yulu*, DZ 1310, 4.5a–5b; cf. Eskildsen 2004, 99)

Here Qiu Changchun identifies his dream or vision as a gift and lesson from the then-deceased Wang Chongyang. Wang's appearance and transmission serve to instruct Qiu on his level of cultivation and help him to awaken his Dao-nature, that is, his divine capacities and innate connection to the Dao. This confirms the success of Qiu's dedication to Quanzhen praxis, specifically his process of self-purification and transformation. Interestingly, as soon as Qiu awakens to the fact that he is self-sufficient, that his life-destiny is in his own hands, the dreams stop. The dream transmission was only necessary until Qiu Changchun recognized the perfection latent within himself.

While mystical encounters with immortals and dream transmissions were recognized as initiatory, inspirational, or evidential, there was also a danger that aspiring adepts would become disoriented by over-emphasis on such anomalous experiences. Cultivation had to remain the primary concern. The leaders of the early Quanzhen movement in turn cautioned against placing too much emphasis on or becoming too concerned with anomalous events. According to Hao Guangning,

Master [Chongyang] established our school in hopes that each and every adept would cultivate immortality. Today I observe that many disciples of our school are accruing karma by speaking about abnormal and seductive occurrences such as entering dreams by sending out spirit. (*Zhenxian yulu*, DZ 1256, 1.21b)

The possible pitfalls involved in seeking numinous experiences must have become prominent by at least the early thirteenth century since the scholar-official Liu Zuqian 劉祖謙 (fl. 1224) also felt obliged to comment.

Considering [Wang Chongyang] sending out his spirit to enter dreams, throwing his umbrella, tossing his cap, and other such deeds of rising above or disappearing, these were [manifestations of] his expedient wisdom and are not related to the master's basic teachings. For students who wish to hear the great Dao, they must not lose themselves in magical techniques. (*Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 16a; Chen 1988, 461; adapted from Eskildsen 2004, 116–17; see also 132–34)

Adepts must recognize mystical encounters with immortals and other anomalous experiences for what they are: triggers for a conversion process, inspiration for greater commitment, guidance for deeper understanding and practice, and/or confirmation of successful training. However, the aspiring adept must not obsess about such events or

brag about them. That is, mystical encounters may become a hindrance to one's spiritual progress, especially if they lead to increased egoism and/or stagnation. Rather than actively seek anomalous experiences, the aspiring adept is advised to focus on cultivating clarity and stillness and advancing along the path of alchemical transformation.

More reliable and consistent were "internal experiences," experiences of a psychosomatic and energetic nature. An earlier precedent for such training confirmation appears in texts from the Zhong-Lü corpus, specifically the *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Record of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16; trl. Wong 2000), *Lingbao bifa* 靈寶畢法 (Final Methods of Numinous Treasure; DZ 1191; trl. Baldrian-Hussein 1984), and *Xishan ji* 西山記 (Record of the Western Mountain School; DZ 246), as well as contemporaneous internal alchemy texts.²¹ For example, the "Lun zhengyan" 論證驗 (Signs of Proof), the final section of the *Chuandao ji* (DZ 263, 16.27a–30b; Wong 2000, 143–48) informs the aspiring adept that specific training regimens may result in specific types of experiences. After one conserves vital essence, opens the body's meridians, and generates saliva, one begins a process of self-rarification and self-divinization.²² At the most advanced stages of alchemical transformation, one becomes free of karmic obstructions and entanglements and one's name becomes registered in the records of the Three Purities. The embryo of immortality matures, which includes the ability to manifest as the body-beyond-the-body and have greater communion with celestial realms. After the adept's bones begin to disappear and become infused with golden light (*jinguang* 金光), he or she may receive visitations from divine beings. This process of experiential confirmation is said to culminate as follows: "In a solemn and grand ceremony, you will be given the purple writ of the celestial books and immortal regalia. Immortals will appear on your left and right, and you will be escorted to Penglai. You will have audience with the Perfect Lord of Great Tenuity in the Purple Palace. Here your name and place of birth will be entered into the registers. According to your level of accomplishment, you will be given a dwelling-place on the Three

²¹ Stephen Eskildsen has also identified relevant material on "signs of proof" in three sections of the *Neidan jiyao* 內丹集要 (Collected Essentials of Internal Alchemy; DZ 1258), namely, "Jindan zhengyan" 金丹證驗 (Signs of Proof of the Gold Elixir; 2.9a–13a) "Lun baguan jie" 論八關節 (Divisions of the Eight Passes; 3.10b–12a), "Lun liutong jue" 論六通訣 (Instructions on the Six Pervasions; 3.12a–14a). See Eskildsen 2001, 149; 2004, 104, 120.

²² For a study of early "self-divinization movements" see Puett 2002.

Islands. Then you may be called a Perfected or immortal” (30a). The final state of being, entrance into the ranks of immortals and Perfected (see below), occurs, presumably, after physical death.

Similar signs of successful training are identified in early Quanzhen sources. One of the clearest descriptions occurs in the *Dadan zhizhi*, which contains a section entitled “Xinggong yingyan” 行功應驗 (Signs of Response while Practicing Exercises; DZ 244, 1.17b–18a):

At first there will be a gradual feeling in the elixir field of the Yellow Court that is harmonizing and warming. The perfect qi ascends and your ears hear the sound of wind and rain. Your head gradually becomes filled with whistling sounds of gold and jade. Inside the gate of the jaws, known as the Celestial Pool, the gold *ye*-fluids well up and flow downward like a cool spring. Some of these fluids flow into the face, while others flow into the brain. Some form into pearl-like dew, while others enter the mouth through the upper gums. Its flavor is sweet and refreshing.

After a long time, your head fills with the sound of lutes, zithers, and bamboo chimes. There will also be the sounds of cranes calling, gibbons crying, and cicadas buzzing. These various sounds of suchness (*ziran* 自然) are really indescribable.

However, when you begin your practice, you may hear the noise of loud thunder in your dreams. This is the perfect qi thrusting through the head’s yang-bone (*yanggu* 陽骨) and penetrating the Nine Palaces. When spirit enters the chamber, it will soon ascend upward, and you may, naturally, become frightened. Sometimes, when meditating with eyes closed, a single large being may jump up and frighten you. However, if you get up and open your eyes, you will see that nothing is there. This is because your yang-spirit is not yet mature. It is important not to become frightened or give rise to thoughts. After a long time, this spirit will mature and there will be no more [images or fear]. [Your yang-spirit] will be [simultaneously] hidden and manifest, and its transformations will be limitless. You will know what is to act without effort. You will be free from attachments to anything seen or heard. Simply listen to suchness. If you become attached to appearances, these are only illusions. (see also 1.14a–14b; cf. Belamide 2002, 199)

Throughout the *Dadan zhizhi*, the aspiring Quanzhen adept is urged to practice a fairly systematic training regimen, specifically centering on a set of alchemical methods. Such practice would (or should) result in indications of one’s level of accomplishment. According to the above passage, the perfect qi becomes full and vital fluids become abundant. These subtle substances flow throughout the body and become stored in subtle body locations. One feels a sensation of heat and continuous circulation throughout the body. The opening of energetic locations in the body initiates a corresponding set of auditory experiences, which are

described using analogies with animal sounds and human instruments. Then a more extraordinary process begins, wherein the adept's inner cranial bones (sphenoid, nasal, temporal) begin to open and expand. This also involves the opening of mystical brain cavities referred to as the Nine Palaces. All of these signs of successful training are, in turn, related to the formation of the yang-spirit, a subtle body that is beyond impermanence and decay.

Such signs of proof could occur both in meditative absorption and in dreams. As we have seen, the early Quanzhen adepts had an ambiguous relationship with dreams. On the one hand, dreams were dangerous. Yin-ghosts and sleep-demons could appear while the adept slept and disrupt his or her process of alchemical transformation, specifically through seminal emission in the case of male adepts. On the other hand, there were "authentic" dreams, including "sent-dreams," instructional dreams wherein the yang-spirits of teachers appeared, as well as mystical encounters with famous immortals. Similarly, dreams could provide signs of proof concerning one's level of cultivation. According to Wang Chongyang,

As people practice these exercises, the elixir field will be nourished and the perfect qi will become warmed. At night such people may have dreams where they see an untethered ox on a mountain. This ox may be crimson or azure in color. There may also be immortals, Daoist monks, monasteries, temples, wide paths, pleasant rooms, tall carriages, or pleasing trees. At night, they may also see young boys and girls or senior officials. All of this indicates that the qi in the elixir field is vigorous.

Dreaming of narrow paths overgrown with brambles, harmful people seeking advantage and destruction, huts and hovels, pagodas and graves [for the dead], uprooted trees, river crossings, or other frightful sights while crossing a river indicate that the qi in the elixir field is in decline and weakened. It would be appropriate to use [the exercises] to repair [this condition]. (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 22b)

Here Wang identifies specific dream-time visions as relating to the condition of one's energetic integrity and spiritual completeness. The corresponding images may orient the adept to his or her level of alchemical transformation. Certain images, which have yang characteristics (light, clean, well-kept, actualized) indicate that the prescribed transformative techniques are efficacious—they are increasing one's energetic aliveness. Other images, which have yin characteristics (dark, dank, deteriorating, scattered), indicate that one's health is compromised. Wang Chongyang in turn encourages his disciples to dedicate themselves to specific remedial exercises (see chapter 6).

Like mystical encounters and sensory phenomena in general, the Quanzhen practitioner could also become attached to signs of successful training. Forgetting that such signs were only indications of spiritual progress, not spiritual progress itself, the aspiring adept could become disoriented and actively seek the attainment of anomalous experiences. In the *Dadan zhizhi*, following earlier internal alchemy discussions, these dangers or hindrances are referred to as the Ten Demon Lords (*shi mojun* 十魔君): (1) Demon of the Six Desires; (2) Demon of the Seven Emotions; (3) Demon of Wealth; (4) Demon of Nobility; (5) Demon of Affection; (6) Demon of Calamity; (7) Demon of Violence; (8) Demon of Sacred Excellence; (9) Demon of Prostitute Pleasure; and (10) Demon of Women and Sex (DZ 244, 2.5a–6b; see Belamide 2002, 208–12; cf. *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 16.25a–26b; trl. Wong 2000, 138–40; see also Eskildsen 2001, 152; 2004, 106). The aspiring adept could thus encounter a whole set of “demons,” whether material or imaginary, that could lead to dissipation and disrupt his or her cultivation. Interestingly, these deviant visions include both more mundane concerns and more subtle occurrences. One might lose oneself in wealth (3), fame (4), sex (9 and 10), sensory phenomena (1), as well as intellectual and emotional turmoil (1 and 2). One might also lose oneself in visions of family and relatives in difficulties (5) and visions of one’s body in pain (6). Equally dangerous, however, is becoming overly concerned with visions of various gods and immortals (8). The Demon of Sagely Excellence includes the visionary appearance of the Three Purities, Jade Emperor, and other Daoist deities. As Daoist practitioners and as alchemists, Quanzhen adepts should not focus on encountering beings from other realms; rather, they must focus *on becoming* such beings. Here one once again notices the radical ascetic tendencies of early Quanzhen: Quanzhen adepts were admonished to separate themselves from everything that entangled them in the mundane world and distracted them from realizing a condition of immortal or mystical being (see chapter 3 and 5).

BOONS ALONG THE WAY

Closely associated with signs of successful training, but nonetheless distinguishable from them, are specific benefits and abilities acquired through religious praxis. In the process of alchemical transformation, of endeavoring to attain a shift in ontological condition, the

Quanzhen adept actualized latent spiritual capacities. The process of self-transformation and mystical realization involved the purification, meditative absorption, and alchemical practice discussed in previous chapters. This religious praxis resulted in transformations of self, in a *different way of being*.

Recalling the above-mentioned Four Hindrances and Ten Demon Lords, one may say that one manifestation of this shift in ontological condition centered on becoming free of a whole set of spiritual hindrances or obstructions. One is no longer dependent on or affected by alcohol, sex, wealth, or anger. Specifically, one abandons these concerns and their resultant conditions. On one level, this is the rejection of influences that take over one's consciousness and alienate one from one's own being: intoxication, desire, avarice, and psychological reactivity, specifically in the form of hatred and violence. Similarly, the Quanzhen adherent must endeavor to "exorcise demons" and become invulnerable to such forms of distraction and dissipation. In the course of Quanzhen training, the adept becomes unaffected by sensory phenomena and desire-based concerns. One stills and transforms the Six Desires and Seven Emotions (see chapters 3 and 5). One ceases being disoriented by the mundane concerns of materialism, sensuality (whether terrestrial or celestial), fame, and love. One also no longer takes notice of military or political happenings. Stated comprehensively, the aspiring adept becomes single-mindedly focused on his or her own cultivation, a religious path based on self-reliance and self-transformation. An inward orientation supercedes external concerns. While this may initially seem to be a set of philosophical ideas or theoretical claims, it is based on religious praxis and resulting ontological conditions. That is, it assumes that the adept is dedicated to stilling and emptying practices, quiet sitting and meditation focusing on cleansing the heart-mind and making a lodging place for spirit. In the context of early Quanzhen religious praxis, the ordinary, habituated heart-mind is characterized by "demons," disruptive energetic influences that are invaders or unwelcome visitors. The ordinary heart-mind cannot rectify the ordinary heart-mind; one's consciousness can only be purified and divinized through clarity and stillness. Through clarity and stillness, realized in both transformative techniques and daily application, the adept simultaneously encounters his or her innate nature and empowers his or her yang-spirit. This is the foundation for alchemical transformation.

The early Quanzhen adepts also identified other benefits and abilities related to Daoist religious praxis. One such benefit was a return to personal health and well-being.

Throughout the four seasons, if there are those with yellow-colored urine, this is because the elixir field is empty and injured and they have lost the perfect qi in the lower prime [lower elixir field]. [Under these conditions,] one must quickly employ the Method of Threading the Nine Curves. This is also called the Nine Revolutions Threading the Small Intestine. After nine penetrations, the perfect qi enters the Hall of the Kidneys. Urination naturally becomes clear white in color, and the whole body attains calmness and joy. (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 12a)

Here Wang Chongyang identifies yellow-colored urine as a sign of depletion, specifically an insufficiency of qi and vitality. By practicing specific techniques, centering on the conservation and circulation of qi, the adept can heal various diseases. Through Quanzhen religious praxis, pathological conditions become rectified and one attains a state of personal well-being. There are, in turn, corresponding signs that indicate such health, here relating to the appearance of clear urine in place of murky urine.²³

Beyond basic health and well-being, which were understood as foundational (necessary but not sufficient), the early Quanzhen adepts focused on a more religious undertaking: a process of self-transformation and mystical experiencing. In this context, emphasis was placed on attaining the condition of non-dissipation discussed in chapter five. The Quanzhen religious community emphasized that through transformative praxis one could attain a condition of spiritual integrity and mystical participation. On the most basic level, one aimed to become liberated from the disorienting influences and effects of physiological, sensory, psychological, and behavioral forms of depletion. Through ethical rectification, ascetic purification, and silent meditation, one could transcend the limitations of delusions generated by sensory engagement as well as vexations related to karma-producing activities. Reversing the critical analysis of the detrimental effects of the various forms of “dissipation” or “leakage,” one may chart the specific benefits that characterize a state of non-dissipation. These were “boons along the way.” If the Quanzhen adept seals himself or herself off from sensory over-stimulation and the resultant desires, reactions and attachments, he or she may reestablish vitality and activate numinous abilities. By maintaining an inward orientation, spiritual capacities and subtle corporeal presences become the foundation of one’s being and daily existence: the ethereal soul resides in a state of energetic completeness in the liver, the spirit

²³ For a fuller treatment of early Quanzhen views on disease and health see Eskildsen 1992; 2004, 57–94.

in the heart, the intent or thought in the spleen, the corporeal soul in the lungs, and the vital essence or will in the kidneys. Viewed from an alchemical perspective, Quanzhen religious praxis established and nourished the Five Spirits, the numinous presences of the five yin-orbs, and conserved the vital corporeal substances. In short, through Quanzhen religious training, one stored and prepared the alchemical “ingredients” necessary to form the transcendent spirit.

Through dedicated practice, the Quanzhen adept could eventually attain the condition of non-dissipation, and specific numinous abilities characterized this ontological condition. According to Wang Chongyang,

A body with dissipation turns into one’s own Earth Prison, while the fruit of non-dissipation is the Celestial Hall. If people have a body with dissipation, they must pursue the fruit of non-dissipation. Once this is complete, then you can attain the other fruits of the Dao (*daoguo* 道果). (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 6a–6b)

Wang internalizes supposedly external realities—“hell” and “heaven” are not outside one’s own being; instead, they are existential conditions based on personal psychosomatic integrity. As one conserves vital substances and seals oneself from possible sources of dissipation, one may attain the “fruit of non-dissipation.” Although early Quanzhen sources do not mention specifically what the “fruits of the Dao” are, such stages of attainment were well known by the Song-Jin period. For instance, the seventh-century *Haikong zhizang jing* 海空智藏經 (Scripture of Master Haikong zhizang; DZ 9) lists them as follows: earth immortal, flying immortal, self-dependent (Chn.: *zizai* 自在; Skt.: *isvāra*), free-from-dissipation (Chn.: *wulou* 無漏; Skt.: *anāsrava*), and non-action (*wuwei* 無為) (1.6a).²⁴ Thus, the attainment of the state of non-dissipation is part of the process of rarification and self-divinization.

The condition of non-dissipation also relates to stages of meditative attainment, referred to as “concentration” or “stabilization” (*ding* 定) in a Daoist context. As the Quanzhen adept advances along the path of meditative practice, stillness deepens. As this condition of stillness becomes more pervasive and constant, stabilization occurs.

²⁴ Here one also thinks of the Daoist adaptation of the Buddhist concept of *bhūmi* (stages of realization) (see Bokenkamp 1990). Interestingly, the *Haikong zhizang jing* contains a list of ten such stages of transcendence (*Damen jingfa*; DZ 1128, 3.17a–20a; trl. Bokenkamp 1990, 137–39; see also Kohn and Kirkland 2000, 356–57).

There are ten categories (*pan* 般) of methods for stabilizing innate nature and life-destiny. . . . The first is called the ‘Stabilization of the Gold Pass and Jade Lock.’ The second is called the ‘Stabilization of the Three Islands for Returning to Life and Removing Death.’ The third is called the ‘Stabilization of the Nine Curves of the Yellow River Reversing their Flows.’ These names refer to the fruit of non-dissipation. When perfected, they complete the way to immortality. (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 6b)

While this passage is fragmentary in nature (only three of the ten stabilization methods are mentioned), it nonetheless suggests that the condition of non-dissipation, as a step towards immortality and perfection, involves an ever-increasing transformative process. Here the adept realizes more profound internal serenity and absorption into the Dao. “Stability” refers to a stage of practice wherein emotional and intellectual turbidity has been minimized and stillness becomes constant. In Buddhist technical usage, *ding* is often used synonymously with *samādhi* (Chn.: *sanmei* 三昧; lit., “three obscurities”). *Samādhi* is usually identified as the highest attainment of yogic or meditative discipline. It may be translated as “complete absorption” or “yogic stasis.” Moreover, *ding*, “stability,” is sometimes associated with *tong* 通, “pervasion,” and the “ten categories of methods for stabilizing innate nature and life-destiny” may be connected with the various numinous abilities (Skt.: *siddhi*) identified in Buddhism, with the latter being divided into five, six, and ten.

Interestingly, mention is made to “*siddhi*” or “pervasion” (*tong* 通) in early Quanzhen literature. According to Liu Changsheng,

If you pervade the Dao, heaven and earth are pervaded. If heaven and earth are pervaded, the myriad transformations are pervaded. If the myriad transformations are pervaded, [you attain] spirit pervasion (*shen-tong* 神通). If there is spirit pervasion, you respond to circumstances with unlimited transformations. You embrace the One without interruption. In calm attunement with Perfection, you return to simplicity. (*Yinfu jing zhu*, DZ 122, 11a–11b)

The ability to live in mystical communion with the Dao allows one to have numinous knowledge of the cosmos and the various phenomenal occurrences. This results in and is manifested as “spirit pervasion.” Then one merges with the endless transformations of the phenomenal world, becoming unified with the Dao as mysterious Oneness. The Quanzhen adept attains numinous abilities related to mystical knowledge.

Similarly, Wang Chongyang speaks of attaining the “Three Illuminations” (*sanming* 三明) and “Six Pervasions” (*liutong* 六通) (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 9b). As a Buddhist technical term, the former refers to

the three insights of Buddhism, including insight into the mortal conditions of self and others in previous lives, supernatural insight into future mortal conditions, and nirvana insight, or insight into present mortal sufferings in order to overcome all passions or temptations (see Soothill and Hodous 1937, 66; Ding 1939, 308; Xingyun 1989, 569). The Six Pervasions or Six Siddhis are most often associated with the six supernatural powers or numinous abilities acquired by a Buddha. They include divine travel (translocation), divine hearing (clairaudience), divine seeing (ability to see into time and space), penetration of the minds of others (clairvoyance), memory of former existences, and extinction of karmic outflows (*wulou* 無漏) (see Soothill and Hodous 1937, 138; Ding 1939, 649; Xingyun 1989, 1290, 1292).²⁵ However, the “Lun liutong jue” 論六通訣 (Instructions on the Six Pervasions; *Neidan jiyao*, DZ 1258, 3.12a–14a; Eskildsen 2004, 230, n. 15), a Yuan dynasty internal alchemy text, identifies them as follows:

- (1) Pervasion of Heart-mind Conditions, involving the ability to experience unified nature as distinct from the ordinary body;
- (2) Pervasion of Spirit Conditions, involving the ability to know things beyond ordinary perception;
- (3) Pervasion of Celestial Vision, involving the ability to perceive internal landscapes within the body;
- (4) Pervasion of Celestial Hearing, involving the ability to hear the subtle communications of spirits and humans;
- (5) Pervasion of Past Occurrences, involving the ability to understand the karmic causes and effects relating to the Three Worlds of desire, form, and formlessness;
- (6) Pervasion of the Heart-minds of Others, involving the ability to manifest the body-beyond-the-body.

The specific numinous abilities to which Wang Chongyang refers remain open, but it is clear that the early Quanzhen adepts identified and experienced the actualization of specific numinous capacities. The implication here is that early Quanzhen religious praxis led to or was expected to lead to specific benefits and abilities. As mentioned, these

²⁵ In this respect, it is interesting that the “Changchun shu,” associated with Qiu Changchun, recounts the life-story of a person who remembers former incarnations. See *Zhenxian yulu*, DZ 1256, 18b.

were only indications of successful training, boons along the way, not the culmination of alchemical praxis.

On the broadest level, such benefits and abilities relate to the heart-mind and spirit. Specific transformative techniques enabled the Quanzhen adept to open mystical body locations and awaken higher levels of consciousness. In addition to opening the Nine Palaces in the head, early Quanzhen adepts endeavored to purify the heart-mind and become pervaded by the Dao.

The heart-mind is the Dao; the Dao is the heart-mind;
 With the heart-mind merged with the Dao, past and present are pervaded
 (*tong* 通).
 When the heart-mind transacts with the Dao, innate nature is naturally
 fragrant;
 With even a spark of Perfection, one emerges in Mount Kun[lun].
 When the heart-mind awakens, innate nature is numinous;
 With Perfection spontaneously residing, one attains completion.
 When the heart-mind is without images, innate nature is formless;
 With spirit radiant, one circulates the gold essence.
 When the heart-mind guards the Dao, innate nature is purified;
 Whether in moving practice or meditation, one *is* Penglai.
 When the heart-mind is realized, innate nature is relaxed;
 With Perfection undissipated (*wulou* 無漏), one dwells in the distant
 realms.
 When both people and self pass away, things and emotions cease;
 By perfecting the great Dao, one realizes [a condition] beyond suffering.
 (*Yunguang ji*, DZ 1152, 3.19b)

According to Wang Yuyang, following both classical Daoist texts and Tang-dynasty Clarity-and-Stillness literature, purification of the heart-mind leads to “spirit radiance” (*shengguang* 神光), that is, luminosity of spirit pervades one’s being. This recalls Ma Danyang’s poetry anthology entitled *Shengguang can* (On the Luster of Spirit Radiance; DZ 1150), wherein Ma frequently refers to such a condition of purification and illumination. When intellectual and emotional turmoil is stilled, spirit, associated with the heart, becomes all-pervasive. This is one’s connection to the Dao, the “spark of Perfection” in each being. With numinous abilities restored to their original condition and fully realized, the Quanzhen adept transcends the limitations of human mortality and is beyond *samsara*, characterized by suffering and impermanence. The practitioner realizes that the condition of non-dissipation *is* immortality, and spirit may abandon the mundane world and enter the celestial realms.

Interestingly, in his commentary to the *Yinfu jing*, Liu Changsheng explains that such an ontological condition is characterized by a different kind of heart-mind.

The Nine Cavities [of the heart] are the yang pathways of the nine pervasions (*jiutong* 九通). The reason why they are not yet connected is because of the deviant hindrances of the nine yin [influences]. The square inch (*fangcun* 方寸) of the heart is empty. Inside [this emptiness] there is numinous luminosity. The heart-mind of a superior person has nine openings. That of an average person has seven. That of an inferior person has five. If a person's heart-mind has no openings, we refer to them as ignorant. (DZ 122, 6a-6b; cf. DZ 263, 1.2a)

Here Liu Changsheng suggests that a higher-level Quanzhen adept has nine openings in the heart-mind, while lower-level adepts only have seven or five. Those who are deluded are characterized by a heart-mind completely closed. The heart-mind of the higher-level practitioner is simultaneously open and empty. This openness and emptiness allows the heart-mind to become the lodging-place of spirit and to be filled with the Dao's numinosity. Such "numinous luminosity," or "spirit radiance," is a condition of mystical pervasion, wherein one becomes an *embodiment* of the Dao.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MYSTICAL BEING AND MYSTICAL EXPERIENCING

In previous chapters I have shown that the Daoist religious movement which was early Quanzhen emphasized specific and distinctive views of self, advocated and employed complex and integrated training regimens, and identified mystical experiences and the attainment of numinous abilities as signs of successful training. The early Quanzhen adepts identified a state of being, an alchemically-transformed ontological condition, beyond ordinary human being, with the latter characterized by habituation, turbidity, and self-disruption. This shift in ontological condition resulted from prolonged dedication to Quanzhen training regimens, what I refer to as “techniques of transformation.” Early Quanzhen religious praxis consisted of seclusion, meditation enclosure, ethical rectification, asceticism, *wugeng* training, cultivating clarity and stillness, inner observation, and alchemical refinement. As the aspiring adept progressed in his or her process of self-transformation, certain signs of successful training, experiential confirmation or verification, would occur. These included encounters with “immortals,” the yang-spirits of previous adepts and Daoist Perfected, as well as the attainment of numinous abilities, such as spirit pervasion (*shentong* 神通) and spirit radiance (*shengguang* 神光). However, the actualization of such latent spiritual capacities was simply “boons along the way.” The early Quanzhen adepts emphasized that one must not become overly concerned with such experiences or abilities—they simply confirmed the efficacy of Quanzhen training and progress along the path to rarification and self-divinization.

The above discussion provides support for a larger cross-cultural and comparative perspective: every practice or training regimen embodies, quite literally, specific views of self, and the attainment of more advanced states requires these views of self. Moreover, specific techniques may lead to tradition-specific experiences, and the soteriological import of these techniques and their related experiences are directly related to the ultimate concerns of a given religious tradition. Stated simply, there is a complicated interplay among religious worldviews, religious praxis, and religious experience. More attention needs to be

given to the tradition-specific characteristics of religious praxis, including the diversity of techniques advocated and employed and the types of experiences that were expected to result from dedicated training.

In the case of the early Quanzhen movement, I have suggested that its primary concerns centered on asceticism, alchemical transformation, and mystical experiencing. The early Quanzhen adepts dedicated themselves to a soteriological system that can best be described as alchemical—these religious practitioners endeavored to become alchemically transformed, to complete a process of rarification and self-divinization referred to as “immortality” or “perfection.” Such an undertaking was not a “return to” or “recovery of” innate nature. Rather, it was a process of refining the base and flawed into its celestial and perfected counterpart, which involved a shift in ontological condition from ordinary human being to alchemically-transformed being. For the early adepts, Quanzhen was the path towards spirit immortality, the Way of Complete Perfection.

In this final chapter, I provide a summary of the interrelationship among views of self, transformative praxis, and religious experience in early Quanzhen Daoism. Next, more details are given concerning the yang-spirit mentioned in the previous chapter as well as the specific characteristics of “immortality” or “perfection” in early Quanzhen. The chapter concludes with a larger argument concerning the shift in ontological condition envisioned to follow from intensive Quanzhen religious praxis. This is what I refer to as “mystical being” and “mystical experiencing.”

TRANSFORMATIONAL EXPERIENCES

The complicated interplay among views of self,¹ specific practices, and related experiences comes into high relief when one reconsiders the ways in which they relate in early Quanzhen Daoism. On the most basic level, the early Quanzhen adepts identified the ordinary human being, including their own lives before Daoist conversion and training, as characterized by emotional and intellectual turbidity, personal habituation,

¹ Here it should be recalled that in the present study “self” is a heuristic concept encompassing the whole of subjective experience/experiencing, including corporeal, psychological, energetic, and spiritual dimensions of human being. The latter two aspects of self derive from the study of Daoism with its emphasis on *qi* and *shen*.

familial and societal entanglement, and self-disruption. Here the early Quanzhen tradition identified self as decaying corpse. The ordinary human being is following patterns of dissipation, including engagement with the so-called Four Hindrances, namely, alcohol, sex, wealth, and anger. According to the early adherents, these various *practices* (psychological reactivity, alcohol consumption, material accumulation, sexual activity, and so forth) squandered one's innate capacities for spiritual realization and perfection. If one followed the path of dissipation and dissolution, there would be corresponding experiences: internal turmoil, relational disharmony, and external difficulties.

In response to this view of self, to this existential and ontological condition, the early adepts attempted to rectify disruptive patterns and actualize latent spiritual potentialities. This involved embracing a renunciant model, a set of principles and practices based on purification, minimalism, and disengagement, whether material, sensory, psychological, or relational. Here one encounters the early Quanzhen view of self as psychosomatic process, including the capacity for mystical communion with the Dao as characterized by clarity, stillness, and emptiness. Through ascetic practices and quietistic meditation, the early adepts endeavored to still emotional and intellectual activity. These practices were directly related to an understanding of the heart-mind, influenced by classical Daoism, classical Chinese medicine and Buddhism, as the ruler of the body, as the seat of psychological activity, and as the abode of spirit. By cleansing and purifying the heart-mind, one's innate spiritual capacities would become more prominent. One would attain higher levels of consciousness. As the adept withdrew from the mundane world and its related influences, focusing more intensively on self-purification, clarity and stillness would increase. One would come to feel an increased energetic aliveness and spiritual integrity. It was claimed that one's daily life would become infused with harmony and serenity.

Having attained a condition of non-dissipation, one's physical health and well-being would also gain a stronger root. Here the early Quanzhen tradition advocated a view of self that paralleled classical Chinese medicine, with its emphasis on cosmological cycles and naturalistic causes of disease (seasonal misalignment, wind, cold, orb disharmony, rebellious qi, and so forth). Through specific remedial techniques, one could rectify conditions of disharmony and return to fullness of health. One's overall sense of well-being and cosmological attunement would increase. By conserving vital substances (fluids, vital essence, qi, and so forth) and restoring psychosomatic well-being, one also prepared the

way for more advanced praxis, centering on alchemical transformation and mystical experiencing.

The early Quanzhen adepts also viewed self as microcosm, including cosmological affinities and influences, and as spiritual abode. These views became expressed as, embodied in, and realized through corresponding transformative techniques. Foremost among these were the practice of inner observation and internal alchemy. The former incorporated correlative cosmology and Shangqing views of self, expressed in such texts as the *Huangting jing*, as the abode of body spirits. The early Quanzhen adepts attended to the various yin-orbs, including their corresponding colors, time-cycles, and spirits. The advancing practitioner might, in turn, encounter the energetic centers of the body as orbs of light and/or as ornately-clothed, distinct spirits.

Finally, in a Quanzhen cultivational context, self was viewed as an alchemical crucible, complete with subtle energetic pathways and mystical body locations related to numinous abilities. Here correlative cosmology was again employed, but this time with a set of concerns and goals deriving from internal alchemy. Through a process of alchemical transformation, utilizing techniques intended to activate the subtle body, the adept came to experience the non-spatial and mystical dimensions of self. The early Quanzhen adherent activated and encountered the body in its multi-layered numinosity, including the various conventional orb-meridian networks, the higher-level psychic pathways, and the mystical heart and brain caverns. The latter included the so-called Nine Palaces in the head, extending progressively inward, deeper, and beyond. The alchemical techniques simultaneously embodied and activated the alchemical body. Through alchemical praxis, the adept came to experience self and world as unnamable mystery and all-pervading numinosity. One gained an experience of golden light or spirit radiance as well as an increased sense of cosmological and energetic alignment. In addition, one might receive numinous abilities, such as clairvoyance, clairaudience, translocation, and the like, as a byproduct of alchemical praxis. Perhaps most importantly, one could attain a condition of “spirit pervasion,” what may best be referred to as “mystical being” and “mystical experiencing.” One became a radically-transformed being, in which one lived in a condition of mystical communion with the Dao as unnamable mystery, Source of all that is, numinous presence, cosmological process, and multi-layered sacred realms and subtle beings (immortals, Perfected, and deities).

Expressed more emphatically, early Quanzhen views of self are em-

bedded in, expressed by, required for, and realized through early Quanzhen transformative techniques. At the same time, early Quanzhen transformative techniques and mystical praxis express and embody early Quanzhen views of self. Religious practitioners do not undertake specific training regimens without accepting specific views of self and soteriological concerns, or at least without being open to the emergence of a radically different world in the process of religious praxis. For alchemical methods to be efficacious, the aspiring adept must have a foundational understanding of the alchemical body and/or be willing to accept the alternations of self that occur during alchemical training. Similarly, one does not practice quietistic meditation, stilling and emptying practices, unless one recognizes the need to rectify psychosomatic turbidity and the possibility of realizing an ontological condition of psychological harmony and spiritual integrity. Moreover, in their fullest expressions religious traditions are, to a large extent, lineages of transformative techniques. In order for such lineages to continue to exist, they must have discernable results and replicable efficacy. This relates to both internally and externally observable characteristics. In the case of early Quanzhen Daoism, training regimens resulted in signs of successful training and numinous abilities. Alchemical praxis led to psychosomatic and energetic experiences that confirmed the efficacy of the training and re-membered the lives of previous Daoist adepts.

FORMATION OF THE YANG-SPIRIT

As mentioned, a fundamental aspect of internal alchemy practice and accomplishment is the formation of the “yang-spirit” (*yangshen* 陽神), also referred to as the “perfected form” (*zhenxing* 真形),² “unified numen”

² Sometimes this is alternately referred to as “perfect” or “perfected nature” (*zhenxing* 真性), also rendered as “real nature” or “true nature.” Again, the translation choice of “perfected nature” indicates the meaning of *zhenxing* in a Quanzhen cultivational context. It is also “perfect,” “true,” or “real” in the sense of having been endowed by the Dao, but it must be *actualized* or *perfected* through Quanzhen religious praxis. Here one may recall my previous distinction between a quietistic model and an alchemical model (see Introduction). One’s so-called “original nature” (*benxing* 本性; *benlai xing* 本來性), which is sometimes used in early Quanzhen drawing from Chan (Zen) Buddhism, is not the basis of transcendence or immortality. The meaning of *zhen* as perfected (culmination of a process), the Perfected (alchemically-transformed beings), Perfection (the Dao in its “essence”) is discussed below. On this matter note that the *Shiwu lun* contains a section entitled “Lianxing” 鍊性 (Refining Innate Nature).

(*yiling* 一靈), or “body-beyond-the-body” (*shenwai shen* 身外身). As the adept progresses in his or her alchemical practice (see chapter 4 and 6), cleansing impurities and actualizing more subtle layers of being, he or she becomes more rarified in nature. As one progresses in the process of alchemical transformation, a subtle body forms, which can transcend materiality and physical mortality. This is the yang-spirit, or spirit of pure yang (*chunyang zhi shen* 純陽之神), and *the yang-spirit is not an ontological given*. While it may be latent in every human being, it requires intensive and dedicated training to “create” such a transcendent or immortal spirit. In contrast to religious traditions emphasizing an eternal soul or transcendent consciousness, Daoist traditions tend to view the human being in terms of composites and perpetual flux (see chapter 3). If one is not content to disappear into the cosmos through decomposition (whether physical or energetic), the only way to overcome this condition is to dedicate oneself to an alchemical training regimen that may result in the formation of an “embryo of immortality” (*taixian* 胎仙). Once one has reached this level of attainment, one can send out one’s yang-spirit to more subtle realms, especially after physical death. As the adept becomes more alchemically transformed, he or she becomes less physical and more numinous in appearance and in nature, so much so that it is often said that his or her bones disappear.

Through intensive and dedicated religious praxis, which was an all-encompassing existential approach that included the above-mentioned views of self, training regimens, as well as mystical experiences and numinous abilities, the early Quanzhen adepts endeavored to, and were confident that they would, achieve a state of being beyond that of ordinary humans, who were destined to dissolve and decompose into the cosmos or to be reborn in other samsaric realms. These religious practitioners endeavored to form the yang-spirit, to actualize the body-beyond-the-body. Such a subtle body, energetically complete, pervaded by spirit, and infused with numinosity, was the culmination of alchemical training and an indication that physical death was not the end of life.

The *Dadan zhizhi* contains a section entitled “Tuoke shengxian zhao-fan rusheng juetu” 脫殼升仙趙凡入聖訣圖 (the Instructions on Diagram of Casting Off the Husk and Ascending to Immortality, Transcending the Mortal Realm and Entering the Sacred Realm; DZ 244, 2.8a–11b), in which this condition is depicted as an empty circle, as a condition beyond conventional description and representation. One is informed as follows:

What is described above is refining spirit and merging with the Dao, casting off the husk and ascending to immortality. Through accomplishment (*gong* 功), one arrives at suchness (*ziran* 自然). Considering the Buddhist monk who enters *samadhi* (*ruoding* 入定) and transforms [dies] in meditation, and the Daoist adept who enters stillness (*rujing* 入靜) in order to send out a yin-spirit, both are ghosts of clear emptiness and not immortals of pure yang (*chunyang zhi xian* 純陽之仙). Ephemeral and without image, [such ghosts] in the end return to nothingness. How can those who study [immortality] commit such mistakes?

They do not know that it is only after refining vital essence into the elixir that the pure yang qi is generated. It is only after refining qi to complete spirit that the spirit immortal, the perfect numen,³ transcends the mortal realm and enters the sacred realm (*sheng* 聖). Casting off the husk and ascending to spirit immortality (*shenxian* 神仙) is called transcendence through separation (*chaotuo* 超脫). This is the method of spirit immortals that has not changed for millions of years. (2.8b–9a; cf. Belamide 2002, 212–13)

Here it is asserted that, in contrast to other Buddhist and Daoist practices, Quanzhen transformative techniques will lead to the formation of a pure yang-spirit that can transcend mortality and ascend to the celestial realms. The message of this passage is clear: specific alchemical systems lead to personal survival, which relates to abandoning the ordinary body and becoming a spirit immortal. Elsewhere in the *Dadan zhizhi* and in other passages in the early Quanzhen textual corpus this is referred to as actualizing the “body-beyond-the-body” or “perfected form.”⁴ If the adept had completed the alchemical process and formed the immortal spirit, at the moment of death the pure yang-spirit would leave the mundane body and materiality through the crown of the head.⁵

Interestingly, in the same passage of the *Dadan zhizhi* the yang-spirit or body-beyond-the-body is also referred to as the Dharma Body (*fashen*

³ Or, “spirit immortal of perfected numinosity.”

⁴ For some other occurrences of *shenwai shen*, *yangshen*, and *zhengxing* in the early Quanzhen textual corpus see *Tunfu jing zhu*, DZ 122, 5a; *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 4.6a, 5.1b; *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.11b, 1.19b, 9.11a, 9.16b, 11.18a; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 2.6a; *Panxi ji*, DZ 1159, 3.4a. See also Eskildsen 2004, 121–32. The occurrence of “unified numen” (*yiling*) or “spark [of Perfection]” (*yidian*) is much more frequent. Some examples include the following: *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.24a, 3.12a, 4.7b, 5.11a, 6.1b, 7.3a, 7.7a, 7.12a, 9.11a, 9.16b, 10.4a, 11.18a, 12.11a; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 1.12b, 2.5b, 3.3b; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 2.6b; *Shuiyun ji*, DZ 1160, 1.7b. Similarly, appearances of “elixir” (*dan*) or “gold elixir” (*jindan*) are too numerous to mention.

⁵ In internal alchemy, the crown-point is considered the access point to the heavens and the location where the yang-spirit exits upon physical death.

法身),⁶ a technical term adapted from the Buddhist tradition.⁷ One of the clearest Quanzhen descriptions of the Dharma Body appears in the *Shiwu lun* under the heading of “nourishing the body” (*yangshen* 養身):

The Dharma Body is a representation of formlessness. It is neither emptiness nor existence, has neither after nor before. It is neither low nor high, neither long nor short. When applied, there is nowhere that it does not pervade. When stored, it is dark and obscure, without residual traces. If you realize this way, you can appropriately nourish this body. The more you nourish it, the more accomplishment you attain. The less you nourish it, the less accomplishment you attain. Do not desire to go back; do not yearn for the mundane world. Then you will depart and dwell in suchness [the Dao]. (DZ 1233, 5b)

The Dharma Body, the yang-spirit that can transcend the limitations of ordinary human existence, is ultimately beyond description. “It” is an attempt to represent the unrepresentable, a “condition” or “accomplishment” beyond both being and non-being, which is so subtle that conventional distinctions or attributions cannot be applied. Nonetheless, the Dharma Body, as the manifestation of the Dao as mysteriousness and numinosity, can be applied and/or stored. If the practitioner engages the external world through this subtle presence/absence, he or she can “pervade” every situation or phenomenon, sensing things beyond the realm of ordinary perception. If the practitioner withdraws from the external world, he or she can abide in a condition of mystical union characterized by darkness and obscurity (positive qualities in Daoism), resting in a meditative absorption so deep that the Dharma Body becomes imperceptible. Through dedicated practice, the aspiring adept is able to become completely aligned with the Dao as suchness or Perfection. Through dedicated practice, the Quanzhen adepts endeavored to become immortals or Perfected, to realize an ontological condition referred to as immortality or perfection.

⁶ In this passage, it is referred to as the Dharma Body of Clarity and Stillness (*qingjing fashen* 清靜法身). Interestingly, the same phrase appears in the *Jinguan yusuo jue* (DZ 1156, 12a–12b). In the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, Wang Chongyang adopts and modifies the Buddhist belief in the Three Bodies of the Buddha (see Translation below). In the context of early Quanzhen, the Dharma Body of Clarity and Stillness parallels the Dharmakāya of the Buddhist tradition, that is, the “body” as the essence of the cosmos.

⁷ The *Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞 (Pivotal Meaning of the Daoist Teachings; DZ 1129; see Kohn and Kirkland 2000, 355), a seventh-century Daoist encyclopedia, contains a section on the Dharma Body.

IMMORTALITY AND PERFECTION

At first glance, it appears that there are competing, even contradictory, views concerning immortality and perfection within the early Quanzhen movement. At times, the early Quanzhen adepts seem to suggest that religious praxis results in a state of mystical absorption, wherein one becomes permeated by the Dao and lives in carefree bliss. At other times, it seems that immortality is understood as involving transcending the mundane world and the physical body. After death, one's yang-spirit, or the body-beyond-the-body, enters the ranks of immortals.

Beyond dismissing the early Quanzhen adherents as "unsystematic" or "confused," there are a number of ways to make sense of these seemingly contradictory views. From my perspective and based on my research, the most viable interpretation is that in different contexts the early adepts are discussing different aspects of self-transformation. On the most basic level, this means that in certain instances they are attempting to characterize the shift in ontological condition, the transformed existential mode, which results from Quanzhen training regimens. Here immortality or perfection relates to the overall experience of human being after self-cultivation and transformation. This is often experienced as a feeling of mystical communion with the Dao as all-pervading mystery and numinosity, including the experience of physiological change as the subtle currents of the Dao pervading one's body. This may be referred to as the "existential dimension" of early Quanzhen views of immortality and perfection. As discussed in previous chapters, by emptying the heart-mind and stilling excess emotional and intellectual activity, the early adepts became permeated by the Dao. Through the cultivation of clarity and stillness, Wang Chongyang and his first-generation disciples became alive to the energetic shifts in the Dao and their own immersion in the Dao. They had mystical experiences that were trophotropic or hyperquiescent (hypoaroused) in nature. Such transformations of self and shifts in ontological condition were characterized by contentless awareness, quiescence, or mystical absorption.

At other times, the early adepts are emphasizing what is believed to occur after physical death, assuming that one has engaged in dedicated religious praxis. Here immortality or perfection relates to the liberation of the yang-spirit from the ordinary body, including its ascent into the sacred realms, into the multi-tiered Daoist heavens inhabited by immortals, Perfected, and deities. In most cases, this is only experienced after physical death, wherein one maintains a distinct form of identity

and some form of personal survival occurs. This may be referred to as the “post-mortem dimension” of early Quanzhen views of immortality and perfection.

In terms of the existential dimension, the early adepts often discuss transformations of consciousness and the activation of the subtle body. The perfected being, the Quanzhen adept who has arrived at higher levels of mystical attainment, abides in a condition of purified consciousness, spiritual integration, and cosmological attunement. The heart-mind, as ruler of the body-self, can attain numinous pervasion. As mentioned, in the Five Phase system of correspondences the heart-mind relates to spirit. When the heart-mind is purified, spirit becomes pervasive.

The heart-mind is the Dao; the Dao is the heart-mind;
 With the heart-mind merged with the Dao, past and present are pervaded.
 When the heart-mind transacts with the Dao, innate nature is naturally
 fragrant;
 With even a spark of Perfection, one emerges in Mount Kun[lun].
 When the heart-mind awakens, innate nature is numinous;
 With Perfection spontaneously residing, one attains completion.
 When the heart-mind is without images, innate nature is formless;
 With spirit radiant, one circulates the gold essence.
 When the heart-mind guards the Dao, innate nature is purified;
 Whether in moving practice or meditation, one *is* Penglai.
 When the heart-mind is realized, innate nature is relaxed;
 With Perfection undissipated, one dwells in the distant realms.
 When both people and self pass away, things and emotions cease;
 By perfecting the great Dao, one realizes [a condition] beyond suffering.
 (*Yingguang ji*, DZ 1152, 3.19b)

In the above poem Wang Yuyang describes the alteration of being that occurs from Quanzhen religious praxis: one realizes that the heart-mind, as the locale of consciousness and spirit, is the Dao, that the Dao is the heart-mind. One’s innate nature is identical with the Dao as sacrality. When the heart-mind is purified and emptied, spirit (“innate nature”) becomes manifest and the Dao pervades one’s being. One also gains the ability to know previous and future events, that is, numinous abilities (*siddhi*) related to clairvoyance and understanding of former karmic influences and embodiments. Here the “spark” (*yidian* 一點) of Perfection, the seed of the Dao contained at the core of each being, becomes manifest. Unattached to materiality, sense perceptions, and psychic constructions, spiritual radiance, the divine capacities of human consciousness, is actualized and the gold essence, subtle, lumi-

nous and highly-rarified qi, circulates throughout one's body. Through cultivation and actualization, this inherent numinosity emerges and the adept has communication with the sacred realms, so much so that one realizes that the immortal realms are not simply otherworldly dimensions. Penglai, the isle of immortality in the east, and Kunlun, the mountain of immortality in the west, are one's own innate nature.⁸ Egocentric discrimination and psychosomatic turbidity cease, and one abides in an ontological condition characterized by freedom from suffering, numinous pervasion, and mystical communion with the Dao.

Wang Chongyang also emphasizes the existential dimension of immortality and perfection. From Wang's perspective many novices and initiates make the mistake of associating perfection with corporeal transcendence. But

Leaving the mundane world does not mean that the body departs. Instead, it refers to a condition of the heart-mind. The body is like the lotus root; the heart-mind is like the lotus blossom. The root is in mud, but the blossom is in the empty void.

For the person in realization of the Dao, the body may reside in the mundane world, but the heart-mind rests in the sacred realms. People of today desire to be eternally undying, and so "leaving the ordinary world" seems like a great absurdity. Such people have not fully understood the principle of the Dao. (*Shiwu lun*, DZ 1233, 6a–6b)

Here one notices the commingling of a traditional Buddhist metaphor of the mind as lotus flower with concerns deriving from internal alchemy. In this context, Wang Chongyang suggests that freedom from the mundane realm, the realm of psychosomatic turbidity and familial and societal entanglement, relates to the heart-mind. The body as materiality enmeshes one in situations and influences that hinder spiritual progress. However, the heart-mind, as storehouse of the Dao, is beyond such obstructions. While a superficial reading of this passage might leave it as an "adaptation" of Buddhism, one must keep in mind that in Quanzhen Daoism the heart-mind is associated with spirit. It is not the "mind" in some abstract sense and as metaphysical entity that is the lotus blossom, but rather the yang-spirit capable of

⁸ Penglai Island, Mount Kunlun, and the Three Islands (i.e., realms of immortality) occur too frequently in the early Quanzhen textual corpus to document. As mentioned, in certain contexts they seem to be inclusive references to "celestial realms" in general, while at other times they refer to internal conditions and realities. In this respect, Kunlun becomes the name of mystical head locations.

transcending physicality, of leaving the mundane world and entering the sacred realms.

Early Quanzhen views of perfection included not only psychical and psychological states, but also corporeal and physiological conditions. The body-beyond-the-body mentioned above is not just a transcendent spirit or metaphysical entity completely distinguishable from the body as “physical embodiment,” if there is such a “thing” in early Quanzhen. While this may be the case following physical death, such a perfected ontological condition in preparatory practice and as embodied experience relates to the activation of the subtle body, what I have referred to in previous chapters as the cosmological and alchemical dimensions of self. This could also be called the “mystical body,” and the activation of the mystical body requires the ordinary body as its foundation. This point is vitally important for an accurate understanding of early Quanzhen in particular and internal alchemy traditions more generally. The basic “materials” for the alchemical process, refined and transmuted through alchemical praxis, are the yin-orbs, as both process and material embodiment, and vital substances. On one very important level, internal alchemy practice involves physicality, anatomy, and physiology. Like cinnabar (mercuric sulfide), realgar (arsenic sulfide), and lead in external alchemy (see Needham 1974; 1976; 1980; Pregadio 2000), internal alchemy practice requires basic raw materials for decoction. One must first stabilize, conserve, gather, and store body fluids, vital essence, blood, marrow, and the like. With these “treasures” stored in their “storehouses,” one may begin the work of alchemical transformation proper. These basic substances are transmuted into their subtle counterparts and higher manifestations, to the point that the mystical body is formed. This mystical body is filled with internal landscapes, celestial realms, deities, and subtle energetic pathways. The body becomes revealed in its multi-layered numinosity, which directly corresponds to the larger cosmos. This is the Dao made manifest in/as/through one’s own embodiment. Moreover, the argument could be made that the emphasis on physiological processes in internal alchemy leads to an even more radical claim: the human body experienced as an ever-shifting flow of vital substances *is* the Dao. Becoming familiar with one’s own corporeal landscape and experiencing one’s own physiology is a mystical communion with the Dao, since it is the Dao that pervades every aspect of existence. This aspect of Daoist training is what I refer to as the “mystical body,” which points towards a previously unidentified form of mysticism (“body mysticism”

or “somatic mysticism”) that stands in sharp contrast to mind-based and soul-based mystical traditions. From this it necessarily follows that, in terms of early Quanzhen views, there is no immortality without complete psychosomatic health.

The above insights relate specifically to the characteristics of immortality and perfection as experienced existentially, that is, as a human being in physical embodiment and terrestrial context. However, in the ultimate sense immortality and perfection relate to death and post-mortem survival. Like Daoists before them,⁹ the early Quanzhen adepts sometimes speak of specific types of immortals. As expressed in the *Jinguan yusuo jue*,

Someone asked, “Within the great Dao, how many ranks (*deng* 等) of spirit immortals are there?”

Perfected Chongyang responded, “According to the *Chuandao ji* (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao), there are five ranks of spirit immortals. Those of the first rank neither uphold the precepts nor avoid alcohol and meat; they are not loathe to take life and do not contemplate the good. Such is the class of ghost immortals (*guixian* 鬼仙). Those of the second rank nourish the perfect qi and prolong life-destiny. Such is the class of terrestrial immortals (*dixian* 地仙). Those of the third rank are good at fighting and contending. Such is the class of sword immortals (*jianxian* 劍仙). Those of the fourth rank practice meditation and cultivation. Such is the class of spirit immortals (*shenxian* 神仙). Those of the fifth rank are filial in taking care of teachers, elders, and parents. Such immortals observe the Six Perfections (Skt.: *pāramitā*), practice the myriad activities of skillful means, endeavor to save all sentient beings, and sever ties to

⁹ One of the earliest classifications of immortals appears in Ge Hong's 葛洪 (*Baopuzi* 抱朴子 [Master Embracing Simplicity]; 283–343) *Baopuzi neipian* 抱朴子內篇 (Inner Chapters of Master Embracing Simplicity; DZ 1185; trl. Ware 1966): “Superior adepts who rise up in their bodies and ascend to the Void are called celestial immortals. Mid-level adepts who wander among renowned mountains are called terrestrial immortals. Lesser adepts who first die and then slough off (*xiansi houshui* 先死後蛻) are called corpse-liberated immortals (*shijie xian* 尸解仙)” (2.11a). For some recent discussions of immortality or transcendence in Ge Hong's works see Lai 1998; Campy 2002, especially 75–80. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16; also DZ 1309; trl. Wong 2000) has the following: “The immortals have five ranks, including ghost immortal, human immortal, terrestrial immortal, and spirit immortal. The celestial immortal is beyond rank. All of these are immortals” (14.2b). Note that this list differs from that of Wang, which claims it as scriptural authority. The *Chuandao ji* in turn describes the various characteristics of these immortals (see Wong 2000, 23–30). The late thirteenth-century *Zhenxian yulu* (Discourse Record of Perfected Immortals; DZ 1256) contains the following information: “Patriarch Ma [Danyang] said, ‘The immortals have four ranks, including ghost immortal, human immortal, terrestrial immortal, and spirit immortal’” (2.12a).

the ten evils. They neither take life nor drink alcohol and eat meat. They cannot be deviant or steal. Their intention is identical with that of the heavens. Their heart-minds are aligned and upright, without [any trace of] selfishness or falseness. [This rank of immortal] is called a celestial immortal (*tianxian* 天仙).” (DZ 1156, 13a)

Wang Chongyang identifies five ranks (*wudeng* 五等) of spirit immortals (*shenxian* 神仙): ghost immortals, terrestrial immortals, sword immortals, spirit immortals per se, and celestial immortals (13a; cf. *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 14.1a–6a; Wong 2000, 23–30). These are simultaneously praxis-based approaches, existential conditions, and levels of attainment. Ghost immortals, as the name suggests, are only apparitions or hollow shells; they are only “immortals” in appearance. These charlatans lack ethical integrity: they consume alcohol, eat meat, kill living beings, and do not act in beneficial ways. Terrestrial immortals solely focus on “nourishing qi” and “prolonging life.” They are also at a lower level because their primary concern is health and longevity. Their association with the “earth” suggests that what they cultivate will not transcend ordinary, mortal life. Sword immortals, the third class, are not much better, as they only have physical prowess and martial skill. The idea of “fighting and contending” here might be more metaphorical, recalling the earlier section of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* on the Method of Battle and Victory (4b). Spirit immortals, that is, those who attain transcendence of spirit, have soteriological concerns and orient themselves towards spiritual realization. They practice meditation and cultivation, endeavoring to purify consciousness and to become alchemically transformed. In some sense, spirit immortals are the only rank of the first four that are truly “immortals,” beings who can transcend the inevitability of dissolution and attain extended life in the celestial realms. Finally, celestial immortals, the fifth rank, embody ethical integrity: they are filial and reverent, concerned with universal salvation, and live through their realization. They understand the interconnection between their own lives and all other beings. In addition, they are fully attuned with the cycles and influences of the cosmos. Their consciousness is completely purified and realized. In short, they are both bodhisattvas and immortals; they are the culmination of both Buddhist and Daoist models of attainment (see also *Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 6b).¹⁰

¹⁰ For some information on the application of the bodhisattva ideal, that is, the tradition’s activities relating to compassionate worldly action and universal salvation, see Eskildsen 2004, 155–70.

Although the above passage poses some problems given the fact that I have been unable to find similar lists in the early Quanzhen corpus, it is clear from the writings of the first-generation adepts that belief in “spirit immortality” or “spirit transcendence” was a central feature of the early tradition. The most frequently occurring phrase for this condition is *shenxian* 神仙, “spirit immortal,” with *tianxian* 天仙, “celestial immortal,” occurring less frequently. *Shenxian* appears too often to mention, but some representative textual passages will clarify what immortality and perfection means in terms of the post-mortem dimension.

With regard to the transcendence of physical death, liberation of spirit and entry into the celestial realms, the early adepts sometimes speak of “casting off the husk” (*tuoke* 脫殼) and becoming a spirit immortal. As we saw in the context of *wugeng* training, Wang Chongyang advises, “Inside the Five Night-watches observe the oscillations./Take hold of them to cast off your husk and become a spirit immortal” (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 13.17b). Similarly, according to the *Shiwu lun*, “Worthiness and sagehood reside within this very body. After one hundred years, with accomplishment complete, you will cast off the husk and ascend to Perfection. With a single pellet of elixir completed, spirit wanders through the eight outer realms” (DZ 1233, 3b).¹¹ This also recalls the passage from the *Dadan zhizhi* cited above, wherein instructions are given on the process of casting off the husk to become a spirit immortal. There emphasis is squarely placed on immortality and perfection as the liberation of the yang-spirit from the realm of materiality and physicality. Spirit immortality involves the yang-spirit, the spirit of pure yang actualized and stabilized through alchemical practice, whereas other lesser methods only lead to either complete dissolution after death or mistaken identification of a yin-spirit as transcendent.

Thus, immortality and perfection, in the ultimate sense, directly relate to “death and dying.”¹² In this respect, accounts of the “deaths” of the early Quanzhen adepts demand one’s attention. Interestingly, Ma Danyang was said to have died on Wang Chongyang’s birthday, the twenty-second day of the twelfth month in the twenty-third year of

¹¹ See also *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1a–1b, 1.6b–7a, 2.7b, 2.14b, 4.11a, 6.4a–4b; 11.3a; *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 5.14b; *Lishi tongjian xupian*, DZ 297, 1.10a–10b; *Jianlian ji*, DZ 173, 2.7b.

¹² For a detailed study of Quanzhen views of and responses to death and dying see Eskildsen 2004, 139–53. Unfortunately, Eskildsen does not provide a systematic discussion of “immortality” in early Quanzhen Daoism.

Dading (February 5, 1184) (Eskildsen 2004, 143). This occurred at Youxian guan 遊仙觀 (Monastery of Wandering Immortals) in Laiyang (Shandong). According to hagiographical sources, several days before his physical death, Ma Danyang picked up a brush and wrote a poem titled “Xiuxing zan” 秀形贊 (Hymn of Abandoning Form). It reads as follows:

Great is the ascension to Perfection!
 The path leads into the azure darkness.
 Unicorns follow the scarlet envoy banner;
 Phoenixes pull my vermilion carriage.
 With bells ringing and jade pieces dangling,
 I wander through the Void and pace the clouds.
 Rising above, I receive the declarations of the Perfected.
 I climb up to the Jade Imperial Dwelling,¹³
 (*Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 6.8b–9a; also *Lishi tongjian xupian*, DZ 297, 1.21b;
 Chen Y. 1988, 640)

Here Ma Danyang conceives of physical death in traditional Daoist terms and anticipates that he will have specifically Daoist posthumous experiences. According to Ma, his “death” will actually involve the ascension to Perfection, to Daoist celestial realms. Within these subtle cosmic regions, Ma Danyang claims that he will meet with other Perfected and receive their communications. Reference here to “declarations of the Perfected” (*zhen’gao* 真誥) recalls Tao Hongjing’s 陶弘景 (456–536) famous collection of Shangqing (Highest Clarity) revelations, namely, the *zhen’gao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected; DZ 1016). In addition to the fact that the Shangqing Daoist tradition emphasized celestial realms inhabited by immortals, Perfected, and deities (see Robinet 1993; 2000), it is noteworthy that the highest of the Three Heavens is Yuqing 玉清 (Jade Clarity). The final line of Ma’s poem, “I climb up to the Jade Imperial Dwelling,” may be a direct allusion to the highest of the Three Heavens.

There are a variety of other references to specific Daoist subtle realms in the early Quanzhen textual corpus. These references provide support for understanding the post-mortem dimension of immortality and perfection as relating to the continuation of a distinct form of identity and to some form of personal survival, to leaving terrestrial

¹³ There are also a number of sources that inform us that Ma Danyang had death-bed visions of Wang Chongyang and He Dejin. In these visions, deceased Quanzhen adepts beckon him to join the ranks of the immortals. See *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 10.15b–16a; *Shenguang can*, 1150, 2b, 13a–13b; Hachiya 1992, 251–52; Eskildsen 2004, 123–25.

existence (yin) and ascending to celestial realms (yang) as a yang-spirit. For example,

To enter the way of the sages (*sheng zhi dao* 聖之道), you must develop determination for many years, amassing accomplishments and binding yourself to practice. Only an adept of elevated illumination, an individual with excelling realization, can enter the way of the sages.

Your body may reside in a single room, but innate nature will fill the heavens, earth, and whole cosmos. The multitude of sages silently protects and supports you. Immortal lords in limitless numbers invisibly encircle and surround you. Your name becomes recorded in Zigong 紫宮 (Purple Palace) and established among the ranked immortals. Your physical form may remain in the world of dust, but your heart-mind is already illuminated beyond all beings. (*Shiwu lun*, DZ 1233, 5a)

And

The Three Realms are the realm of desire, the realm of form, and the realm of formlessness.

When the heart-mind forgets planning and thinking, one goes beyond the realm of desire. When the heart-mind forgets mental projections, one goes beyond the realm of form. When the heart-mind does not manifest even a vision of emptiness, one goes beyond the realm of formlessness.

Abandoning these Three Realms, the spirit dwells in the country of immortals and sages. Innate nature resides in the region of Yuqing 玉清 (Jade Clarity). (*ibid.*, 5a–5b)

Again, these passages oscillate between the existential and post-mortem dimensions of immortality and perfection.¹⁴ In terms of the latter, Wang Chongyang suggests that through religious praxis and resultant accomplishment, the Quanzhen adept may enter the sacred realms, inhabited by sages and immortals. While one may be tempted to interpret these references metaphorically or poetically, based on the above discussion of the yang-spirit and the body-beyond-the-body, such an interpretation clearly involves “domestication.” Such an interpretation does not engage or appreciate early Quanzhen Daoism in its radical alterity. Here immortality and perfection clearly relate to a specific celestial realm, Yuqing (Jade Clarity). The name of the advanced adept, one who has become a Perfected, is listed in the registers of Zigong (Purple Palace)

¹⁴ Of note in this respect is the emphasis placed on the Three Realms, a Buddhist technical term, in early Quanzhen. Existentially speaking, one is no longer conditioned by or bound to desire, form, or formlessness. Soteriologically speaking, one realizes a transformed ontological condition beyond such limitations—the realms of the immortals and Perfected are beyond both form and formlessness.

and one joins the ranks of immortals. In short, the goal of early Quanzhen religious praxis was complete alchemical transformation. Through a process of rarification and self-divinization, the early adepts expected to attain a radical shift in ontological condition: transcendence of the limitations of ordinary human being, and embodiment as perfected beings characterized by mystical being and mystical experiencing.

MYSTICAL BEING AND MYSTICAL EXPERIENCING

The various details concerning early Quanzhen views of self, transformative techniques, and mystical experiences point to a radical vision of human possibility and religious praxis: beyond ordinary, habituated human being, there is the possibility of an ontological condition characterized by mystical being and mystical experiencing.

As my emphasis on “mystical being” and “mystical experiencing” indicate, such a transformational mode¹⁵ cannot be reduced either to neurological processes and mind-states or to static “experiences.” With regard to the former, I have shown the central importance of the body in early Quanzhen, to the point of suggesting that certain Daoist sub-traditions may represent a previously unrecognized type of mysticism, referred to here as “somatic mysticism.”¹⁶ In this respect, one must acknowledge that “mystical praxis” and “mystical experiences” *always* involve the body, whether or not a given mystic, religious tradition or researcher recognizes this, and that many religious traditions emphasize the importance of *embodiment* in mystical praxis. Rather than *assuming* that “mystical experience” is always about a “state of consciousness,” or even worse a “condition of knowing,”¹⁷ one must inquire into the

¹⁵ It is *transformational* because it is an ongoing inward process and a continual relational influence, both with respect to the influence of the numinous on one’s being and one’s being on those with whom one comes in contact.

¹⁶ Other traditions that may represent a form of “somatic mysticism” include classical Yoga and Tantra. On the former, see, e.g., Eliade 1990. On the latter, see especially White 1998.

¹⁷ For instance, according to classical Daoism, “To know that you do not know is best; to not know that you are knowing is sickness. Only by being sick of sickness are you not sick” (*Daode jing*, ch. 71). Such Daoist views problematize the emphasis on epistemology and “mystical knowing” in the comparative study of mysticism. Rather, as I am arguing in the present chapter, “mystical experiencing” is not about “knowing,” but rather about “being.” That is, scholars of mysticism may benefit from shifting their focus to ontology and existentialism, to confronting the radical alterity of certain mystics and mystical traditions.

place of the body, and the meaning of “the body,” in religious traditions. Quanzhen views of self are much more complicated than the conventional dichotomy of physicality (“body”) and consciousness (“mind”) suggest. The early Quanzhen adepts also emphasized the place of vital substances, subtle anatomy and physiology, qi, and spirit in spiritual realization. According to the early Quanzhen tradition, the Dao pulses through the body as subtle breath; spirits inhabit the five yin-orbs; the heavens are mystical cranial locations; the yang-spirit is a “being” free from the habituated state of “knowing”; the subtle body is both within and beyond the ordinary, material body and can ascend to sacred realms after physical death; and so forth. In this sense, alchemical transformation leads to a shift in ontological condition, to the actualization of both known and unknown aspects of self. The early adepts suggest that Quanzhen religious praxis leads to “mystical being” (or mystical non-being), an ontological condition characterized by mystical communion with the Dao and by *embodiment* as a numinous and perfected being. In short, the alchemically-transformed adept is oriented towards, living through, and manifesting something different. From an early Quanzhen perspective, this “something different” is an attunement with a trans-human dimension of being, a relational pattern in which the Dao as circulating, numinous presence moves among the cosmos, world, community, and self. It is a larger context of being, mystical being, that is the fullness and culmination of human nature according to early Quanzhen Daoism.

Such an ontological condition, referred to as “immortality” or “perfection” in early Quanzhen, is also beyond the acquisition of certain types of “accomplishments” or “experiences,” let alone some experience which is “*the* (perennial) mystical experience.” As we have seen, many of the early Quanzhen adepts acquired, or were believed to have acquired, certain numinous abilities and had specific types of mystical experiences, of both the ergotropic (hyper-aroused) and trophotropic (hyper-quiescent) types. Such mystical experiences served as triggers for a conversion process, inspiration for greater commitment, guidance for deeper understanding and practice, and/or confirmation of successful training. However, members of the early Quanzhen movement were clearly concerned about aspiring adepts and lay believers becoming attached to or obsessed about such mystical experiences. The primary focus lay squarely on self-cultivation and transformation. Early Quanzhen training regimens were intended to lead to a radically different way of being, to a radically different way of *experiencing*.

All of this leads to an additional point: beyond the fixed and static idea of “experience,” with the possible limitations of ego and time (past/future) implied within it, there is “experiencing.” In *Experiencing and the Creation of Meaning*, Eugene Gendlin (1962) suggests that “experiencing” must be recognized as a central aspect of being human. Gendlin speaks of experiencing as a “felt sense,” an experiential dimension of lived, embodied interaction: “Besides the logical dimension and the operational dimension of knowledge, there is also a directly felt, experiential dimension. *Meaning* is not only *about things* and it is not only a certain *logical* structure, but it also involves *felt* experiencing” (1, italics in original; see also Vasilyuk 1992; Forman 1993; 1999). This notion of “experiencing” is helpful in negotiating Quanzhen Daoism, but Gendlin’s emphasis on physical sensations and emotional responses must be amended to include other aspects of consciousness and psychosomatic aliveness. This may be referred to as a “psychology of the extraordinary.” As has become clear in the present study, the early Quanzhen adepts suggest that it is possible to achieve a shift in ontological condition, a movement from habituated to realized being. While this shift often involves “mystical experiences” as triggers for deeper commitment, signs of successful training, and/or as indications of alignment with the sacred, higher-level attainment became embodied as *mystical experiencing*. Here the adept becomes an *embodiment* of the Dao and *lives through* such numinous pervasion. This is what it means to “join the ranks of the immortals and perfected.” In this respect, I agree with Louis Roy’s characterization of “mystical consciousness”:

Whereas transcendent experiences [see Roy 2001] are episodes that many people have (as documented in a good number of social surveys) relatively few people enjoy mystical consciousness, which is not *an* experience in the sense of an event during which we would entertain specific thoughts and emotions. . . . Mystical consciousness is a rather permanent state, a stable mood. (Roy 2003, xxi)

However, in order to avoid reducing such spiritual “attainment” to a “state of mind,” and in order to include Quanzhen views of self as centering on the above-mentioned aspects of self, I would refer to such an ontological condition as “mystical being” and “mystical experiencing.” It is simultaneously what one is and how one is. It is not in the past or in the future; it is one’s actual process of being. It is an encounter with and actualization of self in its multi-dimensional aspects, to the point where the dominant influences are not internal psychological states or

external disruptive influences, but rather the *circulating* mysteriousness and numinosity which is the Dao. Mystical experiencing is continuous, relational, transformational, and enlivening.

According to the early Quanzhen adepts, what I am here referring to as mystical being and mystical experiencing has specific, defining characteristics. Through dedication to Quanzhen training regimens, the adept abandons patterns of dissipation and disharmony. One ceases from engaging in ordinary, habituated life-ways characterized by desire, emotionality, and turbidity, both personal and interpersonal. One rejects intoxicating and obfuscating influences: psychological reactivity, alcohol consumption, material accumulation, sexual activity, and so forth. The aspiring adept no longer allows himself or herself to be disrupted by external influences, whether objects of sense perception or familial and societal entanglement. He or she also cultivates a spiritual orientation based on conservation, self-purification and transformation. Personal habituation, psycho-physiological disruption, sensory engagement, and spiritual disorientation are rectified and transformed. In short, one abandons a path based on disruption, dissipation and dissolution; one ceases to be a “walking corpse.”

In the process of Quanzhen religious praxis, the aspiring adept minimized karma-producing activities, sensory outflow, as well as desire-based, qi-dissipating entanglements. One cultivates a condition of psychosomatic harmony and stability. Such an inward orientation and internal condition of stillness allows one to conserve, gather, and store the principal aspects of vitality: body fluids, vital essence, blood, and qi. With psychosomatic integrity cultivated and realized, one begins a process of actualizing innate, higher-level human capacities. These include numinous abilities and a sense of interconnection. According to the early Quanzhen tradition, higher-level adepts could peer more deeply into contextual influences, psychological motivations, and spiritual requirements. Like their Buddhist counterparts, such abilities led to a recognition of suffering, impermanence, and disorientation. The early adepts in turn endeavored to assist those who required or requested assistance with the particularities of their own samsaric condition and in their own process of spiritual realization.

At the same time, with regard to the higher-levels of personal practice, centering on complete alchemical transformation, on a radical shift in ontological condition, they cultivated something more. They endeavored to actualize the yang-spirit, a subtle body that was energetically

complete, pervaded by spirit, and infused with numinosity. The early adepts recognized that the Dao in its multi-layered mysteriousness and numinosity was Perfection. As an embodiment of the Dao, these religious practitioners recognized that an aspect of that reality existed within them as “innate nature” and “a spark.” This was their original endowment. Through dedicated training and radical reorientation, they believed and demonstrated that one could become perfected. One could complete a process of alchemical transformation, in which one actualized this sacred endowment and transcended the givenness of ordinary dissolution. One could become a spirit of pure yang, a being who embodied the transformational process. Cleansed of personal obstructions and spiritual hindrances, pervaded by the numinous presence of the Dao, such perfected beings lived in a condition of mystical experiencing, an ongoing, relational process of sacred attunement and manifestation. Here mystical being is not simply characterized by transformations of consciousness, but also by transformations of body. Here mystical being is not simply characterized by absorption and union, but also by participation and embodiment. This was the culmination of alchemical training and an indication that physical death was not the end of life. In this way Quanzhen was the path towards spirit immortality, the Way of Complete Perfection.

Such views, transformative praxis, and mystical attainment are simultaneously challenging and instructive. The study of the Quanzhen movement, the Daoist tradition, and religious traditions in general is relevant not only for historical and cultural understanding, but also for existential and ontological clarification. Stated simply, religious traditions often advocate and employ radically different views concerning the limitations and possibilities of being. The interdisciplinary study of human possibility can be enriched by including religious studies, religious traditions, and religious practitioners in the conversation. While hyper-materialistic, ultra-rationalistic, and cultural constructivist approaches have become dominant in the academy, these interpretative frameworks are, to use Richard King’s terminology (1999, 179), “epistemologies of limitation.” There are also “epistemologies of possibility,” or in keeping with the concerns of the present study, “ontologies of realization,” transformational existential modes, which center on completion and fulfillment. Such approaches emphasize the fullness of being, including larger contexts of interrelationship and often unrecognized aspects of existence. In the case of early Quanzhen Daoism, we are informed that what we tend identify as “normal” human concerns, activities and

patterns of interactions (excess desire, personal habituation, intoxicated obscuration, acquisitiveness, and so forth) are what *limit* human possibility. Minimalism, simplicity, and living through what is essential create the space for something else to emerge. Ontologies of realization force us to face much more difficult questions, specifically ones centering on normative, soteriological, and theological (in the fullest sense of the word) issues. To know what latent capacities lie beneath the surface of assumed solidities and enculturated restrictions will require a broadening of our concerns and considerations. In this respect, humanistic and transpersonal psychologies, ecological studies, comparative philosophy, somatic approaches, consciousness studies, comparative mysticism, and comparative religious studies have important contributions to make.¹⁸ In their most authentic, profound, and affirmative moments, religious communities and practitioners dare to speak the unspeakable and to affirm the unknowable. They embrace and advocate systems of transformation, including training regimens that are soteriological in intent, aimed at higher levels of human being. Quanzhen Daoism is one such tradition.

¹⁸ Some relevant publications in this regard include Andresen and Forman 2000; Cardena et al. 2000; Deikman 1982; Eliade 1969; Forman 1998; Fromm 1976; 1994; Gallagher and Shear 1999; Grof 1988; 2000; King 1999; Maslow 1968; 1976; Murphy 1992; Shapiro and Walsh 1984; Tart 1969; Walsh and Vaughan 1993; Wilber 1977; 2000; Wilber et al. 1986; Yogananda 1946; Zinberg 1977.

PART TWO

COMPLETE ANNOTATED TRANSLATION
OF
THE *CHONGYANG ZHENREN JINGUAN YUSUO JUE*

TRANSLATION INTRODUCTION

APPROACHING PERFECTED CHONGYANG'S INSTRUCTIONS

The *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣 (Perfected Chongyang's Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156; abbr. *Jinguan yusuo jue*) is an original and eclectic manual of early Quanzhen religious praxis, including practice principles, techniques, and models of attainment. In combination with the more problematic *Dadan zhizhi* 大丹直指 (Direct Pointers to the Great Elixir; DZ 244; trl. Belamide 2002), the *Jinguan yusuo jue* is the most detailed extant text on technical aspects of early Quanzhen practice. Composed of a series of thirty-two questions and answers exchanged between Wang Chongyang and one or more of his disciples, the topics covered are wide-ranging: from the causes of and cures for various illnesses, through transformative techniques that are soteriological in intent, to discussions of the characteristics and ontological levels of alchemically-transformed and perfected beings. Throughout the pages of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, one encounters a religious community, a teacher and his senior disciples, dedicated to self-cultivation and transformation. Here Wang Chongyang emerges as a teacher whose pedagogical approach involves one-to-one instruction and dialogic clarification. The text documents a teacher focused on the individual needs and experiences of his disciples. In short, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* seems to represent an actual discourse record, based on first-generation disciples' transcriptions and recollections, of instructions given by Wang Chongyang on a variety of occasions and in a variety of contexts.

As questions have been raised concerning the association of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* with Wang Chongyang, this chapter begins with a discussion of issues of dating and authorship, showing that there is no conclusive evidence for rejecting the traditional association. In fact, internal evidence suggests that the text was composed during the Song-Jin period, originates in an early Quanzhen context, and more than likely preserves some authentic teachings of Wang Chongyang. Next, I provide a survey of the text's contents, including a topical summary of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* as well as highlights of some important and representative themes and concerns.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

The *Jinguan yusuo jue* is attributed to Wang Zhe 王嘉 (Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170), the nominal founder of the Quanzhen movement. If one accepts the traditional attribution, taking the work as written by Wang Chongyang himself, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* could date from as early as the 1160s, when Wang was living in the Tomb for Reviving the Dead and among the eremitic community of Liujiang in Shaanxi province, to as late as 1167–1170, when he was in the Hermitage of Complete Perfection and among his Shandong disciples. Under this dating, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* is a late twelfth-century Quanzhen text and thus one of the earliest extant Quanzhen works. More importantly, it is the most detailed instruction manual of the movement's founder. Another possibility is that the *Jinguan yusuo jue* is a discourse record of Wang Chongyang's teachings compiled by one or more of Wang's first-generation disciples. Under this interpretation, the text would date from the late twelfth to early thirteenth century. Other hypotheses on the text's origin might include the following: (1) it was written in the mid- to late-thirteenth century by one or more second- or third-generation Quanzhen adepts in an attempt to reconstruct or reimagine Wang's teachings; (2) it was written in the late thirteenth century when Quanzhen merged with the so-called Nanzong (Southern Lineage) of internal alchemy,¹ combining and modifying earlier Zhong-Lü influence;² or (3) the *Jinguan yusuo jue* is not a Quanzhen text at all, but was written by a Daoist practitioner in order to create an esoteric lineage based on Wang Chongyang's "secret transmission."³ It is the second view, namely, that the *Jinguan yusuo jue* was compiled in the late twelfth century by one or more of Wang Chongyang's first-generation disciples, that I believe is the most viable and convincing.

The text has a certain fragmentary or unpolished quality, and its contents raise considerable historical and interpretative questions.⁴ This

¹ On the so-called Southern Lineage of internal alchemy see Boltz 1987, 173–75; Pregadio and Skar 2000; Skar 2003.

² On the Zhong-Lü textual tradition see Baldrian-Hussein 1984; Boltz 1987, 139–43; Pregadio and Skar 2000.

³ In this respect, Wang Chongyang would have become recognized as an "immortal," similar to Lü Dongbin. See Baldrian-Hussein 1984; Ang 1993; 1997; Katz 1996; 1999.

⁴ Strangely, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* has recently entered the sphere of popular discourse on Longmen (Dragon Gate) Daoism. In his recently revised *The Jade Emperor's Mind Seal Classic* (2003), Stuart Olson claims, "Wang Che also composed many works, such as the *Jade Lock Treatise*, which was primarily a code of conduct for his disciples. His

has led some scholars to suggest that the *Jinguan yusuo jue* must be a later, spuriously-attributed work (Hachiya 1972; 1992, 152–58, especially 152; Goossaert 1997, 177, 418, 436–37, 451; Marsone 2001, 97, n. 3). Here I will briefly review the most salient scholarship on the text, giving particular attention to the research of Kunio Hachiya, the only scholar thus far to provide a systematic study of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*. Most of those who are skeptical concerning the association of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* with Wang Chongyang are influenced by Hachiya's research. Following this critical assessment, I will make a more comprehensive attempt at dating and contextualizing the *Jinguan yusuo jue*.

In his annotated study of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* (1972), which has proven invaluable for the present translation, Hachiya emphasizes the complex, detailed, and highly technical nature of the text. Arranging and analyzing doctrinal aspects of the text through topical classification (see Appendix Six), he questions both the attribution of the text to Wang Chongyang and the suggestion that the text represents an oral transmission of his teachings. Hachiya suggests that there is no definite authorship, but that the *Jinguan yusuo jue* was probably compiled by a later Quanzhen adherent (Hachiya 1972, 77). For Hachiya, at least three primary textual characteristics add credence to this interpretation: (1) there is a reference to “my teacher” (8a, 14a), which Hachiya takes as referring to Wang Chongyang himself rather than to a teacher of Wang; (2) mention is made to Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin (14b, 22a), which may suggest a later date of composition due to the fact that the association of the Quanzhen lineage with these two immortals may originate in a later historical period (see, e.g., Marsone 2001); and (3) the citation of the *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 on spirit immortals (13a) differs from the list given in the *Wupian lingwen* 五篇靈文 (Numinous Writings in Five Chapters; JY 202; ZW 866),⁵ a text which Hachiya

writings are an attempt to create a Taoist *vinaya* (the Buddhist monastic code)” (8). This statement, like most of Olson's discussion of Quanzhen and Longmen, lacks any historical accuracy. Other self-identified Longmen Daoists in the West, including some who have formal ordination, include Wilson Lee of the Ching Chung Taoist Association (San Francisco, California), Michael Rinaldini of the Daoist Medical Qigong Center, Shijing (Alan Redman) and Shidao (Peter Smith) of the British Taoist Association (London, England), Brock Silvers of the Taoist Restoration Society (Honolulu, Hawaii), Nam Singh of the Ching Chung Taoist Association and Orthodox Daoism in America (Oakland, California), and Eva Wong, formerly of the Taoist Tai Chi Society (Toronto, Canada). See Komjathy 2003b; 2003c; 2004.

⁵ “JY” refers to the *Daozang jiyao* 道藏集要 (Collected Essentials of the Daoist Canon), while “ZW” refers to the *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 (Daoist Books Outside the Canon). The numbering system follows Komjathy 2002b.

believes may represent a “non-canonical” text associated with Wang Chongyang (1972, 77, 102–3).

Hachiya has continued his detailed study of early Quanzhen in a more recent book-length study entitled *Kindai dōkyō no kenkyū—Ō Chōyō to Ba Tanyō* 金代道教の研究—王重陽と馬丹陽 (Research on Daoism during the Jin Dynasty: Wang Chongyang and Ma Danyang) (1992; see also 1998). As the title indicates, Hachiya gives particular attention to the life, relationship, teachings, and writings of Wang Chongyang and his senior disciple Ma Danyang. Here Hachiya reaffirms his earlier claim that the *Jinguan yusuo jue* was compiled by a later Quanzhen adept. When discussing Wang Chongyang’s teachings in general and the *Jinguan yusuo jue* in particular (1992, 152–58, especially 152), he emphasizes that Wang Chongyang practiced internal alchemy early in his life, eventually becoming accomplished in it. However, he later became skeptical of *neidan* training, so that by the most mature phase of his life he emphasized the simple practice of mental purity and nonaction.⁶ Considered both as a whole and individually, Hachiya’s views are not sufficient for rejecting the traditional association of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* with Wang Chongyang.

In order to gain a clearer view on issues of dating and authorship one may utilize a variety of evaluative criteria. In *On Dating Taoist Alchemical Texts* (1979), Ho Peng-yoke identifies eight principal aspects deserving consideration: (1) Consultation of bibliographies, including hagiographies; (2) identification of personal names; (3) textual comparison; (4) taboo words; (5) reign titles; (6) geographical names; (7) technical terms; and (8) linguistic method, including formal linguistic and phonological

⁶ According to Stephen Eskildsen (personal communication, March 31, 2004), “If one is to agree with Hachiya’s view, it is still plausible to surmise that Wang Zhe composed the text in the earlier stages of his career (as is proposed in the *Daozang tiyao*). In addition, it is questionable to me that Wang Zhe ever renounced *neidan* in quite the way that Hachiya suggests. His straightforward cultivation of clarity and purity is best understood not as an alternative to *neidan*, but rather as *neidan* at the most advanced level (as the *Jinguan yusuo jue* itself indicates, the cultivation of the Real Nature through purity and stillness is the Great Vehicle, which depends on the Small Vehicle as its foundation). Wang Zhe’s occasional statements that sound like outright rejections of *neidan* are probably better understood as didactic plots directed toward disciples whose infatuation with intricate procedures and theories are holding them back from advancing to the highest attainment” (see also Eskildsen 2004, 60–61, 83, 92, 196). However, contra to the perspective expressed in the *Daozang tiyao* (Descriptive Notes on the Daoist Canon; Ren and Zhong 1991; see TY 1147), the *Jinguan yusuo jue* more closely resembles a mature work, a text that represents the culmination of a life dedicated to religious praxis.

features (see Ho 1979, 6–18). Considering the *Jinguan yusuo jue* in terms of these eight characteristics, one gains clarification concerning its most likely date of composition.

With regard to bibliographical evidence, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* does not appear in any major bibliography contemporaneous with the early Quanzhen textual corpus or in any Quanzhen hagiography (see Goossaert 1997, 418, 436–37; Eskildsen 2004, 60–61; also Loon 1984). In addition, preliminary research suggests that the text is not cited in any early text (Goossaert 1997, 451).⁷ We do, of course, have a *terminus ante quem*, namely, 1444–1445, the years when the *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏 (Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign) was compiled (see Komjathy 2002b). This is, however, over 250 years after the death of Wang Chongyang.

In terms of personal names mentioned in the text, there are many, most of which are pseudo-historical or mythological. Ancient personages appearing in the *Jinguan yusuo jue* include Laozi 老子/Laojun 老君 (Lord Lao) (1b, 3b, 12b, 15b, 18b), Kongzi 孔子 (Confucius) (12b, 15b, 18b), Śākyamuni Buddha (12b, 18b), Huangdi 黃帝 (Yellow Thearch) (22a), and Bian He 卞和 (7ab). There are also three later figures who became prominent during Wang Chongyang's own time: Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (Chunyang 純陽 [Purified Yang]; b. 798 C.E.?) (14b, 22a), Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 (Zhengyang 正陽 [Aligned Yang]; 2nd c. C.E.?) (22a), and Chen Tuan 陳搏 (Xiyi 希夷 [Immortal Sprout]; d. 989 C.E.) (22a).⁸ Thus, the latest historical figure mentioned in the text died in 989 C.E. Moreover, one would expect to find most, if not all, of their names in an early Quanzhen text.

Closely associated with the appearance of personal names, one must take note of references to and citations from specific scriptures. The *Jinguan yusuo jue* contains a variety of such scriptural allusions. Some

⁷ This should not necessarily surprise one, as the text culminates with an admonition concerning transmission: “Whether man or woman, if you receive these instructions, never transmit them in confusion. If you do so, you will lessen and disperse your wondrous opportunity to become an immortal. Your ancestors up to nine generations will fall into perishing ruin, forever be imprisoned in Fengdu, and never again attain human form. Be cautious about it! Be on guard about it! Receive the teachings with sincerity and practice them with dedication!” (*Jinguan yusuo jue*, DZ 1156, 23a).

⁸ Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin were two of the so-called Five Patriarchs (*wuzu* 五祖) of early Quanzhen. See *Jinlian ji*, DZ 173; *Jinlian xiangzhuàn*, DZ 174. On Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin see Baldrian-Hussein 1986; Boltz 1987, 139–43; Pregadio and Skar 2000. On Lü Dongbin in particular see Baldrian-Hussein 1984; Ang 1993; 1997; Katz 1996; 1999. On Chen Tuan see Kohn 2001b.

of these are more easily identifiable and clearly cited, while others are based on conjecture. In addition to allusions to the fourth-century B.C.E. *Daode jing* 道德經 and *Zhuangzi* 莊子, including utilization of technical terminology derived from classical Daoism, one finds references and allusions to the following scriptures: the seventh-century Buddhist *Xinjing* 心經 (Heart Sūtra; T. 250–56) (3a); eighth-century Daoist *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620) (3a, 3b, 5a); sixth-century Daoist *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31) (4a, 5b, 16a, 19b); and the tenth-century Daoist *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16) (13a). There are also a variety of texts less clearly identifiable. They are the *Suiqiu jing* 隨求經 (Sūtra on Following and Seeking) (15a), which Hachiya suggests might be the Buddhist *Pubian guangming qingjing chisheng ruyin bao yinxin wu nengsheng daming wang da suiqiu tuolouni jing* 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 (Dhāranī Sūtra of the Great Pursuit, [Revealed by] the Invincible Exalted Illuminated King [Holding] the Precious Wish-fulfilling Heart-Seal of Universality, Radiance, Purity, and Overflow; T. 1153) (1972, 97), associated with the Tantric ritual expert Amoghavajra (705–774); *Damo jing* 達摩經 (Sūtra of Bodhidharma?) (15b), which Hachiya conjectures might be the Buddhist *Damo duoluo chanjing* 達摩多羅禪經 (Dharmatrāta-dhyāna Sūtra; T. 618) (1972, 94–95), associated with the early Indian missionary and meditation master Buddhahadra (359–429) (see Dumoulin 1988, 85–94); *Jiuxian jing* 九仙經 (Scripture of the Nine Immortals) (20b), which may be the eighth-century Daoist *Zhen longhu jiuxian jing* 真龍虎九仙經 (Scripture of the Nine Immortals and Perfect Dragon and Tiger; DZ 227) (Hachiya 1972, 134–35); and the *Yinguo jing* 因果經 (Sūtra on Karmic Consequences) (23a), which may be the Buddhist *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* 過去現在因果經 (Sūtra on the Karmic Consequences of Past and Present; T. 189) (Hachiya 1972, 158–59), translated into Chinese by Gunabhadrā (394–468).⁹ Based on these textual references, the latest source cited thus comes from the tenth century (see also Boltz 1987, 147–48). In addition, the occurrence of the *Xinjing*, *Yinfu jing*, and *Qingjing* as well as allusions to the *Daode jing* again point toward an early Quanzhen provenance. As mentioned in previous chapters, we also know that Wang Chongyang had affinities

⁹ These various identifications are those of Hachiya Kunio, although he finds no exact textual parallels between the *Jinguan yusuo jue* and those sūtras.

with Buddhism as well as associated with certain Buddhist teachers in Shaanxi.

The third criterion, textual comparison, emphasizes the appearance of textual material from one text in that of another.¹⁰ As far as current research goes, there are no known Song-Jin, Yuan, or early Ming texts wherein the *Jinguan yusuo jue* is cited. There is, of course, the question of textual comparison beyond actual citation; if one text resembles similar contemporaneous works, this may assist one in locating the given text in a specific socio-historical context. I discuss this methodology in more detail below.

To the best of my knowledge, there are no taboo words appearing in the *Jinguan yusuo jue*.

Similarly, no reign titles or relevant geographical names appear in the text, except for reference to Wang Chongyang as associated with the Zhongnan 終南 mountains. With regard to the final two dating criteria, both the technical terminology and linguistic method provide clues concerning the dating and authorship of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*. Both of these are central to my own methodology. For the moment, we may note that the most reliable means for dating texts, based on internal textual evidence, points toward a date of composition in the Jin-Song period and in the early Quanzhen religious movement.

Applied in detail, criteria three, seven, and eight prove most valuable for historically locating the *Jinguan yusuo jue*. Criterion three, here taken as including textual affinities with other contemporaneous writings, suggests that the *Jinguan yusuo jue* is an early Quanzhen text with characteristics paralleling those of other late Tang dynasty (618–907) and Song dynasty (Northern: 960–1126; Southern: 1127–1279) works, specifically internal alchemy literature indebted to the Zhong-Lü textual tradition.¹¹ As my annotations to the translation indicate, I have relied on many earlier and contemporaneous *neidan* texts for technical clarification, specifically the ninth-century *Baiwen pian* 百問篇 (Chapters of One Hundred Questions; DZ 1017, j. 5; trl. Homann 1976),

¹⁰ There are two excellent, recent models for dating texts, both of which are based on bibliographical references and textual comparisons. The first is Robert Campany's study of the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 (Biographies of Spirit Immortals; JY 89; JH 54) (Campany 2002). The second is Paul Unschuld's examination of the *Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問 (Yellow Thearch's Inner Classic: Basic Questions; DZ 1020) (Unschuld 2003).

¹¹ See Baldrian-Hussein 1984, especially 23–31; Boltz 1987, 139–43; Pregadio and Skar 2000, 469–70, 475–76).

tenth-century *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16; also DZ 1309; trl. Wong 2000), tenth-century *Lingbao bifa* 靈寶畢法 (Final Methods of Numinous Treasure; DZ 1191; trl. Baldrian-Hussein 1984), thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 (Great Compendium of the Gold Elixir; DZ 263, j. 9–13), and occasionally the early fourteenth-century *Jindan dayao* 金丹大要 (Great Essentials of the Gold Elixir; DZ 1067). In content and technical terminology, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* resembles these texts in many ways.¹² In addition, all of these texts contain sections written in a question-and-answer format, in the form of a master answering the inquiries of one or more disciples.

While this formalistic feature could lead one to believe that the *Jinguan yusuo jue* might derive from a non-Quanzhen context, the concerns and technical terminology clearly parallel that of the poetry collections, that is, the least controversial early Quanzhen texts. The parallels with the Zhong-Lü literature may also reveal a possible textual influence on early Quanzhen movement; that is, the veneration of Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin may derive as much from such textual influence as from the supposed mystical experiences of Wang Chongyang with these two immortals.¹³ In addition, next to regulated verse and lyrics, the most frequently employed literary genre among the early Quanzhen adepts is that of discourse records (*yulu* 語錄), also known as “dialogic treatises” or “recorded sayings.”¹⁴

Coming to prominence during the Song-Jin period, the *yulu* genre purports to provide an accurate record of a given teacher’s discourses, instructions, and responses to various questions.¹⁵ Reading certain texts

¹² The same could be said for other early Quanzhen texts, including the *Chongyang zhenren shou Danyang ershi si jue* 重陽真人受丹陽二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions Transmitted from Perfected Chongyang to Danyang; DZ 1158), “Da Ma shifu shi wen” 答馬師父十四問 (Responses to Teacher Ma’s Fourteen Questions; *Jin zhenren yulu*, DZ 1056, 6b–8b), and *Dadan zhizhi* 大丹直指 (Direct Pointers to the Great Elixir; DZ 244).

¹³ Judith Boltz has made a similar observation: “Apparently this legacy of meditative practice served as a cornerstone for the textual codification of Ch’üan-chen” (1987, 141).

¹⁴ For guidance concerning the relevant texts see the section on “Discourse Records” in Appendix Three: Early Textual Corpus.

¹⁵ The *yulu* genre is most often identified as a Chan (Zen) Buddhist form of literature. However, it clearly has historical precedents in earlier Chinese cultural traditions, specifically in early Confucian (e.g., the *Lunyu*) and Daoist texts (e.g., the *Zhuangzi*). Moreover, claims concerning this “Chan innovation” should be tempered by the existence of Daoist *yulu* literature, of Zhong-Lü and internal alchemy texts in particular. On the

in the *yulu* genre, one gets the impression that they are actually based on oral teachings. However, in their most developed expressions, discourse records read more like polished compositions than compilations of sayings and oral instructions. That is, they read more like a literary composition authored by the teacher in question, or a later adept's reconstruction of the teachings of an earlier practitioner or teacher. In the case of early Quanzhen, the *Changsheng yulu* 長生語錄 (Discourse Record of Changsheng; DZ 1058), with Liu Changsheng's responses to a series of "questions" on eighty-one technical terms, seems to represent a more developed, self-authored example of the *yulu* genre. In contrast, the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, in terms of eclecticism of content, apparent transcription errors, cryptic passages, mentioned but undescribed cultivation methods, assumed technical terminology, and short-hand notation qualities, reads like a compilation of instructions given during a variety of teaching and dialogic sessions. In short, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* appears to be a collection of Wang Chongyang's oral teachings compiled by one or more of Wang's first-generation disciples.

This claim receives support from two additional criteria, namely, comparison with other extant works by Wang Chongyang and historical details concerning early Quanzhen literary productions. The first criterion is complicated by two factors: Questions concerning issues of authorship, and the fragmentary nature of Wang's extant writings. Accepting the problematic nature of texts such as the *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣, *Shiwu lun* 十五論, "Chongyang bijue" 重陽秘訣, "Da Ma wen" 答馬問, and "Chongyang zushi lun dazuo" 重陽祖師論打坐 (Patriarch Chongyang's Discourse on Meditation; *Qunxian zuanjì*, DZ 1257, 2.2b–4a),¹⁶ I here rely solely on the three poetry collections associated with Wang Chongyang, namely, the *Quanzhen ji* 全真集, *Jiaohua ji* 教化集, and *Fenli shihua ji* 分梨十化集.¹⁷ Issues of authorship and Wang's actual teachings might have been clarified if certain lost works had survived. Unfortunately, three works associated with Wang Chongyang are no longer extant: (1) *Yunzhong lu* 雲中錄 (Records among Clouds) (*Jinlian ji*, DZ 173, 2.8b; *Jinlian xiangzhuan*, DZ 174, 22b; *Shangyangzi*

development of the Buddhist *yulu* genre see Yanagida 1983; Berling 1987; Gardner 1991; McRae 1992; Dumoulin 1994; Gregory and Getz 1999; Poceski 2004.

¹⁶ For information on these texts see Appendix Three: Early Quanzhen Textual Corpus.

¹⁷ If one included all of the poetry anthologies by the early Quanzhen adepts, much more evidence could be offered for identifying the *Jinguan yusuo jue* as an early Quanzhen text.

liexian zhi, DZ 1069, 3a); (2) *Taoguang ji* 韜光集 (Anthology of Hidden Radiance) (*Jinlian xiangzhuan*, DZ 174, 22b; *Lishi tongjian xubian*, DZ 297, 1.11a; *Shangyangzi liexian zhi*, DZ 1069, 3a); and (3) *Hao lixiang* 好離鄉 (Joys of Abandoning Towns) (*Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, pref. 2a) (see Goossaert 1997, 424).

Nonetheless, comparison of the content and technical terminology of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* with extant poetry collections adds support for accepting this text as part of the early Quanzhen textual corpus and as a work preserving the teachings of Wang Chongyang. First, the poetry anthologies clearly reveal Wang Chongyang as a teacher attentive to the personal questions and soteriological needs of his formal disciples and lay supporters. As the titles of various poems in the *Quanzhen ji* indicate, Wang's pedagogy involved one-to-one instruction:

- Adept Wang Inquires about the Five Gates (1.2b)
- Adept Ma Inquires about Equality (1.3a)
- Adept Sun Inquires about the Three Teachings (1.8a)
- Adept Ren Inquires about Original Nature (1.8b)
- An Old Monk Inquires about Life and Death (1.11b)
- Adept Song Inquires about Cultivation (1.13b)
- Wang Dezhao Seeks to Learn about the Dao (2.3b)
- Master Wang of Tianchang guan Seeks Instruction (2.5b)

This is not to mention the poem-cycles of the *Jiaohua ji* and *Fenli shihua ji*, where Wang Chongyang and Ma Danyang engage in poetry exchanges. In addition, the principal and recurrent concerns of the poetry anthologies parallel those of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*: purification, conservation, cultivation, and transformation.

In terms of distinctive technical terminology, the most obvious place to begin is the title: Are there any occurrences of Gold Pass (*jinguan* 金關) and Jade Lock (*yusuo* 玉鎖) in Wang's extant poetry? There are, and this and similar terminology (e.g., *jimmen* 金門, *yumen* 玉門, *yuguan* 玉關, etc.) appear throughout the early Quanzhen textual corpus. The terms appear in sections 6b and 11b of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, where the Gold Pass and Jade Lock seem to designate a mystical body location in the head and the locking mechanism of the jaw, respectively. These terms and their associated meanings find parallels in a variety of poems,¹⁸ which are documented in the corresponding annotations

¹⁸ For other occurrences of *jinguan* and *yusuo* see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.23b, 3.2b, 3.5b, 5.13b, 11.6b; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 2.10a; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 1.1b, 1.5b, 1.7a; *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 1.8b, 2.7a, 2.9b, 2.26a; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 1.1b, 9.2a; *Shengguang can*,

to the translation. Additional, parallel technical terms appear in the *Jinguan yusuo jue* and in Wang Chongyang's extant poetry, including the Four Hindrances (1a, 13a); innate nature and life-destiny (2a, 5a, 6a, 11b, 13b, 15b); clarity and stillness (2b, 5a, 7b, 10b, 11a, 12a, 15b, 18a); cultivation and practice (1a, 13a, 15b, 18a, 23a); cultivating perfection (1a, 22b); practice and accomplishment/practicing exercises (10a, 14a, 16b, 17a, 17b, 21a); perfect accomplishment/exercises of perfection (1b, 5b, 22a); Three Teachings (12b, 15a, 22a); Three Vehicles/Three Carts (3b, 4a, 5a, 6b, 7b, 12a, 17a); Three Realms (12a, 15a, 18a); Three Islands (6b, 7a); Three Death-bringers, Seven Po, and yin-ghosts (2b, 4a, 4b, 10b, 18a); Four Fruits (19a); Five Phases (1b, 5a, 9a, 12b, 20b); Seven Cavities/Nine Cavities (16a, 19b); Seven Treasures (13b); Eight Nodes and stem-branch combinations (1b–2a, 9b, 13b, 19b); non-dissipation (4a, 6a, 6b, 15a); a dose (9b, 16a); samādhi (12a); unified numen (3a); and white ox (6b, 8a). There is also additional *neidan* symbology, including Dragon and Tiger, Child and Maiden, lead and mercury, and Eight Trigrams, and Buddhist technical terminology, including vexation, skillful means, Four Elements, and the Six Thieves (1b, 3a, 4a–4b, 9b, 12a, 15a, 18a). This list does not include less distinctive and more commonly occurring technical terminology related to internal alchemy (e.g., the Three Fields and Three Treasures) and to Buddhism (e.g., “karmic connections” and “karmic consequences”). The textual parallels receive documentation in my annotations. What such comparison indicates is significant parallelism between the *Jinguan yusuo jue* and Wang Chongyang's extant poetry.

DZ 1150, 35b; *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 3.18b; *Yinguan ji*, DZ 1152, 1.27a. Interestingly, the Gold Gate (*jimmen* 金門) is mentioned in a poem attributed to Chen Tuan: “But I practice the sleep of the perfected,/Sure up the breath of gold and drink the juice of jade./I lock the golden gate within, so it cannot be opened;/I close the door of earth inside, so it can not be broken./The green dragon guards the Eastern Palace;/The white tiger stands before the Western Hall./Perfected energy circulates in my Pond of Cinnabar;/And spirit water revolves around my five inner orbs./I call the gods of *jia* and *ding* to adjust the time;/I summon all the hundred spirits to guard the inner chamber./Then my spirit/Leaves to ascend to the Nine Palaces above,/Frolics in the sky's azureness;/With it, I step on emptiness as if on solid ground,/Rise up as easy as if falling down./Imperceptibly, I float around with the gentle winds;/Whirling, I appear with the easy-going clouds./Sitting quiet, I reach the purple realm of Mount Kunlun;/With ease I pass through lucky places and the grotto heavens./I inhale the flowery essence of the sun and moon;/I sport in the wondrous landscape of vapors and of haze./I visit the perfected and discuss the principles beyond;/I join the immortals and we go off to visit far strange lands./As I see the green sea turning into soil,/I point at yin and yang and yell with exultation./Delighted, I wish to return:/My feet step on clear wind,/My body floats on rays of light—/This is perfected sleep!” (*Lishi tongjian*, DZ 296, 47.9b–10a; Kohn 1993, 273–74).

The final historical detail that assists one in determining the possible author and date of composition of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* concerns early Quanzhen literary productions. The discourse records, a genre which the *Jinguan yusuo jue* resembles, of the various early Quanzhen adepts were often compiled by their disciples. This is also true of many of the poetry collections. For example, the *Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 丹陽真人直言 (Direct Sayings of Perfected Danyang; DZ 1234) is a three-page transcription of a public talk that Ma Danyang gave to the Chongyang hui 重陽會 (Association of Redoubled Yang) in the Longmen 龍門 (Dragon Gate) mountains (Shaanxi). This sermon may have been given in 1179, when Ma stayed in the Youde guan 佑德觀 (Monastery for Assisting Inner Power) in Longzhou (Shaanxi) (Boltz 1987, 153).

Similarly, and perhaps more directly applicable to the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, the discourse records of Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (Qinghe 清和 [Clear Harmony]; 1169–1251), a disciple of Qiu Changchun and national leader of the Quanzhen monastic order following Qiu's death in 1227, and Wang Zhijin 王志瑾 (Qiyun 棲雲 [Perched-in-Clouds]; 1178–1263), a disciple of Hao Guangning and one of the most renowned second-generation Quanzhen adepts, reveal a context of oral instruction and a transcription process at work in the early thirteenth century. The *Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu* 清和真人北遊語錄 (Discourse Record of Perfected Qinghe during Northward Travels; DZ 1310; abbr. *Qinghe yulu*) was compiled in 1237 by several of Yin's disciples, with the assistance of his successor Li Zhichang 李志常 (1193–1256). This discourse record is identified as a record of public sermons given to Quanzhen monastic communities during 1233 (see Boltz 1987, 168). The *Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu* 盤山棲雲王真人語錄 (Discourse Record of Perfected Wang Qiyun of Mount Pan; DZ 1059; abbr. *Qiyun yulu*) was compiled and edited in the mid-thirteenth century by a certain disciple named Liu 劉 and Lun Zhihuan 論志煥. This collection claims to be an edited version of some one hundred transcripts, based on notes taken by Liu during Wang's public talks (Boltz 1987, 171; see also Goossaert 1997, 500–8). In terms of formalistic features, both of these discourse records, like the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, contain sections written in question-and-answer format. Specifically, the *Qiyun yulu* consists of the phrase “someone asked” followed by “[Master Qiyun] responded,” that is, a format paralleling the *Jinguan yusuo jue*.

Like his first-generation disciple Ma Danyang and the second-generation Quanzhen adepts Yin Zhiping and Wang Zhijin, Wang Chongyang engaged in public missionary work and ministered to the needs of

various religious associations in Shandong for the last three years of his life. During his time in Shandong, Wang Chongyang gave public talks at the five associations as well as one-to-one instruction to his various disciples. It seems highly unlikely that these various meetings, including the transmissions and discussions that occurred at different times, would not be preserved in any form. For example, the *Quanzhen ji* contains a discourse titled “Yuhua she shu” 玉華社疏 (Guidance for the Jade Flower Society; DZ 1153, 10.20a–21a; also *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 3.12b–13b).¹⁹ This text was either a public discourse presented to the Jade Flower Society or a self-authored composition meant for distribution to this and the other Shandong associations. Interestingly, if my hypothesis concerning the *Jinguan yusuo jue* as a compilation of oral instructions transcribed during Wang’s various public talks and personal transmissions is viable, then the “Yuhua she shu” should be one of Wang’s writings with the clearest similarities to the *Jinguan yusuo jue*. And indeed it is.

Now, the Jade Flower is the ancestor of qi, while the Gold Lotus is the ancestor of spirit. When qi and spirit are bound together, we refer to this as “spirit immortality.”

A commentary on the *Yinfu jing* says,²⁰ “Spirit is the child of qi; qi is the mother of spirit.” When child and mother meet, you can become a spirit immortal.

The reason why I established the Jade Flower and Gold Lotus Societies in the two prefectures is because I wanted all adepts to recognize perfect innate nature. If you do not understand the perfect source, you will only study the lesser techniques of subsidiary schools. Such methods may produce blessings and nourish the body, but they have nothing to do with the Way of Cultivating Immortality.

Considering the issue of innate nature and life-destiny, if you make even the slightest misstep, you may be led astray from the human path

¹⁹ I am grateful to Stephen Eskildsen of the University of Tennessee for bringing this text to my attention.

²⁰ The *Yinfu jing zhu* 陰符經注 (Commentary on the *Yinfu jing*; DZ 121) by Tang Chun 唐淳 (Jinling daoren 金陵道人 [Daoist of Nanjing]; d.u.), which Eskildsen (2004, 36, 216, n. 43) points out was the preferred *Yinfu jing* commentary of the early Quanzhen movement. The passage in question appears in section 1b. According to the *Danyang yulu* (DZ 1057, 10a), Daoist adherents should not read excessively, as it disturbs the heart-mind. When one does wish to study scriptures, Ma Danyang recommends Heshang gong’s commentary on the *Daode jing* and Master Jinling’s commentary on the *Yinfu jing*. See also Liu Changsheng’s commentary (*Yinfu jing zhu*, DZ 144, 5b). A parallel passage also appears in section 1a of Sun Simiao’s 孫思邈 (581–682?) *Cunshen lianqi ming* 存神鍊氣銘 (Inscription on Visualizing the Spirits and Refining Qi; DZ 834). See Kohn 1987, 119.

[through transmigration]. Fellow adepts, if you long for perfect cultivation, simply eat when hungry and sleep when tired. There is no need to practice meditation or study the Dao. You only need to separate yourself from the affairs of the mundane world. You only need to allow your heart-mind to be clear and pure. Anything beyond these two words [clarity and purity] is not cultivation.

All adepts should cherish discernment and wisdom. Each day when you practice in the purification chamber be continuously alert for awakening. Do not become lost in other schools. For practice and accomplishment, there is nothing else beyond perfect accomplishment and perfect practice.

Perfected Jin said,²¹ “If you long for perfect accomplishment, you must purify your heart-mind and stabilize your thinking. Discipline spirit and emotions. Free from movement and activity, this is perfect clarity and perfect purity. Embrace the Origin and guard the One. Preserve spirit and stabilize qi. This is perfect accomplishment.

“If you long for perfect practice, you must cultivate humaneness and accumulate virtue by alleviating poverty and relieving suffering. If you see people in difficult situations, constantly cultivate a heart-mind of assistance and liberation. At times, you should persuade suitable people to enter the Dao and engage in cultivation. In whatever you do, put others first and yourself last. Be selfless when relating to the myriad beings. This is perfect practice.”

I humbly wish that all adepts may soon receive [these instructions] and [attain] clearness of apprehension.

Beyond certain instructional departures,²² the similarities of terminology and pedagogic methodology between the texts are significant.

²¹ Perfected Jin 晉 most likely refers to Jin Daocheng 晉道成 (Chongzhen 崇真 [Exalted Perfection]; fl. 1110?) (Eskildsen 2004, 7, 216, n. 46). In particular, the reference is to the *Jin zhenren yulu* 晉真人語錄 (Discourse Record of Perfected Jin; DZ 1056), which seems to have influenced Wang Chongyang's teachings. Some lesser known works associated with Wang Chongyang appear in sections 4b–8b of that text. The passage paralleling the above quotation appears in section 3a. A reference to the *Jin zhenren yulu* also appears in the “Changzhen Tan xiansheng shi menren yulu” 長真譚先生示門人語錄 (Discourse Record of Venerable Tan Changzhen, as Revealed to His Disciples; *Zhenxian yulu*, DZ 1256, 1.10b).

²² Most notable in this regard is Wang Chongyang's emphasis in the present context on not becoming attached to methods, specifically sitting meditation. In contrast, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* advocates the practice of transformative techniques, referred to as “exercises of perfection” (*zhengong* 真功). One explanation for this is the context-specific nature of Quanzhen teachings. The “Yuhua she shu” was intended for a lay audience, while the *Jinguan yusuo jue* was intended for elite religious specialists. Both Judith Boltz and Vincent Goossaert have noted this characteristic of the early Quanzhen textual corpus. According to Goossaert, “Our lack of a fundamental text defining a Quanzhen identity is not an effect of faulty transmission. There was indeed no such thing as a specific Quanzhen scriptural tradition, because there is no Quanzhen revealed scripture. Of course, Wang Zhe, later Quanzhen masters, as well as number

Both texts emphasize cultivation and perfect accomplishment (*zhengong* 真功), specifically through purifying the heart-mind and developing clarity and stillness. As noteworthy, in both texts the author attempts to back up his views by drawing support from earlier Daoist adepts and scriptural precedents.

The above evidence leads to the following conclusion: the *Jinguan yusuo jue* comes from the early historical phase of the Daoist religious movement known as Quanzhen, is an early Quanzhen text, and, as much as any extant writing, preserves some of the authentic teachings of Wang Chongyang. Furthermore, my opinion is that the *Jinguan yusuo jue* represents a compilation of oral instructions given by Wang Chongyang during various teachings sessions. Such teachings occurred primarily during Wang's time in Shandong, specifically while ministering to the five lay associations and while training his disciples at the Hermitage of Complete Perfection on Ma Danyang's estate and at the Cavern of Misty Vapors in the Kunyu mountains. This view would place the *Jinguan yusuo jue* in the incipient organized phase of early Quanzhen Daoism.

The collection effort was, in turn, most likely initiated and completed by one or more of Wang Chongyang's first-generation disciples, with the *Jinguan yusuo jue* being based on distinct transcriptions, short-hand notations, individual recollection, and communal discussion. From my perspective, this probably occurred immediately after the death of Wang Chongyang in 1170. At this time, Ma Danyang, Tan Changzhen, Liu Changsheng, and Qiu Changchun traveled to Shaanxi, where they met and lived with He Dejin and Li Lingyang, Wang's earlier companions, and Shi Chuhou, Yan Chuchang, and Liu Tongwei, Wang's earlier disciples (*Qizhen nianpu*, DZ 175, 9a–9b). The nine adepts constructed a tomb and small temple at the site in Liujiang village where Wang

contemporary religious seekers not belonging to the order met with immortals and received from them poems and oral instructions. These revelations, however, were of a personal nature and were not meant to be the basis of a written tradition. . . . The ultimate authority within the early Quanzhen order was not a fundamental text but the action and speech of the patriarchs and masters. . . . [T]he huge majority of Quanzhen literature is either performative or narrative: it proposes a detailed pedagogy in action, by exhorting adepts and telling the exemplary story of the order's patriarchs and former masters. It aims at convincing auditors and readers to join the order and imitate its patriarchs. As such, this literature can be considered a huge repertory of fragments of contextualized teachings that together form a Quanzhen lore" (2001, 120–21; see also Boltz 1987, 137–39; Schipper and Verellen 2004, vol. 2, 1127–33).

had burned down his meditation hut. They then retrieved Wang's body from Bianliang and interred it in the Liujiang temple, which became known as the Zuting 祖庭 (Ancestral Hall), later renamed Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Redoubled Yang) and Lingxu guan 靈虛觀 (Monastery of Numinous Emptiness). Here the adepts spent three years in mourning. Such unrestricted time, characterized by a high concentration of Wang's most intimate associates, would seem to have been a most opportune time for compiling, discussing, and reflecting upon Wang Chongyang's teachings. If such conjecture is convincing, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* would represent Wang's personal instructions to and the recollections of nine of his twelve most important associates. It also helps to explain the eclectic nature and entropic textual flow of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*. The collection effort may thus have occurred under the influence and direction of Ma Danyang, Wang Chongyang's senior disciple and then leader of the Quanzhen religious movement.²³

SURVEY OF CONTENTS

As mentioned, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* presents itself as “instructions” of Wang Chongyang. The complete title is the *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣 (Perfected Chongyang's Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock). The reference to Wang Zhe as Perfected Chongyang is, first, a sign of respect, as Chongyang 重陽 (Redoubled Yang) is his Daoist name and as Perfected can be used as an honorific title, similar to “master” (*shifu* 師父), “Daoist priest” (*daoshi* 道士), or “Daoist elder” (*daozhang* 道長) in contemporary usage. However, Perfected also may indicate that the given Daoist adept has reached a high level of spiritual attainment, specifically through alchemical praxis and transformation. The title suggests that Wang Chongyang has ascended to perfection, that is, merged with the Dao and joined the ranks of the immortals in one of the Daoist celestial realms. The other part of the title, “Gold Pass” and “Jade Lock,” relates to two specific passages in the text, wherein these technical internal alchemy terms appear (6b and 11b). The Gold Pass and Jade Lock are subtle body locations. The

²³ The compilation of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* by Wang's first-generation disciples may have established the model for later collection efforts, undertaken by a Quanzhen master's disciple(s) in order to preserve the given teacher's oral instructions. As mentioned, such texts include the *Danyang zhiyan*, *Qinghe yulu*, and *Qiyun yulu*.

general area of the Gold Pass remains somewhat obscure. It could be synonymous with the upper pass of Jade Capital or it could be a variant of the Gold Portal (*jinque* 金闕), a mystical brain cavity. The Jade Lock seems to refer to the “locking mechanism” of the jaw, whereby the upper and lower teeth are joined. The title of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* thus suggests that it documents Wang Chongyang's instructions on alchemical praxis.

Here I will not attempt a comprehensive inventory of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, as its eclecticism and complexity resists systematic exegesis.²⁴ Instead, I identify some of its most important and representative topics in order to trace its contours and provide some access into its textual landscape. As my extensive annotations indicate, the text is highly technical, complex, and wide-ranging. The text may, in turn, be approached beneficially in terms of three primary categories: (1) Practice Principles and Guidelines; (2) Transformational Techniques; and (3) Stages of Attainment.

As mentioned, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* consists of a series of questions by anonymous adepts, which are followed by Wang Chongyang's responses and instructions. The total number of questions amounts to thirty-two. However, many of the inquiries receive more than one answer, with the conclusion of one set of instructions being followed by another “Perfected Chongyang instructed” or “Perfected Chongyang responded.” In addition, many of the answers are far more detailed than the questions would seem to suggest or require.²⁵ For example, the sixth question, which centers on the failure of renunciants to complete the Dao, consists of at least five distinct responses, including discourses on clarity and stillness, greater and lesser transmissions, old age, sickness, and death, the Dao, and three transmissions associated with Lord

²⁴ On “tactics of resistance” in translation see Lawrence Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995) and *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, and Ideology* (1992).

²⁵ In this sense, it is possible that the question-and-answer format, specifically the introductory questions, were supplied by the text's redactors. In his critical study of the textual history of the *Huangdi neijing suwen* (Yellow Thearch's Inner Classic: Basic Questions; DZ 1020), Unschuld makes a similar point. Here Unschuld, citing the work of Hermann Tessenow, provides the following insight: “Most of the dialogues . . . were the work of compilers who constructed them as a device to link originally separate texts. The questions and answers put in the mouths of Huang Di and his partners allowed them [the compilers] to provide introductions and transitions from one theme to another. Only in a few instances, as for example in the first part of *Su wen* 19, should the dialogue be considered a structural characteristic of the primary text” (8–9).

Topical Outline

Subtle Principles of Cultivating Perfection (1a)	Reasons for Ugliness and Beauty (11a)
Method for Refining the Five Phases (1a–2a)	Controlling Demons (11a–12a)
Reasons for Early Death (2b)	Method of the Three Transmissions (12a–13a)
Reasons for Deathlessness (2b)	Ranks of Spirit Immortals (13a)
Celibacy as Insufficient (2b–3a)	Prohibitions and Avoidances (13b)
Embracing the One (4a)	The Origin of Disease (13b)
Enriching the Country (4b)	The Eight Deviations (13b–15b)
Strengthening the Army (4b–5a)	Ways to Cure Disease (15b–16a)
Responses to External Distractions (5b–6a)	Regulating Yin-ghosts (16a)
Responses to Difficulties (6a)	A Dose Revisited (16a–16b)
Signs of Death (6a–6b)	Dangers of Being Overweight (16b–17b)
Tethering the White Ox (6b)	Seated Meditation (17b)
Storing the Three Treasures (7a–7b)	Exploring the Proper Route (17b–20a)
Stabilizing the Central Qi (7b–9a)	Orb Disharmony (20b–21a)
The Seven Reversions (9a–9b)	Visualization Method for Attaining Perpetual Life (21a–22a)
A Dose (10a)	Disease Categories and Related Methods (22a)
Reasons for Unexpected Sickness and Death (10b)	Three Kinds of Inappropriate Students (22b–23a)
Reasons for Childhood Sickness and Death (10b)	Final Admonitions (23a)

Lao (2b–4a). Still, the questions and their corresponding answers do help to orient one to the text. Based on the thirty-two questions and corresponding answers that make up the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, the above topical outline may be constructed.

From this topical survey, one may note a number of defining characteristics of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*. First, sickness, impermanence, and the givenness of death are central concerns. Second, the text is an instruction manual, addressing the particular difficulties and concerns

that emerge during personal religious praxis. The topics discussed hint at a cultivational community dedicated to rarification, alchemical transformation, and self-divinization; the *Jinguan yusuo jue* documents the inquiries of engaged adepts and the answers of a teacher who embodies both a soteriological depth and a transformational presence. Finally, intensive and dedicated self-cultivation is the foundation of the religious system embraced and advocated in the *Jinguan yusuo jue*.

The opening sections of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* offer some insight into the foundations of Quanzhen religious praxis. The aspiring adept must abandon patterns of dissipation and establish a firm root in ethical rectification and purification. The former includes becoming free from ignorance and vexations, both Buddhist technical terms relating to impurities of consciousness and karmic hindrances. Wang Chongyang also advises practitioners to sever ties to greed and craving, as well as to alcohol, sex, wealth, and anger. The latter are the Four Hindrances, identified in early Quanzhen Daoism as some of the most disruptive psychosomatic influences. Wang emphasizes the importance of precept study and adherence, so that adepts develop ethical and spiritual integrity. Purified of delusions and harmful behavior patterns, one may become free from egocentrism and the mistaken view of own-being. Such self-refinement and ethical rectification are the ground for more advanced religious training. Wang implies that without virtue, both inwardly realized and outwardly expressed, alchemical praxis will be an empty endeavor. In contrast, self-purification, understood as both the purification of consciousness and the accumulation of merit through good deeds, is necessary before one can begin practicing “exercises of perfection.”²⁶ Such alchemical methods include time-specific aspects, such as energetic cycles and cosmological affinities. In various places, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* reads like a list of such transformative techniques, suggesting that adepts listening to Wang’s teachings often had already received personal instruction and that such knowledge, experiential understanding through individual practice, was assumed. The following exercises and methods are mentioned in the text:²⁷

²⁶ Interestingly, in early Quanzhen praxis, *gong* 功 has various levels of meaning, including merit, accomplishment, and exercise. Similarly, *xing* 行 may mean good deeds as well as practice. Such multi-layered technical terminology suggests an interconnection between ethical integrity and spiritual realization.

²⁷ Only some of the methods are described in any detail.

Methods Mentioned in the Text

Method for Refining the Five Phases (1b–2a)	Method of Clarity and Stillness (12a, 17b)
Method for Embracing the One (4a)	Method of Threading the Nine Curves (12a)
Method for Enriching the Country (4b)	Method of the Nine-times Reverted Elixir (12b, 22a)
Method of Battle and Victory (4b)	Method of the Nine-layered Iron Drum (12b, 22a)
Immortal's Fishing Method (6b)	Method of Threading the Nine Curves with the Illuminated Pearl (12b)
Method for Mechanically Issuing Water to Ascend the Other Shore (6b)	Method for Cultivating and Nourishing (16b)
Method for Stabilizing the Three Treasures (6b)	Method of Extracting the Embryo and Changing the Bones (20a)
Method of Reeds and Sprouts Threading the Knee (7a, 7b, 12b, 16b, 22a)	Method of Descending to the Celestial Pass and Earth Pivot (21b)
Method of the Seven-times Reverted Elixir (7a)	Method of the Prince Roaming through the Four Gates (22a)
Exercise of the Iron Cart and Black Ox (7a)	Method of the Golden Whip and Familiar Wheel (22a)
Method of Flying the Gold Crystal behind the Elbow (7a, 7b)	Method of Xian Yuan [the Yellow Thearch] Passing Over Fire (22a)
Method of Transporting Vital Essence behind the Elbow to Restore the Brain (7a)	Method of Jade Maidens Massaging the Body (22a)
Method of Extracting to Replenish and Adding to Diminish (10a)	Zhongli [Quan's] Method of the Sword Behind the Back (22a)
Method of Irrigating and Visualizing (11a)	Venerable Lü [Dongbin's] Fishing Method (22a)
Method for Cultivating Alignment (11b)	Chen Xiyi's [Chen Tuan's] Great Sleeping Method (22a)

The *Jinguan yusuo jue* unfolds as instructions on alchemical praxis and transformation as well as on mystical realization. In order to join the ranks of Perfected and immortals, the adept must become dedicated to a process that will result in a shift in ontological condition, a movement

from ordinary and habituated being to realized and transformed being, from egoistically-limited and karmically-determined self to mystically-absorbed and cosmologically-attuned transcendence. This involves religious training, specifically the practice of techniques based on conservation and transformation. In the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, Wang Chongyang instructs his disciples to recognize the multi-layered aspects of their existence, the correspondence between universe and self, as well as the energetic influences of seasonal cycles and cosmological shifts. Through self-observation and systematic training, the adept may come to recognize the resonance between external and internal worlds. This mystical immersion both underlies and results from alchemical praxis.

ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

PERFECTED CHONGYANG'S INSTRUCTIONS
ON THE GOLD PASS AND JADE LOCK*

Written by Wang Zhe 王嘉,
Master Chongyang 重陽 of the Zhongnan 終南 mountains

Someone asked, “What are the subtle principles for cultivating perfection (*xiuzhen* 修真)?”¹

Perfected Chongyang² responded, “First, you must remove ignorance (*wuming* 無明)³ and vexations (*fannao* 煩惱).⁴ Second, you must get rid

* Translation of the *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣, DZ 1156. Many of the following annotations have benefited from those contained in Hachiya 1972. When annotations parallel those of Hachiya, I have always consulted the original texts and identified the relevant passages. In addition, I have, for the most part, departed from Hachiya's practice of citing texts dating later than the thirteenth century (e.g., the seventeenth-century *Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨, JHL 67, ZW 314). Rather than cite Hachiya throughout, I have provided a comparative chart of his annotated study with the edition found in the Ming-dynasty Daoist Canon. Some of the various technical terminology is discussed in the following publications: Needham et al. 1983; Baldrian-Hussein 1984; Baryosher-Chemouny 1996; Pregadio and Skar 2000. See also Appendix Five: Towards a Technical Glossary of Early Quanzhen Daoism.

¹ “Cultivating perfection” (*xiuzhen* 修真) is a central concept in Song-dynasty internal alchemy lineages. “Perfection” refers to both the Dao in its completeness and the completion of alchemical training. The reference to “cultivating perfection” also recalls a seminal collection of Song-dynasty Daoist texts, namely, the *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 (Ten Works on Cultivating Perfection; DZ 263). The *Xiuzhen shishu* is an anonymous anthology of internal alchemy texts, which was compiled around 1300 and gathers together Gold Elixir (*jindan* 金丹) works associated with the so-called Nanzong 南宗 (Southern Lineage). See Boltz 1987, 234–37; Pregadio and Skar 2000, 478. For some appearances of *xiuzhen* in Wang Chongyang's poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.7b, 2.13b, 2.17b, 6.9b. On the meaning of *xiuzhen* in Daoism see Li 1991, 387; Min and Li 1994, 728; Hu 1995, 979.

² Throughout the present translation, I have supplied the assumed subject “Perfected Chongyang,” understanding “Perfected” (*zhenren* 真人) as similar to “master” without the sp. connotation of domination implied in the latter term.

³ Reading *wuming* 無明 (“without intelligence”) for *wuming* 無名 (“without names”). The former is a Buddhist technical term referring to ignorance (Skt.: *widyā*) of the true nature of existence, namely, impermanence. In this sense, it is ignorance understood as the state of being unenlightened. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 379–80; Ding 1939, 2158; Xingyun 1989, 5094, 5096. A searchable online version of the *Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典 is available at <<http://sql.fgs.org.tw/webfd>>.

⁴ Buddhism. *Fannao* is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit *klesa*. It refers to

of greed and craving, alcohol and sex, wealth and anger.⁵ This is the method of cultivation (*xiuxing* 修行).⁶

“Now then, the body of each human being contains the principles of the heavens and earth.⁷ Heaven and earth are what house and nourish

pain, affliction, distress, worry, trouble, or whatever causes such conditions. In Chinese Buddhism, *fannaō* refers to delusions generated by desire and ignorance which disturb the mind. There are both basic and derivative forms of vexation. The six basic forms include covetousness (Chn.: *tan* 貪; Skt.: *rāga*), anger (Chn.: *chen* 嗔; Skt.: *pratigha*), ignorance (Chn.: *chi* 痴; Skt.: *mūḍha*), arrogance (Chn.: *man* 慢; Skt.: *māna*), doubt (Chn.: *yi* 疑; Skt.: *vicikitsā*), and false views (Chn.: *jian'e* 見惡; Skt.: *drsti*). See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 406; Ding 1939, 2410, 2492, Xingyun 1989, 5515. The term also appears in the eighth-century Daoist *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620): “When coveting and searching are born, then there are troubles and vexations. Troubles, vexations, deviations, and illusions cause grief and suffering for body and heart-mind” (2a).

⁵ These and related psycho-physiological dimensions of human being were identified as sources of dissipation as early as the “classical period” of Daoism, here understood to include the Warring States (480–222 B.C.E.) and Early Han dynasty (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.). For instance, the early fourth century B.C.E. “Neiye” 內業 (Inward Training) chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子 (Book of Master Guan) explains, “[Qi] is inevitably lost because of sorrow, happiness, joy, anger, desire, and profit-seeking. If you can cast off sorrow, happiness, joy, anger, desire, and profit-seeking, the heart-mind will naturally return to equanimity” (ch. 3; see Roth 1999, 50–51). See also chapter 2 of the fourth-century B.C.E. *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Book of Master Zhuang; DZ 670; trl. Watson 1968) and chapter 39 of the Han-dynasty (Early: 202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.; Later: 25–221) *Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問 (Yellow Thearch’s Inner Classic: Basic Questions; DZ 1018; trl. Veith 1972). In terms of early Quanzhen sources, the *Quanzhen ji*, contains a series of poems on these subjects (DZ 1153, 1.18a–19b). In the *Jiaohua ji*, under the poem “Hua Danyang” 化丹陽 (Converting Danyang), we find the following: “Those cultivating the Dao (*xiudao* 修道) must first sever their dependency on these twelve things: Alcohol, sex, wealth, anger (*qi* 氣), craving, karma, selfish love, recollection, grief, anxiety, rumination, and scheming” (DZ 1154, 2.3b). Alcohol, sex, wealth, and anger were identified as the Four Hindrances (*sihai* 四害) in early Quanzhen. See *Jianwu ji*; DZ 1142, 2.3a; *Jinyu ji*, 1149, 3.2b.

⁶ The *Ershisi jue* defines “cultivation” (*xiu* 修) as relating to the perfected body (*zhenshen* 真身), while “practice” (*xing* 行) relates to innate nature (*xing* 性) and life-destiny (*ming* 命) (DZ 1158, 2a). Here I translate *xiuxing* as a compound referring to Daoist cultivation. A series of poems by Wang Chongyang entitled “Xiuxing” 修行 (Cultivation) appears in the *Quanzhen ji* (DZ 1153, 1.14a–16b), while a series of poems by Qiu Changchun entitled “Xiudao” 修道 (Cultivating the Dao) appears in the *Panxi ji* (DZ 1159, 4.13b–15a). For some appearances of *xiuxing* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.3a, 1.5a, 1.7a, 1.11b, 1.14a–16b, 1.20b, 1.22b, 3.1b, 3.16b, 4.6b, 5.9b, 9.4a, 10.3a; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 2.4a.

⁷ A possible allusion to the sixth-century Daoist *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31): “Heaven and earth steal from the ten thousand beings; the ten thousand beings steal from humans; humans steal from the ten thousand beings. When the Three Thieves (*sansai* 三賊) are correctly ordered, the Three Powers (*sancui* 三才) are then at peace” (1b). The Three Powers in turn refer to heaven, earth, and humans.

the ten thousand beings.⁸ The ten thousand beings are what fill the space between the heavens and earth. **[1b]** The elevated brilliance and vast expansiveness of the heavens and earth have never been hidden by the ten thousand beings. Humans focusing on cultivation, in responding to the various affairs, should embody this.”

Someone objected saying, “The heavens may be dark and obscure; the earth may move and quake.⁹ Mountains may collapse and be destroyed; the oceans may dry up and be depleted. The sun and moon have their periods of waxing and waning. Moreover, humans have sickness and impermanence. How should one regulate (zhi 治) this?”¹⁰

Perfected Chongyang responded, “If you wish to regulate this, there is no other response than realizing the Most High [Lord Lao’s]¹¹ Method for Refining the Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行).”¹²

⁸ Classical Daoism. In chapter 42 of the *Daode jing* 道德經 (Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power), there is the following cosmogonic description: “The Dao generated the One; the One generated the two; the two generated the three; the three generated the ten thousand beings. The ten thousand beings carry yin and embrace yang; it is the empty qi (*chongqi* 沖氣) that harmonizes these.”

⁹ Regarding the meaning of heaven and earth, Ma Danyang has suggested, “A scripture [*Qingjing jing*, DZ 620, 1b] says, ‘If you can be constantly clear and still, heaven and earth will completely return.’ This ‘heaven and earth’ does not refer to the heaven and earth that cover and uphold [human beings]; they refer to the heaven and earth inside the body. Above the diaphragm is ‘heaven,’ while below the diaphragm is ‘earth.’ If heaven’s qi descends and earth’s vessels are pervaded (*tong* 通), the upper and lower [areas of the body] become infused and harmonized. Vital essence and qi become naturally secured” (*Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 6a)

¹⁰ The character *zhi* 治 may receive various translations depending on context, including “to govern,” “to regulate,” and “to heal.” It should be kept in mind that in the Daoist tradition “governing the country” (*zhiguo* 治國) often relates to “regulating the body” (*zhishen* 治身), with the body seen as an internal landscape or country. For example, in the Heshang gong 河上公 (Master Dwelling-by-the-River) commentary on the *Daode jing* (DZ 682, ch. 59), we are told that “the country is the body.” In commenting on the line “governing the country is like frying a small fish” (ch. 60), the same commentary explains, “If governing the country is disturbed, then inferiors are rebellious. When regulating the body is disturbed, vital essence is scattered.”

¹¹ Here and throughout the present translation I take *taishang* 太上 (“great high”) as a short-hand for *Taishang laojun* 太上老君 (Great High Lord Lao). The viability of this interpretation/translation is validated by section 14b below, where we find the following: “Each person must recognize the patriarch, the ancestor, and the ranked tablet. The Great High [Lord Lao] is the patriarch. Śākyamuni Buddha is the ancestor. Kongzi (Confucius) is the ranked tablet.” On Lord Lao, the “divinized form” of Laozi, see Seidel 1969; Kohn 1998.

¹² Classical Chinese cosmology. Emphasis is placed on alterations of yin and yang

Someone asked, “What is this Method for [Refining] the Five Phases?”

Perfected Chongyang gave the following instructions: “First, you must observe the precepts (*chijie* 持戒)¹³ and develop clarity, stillness, forbearance, compassion, genuineness, and goodness. You must abstain from the ten evils,¹⁴ practice expedient means,¹⁵ and strive to save all

and the so-called “system of correspondences,” which centers on the Five Phases. The Five Phases include Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water. These Five Phases have various associations. See, for example, Porkert 1974; Matsumoto and Birch 1983; Kohn 2001. For some appearances of *wuxing* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.4b, 1.13b, 1.18b, 2.5b, 2.6a, 2.8a, 2.14b, 4.10b, 4.11a, 7.3b, 9.16a, 10.9a, 12.8b, 12.9b, 12.19a.

¹³ It is difficult to know to which precepts Wang Chongyang is referring. In the *Quanzhen ji* (DZ 1153, 2.24b), Wang mentions that a certain Buddhist (*fashi* 法師) named Ren 任 made him aware of eighteen precepts. However, no such list is extant. A set of ten admonitions attributed to Ma Danyang appears in the late thirteenth-century *Zhenxian yulu* (DZ 1256, 1.8b–9b). See Hachiya 1992, 346–50. Similarly, Liu Changsheng lists ten exhortations in his *Xianle ji* (DZ 1141, 2.18a–18b). A set of ten prohibitions associated with Wang Chongyang, entitled “Jiaozhu Chongyang dijun zefa bang” 教主重陽蒂君責罰榜 (Sovereign Lord Chongyang’s List of Prohibitions), appears in the late thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century *Quanzhen qinggui* 全真清規 (Pure Regulations of Complete Perfection; DZ 1235, 11b–13a). See Akizuki 1958; Yao 1980, 87–88; 2000, 588; Goossaert 1998, 282. These prohibitions clearly come from a much later date, after Quanzhen became fully established as a nationwide monastic order. Compare these ten precepts to those contained in the *Chuzhen shijie* 初真十戒 (Ten Precepts of Initial Perfection; DZ 180), “Xiuzhen shijie” 修真十戒 (Ten Precepts for Cultivating Perfection; *Xiuzhen shishu*, DZ 263, 8.1a–2a), and *Shijie jing* 十戒經 (Scripture of Ten Precepts; DZ 459). A set of ten precepts also occupies a central place in the seventeenth-century *Chuzhen jie* 初真戒 (Precepts of Initial Perfection; JY 292; ZW 404), a Longmen precept text compiled by Wang Changyue 王常月 (Kunyang 崑陽 [Paradisical Yang]; d. 1680). On Quanzhen precepts see Goossaert 1998, 133–36, 259–301, 509–29. A translation of the *Chuzhen jie* appears in Kohn 2004a. For insights on Daoist precepts more generally see Hendrischke and Penny 1996; Schipper 2001; Kohn 2004a. The *Chuzhen jie* remains a central part of contemporary Quanzhen monasticism. See Min 1990, 67–73, 107–8.

¹⁴ Buddhism. *Shi’è* 十惡 is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit *dasakuśāla*. The ten evil deeds are killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, lying, slander, coarse language, equivocating, coveting, anger, and false views. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 50; Ding 1939, 252, 2052; Xingyun 1989, 471.

¹⁵ Buddhism. *Fangbian* 方便 is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit *upāya*. Usually translated as “skillful means,” *upāya* refers to teachings adapted to the listener’s cognitive abilities and suited to specific conditions. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 154; Ding 1939, 620–21; Xingyun 1989, 1435. Skillful means involve teaching according to the capacity of the hearer through any suitable method. One of the most well-known expressions of expedient means appears in chapter three of the *Lotus Sūtra*, wherein one finds the Parable of the Burning House (see Watson 1993, 56–79). For some occurrences of “burning house” (*huoyuan* 火院) in the early Quanzhen literature

sentient beings.¹⁶ You must also be loyal to the ruler and king,¹⁷ and be filial and reverent to parents and teachers. This is the method of cultivation. Then and only then can you practice the exercises of perfection (*zhengong* 真功).¹⁸

Perfected Chongyang also instructed, “You must first recognize that in the human body east and west correspond to [the branches and stems of] *geng*, *jià*, *mao*, and *you*.¹⁹ Second, you must recognize that in

see, for example, *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 1.8b, 1.9b; *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.14b; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 3.4a, 5.4a.

¹⁶ Buddhism. The commitment to “save all sentient beings” relates to the “bodhisattva ideal” of Mahāyāna Buddhism, that is, universal enlightenment. This stands in contrast to the “arhat ideal” of Theravāda (a.k.a. Hīnayāna) Buddhism, which emphasizes liberation for oneself. The path of the bodhisattva is discussed throughout the *Jingang jing* 金剛經 (Vajra-cchedikā Sūtra; Diamond Sūtra; T. 235–37, 273, 2734; trl. Red Pine 2001). For example, “The Buddha said to him, ‘Subhuti, those who would now set forth on the bodhisattva path should thus give birth to this thought: “However many beings there are in whatever realms of being might exist, whether they are born from an egg or from a womb, born from the water or born from the air; whether they have form or no form, whether they have perception or no perception or neither perception nor no perception, in whatever conceivable realm of being one might conceive of beings, in the realm of complete nirvana I shall liberate them all. And though I thus liberate countless beings, not a single being is liberated”’” (Red Pine 2001, 2–3). The *Diamond Sūtra*, part of the Perfection of Wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*) family of texts (see Conze 1973; 1975) and related to the seventh-century *Xinjing* 心經 (Heart Sūtra; T.250–57) (see Nattier 1992), is mentioned in the *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.12b, 3.6b; *Ershisi jue*, DZ 1158, 4a. For references to the *Heart Sūtra* see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 5.3a, 12.5a; also Hachiya 1992, 150–51.

¹⁷ This parallels the first admonition in Ma Danyang’s Ten Admonitions, as appearing in the late thirteenth-century *Zhenxian yulu* (DZ 1256, 1.8b–9b), and the first monastic guideline of the “Jiaozhu Chongyang dijun zefa bang” (*Quanzhen qinggui*, DZ 1235, 11b–13a).

¹⁸ *Gong* 功, in the context of Buddhist doctrinal explanations, conventionally refers to “merit.” In the present text and throughout Quanzhen literature, *gong* may refer to a number of specific things. These include merit, accomplishment, and exercises. For some appearances of *zhengong* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 5.10a, 6.1b, 7.4b, 9.5a; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 3.6a, 3.7b.

¹⁹ Traditionally speaking, the ten celestial stems (*tiangan* 天干) (*jià*, *yi*, *bing*, *dīng*, *wu*, *ji*, *geng*, *xīn*, *rén*, and *guì*) and twelve terrestrial branches (*dizhi* 地支) (*zī*, *chou*, *yīn*, *mao*, *chen*, *sì*, *wu*, *wei*, *shen*, *you*, *xu*, and *hai*) were used in Chinese culture as time measurements. They may refer to times of the day, seasonal divisions, or yearly cycles. They also have yin-yang, Five Phase and directional associations. For example, according to the *Dadan zhizhi* (DZ 244; trl. Belamide 2002), “Constantly follow the movement of qi. During the time of *mao* [5am–7am], observe (*guan* 觀) the liver. The qi of the liver appears azure [in color]. During the time of *wu* [11am–1pm], observe the heart. The qi of the heart appears red [in color]. During the time of *you* [5pm–7pm], observe the lungs. The qi of the lungs appears white [in color]. During the time of *zī* [11pm–1am], observe the kidneys. The qi of the kidneys appears black [in

the body north and south correspond to [the trigrams] Kan-water and Li-fire²⁰ as well as to lead and mercury.²¹

[2a] “*Geng* 庚 with *jia* 甲 and *mao* 卯 with *you* 酉²² correspond to day and night, respectively. *Jia* and *mao* correspond to the

color]. The qi of the five colors emerges inside the pot as the region of perfection (*zhenjing* 真境)” (2.4a).

²⁰ Two of the eight trigrams. The eight trigrams are the eight three-line diagrams of the *Yijing* 易經 (Classic of Changes), which combine to form the sixty-four hexagrams (six-line diagrams), believed to represent all possible changes and transformations (based on yin-yang interaction) in the cosmos. Also used symbolically in internal alchemy, they are as follows: (1) Qian-heaven ☰, (2) Kun-earth ☷, (3) Li-fire, (4) Kan-water ☵, (5) Dui-lake ☱, (6) Zhen-thunder ☳, (7) Sun-wind ☴, and Gen-mountain ☶. Kan-water is usually associated with the kidneys and thus with vital essence, while Li-fire is usually associated with the heart and thus with spirit. According to the tenth-century *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, 14–16; url. Wong 2000), “Zhen-thunder is the liver; Kan-water is the kidneys; and Gen-mountain is the bladder... Sun-wind is the gall bladder; Li-fire is the heart; and Dui-lake is the lungs” (14.11b). According to the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 (Great Compendium of the Gold Elixir; DZ 263, 9–13), “The head is Qian-heaven; the feet are Kun-earth; the bladder is Gen-mountain; the gall-bladder is Sun-wind; the kidneys are Kan-water; the heart is Li-fire; the liver is Zhen-thunder; and the lungs are Dui-lake” (10.12b). On the eight trigrams as well as Kan-water and Li-fire in Daoism see Li 1991, 24, 308, 309, 439; Min and Li 1994, 40, 520, 521, 827; Hu 1995, 707, 1152.

²¹ In the *Quanzen ji*, we find a series of poems entitled “*Xiuxing*” 修行 (Cultivation). Here Wang Chongyang explains, “When Water and Fire meet, they open the proper route. When Wood and Metal separate, they stabilize longevity. The black lead and crimson mercury divide south and north. The white tiger and azure dragon exchange *jia* and *geng*” (DZ 1153, 1.15ab). According to the *Ershisi jue* (DZ 1158, 1b), lead corresponds to original spirit and thus to innate nature, while mercury corresponds to original qi and thus to life-destiny. The *Danyang yulu* explains, “Spirit and qi are innate nature and life-destiny. Innate nature and life-destiny are the dragon and tiger. The dragon and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water and fire. Water and fire are the Child (*ying'er* 嬰兒) and Maiden (*chanü* 姘女). The Child and Maiden are perfect yin and perfect yang” (DZ 1057, 15b). Concerning the internal body cycles, the tenth-century *Chuandao ji* has the following: “You must first know how to follow the principle of the ascent and descent of heaven and earth. Model yourself after the numerics (*shu*) of the birth and completion of the sun and moon. Apply the yearly and monthly cycles within the body. Apply the hourly changes within each day” (DZ 263, 14.4b).

²² *Geng* corresponds directionally to west, while *jia* corresponds to east. *Mao* corresponds directionally to east, while *you* corresponds to west. According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “This method is called the ‘original method for refining qi to complete spirit.’ It uses the hours of *zi* [11pm–1am], *wu* [11am–1pm], *mao* [5am–7am], and *you* [5pm–7pm]. On the *jia* and *yi* days, refine the liver. On the *bing* and *ding* days, refine the heart. On the *geng* and *xin* days, refine the lungs. On the *ren* and *gui* days, refine the kidneys. The spleen is not engaged. Store the refined qi in the four yin-orbs. On the *wu* and *ji* days [associated with the spleen], do not practice. Such are the days for refining the five

qi²³ of the liver orb.²⁴ Among the Eight Nodes (*bajie* 八節),²⁵ they correspond to the beginning of spring and the vernal equinox.²⁶ Within the mouth, they correspond to the *jin*-fluids.²⁷ *Geng* and *you* correspond to the qi of the lung orb. Among the Eight Nodes, they correspond to the beginning of autumn and the autumnal equinox.²⁸ Within the mouth, they correspond to the *ye*-fluids. Kan-water and Li-fire correspond to [the associated phases of] winter and summer. Within the body, Li-fire and lead represent the qi of the heart orb. Among the Eight Nodes,

yin-orbs. On the *jia* and *yi* days, practice at the hour of *mao*. On the *bing* and *ding* days, practice at the hour of *wu*. On the *geng* and *xin* days, practice at the hour of *you*. On the *ren* and *gui* days, practice at the hour of *zi*. Such are the hours for refining the five yin-orbs” (1.1b–2a; also 2.3a–5a; cf. *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 16.12a–12b, 14a–14b; Wong 2000, 119, 121–23). On these branch-stem combinations in Daoism see Li 1991, 227, 360; Min and Li 1994, 392, 676; Hu 1995, 1195, 1198.

²³ Terms which have now become common in English usage will not be italicized; these include qi (“subtle breath”), yin, and yang.

²⁴ “Orb” translates the Chinese terms *zang* 臟/藏 (lit., “storehouse”; yin-orb) and *fu* 腑/府 (lit., “receptacle”; yang-orb), which on one level roughly correspond to the Western anatomical organs. “Orb” more adequately captures the process-oriented and qi-based view of classical Chinese medicine. See Porkert 1974, 107–66. On the functions and associations of the orbs see, e.g., Ross 1985; Maciocia 1989, 67–121; Katchuk 2000 (1983), 75–104.

²⁵ The Eight Nodes are the beginning of the four seasons, the solstices, and the equinoxes. As the traditional Chinese calendar is based on lunar cycles, the dates of these time periods vary when using the Gregorian calendar utilized in the West, based as it is on solar cycles. The Eight Nodes are also mentioned in sections 8b and 13b below. For some appearances of *bajie* and the stems and branches in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.13b, 1.17a, 2.15b, 3.2a, 3.16b, 5.3b, 8.6a, 8.7b–8.9b, 8.11b, 9.4b, 9.10b, 9.14b, 9.15a, 10.4a, 10.19a, 11.5b, 12.8b.

²⁶ These approximately correspond to February 5th and March 20th, respectively.

²⁷ In terms of classical Chinese medicine, *ye* 液-fluids are distributed to the yin-orbs and yang-orbs, bones and joints, brain and marrow, but do not flow with the qi and blood. They are thick and viscous, move slowly, and function as a moistening lubricant and supplement to the vital essence, especially in the deep yin areas of the body, such as the joints and marrow. *Jin* 津-fluids follow the circulation of the qi and blood, and assist their smooth flow, spreading throughout the surface of the body to warm and moisten the muscles, flesh and orifices, and flush the skin with nourishment. The *jin*-fluids are thin, clear and watery, and flow quickly and easily. See chapters 13 and 36 of the *Huangdi neijing lingshu* 黃帝內經靈樞 (Yellow Thearch’s Inner Classic: Numinous Pivot; abbr. *Lingshu*; trl. Wu 1993). See also Clavey 1995. In internal alchemy, they are often referred to as “gold *jin*-fluids” (*jinjin* 金津) and “jade *ye*-fluids” (*yuye* 玉液). See Li 1991, 207; Min and Li 1994, 341, 343, 654; Hu 1995, 1176, 1212, 1293, 1354, 1375. According to the thirteenth-century *Wenchang dadong jing zhu* 文昌大洞仙經註 (Commentary on *Wenchang dadong jing* [DZ 5]; DZ 103), “There are two cavities beneath the tongue. The left one is called Gold Essence, while the right one is called Jade Fluids. When a person is sick, the tongue withers. Then spirit leaves. When spirit leaves, one dies” (7.22b).

²⁸ These approximately correspond to August 7th and September 23rd, respectively.

they correspond to the beginning of summer and the summer solstice.²⁹ Within the body, they correspond to the blood. Kan-water and mercury represent the qi of the kidney orb. Among the Eight Nodes, they correspond to the beginning of winter and the winter solstice.³⁰ Within the body, they correspond to vital essence.³¹ Vital essence generates the corporeal soul (*po* 魄). Blood generates the ethereal soul (*hun* 魂).³² Vital essence corresponds to innate nature. Blood corresponds to life-destiny.³³ Humans who completely realize innate nature and life-destiny understand that this is the method of perfect cultivation.

“Vital essence and blood are the roots of the flesh and body. The perfect qi (*zhenqi* 真氣)³⁴ is the root of innate nature and life-destiny.

²⁹ These approximately correspond to May 5th and June 21st, respectively.

³⁰ These approximately correspond to November 7th and December 21st, respectively.

³¹ Vital essence is the most substantial of the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶), namely, vital essence, qi, and spirit. Often associated with semen in men and menstrual blood in women, vital essence relates to the kidneys and to vitality and sexuality. It determines growth, reproduction, development, sexual maturation, conception, and pregnancy.

³² Drawing attention to etymological roots, some translators (Edward Schafer, Stephen Bokenkamp, Robert Campany, etc.) have translated these terms as “white soul” (*po*) and “cloud soul” (*hun*), respectively. The classical Chinese worldview conceives of the human being as comprised of two “souls,” both ephemeral in nature. Yin in nature, the corporeal soul resides in the lungs and relates to the body and emotionality. At death, it is said to descend into the earth with the flesh and bones, eventually dissolving with them. Yang in nature, the ethereal soul resides in the liver and relates to an etheric form and dreams. At death, it is said to abandon the body and ascend to the heavens, eventually dissolving into the cosmos. These “souls” are sometimes identified as multiple in number: seven *po* and three *hun*.

³³ Innate nature (*xing* 性) and life-destiny (*ming* 命) are key concepts in Quanzhen Daoism in particular and internal alchemy traditions more generally. Innate nature is associated with mind, consciousness, and spirit, while life-destiny is associated with the body, physicality, and the psycho-physiological basis of life. According to the *Shiwu lun*, “Innate nature is spirit; life-destiny is qi... Innate nature and life-destiny are the roots of cultivation and practice” (DZ 1233, 4b). The *Ershisi jue* gives the following definitions: “Innate nature is original spirit; life-destiny is original qi... Spirit is the dragon; qi is the tiger. These also relate to innate nature and life-destiny, respectively” (DZ 1158, 1ab). An earlier Tang-dynasty manual on inner observation, the eighth-century *Neiguan jing* 內觀經 (Scripture on Inner Observation; DZ 641; also DZ 1032, 17.1a–6b; trl. Kohn 1989), provides the following definitions: “The life that people receive from the Dao is called life-destiny. The form [or, “body”] that people receive from the One is called innate nature” (3b). This text also describes the nature of the heart-mind, intention, will, wisdom, ethereal soul, corporeal soul, blood, vital essence, and so forth (see Kohn 1989, 212–13). For some appearances in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.8a, 3.5b, 4.11b, 7.5b, 10.12b, 12.8b; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1155, 2.6b. For some insights concerning innate nature and life-destiny in Daoism see Li 1991, 361; Min and Li 1994, 678; Hu 1995, 451, 1128.

³⁴ Perfect qi, often translated as “true qi,” refers to the final stage in the process of refinement and transformation of qi; it is the qi which circulates in the meridians and nourishes the orbs. In classical Chinese medicine, perfect qi assumes two different forms:

Consequently, it is said that if there is blood, one can generate the perfect qi. When the perfect qi is strong and substantial, then one can naturally attain longevity. Assembling vital essence and blood completes physical form.”

[2b] Someone raised another question: “After becoming a person, what causes some people to live longer, while others die earlier?”

Perfected Chongyang answered, “Some people die earlier than others because the human heart-mind is attached to desires and pleasures, as well as to greed and the mundane world. Thus men dissipate their vital essence [semen], while women deplete their blood. Throughout the day, they do not remove ignorance and vexations; throughout the night, they do not expel the Three Death-bringers (*sanshi* 三尸)³⁵ and yin-ghosts (*yingu* 陰鬼).³⁶ Such men and women already reside in impermanence.”

nutritive qi (*yingqi* 營氣) and protective qi (*weiqi* 衛氣). Perfect qi is also sometimes used synonymously for original qi. In Quanzhen, perfect qi takes on the additional meaning of one’s original and undisrupted energetic aliveness. For example, Ma Danyang explains, “One who studies the Dao should not concern himself with anything besides nourishing qi. When the *ye*-fluids of the heart descend and the qi of the kidneys ascends to reach the spleen, the original qi will be vigorous and will not be dispersed. Then the elixir assembles” (*Danyang yulu*, DZ 1057, 4ab). For the meaning of *zhengqi* in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 792; Hu 1995, 1219.

³⁵ Beginning with the earlier Daoist tradition, the Three Death-bringers or Three Corpses, also known as the Three Worms (*sanchong* 三蟲), were seen as the sources of death and disease. The Three Death-bringers most often refer to three “biospiritual parasites” residing in the three elixir fields. Traditionally speaking, the Three Death-bringers were believed to want to free themselves either by accelerating the death of the body through diseases or by shortening the life-span through reporting a person’s faults to the celestial bureaucracy. Various malevolent intentions and activities are ascribed to the Three Death-bringers. The upper death-bringer or worm creates sensual desire and causes madness; the middle death-bringer generates greed for wealth and causes moodiness; and the lower death-bringer stimulates desire for elegant clothes, alcohol, and sex. They reside in the three primary energy centers of the body, namely, Palace of Nirvana (*nirwan gong* 泥九宮 [center of the head]), Scarlet Palace (*jiangong* 絳宮 [area below the heart]), and Ocean of Qi (*qihai* 氣海 [lower abdomen]). The ninth-century *Chu sanshi jiuchong jing* 除三尸九蟲經 (Scripture on Expelling the Three Death-bringers and Nine Worms; DZ 871, 7a–8a) contains illustrations of the Three Death-bringers, wherein they are identified as follows: Peng Ju 彭踞 (upper), Peng Zhi 彭質 (middle), and Peng Jiao 彭矯 (lower) (also DZ 817). Thus, they are sometimes referred to as the “Three Pengs.” Other texts, such as the *Sanchong zhongjing* 三蟲中經 (Central Scripture on the Three Worms; *Yunji qiqian*, DZ 1032; see Schipper 1981; Boltz 1987, 229–31), provide alternative names: Qinggu 青古 (Blue Decrepitude; upper), Baigu 白姑 (White Hag; middle), and Xueshi 血尸 (Bloody Corpse; lower) (81.15b–17a) (also DZ 303, 4a). See Kubo 1961; Maspero 1981, 331–39; Lévi 1983; 1989, 109–14; Yamada 1989, 102–3, 107–12; Eskildsen 1998, 46–49, 60–61; Company 2002, 49–52; Kohn 2002 (1998), 18–19. See also Li 1991, 45; Min and Li 1994, 73; Hu 1995, 965. The Three Death-bringers are also mentioned in section 4b, 10b, and 18a below.

³⁶ “Yin-ghosts” are dream-time phantasms. They are the objects of sexual attraction

Someone asked, “How is it that some people do not die?”

Perfected Chongyang responded, “Some people do not die because their bodies are clear and still (*qingjing* 清靜),³⁷ remaining undefiled. They conserve the perfect qi in the elixir field, so that vital essence and blood are not diminished. Such people do not die.”

An objection was raised: “I have often seen people who are clear and still and who, moreover, do not have marital relations (*xiuqi* 休妻). Nonetheless, they cannot complete the Dao. Why is this?”

Perfected Chongyang explained, “Even though these people are clear and still, they have not realized the accomplishment of perfect clarity and stillness. Even though their whole body is clear and still, they cannot stabilize (*ding* 定)³⁸ their vital essence and blood or nourish

that may lead to seminal emission, an acknowledged source of depletion in Daoism. According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “Guard against the yin-ghosts, external demons (*waimo* 外魔), Seven Po (*qipo* 七魄), and Three Death-bringers from dispersing celestial perfection by confusing the yang-spirit (*yangshen* 陽神) and inhibiting it from ascending to the Celestial Palace (*tiangong* 天宮)” (DZ 244, 2.2b). See also *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 2.3b, 2.5a; *Chuangdao ji*, DZ 263, 16.22ab. Yin-ghosts are also mentioned in section 4b, 10b and 16a below. Possibly a variant of “yin-demons” (*yinmo* 陰魔). See Li 1991, 304; Min and Li 1994, 506; Hu 1995, 1152. For some appearances of *sanshi*, *qipo*, and *yingui* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.12b, 4.11b, 8.7b, 12.15a, 12.20b.

³⁷ Clarity and stillness are central “concepts” in Quanzhen Daoism. They find their clearest expression in the eighth-century Daoist *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620; trl. Legge 1962 [1891], 247–54; Wong 1992; Kohn 1993, 25–29; see Komjathy 2003a). This scripture occupies a primary position in Quanzhen. In the *Danyang yulu*, we find the following: “Speaking of clarity and purity [stillness], clarity relates to clarifying the source of the heart-mind, while purity relates to purifying the Ocean of Qi. If the source of the heart-mind is clear, then external things cannot disturb you. Thus, clarity is stabilized and spirit illumination (*shenming* 神明) is born from it. If the Ocean of Qi is pure, then deviant desires cannot disrupt you. Thus, purity is complete and the belly [lower abdomen] is full” (DZ 1057, 8a). See Liu Tongwei’s commentary on the *Qingjing jing* (DZ 974). For some appearances in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.2a, 1.12a, 1.17a, 3.6a, 4.4b, 5.6b, 5.9b, 5.11a, 6.4a, 7.5b, 9.2b, 9.5a, 10.2b, 10.5a, 10.12a, 12.1a. On clarity and stillness in Daoism more generally see Li 1991, 475; Min and Li 1994, 885; Hu 1995, 1235.

³⁸ *Ding* is a Daoist technical term most often relating to meditation practice. On the most general level, *ding* is a more advanced state of stillness. In this sense, it may be translated as “stability,” “stabilization” or “concentration.” *Ding* and *jing* also relate to “observation” (*guan* 觀) and “calming” (*zhi* 止) practice. Much of this technical terminology appears in the fourth-century B.C.E. *Daode jing* (Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power). See, for example, ch. 16. This terminology became systematized in Tang-dynasty (618–907) manuals of observation and attaining the Dao, such as the *Neiguan jing* 內觀經 (Scripture on Inner Observation; DZ 641; trl. Kohn 1989) and the *Dingguan jing* 定觀經 (Scripture on Concentration and Observation; DZ 400; trl. 1987). On these and related texts see Kohn 1987; 1989; Kohn and Kirkland 2000. According to the *Shiwei lun*, “If the heart-mind is constantly deep, then it remains unmoving [unagitated].

the perfect qi. The bodies of such people may be clear, but their heart-minds are not clear; their bodies may be still, but their thoughts are not still.³⁹ **[3a]** How can one not listen to the words of the *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness)? ‘As for the Dao, there is clarity and turbidity; there is movement and stillness. Clarity is the source of turbidity; movement is the foundation of stillness.’⁴⁰ Another scripture⁴¹ says, ‘There is no defilement and no purity.’ If we speak of perfect clarity and stillness, there are no tears within the eyes, no mucous within the nose, and no spittle within the mouth.⁴² There is no activity in either the bladder or the bowels. In such a state, men nourish their vital essence, while women stabilize their blood. The ten thousand deviations (*xie* 邪) return to alignment (*zheng* 正);⁴³ the ten

Obscure and dark, it does not give attention to the ten thousand beings. Profound and vague, there is no such thing as internal or external. Not even the slightest trace of thought remains. This is the stabilized heart-mind (*dingxin* 定心). It needs no control. However, if the heart-mind is generated by pursuing external appearances (*jing* 境), it becomes upset and overturned, searching for the head and chasing after the tail. This is called the chaotic heart-mind (*luanxin* 亂心)” (DZ 1233, 3b–4a). In the present context, *ding* relates specifically to conserving the body’s vital substances.

³⁹ Here *qingjing* appears to take on the additional technical meaning of sexual abstinence. See also section 16a below.

⁴⁰ From the eighth-century *Qingjing jing*, DZ 620, 1a–1b.

⁴¹ From the seventh-century *Panruo xinjing* 般若心經 (Heart Sūtra of Perfect Wisdom, T. 250–57), a concise Buddhist text from the *prajñā-pāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom) family of texts (see Nattier 1992; also Conze 1973; 1975). This text also occupied a central place in Quanzhen Daoism. The *Heart Sūtra* in particular and the Perfection of Wisdom texts more generally emphasize *prajñā*, wisdom or insight. In these texts, silence is understood as the “perfection of wisdom,” as wisdom, all-knowing and all-penetrating, is deep, inconceivable and ineffable, transcending all concepts and words. Wisdom also sees the “emptiness” (Chn.: *kong* 空; Skt.: *śūnyatā*) of all phenomenal existence (Chn.: *fa* 法; Skt.: *dharma*). Everything existing is fundamentally “empty,” that is, absent of “own-being.”

⁴² The eighth-century *Yangxing yanming lu* 養性延命錄 (Record of Nourishing Innate Nature and Prolonging Life; DZ 838) explains, “Vital essence, spittle, tears, mucus, perspiration, and urination [all have the capacity] to injure humans” (2.5a). According to the fourteenth-century *Jiutian shengshen zhangjing zhu* 九天生神章經注 (Commentary on the *Jiutian shengshen zhangjing* [DZ 318]; DZ 398, 1.14a), “Daoist books mention the Eight Dissipations (*balou* 八漏): eye tears are liver leakage (*lou* 漏); nose mucus is lung leakage; mouth spittle is kidney leakage; external perspiration is heart leakage; ye-stealing perspiration is small intestine leakage; sleep drool is brain leakage; dream ghosts are spirit leakage; illicit desires are body leakage. When you stop the arising of these various leakages, if the heart lord (*xinjun* 心君) is stabilized, then [dissipation] stops.” Wang Chongyang is here suggesting that the loss of fluids and the resulting dissipation no longer occur.

⁴³ Generally speaking, I have translated *xie* as “deviant” or “perverse,” rather than the more conventional “evil” or “heterodox.” I have translated *zheng* as “aligned,” rather than the more conventional “upright” or “orthodox.” When the terms appear in the

thousand diseases are not generated. Only then is there the clarity and stillness of the elixir field.

“When people of today speak about clarity and stillness, they merely use one-sided designations (*jiaming* 假名).

“Now then, when engaging in cultivation, the internal and external should both be considered. I have not yet spoken of the greater transmission, but first I will speak of the lesser transmission.⁴⁴ The *Xinjing* 心經 (Heart Sūtra) says, ‘First you manage the lesser, and then the greater. Before one can speak of the future,⁴⁵ one must first speak about the present. The future is the fruit. The present is the effort.’ This sutra also says, ‘As merit is complete, so the fruit is full. I have not yet spoken the truth; thus, I have spoken the false.’ The unified numen (*yiling* 一靈) is real;⁴⁶ the four elements (*sida* 四大)⁴⁷ of body are false. If you

medical designations of *xieqi* 邪氣 (deviant qi) and *zhengqi* 正氣 (aligned qi), I have rendered the terms as “heteropathic qi” and “orthopathic qi,” respectively. Sometimes synonymous with perfect qi, orthopathic qi is qi flowing harmoniously and beneficially throughout the body and its ability to resist disease. Heteropathic qi is disruptive, injurious, and diseasing-causing, specifically qi relating to exterior pathogenic factors and the various causative factors of disease. See *Suwen*, ch. 32 and 72; Porkert 1979, 166–76; Maciocia 1989, 41–48; Unschuld 2003, 149–67. See also section 21a below.

⁴⁴ I am here translating *sheng* 乘 as “transmission,” although the conventional translation of “vehicle” is also implied. In the context of Buddhism, there are Three Vehicles (Chn.: *sansheng* 三乘; Skt.: *triyāna*): (1) Śrāvaka, that of the hearer or obedient disciples (Theravāda Buddhism); (2) Pratyeka-buddha, that of enlightenment for oneself (Theravāda Buddhism); and (3) Bodhisattva, that of the salvation of all beings (Mahāyāna Buddhism). See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 58; Ding 1939, 321–22; Xingyun, 557, 593. Also referred to as the Three Carts (*sanche* 三車), as mentioned, for example, in the Parable of the Burning House in the *Lotus Sūtra*. More conventionally, the “Greater Vehicle” refers to Mahāyāna, while the “Lesser Vehicle” refers to Theravāda. These terms are, of course, sectarian and were created by Mahāyāna proponents. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* explains, “The three completions (*sancheng* 三成) are the lesser completion, middle completion, and greater completion. The five classes of immortals (*wudeng* 五等) are ghost immortal, human immortal, terrestrial immortal, spirit immortal, and celestial immortal. . . . Human immortality does not surpass methods of the lesser completion; terrestrial immortality does not surpass methods of the middle completion; and celestial immortality does not surpass methods of the greater completion” (DZ 263, 14.2b–5b). Wang Chongyang is emphasizing interconnection in the present context.

⁴⁵ *Guoqu* 過去, usually translated as “the past” (lit., “[what one has] passed through”), in this context must be translated as “the future” (“[what one will] pass through”). *Guoqu* often appears as one of the “three time-periods,” which include past (*guoqu* 過去), present (*xianzai* 現在), and future (*weilai* 未來).

⁴⁶ That is, the numinous manifesting in/through/as one’s being; spirit in a condition of complete perfection. For some appearances of *yiling* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Qyanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 9.11a, 9.16b, 11.18a; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 2.6a.

⁴⁷ Classical Indian cosmology. The *catvāri mahābhūtāni* (*mahābhūta*), or the four elements, are earth, water, fire, and wind (or air). Buddhism adopted and emphasized

can refine the false and complete the real, there will be resonance and harmony. You will become unified.”

Perfected Chongyang also instructed, “If, at the present time, your whole body is calm and joyful, you have the lesser transmission. **[3b]** All of this is the root of the greater transmission. The initial step towards realizing the Dharma Mind (*faxin* 法心)⁴⁸ is the lesser transmission, which bears fruit to produce the greater transmission. The lesser transmission is the root, while the greater transmission is the branch.”

Perfected Chongyang also taught the following: “The branches and the root depend on each other. The branch borrows from the root to grow. Today people who practice cultivation remain unaware of how they came to acquire a body, and how the karmic connections (*luan* 緣) necessary for innate nature and destiny-life were generated.”

Perfected Chongyang also commented, “Nothing is ever separated from yin and yang; what lives must borrow vital essence from the father and blood from the mother. These two substances are the root of the body. All of the people of today who practice cultivation do not take care of their father’s essence and their mother’s blood.⁴⁹ They diminish and disperse their perfect qi and injure and squander their original yang (*yuanyang* 元陽).⁵⁰ Consequently, there is old age. When there is old age, there is sickness. Because of sickness, there is death. Thus there is impermanence. How can one not regulate this?”

“Now then, as for the perfect Dao, in emptiness there is solidity; in solidity, there is emptiness. A scripture says, ‘The great Dao is without form—it births and rears the heavens and the earth. The great Dao is without name—it grows and nourishes the ten thousand things.’⁵¹ Accordingly, from Perfection, innate nature is born. Being a person is

this cosmology, which stands in contrast to the Five Phases (Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water) of classical Chinese cosmology. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 173; Ding 1939, 374, 748; Xingyun, 1649. According to the *Ershisi jue*, “Heaven has four seasons (*sishi* 四時), and human beings have four elements (*sida* 四大). Heaven has earth, water, fire, and wind. Human beings have the heart-mind, vital essence, qi, and the body” (DZ 1158, 3a).

⁴⁸ The *dharma-buddhi*, or the mind’s capacity for enlightenment.

⁴⁹ According to the “Da Ma shifu shisi wen” 答馬師父十四問 (Responses to Teacher Ma’s Fourteen Questions; *Jin zhenren yulu*, DZ 1056, 6b–8b), associated with Wang Chongyang, “Lead is the father’s essence, while mercury is the mother’s blood. These also relate to innate nature and life-destiny and the dragon and tiger” (8a).

⁵⁰ Original yang refers to self in a purified and unified condition, one’s original/perfected condition of energetic aliveness and spiritual completeness.

⁵¹ From the eighth-century *Qingjing jing*, DZ 620, 1a.

also like this. In the past, Laojun 老君 (Lord Lao) refined [the Five Phases of] Metal, Wood, Water, Fire, and Earth.⁵² He bequeathed three transmissions (*sansheng* 三乘).⁵³ His subtle words were as follows: **[4a]** ‘Practice! Practice and extinguish transgressions. Grasp it! Grasp it and live forever.’ The first [transmission] is the highest: attaining spirit immortality (*shenxian* 神仙) by embracing the One (*baoyi* 抱一). The second is the middle: enriching the country through creating peace for the people. The third is the lowest: strengthening the army for battle and victory.”⁵⁴

Someone asked, “What do you mean by ‘attaining spirit immortality by embracing the One’?”

Perfected Chongyang explained, “‘Embracing the One’ is [realizing that] the world⁵⁵ is the root of the human body. The One is the root of

⁵² Lord Lao is the Dao in anthropomorphized representation and Laozi, the traditional “founder” of Daoism, in his divinized form. Lord Lao first received a place of prominence in the Daoist tradition when Zhang Daoling 張道陵, the founder of the Tianshi 天師 (Celestial Masters) movement, received a revelation from him in 142 C.E. (see Stein 1963; Bokenkamp 1997; Hendrischke 2000). On Lord Lao in Quanzhen Daoism see the *Jinlian xiangzhuan*, DZ 174, 11a–13a. On Lord Lao in Daoist history more generally see Seidel 1969; Kohn 1998. Lord Lao came to be associated with certain “revealed” texts, especially during the Tang dynasty (618–907). The eighth-century *Qingjing jing* is one such scripture, of which the full title is *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing* 太上老君說常清靜妙經 (Wondrous Scripture on Constant Clarity and Stillness, as Spoken by the Great High Lord Lao). This scripture begins with “Lord Lao spoke...” On these texts see Kohn 1998, especially 61–89; Kohn and Kirkland 2000, 362–63. Section 1b–2b above discusses the Great High [Lord Lao’s] Method for Refining the Five Phases.

⁵³ *Sansheng* is more conventionally translated as Three Vehicles. For some appearances in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.23a, 2.1b, 4.4b, 5.5b, 9.11a, 12.14b.

⁵⁴ These phrases are the three section headings of the sixth-century Daoist *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31; trl. Legge 1962 [1891], 255–64; Rand 1979; Cleary 1991, 220–22). Some of these character combinations go back to chapter 10 of the fourth-century B.C.E. *Daode jing*: “Carrying the ethereal and corporeal souls, embracing the One, can you be without separation? Concentrating the qi and attaining softness, can you be like a newborn child? Cleansing and purifying mysterious perception, can you be without flaws? Loving the people and governing the country, can you abide in non-knowing? Opening and closing the Celestial Gates, can you become like a female? Illuminating and purifying the four directions, can you abide in non-action?” Cf. *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 16.8b.

⁵⁵ Classical Chinese cosmology and Daoism. *Tianxia* 天下 literally means “under the heavens,” with the implication of “world.” For example, chapter 2 of the fourth-century B.C.E. *Daode jing* explains, “When all under heaven knows beauty as beauty, ugliness is already present. When all the world knows benefit as benefit, non-benefit is already present.” With regard to the phrase “the world is the root of the human body,” chapter 6 of the *Daode jing* has the following: “The Valley Spirit does not die;

the ten thousand beings. The One is the Dao. In antiquity, the initial One was perfect water (*zhenshui* 真水).⁵⁶ Qi is born from water [vital essence]; water is born from qi. The ten thousand beings are born from the One; the ten thousand beings thus grow and are nourished.⁵⁷ “The One gave birth to the two. The two gave birth to the three. The three gave birth to the ten thousand beings.”⁵⁸ From the three came the following: the accomplishment of the four forms of wisdom (*sizhi gong* 四智功)⁵⁹ and the five kinds of vision (*wuyan* 五眼),⁶⁰ from which arose the Six Roots (*liugen* 六根).⁶¹ These then dissipate into the Seven

it is called the Mysterious Female. The gateway to the Mysterious Female is called the root of heaven and earth.”

⁵⁶ In the *Dadan zhizhi*, we find the following: “The Perfected Huayang Shi 華陽施 said, ‘The kidneys relate to water [vital essence]. From water, qi is generated. We refer to this as perfect fire. Within this fire, there is a hidden storehouse. It is the water of perfect unity (*zhenyi* 真一), and called the Yin Tiger. The heart relates to fire. From fire, the *ye*-fluids are generated. We refer to this as perfect water. Above this water, there is a hidden receptacle. It is the qi of aligned yang (*zhengyang* 真陽), and called the Yang Dragon” (DZ 244, 1.8a). See Min and Li 1994, 793.

⁵⁷ The eighth-century *Qingjing jing* contains the following: “The great Dao is without form; it brings forth and nurtures the heavens and earth.... The great Dao is without names; it raises and nourishes the ten thousand beings” (DZ 620, 1a).

⁵⁸ From chapter 42 of the *Daode jing*. “The Dao generated the One; the One generated the two; the two generated the three; the three generated the myriad beings. The myriad beings carry yin and embrace yang. It is the empty qi (*chongqi* 沖氣) [or, qi of emptiness] that harmonizes these.”

⁵⁹ Buddhism. Under one interpretation, the *catvāri jñānāni*, or four forms of wisdom, are as follows: (1) Great, perfect mirror-wisdom (*da yuanjing zhi* 大圓鏡智); (2) Universal wisdom (*ping dengxing zhi* 平等性智); (3) Wisdom of wondrous perception (*miao guan cha zhi* 妙觀察智); and (4) Wisdom of accomplishing metamorphoses (*cheng suo zuo zhi* 成所作智). May also refer to four types of wisdom gained through studying the Four Noble Truths: (1) Life is characterized by suffering or unsatisfactoriness (Skt.: *dukkha*); (2) Suffering has a cause (desire); (3) Liberation is the cessation of desire and of suffering; (4) There is a path leading to the cessation of suffering (Noble Eightfold Path) (see, e.g., Rahula 1974, 16–50). See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 176; Ding 1939, 785, 1173; Xingyun 1989, 1769.

⁶⁰ Buddhism. Literally the “five eyes” (Skt.: *pañca cakṣuṃsi*), they include the following: (1) The vision of those who have a material body (human), (2) The vision of celestial beings in the world of form (*deva*), (3) The vision of wisdom by which Theravāda adherents observe the thought of impermanence or emptiness (Theravāda), (4) The vision of *dharma* by which bodhisattvas perceive all teachings in order to lead all beings to enlightenment (Mahāyāna), and (5) Buddha-vision or omniscience. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 123; Ding 1939, 554; Xingyun 1989, 1151.

⁶¹ Buddhism. The six sense-organs (Skt.: *sad-indriya*) are eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and thought (*yi* 意). See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 135–36; Ding 1939, 648, 1806; Xingyun 1989, 1294. In turn, associated with the six thieves (*liuzei* 六賊) and six desires (*liuyu* 六欲).

Po (*qipo* 七魄),⁶² which moved and opened the eight trigrams.⁶³ Finally there was speaking about the nine levels of thinking (*jiusi* 九思).⁶⁴ The perfect Dao depends on the fruit of non-dissipation (*wulou guo* 無漏果)⁶⁵

⁶² In classical Chinese traditions, the *po*, corporeal soul, is paired with the *hun*, ethereal soul. Yin in nature, the corporeal soul, also referred to as “white-soul,” resides in the lungs and relates to the body and emotionality. At death, it is said to descend into the earth with the flesh and bones, eventually dissolving with them. Yang in nature, the ethereal soul, also referred to as “cloud-soul,” resides in the liver and relates to an etheric form and dreams. At death, it is said to abandon the body and ascend to the heavens, eventually dissolving into the cosmos. In the later Daoist tradition, these souls become further distinguished into seven for the former, and three for the latter. In addition, the corporeal souls are identified as major sources of dissipation. Thus, in the eleventh-century encyclopedia *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Tablets from a Cloudy Satchel; DZ 1032; see Schipper 1981; Boltz 1987, 229–31), there is the following: “The death of human joy is the innate nature of the corporeal souls. The ruin of human desire is the sickness of the corporeal souls. Daoists ought to restrain and discipline them, order and transform them, pacify and impose their will on them.” The Seven Po have the following names: (1) Shigou 尸狗 (Corpse Dog), (2) Fushi 伏矢 (Concealed Arrow), (3) Queyin 雀陰 (Sparrow Yin), (4) Tunzei 吞賊 (Seizing Thief), (5) Feidu 非毒 (Negative Poison); (6) Chuhui 除穢 (Oppressive Impurity), and (7) Choufei 臭肺 (Putrid Lungs) (54.7ab). Visual representations appear in the ninth-century *Chu sanshi juchong jing* 除三尸九蟲經, DZ 871, 3a. See Kohn 2002 (1998), 17.

⁶³ The eight trigrams, or three-line diagrams, of the *Yijing* 易經 (Classic of Changes). See section 1b above. The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* gives the following correspondences: “The head is Qian-heaven; the abdomen is Kun-earth; the bladder is Gen-mountain; the Gall-bladder is Sun-wind; the kidneys are Kan-water; the heart is Li-fire; the liver is Zhen-thunder; and the lungs are Dui-lake” (DZ 263, 10.12b). Cf. *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 14.11b.

⁶⁴ The nine levels of thinking refer to a passage from chapter sixteen from the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects): “Confucius said, ‘There are nine things the gentleman turns his thoughts to: to seeing clearly when he uses his eyes, to hearing acutely when he uses his ears, to looking cordial when it comes to his countenance, to appearing respectful when it comes to his demeanor, to being conscientious when he speaks, to being reverent when he performs his duties, to seeking advice when he is in doubt, to the consequences when he is enraged, and to what is right at the sight of gain’” (Lau 1983, 165–67).

⁶⁵ *Wulou*, here translated technically as “non-dissipation,” literally means “without leakage” or “without outflows.” The phrase refers to a condition wherein the adept has sealed himself or herself off from every possible source of dissipation. The preface to the *Jindan sibaizi* 金丹四百字 (Four Hundred Characters on the Gold Elixir; DZ 1081), attributed to Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (Ziyang 紫陽 [Purple Yang]; d. 1082), explains, “The ethereal soul resides in the liver; do not allow the eyes to dissipate it. The corporeal soul resides in the lungs; do not allow the nose to dissipate it. The spirit resides in the heart; do not allow the mouth to dissipate it. The vital essence resides in the kidneys; do not allow the ears to dissipate it. The intent resides in spleen; do not allow the four limbs or various openings to dissipate it. Thus, we may speak of non-dissipation” (1b). In Buddhism, a distinction is made between “out-flowing” (Chn.: *lou* 漏; Skt.: *āsava*) and “free from out-flowing” (Chn.: *wulou* 無漏; Skt.: *anāsava*). The former refers to delusions generated by sensory engagement, while the latter refers to being free from delusions and karma-producing activities. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 214, 380, 425; Ding 1939, 2186, 2492; Xingyun 1989. Out-flowing in turn relates to vexation

being complete. Through intention and thought, spirit naturally grows inside the elixir field. Embrace and guard the original qi.⁶⁶ Do not allow it to be dispersed or lost. This is the method for embracing the One.”

[4b] Someone posed the following question: “How does one enrich the country through creating peace for the people?”⁶⁷

Perfected Chongyang replied, “Within the bodies of men and women, there are nine rivers, four oceans, a dragon palace, and a storehouse.⁶⁸ Within this storehouse, there are the Seven Gems (*qizhen* 七珍)⁶⁹ and

(Chn.: *fanna* 煩惱; Skt.: *klesā*) and delusion (Chn.: *huo* 禍). For some appearances of *wulou* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.20a, 2.6a, 7.1b, 9.4b, 10.2b, 10.11b. On the meaning of *wulou* in Daoism see Li 1991, 100; Min and Li 1994, 173; Hu 1995, 1224.

⁶⁶ The qi of original yang. In religious and medical praxis, qi (“subtle breath”), sometimes translated enigmatically as “pneuma” and sometimes anachronistically as “energy,” is discussed in terms of a technical typology, which includes original qi (*yuanyi* 元氣), perfect qi (*zhenqi* 真氣), pre-natal qi (*xiantian qi* 先天氣), post-natal qi (*houtian qi* 後天氣), orthopathic qi (*zhengqi* 正氣), heteropathic qi (*xieqi* 邪氣), protective qi (*weiqi* 衛氣), and nutritive qi (*yingqi* 營氣). Of these, pre-natal qi, sometimes rendered as pre-heaven or deuterocosmic qi, refers to the qi acquired before birth, namely, cosmic and ancestral qi (vapors/influences). Original qi is often synonymous with prenatal qi. It is one’s original endowment from the Dao. See *Suwen*, ch. 32 and 72; Porkert 1979, 166–76; Maciocia 1989, 41–48; Unschuld 2003, 149–67. Also Li 1991, 101; Min and Li 1994, 165; Hu 1995, 445, 1208.

⁶⁷ The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* has the following: “The desire for the people to be at peace rests in enriching the country. . . . The original self (*benshen* 本身) is what we mean by the ‘country’” (DZ 263, 16.8b). See Wong 2000, 113. The Daoist view of the body as a “country” goes back at least to the second-century C.E. Heshang gong commentary on the *Daode jing*, “The country is the body; the Dao is the mother” (DZ 682, ch. 59) (see Erkes 1958; Chan 1991). On Daoist views of the body in general see Schipper 1978; 1993 [1982]; Lévi 1989; Kohn 1991; 1993, 161–88; Despeux 1994; 1996; Andersen 1995; Saso 1997.

⁶⁸ The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* has the following: “Now, within the human body, ‘water’ refers to the four oceans, five lakes, nine rivers and three islands. . . . The heart is the ocean of blood; the kidneys are the ocean of qi; the brain is the ocean of marrow; and the spleen and stomach are the ocean of water and grain. This is what we mean by the ‘four oceans’. . . . The small intestine is twenty-four feet in length, and has nine curves above and below. Thus we speak of ‘nine rivers’” (DZ 263, 15.1a–2a). See Li 1991, 221; Min and Li 1994, 50, 379; Hu 1995, 1149, 1159.

⁶⁹ Here the Seven Gems (Skt.: *sapta-ratna*) are a Daoist adaptation of Buddhist doctrine. For example, the *Diamond Sūtra* has the following: “The Buddha said, ‘Subhuti, what do you think? If some noble son or daughter filled the billion worlds of this universe with the seven jewels and gave them as a gift to the tathagatas, the arhans, the fully-enlightened ones, would the body of merit produced as a result by this noble son or daughter be great?’” (Red Pine 2001, 6). See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 11–12; Ding 1939, 116; Xingyun 1989, 124. In Daoism, the Seven Gems most likely refer to essence, blood, qi, marrow, the brain, kidneys, and heart. The thirteenth-century *Nei riyong jing* 內日用經 (Scripture for Daily Internal Practice, DZ 645; trl. Kohn 2000;

the Eight Treasures (*babao* 八寶).⁷⁰ Do not allow the Six Thieves (*liuzei* 六賊)⁷¹ to steal them. This is what is meant by enriching the country through creating peace for the people.”

Someone asked, “What is strengthening the army for battle and victory?”⁷²

Komjathy 2002–03) has the following: “Essence is quicksilver; blood is yellow gold; qi is jade [lapis lazuli]; marrow is quartz; the brain is numinous sand [agate]; the kidneys are jade rings [rubies]; and the heart is a glittering gem [cornelian]. These are the Seven Treasures (*qibao* 七寶)—Keep them firmly in your body, never letting them disperse. Refine them into the great medicine of life” (1b–2a). According to the thirteenth-century *Zazhu jiejing* 雜著捷徑 (Short-cuts by Various Authors; DZ 263, 21.5a), “The Seven Treasures are spirit, qi, meridians, vital essence, blood, saliva, and water.” In later Quanzhen, the Seven Treasures are a rush mat, quilted robe, calabash (begging bowl), palm-leaf hat, palm-leaf fan, blue satchel, and flat staff (*Qinggui xuanmiao* 清規玄妙, ZW 361, 10.598; see Despeux and Kohn 2003, 166). For the meaning of the Seven Gems/Seven Treasures in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 31; Hu 1995, 1135, 1443. See also Needham et al. 1983, 220.

⁷⁰ The Eight Treasures may refer to the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, tongue, and large and small intestine and their related orb-associations. According to the *Dadong jing fahui* 大洞經發揮 (Elucidation of the *Dadong jing*; DZ 992, 7ab), “As for the Eight Treasures, I have only heard of the Seven Treasures of the body. Many people do not know about these aspects. The two eyes are the sun and moon in the human cosmos; this is the treasure of observing color. The two ears are the path to the Dao in the human cosmos; this is the treasure of entering sound. The two nostrils are the peaks within the openings of the human cosmos; they can preside over fragrance and smell. This is called the treasure of exhaling breath. The mouth is the closing lock of the human cosmos; it can preside over swallowing and taste. This is the treasure of harmonizing taste. The large intestine is the cart of the human cosmos; it can remove and transport the five grains. This is called the treasure of transference. The small intestine is the water route; it can preside over transformation. This is called the treasure of ruling life. All of these Seven Treasures can be cultivated. I do not know the eighth treasure. This single method is the most important concern. It is the concern of the human cosmos and called the treasure of establishing the body. As if hiding these Eight Treasures, humans cultivating perfection are the highest adepts.” See Li 1991, 25; Min and Li 1994, 37; Hu 1995, 474, 1158.

⁷¹ A Daoist technical term relating to the Six Roots and Six Desires of Buddhism. The Six Thieves are the six sense-organs and their associated desires, specifically, the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and thought. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 135–36; Ding 1939, 648, 1806. For the Six Thieves in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 310; Hu 1995, 473, 1144. The phrase also appears in section 18a below. According to the ninth-century *Baiwen pian* 百問篇 (Chapters of One Hundred Questions; DZ 1017, j. 5; trl. Homann 1976), “Master Chunyang [Lü Dongbin] asked, ‘What are the Six Thieves?’ Master Zhengyang [Zhongli Quan] explained, ‘They are the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, heart, and thoughts. Considering the roots of the myriad things, which one does not come from these?’” (5.14a).

⁷² The *Chuandao ji* has the following: “The desire for battle and victory rests in strengthening the army. When we speak of the ‘army’ we mean the original qi. The internal aspect of the ‘army’ is dispersing the yin body and disposition. The external aspect of the ‘army’ is grasping the qi of heaven and earth” (DZ 263, 16.8b).

Perfected Chongyang answered, “Now then, battle and victory are what lesser people of the world know. Battle and victory are methods of constancy.”

An objection was raised: “[If this is the case, then] when discussing the method of clarity and stillness, why do you speak about the principle of battle and victory?”

Perfected Chongyang responded, “People of today do not even approach the method of battle and victory. They attempt to regulate diseases, but they cannot get rid of them permanently. As for battle and victory, one must first fight and conquer ignorance⁷³ and vexations. Secondly, during the night and on specific days, one must fight and conquer the Three Death-bringers⁷⁴ and the yin-ghosts.⁷⁵ Thirdly, one must fight and conquer the ten thousand dharmas.⁷⁶ This is the method of battle and victory.

“Anyone who can obtain these three transmissions will transform calamities and vexations into good fortune. Anyone who cultivates them will constantly make clarity and stillness his root.⁷⁷ **[5a]** This is the method of the greater transmission. If you wish to practice the greater transmission, you must first inquire into the lesser transmission and begin [with that].

“Clarity is not separate from turbidity. Movement is not separate from stillness. From stillness, movement is born. From turbidity, clarity naturally arises.⁷⁸ Then there is heaven and earth, the sun and moon, water and fire, and yin and yang. This is the perfect Dao.

“A scripture says, ‘If there is only pure yang, then there is no development; if there is only pure yin, then there is no growth. The harmonization of yin and yang is able to generate the ten thousand

⁷³ Again taking *wuming* 無明 (“without intelligence”) for *wuming* 無名 (“without names”). See section 1a above.

⁷⁴ See section 2b above.

⁷⁵ See section 2b above.

⁷⁶ Here the “myriad dharmas” most likely refers to every possible source of sensory disruption and external distraction.

⁷⁷ Echoing a variety of passages from other Daoist texts. According to chapter 45 of the fourth-century B.C.E. *Daode jing*, “Clarity and stillness are the rectification of the world.” The eighth-century C.E. *Qingjing jing* has the following: “If you can constantly banish desires, then the heart-mind will become still naturally. If you can constantly settle the heart-mind, then the spirit will become clear naturally” (DZ 620, 1b).

⁷⁸ An allusion to the eighth-century *Qingjing jing*: “Clarity is the source of turbidity. Movement is the root of stillness” (DZ 620, 1b).

beings.⁷⁹ People cultivating the Dao today are not cultivating the perfect Dao. The [perfect] Dao is complete realization (*liaoda* 了達) of innate nature and life-destiny. Innate nature and life-destiny are vital essence and blood, respectively. Humans have ten thousand diseases; all of these diseases injure human life-destiny. If there are people who are diseased, it is ultimately because they have not attended to the needs of the five yin-orbs. In all cases, it is because they have injured the Three Treasures of vital essence, qi, and blood.⁸⁰ Anyone wishing to have tranquility, joy, and long life must remove disease by maintaining awareness of clarity and stillness.

“Sometimes there are those who have not yet left the family (*chujia* 出家).⁸¹ With few years left, they cannot attain the fruit of clarity and stillness. From the lesser transmission one must proceed to the middle transmission and then to the greater transmission. The first step towards realizing the Dharma Mind is the lower transmission. [5b] Awakening is the middle transmission. Complete realization is the higher transmission. The first is the refining realm. The second is silver realm. The third is gold realm. This is similar to a single large tree—first there is the root and then there are the branches. If you constantly regard clarity and stillness as the correct [method], your alignment with the Dao will become great.”

⁷⁹ Source unknown.

⁸⁰ The identification here of the Three Treasures as vital essence, qi, and blood differs from more standardized usage, wherein the Three Treasures are vital essence, qi, and spirit. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* explains, “What we mean by vital essence, qi, and spirit are the treasures of the three fields” (DZ 263, 16.1b). According to the *Ershisi jue*, “There are the internal Three Treasures and the external Three Treasures. The Dao, scriptures, and teachers are the external Three Treasures. The internal Three Treasures are vital essence, qi, and the spirit” (DZ 1158, 2a; also *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1142, 1.8a, 10.9b). For the meaning of *sanbao* in Daoism see Li 1991, 55; Min and Li 1994, 83; Hu 1995, 470, 1137.

⁸¹ In Buddhism, *chujia* (Skt.: *pravraj*) means to leave the home and become a monk or nun. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 166–67; Ding 1939, 885; Xingyun 1989, 1558. In a more technical sense, *chujia* may be rendered as “renunciant.” Quanzhen adopted this “renunciant” or “ascetic ideal” from Buddhism and Buddhist-influenced Daoist monasticism. After becoming an organized religious movement, the ideal shifted from householder-become-renunciant to renunciant-now-cleric. The phrase *chujia* appears in various passages of the early Quanzhen textual corpus. For example, in the *Shiwu lun* (Fifteen Discourses; DZ 1233; trl. Yao 1980, 73–85; Reiter 1985; Ebrey 1995 [1981]; Cleary 1991, 130–35; Kohn 1993, 86–92), we find the following: “All renunciants (*chujia*) must first retreat to a hermitage. A hermitage is an enclosure, a place where the body may be attuned and entrusted. When the body is attuned and entrusted, the heart-mind gradually realizes serenity. Qi and spirit become harmonious and expansive. Then you may enter the perfect Dao (*zhendao* 真道)” (1a).

Someone asked, “If one succeeds in making the body clear but still encounters the day of the Celestial Demon (*tianmo* 天魔),⁸² how should one attend to this? Also, if one encounters deviant ways (*waidao* 外道)⁸³ or heart-mind fluctuations (*boxun* 波巡),⁸⁴ please explain how one should attend to them.”

Perfected Chongyang answered, “Heart-mind fluctuations are the world. Mental conditions and the world are always present. You have to be aware of the Three Essentials (*sanyao* 三要)⁸⁵ and of how they

⁸² Buddhism. The Demon King (Chn.: *damo* 大魔; Skt.: *deva-māra*), an evil demon and lifelong adversary of the Buddha, who attempted to prevent Śākyamuni Buddha from attaining enlightenment. One of the four demons (Chn.: *simo* 四魔; Skt.: *catvāro mārah*). See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 148; Ding 1939, 432, 815, 2926; Xingyun 1989, 1854. The *Duren shangjing dafa* 度人上經大法 (Great Methods of the Highest Scripture for Universal Salvation; DZ 219), a 72-chapter Southern Song-dynasty Shenxiao 神霄 (Divine Empyrean) ritual compendium (see Boltz 1987, 26–30; Skar 2000), speaks of the Ten Demons (*shimo* 十魔), of which the Celestial Demon is one (cf. *Dadan zhizhi*, DZ 244, 2.5a–6b; trl. Belamide 2002, 208–10; *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 16.25a–26b; trl. Wong 2000, 138–40). Here we are informed that adepts living in seclusion and engaging in cultivation may encounter the Celestial Demon, which attempts to inhibit their completion of perfection (45.3a). According to the tenth-century *Chuandao ji*, “Yin-ghosts and external demons cause thought to generate images and cause these images to generate the external world. This is the demon army (*mojun* 魔軍). Considering people who revere the Dao, if these causes lead to dissipation and recklessness, one enters into perversion. Many lose themselves in deviant ways (*waidao* 外道) and, in the end, cannot complete immortality. They become enveloped by the Three Death-bringers and Seven Po, which desire human death and derive their delight from the human body. [However] considering the Nine Worms (*jiuchong* 九蟲) and Six Thieves, if you can be calm, then you will restrain them and they will have no place to dwell” (DZ 263, 16.22a). Cf. Wong 2000, 133. On the Celestial Demon in Daoism see Li 1991, 117; Hu 1995, 968.

⁸³ Literally meaning “outside the Dao” and often translated as “heterodoxies,” *waidao* refers to various non-Daoist beliefs and practices. The eleventh-century *Yulong zhuan* 猶龍傳 (Like unto a Dragon; DZ 774) lists ninety-six deviant ways (4.7b–8b). Many of these are ascetic techniques of ancient India, including walking around naked, self-immolation, and so forth. Similar deviances are also listed in the thirteenth-century *Laojun bashiyi hua tushuo* 老子八十一化圖說 (Illustrated Explanations of the Eighty-One Transformations of Lord Lao; see Ch'en 1957; Kubo 1968; Reiter 1990). On these and related texts see Kohn 1998. On *waidao* in Daoism more generally see Min and Li 1994, 391.

⁸⁴ Instabilities and disruptions of consciousness.

⁸⁵ The Three Essentials usually refers to the eyes, ears, and mouth. The term appears in section 1a of the sixth-century *Yinfu jing*: “The aberrations of the Nine Cavities (*jiujiào* 九竅) are in the Three Essentials. They can be aroused or stilled.” According to the late thirteenth-century *Yinfu jing jiezhu* 陰符經解註 (Commentary on the *Yinfu jing*; DZ 126), “The eyes are the gate of spirit. The ears are the gate of vital essence. The mouth is the gate of qi. If one looks at something and does not cease, then spirit dissipates through the eyes. If one listens to something and does not cease, then vital essence dissipates through the ears. If one speaks and does not cease, then qi dissipates through the mouth” (1.11b). In the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji*,

come and go. [This involves] distinguishing clarity from turbidity.⁸⁶ When encountering [an imbalance of] yin and yang, either increase fire or add water.⁸⁷ If turbidity is still not responding, [use] the decoction method.”

He also instructed, “If a whole demon army appears, you must urgently prepare by arranging three thousand strong troops.”⁸⁸

we find the following: “Someone asked, ‘What are the internal Three Essentials?’ Our teacher responded, ‘The first is the Abyss Pond; the second is the Scarlet Palace; and the third is Earth Door.’ A further question was raised, ‘What are the external Three Essentials?’ Our teacher responded, “The mouth and the nose together have three openings; these are the gateways and doorways through which spirit and qi exit and enter. Among lesser exercises, there are harmonizing respiration with the nose, sealing qi with the tongue, and closing any open roads” (DZ 263, 10.3ab). See Li 1991, 57; Min and Li 1994, 75.

⁸⁶ The terms clarity, turbidity, stillness, and activity go back to the ancient *Yijing*. They also appear as cosmogonic descriptions in chapter 3 of the second-century B.C.E. *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Book of the Master of Huainan; DZ 1184): “The clear and light rose and became the heavens; the heavy and turbid sank and became the earth” (see Major 1993, 62). According to the eighth-century *Qingjing jing*, “Within the Dao, there is clarity and turbidity. Within the Dao, there is movement and stillness. Heaven is clarity and earth is turbidity. Heaven is movement and earth is stillness. The male is clarity and the female is turbidity. The male is movement and the female is stillness” (DZ 620, 1a). In Quanzhen Daoism, these terms become technical terms relating to meditation practice and accomplishment. The *Ershisi jue* explains, “There are internal and external clarity and stillness. Internal clarity and stillness refers to the heart-mind not giving rise to the various thoughts. External clarity and stillness refers to the various defilements not disrupting one” (DZ 1158, 2b). According to the thirteenth-century *Nei riyong jing*, “The Numinous Tower [heart] emptied of all things: This is called clarity. Not allowing even a single thought to arise: This is called stillness” (DZ 645, 1a). The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* has the following: “Yang is clear, while yin is turbid. Clarity is light and ascends; turbidity is heavy and descends. Those cultivating the elixir preserve clarity and expel turbidity. Thus, clarity corresponds to yang, while turbidity corresponds to yin” (DZ 263, 10.7b). The thirteenth-century *Zhonghe ji* 中和集 (Anthology on Central Harmony; DZ 249; trl. Cleary 1989) explains, “When the heart-mind is unmoving [unagitated], water returns to the source and thus is clear. When the heart-mind is moving, water follows its flowing and thus is turbid” (3.28a). On clarity and turbidity in Daoism see Li 1991, 475; Min and Li 1994, 886.

⁸⁷ Water and Fire are paired technical terms in internal alchemy. Water is associated with yin, the kidneys, vital essence, and the trigram Kan-water ☵. Fire is associated with yang, the heart, spirit, and the trigram Li-fire ☲. According to the *Danyang yulu*, “Spirit and qi are innate nature and life-destiny, respectively. Innate nature and life-destiny are the dragon and tiger. The dragon and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water and fire. Water and fire are the Child and Maiden. The Child and Maiden are perfect yin and perfect yang” (DZ 1057, 15b). The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* has a chapter entitled “On Water and Fire.” See DZ 263, 15.1a–4b; Wong 2000, 65–70. On water and fire in Daoism see Li 1991, 191, 192; Min and Li 1994, 329, 330; Hu 1995, 1145, 1206, 1288.

⁸⁸ Here Wang Chongyang seems to be envisioning Daoist practice as a cosmic battle, which recalls various Song-dynasty exorcistic movements (see Boltz 1987, 23–53; 1993; Skar 2000; Davis 2001; Hymes 2002). Generally speaking, “demon armies”

Perfected Chongyang also said, “‘Three thousand’ indicates the number of perfect accomplishments (*zhengong* 真功).⁸⁹ ‘Strong troops’ refer to the qi [of this accomplishment]. If the demon army comes and does not leave, **[6a]** breathe a thousand respirations, repeatedly accumulating qi in the elixir field without letting it be dispersed. Maintain the warmth without allowing it to cool. Naturally the immortal embryo (*taixian* 胎仙) will coalesce.⁹⁰ This is a subtle method. If people can realize the subtlety of the above [method], they will eternally attain the perfect accomplishments also mentioned above. If the accomplishments are complete, then the fruits are full, and one can eternally attain tranquility, joy, and

(*mojun* 魔軍) refers to the denizens, specters, and malevolent attendants associated with various demon lords. In contrast, “spirit troops” (*shenbing* 神兵) are benevolent beings associated with various Daoist deities (e.g., *Zhenwu* 真武 [Perfected Warrior]). Through transmission and training, the Daoist adept has the ability to summon such protective forces to fight on his behalf (see Saso 1972; 1978). However, in the case of early Quanzhen, following earlier precedents from internal alchemy, this cosmic battle appears to have become interiorized. That is, demon armies and spirit troops relate to one’s personal practice and level of realization. For example, the *Dadan zhizhi* mentions and describes the Ten Demon Lords: (1) Demon of the Six Desires; (2) Demon of the Seven Emotions; (3) Demon of Wealth; (4) Demon of Nobility; (5) Demon of Affection; (6) Demon of Calamity; (7) Demon of Violence; (8) Demon of Sacred Excellence; (9) Demon of Prostitute Pleasure; and (10) Demon of Women and Sex (DZ 244, 2.5a–6b; see Belamide 2002, 208–12). This discussion parallels one on the Ten Demons in the *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 16.25a–26b; trl. Wong 2000, 138–40.

⁸⁹ Or, perfect merits. According to the twelfth-century *Jin zhenren yulu* 晉真人語錄 (Discourse Record of Perfected Jin; DZ 1056), “If you long for perfect accomplishment, you must purify your heart-mind and stabilize your thinking. Discipline spirit and emotions. Free from movement and activity, this is perfect clarity and perfect purity. Embrace the Origin and guard the One. Preserve spirit and concentrate qi. This is perfect accomplishment” (3a) See also *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 10.21a; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 3.13ab. The *Quanzhen ji* contains the following: “If you want perfect cultivation, eat when hungry and sleep when tired. There is no need to meditate and no need to ‘study the Dao’. All you need to do is abandon the concerns and affairs of [the world of] dust. All you need is clarity and stillness in the heart-mind. Beyond this, there is no cultivation. If you want to hold on to your wisdom, each day you must carefully purify [any obstructions] in your field that diminish awakening... To practice until accomplished and then become distinguished is perfect accomplishment and perfect practice” (DZ 1153, 10.21b). See Min and Li 1994, 334, 791; Hu 1995, 454, 506, 970.

⁹⁰ The immortal embryo, or embryo of immortality, refers to the completion of internal alchemy practice, the formation of a subtle being within the body. According to the tenth-century *Chuandao ji*, “Extract lead to add to mercury. After one hundred days, the medicine is strong and complete. After two hundred days, the sacred embryo is established. After three hundred days, the immortal embryo is completed and the perfect qi is generated” (DZ 263, 15.18b–19a). The early fourteenth-century *Jindan dayao* 金丹大要 (Great Essentials of the Golden Elixir; DZ 1067) has the following: “Activate the dragon and tiger, and then fly the gold crystal. Nourish the immortal embryo, and then generate the perfect qi” (5.1b). See Li 1991, 386; Min and Li 1994, 738; Hu 1995, 1437.

long life. All people who cultivate these accomplishments, when they encounter difficult times, will take care and be prepared.”

Someone asked, “How should one regulate such a situation?”

Perfected Chongyang responded, “If you encounter difficult times, you must first be attentive to the signs of death (*sixiang* 死相).”

Someone inquired further, “What are the signs of death?”

Perfected Chongyang answered, “[It seems like] the Celestial Pillar (*tianzhu* 天柱) is disrupted and agitated.⁹¹ Trees are upturned and mountains are collapsing. The Six Spirits (*liushen* 六神)⁹² are all thrown into confusion. Innate nature and life-destiny cannot be protected. Vital essence and spirit become wild and indistinct. The heavens and earth are eclipsed. The sun and moon no longer have radiance. These are the sprouts of impermanence.

“A body with dissipation turns into one’s own Earth Prison (*diyu* 地獄),⁹³ while the fruit of non-dissipation is the Celestial Hall. If people have a body with dissipation, they must pursue the fruit of non-dissipation. **[6b]** Once this is complete, then you can attain the other fruits of the Dao (*daoguo* 道果).”⁹⁴

⁹¹ Both a reference to the foundation of the heavens and the occiput.

⁹² Most likely a reference to spirits associated with the six yang-orbs, namely, gall bladder, small intestine, stomach, large intestine, urinary bladder, and triple warmer. In the third-century *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (Scripture on the Internal View of the Yellow Court; DZ 331; trl. Huang 1990), we find the following: “The spirits of the six yang-orbs and five yin-orbs are the body’s essence. They all reside within the heart and circulate through the celestial pathways. If you can preserve them day and night, you will naturally attain long-life” (3b). In a different interpretation, the six spirits are those of the five yin-orbs (liver, heart, spleen, lungs, and kidneys) plus that of the gall bladder. Alternatively, a designation for the Six Jia-spirits (*liujia* 六甲), namely, *jiazi*, *jiayu*, *jiashen*, *jiawu*, *jiachen*, and *jiayan*. See Inoue 1992; Bokenkamp 1997, 328–29; Campany 2002, 73–75. On the meaning of *liushen* in Daoism see Li 1991, 180, 182; Min and Li 1994, 309, 311; Hu 1995, 737, 967, 1457. The Six Jia-spirits are mentioned in section 20b below.

⁹³ Buddhism. The Earth Prison refers to hell as subterranean depth. It is one of the six realms of transmigration (Chn.: *liudao* 六道; Skt.: *sad-gati*) and thus relates to the six kinds of beings: hell-dweller, hungry ghost, animal, titan (*asura*), men, and god (*deva*). Sometimes the hells are divided into eight hot hells, eight cold hells, and three isolated hells. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 207–8; Ding 1939, 1066; Xingyun 1989, 2311. On the Daoist meaning of *diyu* see Min and Li 1994, 182, 433; Hu 1995, 1166.

⁹⁴ “Fruits of the Dao” refer to stages of realization on the Daoist path. For instance, the seventh-century *Haikong zhizang jing* 海空智藏經 (Scripture of Master Haikong zhizang; DZ 9) lists them as follows: earth immortal, flying immortal, self-dependent (Chn.: *zizai* 自在; Skt.: *isvāra*), free-from-dissipation, and non-action (1.6a). Here one

Someone asked, “If the white ox (*bainiu* 白牛)⁹⁵ is about to escape, how can one capture it?”

Perfected Chongyang gave the following response, “If the white ox is about to escape,⁹⁶ you should tightly close the Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan* 玄關)⁹⁷ and securely guard the Four Gates (*simen* 四門).⁹⁸ You should urgently employ the Immortal’s Fishing Method.⁹⁹ You should also use the Sacred Gesture

also thinks of the Daoist adaptation of the Buddhist concept of *bhūmi* (stages of realization) (see Bokenkamp 1990). Interestingly, the *Haikong zhizang jing* contains a list of ten such stages of transcendence (*Damen jingfa*; DZ 1128, 3.17a–20a; trl. Bokenkamp 1990, 137–39). On the *Haikong zhizang jing* see Kohn and Kirkland 2000, 356–57.

⁹⁵ The “white ox” refers to seminal emissions. For some appearances of *bainiu* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.1a, 2.13a, 4.9b.

⁹⁶ Cf. *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.1a–1b, a poem addressed to a certain Buddhist named Zhao 趙: “The earth in its karmic connections is separate from soil and hills;/The heart-mind becomes liberated through realizing perfect cultivation./Distinguishing the Dao from perception, you, a lofty arhat,/Cleanse your numinous root and transcend every region./Gaining the Celestial Palace, you ascend to a precious office;/Above the exalted mountain, you brush away clouds from peaks./Beyond the enveloping blackness, the Yellow Sprouts manifest;/You capture the azure ox and nurture the white ox.”

⁹⁷ In Daoist cultivation, the Mysterious Pass, also appearing as Mysterious Gate (*xuanmen* 玄門), may refer to multiple corporeal aspects, including the area between the eyebrows, the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭), and/or the lower elixir field. See Robinet 1995, 103–7; Wang Mu 1990, 264; Esposito 1997, 43. In the case of early Quanzhen, the Mysterious Gate most frequently refers to the nose (see, for example, *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 2.16a; *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 3.17b; also *Huangjing waijing jing zhu*, DZ 263, 60.5b). In the present context, the Mysterious Pass is possibly a reference to the perineum. According to section 11b below, “The teeth are the [upper] mysterious pass; keep them closed. The elixir field is the lower mysterious pass; keep it raised.” Similarly, section 17b explains, “When practicing this exercise, sit like Mount Tai and stand like a treasure pagoda. Securely guard the Four Gates and firmly lock the Mysterious Pass.” According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “The Mysterious Pass is located 1.3 inches inside the navel” (DZ 244, 2.14b). On the Mysterious Pass in Daoism see Li 1991, 236, 237, 240; Min and Li 1994, 406, 407, 408; Hu 1995, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1290.

⁹⁸ The eyes, ears, nose, and mouth. According to the *Shiwu lun*, “Restrain and seal the Four Gates, namely, the eyes, ears, mouth and nose. Do not allow the external world (*waijing* 外境) to enter in” (DZ 1233, 3b). In the *Jianwu ji* (Anthology on Gradual Awakening; DZ 1142), Ma Danyang explains, “When the gate of the ears listens,/The heart-mind becomes vexed (*fannaoyi* 煩惱)./Day by day, in grief and anxiety,/One does not realize the agedness of one’s complexion./When the eyes act as the gate of seeing, one incites premature disease./When the mouth is the gate of calamities,/With virtue squandered, the body wastes away./The nose is the Mysterious Gate,/It [has the capacity] to connect one to the great Dao” (2.16a). The Four Gates are also mentioned in sections 11b, 17b, and 19a below. On the meaning of the Four Gates in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 380.

⁹⁹ Most of the methods (*fa* 法), exercises (*gong* 功), and practices (*xing* 行) mentioned in the *Jinguan yusuo jue* are irretrievable and/or unable to be reconstructed. One practice that is discussed in detail is the Method of Reeds and Sprouts Threading the Knee. See section 7a below.

of the Three Islands¹⁰⁰ to direct the Yellow River¹⁰¹ to reverse its course. You should cover the Gold Pass (*jinguan* 金關)¹⁰² from above and shut the

¹⁰⁰ According to the tenth-century *Chuandao ji*, “Now, within the human body, ‘water’ refers to the four oceans, five lakes, nine rivers and three islands. . . . The peak of the head is the upper island; the heart is the middle island; and the kidneys are the lower island” (DZ 263, 15.1a–2a). The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* has the following: “The three islands of Penglai are the peaks of immortality above the ocean. The human body also contains the three islands of Penglai: the peak of the head is the upper island; the heart is the middle island; and the kidneys are the lower island” (DZ 263, 13.16b). For some appearances of *sandao* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.13a, 3.7b, 4.1b, 9.5b, 12.14b. On the Three Islands in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 69; Hu 1995, 1138. In the present context, the Three Islands may refer to the index, middle and ring fingers, which are used to press the perineum in order to prevent seminal emission. On the place of sacred hand gestures (Chn.: *shouyin* 手印; Skt.: *mudra*) in Daoism see Mitamura 2002; Ren 2002.

¹⁰¹ As a geographical reference, the Yellow River refers to the central river of China, dividing northern and southern China. In internal alchemy practice, the Yellow River refers to the normal, outward flow of vital essence as semen. The “Yellow River reversing its course” means to refrain from seminal emission, so that vital essence reverts and repairs the brain (*huanjing bunao* 還精補腦), known as the Ocean of Marrow.

¹⁰² The phrases *jinguan* and *yusuo*, or variants (e.g., *jimmen* 金門), appear throughout the early Quanzhen textual corpus, most often as paired technical terms. See, e.g., *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.23b, 3.2b, 3.5b, 5.13b, 11.6b; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 1.1b, 1.5b, 1.7a; *Jianwu ji*, DZ 1142, 1.8b, 2.7a, 2.9b, 2.26a; *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 1.1b, 9.2a; *Shengguang can*, DZ 1150, 35b; *Xianle ji*, DZ 1141, 3.18b; *Yunguang ji*, DZ 1152, 1.27a. Also section 11b below. The Gold Pass is mentioned in section 4, entitled “Huangting” 黃庭 (Yellow Court), of the third-century *Huangting neijing jing*: “The seven orifices and Jade Flute should be closed and sealed, along with the two doors. Doubly seal the Gold Pass and Obscure Pivot.” The paired terms of the Gold Pass and Jade Lock appear in the “Lun zhengyan” 論證驗 (Signs of Proof), the final section of the *Chuandao ji* (DZ 263, 16.27a–30b; Wong 2000, 143–48): “Next, the Gold Pass and Jade Lock will be securely locked, so that you become exempt from dissipation and leakage through dreams” (28b). According to the *Fenli shihua ji* (Anthology of Ten Conversions through Dividing Pears; DZ 1155), “Knock at the door of the Gold Pass; shut the gate of the Jade Lock. Within these enclosures, do not engage in cultivation” (1.7a). The same text also contains the following, “If you wish to practice cultivation, you must first be dedicated to securing and sealing the Gold Pass and Jade Lock. The upper and lower [areas of the body] become infused and harmonized. Exchange [their positions] through irrigation and addition” (1.5b). In the *Jiaohua ji*, Wang Chongyang instructs, “If you want to ascend the cloud path and open the circular path, you must secure and seal the Gold Pass and open the Jade Pass (*yuguan* 玉關). Decoct and refine the great elixir, without allowing the elixir to become dissipated. Spontaneously, you will see the internal prospects” (DZ 1154, 2.10a). In the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji*, we find the following: “When highest peak is controlled, move the waterwheel (*heche* 河車). Shifting and returning [the water] to the area above the peak coalesces the Three Blossoms. Secure and seal the Jade Pass and Gold Lock” (DZ 263, 12.8a). The general area of the Gold Pass remains somewhat obscure. It could be synonymous with the upper pass of Jade Capital (occiput) or it could be a variant of the Gold Portal (*jinque* 金闕), a mystical brain cavity. The latter appears as one of the Nine Places (*jiugong* 九宮) in the “Yuanqi tixiang tu” 元氣體象圖 (Diagram of the Body’s Original Qi), a diagram depicting the body as mountain (see *Jindan dayao tu*, DZ 1068; Needham

Jade Lock (*yusuo* 玉鎖).¹⁰³ If this is accomplished in the blink of an eye, then the white ox naturally will not depart. This is called the Method for Mechanically Issuing Water to Ascend the Other Shore.¹⁰⁴ There are ten categories (*pan* 般)¹⁰⁵ of methods for stabilizing (*ding* 定)¹⁰⁶ innate nature and life-destiny.”¹⁰⁷

Perfected Chongyang also instructed, “The first is called the ‘Stabilization of the Gold Pass and Jade Lock.’ The second is called the

1983, 105; Despeux 1994, 41). Here the Gold Portal is located at the center of the head. Other important head locations in this diagram include the Jade Chamber, Jade Capital, Palace of Nirvana, Yuluo Heaven, Moon Stove, Celestial Gate, and Yang Pass (DZ 1068, 3a). As Vincent Goossaert has pointed out (2001, 124), similar terms, namely, the “golden cangue” and the “jade handcuffs”, frequently refer to familial obligations, specifically affection for one’s spouse and children; in this way, the terms parallel the English designation for a spouse as “the old ball and chain.” For possible meanings of *jinguan* and *yusuo* in Daoism see Li 1991, 205, 352; Min and Li 1994, 340, 341, 342, 654, 655; Hu 1995, 1176.

¹⁰³ Section 11b below has the following: “Tapping the teeth is known as the Jade Lock.” Thus, it seems that the Jade Lock refers to the “locking mechanism” of the jaw, whereby the upper and lower teeth are joined. One would assume that in praxis this also involved touching the tongue to the upper palate.

¹⁰⁴ Method unknown.

¹⁰⁵ The use of *pan* here as a technical term relating to doctrinal categories recalls Buddhist usage, particularly the well-known *panjiao* 判教 (lit., “dividing the teachings”) systemization of Tiantai Buddhism. Associated with Zhiyi 智顛 (538–597) and emphasizing “expedient means” (Chn.: *fangbian* 方便; Skt.: *upāya*), that is, the way in which Buddhist teachings are adapted to the cognitive abilities and ontological condition of the given listener, Tiantai classification centered on the so-called “five periods and eight teachings.” See Ch’en 1964, 305–13; Gregory 1991. Tiantai was one of the most influential Buddhist schools during the Song dynasty. See Gregory and Getz 1999. On a parallel development, the Daoist adaptation of the Buddhist *bhūmi* (stages of realization) concept, see Bokenkamp 1990.

¹⁰⁶ *Ding* 定, “stability”/“stabilization,” is a Daoist technical term usually relating to meditative practice. It refers to a stage of practice wherein emotional and intellectual turbidity has been minimized and stillness (*jing* 靜) becomes constant. Sometimes translated as “concentration,” it is usually paired with the practice of “observation” (*guan* 觀). On this technical usage in Tang-dynasty (618–907) meditation manuals see Kohn 1987; 1989. On the meaning of *ding* in Daoism more generally see Li 1991, 362; Min and Li 1994, 690; Hu 1995, 975. In Buddhist technical usage, *ding* is often used synonymously with *samādhi* (Chn.: *sanmei* 三昧), or meditative absorption. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 66–67, 254. As *ding*, “stability,” is sometimes associated with *tong* 通, “pervasion,” the “ten categories of methods for stabilizing innate nature and life-destiny” may be connected with the various numinous abilities (Skt.: *siddhi*) identified in Buddhism. The latter are divided into five, six, and ten. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 53, 123, 138; Ding 1939, 546, 649; Xingyun 1989, 1153, 1290, 4251. For a Daoist discussion see the “Lun liutong jue” 論六通訣 (Instructions on the Six Pervasions) in the early fourteenth-century *Neidan jiyao* 內丹集要 (Collected Essentials of Internal Alchemy; DZ 1258, 3.12a–14a). Also Li 1991, 184; Min and Li 1994, 309; Hu 1995, 473, 1144.

¹⁰⁷ See section 2a above.

‘Stabilization of the Three Islands for Returning to Life and Removing Death.’ The third is called the ‘Stabilization of the Nine Curves of the Yellow River Reversing their Flows.’ These names refer to the fruit of non-dissipation. When perfected, they complete the way to immortality. When you completely stabilize the treasures cease [your following of] the instructions. [If you do not], from the waist through the legs there will be obstruction; the eyes will be obscured as well. This is the Method for Stabilizing the Three Treasures.”¹⁰⁸

[7a] Someone asked, “If there are people who collect and stabilize the Three Treasures, after circulating them [throughout the body],¹⁰⁹ where should they store them?”

Perfected Chongyang said, “First use the Method of Reeds and Sprouts Threading the Knee.¹¹⁰ Decoct the qi to open up the treasures. Warm the bones to move the qi. Direct it to reach Bubbling Well (*yongquan* 湧泉)¹¹¹ located in the two feet. Once you finish this, [use] the Method of the Seven Times Reverted Elixir.¹¹² When the

¹⁰⁸ See section 5a above.

¹⁰⁹ The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* contains the following: “Someone asked, ‘What does “circulating” mean?’ Our teacher responded, “Transporting the gold essence behind the elbow and circulating jade *ye*-fluids to Niwan. This is to seize the opportunity [for circulation]. Oral instructions (*koujue* 口訣) are preserved herein” (DZ 263, 10.6b).

¹¹⁰ Method unknown. According to the *Daojiao da cidian* 道教大辭典 (Encyclopedia of Daoism; Min and Li 1994, 529), sprouts refer to the original qi of the elixir field. By using intent to guide the qi, the qi penetrates the Three Passes (*sanguan* 三關), corresponding to the coccyx, mid-spine, and occiput. This is called “threading the knee.” See also Hu 1995, 1252. “Reeds and sprouts” may, in turn, be an alternate name for Yellow Sprouts (*huangya* 黃芽). According to the tenth-century *Chuandao ji*, “The perfect dragon and perfect tiger are [the Yellow Sprouts].... This dragon is not the dragon of the liver; it is the yang dragon. The yang dragon emerges from the perfect water in the Palace of Li-fire. This tiger is not the tiger of the lungs; it is the yin tiger. The yin tiger emerges from the perfect fire in the Palace of Kan-water” (DZ 263, 14.24b; also 15.1a). On *huangya* in Daoism see Li 1991, 452; Min and Li 1994, 850; Hu 1995, 1205, 1370, 1373. This method is also mentioned in sections 7b, 12b, and 16b below.

¹¹¹ Kidney-1, located at the soles of the feet. For guidance concerning acupoint names see Ellis et al. 1989.

¹¹² The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* contains a section entitled “Discourse on the Reverted Elixir” (DZ 263, 16.1a–5b). According to the eleventh-century *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤, “Practicing this way is called constantly attending to the Numinous Treasure. The ‘numinous’ is spirit; the ‘treasure’ is vital essence. Constantly cherish qi and treasure vital essence. Firmly seal [the body] and close the mouth. Ingest qi and swallow *ye*-fluids. The *ye*-fluids transform and become vital essence. Vital essence transforms and becomes qi. Qi transforms and becomes spirit. Spirit, through reverted transformation

qi is settled in the waist and legs, practice the Exercise of the Iron Cart and Black Ox.¹¹³ Afterwards, open the Governing Gate (*zaimen* 宰門).¹¹⁴ In order to get the original qi to fill the belly,¹¹⁵ first practice the Method of Flying the Gold Crystal Behind the Elbow.¹¹⁶ If you do

(*fanhua* 反化), becomes *ye*-fluids. *Ye*-fluids, through reverted transformation, become vital essence. Vital essence, through reverted transformation, becomes qi. Qi, through reverted transformation, becomes spirit. [The process occurs] like this through seven reversions and seven reversals” (DZ 1032, 56.14ab). In the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji*, we find the following: “Fire in generation is the number two and in completion is the number seven. Considering [the process of] reversion, normally there is downward [movement], while in reversion there is upward [movement]. Considering [the process of] reversal, normally there is upward [movement], while in reversal there is downward [movement]. Some say that wood is three and metal is four. When merged and completed, they merge and become the number seven. Thus, one may speak of ‘seven reversions’. This teaching is truly subtle. Thus, metal with wood and water with fire are the father and mother, the ancestor and patriarch of the Five Phases, and the root and foundation of the reverted elixir” (DZ 263, 13.9b–10a; also 9.10a). On “reverted elixirs” (*huandan* 還丹) in Daoism more generally Li 1991, 17, 311, 891; Min and Li 1994, 28, 544, 545; Hu 1995, 1131, 1239, 1417.

¹¹³ Exercise unknown. The tenth-century *Baiwen pian* has the following: “The qi of the kidneys is the water of [the stem combination] *rengui* and the northern direction. This is called the iron ox” (DZ 1017, 5.20a). See section 21b below.

¹¹⁴ Location unknown.

¹¹⁵ See section 4a above.

¹¹⁶ *Jinjing* 金晶, “gold crystal,” is most likely a variant for *jinjing* 金精, “gold essence.” According to the *Jinjing lun* 金晶論 (Discourse on the Gold Crystal; DZ 236), “‘Metal’ refers to the aligned qi of lunar florescence, while ‘crystal’ refers to the perfect crystal of solar incandescence” (1a). The meaning of *zhouhou* 肘後 (lit., “behind the elbow”) is more problematic. One of the earliest uses of *zhouhou* occurs in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* 肘後備急方 (Formulas Urgently Prepared Behind the Elbow; DZ 1306; abbr. *Zhouhou fang*), attributed Ge Hong 葛洪 (Baopuzi 抱朴子 [Master Embracing Simplicity]; 287–347). In the *Baopuzi neipian* 抱朴子內篇 (Inner Chapters of Master Embracing Simplicity; DZ 1185; trl. Ware 1966), Ge describes a certain “Zhouhou danfa” 肘後丹法 (Elixir Method Behind the Elbow). In Ware’s admittedly flawed translation, “Handy elixir [*zhouhou danfa*]. Mix cinnamon with ‘gold flowers.’ Seal within dry tiles and steam for eighty days. Then place the mixture in a dish in the sun and stir. When it emits rays which rise to blend with those of the sun, take some the size of a gram, and you will enjoy Fullness of Life. If mixed with ‘male copper’ (arsenic-copper alloy) and fired, gold will be formed” (4.15b; see Ware 1966, 88). There is also a text attributed to Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536) entitled *Zhouhou baiyi fang* 肘後百一方, which Paul Unschuld, without explanation, translates as “Prescription Handbook Enlarged by 101 Prescriptions” (1985, 149). The phrase *zhouhou* appears in a number of titles in the Daoist Canon: DZ 847, DZ 915, DZ 1279 (see Komjathy 2002b). The ninth-century *Lingbao bifa* 靈寶畢法 (Final Methods of Numinous Treasure; DZ 1191; trl. Baldrian-Hussein 1984) contains a section entitled “Zhouhou fei jinjing” 肘後飛金晶 (Flying the Gold Crystal Behind the Elbow) (2.1a–8a). The *Dadan zhizhi* contains a variety of diagrams entitled “Zhouhou fei jinjing” 肘後飛金精 (Flying the Gold Essence behind the Elbow). See sections 1.3b, 1.12a, 1.12b, 1.20a. These diagrams depict the movement of the “gold essence” up the spine to the head region, and thus parallel the alchemical practice of “reverting vital essence to restore the brain.” According to

not practice this exercise, do not [proceed to] practice the Method of [Sprouts] Threading the Knee or the Method of Three Islands and Seven Reversions.¹¹⁷ In that case, practice the Method of Transporting Vital Essence behind the Elbow to Restore the Brain.¹¹⁸ Hoping for long life and not to grow old, the people of today, practicing certain exercises, regard the upper parts [of the body] but disregard the lower parts [of the body]. Like small children building a pagoda [in loose ground], their foundations are unstable.”

[Someone inquired,] “What should one do to make the central qi (*zhongqi* 中氣) stable,¹¹⁹ wishing for it to become settled?”¹²⁰

section 1.12b, “Perfected Huayang Shi said, ‘During the hour of *zi* (11pm–1am), allow the vital essence of the lungs to mix with the flourishing qi of the kidneys. This is called the “gold essence.” The gold essence is the gold water, the unseparated qi of the lungs and kidneys harmonized and made one. When applying this method, [the gold essence circulates] from the lower pass of Tailbone Gate Cavity to reach the middle pass of Narrow Ridge. From there, it circulates to the upper pass of Jade Capital. These passes are opened consecutively. After [the golden essence passes through] the Three Passes, it directly enters the Palace of Nirvana. This not only replenishes the deficiency in the brain, lengthens one’s lifespan, and reverses aging to regain youthfulness. It also extracts the qi of the kidneys so that the Yellow Court remains uninjured” (DZ 244, 1.12b–13a). And according to section 1.20b, “A single mixture entering the brain through the Three Passes is called ‘flying the gold crystal behind the elbow’” (1.20b). See also section 8a below. For the meaning of *jinjing* and *zhouhou* in Daoism more generally see Li 1991, 917, 918; Min and Li 1994, 564; Hu 1995, 376, 1090, 1280, 1431, 1432.

¹¹⁷ See section 6b above.

¹¹⁸ The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* explains, “[Moving vital essence] from the lower field to the upper field is called ‘flying the gold crystal behind the elbow’. It is also called ‘activating the waterwheel and moving the dragon and tiger’. It is also called ‘reverting vital essence to restore the brain’ and ‘living perpetually without dying’” (DZ 263, 15.18b). In the ninth-century *Lingbao bifa*, there is the following: “The gold *ye*-fluids are the fluids of the lungs. When you direct the dragon and tiger and have them enter the lower field, then the great medicine will become completed. This refers to the gold *ye*-fluids. When you extract it ‘behind the elbow’ to enter the brain, it will again return from the upper [regions] to descend to the lower [regions]. Then we can speak of the ‘reverted elixir’. It again ascends in the front and comes to fill the four limbs. From the lower [region], it ascends to the upper [regions]. Then we can speak of ‘refining the body’. This is also called ‘refining the body and completing qi’....What we call the gold *ye*-fluids is the kidney qi combining with the heart qi, without ascending the fragrant steam to the lungs. The lungs are the Flower Canopy. It descends and covers the two vapors. At the same time, take hold of the *ye*-fluids of the lungs, housed in the lower field, from cavity of Weilü (Tailbone Gate) to ascend. This then is called ‘flying the gold crystal to enter the brain.’ Through this, you restore the Palace of Niwan” (DZ 1191, 2.13b–14a).

¹¹⁹ The “central qi” is probably an alternative designation for the perfect qi.

¹²⁰ This question is missing the usual *wenye* 問曰 (“someone asked”). Similarly, the first answer is missing the typical *jueye* 訣曰 (“[Perfected Chongyang] instructed”).

[Perfected Chongyang answered,] “Well, if you want it in the Palace of Kan-water,¹²¹ it is best to use the Three Carts¹²² of the ram, the deer, and the great ox to move the treasures from Bramble Mountain (*jingshan* 荆山).”¹²³

Perfected Chongyang also instructed, “Near Bramble Mountain lives a man with the surname Bian 卞 and the given name He 和.¹²⁴ [7b] One day, he was on Bramble Mountain cutting firewood when he saw a phoenix descend into a rock. Bian He realized that the rock contained a treasure. He decided to offer it to the emperor. The emperor became very angry and had Bian He’s feet cut off.”

Perfected Chongyang further explained, “Bian He represents consciousness (*shi* 識). Intention (*yi* 意) is represented by the rock. The phoenix is the perfect qi completing the body. The jade is the essence and marrow in the bones.¹²⁵ The dismemberment is the practitioner

¹²¹ The trigram Kan-water ☵ is paired with the trigram Li-fire ☲. The Palace of Kan-water is usually associated with the kidneys and vital essence, while the Palace of Li-fire is most often associated with the heart and spirit. Thus, the tenth-century *Chuandao ji* contains the following: “The internal medicine does not give rise to the dragon and tiger. The tiger is generated in the Palace of Kan-water. It is the water [vital essence] within the qi. The dragon emerges in the Palace of Li-fire. It is the qi within the water [vital essence]” (DZ 263, 15.11a). On Kan-water and Li-fire in Daoism more generally see Li 1991, 308, 309, 439; Min and Li 1994, 520, 521, 827; Hu 1995, 1152. See section 1b above.

¹²² These “Three Carts” represent a Daoist transformation of the Three Carts mentioned in chapter three of the *Lotus Sūtra*. They are mentioned in the famous Parable of the Burning House (see Watson 1993, 56–79). See section 3a above. In internal alchemy practice, the Three Carts most often refer to the passageways through the Three Passes, located approximately at the coccyx, mid-spine, and occiput. They have the following correspondences: (1) Ram Cart, located at Tailbone Gate (*weili* 尾閭; GV-1), (2) Deer Cart, located at Narrow Ridge (*jiuji* 夾脊; GV-6), and (3) Ox Cart, located at Jade Pillow (*yuzhen* 玉枕; GV-17). The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* explains, “The designations for these Three Carts may be divided into the three completions of upper, middle, and lower. These three completions refer to the fulfillment of accomplishment. They should not be compared to the Three Carts of Buddhism, but are still called the ram cart, deer cart, and great ox cart” (DZ 263, 15.22b). See Li 1991, 48; Min and Li 1994, 75; Hu 1995, 1125, 1137, 1153, 1154, 1240. See also section 16b below.

¹²³ Location unknown, but perhaps an esoteric name for the lower or upper elixir field. Section 21a below seems to suggest that Bramble Mountain refers to the head.

¹²⁴ Bian He is mentioned in chapter thirteen of the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 (Book of Master Hanfei). Bian He presented an uncut gem to two successive rulers of Chu and was twice rewarded by having a foot amputated before the perfect worth of the stone and the sincerity of its owner were recognized. Later there was an offer to exchange fifty cities for it. See *Hanfeizi zhuzi suoyin* (Lau and Chen 2000a), 13/23/5–27; Watson 1964, 80–83.

¹²⁵ Liu Changsheng uses the same analogy in his *Changsheng yulu* (Discourse Record of Changsheng; DZ 1058): “Awakening to the Dao involves making oneself suffer by refining form. This is like shattering a rock to extract the jade” (7a).

with his own two feet not practicing the Method of [Sprouts] Threading the Knee.”¹²⁶

Perfected Chongyang also instructed, “Being adept at clarity and stillness means that the treasure in the lower prime (*xiayuan* 下元) is complete,¹²⁷ [with clarity and stillness] shining on each other like the sun and moon.¹²⁸ Once you attain this, use the Three Carts to transport [the treasure] to the summit of Mount Kunlun.”¹²⁹

He then sighed and said, “People of today can talk, but they cannot communicate; they can speak, but they cannot explain.”

Perfected Chongyang also taught the following, “In doing exercises, the heart-mind is moving, but thought is not moving. People of today are very confused about this; they do not cultivate the body (*xiushen* 修身).”¹³⁰

¹²⁶ See 7a above as well as 12b and 16b below.

¹²⁷ The lower prime is usually synonymous with the lower elixir field. According to the eleventh-century *Yunji qiqian*, “Human beings have three elixir fields, namely, the upper prime, middle prime, and lower prime. The elixir field of the upper prime is the brain; it is called [the Palace of] Nirvana. The elixir field of the middle prime is the heart; it is called the Vermilion Palace. The elixir field of the lower prime is the Ocean of Qi; it is called the Gate of Essence” (DZ 1032, 59.2a). The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* contains the following: “The lesser reverted elixir originates in the lower prime [abdominal region]. The lower prime is the ruler of the five yin-orbs and the origin of the three fields” (DZ 263, 16.2b). These various energetic locations are also associated with particular practices. Again, the *Chuandao ji* explains, “The techniques of silent merging and inversion, of the dragon and tiger commingling, and of transforming the yellow sprouts are the lesser waterwheel. Flying the gold essence behind the elbow, the reverted crystal entering Niwan, extracting lead to supplement, and completing the great medicine are the greater waterwheel” (DZ 263, 15.22a; also 15.23a). On the meaning of *xiayuan* in Daoism see Li 1991, 70; Min and Li 1994, 110.

¹²⁸ The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* has the following: “Someone asked, ‘What about gathering the solar essence and lunar florescence.’ [Our teacher] responded, ‘This does not relate to the external sun and moon. [It means] gathering the perfect *ye*-fluids in the heart and the perfect qi in the kidneys’” (DZ 263, 10.12b).

¹²⁹ Mount Kunlun 崑崙 is one of the ancient Chinese paradises of immortality, adopted by the Daoist tradition. The two most famous of these are Mount Kunlun in the west and Penglai Island in the east. The former was presided over by Xiwangmu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West), whose orchards yielded peaches of immortality every three thousand years (see Cahill 1993). In internal alchemy practice, Mount Kunlun becomes the designation for a mystical body location located in the head. According to the third-century *Huangting waijing jing* 黄庭外景经 (Scripture on the External View of the Yellow Court; DZ 332; trl. Huang 1990), “Vital essence and qi are deep inside the Three Passes. If you wish not to die (*bushi* 不死), cultivate Kunlun” (1.1b). On Kunlun in Daoism see Li 1991, 339; Min and Li 1994, 637; Hu 1995, 1164, 1176, 1381, 1644.

¹³⁰ The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* contains a chapter entitled “Lianxing” (Refining the Body). Here we are informed, “When humans are born, body and spirit are intertwined. Spirit is the ruler of the body and the body is the house of spirit. . . . It is unthinkable

“The first cart is spirit nature (*shenxing* 神性); it is the great ox cart. Yoke up the azure ox [so that he will] pull the cart. This cart contains the first treasure. The second cart is the deer cart. [8a] It is drawn by a white ox. It contains the second treasure. The third cart is warm breath and moving fire; this is the ram cart. It is pulled by the crimson ox. It contains the third treasure. When the Three Carts move, for the first time the treasures leave Bramble Mountain [and go to] Tailbone Gate (*weilü* 尾閭).¹³¹ Then they can enter Earth Pivot (*dizhu* 地柱),¹³²

that Daoist adepts (*dao zhi shi* 道之士) would cultivate yang but not cultivate yin, that they would refine self but not refine physicality. . . . If you want to transcend the mundane (*chaofan* 超凡) and enter the sacred (*rushing* 入聖), you must refine the body and transmute it into qi. Beyond the body there is yet another body (*shenwai you shen* 身外有身)” (DZ 263, 16.5b–6b). On *xiushen* in Daoism more generally see Li 1991, 387, 404; Min and Li 1994, 728; Hu 1995, 979, 978.

¹³¹ The lower pass and first point on the Governing Vessel (*dumai* 督脈), more commonly known as Long Strong (*changqiang* 長強) and relating to the coccyx. The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* informs, “Someone asked, ‘What are the Three Passes along the back?’ [Our teacher] explained, ‘Behind the brain is called Jade Pillow Pass; Narrow Ridge is called Windlass Pass; the border between water and fire is called Tailbone Gate Pass’” (DZ 263, 10.6b). The *Dadan zhizhi* contains a variety of diagrams depicting Tailbone Gate and the other “passes.” See, e.g., DZ 244, 1.4a, 1.5a, 1.12a. According to this text, “Intent continually resides in the Central Palace (*zhonggong* 中宮). Intent is the child of spirit; spirit is the mother of qi. Spirit controls qi. The qi spontaneously moves from Tailbone Gate to Narrow Ridge. It ascends straight through the Three Passes. From the Windlass point and through Celestial Pass (*tianguan* 天關), it enters Kunlun. Then [the qi] returns to the lower elixir field. It circulates [like this] without interruption. The aligned qi (*zhengqi* 正氣) of the north is the Waterwheel (*heche* 河車). Speaking of this Waterwheel, one activates it without ceasing so that [the qi] enters the summit of Kunlun. The Central Palace is the pivot. When the pivot is activated, the Celestial Pass responds. This is what we refer to as the ‘esoteric circulation of the spiritual pivot’ (*shenji miyun* 神機祕運)” (1.9b–10a). On these various passes in Daoism see Li 1991, 53; Min and Li 1994, 81, 598; Hu 1995, 1161, 1176.

¹³² Most likely an alternate name for Earth Door (a.k.a. Earth Window; *dihu* 地戶), most often associated with Gate of Life (*mingmen* 命門). The phrase *dihu* appears in section 7a of the third-century *Huangting neijing jing*. According to the “*Nei sanyao*” 內三要 (Internal Three Essentials) in the late thirteenth-century *Zazhu zhixuan pian* 雜著指玄篇 (Chapters by Various Authors Pointing to the Mysterious; DZ 263, j. 1–8), “The area between the two kidneys is the border between water and fire. It is called Earth Door. This pass has a spirit called Tao Kang (Peach Health). Ascending, it pervades the Nine Heavens. Descending, it pervades Bubbling Well (*yongquan* 湧泉). Whether the perfect qi (*zhenqi* 真氣) is collected or dispersed, it occurs at this pass. Thus, the sages speak of keeping the Celestial Pass continually open and the Earth Door continually closed” (3.10b). According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “When using the Earth Door, apply the Method of Copulating Dragon and Tiger. The perfect yin and perfect yang of the heart and kidneys congeal and become as large as a millet grain. Then they descend and return to the Yellow Court” (DZ 244, 1.11a). On the Earth Door in Daoism see Li 1991, 254; Min and Li 1994, 432, 433; Hu 1995, 1171.

pass through Celestial Pass (*tianguan* 天關),¹³³ and go below Paired Passes. [These passes] are the two cavities of the kidneys. From the hips and thighs, the treasures enter the Land of Caoji.¹³⁴ From Paired Passes, they ascend to Narrow Ridge (*jiuji* 夾脊). From Dually-Aimed-At, they ascend to Park Grotto. [This point's] second name is Dividing Water Range. It is also called Celestial Terrace Range.¹³⁵

“When a woman circulates the treasures, first she must calm her Breast Fragrance (*ruxiang* 乳香)¹³⁶ and urgently advance the perfect fire (*zhenhuo* 真火).¹³⁷ Practicing this exercise for one year, she can come to

¹³³ According to the “Da Ma shifu shisi wen” 答馬師父十四問 (Responses to Teacher Ma's Fourteen Questions; *Jin zhenren yulu*, DZ 1056, 6b–8b), associated with Wang Chongyang, “The Celestial Pass and Earth Pivot refer to spirit and qi. You should simply remain unattached and undefiled. If the heart-mind is stable, then qi will be stable. If the heart-mind is agitated, then qi will be dispersed. If the heart-mind is unagitated, then the child [spirit] and mother [qi] will guard each other” (7a). In the “Sanguan” 三關 (Three Passes) section of the third-century *Huangting neijing jing*, we find the following: “Vital essence and qi are deep inside the Three Passes. The subtle is hidden within the Nine Tenuities (*jiuwei* 九微). The mouth is the Celestial Pass, the pivot of vital essence and spirit. The feet are the Earth Pass, the door of life and destiny (*shengming* 生命). The hands are the Human Pass, which control prosperity and decline” (DZ 331, 6b). Similarly, the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* has the following: “The head is Celestial Pass; the feet are the Earth Pass; and the hands are the Human Pass” (DZ 263, 10.3a). According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “The qi naturally moves from Tailbone Gate to enter the Three Passes beside the spine. It directly ascends to the Windlass Cavity and Celestial Pass, which is behind the brain. It enters Kunlun, and then again descends to the elixir field. This complete circulation pattern revolves without interruption” (DZ 244, 1.9b–10a). On the *tianguan* in Daoism see Li 1991, 116; Min and Li 1994, 180; Hu 1995, 1165.

¹³⁴ Possibly an alternate name for Tailbone Gate. See Hachiya 1972, 123; Min and Li 1994, 862.

¹³⁵ The body locations of these points are unknown. The context suggests that they are either along the spine or in the head. According to the *Huangting neijing jing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經注 (Commentary on the *Huangting neijing jing*; DZ 402), “The pot inside heaven [the head] is the nose. One name for this is Celestial Terrace (*tiantai* 天臺)” (1.10b).

¹³⁶ Breast Fragrance most likely refers to activity of the heart, and thus to the qi and blood associated with the heart. The breasts occupy a central place in female alchemy (*nüdan* 女丹), as they are connected with vital essence and menstruation. Chinese medicine identifies the nipples as a point on the Stomach meridian called Breast Center (*ruzhong* 乳中; ST-17). See Clavey 1995, 15. For an alternate meaning see Hachiya 1972, 121–22, 126; Min and Li 1994, 667.

¹³⁷ Perfect fire (*zhenhuo* 真火) is usually paired with perfect water (*zhenshui* 真水). Perfect fire may refer to the original spirit (*yuanshen* 元神) and/or perfect qi, while perfect water may refer to original essence (*yuanying*) and/or *ye*-fluids. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* contains a chapter entitled “Shuihuo” (Water and Fire). Here one is informed that “The kidneys are Water. Qi generated from Water [the kidneys] is called the perfect fire. . . . The heart is Fire. *Ye*-fluids generated from Fire [the heart] is called perfect water” (DZ 263, 15.4a). According to the *Jindan dacheng ji*, “Fire is the perfect qi of greater yang (*taiyang* 太陽); it is the yang within Kan-water ☵” (10.1b),

resemble a young boy. Through visualization (*yixiang* 意想), the two pearls of lead and mercury¹³⁸ will be directed to Penglai.¹³⁹ When you open the back of the brain, the Celestial Pass also naturally opens and [lead and mercury] thoroughly penetrate Red Mist.¹⁴⁰ The perfect qi enters Ocean of Marrow¹⁴¹ where there is a natural warmth. This practice enables white hair to again become black. It is called the Method of Flying the Gold Crystal Behind the Elbow.¹⁴²

“My master once said, ‘Everyone can see the benefit of pulling water out a well, but most people do not see that they should use a rope.’¹⁴³

and “The kidneys are associated with Kan-water ☵. The yang within its yin is the perfect yang (*zhenyang* 真陽). The heart is associated with Li-fire ☲. The yin within its yang is the perfect yin (*zhenyin* 真陰)” (DZ 263, 10.3b). The same text also has the following: “There is yin within Li-fire. The *ye*-fluids within the heart are the perfect water. There is yang within Kan-water. The qi within the kidneys is the perfect fire. These are the perfect water and perfect fire within the body” (DZ 263, 13). See Min and Li 1994, 792, 793; Hu 1995, 1191. Also 4a above and 9b below.

¹³⁸ The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* contains a chapter entitled “Qianhong” 鉛汞 (Lead and Mercury) and “Choutian” 抽添 (Extracting and Replenishing). The *Danyang yulu* explains, “Spirit and qi are innate nature and life-destiny. Innate nature and life-destiny are the dragon and tiger. The dragon and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water and fire. Water and fire are the Child and Maiden. The Child and Maiden are perfect yin and perfect yang” (DZ 1057, 15b). According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “Drawing out qi (*chuqi* 出氣) is lead; it is the qi in the kidneys. Drawing in qi (*ruqi* 入氣) is mercury; it is the qi in the heart” (DZ 244, 1.13b). Here *chuqi* is synonymous with *chouqian*, while *ruqi* is synonymous with *tianhong*. On lead and mercury in Daoism see Li 1991, 437, 962; Min and Li 1994, 814; Hu 1995, 1369.

¹³⁹ Penglai 蓬萊 is an ancient paradisiacal island of immortality located in the east. Here it refers to a mystical location in the body, the body understood as the locus of paradise. See sections 6b and 7b.

¹⁴⁰ Red Mist is possibly a name for the heart.

¹⁴¹ Ocean of Marrow refers to the brain. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* has the following: “Now, within the human body, ‘water’ refers to the four oceans, five lakes, nine rivers and three islands....The heart is the ocean of blood; the kidneys are the ocean of qi; the brain is the ocean of marrow; and the spleen and stomach are the ocean of water and grain. This is what we mean by the ‘four oceans’....The small intestine is twenty-four feet in length, and has nine curves above and below. Thus we speak of ‘nine rivers’” (DZ 263, 15.1a–2a). In the ninth-century *Lingbao bifa*, we find the following: “Gradually open [the area behind the brain] until [qi] enters the top [of the head], so that it restores the Niwan [Palace] and the Sea of Marrow” (DZ 1191, 2.4a). A number of diagrams in the *Dadan zhizhi* also depict the Ocean of Marrow inside the head. See, e.g., DZ 244, 1.12a, 1.15a. Also section 4b above and 20a below.

¹⁴² The *Dadan zhizhi* contains a diagram entitled “Santian fanfu zhouhou fei jinjing tu” 三田反復肘後飛金精圖 (Diagram of Flying the Gold Essence Behind the Elbow to Return to the Three Fields) (DZ 244, 1.12a). This and similar diagrams explain, “The lower pass of Tailbone Gate is called gold essence. The gold essence enters the brain and transforms to become gold *ye*-fluids.” See also section 7b above.

¹⁴³ Here the “rope” most likely symbolizes intention, which is used in internal alchemy to direct various physiological processes.

How, if you remain without [this method], will you be able to have Spirit Water (*shenshui* 神水)¹⁴⁴ return to the elixir field?

[8b] “Now, when one uses this exercise, one should begin sitting cross-legged (*jiāfu zuo* 跏趺坐) at the hour of *zì* (11am–1pm) and the hour of *wu* (11pm–1am)¹⁴⁵ and rub the hands together. If the perfect *qi* is active in the body, pass it through the Celestial Bridge (*tianqiao* 天橋)¹⁴⁶ to the forehead skin. Make it go to the area above the jaws. Using the intention, divide the perfect *qi* in two and have it flow down to move in the center of the Great Yang Prime. Let it flow deeper into the jaw, ascending into the teeth. Then collect the *ye*-fluids from the right and left corners of the mouth. This in turn is the Mysterious Pearl (*xuanzhu* 玄珠)¹⁴⁷ and the Sweet Dew (*ganlu* 甘露).¹⁴⁸ Use the Crimson

¹⁴⁴ Here Spirit Water refers to the *ye*-fluids (saliva) generated during/through alchemical practice, also associated with the *qi* of the heart. The *Dadan zhizhi* contains a diagram entitled “Shenshui jiaohe santian jiji tu” 神水交合三田既濟圖 (Diagram for the Unification of Spirit Water and Consummation in the Three Fields) (DZ 244, 1.5a). The textual material in this diagram contains the following: “Spirit Water descending from the top [of the head] is called the reverted elixir of gold *ye*-fluids.” On Spirit Water in Daoism more generally see Li 1991, 398; Min and Li 1994, 770; Hu 1995, 1364, 1405.

¹⁴⁵ Two of the twelve branches. The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* provides the following information: “The time of *zì* [11pm–1am] symbolizes the winter solstice, when *yin* is at its apex and *yang* is born. The time of *wu* [11am–1pm] symbolizes the summer solstice, when *yang* is at its apex and *yin* is born” (DZ 263, 10.6a; also 10.4b). Similarly, the *Dadan zhizhi* explains, “With regard to methods for gathering the medicine, everyone must regard *zì* as the time when the kidney *qi* begins to manifest, and *wu* as the time when the heart *ye*-fluids begin to descend. These are the parameters for practicing exercises (*xinggong* 行功)... Raising the kidney *qi* is *zì*, while descending the heart *ye*-fluids is *wu*” (DZ 244, 1.6ab). Cf. *Chuandao ji*, DZ 263, 16.12a–12b, 14a–14b; Wong 2000, 119, 121–23. On branches *zì* and *wu* in Daoism see Li 1991, 91, 92; Min and Li 1994, 160; Hu 1995, 680, 1192, 1241. Also section 2a above.

¹⁴⁶ The Celestial Bridge most likely refers to the tongue, and is probably an alternative designation for the Descending Bridge (*jiangqiao* 降橋). See Min and Li 1994, 181.

¹⁴⁷ The Mysterious Pearl refers to the elixir. The *Dadan zhizhi* has the following: “The two things [dragon and tiger] are combined and become one. One should use the intent to accomplish this during the time of *zì*. Naturally they congeal and in form resemble the size of a millet grain. Each day you should attain this single grain. The Buddhists (*sengren* 僧人) call it the Relic (Chn.: *sheli* 舍利; Skt.: *śāriṛa*). The Daoists (*daoshi* 道士) call it the Mysterious Pearl” (DZ 244, 1.8a). On the Mysterious Pearl in Daoism see Li 1991, 239; Min and Li 1994, 410; Hu 1995, 1151, 1290, 1363, 1382.

¹⁴⁸ The Sweet Dew refers to the saliva produced during Daoist practice. The phrase goes back to chapter 32 of the *Daode jing*: “Through the mutual harmonization of the heavens and earth, the Sweet Dew descends.” See Li 1991, 194; Min and Li 1994, 354; Hu 1995, 1210.

Dragon¹⁴⁹ to stir and obtain the proper blending,¹⁵⁰ so that it coalesces into a snow flower.¹⁵¹ White in color, it has a sweet flavor. The mouth is an eight-colored indestructible gem. First, in the middle of it, there is water of eight flavors.¹⁵² Second, from this water, you can produce the eight forms of consciousness (*bashi* 八識).¹⁵³ The mouth contains and stores the perfect qi. The perfect qi divides into the eight trigrams.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Here the Crimson Dragon (*chilong* 赤龍) refers to the tongue, although in female alchemy it often refers to menstruation. According to the thirteenth-century *Wenchang dadong jing zhu* 文昌大洞經注 (Commentary on *Wenchang dadong jing* [DZ 5]; DZ 103), “The Flower Pond is the mouth. The Crimson Dragon is the tongue. If you can use the tongue to stir and gather [saliva], the Spirit Water is naturally produced” (7.22b). See Li 1991, 312; Min and Li 1994, 532; Hu 1995, 1215, 1366.

¹⁵⁰ Reading *tingyun* 停勻 for *yunting* 勻停.

¹⁵¹ The snow flower refers to the saliva produced during Daoist practice, and is an alternate name for the Sweet Dew. In the tenth-century *Chuandao ji*, we find the following: “The mouth generates the numinous *ye*-fluids; these *ye*-fluids are the white snow (*baixue* 白雪)” (DZ 263, 16.9b). The “white snow” also occurs in the early Quanzhen textual corpus. See, for example, *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.7b, 2.9a. On the meaning of *baixue* in Daoism see Li 1991, 232; Min and Li 1994, 397; Hu 1995, 1210, 1368.

¹⁵² Buddhism. The eight flavors or joys of the Buddha’s nirvana, including perpetual abiding, extinction, eternal youth, immortality, purity, empty pervasion, imperturbability, and joy. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 35; Xingyun 1989, 285.

¹⁵³ Buddhism. These are the eight *parijāna* or kinds of consciousness. They include sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, intellect, discrimination, and storehouse-consciousness. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 40; Ding 1939, 149, 2858; Xingyun 1989, 316.

¹⁵⁴ In internal alchemy practice, there are correspondences among the Eight Nodes (*bajie* 八節), eight trigrams, and branch-time associations: (1) Winter solstice (*dongzhi* 冬至), Kun-earth, and *zi* (11pm–1am); (2) Spring begins (*lichun* 立春), Zhen-thunder, —; (3) Vernal equinox (*chunfen* 春分), Li-fire, and *mao* (5–7am) (4) Summer begins (*lixia* 立夏), Dui-lake, —; (5) Summer solstice (*xiazhi* 夏至), Qian-heaven, and *wu* (11am–1pm); (6) Autumn begins (*liqiu* 立秋), Sun-wind, —; (7) Autumnal equinox (*qiufen* 秋分), Kan-water, and *you* (5–7pm); and (8) Winter begins (*lidong* 立冬), Gen-mountain, and —. The ninth-century *Lingbao bifa* explains, “A day may be compared to a year. For a day we use the eight trigrams, which is comparable to the Eight Nodes. During the hour of *zi* (11pm–1am), qi is born in the kidneys. During the hour of *mao* (5–7am), qi reaches the liver. The liver is yang. When this qi is abundant, yang ascends to enter the position of yang. This is comparable to the vernal equinox. During the time of *wu* (11am–1pm), qi reaches the heart. Storing this qi produces *ye*-fluids. At the summer solstice, yang ascends and reaches the heavens. This is comparable to the generation of yin. At the hour of *wu*, *ye*-fluids are generated inside the heart. During the hour of *you* (5–7pm), the *ye*-fluids reach the lungs. The lungs are yin. When these *ye*-fluids are abundant, yin descends to enter the position of yin. This is comparable to the autumnal equinox. During the hour of *zi*, *ye*-fluids reach the kidneys. Storing these fluids produces qi. During the winter solstice, yin descends and reaches the earth. This is comparable to the generation of yang” (DZ 1191, 1.4a). The *Wupian lingwen* 五篇靈文 (Numinous Writings in Five Sections; JY 202; ZW 866), which Hachiya identifies as a text associated with Wang Chongyang, has the following: “Spirit is associated with the south and fire; fire is contained in the trigram Li-fire. Vital essence is associated with the north and water; water is contained in the trigram Kan-water. The ethereal soul is associated

Gen-mountain corresponds to the beginning of spring, while Zhen-thunder corresponds to the vernal equinox. Sun-wind corresponds to the beginning of summer, while Li-fire corresponds to the summer solstice. Kun-earth corresponds to the beginning of autumn, while Dui-lake corresponds to the autumnal equinox. Qian-heaven corresponds to the beginning of winter, while Kan-water corresponds to the winter solstice.¹⁵⁵ Each of these eight trigrams generates yin and yang. Within yin and yang, each may be divided into cold and hot.”

Perfected Chongyang gave a further teaching: “Swallowing *jīn*-fluids is yin, while circulating *qì* is yang. **[9a]** Keep yin and yang joined and focus on the position of Water and Fire. They then divide in two, appearing as the clear *jīn*-fluids. Divide these into three swallowings. Always maintain those two positions. Otherwise your tree may become withered and exhausted. A scripture also says, ‘How regrettable, when the water flow is not realized and the river is blocked off.’”¹⁵⁶

Someone again inquired, “What about the Seven Reversions?”¹⁵⁷

Perfected Chongyang explained, “Swallow Spirit Water and make it go to the center of the Qisang 氣類;¹⁵⁸ then the *qì* of the lungs is transformed into *ye*-fluids. This is good for curing all kinds of coughs (*kesou* 咳嗽). It gradually becomes generated as the corporeal soul. [A scripture] also says, ‘Swallow the *jīn*-fluids and make them go to the area above the heart. This makes the human heart-mind become open in awakened understanding. We call this purifying the heart-mind with Spirit Water¹⁵⁹ and purifying the heart-mind to realize innate

with the east and wood; wood is contained in the trigram Zhen-thunder. The corporeal soul is associated with the west and metal; metal is contained in the trigram Dui-lake. Intention is associated with the center and earth; earth is contained in the trigram Kun-earth” (7b). On the Eight Nodes and Eight Trigrams in Daoism see Li 1991, 23, 24; Min and Li 1994, 38, 40; Hu 1995, 707, 754, 763. Also section 2a above.

¹⁵⁵ See section 2a above.

¹⁵⁶ Source unknown.

¹⁵⁷ On the Seven Reversions see section 7a above.

¹⁵⁸ *Qì* refers to subtle breath, while *sang* refers to the forehead. Based on the present context, the character *sang* 類 (“forehead”) may be a scribal error for *sang* 嚨 (“throat”). Under this reading, Qisang is an alternate name for the Twelve Storied Tower, the trachea.

¹⁵⁹ On Spirit Water see section 8b above.

nature.¹⁶⁰ An ode says, ‘Like observing the five petals of a flower opening,/So, step by step, I enter the Immortal Terrace.’¹⁶¹ The Spirit Water transforms into blood. Then again, swallow the Spirit Water and make it go to the liver. The liver corresponds to [the phase] Wood and is sometimes called the Azure Dragon. When the dragon obtains water, it prospers. This is good for curing every kind of eye problem (*yanqi* 眼氣). [The qi of the liver] transforms into *jin*-fluids. Next, swallow the Spirit Water and make it go to the spleen. The spleen corresponds to [the phase] Earth. When Earth obtains this water, it generates Yellow Sprouts (*huangya* 黃芽).¹⁶²

“The belly contains the large and small intestines. After nine curves,¹⁶³ they reach the navel. It measures 1.3 inches in circumference and is one inch in depth.¹⁶⁴ The left is azure; the right is white; the front is crimson; the back is black; and the center is yellow.¹⁶⁵ **[9b]** Located at the stem combination of *wu* and *ji*,¹⁶⁶ it is the elixir field.¹⁶⁷ Inside this field, there is a palace. In the palace, there is an area called the Yellow Court.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁰ *Jianxing* 見性 (Jpn.: *kenshō*) is the first stage of enlightenment in Chan (Zen) Buddhism. The source of this quotation is unknown. For some appearances of *jianxing* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.2a, 1.12b.

¹⁶¹ Source unknown.

¹⁶² Yellow Sprouts refer to the elixir. According to the *Huayang pian* 華陽篇 (Chapters of Master Huayang), as appearing in the twelfth-century *Daoshu* 道樞 (Pivot of the Dao; DZ 1017), “When *zi* [Kan-water and original qi in the kidneys] and *wu* [Li-fire and original spirit in the heart] conjoin, gather the essential flower of the spleen. This is called the elixir of the Yellow Sprouts” (10.3b). On the Yellow Sprouts see 7a above. Also Li 1991, 452; Min and Li 1994, 854; Hu 1995, 1205, 1370, 1373.

¹⁶³ On the Nine Curves see sections 4b, 6b, and 8a above.

¹⁶⁴ This corresponds to the lower elixir field. The *Dadan zhizhi* has the following: “[The area] within the navel is 1.3 inches; it is the place that preserves the perfect qi and original yang” (DZ 244, 1.2a).

¹⁶⁵ These direction-color associations are the Five Phase correspondences: (1) Wood: east: azure: Azure Dragon: liver: left; (2) Metal: west: white: White Tiger: lungs: right; (3) Fire: south: red: Red Bird: heart: front; (4) Water: north: black: Mysterious Warrior (Snake-Turtle): kidneys: back; (5) Earth: center: yellow:—: spleen: center.

¹⁶⁶ The Celestial Stems (*tiangan* 天干) are combined to form Five Phase associations: (1) *jiayi* 甲乙: Wood: east; (2) *bingding* 丙丁: Fire: south; (3) *wuji* 戊己: Earth: center; (4) *gengxin* 庚辛: Metal: west; (5) *wengui* 壬癸: Water: north. For some information on the stem-combination *wuji* see Li 1991, 195; Min and Li 1994, 335; Hu 1995, 1211.

¹⁶⁷ In the *Dadan zhizhi*, we find the following: “The navel at the center of the human body is called the Central Palace, Treasury of Life-destiny, Primordial Chaos, Chamber of Spirit, Yellow Court, and Elixir Field.... Its various names are quite numerous” (DZ 244, 1.2a).

¹⁶⁸ The Yellow Court is a mystical body location most often referring to the spleen region, with the color yellow being associated with the Earth phase. The name derives from the third-century *Huangting jing*. The *Huangting neijing jing* contains a section

There is a furnace¹⁶⁹ called the elixir furnace. Above this furnace rests a pair of golden tripods.¹⁷⁰ Below them advance the perfect fire;¹⁷¹

entitled “Huangting” 黃庭 (Yellow Court). The *Huangting jing* itself does not give a specific location, but an eighth-century commentary informs one that some practitioners understand it to be a cranial location while others associate it with the spleen (*Huangting waijing jing zhu*, DZ 263, 58.1b–2a). No early Quanzhen texts give a clear correlate, but the *Dadan zhizhi* provides visual representations locating it between the heart region and abdominal region (see DZ 244, 1.3ab, 1.4ab, 1.5a, 1.12b). According to the tenth-century *Chuandao ji*, “The Yellow Court is below the spleen-stomach, above the bladder. It is north of the heart, south of the kidneys, west of the liver, and east of the lungs. It is clear above and turbid below. Externally it takes on the four colors. It links the two ascending [pathways; i.e., Governing and Conception vessels] and connects the eight channels of water” (DZ 263, 15.14b). The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* explains, “[The Yellow Court] is above the bladder, below the spleen, in front of the kidneys, left of the liver, and right of the lungs” (10.10a). For a study of the *Huangting jing* see Homann 1971. On the Yellow Court in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 852; Hu 1995, 1181.

¹⁶⁹ Reading *lu* 爐 (“furnace”) for *lu* 罏 (“jar”). Sometimes referred to as the “stove” (*zao* 灶), the term *lu* originally designates an actual reaction vessel used in laboratory alchemy. Often paired with the “tripod” (*ding* 鼎), the simplest type of furnace has a cylindrical shape with a large opening on the top for the fire and smaller ones on the side to let air through. In internal alchemy, the furnace and tripod are a yang-yin pair that may designate any pair of complementary entities such as mind and body, heart and kidneys, head and lower abdomen, or mercury and lead. The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* contains the following: “Someone asked, ‘What is the furnace?’ [Our teacher] responded, ‘Among the highest types of elixir methods, spirit is taken as the furnace, innate nature as the medicine, stabilization as water, and wisdom as fire. Among the middle types of elixir methods, spirit is taken as the furnace, qi as the medicine, the sun as fire, and the moon as water. In the lowest types of elixir methods, the body is taken as the furnace, qi as the medicine, the heart as fire, and the kidneys as water’” (DZ 263, 10.2b). According to the fourteenth-century *Yuqing danjue* 玉清丹訣 (Elixir Instructions of Jade Clarity; DZ 240; see Davis and Chao 1940), “The tripod is a vessel; it is not gold or iron. The furnace is a utensil; it is not jade or stone. The Yellow Court is the tripod, while the Cavity of Qi is the furnace. In alignment, the Yellow Court is above the Cavity of Qi” (2.16a). On the furnace in Daoism see Li 1991, 365, 482; Min and Li 1994, 680; Hu 1995, 1183. See also Needham et al. 1980, 1–167; 1983, 53, 55, 60; Robinet 1995, 92–95; Wang Mu 1990, 296–97; Pregadio 2000, 188–89; Pregadio and Skar 2000, 485–86.

¹⁷⁰ According to the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji*, “Someone asked, ‘What is the tripod?’ [Our teacher] explained, ‘Perfected Bao has said, “The golden tripod is in Niwan [Palace]”’” (DZ 263, 10.2b). On the tripod in Daoism see Li 1991, 482; Min and Li 1994, 912; Hu 1995, 1183.

¹⁷¹ According to the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji*, “Fire is the perfect qi of greater yang; it is the yang within Kan-water ☵” (DZ 263, 10.1b), and “The kidneys are associated with Kan-water ☵. The yang within its yin is the perfect yang. The heart is associated with Li-fire ☲. The yin within its yang is the perfect yin” (10.3b). The same text also has the following: “There is yin within Li-fire. The *ye*-fluids within the heart are the perfect water. There is yang within Kan-water. The qi within the kidneys is the perfect fire. These are the perfect water and perfect fire within the body” (13.5a). On the perfect fire see section 8a above.

above them increase the Spirit Water.¹⁷² Water and Fire are the trigrams Kan-water and Li-fire.

“Now, Fire also finds worldly expression in the sovereign-fire (*junhuo* 君火), the minister-fire (*chenhuo* 臣或), and the subject-fire (*minhuo* 民火).¹⁷³ These three fires are [only] the taste of perfection. They are the heart-mind, innate nature, and intention. They are experienced by people today who have not yet attained the Three Wisdoms (*sanpan* 三般).¹⁷⁴ The first taste is for those who are ignorant. The second taste is for those who are not yet aware. The third taste is for those who have some wisdom but who have not completed the Dao.¹⁷⁵ If any of these realize the Three Wisdoms, they will attain the Three Illuminations (*saming* 三明)¹⁷⁶ and the Six Pervasions (*liutong* 六通).¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² On Spirit Water see section 8a above.

¹⁷³ The Three Fires may be an alternate designation for the Fires of Samādhi (*sammei huo* 三昧火). The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* has the following: “The ‘fire’ within the human body refers to the sovereign-fire, minister-fire, and subject-fire. The Three Fires originate in the original qi and generate the perfect qi. If the perfect qi is stored, you will attain serenity. If the perfect qi is weakened, diseases will develop. If you dissipate the perfect qi, you will lose original yang. When original yang is lost, pure yin dominates. When original spirit leaves the body, you will die” (DZ 263, 15.1b). According to a diagram on the inversion of the Five Phases and the firing times (*huohou* 火候) of the Celestial Cycle (*zhoutian* 周天; a.k.a. Microcosmic Orbit) in the *Dadan zhizhi*, “The heart qi is the sovereign-fire; it is the fire of highest *samādhi* (*shangmei huo* 上昧火). The kidney qi is the minister-fire; it is the fire of lowest *samādhi* (*xiamei huo* 下昧火). The bladder qi is the subject-fire; it is the fire of middle *samādhi* (*zhongmei huo* 中昧火)” (DZ 244, 1.3b). The “*Shuihuo pian*” 水火篇 (On Water and Fire) in the twelfth-century *Daoshu* has the following: “In the human body there are Fires of Samādhi. The first is the sovereign-fire; it is the fire of upper *samādhi*. This is the heart. The second is the minister-fire; it is [the fire of] middle *samādhi*. This is the kidneys. The third is the subject-fire; it is [the fire of] lower *samādhi*. This is the bladder” (DZ 1017, 7.13b). See Li 1991, 64; Min and Li 1994, 80, 86; Hu 1995, 1138. On parallel “fires” in Chinese medicine see Unschuld 1985, 171; 2003, 416–17.

¹⁷⁴ *Sanpan* 三般 (“three classes”) is most likely an abbreviation of *san panruo* 三般若 (“Three Wisdoms”), with *panruo* being the Chinese transliteration of *prajñā*, a technical Buddhist term for the wisdom relating to enlightenment and liberation. The Three Wisdoms are (1) Insight into the nature of reality; (2) Insight based in observation and illumination; and (3) Insight into the conditional nature of things. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 62; Ding 1939, 1835; Xingyun 1989, 603.

¹⁷⁵ Buddhism. The “three tastes” (*samwei* 三昧) include monastic life, reading scriptures, and meditation. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 75.

¹⁷⁶ Buddhism. The three insights of Buddhism, including insight into the mortal conditions of self and others in previous lives, supernatural insight into future mortal conditions, and nirvāna insight, or insight into present mortal sufferings in order to overcome all passions or temptations. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 66; Ding 1939, 308; Xingyun 1989, 569.

¹⁷⁷ Buddhism. *Abhijñā* or *sad-abhijñā*. The six supernatural or universal powers (Skt.: *sid-dhi*) acquired by a Buddha. They include magical powers, the divine ear (clairaudience),

“As you advance the Fire, use the Water to cleanse the upper regions, and use the Fire to refine the lower areas.¹⁷⁸ A scripture says, “The lower body sends forth Fire; the upper body sends forth Water.”¹⁷⁹ With the upper part in harmony and the lower part sealed, the trigrams Qian-heaven and Kun-earth mutually harmonize. You can then teach the dragon to coil around the golden tripods, and cause the tiger to envelop the elixir field.¹⁸⁰ You will create a subtle [presence] within. This may be called a dose (*daogui* 刀圭)¹⁸¹ in the furnace. If people

penetration of the minds of others (clairvoyance), the divine eye (ability to see into time and space), memory of former existences, and knowledge of the extinction of karmic outflows. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 138; Ding 1939, 649; Xingyun 1989, 1290, 1292. The “Lun liutong jue” 論六通訣 (Instructions on the Six Pervasions; *Neidan jiyao*, DZ 1258, 3.12a–14a; Eskildsen 2004, 230, n. 15), a Yuan dynasty internal alchemy text, identifies them as follows: (1) Pervasion of Heart-mind Conditions, involving the ability to experience unified nature as distinct from the ordinary body; (2) Pervasion of Spirit Conditions, involving the ability to know things beyond ordinary perception; (3) Pervasion of Celestial Vision, involving the ability to perceive internal landscapes within the body; (4) Pervasion of Celestial Hearing, involving the ability to hear the subtle communications of spirits and humans; (5) Pervasion of Past Occurrences, involving the ability to understand the karmic causes and effects relating to the Three Worlds of desire, form, and formlessness; and (6) Pervasion of the Heart-minds of Others, involving the ability to manifest the body-beyond-the-body.

¹⁷⁸ The *Dadan zhizhi* has the following: “Perfected Huayang Shi said, “The heart is the ruler of the five yang, while the kidneys are the ruler of the five yin. The five yin ascend and become water. The five yang descend and become fire. You must use the time of Qian-heaven so that the heart qi will descend and enter the elixir field. This is called advancing fire” (DZ 244, 1.10b–11a). According to the late thirteenth-century *Zhenxian yulu* (Discourse Records of Perfected Immortals; DZ 1256), “The *ye*-fluids of the heart descend, while qi of the kidneys ascends. They reach the spleen. Then thought becomes separated from images; spirit becomes naturally numinous; the elixir naturally congeals; and immortality is naturally completed” (1.2b). On “advancing the fire” in Daoism see Li 1991, 308; Min and Li 1994, 518; Hu 1995, 1195, 1227.

¹⁷⁹ Source unknown. Hachiya conjectures that the quotation may come from the Buddhist *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* 過去先在因果經 (Sūtra on the Karmic Consequences of Past and Present; T. 189) (Hachiya 1972, 113), which may be mentioned in section 23a below.

¹⁸⁰ The dragon and tiger may refer to a variety of paired associations. The *Ershisi jue* has the following: “Spirit is the dragon; qi is the tiger. These also refer to innate nature and life-destiny” (DZ 1158, 1a). According to the *Danyang yulu*, “Spirit and qi are innate nature and life-destiny. Innate nature and life-destiny are the dragon and tiger. The dragon and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water and fire. Water and fire are the Child (*ying'er* 嬰兒) and Maiden (*chanü* 姪女). The Child and Maiden are perfect yin and perfect yang” (DZ 1057, 15b) On the dragon and tiger see 1b and 7a above.

¹⁸¹ *Daogui* refers to a measurement in laboratory alchemy. For example, the phrase appears in chapter 38 of the fourth-century *Cantong qi* 參同契 (Token for the Kinship of the Three; DZ 999; DZ 1004; trl. Wu and Davis 1932; Zhou 1988): “The color turns to purple, and one naturally completes the reverted elixir. Powdered and formed

practice this exercise, they will forever attain tranquility, happiness, and long life.”

[10a] Someone inquired, “I have already asked about a dose. Someone told me a dose is a seed. Again I inquired about a dose. Someone told me a dose is one swallowing. Again I asked about a dose. Someone told me it is what can be separated by an iron knife. [Please comment on this].”

Perfected Chongyang responded, “The three doses are the treasures. They are vital essence, qi, and blood.”¹⁸²

Perfected Chongyang also instructed, “A dose being a seed refers to *jīn*-fluids and *yè*-fluids. One swallowing being a dose refers to swallowing *jīn*-fluids and absorbing qi (*fúqì* 服氣). A dose separated by an iron knife means the perfect qi.

“Practice this sequence without stopping and you will transform the ten thousand heteropathies (*xie* 邪) to return to good health (*zheng* 正). When practicing this exercise (*xínggōng* 行功),¹⁸³ eat gold provisions when hungry and drink jade broth¹⁸⁴ when thirsty. Advance the Fire when you are cold. Advance the Water when you are hot. Fire is perfect

into a pill, the dose (*daogui* 刀圭) leads to divinization (*shen* 神).” In internal alchemy, a dose relates to the formation of an internal elixir. According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “The head is the land of *wu*, while the abdomen is the land of *ji*. Put together they become the character *gui* [土土=圭]. This is what the Venerable Immortal Lü [Dongbin] called the dose. It is simply the two aspects of innate nature and life-destiny” (DZ 244, 2.11a). For some appearances of *daogui* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.24a, 3.5b, 9.6a, 12.19a. On the meaning of *daogui* in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 65; Hu 1995, 1202.

¹⁸² The explanation here deviates from conventional usage, wherein the Three Treasures refer to vital essence, qi, and spirit. See section 5a above. The occurrence of “blood,” in place of “spirit,” may indicate the recognition of women and female cultivation in the early Quanzhen tradition, as menstruation is seen as the primary source of *jīng*-dissipation for women. However, in classical Chinese medicine, blood is believed to be the “mother of qi.” When blood is sufficient, it circulates to and nourishes the five yin-orbs. This in turn generates qi. Similarly, blood is considered the material basis of spirit, which is associated with the heart, often referred to as the Ocean of Blood (*xuehai* 血海).

¹⁸³ For some appearance of *xínggōng* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.12a, 3.13a, 4.8b, 5.2a, 5.5b, 9.14b, 10.5b. For information on “perfect practice” (*zhènxíng* 真行) and “perfect accomplishment” (*zhèngōng* 真功) in early Quanzhen see Qing 1996, vol. 3, 61–73.

¹⁸⁴ Jade Nectar is another name for saliva produced during Daoist practice, also referred to as Spirit Water, Sweet Dew, and Jade Fluids. On the Jade Nectar see Li 1991, 208; Min and Li 1994, 341.

yang; Water is perfect yin. This exercise is the Method of Extracting to Replenish and Adding to Diminish.”¹⁸⁵

Perfected Chongyang also taught, “‘Extracting’ means to gather perfect qi from above. ‘Increasing’ means to advance warm qi from below. It then enters the elixir field. If a person’s Kidney Palace (*shengong* 腎宮) is warm,¹⁸⁶ then the ten thousand illnesses will disperse and be eliminated.”

Someone asked, “Why do men and women unexpectedly become sick and die?”¹⁸⁷

[10b] Perfected Chongyang answered, “This is because the heart-minds of the people in question are caught up in the mundane world of desire, pleasure, greed, and craving. Daily, they do not sever their ties to ignorance and vexations.¹⁸⁸ At night and during various circumstances, they cannot extinguish the Three Death-bringers and yin-ghosts.¹⁸⁹ Men diminish their vital essence (semen), while women diminish their blood. [Forgetting] qi and the Three Treasures, both depart from the original yang (*yuanyang* 元陽).¹⁹⁰ Consequently, among people there is sickness and death. Have you not heard the sayings of the spirit immortals (*shenxian* 神仙)?¹⁹¹ Human beings are like decaying

¹⁸⁵ Chapter eleven of the tenth-century *Chuandao ji* is entitled “Lun choutian” 論抽添 (On Extracting and Replenishing). It contains the following: “Extracting and replenishing have nothing to do with the external. When [the treasure] moves from the lower elixir field and enters the upper elixir, we call this the ‘gold crystal flying behind the elbow’. It is also referred to as ‘moving the waterwheel’ and ‘going along with the dragon and tiger’. It is also called ‘returning vital essence to restore the brain’” (DZ 263, 15.18b). The phrase “extracting and replenishing” (*choutian* 抽添) often appears as “extracting lead and replenishing mercury” (*chouqian tianhong* 抽鉛添汞). According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “If the three divisions—coupling dragon and tiger, microcosmic circulation, and firing schedule—are practiced in an integrated way, it is called ‘extracting lead and replenishing mercury’. Performed gradually, you will prolong life” (DZ 244, 1.13a). On the meaning of lead and mercury in Quanzhen see section 1b above. On the meaning of *choutian* in Daoism more generally see Li 1991, 334; Min and Li 1994, 629, 630; Hu 1995, 1229, 1254, 1352, 1355.

¹⁸⁶ The kidneys as storehouse. “Warmth” refers to warmth in the kidneys, associated with the conservation of vital essence and strong vitality.

¹⁸⁷ Other sections of the text which discuss sickness and disease include 13b and 22a.

¹⁸⁸ Again reading *wuming* 無明 (“without intelligence”) for *wuming* 無名 (“without name”). On the technical meaning of ignorance and vexations see section 1a above.

¹⁸⁹ On yin-ghosts see sections 2b and 5b above.

¹⁹⁰ The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* contains the following: “The perfect qi is in the heart, and the heart is the source of the *ye*-fluids. The original yang is in the kidneys, and the kidneys are the Ocean of Qi” (DZ 263, 15.3a). On *yuanyang* in Daoism more generally see Hu 1995, 1292.

¹⁹¹ On “spirit immortals” see section 13a below.

and leaking residences. Because the landlord does not make the needed repairs, the temple crumbles and collapses. The soil, beams, and pillars [all fall into ruin]. Thus, there is sickness.”¹⁹²

Someone objected, “Why do children, who are clear and still, and who have not dissipated their Three Treasures, also have sickness and death?”¹⁹³

Perfected Chongyang replied, “Children get sick because in the past, when they were in their mother’s womb, the mother’s blood and qi were deficient and weak. Thus, the womb qi received for ten months was insufficient.¹⁹⁴ Or again, violent wind, excess heat, or dampness in the four limbs make it impossible for the child to receive the womb [qi].¹⁹⁵ Consequently, there is sickness and death.”

[11a] Someone again inquired, “What about the fact that some people are ugly while others are beautiful?”

Perfected Chongyang gave the following answer: “As for the correctness of appearance, it happens because [on the day of conception]

¹⁹² For similar imagery in reference to sickness and dissipation see sections 1b and 6a above as well as section 20a below.

¹⁹³ Here one also notes the usage of *qingjing* 清靜 as a technical designation for abstinence or celibacy.

¹⁹⁴ According to the eighth-century *Neiguan jing* 內觀經 (Scripture on Inner Observation; DZ 641; also DZ 1032, 17.1a–6b; trl. Kohn 1989), “When father and mother unite in harmony, a human being receives life. In the first month, essence and blood coagulate in the womb. In the second month, the embryo begins to take shape. In the third month, the yang-spirit (*yangshen* 陽神) arouses the three ethereal souls (*sanhun* 三魂) to come to life. In the fourth month, the yin numinosity (*yinling* 陰靈) settles the Seven Po (*qipo* 七魄) to guard the body. In the fifth month, the Five Phases are distributed to the five yin-orbs to keep their spirits at peace. In the sixth month, the six pitches are set up in the six yang-orbs to nourish their numinosity. In the seventh month, the seven essential stars open the body cavities to let the light in. In the eighth month, the eight phosphor spirits bestow their perfect numinosity (*zhenling* 真靈). In the ninth month, the various palaces and chambers are properly arranged to keep vital essence safe. In the tenth month, the qi is strong enough to make the various features complete” (1b; adapted from Kohn 1989, 203–5).

¹⁹⁵ Classical Chinese medicine. Wind, heat, and dampness are three recognized pathogenic (disease-producing) factors. Traditionally speaking, Chinese medicine identifies harmful naturalistic influences as the cause of disease. These include the so-called “six climatic influences” (*liuqi* 六氣): wind, dryness, dampness, cold, summer heat or heat, and fire (see *Suwen*, chs. 1, 2, 8, and 66–74). On classical Chinese medicine as the medical system based on systematic correspondence and standardized during the early Han dynasty (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.) see Unschuld 1985, 51–100. On the meaning of *liuqi* in Daoism see Li 1991, 179; Hu 1995, 483, 966. See also section 13b–14a below. On the meaning of *liuqi* in Chinese medicine see Unschuld 1985, 170–72; 1998, 39–59; 2003, 391–488.

the qi of the father and mother resonate with the day and month. If conception occurs before the hour of *wu* [11am–1pm] and after the hour of *chou* [1am–3am], the child will have respectability, truthfulness, extended life-destiny, sufficient clothing, and prosperity. Correct in appearance, he or she brings joy to the heart-minds of father and mother. If a child is conceived after the hour of *wu* and before the hour of *chou*, his or her appearance will not be correct. Many will be afflicted by sickness, deafness, or retardation. Their innate nature will be inferior and they will not recognize people's intentions. Their life-destiny will be impoverished; they will lack sufficient clothing and prosperity. Their life expectancy will not be very long. These are the basic principles of creative transformation (*zaohua* 造化).¹⁹⁶

Someone asked, “Suppose that one happens to meet a hideous demon, how does one control it?”

Perfected Chongyang responded, “You should be clear and still. Amidst anxiety-producing situations, steal a sense of ease. Amidst this sense of ease, take hold of stillness. If you encounter a difficult situation, quickly return to [clarity and stillness] and avoid the heart-king (*xinwang* 心王).¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ *Zaohua* refers to the cosmological process which is the universe in its suchness and to the alchemical process. It appears in a variety of Daoist texts, including the fourth-century B.C.E. *Zhuangzi* and the fourth-century C.E. *Cantong qi*. The phrase is conventionally translated as “creation,” and even more problematically as “Creation,” or, in a slightly different form, as the “Creator” (*zaohua zhe* 造化者) (see, e.g., Watson 1968, 84–85). Given its Abrahamic connotations, the translation of *zaohua* as “creation” may too easily lead to confusion. A more challenging and interpretatively accurate translation would be “creative transformation” or “transformative process.” There is no notion of “creation” in either classical Chinese cosmology or in Daoism. From a more traditional Chinese perspective, the universe came into being through a process of differentiation and cosmological unfolding. For example, in the “Tianwen xun” 天文訊 (Treatise on Celestial Patterns), chapter 3 of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Book of the Masters of Huainan; DZ 1184; see Komjathy 2003a), “When Heaven and Earth were yet unformed,/All was ascending and flying, diving and delving./Thus it was called the Great Inception./The Dao began in the Nebulous Void./The Nebulous Void produced spacetime./Spacetime produced the primordial qi./A shoreline (divided) the primordial qi./That which was pure and bright spread out to form Heaven./The heavy and turbid congealed to form Earth” (Major 1993, 62). See also chapter 42 of the *Daode jing*. On the meaning of *zaohua* in Daoism more generally see Li 1991, 435; Min and Li 1994, 817; Hu 1995, 447.

¹⁹⁷ Designation unknown. Throughout the early Chinese medical classics, the heart is referred to as the “king” (*wang* 王) or “ruler” (*zhu* 主) of the body. An example of this “bureaucratization of the body” appears in chapter 8 of the *Huangdi neijing suwen*: “The heart is the official functioning as Ruler. Spirit brilliance originates in it” (Unschuld 2003, 133). See also *ibid.*, 129–36. In the present context, Wang Chongyang seems to

Also use the Method of Irrigating and Visualizing,¹⁹⁸ resting your spirit and intention in the Spirit Palace of Nirvana (*niwan shengong* 泥丸神宮).¹⁹⁹ Practice aligned sitting (*zhengzuo* 正坐) and begin visualization. Before your eyes, see male and female immortals performing immortal music. Tap the teeth together and stabilize the intent. **[11b]** Then you see the scenery of Mount Kunlun.²⁰⁰ Above, you see an ox, ram, deer, horse, and jade rabbit.²⁰¹ Mentally catch, gather and tie up these animals. Once you stabilize this accomplishment, you suddenly see a single precious treasure tree above you. There is a flower on this tree. The flower opens and bears fruit. Visualize yourself picking this fruit and then swallow it. One who is able to ingest this fruit will forever attain tranquility, joy and long life. This is the Method for Cultivating Alignment. When one round is completed, firmly guard the Four Gates (*simen* 四門).²⁰²

Perfected Chongyang also instructed, “When the qi settles in the Ocean of Blood²⁰³ and the Gate of Life,²⁰⁴ do not open or close the

be suggesting that the heart-mind (i.e., intellectual and emotional activity) should be stilled and remain inactive

¹⁹⁸ Method unknown. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* explains, “Lü [Dongbin] asked, ‘Can you provide a summary of what you mean by visualization (*cunxiang* 存想) and inner observation (*neiguan* 內觀)?’ Zhong[li Quan] explained, ‘If you want to have the yang ascend, you can use [a variety] of images, including the male, dragon, fire, sky, clouds, crane, sun, horse, smoke, haze, wheel, horse cart, flowers, and steam’ (DZ 263, 16.17ab). On the meaning of *guan* (“irrigate”) and *xiang* (“visualize”) in Daoism see Li 1991, 252, 253; Min and Li 1994, 443, 444, 1007; Hu 1995, 579, 972, 984, 1513. On earlier historical precedents for Daoist visualization (*cunsi*; *cunxiang*) and inner observation (*neiguan*) see Kohn 1989; Robinet 1989; Sakade 1991.

¹⁹⁹ An alternate name for the Palace of Nirvana, the upper elixir field. See section 2b above. This mystical cranial location is also mentioned in section 21b below.

²⁰⁰ The mountain and immortal paradise located in the west and presided over by Xiwangmu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West). See section 7b above.

²⁰¹ The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* contains the following: “Someone asked, ‘What are the gold raven (*jinniao* 金鳥) and jade rabbit (*yutu* 玉兔)?’ Our teacher responded, ‘The raven in the sun refers to the *ye*-fluids in the heart. The rabbit in the moon refers to the qi in the kidneys’” (DZ 263, 10.10a).

²⁰² The eyes, ears, nose, and mouth. See section 6b above.

²⁰³ The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* instructs, “The heart is the Ocean of Blood” (DZ 263, 15.1a). See also section 4b above. On the meaning of *xuehai* in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 473; Hu 1995, 1174.

²⁰⁴ The Gate of Life most often refers to the area between the kidneys, associated with the transformation of vital essence to qi. Alternately referred to as the Palace of Essence (*jingong* 精宮), it is identified as the fourth point on the Governing Vessel (*dumai* 督脈; GV-4). Sometimes the Gate of Life may also refer to the lower elixir field, that is, the lower abdomen. The term appears in the section 11b of the *Huangting neijing jing*. See also *Huangting waijing jing*, DZ 332, 1.1a. According to the eighth-century *Huangting neijing jing zhu* (Commentary on the *Huangting neijing jing*; DZ 402), “The Gate of Life

doors. When the vital essence settles, do not think about the outside world. When the spirit settles, vital essence and blood are not dispersed. These are innate nature and life-destiny. Unified intention (*yiyi* 一意) is the perfect ruler (*zhenzhu* 真主). The teeth are the [upper] Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan* 玄關); keep them closed. The elixir field is the lower Mysterious Pass; keep it raised.²⁰⁵ As the gold vital essence (*jinjing* 金精) ascends to the Mysterious [Pass], it reaches the Gold Pass (*jinguan* 金關); keep it tight.²⁰⁶ Tapping the teeth is known as the Jade Lock (*yusuo* 玉鎖).²⁰⁷ When the Six Roots (*liugen* 六根)²⁰⁸ of sensation do not move, the Six Perfections (*liudu* 六度)²⁰⁹ are established. This is related to Haodu guan 號都關 (Pass of Marked Crossing). Gather the qi from below and set up Leyang guan 勒陽關 (Pass of Assisting Yang). Gather

is the lower elixir field" (3.19b). On the meaning of *mingmen* in Daoism see Li 1991, 346; Min and Li 1994, 652; Hu 1995, 1177.

²⁰⁵ The Mysterious Pass may refer to a variety of mystical body locations and is often used interchangeably with Mysterious Gate (*xuanmen* 玄門). The Mysterious Gate is mentioned in section 4b of the third-century *Huangting waijing jing*, which an eighth-century commentary interprets as the nose (*Huangting waijing jing zhu*, DZ 263, 60.5b). According to the *Jianwu ji*, the Mysterious Gate is the nose (DZ 1142, 2.16a). The *Dadan zhizhi* has the following, "The Mysterious Pass is inside the navel; it is 1.3 inches [below the navel]" (DZ 244, 2.14b). According to the present context, there are two *xuanguan*, an upper one, the teeth, and a lower one, the lower elixir field. See also section 6b above. On the meaning of *xuanguan* and *xuanmen* in Daoism see Li 1991, 236; Min and Li 1994, 408; Hu 1995, 1169, 1290.

²⁰⁶ The location of the Gold Pass remains somewhat obscure. It most likely refers to a subtle cranial location. See also section 6b above.

²⁰⁷ The Jade Lock most often refers to the locking mechanism of the jaw. The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* explains, "With the waterwheel moving to the highest peak, [the qi] circulates and returns to the area above the peak, thereby coalescing the three blossoms (*sanhua* 三花). Firmly close the Jade Pass (*yuguan* 玉關) and Gold Lock (*jinsuo* 金鎖)" (DZ 263, 12.8a). The *Fenli shihua ji* contains the following: "Knock at the door of the Gold Pass, and shut the door of the Jade Lock. Within these enclosures, do not act, [but rather] cultivate restraint" (DZ 1155, 1.7a). The same text also explains, "If you want to engage in cultivation, you must carefully close the Gold Pass and Jade Gate (*yumen* 玉門)" (1.5b). The *Jiaohua ji* has the following: "If you want to ascend the cloud route and open the turquoise route, close the Gold Pass and open the Jade Pass. Decocting and refining the elixir, do not allow the elixir to dissipate (*lou* 漏). Naturally you come to see the interior prospects" (DZ 1154, 2.10a). See also section 6b above.

²⁰⁸ Buddhism. The eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind. See section 4a above.

²⁰⁹ Buddhism. The six *pāramitā*. These include *dāna* (charity or giving), *sīla* (keeping the precepts), *ksānti* (patience under insult), *vīrya* (zeal and progress), *dhyāna* (meditation or contemplation), and *prajñā* (wisdom or insight). See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 134; Ding 1939, 645, 1574; Xingyun 1989, 1277.

the qi from above the jaws and set up Dingyang guan 頂陽關 (Pass of Uppermost Yang).²¹⁰

The nose is the Gate of Heaven (*tianmen* 天門).²¹¹ Narrow Ridge²¹² is Paired Passes.²¹³ [12a] When practicing this exercise, open the lock all at once. Keep the spirit unmoving, and thought will not be chaotic. Thought will then be vague and indistinct (*huanghu* 恍惚).²¹⁴ This is the Method of Clarity and Stillness.

²¹⁰ The locations of these various “passes” are unknown. As three are mentioned, they may be relatively obscure alternate names for the Three Passes, namely, Tailbone Gate (coccyx), Narrow Ridge (mid-spine), and Jade Capital (occiput). However, it is also possible to translate the passage differently, wherein the first pass is Duguan 都關 (Metropolis Pass), while the second and third are both Yangguan 陽關 (Yang Pass). The second pass mentioned, Leyang guan, also appears throughout the “Zhouhou fei jinjing” 肘後飛金精 (Flying the Gold Crystal Behind the Elbow) section of the ninth-century *Lingbao bifa* (DZ 1191, 2.1a–8a). On the meaning of *yangguan/ yangmen* in Daoism see Li 1991, 298; Hu 1995, 1174.

²¹¹ As this passage indicates, the Gate of Heaven, or Celestial Gate, most often refers to the nose. The phrase appears in chapter 10 of the *Daode jing*: “Opening and closing the Gate of Heaven, can you become like a female?” The Heshang gong 河上公 (Master Dwelling-by-the-River) commentary (*Daode zhenjing zhu*; DZ 682; trl. Erkes 1958) identifies the Gate of Heaven as the nose. The phrase also appears in section 12a of the *Huangting neijing jing*. According to the eighth-century *Huangting neijing jing zhu* (Commentary on the *Huangting neijing jing*; DZ 402), “Preserve (or, visualize; *cun* 存) the qi of the five yin-orbs and yang-orbs, ascending and joining them in the Gate of Heaven. The Gate of Heaven is the space between the eyebrows. This is also the Celestial Court (*tianting* 天庭). One inch deeper in between the eyebrows is the Hall of Light (*mingtang* 明堂)” (3.20a). On the meaning of *tianmen* in Daoism see Li 1991, 113; Min and Li 1994, 181; Hu 1995, 484, 781, 1165.

²¹² Narrow Ridge is the second of the Three Passes, located approximately at mid-spine. See sections 7a and 7b above.

²¹³ Also referred to as the Dark Towers (*youque* 幽闕) (*Huangting waijing jing*; DZ 332, 1.1a), the Paired Passes refer to the kidneys. According to the ninth-century *Lingbao bifa*, “The human spine has twenty-four sections [vertebra]. From the base and going up three sections, this is the pair of the inner kidneys (*neishen* 內腎). From the peak and going down three sections, this is the Celestial Pillar (*tianzhu* 天柱). . . . Going up eighteen sections from Tailbone Gate, this center is called Paired Passes. There are nine [sections] above and nine [sections] below [this area]. You should concentrate (*ding* 定) [on this for] one hundred days, circulating [the qi] through the eighteen sections to enter the [Palace of] Nirvana (DZ 1191, 2.1a–8a). See section 8a above. On the meaning of *shuangguan* in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 327; Hu 1995, 1165.

²¹⁴ Here the adjectives “vague” and “indistinct” do not have negative connotations. The terms go back to the *Daode jing*, wherein they are used to describe the Dao. For example, chapter 21 has the following: “The Dao considered as a thing—It is vague (*huang* 恍) and indistinct (*hu* 惚). Indistinct and vague, its center contains forms. Vague and indistinct, its center contains beings (*wu* 物). Obscure (*yao* 杳) and unseen (*ming* 冥), its center contains essences (*jing* 精).”

“Throughout the four seasons, if there are those with yellow-colored urine,²¹⁵ this is because the elixir field is empty and injured and they have lost the perfect qi in the lower prime.²¹⁶ [Under these conditions,] one must quickly employ the Method of Threading the Nine Curves.²¹⁷ This is also called the Nine Revolutions Threading the Small Intestine.²¹⁸ After nine penetrations, the perfect qi enters the Hall of Kidneys.²¹⁹ Urination naturally becomes clear white in color,²²⁰ and the whole body attains calmness and joy.”

Someone again raised a question: “What is the Method of the Three Transmissions?”

Perfected Chongyang replied, “The lesser transmission is like a newborn child. The middle transmission is like a small child sitting on the ground. The greater transmission is like a small child running and walking.²²¹ If someone can fully comprehend these Three Transmissions,²²² then he will transcend the Three Worlds. The Three Worlds are the world of desire, the world of form, and the world of formlessness.²²³ The heart-mind, innate nature, and intention manifest

²¹⁵ In Chinese medicine, dark yellow-colored urine indicates a heat condition. If the kidneys are depleted, through excessive sexual activity or cavorting behavior (fine foods and liquor), a false heat develops in the lower elixir field. This is a sign of deficiency. On the various types of urination in Chinese medicine see Clavey 1995, 73–122.

²¹⁶ The lower prime is an alternate name for the lower elixir field. Similarly, the Three Fields are also referred to as the Three Primes (*sanyuan* 三元). According to the eleventh-century encyclopedia *Yunji qiqian*, “Human beings have three elixir fields. There are the upper prime, middle prime, and lower prime. The elixir field of the upper prime is the brain; it is also called Niwan. The elixir field of the middle prime is the heart; it is also called the Vermilion Palace. The elixir field of the lower prime is the Ocean of Qi; it is called the Gate of Essence” (DZ 1032, 59.2a). See Li 1991, 70, 80, 139; Min and Li 1994, 70, 110, 125, 272; Hu 1995, 482, 745, 1141, 1449, 1675, 1681.

²¹⁷ Method unknown. The Nine Curves most often refer to the intestines. See sections 4b, 6b, and 8a above.

²¹⁸ Method unknown.

²¹⁹ The Hall of Kidneys is also mentioned in sections 14a and 21a below.

²²⁰ In Chinese medicine, pale urination tends to indicate kidney-yang or qi deficiency. In contrast, the present passage suggests that urine which is clear in color, with *qing* 青 probably being a scribal error or variant for *qing* 清 (“clear”), is a positive sign.

²²¹ Cf. Yin Zhiping’s account of Qiu Changchun’s dream in the *Qinghe yulu*, DZ 1310, 4.5a–5b. See chapter 7.

²²² Buddhism. The Three Vehicles (*sansheng* 三乘), also called the Three Carts (*sanche* 三車): that of the hearer or obedient disciple, that of the enlightened for oneself, and that of the bodhisattva. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 58, 78; Ding 1939, 321.

²²³ A parallel statement appears in the *Shiwu lun*, attributed to Wang Chongyang: “The Three Worlds are the world of desire, the world of form, and the world of formlessness. When the heart-mind forgets planning and thinking, one goes beyond

as the Three Bodies (*sanshen* 三身).²²⁴ These are the Dharma Body of Clarity and Stillness,²²⁵ the Bliss Body of Enlightened Fullness, and the Transformation Body of Samādhi.²²⁶ [12b] These three each have a spirit of manifest traces (*xianji zhi shen* 顯跡之神).

“The first dispensation (*hui* 會) was the Great High [Lord Lao]. Refining [the eastern direction and] *jia* and *yi* [relates to] the Wood phase.²²⁷ This was the dispensation of empty calm. Lord Lao wore azure robes and saved three thousand Daoists in azure robes. He transmitted the venerable scriptures of Lingbao (Numinous Treasure) in thirty-six sections on the azure spirits and yellow scrolls.²²⁸ He also transmitted

the world of desire. When the heart-mind forgets mental projections, one goes beyond the world of form. When the heart-mind does not manifest even a vision of emptiness, one goes beyond the world of formlessness. Abandoning these Three Worlds, the spirit dwells in the country of immortals and sages. Innate nature resides in the region of Yuqing 玉清 (Jade Clarity)” (DZ 1233, 5a–5b). For some appearances of *sanjie* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.19a, 3.13a, 9.5a; *Fenli shihua ji*, DZ 1155, 1.9a.

²²⁴ Buddhism. This passage also implies the Trikāya, or threefold body or nature of a Buddha: the Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya, and Nirmānakāya, i.e., the dharma-body, bliss-body, and transformation-body. These correspond to (1) the body of a Buddha in its essential nature; (2) the body of a Buddha received for his own use and enjoyment; and (3) the body of a Buddha by which he can appear in any form. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 77–78; Ding 1939, 302; Xingyun 1989, 555. For the meaning of *sanshen* in Daoism see Li 1991, 55; Min and Li 1994, 73; Hu 1995, 481, 1140.

²²⁵ The *Dadan zhizhi* has the following: “Huangdi 黃帝 (Yellow Thearch) employs fire so that the dragon emerges in stillness. Transforming fire, the dragon leaps up. Spontaneously, there is a body-beyond-the-body (*shenwai you shen* 身外有身); it is called the Dharma Body of Clarity and Purity (*qingjing fashen* 清靜法身)” (DZ 244, 2.8b).

²²⁶ Buddhism. *Sanmei* 三昧 (lit., “three obscurities”) is the Chinese rendering of *samādhi*. *Samādhi* is usually identified as the highest attainment of yogic or meditative discipline. It may be translated as “complete absorption” or “yogic stasis.” For a discussion in terms of Indian Yoga see Eliade 1969, especially 76–95. For some insights concerning its meaning in Buddhism see Soothill and Hodous 1937, 66; Ding 1939, 312; Xingyun 1989, 580. For appearances of *sanmei* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.3b, 3.14b, 5.5b, 12.5a.

²²⁷ *Jia* and *yi* are the first and second of the ten celestial stems, respectively. The celestial stems combine to form pairs of Five Phase correspondences. They are as follows: (1) Wood: *jiuyi*; (2) Fire: *bingding*; (3) Earth: *wuji*; (4) Metal: *gengxin*; and (5) Water: *rengui*.

²²⁸ Lingbao 靈寶 refers to a Daoist movement that emerged through the influence of the earlier Tianshi 天師 (Celestial Masters) and Shangqing 上清 (Highest Clarity) movements as well as of Buddhism. For some discussions of Lingbao see Bokenkamp 1983; 1997; Eskildsen 1998; Yamada 2000. Traditionally speaking, the *Daozang* (Daoist Canon) has been divided into the so-called Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞), with the second, Cavern Mystery (*dongxuan* 洞玄), containing the Lingbao scriptures (see Komjathy 2002b, 2). It is unclear why the Lingbao scriptures are singled out in the present context, but it may be because Daoist ritual was codified in that tradition and its standardization became orthodox.

the Nine-Times Reverted Elixir and the Method of the Yellow Sprouts Threading the Knee.

“Severing ties to the world was the second dispensation. Śākyamuni Buddha transmitted this. Refining the southern direction and *bing* and *ding* [relate to] the Fire phase. His body was covered by a *kasaya*²²⁹ of burning fire and he guided three thousand bhikkhus.²³⁰ He transmitted the venerable sutras of the Greater Vehicle [Mahāyāna] in twelve sections. He also transmitted the Method of the Nine-layered Iron Drum and the Method of Reeds and Sprouts Threading the Knee.

“Longhua [Confucius] was the third dispensation. He was a gentleman who resided in the study hall of the state of Lu. Refining the western direction and *geng* and *xin* [relate to] the Metal phase. He educated three thousand white-robed recluses. He transmitted the *Lunyu* (Analects) in ten scrolls. He also transmitted Threading the Nine Curves with the Illuminated Pearl and the Method of Reeds and Sprouts Threading the Knee.

“The Three Teachings (*sanjiao* 三教) are like a tripod.²³¹ It has three feet, but its body is the same. Restored to unity, there is no duality or trinity.²³² **[13a]** The Three Teachings are not separate from the perfect Dao. Thus the saying: ‘From a single tree root, three branches grow.’”

Someone asked, “Within the great Dao, how many ranks (*deng* 等) of spirit immortals are there?”

Perfected Chongyang responded, “According to the *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao), there are five ranks of spirit immortals.²³³ Those of first rank neither uphold

²²⁹ A Buddhist robe.

²³⁰ Buddhist monks.

²³¹ The Three Teachings are Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism. For some appearances of *sanjiao* in Wang Chongyang's poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.8b, 2.13a, 10.1a, 10.1b, 10.18b, 12.5a, 12.9b, 13.2b.

²³² This sentence recalls chapter 42 of the *Daode jing*: “The Dao generated the One;/The One generated the two;/The two generated the three;/The three generated the myriad beings.”

²³³ One of the earliest classifications of immortals appears in Ge Hong's 葛洪 (*Baopuzi* 抱朴子 [Master Embracing Simplicity]; 283–343) *Baopuzi neipian* 抱朴子內篇 (Inner Chapters of Master Embracing Simplicity; DZ 1185; trl. Ware 1966): “Superior adepts who rise up in their bodies and ascend to the Void are called celestial immortals. Mid-level adepts who wander among renowned mountains are called terrestrial immortals. Lesser adepts who first die and then slough off (*xiansi houshui* 先死後蛻) are called corpse-liberated immortals (*shijie xian* 尸解仙)” (2.11a). For some recent discussions of immortality or transcendence in Ge Hong's works see Lai 1998; Campamy

the precepts²³⁴ nor avoid alcohol and meat; they are not loathe to take life²³⁵ and do not contemplate the good. Such is the class of ghost immortals (*guixian* 鬼仙). Those of the second rank nourish the perfect qi and prolong life-destiny. Such is the class of terrestrial immortals (*dixian* 地仙). Those of the third rank are good at fighting and contending. Such is the class of sword immortals (*jianxian* 劍仙). Those of the fourth rank practice meditation and cultivation. Such is the class of spirit immortals (*shenxian* 神仙). Those of the fifth rank are filial in taking care of teachers, elders, and parents. Such immortals observe the Six Perfections [Skt.: *pāramitā*], practice the myriad activities of skillful means, endeavor to save all sentient beings, and sever ties to the ten evils.²³⁶ They neither take life nor drink alcohol and eat meat. They cannot be deviant or steal. Their intention is identical with that of the heavens. Their heart-minds are aligned and upright, without [any trace of] selfishness or falseness. [This rank of immortal] is called a celestial immortal (*tianxian* 天仙).

“Each day you should bring forth that place in the heart-mind where goodness [resides] and you will find yourself in a positive and auspicious position.”

[13b] [Someone again inquired,] “As for the person doing more advanced cultivation, what kind of guidelines do they have regarding prohibitions and avoidances?”

Perfected Chongyang explained, “It is best for men and women to develop clarity and stillness during the fifth and sixth months and during the time of Great Avoidance (*daji* 大忌) in the eleventh and twelfth months.²³⁷ In addition, men, during the fifth and sixth months and

2002, especially 75–80. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* has the following: “The immortals have five ranks, including ghost immortal, human immortal (*renxian* 人仙), terrestrial immortal, and spirit immortal. The celestial immortal is beyond rank. All of these are immortals” (DZ 263, 14.2b). Note that list differs from that of Wang, which claims it as scriptural authority. The *Chuandao ji* in turn describes the various characteristics of these immortals (see Wong 2000, 23–30). The late thirteenth-century *Zhenxian yulu* (Discourse Record of Perfected Immortals; DZ 1256) contains the following information: “Patriarch Ma [Danyang] said, ‘The immortals have four ranks, including ghost immortal, human immortal, terrestrial immortal, and spirit immortal’” (2.12a).

²³⁴ On Quanzhen precepts see section 1b above.

²³⁵ Omitting the negative.

²³⁶ On the ten evils see section 1b above.

²³⁷ If the Great Avoidance has a calendrically-significant association, it is unknown. Based on the present context, it suggests not engaging in sexual activity and dissipation during the middle of the winter, i.e., during the time of the apex of yin which is associated with the kidneys and vital essence.

the month of Great Killing (*dasha* 大殺),²³⁸ must not have sex. This is because [sex will cause] the Five Exhaustions (*wulao* 五勞)²³⁹ and Seven Injuries (*qishang* 七傷).²⁴⁰ Men will dissipate their innate nature and life-destiny, while women dissipate innate nature. This relates to vital essence, blood, and qi.²⁴¹ Such dissipation may cause people to have paralysis on the left or right. It also may cause them to get crimson and white below the waist.²⁴² If they dissipate the perfect qi of the Five Phases, this is “exhaustion” (*lao* 勞); if they dissipate the Seven Treasures (*qibao* 七寶),²⁴³ this is “injury” (*shang* 傷). The myriad diseases all come from here.”

Someone asked, “Where do diseases come from?”

Perfected Chongyang answered, “The myriad diseases all come from misalignment with the qi of the Eight Nodes.”²⁴⁴

²³⁸ If the Great Killing has a calendrically-significant association, it is unknown. Based on the present context, it suggests not engaging in sexual activity and dissipation during the middle of the summer, i.e., during the time of the apex of yang which is associated with the heart and vital spirit.

²³⁹ Most likely refers to disharmony and disruption of the five yin-orbs (*wuzang* 五臟). May also relate to the Five Exhaustions of classical Chinese medicine. According to chapter 23 of the *Huangdi neijing suwen*, “The Five Exhaustions are what cause injury. Extended perceiving injures the blood; extended lying down injures the qi; extended sitting injures the flesh; extended standing injures the bones; and extended walking injures the sinews” (DZ 1018, 18.9b–10a) (see also *Lingshu*, ch. 18). On the meaning of *wulao* in Daoism see Li 1991, 124; Min and Li 1994, 217; Hu 1995, 968.

²⁴⁰ Most likely refers to the dissipation of the Seven Treasures (*qibao* 七寶). In Chinese medicine, the Seven Injuries are seven disease-causing factors: (1) Injury to the spleen from excessive eating; (2) Injury to the liver from excessive anger; (3) Injury to the kidneys from Excessive labor and lifting; (4) Injury to the lungs from excessive cold; (5) Injury to the heart from excessive anxiety and worry; (6) Injury to the body from wind, rain, cold or summer heat; and (7) Injury to the emotions from excessive fear. May also refer to seven manifestations of kidney depletion in men: (1) Cold genitals; (2) Impotence; (3) Abdominal urgency; (4) Seminal emission; (5) Insufficiency of essence with dampness of genitals; (6) Thin semen; and (7) Frequent urination, dribbling of urine or interrupted urination. On the meaning of *qishang* in Daoism see Li 1991, 16; Min and Li 1994, 30; Hu 1995, 1112, 1316.

²⁴¹ The Three Treasures, most often consist of vital essence, qi, and spirit. For an explanation of blood replacing spirit see sections 5a and 10a above.

²⁴² Reading *chibai* 赤白 (lit., “crimson and white”) as *chili* 赤痢 (dysentery).

²⁴³ Most likely refers to vital essence (*jing* 精), blood (*xue* 血), qi 氣, marrow (*sui* 髓), the brain (*nao* 腦), kidneys (*shen* 腎), and heart (*xin* 心). May also designate spirit (*shen* 神), qi 氣, meridians (*mai* 脈), vital essence (*jing* 精), blood (*xue* 血), saliva (*tu* 唾), and water (*shui* 水).” See section 4b above.

²⁴⁴ The Eight Nodes are the beginning of the four seasons, the solstices, and the equinoxes. See sections 2a and 8b above.

Someone inquired, “What are the Eight Deviations (*baxie* 八邪)?”

Perfected Chongyang responded, “When, within the eight trigrams,²⁴⁵ yin and yang do not follow each other properly, the qi within the Eight Nodes forces people to enter deviance. [The Eight Deviations] are hunger and satiation, exhaustion and employment, wind and cold, as well as heat and dampness. [14a] When hunger arrives, such individuals painfully overeat. When cold reaches an extreme, grief affects their hearts. When traveling into distant locales, they suffer from fatigue. Getting very cold or hot, they drink [to the point of] intoxication. Indeed, they cannot practice these exercises, and this gives rise to serious illness.

“It is best to seek clarity and stillness in practice. When practicing, gather the elixir of jade *ye*-fluids (*yuye* 玉液) on the tongue, collect the elixir of the original yang in the nose, and gather the elixir of the gold *ye*-fluids (*jinye* 津液)²⁴⁶ in the Hall of Kidneys. If vital essence and marrow are full and the bones solid, death will be withheld for a hundred years.²⁴⁷ The sinews and bones will not become loose. This is called connecting with the seed to encircle and guard the bones.”

²⁴⁵ On the Eight Trigrams see sections 4a and 8b above.

²⁴⁶ The saliva. The ninth-century *Lingbao bifa* contains a section entitled “Jinye huandan” 津液還丹 (Reverted Elixir of the Vital Fluids). Here one finds the following: “The jade *ye*-fluids originate from the kidney qi ascending and entering the heart. When these two qi commingle, they pass through the Storied Tower [trachea]. Close the mouth so that it does not escape. Then the *jīn*-fluids fill the Jade Pond (*yuchi* 玉池). Swallow them. This is called the reverted elixir of the jade *ye*-fluids. . . . The gold *ye*-fluids [originate] when the kidney qi joins with the heart qi, without ascending. [Instead, it becomes] a warm vapor in the lungs. The lungs are the Flower Canopy (*huagai* 華蓋). It descends to cover the two qi. Each day, grasp the *ye*-fluids of the lungs. It ascends from Tailbone Gate to the lower [elixir] field. . . . From the upper [region], it again descends, entering the lower [elixir] field. This is called the reverted elixir of the gold *ye*-fluids” (DZ 1191, 2.13b–14a).

²⁴⁷ Traditionally speaking, one hundred years was seen as the maximum human life-span. Chapter one of the *Huangdi neijing suwen* has the following: “Human beings of ancient times understood the Dao. They patterned themselves on yin and yang and harmonized themselves through techniques and reckoning. Their eating and drinking had regulation. Their rising and retiring had constancy. They avoided being reckless and disorderly, and so did not become exhausted. Thus, their bodies and spirits were able to remain united. Reaching the culmination of the years allotted by the heavens, they departed at one hundred years of age. Human beings of today are not like this. They take alcohol as their drink of choice. They take recklessness as their constant. Intoxicated, they enter the bedchamber. Through desire, they drain their vital essence. Through dissipation, they scatter their perfection. They do not know how to preserve fullness. They do not know when to attend to spirit. Over-active, they strain their heart-minds. They go against the joy of living, and their rising and retiring lack regulation. Thus, at half of one hundred years of age, they decline.”

Perfected Chongyang also explained, “The great elixir of the twenty-four days of avoidances consists of using the twenty-four periods of the year.²⁴⁸ I once told my master that I wished to seek subtle instruction.²⁴⁹ [He said]²⁵⁰ ‘You must control your thoughts and breathe naturally. You must donate large quantities of precious metals and net wealth. To do so, first renounce your own needs (*sheshen* 捨身) and donate generously (*bushi* 布施). Second, take care of and serve your master. Third, make food offerings (*gongyang* 供養).’ He further explained,²⁵¹ ‘Renouncing your own needs and donating generously means that if you see your master, elder, or father and mother in peril, you sacrifice your life to save theirs. Taking care and serving the master means that

²⁴⁸ The twenty-four periods and their approximate date on the Gregorian (Western) calendar are as follows: (1) Beginning of spring (*lichun* 立春; approx. February 5); (2) Rain water (*yushui* 雨水; approx. February 19); (3) Excited insects (*jingzhi* 驚蟄; approx. March 5); (4) Vernal equinox (*chunfen* 春分; approx. March 20); (5) Clear brightness (*qingming* 清明; approx. April 5); (6) Grain rain (*guyu* 穀雨; approx. April 20); (7) Beginning of summer (*lixia* 立夏; approx. May 5); (8) Slight fullness (*xiaoman* 小滿; approx. May 21); (9) Bearded grain (*mangzhong* 芒種; approx. June 6); (10) Summer solstice (*xiazhi* 夏至; approx. June 21); (11) Slight heat (*xiaoshu* 小暑; approx. July 7); (12) Great heat (*dashu* 大暑; approx. July 23); (13) Beginning of autumn (*liqiu* 立秋; approx. August 7); (14) Limit of heat (*chushu* 處暑; approx. August 23); (15) White dew (*bailu* 白露; approx. September 8); (16) Autumnal equinox (*qiufen* 秋分; approx. September 23); (17) Cold dew (*hanlu* 寒露; approx. October 8); (18) Frost descends (*shuangjiang* 霜降; approx. October 23); (19) Beginning of winter (*lidong* 立冬; approx. November 7); (20) Light snow (*xiaoxue* 小雪; approx. November 22); (21) Heavy snow (*daxue* 大雪; approx. December 7); (22) Winter solstice (*dongzhi* 冬至; approx. December 21); (23) Slight cold (*xiaohan* 小寒; approx. January 6); and (24) Severe cold (*dahan* 大寒; approx. January 21). These are sub-divided into the Eight Nodes (*bagie* 八節), namely, the beginning of the four seasons, the solstices, and equinoxes. See sections 2a and 8b above. The present passage suggests that there were particular avoidances (*ji* 忌) and related practices corresponding to the twenty-four periods, which are unknown.

²⁴⁹ Who exactly this “teacher” (*shi* 師) is remains an open question. Hagiographically speaking, one thinks of Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (Chunyang 純陽 [Purified Yang]; d. 798 C.E.), or another, unidentified immortal. Lü Dongbin is mentioned below. Historically speaking, Wang may be recollecting his training in the eremitic community of Liujiang village. In this respect, one thinks of He Dejin 和德瑾 (Yuchan 玉蟾 [Jade Toad]; d. 1170) and Li Lingyang 李靈陽 (Lingyang 靈陽 [Numinous Yang]; d. 1189). In other texts, Wang Chongyang mentions a certain “perfected teacher” (*zhenshi* 真師), “enlightened teacher” (*mingshi* 明師), and “patriarch master” (*zushi* 祖師). See *Quanzen jü*, DZ 1153, 3.3b, 3.8b, 11.5b, 12.12b; Marsone 2001, 99.

²⁵⁰ Reading the lines which follow as the instructions given to Wang Chongyang by his teacher(s). Other renderings are possible. Another viable reading is that “my teacher” (*woshi* 我師) refers to Wang Chongyang, thus making this a disciple’s (the redactor’s?) insertion.

²⁵¹ Reading *jie* 解 (“explained”) as a further elaboration of the previous point. It is also viable to take this as Wang Chongyang’s explanation of a commentary by the text’s editor.

if the master or an elder beats or scolds you, you are joyful, welcoming it with a smile.²⁵² Your face should not show any anger or rage. **[14b]** Making food offerings means that if you have some delicious food, you first respectfully offer it to your master. This is what is known as the Three Donations.’”

“An immortal once said, ‘Determination is the joy of the Dao; goodness is the causal connection.’ To seek a master without diligence, how can you reach the Dao?”

“The Venerable Lü [Dongbin] said, ‘Do not rely on a teacher for guidance; this condition is difficult to fathom.’²⁵³ He also said, ‘There are those who study but do not comprehend, those who do not study but awaken to it, and those who study but do not obey their teacher. Any of these is stealing the teachings (*daoxue* 盜學).’²⁵⁴

“Such a thief in the divine law may hide behind the patriarch or teacher, but will only get caught up in himself. His life expectancy will be the same as that of ordinary people. He may proudly claim to have reached self-realization (*jide* 已得), and use this as an excuse for interrupting practice. How can such a person complete the Dao? Such people, we say, despise their teachers and belittle the divine law. They should not be tolerated by the master.

“One who has not yet studied cultivation must first seek to help others; one who seeks to save himself must rely on accomplishment, inner power, and practice.”

“Each person must recognize the patriarch, the ancestor, and the ranked tablet (*kepai* 科牌).²⁵⁵ The Great High [Lord Lao] is the

²⁵² This recalls certain biographical episodes in the life of Wang Chongyang and certain interactions with his disciples. We know that Wang Chongyang sometimes verbally reprimanded and physically disciplined the early adepts when their determination waned. See chapter 1; also Eskildsen 2004, 9–10, 44–45, 49–50, 68, 122, 140.

²⁵³ Hachiya (1972, 98) identifies these lines as appearing in the *Lüzū quanshu* 呂祖全書 (Complete Works of Patriarch Lü; JH 79; ZW 215). The tenth-century *Chuandao jī* contains the following: “If you meet an enlightened teacher (*mingshi* 明師) and obtain methods (*fa* 法), practice the more advanced methods (*dafa* 大法) according to the [appropriate] time. Then you will have verification (*yanzheng* 驗證)” (DZ 263, 16.27b).

²⁵⁴ Or, “learning through theft.”

²⁵⁵ *Zū* 祖, here rendered as “patriarch,” refers to the first or original founding figure. *Zōng* 宗, here rendered as “ancestor,” refers to a venerated successor. In the case of a religious tradition, the former creates the religious system, while the latter represents, transmits, and develops that vision. With regard to the history of Quanzhen, Wang Chongyang would be the patriarch, while disciples such as Ma Danyang and Qiu Changchun would be ancestors. The meaning of *kepai*, here translated as “ranked tablet” (ancestor tablet), is unclear.

patriarch. Śākyamuni Buddha is the ancestor. Kongzi (Confucius) is the ranked tablet.

[15a] “Follow their Three Teachings and attain serenity. Leave behind all ordinary men and women who are [drowning] in the river of lust²⁵⁶ and boiling in [samsara]. They are drifting and perishing in the ocean of suffering. They receive vexations and become lost in the Six Conditions [of rebirth] (*liudao* 六道).²⁵⁷ They neither are born nor die; they simply come and go. The Sage Ruler of the Three Teachings (Sanjiao shengzhu 三教聖主) and the Sage Mother of the Three Worlds (Sanjie shengmu 三教聖母)²⁵⁸ still come to save every man and woman. Remember and extol their names and marks, so that they may manifest enlightenment and long life to you.”

Perfected Chongyang further explained, “To make the body complete, all precepts must be observed²⁵⁹ and the heart-mind must be awakened.²⁶⁰ Realization is like fire.²⁶¹ The *Suiqiu jing* 隨求經²⁶² says, “The precious seal of the wish-granting scepter (*ruyi* 如意; i.e., the Buddha

²⁵⁶ Here *ai* 愛 refers to selfish love that expects something in return.

²⁵⁷ Buddhism. *Liudao*, literally meaning the “six paths,” refers to six conditions of sentient existence. They are hell-dweller, hungry ghost, animal, titan (*asura*), human, and god (*deva*). See section 6b above. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 139; Ding 1939, 637, 652; Xingyun 1989, 1298.

²⁵⁸ Gods unknown. The Three Teachings refer to Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. The Three Worlds (*sanjie* 三界) refer to the world of desire (Chn.: *yujie* 慾界; Skt.: *kāma-dhātu*), world of form (Chn.: *sejie* 色界; Skt.: *rūpa-dhātu*), and world of formlessness (Chn.: *wuse jie* 無色界; Skt.: *ārūpya-dhātu*). See section 12a above.

²⁵⁹ On precepts in early Quanzhen see section 1b above.

²⁶⁰ *Wu* 悟, here translated as “awakening” and sometimes rendered as “enlightenment,” is more familiar in its Japanese pronunciation *satori*, which is, in turn, related to the Sanskrit *bodhi*. Associated with Zen (Chan) Buddhism, *satori* refers to enlightenment, usually sudden awakening, wherein dualistic views no longer obscure reality.

²⁶¹ As in a brilliant luminosity. In other writings, Wang Chongyang speaks of cultivational accomplishment in terms of the sensation of “heat” (*re* 熱). See, e.g., *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 2.1a, 2.26a. Judith Boltz interprets this as “being set on fire,” characterizing the experience as one of “mental self-incineration” (1987, 144). This seems unlikely. The image is less self-incineration or self-immolation, but more self-illumination or blazing luminosity. In terms of internal alchemy, such descriptions most likely refer to the internal heat generated during Daoist training, which is similar to *tapas* in the Indian yogic tradition. Here one may think of the Daoist character for *qi* 炁, which under a Daoist reading consists of “non-existent” (*wu* 无) and “fire” (*huo* 火). *Qi* is the subtle warmth (“non-existent fire”) that pervades the body.

²⁶² The *Suiqiu jing* (Sūtra on Following and Seeking) may be the Buddhist *Pubian guangming qingjing chisheng ruyin bao yinxin wu nengsheng daming wang da suiqiu tuolouni jing* 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 (Dhāraṇī Sūtra of the Great Pursuit, [Revealed by] the Invincible Exalted Illuminated King [Holding] the Precious Wish-fulfilling Heart-Seal of Universality, Radiance, Purity, and Overflow; T. 1153) (1972, 97), associated with the Tantric ritual expert Amoghavajra (705–774).

and dharma) accords with the heart-mind and manifests in marks.’ There are ten marks (*shihao* 十號),²⁶³ which are also the ten virtues (*shishan* 十善).²⁶⁴ These ten marks are what make one a human being. The first mark is original cultivation. The second mark is circulating divided illumination. The third mark is pervading the Three Worlds. The fourth mark is perpetual life. The fifth mark is radiant illumination. The sixth mark is pervasive intention. The seventh mark is the whole body under control. The eighth mark is increased fortune and prosperity. The ninth mark is celestial original cultivation. The tenth mark is being able to be human. As each is added to innate nature and the ten marks are without dissipation, accomplishment and inner power are naturally complete.

“The Three Teachings consist of following one’s intention to widely transform all sentient beings, so that none is separated from the Dao. **[15b]** People of ancient times had a saying: ‘Throughout the world, concern over innate nature and life-destiny is great.’ Those who practice cultivation regard birth, old age, sickness, and death as suffering. But of all the people of today, none has understood the perfect Dao.²⁶⁵ They often discuss emptiness and completely lose emptiness [in the process]. In the present moment, they most assuredly cannot realize it. How then can they speak about things that will come to pass (*guoqu* 過去)?²⁶⁶ I have also heard that the *Damo jing* 達摩經²⁶⁷ says, “The past cannot be spoken of as real; the future cannot be considered true.” The Great

²⁶³ These “ten marks” are an adaptation of the “ten names” discussed in Buddhism. Under that usage, *shihao* refers to the ten titles of a Buddha. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 52; Xingyun 1989, 480.

²⁶⁴ Here one thinks of the Ten Admonitions (*shiquan* 十勸) of Ma Danyang and Liu Changsheng. See section 1b above.

²⁶⁵ Or, the Way of Perfection.

²⁶⁶ For the explanation of translating *guoqu* as the “future” rather than the “past” see section 3a above.

²⁶⁷ The name Damo 達摩 usually refers to Bodhidharma. Bodhidharma (fl. 520?) is traditionally recognized by the Chan (Zen) Buddhist tradition as the twenty-eighth Indian patriarch and first Chinese patriarch of Chan. See Dumoulin 1988, 85–94. Hachiya (1972, 95) suggests that the text in question may be the *Damo duoluo chanjing* 達摩多羅禪經 (Dharmatrāta-dhyāna Sūtra; T. 618), associated with the early Indian missionary and meditation master Buddhahadra (359–429). According to Dumoulin (1988, 69), this sūtra contains a meditation method which teaches a Theravāda style of breath regulation, the contemplation of impurities, concentration on the Four Immeasurables, and fixation on the five aggregates (*skandha*), six sense organs (*indriya*), and the twelvefold causal chain. Interestingly, some of these concerns are documented in the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, and we do know that Wang Chongyang had some interaction with Buddhist teachers in the Chang’an area of Shaanxi province.

High [Lord Lao] refined the Nine Times Reverted Elixir.²⁶⁸ [It enables] people of today to expel sickness and disease and completely understand life and death. Kongzi (Confucius) taught the [five virtues of] humaneness, righteousness, ritual propriety, wisdom, and honesty.²⁶⁹ He feared that people would cause harm to themselves. He advised people to cultivate this so that they could cure sickness and disease.²⁷⁰

Someone inquired, “How can one cure sickness and disease?”

Perfected Chongyang responded, “To remove the root²⁷¹ is good medicine.”

He further explained, “Prolonged joy is good medicine.”

He also instructed, “Joy and delight are the foundation of all medicines. Continual vexation is the basis of the myriad diseases. Constant clarity and stillness are the sprouts of the great Dao. **[16a]** However, when one observes the people of today engaged in cultivation, regardless of whether they are Buddhists or Daoists upholding

²⁶⁸ Also referred to as nine-times reverted gold elixir (*jiuzhuan jindan* 九轉還丹). The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* has the following: “In the seven reversions (*qifan* 七反), the yang in the heart is reverted to the heart to reside in the middle elixir [field]. In the nine reversions (*jiuzhuan* 九轉), the yang in the lungs, which originates in the heart, is also returned to the heart to reside in the middle elixir [field]” (DZ 263, 16.4b; also 16.5a–5b). The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* contains the following: “Someone asked, ‘What about the Nine Reversions (*jiuzhuan* 九轉)?’ Our teacher responded, ‘Gold in generation (*sheng* 生) is the number four; when complete (*cheng* 成), it is the number nine. Reversion (*huan* 還) involves a reversion from the upper [area] to the lower [area]. Nine, then, is the number of old yang (*laoyang* 老陽)’” (DZ 263, 10.2a). The thirteenth-century *Zazhu jiejing* (Short-cuts by Various Authors; DZ 263, 17–25) contains a section entitled “Jiuzhuan jindan bijue” 九轉金丹秘訣 (Secret Instructions on the Nine-times Reverted Gold Elixir) (17.1a–22b). Here one is informed that the nine reversions are as follows: (1) Descending elixir; (2) Intercourse; (3) Nourishing yang; (4) Nourishing yin; (5) Exchanging the bones; (6) Exchanging the flesh; (7) Exchanging the five yin-orbs and six yang-orbs; (8) Nourishing fire; and (9) Winged ascent (17.1a). This parallels the nine reversions mentioned in section 8.21ab of the *Taiqing yuce* 太清玉冊 (Jade Register of Greater Clarity; DZ 1483). On the meaning of *jiuzhuan huandan* in Daoism see Li 1991, 38, 43, 311, 542; Min and Li 1994, 57, 62; Hu 1995, 1131, 1417.

²⁶⁹ The five traditional virtues of the Ruist (Confucian) tradition.

²⁷⁰ In his study of Chinese medicine, Paul Unschuld has commented, “*Illness* [or sickness] is defined here as the primary experience, that is, the subjectively perceived feeling of indisposition that can lead to changes in behavior. *Disease*, by contrast, is a socially determined, a conceptual reshaping of the primary experience of illness. Therefore, I characterize disease as a clearly defined deviation, within a specific set of ideas concerning the causation, character, and treatment of illness, from a normal state of human existence, however that normal state may be conceived. As a result, certain manifestations of illness, may, in different societies, be comprehended as completely different diseases” (Unschuld 1985, 19; italics in original).

²⁷¹ Reading *gen* 根 (“root”) in place of *yan* 眼 (“eye”).

the Five Precepts,²⁷² male or female, they are bound to get sick and die. Again, whether they are married or unmarried, their elixir field loses the Numinous Tortoise²⁷³ and disperses the perfect qi, so that their lower prime becomes empty and cold, which gradually gives rise to the myriad diseases.

“[However,] if men can be clear and still for sixty-four days, their vital essence and qi will become abundant. If women can be clear and still for forty-nine days, their blood and qi will become abundant.

“When conditions reach their extreme, there is reversal. Clarity turns into turbidity; stillness turns into movement. The heart-mind and intention are then scattered and lost, and the perfect qi is dissipated through the Nine Cavities.²⁷⁴ When the qi is turbid, in women the monthly flow (*yueshui* 月水) is excessive. Similarly, at night, men dream about

²⁷² Buddhism. The five basic precepts required of all Buddhists: (1) Do not destroy life; (2) Do not steal; (3) Do not engage in sexual misconduct; (4) Do not practice false speech; and (5) Do not take intoxicants.

²⁷³ Here the Numinous Tortoise most likely refers to vital essence or the perfect qi. In internal alchemy practice, the tortoise is usually paired with the snake, and together they represent Xuanwu 玄武 (Mysterious Warrior), the emblem of the north. The tortoise is usually associated with the northern direction, the Water phase, and the Kan-water trigram; the snake is usually associated with the southern direction, the Fire phase, and the Li-fire trigram.

²⁷⁴ The Nine Cavities (*jiuqiao* 九竅) usually refer to the Seven Cavities (*qiqiao* 七竅), eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, plus the small intestine and large intestine, with the latter two terms suggesting the associated body openings of urethra and anus. Sometimes the former are referred to as the yin cavities (*yingqiao* 陰竅), while the latter are called the yang cavities (*yangqiao* 陽竅). The Nine Cavities are mentioned in chapter 2 of the third-century B.C.E. *Zhuangzi*: “The hundred joints, Nine Cavities, and six yin-orbs all come together and exist here [as my body]” (Watson 1968, 38; also 97). The term also appears in section 1a of the *Yinfu jing*: “The aberrations of the Nine Cavities are in the Three Essentials (*sanyao* 三要). They can be aroused or stilled.” Occasionally, the Nine Cavities are used interchangeably for the Nine Palaces (*jiugong* 九宮), mystical brain locations. In his commentary on the *Yinfu jing* (DZ 122), Liu Changsheng understands the Nine Cavities as positive in nature: “The Nine Cavities are the yang pathways of the nine pervasions (*jiutong* 九通) [*siddhi* or numinous abilities]. They are not yet open because of the deviant barriers of the nine yin. The human heart is the square inch (*fangan* 方寸). Within its emptiness, there is numinous luminosity (*lingming* 靈明). The hearts of superior people have nine openings. Those of average people have seven openings. Those of inferior people have five openings. When a heart has no openings, we call such people ignorant” (6a; cf. DZ 121, 9b–10a). For some appearances of *qiqiao* and *jiuqiao* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 1.19a, 3.15b, 10.4b, 11.5a, 11.10a. On the meaning of *jiuqiao* in Daoism see Li 1991, 18, 37; Min and Li 1994, 30, 54; Hu 1995, 1159.

yin realms (*yinjing* 陰境).²⁷⁵ These steal the Seven Jewels²⁷⁶ and Eight Treasures.²⁷⁷ Consequently, disease arises.”

Someone asked, “How can one regulate the yin-ghosts?”²⁷⁸

Perfected Chongyang replied, “Use the method of a dose (*daogui* 刀圭).”²⁷⁹

Someone further inquired, “What is a dose?”

Perfected Chongyang instructed, “A dose is unity (*yi* 一). If there is water and qi, then the myriad beings can be born. [16b] Qi first becomes a pinch (*gui* 圭), then turns into clouds, while water becomes rain.”

He also explained, “Extending qi is the spatula (*dao* 刀). Storing qi is the pinch (*gui* 圭). Practicing exercises²⁸⁰ so that the myriad forms of being are completely understood is a dose (*daogui* 刀圭). Thus, you revert old age and return to youth. A scripture says, ‘From the lower [part] of the body, extend fire; from the upper [part] of the body, extend water.’ Water and fire are the medicine.”²⁸¹

Perfected Chongyang also gave the following teachings: “Reeds and Sprouts Threading the Knee and the upper and lower Waterwheels

²⁷⁵ *Yinjing*, “yin realms” or “yin regions,” may also be translated as “nightly mental projections.” As is well-known, yin relates to darkness and night. *Yinjing* refers to nightly visionary visitations that may lead to seminal emission. In this way, it is associated with yin-ghosts. See section 2b, 5b and 10b above.

²⁷⁶ The Seven Jewels are probably a variant of the Seven Treasures, namely, vital essence, blood, qi, marrow, the brain, kidneys, and heart. See section 4b above. For some appearances of *qibao* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 5.13b, 8.4b, 8.8a. Recall also that one of the five Shandong associations was called the *Qibao hui* 七寶會 (Association of Seven Treasures).

²⁷⁷ The exact associations for the Eight Treasures are unknown, but probably relate to the Seven Treasures. See section 4b above.

²⁷⁸ Dream-time phantasms. See section 2b above.

²⁷⁹ The internal elixir. See section 9b above.

²⁸⁰ Or, performing merits.

²⁸¹ Source unknown. Fire is associated with the heart, spirit, yang, and movement, while water is associated with the kidneys, vital essence, yin, and stillness. The latter also relates to fluids and saliva. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* has a chapter entitled “Shuihuo” 水火 (On Water and Fire). See DZ 263, 15.1a–4b; Wong 2000, 65–70. On water and fire in Daoism see Li 1991, 191, 192; Min and Li 1994, 329, 330; Hu 1995, 1145, 1206, 1288.

(*heche* 河車)²⁸² [relate to] calming the furnace.²⁸³ Thus, the Purple Waterwheel²⁸⁴ is the upper cart that shifts vital essence to restore the brain (*banjing bunao* 搬精補腦).²⁸⁵

“Increasing fire, water becomes warm. Increasing water, fire becomes cool. When water and fire are dually practiced, there is a gentle warming in the lead tripod.²⁸⁶ When qi enters the tripod, pause your practice. [Simply] follow the wheel to the upper [reaches of the body]. When fire disperses, it enters the hundred meridians. The skin is nourished and moistened; the whole body becomes radiant and enriched. This is the Method for Cultivating and Nourishing.”

Someone posed the following problem: “Why are overweight people the first to deteriorate?”

²⁸² More commonly known as the Lesser Celestial Cycle or Microcosmic Orbit (*xiao zhoutian* 小周天). The movement of the vital essence and qi through the Governing and Conception vessels. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* contains a chapter entitled “Heche” 河車 (The Waterwheel). See DZ 263, 15.19b–23b; Wong 2000, 95–100. Here we are informed, “[The waterwheel causes the waters in the body] to ascend to heaven [the head] and enter Mount Kunlun; then, they descend downward to enter the Gate of the Phoenix. It circulates the original yang to directly enter the Palace of Li-fire. From there, it shifts the perfect qi to return to the Treasury of Longevity. It cycles through the nine continents without ceasing. It travels through the three fields without pausing” (15.20ab; also 22a). The *Dadan zhizhi* explains, “The lung qi is stored within the kidney qi. When it passes through Tailbone Gate, it is called the Waterwheel” (DZ 244, 1.4a). See Li 1991, 90, 358; Min and Li 1994, 155, 685; Hu 1995, 1136, 1153, 1370, 1371, 1376.

²⁸³ Perhaps a reference to the head and/or heart. The furnace is a term borrowed from laboratory alchemy. In internal alchemy practice, the furnace (*lu* 爐) is usually paired with the tripod (*ding* 鼎), and this complementary pair receives a variety of designations, including body and mind, heart and kidneys, head and lower abdomen, or mercury and lead. See section 9b above.

²⁸⁴ According to the tenth-century *Chuandao ji*, “Revert the elixir (*huandan* 還丹) of the gold *ye*-fluids and jade *ye*-fluids, and then refine the body (*lianxing* 鍊形). Refine the body, and then refine the qi (*lianqi* 煉氣). Refine the qi, and then refine spirit (*lianshen* 煉神). Refine spirit to merge with the Dao. The formula (*fa* 法) says, ‘When the Dao is completed, one leaves the mundane world and enters the immortal ranks (*xianpin* 仙品).’ Accomplished through the appropriate sequence, it is called the purple waterwheel” (DZ 263, 15.23b). In the present context, it seems that the purple waterwheel may be an alternate name for the upper cart, usually referred to as the ox cart (*niuche* 牛車) and associated with the upper pass. On the Three Carts see section 7a above.

²⁸⁵ See section 7a above.

²⁸⁶ Perhaps a reference to the lower elixir field. The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* provides the following information: “The lead tripod is the lead tripod of creative transformation. Warming is called the power of fire not causing deficiency. Thus, by warming and nourishing it, we may complete the elixir” (DZ 263, 13.11a).

Perfected Chongyang responded, “Overweight people tend to the external; they do not cultivate the internal. They have no marrow within their bones,²⁸⁷ and their elixir fields lose the perfect qi. Thus, they deteriorate and become sick. If someone cultivates the Dao within, they will develop the sprouts of peace, happiness, and long life.”

He also instructed, [17a] “If you can teach the dragon to coil around the gold tripod for a long time, the tiger will surround the elixir field.²⁸⁸ The Zhen-thunder trigram gives rise to thunder, while the Sun-wind trigram gives rise to wind.²⁸⁹ When practicing exercises, gather *jīn*-fluids in one large mouthful. Then divide it into three swallowings. Store the qi in the lower [part of the body] and circulate it three times. Spontaneously, there are the sounds of the dragon humming and the tiger hissing.²⁹⁰ Then you indeed can expel the myriad diseases from the belly. Your ears hear this like thunder beating the morning drum—above, it ascends; below, it descends.²⁹¹ As the hymn says,²⁹²

Perfect emptiness and wondrous principle—no one knows them.

Sitting upright among the winding Jiang River, I watch birds flying.²⁹³

²⁸⁷ Deficient marrow is related to vital essence and the kidneys. A lack of marrow indicates an injury to one's core vitality.

²⁸⁸ The dragon and tiger have various associations: spirit and qi, liver and lungs, etc. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* contains a chapter titled “Longhu” 龍虎 (Dragon and Tiger). See Wong 2000, 71–74. In the same text, one is informed, “When the dragon is not the liver, it is the yang dragon. The yang dragon emerges from the Palace of Li-fire and within perfect water. When the tiger is not the lungs, it is the yin dragon. The yin dragon from the position of Kan-water and within the perfect fire” (DZ 263, 14.24b). According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “When the dragon and tiger are not the emblems of the liver and lungs, they are the perfect yin and perfect yang of the heart and kidneys” (DZ 244, 1.8a). On the dragon and tiger in Daoism see Li 1991, 198, 200; Min and Li 1994, 362, 365; Hu 1995, 1210, 1247. Also section 9b above.

²⁸⁹ Two of the eight trigrams, represented as follows: Zhen-thunder ☳ and Sun-wind ☱. In internal alchemy, these trigrams frequently refer to the liver and gall-bladder, respectively. On the eight trigrams see sections 1b and 4a.

²⁹⁰ The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* has the following: “Exhaling, the dragon hisses and clouds arise. Inhaling, the tiger roars and winds emerge. Inhaling and exhaling, wind and rain congeal to complete the gold *ye*-fluids” (DZ 263, 10.4a; also 10.5b).

²⁹¹ The *Dadan zhizhi* says, “The qi of the heart descends, while the qi of the kidneys ascends” (DZ 244, 1.3a).

²⁹² Source unknown.

²⁹³ The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* contains a commentary on the famous poem “Qinyuan chun” 秦園春 (Spring in Qin Gardens) attributed to Lǚ Dongbin. The poem reads, “Above the winding Jiang River, I observe the moon's florescence, bright and clear. There are birds taking flight.” The commentary gives the following interpretation: “The human small intestine has nine curves and twelve bends. Thus the poem speaks of the ‘winding Jiang River.’ If there are birds taking flight, then yang is contained with yin” (DZ 263, 13.13a).

The sound of thunder shakes the ground—it startles ghosts and demons.

Yin and yang aligned, this is a time of creative transformation (*zaohua* 造化).

After the hour of *zi* and before *wu*, increase and decrease the application.

Water and fire are heated and boiled; dragon and tiger follow.

The Gold Duke supplies the wine; the Yellow Matron becomes drunk.²⁹⁴

Dragging along and settling ruler and ministers, I ask, ‘Who is this?’

Perfected Chongyang elucidated,²⁹⁵ “The Gold Duke (*jingong* 金公) is spirit; the Yellow Matron (*huangbo* 黃婆) is qi. Yangqi is the Child; yinqi is the Maiden.²⁹⁶ The Azure Dragon is the qi of the liver; the White Tiger is the qi of the lungs. [17b] Kan-water and Li-fire are vital essence and blood.”

[Someone asked, “What about practicing seated meditation?”]

Perfected Chongyang instructed, “When practicing this exercise, sit like Mount Tai and stand like a treasure pagoda. Securely guard the Four Gates²⁹⁷ and firmly lock the Mysterious Pass.²⁹⁸ Gather a mouthful of the *jin*-fluids and make three vigorous swallowings. The fluids descend to join with qi and pass through the diaphragm.²⁹⁹ Do this three times. The qi of the dragon and the tiger will spontaneously arise. Whether walking, standing, sitting or lying down, shut your mouth and close your

²⁹⁴ The *Ershisi jue* has the following: “The Gold Duke is the heart-mind, while the Yellow Matron is the spleen” (DZ 1158, 1b). According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “The lower qi of the lungs is called the Gold Duke” (DZ 244, 1.6a). The ninth-century *Lingbao bifa* instructs, “The Yellow Matron is the perfect *ye*-fluids in the spleen; it joins with qi and water to enter the Yellow Court” (DZ 1191, 1.14b). On the meaning of the Yellow Matron and Gold Duke in Daoism see Li 1991, 352, 452; Min and Li 1994, 654, 852; Hu 1995, 1216, 1220, 1261, 1370.

²⁹⁵ Amending *wenyue* 問曰 (“someone asked”) to *jueyue* 訣曰 (“Perfected Chongyang instructed”).

²⁹⁶ The *Ershisi jue* has the following: “The Child is the liver, while the Maiden is the lungs” (DZ 1158, 1b). More conventionally, the Child refers to the vital essence, associated with the kidneys, while the Maiden refers to spirit, associated with the heart. Sometimes the Child refers to the qi in the kidneys, while the Maiden refers to the *ye*-fluids in the heart. On the meaning of the Child and Maiden in Daoism see Li 1991, 408, 455; Min and Li 1994, 781, 875; Hu 1995, 1217, 1220, 1364, 1365, 1367.

²⁹⁷ The eyes, ears, nose, and mouth. See section 6b above.

²⁹⁸ Most likely a reference to the teeth. According to section 11b above “The teeth are the [upper] Mysterious Pass; keep them closed. The elixir field is the lower Mysterious Pass; keep it raised.” The Mysterious Pass is also mentioned in section 6b above.

²⁹⁹ Reading *ge* 膈 (“diaphragm”) for *ge* 隔 (“to separate”). The *Danyang yulu* (Recorded Sayings of Danyang; DZ 1057) has the following: “In human beings, the area above the diaphragm is heaven, while the area below it is the earth” (6a).

eyes. When the ears remain unaffected by any sound, the eyes observe the internal landscape (*neijing* 內境).³⁰⁰ Every day, remain aligned and observe the elixir field, intentionally seeing it in your imagination. As you exhale, feel the qi descend; as you inhale, feel the qi ascend.³⁰¹ Do not allow [the exhale] to pass below the diaphragm; do not allow [the inhale] to reach the face and eyes. As each of the six qi (*liuqi* 六氣)³⁰² reaches the Central Prime (*zhongyuan* 中元),³⁰³ envision the clear

³⁰⁰ Reference to the practice of “observing the internal landscape” recalls the earlier Daoist practice of “inner observation” (*neiguan* 內觀). See Kohn 1989. The *Dadan zhizhi* provides the following: “The exercise of beginning practice (*chuxing* 初行) [involves] closing the eyes and internally observing (*neishi* 內視) the Central Palace (*zhonggong* 中宮). Discard anxiety and forget thinking to silence the heart-mind” (DZ 244, 1.6a). For a discussion of the “internal landscape” in Daoism more generally see Schipper 1993 (1982), 100–12; Kohn 1993, 161–88. Also Li 1991, 145, 146, 149, 677, 683; Min and Li 1994, 278, 278; Hu 1995, 1144, 1224.

³⁰¹ The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* explains, “The exhalation extends to the heart and lungs; the inhalation enters the kidneys and liver. If you exhale, it joins with the Celestial Root (*tiangen* 天根). If you inhale, it joins with the Terrestrial Root (*digen* 地根)” (DZ 263, 10.4a).

³⁰² The “six qi” most often refer to the qi of the five yin-orbs and the gall bladder or Triple Warmer, but may also designate the qi of the six yang-orbs. The phrase *liuqi* appears in chapter 1 of the fourth-century B.C.E. *Zhuangzi*: “Liezi could ride the wind and go soaring around with cool and breezy skill, but after fifteen days he came back to earth....He escaped the trouble of walking, but he still had to depend on something to get around. If he had only mounted on the alignment of the heavens and earth, ridden the changes of the six qi, and thus wandered through the Boundless, then what would he have had to depend on?” (adapted from Watson 1968, 32; see also 121). According to Watson (121), the six qi, or “six breaths,” traditionally include those of yin, yang, wind, rain, darkness, and light. There are also the six qi associated with the “six sounds” and specific orbs: *xu* with the liver, *he* with the heart, *hu* with the spleen, *si* with the lungs, *chui* with the kidneys, and *xi* with gall bladder or Triple Warmer. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* has the following: “Thus, the yin and yang of the heavens and earth ascend and descend, changing into the six qi. This is the confirmation of extracting and replenishing” (DZ 263, 15.17a). This same section (15.16b–17a) of the *Chuandao ji* identifies the six qi as six climatic and cosmological patterns, namely, the three divisions of yin and three divisions of yang: (1) Greater yin (*taiyin* 太陰), (2) Ceasing yin (*jueyin* 厥陰), (3) Lesser yang (*shaoyang* 少陽), (4) Yang brightness (*yangming* 陽明), (5) Lesser yin (*shaoyin* 少陰), and (6) Greater yang (*taiyang* 太陽). In Chinese medicine, these also designate six combination meridians: Taiyang as the small intestine and urinary bladder, Yangming as the stomach and large intestine, Shaoyang with the triple warmer and gall bladder, Taiyin with the spleen and lungs, Shaoyin with the heart and kidneys, and Jueyin with the liver and pericardium. Disease progression is also mapped along similar lines, from Taiyang to Jueyin. On the meaning of *liuqi* in Daoism see Li 1991, 179; Min and Li 1994, 308; Hu 1995, 483, 966, 1078.

³⁰³ The Central Prime is one of the Three Primes (*sanyuan* 三元), and is an alternate name for the middle elixir field. It usually refers to the Vermilion Palace, the heart-region. See section 7b above. On the meaning of *sanyuan* in Daoism see Li 1991, 46; Min and Li 1994, 70; Hu 1995, 482, 745, 1141, 1449.

qi going right and the turbid qi going left. Each reverts nine times.³⁰⁴ As the qi goes up and down, make sure it does not escape to the left or right. Then, it coalesces and becomes complete in the furnace.³⁰⁵ This is called “the dragon coiling around and the tiger surrounding the qi.”³⁰⁶ Naturally, they become harmonized and joined.³⁰⁷ There is also the Method of the Marriage of the Child and the Maiden.³⁰⁸ This involves the qi assembling above the spleen and settling in the furnace. This is called the Method of the Yellow Matron Matching [Spouses].³⁰⁹ **[18a]** It is also known as the Method of Heaven and Earth Exchanging [Attributes] or Kan-water and Li-fire Becoming Wedded.³¹⁰ This is a method where the body is engaged, but the spirit is not. When the spirit is not engaged, it is the Method of Clarity and Stillness, the method of a thousand turnings not agitating and not moving.

³⁰⁴ On the nine reversions (*jiuzhuan* 九轉) and nine-times reverted elixir (*jiuzhuan huandan* 九轉還丹) see section 15b above.

³⁰⁵ On the meaning of “furnace” see sections 9b and 16b above.

³⁰⁶ On the meaning of the dragon and tiger see sections 1b, 7a, 9b, and 17a above.

³⁰⁷ The *Dadan zhizhi* instructs as follows: “The dragon is the qi of aligned yang (*zhengyang* 正陽), which is above the *ye*-fluids of the heart. The tiger is the water of perfect water within the qi of the kidneys. When the dragon and tiger commingle, you obtain a single grain that resembles a millet grain in form. This method is called ‘dragon and tiger commingling’” (DZ 244, 1.6a).

³⁰⁸ The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* explains, “The Child resides in the kidneys, while the Maiden resides in the heart” (DZ 263, 10.3b). See section 17a above.

³⁰⁹ Method unknown. The Yellow Matron usually refers to the spleen and/or to the Yellow Court. See section 17a above, which identifies the Gold Duke as spirit and the Yellow Matron as qi. Interestingly, the tenth section of the *Shiwu lun* is titled “Pipei wuqi” 匹配五氣 (Matching the Five Qi), which in turn recalls chapter two, “Siqi diaoshen” 四氣調神 (Harmonizing Spirit with the Four Qi), of the *Huangdi neijing suwen*. The former gives the following explanation: “The Five Qi gather in the Central Palace; the Three Primes collect at the top. The Azure Dragon breathes out crimson mist; the White Tiger exhales black smoke. The myriad spirits array themselves in rows; the hundred meridians flow and become infused. The cinnabar sand is radiant and becomes brilliant; the lead and mercury congeal and become purified. While the body may still reside in the human realm, the spirit already wanders among the heavens” (DZ 1233, 4b).

³¹⁰ Kan-water ☵ is usually associated with the kidneys and thus with vital essence, while Li-fire ☲ is usually associated with the heart and thus with spirit. On the meaning of the trigrams of Kan-water and Li-fire see section 1b above. According to the *Dadan zhizhi*, “Innate nature relates to heaven, and is hidden within the head. Life-destiny relates to the earth, and is hidden in the abdomen....Innate nature within the head relates to the following: lead, tiger, water, gold, sun, mind, Kan-water, Kun-earth, the stem *wu*, the Maiden, and the Jade Pass. Life-destiny within the abdomen relates to the following: mercury, dragon, fire, silver (reading *yin* 銀 [“silver”] for *gen* 根 [“root”]), moon, corporeal soul, Li-fire, Qian-heaven, the stem *ji*, the Child, and the Gold Tower (*jintai* 金臺)” (DZ 244, 2.10b–11a).

“Considering people of today, many cultivate deviant ways (*waidao* 外道);³¹¹ they do not cultivate normative ways (*neidao* 內道), so at present the Dao has been transgressed in [improper] methods. Speaking of those who practice cultivation, externally there are various great ways and teachings, while internally there is just the proper route (*zhenglu* 正路). There is no one who knows this place.

“For the most part, when you travel [on the inner route] for three miles, you will perceive three great torrents. They are bottomless. How do they relate to past and future?”

Perfected Chongyang further explained, “These three great torrents are the Three Teachings³¹² and the Three Transmissions.³¹³ [By following these] one can expel the Three Death-bringers,³¹⁴ stabilize the Three Treasures,³¹⁵ and leap over the Three Worlds.³¹⁶

“Traveling for another three miles, you encounter six deep aqueducts, which you cannot advance beyond. What are these gateways?”

Perfected Chongyang continued, “These six aqueducts are the Six Perfections³¹⁷ and their various practices. [They enable one to] clarify

³¹¹ Literally meaning “outside the Dao” and often translated as “heterodoxies,” *waidao* refers to various non-Daoist practices. See section 5b above.

³¹² The Three Teachings are Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. See sections 1b, 12b, 14b, and 15b above.

³¹³ In the present context, the Three Transmissions, usually translated as the Three Vehicles in terms of Buddhism, are an alternative name for the Three Teachings. See sections 3b, 4b, and 12a above.

³¹⁴ Three bio-spiritual parasites. See sections 2b, 4b, and 18a above.

³¹⁵ The Three Treasures are conventionally understood as vital essence, qi, and spirit. See section 5a above.

³¹⁶ Buddhism. The Three Worlds are the world of desire, the world of form, and the world of formlessness. The thirteenth discourse of the *Shiwu lun* is titled “Chao sanjie” 超三界 (Going Beyond the Three Worlds). Here one is informed, “The Three Worlds are the world of desire, the world of form, and the world of formlessness. When the heart-mind forgets planning and thinking, one goes beyond the world of desire. When the heart-mind forgets mental projections, one goes beyond the world of form. When the heart-mind does not manifest even a vision of emptiness, one goes beyond the world of formlessness. Abandoning these Three Worlds, the spirit dwells in the country of immortals and sages. Innate nature resides in the region of Yuqing 玉清 (Jade Clarity)” (DZ 1233, 5ab). See section 12a above. In Daoism, the Three Worlds are sometimes used as an alternate name for the Three Fields. See Li 1991, 58; Min and Li 1994, 79.

³¹⁷ Buddhism. The six *pāramitā*. These include *dāna* (charity or giving), *sīla* (keeping the precepts), *ksānti* (patience under insult), *vīrya* (zeal and progress), *dhyāna* (meditation or contemplation), and *prajñā* (wisdom or insight). See section 11b above.

and still the Six Roots,³¹⁸ behead the Six Thieves,³¹⁹ guard against the Six Desires,³²⁰ and establish the Six Stages.³²¹

“Traveling for another three miles, you perceive three newly built rafts. These are the precious rafts of purification. They are near the Seven Forests,³²² ready to transport you away from the multitude of corpses.³²³

[18b] “Moving forward again for another three miles, you see a garden. This place is known as the Fruit-bearing Garden.³²⁴ There is an old man guarding the gates to the garden. If you have residual

³¹⁸ The six sense organs. Buddhism. The six sense-organs (Skt.: *sad-indriya*) are eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and thought. Related to the Six Thieves (*liuzei* 六賊) and Six Desires (*liuyu* 六欲). See sections 4a and 4b above.

³¹⁹ The Six Thieves are the six sense-organs and their associated desires, specifically, the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and thought. Related to the Six Roots (Chn.: *liugen* 六根; Skt.: *sad-indriya*) and Six Desires (Chn.: *liuyu* 六欲) of Buddhism. See section 4a and 4b above.

³²⁰ Desires arising from the six sense-organs. Related to the Six Roots (Chn.: *liugen* 六根; Skt.: *sad-indriya*) and Six Thieves (*liuzei* 六賊). See section 4a and 4b above. The phrase appears in the *Qingjing jing*: “If you can constantly banish desires, then the heart-mind will become still naturally. If you can constantly settle the heart-mind, then the spirit will become clear naturally. Abiding in suchness, the Six Desires do not arise, and the Three Poisons (*sandu* 三毒) are dispersed and destroyed” (DZ 620, 1b). According to the commentary by Wang Jie 王玠 (Daoyuan 道淵 [Daoist Abyss]; fl. 1310), “The Six Desires are [those of] the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and thought” (*Qingjing jing zuantu jiezhu*, DZ 760, 8ab).

³²¹ The exact association of these Six Stages is unclear. The present context suggests that they relate to the purification and stilling of the six sense-organs.

³²² Whether *qilin* 七林 here should be taken as a proper name, the “Seven Forests,” or simply “seven forests” is an open question. If it is the former, the meaning is unclear. The Forest of Seven Treasures (*qibao lin* 七寶林) appears in a number of Daoist texts, sometimes referring the heart and spirit, and sometimes to the Three Primes (*sanyuan* 三元) and four symbols (*sixiang* 四象). The seventh-century *Shengxuan huming jing* 昇玄護命妙經 (Scripture on Protecting Life and Ascending the Mysterious; DZ 19), the earliest extant Daoist adaptation of the *Heart Sūtra*, begins as follows: “Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning), while dwelling at the Palace of the Five Illuminations in the Forest of the Seven Treasures with limitless sages, released a limitless, brilliant illumination and enlightened the limitless worlds” (1a).

³²³ The early Quanzhen adepts frequently refer to ordinary human beings as “skeletons” (*kulou* 骷髏), “walking corpses” (*xingshi* 行尸), “running bones” (*zougou* 走骨), and “marionettes” (*kuilei* 傀儡). See Idema 1993.

³²⁴ The Fruit-bearing Garden may be an oblique reference to the immortal peach orchards of Xiwangmu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West), that is, the land of immortality. There is also a visualization practice mentioned in section 11b above, which reads as follows: “Once you stabilize this accomplishment, you suddenly see a single precious treasure tree above you. There is a flower on this tree. The flower opens and bears fruit. Visualize yourself picking this fruit and then swallow it. One who is able to ingest this fruit will forever attain tranquility, joy and long life. This is the Method for Cultivating Alignment (*xiuzheng fa* 修正法).”

karma, [you must cleanse yourself of it.] You may only go on empty-handed.

“Assuming you enter the garden, after you travel for another three miles, you notice a large tree. A golden ox is tethered to it. There is a riverbank with a group of terraces. These include the Terrace of Yellow Gold in men, the Terrace of the Phoenix in women, the Terrace for the Spirit Immortal Fishing, and the Terrace of a Thousand-Flowers of Joy.

“If you do not continually observe these terraces, you will encounter three women at the river mouth. When you cross over the river mouth, they thereupon become demonesses. Be self-directed with your boat and cross over this river.

“When you again travel for three miles, you will see a large mountain. This mountain is called Mount Sumeru (Xumi shan 須彌山).³²⁵ On the eastern slope of this mountain, there is an azure ram. This ram corresponds to the qi of Lord Lao. On the western slope, you see a white ram. This ram corresponds to the qi of Kongzi. Directly south, you see a yellow ram. This ram corresponds to the Golden Immortal of Great Awakening [Śākyamuni Buddha]. The three rams will lead the multitudes to enter the great mountain. This mountain is called the Assembled Tripod Mountain of Threefold Yang.³²⁶

[19a] “Inside this mountain there is a walled city called North City. There are the Four Gates.³²⁷ Above each gate there is a wooden plaque and on each plaque there is an inscription. The inscription above the eastern gate reads ‘Gate of Opening Radiance’, while the inscription above the western gate reads ‘Gate of Perpetual Life’. The inscription above the southern gate reads ‘Gate of Golden Radiance’, while the inscription above the northern gate reads ‘Gate of Vast Waters’. These gates are the eyes, ears, nose, and mouth.

“As you enter through these four gates, you see four cavern prefectures (*dongfu* 洞府). These cavern prefectures are as follows: Cavern of

³²⁵ Xumi is the Chinese transliteration of Sumeru, a sacred Buddhist mountain often representing the *axis mundi*. Mentioned, for example, in the *Jingang jing*: “Subhuti, imagine a person with an immense, perfect body whose self-existence is like that of Mount Sumeru” (Red Pine 2001, 9).

³²⁶ A symbolic discussion of the Three Teachings. In section 12b, one is informed, “The Three Teachings are like a tripod. It has three feet, but its body is the same. Restored to unity, there is no duality or trinity.”

³²⁷ The Four Gates usually refer to the eyes, ears, nose, and mouth. See sections 4b, 11b, and 17b above.

Celestial Joy, Cavern of White Clouds, Cavern of Bamboo Country, and Cavern of Perpetual Life.

“As you enter these four caverns, you see four temples. These temples are as follows: Temple of Nonbeing and Purity, Temple of Mystery and Emptiness, Temple of the Bamboo Forest, and [Temple of Dharma Splendor].³²⁸ These four temples correspond to the four fruits [achieved by] the disciples of meditation: stream-enterer, once-returner, non-returner, and arhat.³²⁹ These are the lords of the four temples. They are the immortals of the four fruits.

“Moving further on, you see five monasteries. The first is called the Monastery of Accomplished Renown. The second is known as the Monastery of Medicinal Healing. The third is the Monastery of Calm Brilliance. The fourth is called the Monastery of Perfect Suchness.³³⁰ The fifth is known as the Monastery of Tusita Heaven.³³¹

“Inside these five monasteries there are five palaces. These are as follows: Palace of the Twin Maidens, which corresponds to the eyes; Palace of the Great Dragon, which corresponds to the mouth; Palace of Supreme Whiteness, which corresponds to the nose; Palace of Water Crystal, which corresponds to the ears; and Palace of Celestial Praises, which corresponds to the heart-mind.

[19b] “Inside of this palace complex there is a storied pavilion, connecting the upper and lower [regions of the body] through twelve respirations. This pavilion is called the Twelve-storied Tower.³³² [Each

³²⁸ This phrase is missing from the received text of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*. In supplying “Temple of Dharma Splendor,” I am following Hachiya 1972, 153.

³²⁹ Buddhism. The four levels of commitment/attainment in Theravāda Buddhism, but here associated with the Chinese Chan (Zen) tradition. Stream-enterer refers to someone who has formally taken monastic vows (entered the Dharma), while once-returner refers to someone who must complete one more incarnation cycle before liberation (*nirvāna*). Non-returner refers to someone who will reach liberation during this life-time. Finally, an arhat, the highest attainment, is someone who is fully liberated and free from the cycle of transmigration. These levels are discussed in the *Jingang jing*. See especially verse 9; Red Pine 2001, 7–8. See also Soothill and Hodous 1937, 177; Ding 1939, 767. For some appearances of *siguo* in Wang Chongyang’s poetry see *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 9.13b; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 2.6a.

³³⁰ Buddhism. Perfect suchness, or Bhūta-tathatā, is the eternally existing Reality. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 331; Ding 1939, 1747; Xingyun 1989, 1713. On the meaning in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 793; Hu 1995, 462.

³³¹ Buddhism. The Tusita Heaven refers to the fourth *deva-loka* in the world of desire, lying between the Yama and Nirmānarati heavens. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 343.

³³² The Twelve-storied Tower is an esoteric name for the trachea. According to the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji*, “Someone asked, ‘What is the Twelve-Storied

storey has a particular name]. They are the following: Tower of the Central Palace; Tower of the Moon Palace; Tower of the Celestial Immortals; Tower of the Selected Treasures; Tower of the Sage Well; [Tower of] the Dharmic Qi; Tower of Marvelous Sounds; Tower of Recognizing the Dao; Tower of Utmost Absorption; Tower of Brilliant Yang; Tower of the Bell and Drum; and Tower of the Two Sages.

“Each tower-level has its special time on a specific day during the twelve months of every year. [Thus] there are towers of the twelve months in the human body.³³³ These towers also relate to the twelve divisions of the scriptures³³⁴ and to the twelve branches and stems.³³⁵

“Throughout the four directions, you also notice the Nine Palaces (*jiugong* 九宮).³³⁶ These correspond to the Nine Cavities in the human body.³³⁷ These nine cavities and palaces are as follows: the Palace of Wind and Thunder and the Palace of Twin Forests in the east; the Palace of Purple Tenuity and the Palace of Śākyamuni in the south; the Palace of the Sage Mother and the Palace of the Gracious Arhat in the west; the Palace of Brahma and the Palace of the Water Crystal in

Tower?’ [Our teacher] responded, ‘The human throat-pipe has twelve sections. This is it’” (DZ 263, 10.4b). See Li 1991, 12; Min and Li 1994, 22; Hu 1995, 1160.

³³³ Correspondences unclear.

³³⁴ The twelve sub-divisions of the Daoist Canon: (1) original texts; (2) spirit talismans; (3) precious commentaries; (4) numinous diagrams; (5) histories and genealogies; (6) precepts; (7) ceremonial protocols; (8) prescriptive methods; (9) various techniques; (10) hagiographies; (11) hymns; and (12) memorials (Komjathy 2002b, 2).

³³⁵ Most likely a reference to the twelve terrestrial branches and their time correspondences: (1) *zi* (11pm–1am/gall bladder); (2) *chou* (1am–3am/liver); (3) *yin* (3am–5am/lungs); (4) *mao* (5am–7am/large intestine); (5) *chen* (7am–9am/stomach); (6) *si* (9am–11am/spleen); (7) *wu* (11am–1pm/heart); (8) *wei* (1pm–3pm/small intestine); (9) *shen* (3pm–5pm/bladder); (10) *you* (5pm–7pm/kidneys); (11) *xu* (7pm–9pm/pericardium); (12) *hai* (9pm–11pm/triple warmer). See sections 1b and 8b above.

³³⁶ Here the Nine Palaces most likely refer to nine mystical cranial locations. According to the *Yuandan shangjing* 元丹上經 (Highest Scripture on the Original Elixir; DZ 1345), “Above the area between the two eyebrows, one inch in is the Palace of the Hall of Light (*mingtang gong* 明堂宮). Two inches in is the Palace of the Grotto Chamber (*dongfang gong* 洞房宮). Three inches in is the Palace of the Elixir Field (*dantian gong* 丹田宮). Four inches in is the Palace of the Flowing Pearl (*liuzhu gong* 流珠宮). Five inches in is the Palace of the Jade Thearch (*yudi gong* 玉帝宮). . . . One inch above the Hall of Light is the Palace of the Celestial Court (*tianting gong* 天庭宮). One inch above the Grotto Chamber is the Palace of Secret Perfection (*ji zhen gong* 機真宮). One inch above the Elixir Field is the Palace of the Mysterious Elixir (*xuandan gong* 玄丹宮). One inch above the Flowing Pearl is the Palace of the Great Sovereign (*taihuang gong* 太皇宮). Thus, the human head has Nine Palaces” (2b–8a). For a detailed discussion in terms of Shangqing (Highest Clarity) see Robinet 1989, 127–31. Also Li 1991, 37; Min and Li 1994, 52; Hu 1995, 736, 1159.

³³⁷ The Nine Cavities usually refer to the nine openings in the body, namely, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, anus, and urethra. See section 16a above.

the north; and the Palace of Peace in the center. These are the names of the Nine Palaces. They are arranged in the same manner as the Nine Provinces on earth.³³⁸

“There are also smaller districts which were originally denoted as the ten countries.³³⁹ The ten countries are as follows: Country of Patriarch Jiao; Country of Śākyamuni; Country of Blossoming Flowers; **[20a]** Country of the Deer King; Country of Golden Colors; Country of Flowing Glass; Country of Kapilavastu; Country of the Southern Absorption; Country of India; and Country of Redoubled Yang (*chongyang*). These ten countries relate to the ten [regions] on earth. In the center of each region, there is an exalted mountain.

³³⁸ The Nine Provinces refer to ancient and mythological terrestrial divisions. Associated with Yu the Great, they are as follows: Ji, Yu, Xu, Jing, Yong, Yan, Qing, Tang, and Liang. According to the second century B.C.E. *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Book of the Master of Huainan), “What are the nine continents? In the southeast is Shen Province, called the land of agriculture. In the south is Zi Province, called the land of fertility. In the southwest is Rong Province, called the land of abundance. In the west is Yan Province, called the land of ripeness. In the center is Ji Province, called the central land. In the northwest is Tai Province, called the land of plenty. In the north is Qi Province, called the land of consummation. In the northeast is Bo Province, called the land of seclusion. In the east is Yang Province, called the land of beginning again” (Major 1993, 145). In internal alchemy practice, the Nine Continents are usually esoteric body designations. According to the twelfth-century *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* 修真太極混元圖 (Diagram on Cultivating Perfection, Differentiation, and Primordial Chaos; DZ 149; trl. Baryosher-Chemouny 1996), “Inside the human body, the myriad symbols are preserved. The Nine Continents refer to the following: the kidneys are Ji Province; the bladder is Xu Province; the liver is Qing Province; the gall bladder is Yan Province; the heart is Tang Province; the small intestine is Jing Province; the lungs are Liang Province; the large intestine is Ya [Yong] Province, [and the spleen is the central province (Yu Province)]” (13a). On the meaning of *juzhou* in Daoism see Li 1991, 34; Min and Li 1994, 50; Hu 1995, 1159.

³³⁹ The ten countries are probably an alternate name for the ten continents (*shizhou* 十州). The ten continents, in combination with the Three Islands (*sandao* 三島), designate immortal lands. According to scroll 26 of the eleventh-century *Yunji qiqian*, they are the Ancestral Continent, Oceanic Continent, Mysterious Continent, Blazing Continent, Longevity Continent, Primordial Continent, Flowing Continent, Vitality Continent, Wind-Unicorn Continent, and Assembled-Dwellings Continent. The three islands are listed as Mount Kunlun, Fangzhang, and Pengqiu (Penglai). In internal alchemy practice, the ten continents and three islands are used to refer to the body as the locus for perfection and immortality. A diagram on the ten continents and Three Islands appears in section 8a of the twelfth-century *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* 修真太極混元圖 (Diagram on Cultivating Perfection, Differentiation, and Primordial Chaos; DZ 149; trl. Baryosher-Chemouny 1996). See also the *Shizhou ji* 十州記 (Record of the Ten Continents; DZ 598; trl. Smith 1990; Kohn 1993, 49–55). The Daoist vision of the body as a country goes back at least to the second century C.E. Heshang gong 河上公 (Master Dwelling-by-the-River) commentary on the *Daode jing* (DZ 682; trl. Erkes 1958). See section 1b above. On the meaning of *shiguo* or *shizhou* in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 13, 15; Hu 1995, 1644.

“The human body is a marvelous thing. It can heal even serious diseases that injure a human being’s life-destiny. It has four large oceans: the *jīn*-fluids are the eastern sea; the blood is the southern sea; the marrow is the western sea; and the *qī* is the northern sea.³⁴⁰ It also has nine islands in the small intestine.³⁴¹ There are also five lakes: the body is the Grotto Court Lake; the vital essence is the Jade Lake; the Sweet Dew³⁴² is the Cream Lake; the heart-mind is the Mysterious Lake; and the small intestine is the River Lake.³⁴³ Then again, it has the sun, moon, stars and planets.³⁴⁴

“The body also has the Three Dispersions (*sanxiao* 三消), which are depletions of the blood, *qī*, and vital essence.³⁴⁵ These Three Dispersions cause mountains to crumble, oceans to dry up, and the earth to split

³⁴⁰ The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* has the following: “The heart is the Ocean of Blood; the kidneys are the Ocean of Qi; the brain is the Ocean of Marrow; the Spleen and Stomach are the Ocean of Water and Grain. These are what we call the Four Oceans (*sihai* 四海)” (DZ 263, 15.1a). See section 4b above.

³⁴¹ In internal alchemy practice, the Nine Curves or Nine Islands refer the nine twists in the small intestine. See section 4b above.

³⁴² The Sweet Dew, also referred to as Jade Fluids (*yuye* 玉液) or Jade Nectar (*yujiang* 玉漿), is the saliva produced during Daoist practice. See sections 8b and 10a above.

³⁴³ The *Chuandao ji* explains, “Each of the five yin-orbs has *ye*-fluids; they are established in [the five directions of] east, west, south, north, and center. This is what we refer to as the Five Lakes (*wuhu* 五湖)” (DZ 263, 15.2a). On the meaning of *wuhu* in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 215; Hu 1995, 1145.

³⁴⁴ In terms of the human body, the sun and moon usually refer to the left and right eye, respectively. Sometimes the sun designates the *qī* of the heart, while the moon refers to the *qī* of the kidneys. This recalls the cosmogonic transformation of Laozi: “Lao Tzu transformed his body. His left eye became the sun; his right eye, the moon; his head became mount K’un-lun; his beard, the planets and constellations; his bones, dragons; his flesh, four-footed creatures; his intestines, snakes; his stomach, the sea; his fingers, the Five Peaks; his hair, trees and grasses; his heart, the Flowery Dias; as to his two kidneys, they were united and became one, the Real and True Father and Mother” (Maspero 1981, 340; Schipper 1993, 114; see also Kohn 1993, 169). In the *Ershisi jue*, the body is discussed as a microcosm, as a world with larger cosmic correspondences. The Nine Cavities, the nine body openings, correspond to the Northern Dipper and its two hidden stars. The five yin-orbs correspond to the Five Peaks (*wuyue* 五嶽). The four limbs relate to the four seasons. The Four Elements (*sida* 四大) of earth, water, fire and wind correspond to the body, vital essence, heart-mind, and *qī*, respectively. Vital essence, spirit, and *qī* relate to the sun, moon, and stars as well as to the stems of *yī*, *bīng*, and *dīng*. Finally the sun corresponds to the heart, while the moon corresponds to the kidneys (DZ 1158, 3ab). On the meaning of *riyue* in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 282; Hu 1995, 1193.

³⁴⁵ The *Ershisi jue* contains the following: “The heavens have Three Powers (*sancai* 三才), namely, the sun, moon, and stars. The earth has Three Powers, namely, [the celestial stems] *yī*, *bīng*, and *dīng*. A human being has Three Powers, namely, vital essence, spirit, and *qī*” (DZ 1158, 3b). See section 1a above.

open.³⁴⁶ [To prevent such dissipation,] during the twelve double-hours of each day,³⁴⁷ remain in a peaceful meditative state without being excessive. Anyone doing this will find his accomplishments complete and his fruits fulfilled. For men who practice this refinement, their bodies will become like young boys; for women who practice this refinement, their bodies will become like young girls. [Thus] a scripture says, ‘Body and spirit are equally wondrous; joined with the Dao, they merge with perfection.’³⁴⁸ This is the Method of Extracting the Embryo and Changing the Bones.

[20b] When yin and yang turn into each other, the Five Phases are perfectly manifested. The Five Phases consist of Metal, Wood, Water, Fire, and Earth. In spring, Wood prospers. If the internal Wood [the liver] does not prosper, people commonly suffer from eye problems (*yanji* 眼疾). In summer, Fire prospers. If the internal Fire [the heart] does not prosper, people commonly suffer from loose stools (*xieli* 瀉痢). In autumn, Metal prospers. If the internal Metal [the lungs] does not prosper, people commonly suffer from respiratory problems (*kesou* 咳嗽). In winter, Water prospers. If the internal Water [the kidneys] does not prosper, people commonly suffer from hernias (*shanqi* 疝氣).

“The spleen³⁴⁹ relates to the phase Earth. The four seasons are divided and completed by the spleen qi. Yin and yang turn into each other, then return. Each of the Five Phases controls the next. Metal controls Wood; Wood controls Earth; Earth controls Water; Water controls Fire; and Fire controls Metal. Water and Fire relate to yin and yang, respectively; one yin and one yang are the perfect Dao. They are also vital essence and blood. People have myriad diseases. [This is because] they do not attend to the condition of the five yin-orbs. Instead, they diminish the vital essence and blood that they received from their fathers and mothers. With the elixir field weakened, they bring forth disease and sickness. Therefore, hasten to collect spirit and stabilize innate nature.

³⁴⁶ Symbolic referents for the human body. See sections 1b and 6a above.

³⁴⁷ On the twelve double-hours, associated with the twelve terrestrial branches (*dizhi* 地支), see sections 8b and 19b above.

³⁴⁸ Source unknown.

³⁴⁹ Reading *pi* 脾 (“spleen”) for *bei* 碑 (“tablet”).

“The *Jiuxian jing* 九仙經 (Scripture of the Nine Immortals) says,³⁵⁰ ‘The Dao is the One. If people attain the One, the myriad affairs are inevitably completed.’ [21a] When practicing exercises, spirit and qi revolve.³⁵¹ Qi follows intention (yi 意). When practicing circulation, move and push forward using yin, because the left side supports the yin spirit (*yinshen* 陰神).³⁵² As the Six Jia [spirits] (*liujia* 六甲)³⁵³ hasten to revolve, the six characteristics³⁵⁴ and eight [forms of] consciousness³⁵⁵ join into one pattern and perfect numen (*zhenling* 真靈). Inwardly travel to the Nine Palaces³⁵⁶ and gaze over the Ten Countries.³⁵⁷ Living long,

³⁵⁰ The *Jiuxian jing* may be an abbreviation for the eighth-century Daoist *Zhen longhu jiuxian jing* 真龍虎九仙經 (Scripture of the Nine Immortals and Perfect Dragon and Tiger; DZ 227), though no equivalent passages appear in that text (Hachiya 1972, 134).

³⁵¹ In the *Quanzhen ji*, Wang Chongyang explains, “When qi and spirit bind together, this is what is called spirit immortality. A commentary on the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31) says, ‘Spirit is the child of qi, and qi is the mother of spirit.’ When child and mother meet each other, you can become a spirit immortal” (DZ 1153, 10.20b; also *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 3.12b–13a). As Eskildsen has suggested (2004, 36, 216, n. 43), the commentary in question was probably that of Tang Chun 唐淳 (Jinling daoren 金陵道人 [Daoist of Jinling]; d.u.), namely, *Yinfu jing zhu* 陰符經注 (Commentary on the *Yinfu jing*; DZ 121). According to the relevant section, “When spirit is in the [lower] elixir field, qi envelops it and forms the womb. If the perfect qi does not scatter, divine radiance will naturally arrive. Thus spirit and qi guard each other. Is this not the way to immortality? Spirit is the child of qi, and qi is the mother of spirit” (1.1b).

³⁵² The yin spirit is most likely an alternate name for the corporeal soul. On the meaning of *yinshen* in Daoism see Li 1991, 303; Min and Li 1994, 506.

³⁵³ The Six Jia-spirits refer to spirits associated with the stem-branch combinations of *jiazi*, *jiayu*, *jiashen*, *jiawu*, *jiachen*, and *jiayan*. Traditionally speaking, the Chinese time system utilized the ten celestial stems and twelve terrestrial branches to count both days and years. The stems and branches are combined to form sixty different combinations, and this system is thus referred to as the “sexagenary cycle.” The sexagenary cycle can, in turn, be subdivided into six periods of ten days, with each beginning with the first sign of the series of ten, the stem *jia*. The first days of these six periods are called the “six *jia*” (*liujia*). See Inoue 1992; Schipper 1993, 142–44; Bokenkamp 1997, 328–29; Campamy 2002, 73–75. Also Li 1991, 180; Min and Li 1994, 307, 311; Hu 1995, 1143, 1457.

³⁵⁴ Buddhism. The “six characteristics” most likely refer to the six subsidiary characteristics found in every phenomenon, namely, whole and parts, unity and diversity, entirety and fractions. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 135.

³⁵⁵ Buddhism. These are the eight *parijñāna* or kinds of consciousness. They include sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, intellect, discrimination, and storehouse-consciousness. See section 8b above.

³⁵⁶ The Nine Palaces usually refer to nine mystical cranial locations. See section 19b above.

³⁵⁷ In internal alchemy practice, the ten continents and three islands are used to refer to the body as the locus for perfection and immortality. See section 19b–20a above.

you descend to the towers, allowing the Child and Maiden [to meet],³⁵⁸ and the elixir field to be secure.

“In the furnace, increase fire to decoct the medicine. Mentally imagine and see how the furnace turns red and the stove gets hot. Then the elixir and medicine are just about complete.

“Mentally imagine the Azure Dragon on your left, the White Tiger on your right, the Vermilion Bird in front, and the Mysterious Warrior at your back.³⁵⁹ See how each of these four great spirits holds a long spear and a broad knife in their hands. Next, see them settle into the medicine furnace and spontaneously swallow this wondrous medicine.

“If people can continuously practice this exercise, they can attain perpetual life. They can make heteropathic qi naturally disperse,³⁶⁰ and the perfect qi naturally arise.³⁶¹ First, their mouths drink from the

³⁵⁸ The Child and Maiden usually refer to the vital essence, associated with the kidneys, while the Maiden refers to spirit, associated with the heart, respectively. Sometimes the Child refers to the qi in the kidneys, while the Maiden refers to the *ye*-fluids in the heart. See section 17a above.

³⁵⁹ These “four great spirits” (*si dashen* 四大神) are the emblems of the four cardinal directions, usually referred to as the “four symbols” (*sixiang* 四象). Applied to the body, they have the following correspondences: (1) Vermilion Bird: south/front: heart; (2) White Tiger: west/right/lungs; (3) Mysterious Warrior (Snake-turtle): north/back: kidneys; and (4) Azure Dragon: east/left: liver. The *Chuangdao ji* contains a section titled “Neiguan” (Inner Observation). Here one is informed, “The Azure Dragon, White Tiger, Vermilion Bird, Mysterious Warrior, five mountains, nine continents, four oceans, three islands, gold boy and jade girl, the waterwheel, and the pagoda are all useful visual images” (DZ 263, 16.17b). The same section also has the following: “Visualize a vessel shaped like a cauldron or crucible. It can be yellow or black. In form, it looks like a cart wheel. On the left is the azure dragon. On the right is the white tiger. In front is the vermilion bird. In back is the Mysterious Warrior...” (16.19a). On the “four symbols” see Li 1991, 222; Min and Li 1994, 381; Hu 1995, 482, 1480.

³⁶⁰ Generally speaking, I have translated *xie* as “deviant,” rather than the more conventional “evil” or “heterodox.” I have translated *zheng* as “aligned,” rather than the more conventional “upright” or “orthodox.” When the terms appear in the medical designations of *xieqi* 邪氣 (deviant qi) and *zhengqi* 正氣 (aligned qi), I have rendered the terms as “heteropathic qi” and “orthopathic qi,” respectively. Sometimes synonymous with perfect qi (*zhenqi* 真氣), orthopathic qi is qi flowing harmoniously and beneficially throughout the body and its ability to resist disease. Heteropathic qi, sometimes translated questionably as “evil qi” or “heterodox qi,” is disruptive, injurious, and diseasing-causing, specifically qi relating to exterior pathogenic factors and the various causative factors of disease. It is usually contrasted with “orthopathic qi.” See section 3a above.

³⁶¹ Perfect qi, often translated as “true qi,” refers to the final stage in the process of refinement and transformation of qi; it is the qi which circulates in the meridians and nourishes the orbs. In classical Chinese medicine, perfect qi in turn assumes two different forms: nutritive qi (*yingqi* 營氣) and protective qi (*weiqi* 衛氣). Perfect qi is also sometimes used synonymously for original qi (*yuanyi* 元氣). In Daoism, perfect qi

Jade Spring of Bramble Mountain³⁶² and a fragrant sweetness naturally arises in the mouth. Second, their two lower caverns open up passage to the Hall of the Kidneys.³⁶³ Then, as they exhale, the qi assembles there and the precious qi enters the mouth. Rinse the mouth with this thirty-six times, and it will turn into the Snow Flower.³⁶⁴ Swallow it so that it enters the elixir field, where it becomes snow. **[21b]** Afterward, harmonize the upper and close the lower [areas of the body]. Qian-heaven and Kun-earth are mutually joined³⁶⁵ and the perfect qi is full and abundant. The spleen becomes warm and the myriad diseases are dissolved and expelled. It is like pottery baked in a furnace; when the time has come, it is naturally complete. Like a hen incubating an egg, like a mother nurturing an embryo:³⁶⁶ they do not plan the time, but simply remain aware of the inside of the body until the [birthing] pain arrives.

“Similarly, the iron black ox shifts the cart.³⁶⁷ This refers to the qi of perfect oneness, the innate nature of perfect oneness. ‘Black’ indicates the lower qi. ‘Pain’ means that excrement is expelled from the body. ‘Swelling’ means that urine is expelled from the body.

takes on the additional meaning of one’s original and undisrupted energetic aliveness, or, alternatively, one’s return to such a condition through alchemical transformation. In this sense, it may be associated with “original yang” (*yuanyang* 元陽) and “yang-spirit” (*yangshen* 元神). See also sections 2a and 3a above.

³⁶² The present context seems to suggest that Bramble Mountain is an esoteric name for the head. It is also mentioned in sections 7a and 8a above. The Jade Spring most likely refers to the mouth, the place where the jade fluids emerge. In this way, it is an alternative name for the Jade Pond (*yuchi* 玉池) or Flowery Pond (*huachi* 華池). With regard to the Jade Spring (*yuquan* 玉泉), the *Chuandao ji* explains, “When the dragon and tiger commingle, the Yellow Matron enters the Yellow Court. Lead and mercury become separated. The gold lad enters the Gold Tower (*jinque* 金闕) and moves into the Jade Spring” (DZ 263, 15.20b). For the meaning of *yuquan* in Daoism see Li 1991, 207; Min and Li 1994, 342; Hu 1995, 1212, 1292, 1386.

³⁶³ The Hall of the Kidneys is also mentioned in sections 12a and 14a above.

³⁶⁴ Most likely a reference to the saliva produced during Daoist training. See section 8b above.

³⁶⁵ The trigram Qian-heaven ☰ usually refers to the head, while Kun-earth ☷ most often refers to the feet or perineum. See sections 1b, 8b, and 9b above.

³⁶⁶ Interestingly, similar phrases appear in the thirteenth-century *Nei nyong jing*: “Spirit and qi then combine together, like a child being cherished in the womb” (DZ 645, 1b). And, “Qi is the mother of spirit; spirit is the child of qi. Like a hen incubating an egg, preserve spirit and nourish qi. Then you will never be separated from the Wondrous” (*ibid.*).

³⁶⁷ The black ox is also mentioned in section 7a above.

“Again, there is the Method of Descending to the Celestial Pass and Earth Pivot.³⁶⁸ Begin by observing the Yang Pass or Niwan Palace at the top of the head. Then through the nose draw in the perfect qi and allow it to enter the mouth, from where you expel it in a great breath. Do this six times, and the Celestial Pass and Earth Pivot will be as unmoving as if they were dead. Practice this exercise each day,³⁶⁹ and you will constantly blend and harmonize yin and yang.

“On the winter solstice, a single yang arises. On the summer solstice, a single yin arises. The winter solstice corresponds to the hour of *zi* [11pm–1am]. After this, observe the sun rising in the east to become yang. The summer solstice corresponds to the hour of *wu* [11am–1pm]. After this, observe the sun setting [in the west] to become yin. This is the principle of the alteration of yin and yang. **[22a]** The qi of the earth ascends; the rain of heaven descends. Every three days, there is one wind; every ten mornings, there are two rain showers. When wind and rain arrive appropriately, people become joyful and happy. When the whole person is joyful and happy, there will be no disease and the person can live forever.

“People have myriad diseases, and each disease is of a particular category. Use the exercises of perfection to cure them, and the diseases will respond naturally. The first exercise is the Method of the Nine Times Reverted Elixir Greatly Refined. There are also the following practices: the Method of Yellow Sprouts Threading the Knee, the Method of Striking the Nine-Layered Iron Drum, and the Method of the Prince Roaming through the Four Gates. There is also the Method of the Golden Whip and Familiar Wheel, the Method of Reeds and Sprouts Threading the Knee, the Method of Xian Yuan [Huangdi] Passing Over Fire, and the Method of Jade Maidens Massaging the Body. There is also Zhongli [Quan’s] Method of the Sword Behind the Back, Venerable Lü [Dongbin’s] Fishing Method, and Chen Xiyi’s [Chen Tuan’s] Great Sleeping Method.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ The Celestial Pass usually refers to a head location, while the Earth Pivot most often names the Gate of Life, the area between the kidneys. The Celestial Pass also may refer to the heart. The terms also appear in section 8a above.

³⁶⁹ Reading *gong* 功 (“exercise”) for *gong* 宮 (“palace”).

³⁷⁰ Most of the specifics of these various techniques are unknown. Many of them are mentioned in earlier sections of the text. Some are also discussed in the *Dadan zhizhi*. Regarding the personages mentioned, the Yellow Thearch is one of three ancient “thearchs” from China’s pre-dynastic or pre-historical period, which in order of succession are as follows: (1) Fu Xi; (2) Shen Nong; and (3) Huangdi (Yellow Thearch). The

“All followers who engage in internal practice according to the Three Teachings will completely cure each and every sickness and disease. **[22b]** Moreover, they will gain the ability to leap over [the cycle] of life.

“As people practice these exercises, the elixir field will be nourished and the perfect qi will become warmed. At night such people may have dreams where they see an untethered ox on a mountain. This ox may be crimson or azure in color. There may also be immortals, Daoist monks, monasteries, temples, wide paths, pleasant rooms, tall carriages, or pleasing trees. At night, they may also see young boys and girls or senior officials. All of this indicates that the qi in the elixir field is vigorous.

“Dreaming of narrow paths overgrown with brambles, harmful people seeking advantage and destruction, huts and hovels, pagodas and graves [for the dead], uprooted trees, river crossings, or other frightful sights while crossing a river indicate that the qi in the elixir field is in decline and weakened. It would be appropriate to use [the exercises] to repair [this condition].”

Perfected Chongyang also instructed, “When speaking to three [kinds of] people, I fear that their six ears will squander the opportunity for spirit immortality.”

Yellow Thearch has been ascribed various qualities during different periods of Chinese history, and is in turn many things to many people. In a more general sense, he is seen as the founder of Chinese civilization itself. As time went by, the figure of the Yellow Thearch became a representative of political philosophy, medical knowledge, longevity techniques, sexology lore, and divine sovereignty. Jade Maidens are associated with immortality lore, often appearing as attendants for higher-level immortals and appearing to welcome ascending Perfected. Zhongli Quan (Zhengyang [Aligned Yang]; 2nd c. C.E.?) is a pseudo-historical figure associated with early internal alchemy lineages. He is most well-known for his association with the Zhong-Lü textual tradition, as the teacher of Lü Dongbin, and as one of the later Eight Immortals (*baxian*). Lü Dongbin (Chunyang [Purified Yang]; d. 798?) is probably the most important figure in internal alchemy lineages. He is also well-known for his association with the Zhong-Lü textual tradition, as the student of Zhongli Quan, and as one of the later Eight Immortals. Both Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin were also venerated in early Quanzhen as “patriarchs,” with Wang Chongyang sometimes said to have had mystical encounters with them. Chen Tuan (d. 989), or Chen Xiyi, is most often associated with longevity and *daoyin* techniques in general and sleep practices in particular. On Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin see Baldrian-Hussein 1986; Boltz 1987, 139–43; Pregadio and Skar 2000. On Lü Dongbin in particular see Baldrian-Hussein 1984; Ang 1993; 1997; Katz 1996; 1999. On Chen Tuan see Kohn 2001.

Perfected Chongyang further commented, “These three [kinds of] people are as follows: first, those who are unfilial; second, those who are irreverent and untrustworthy; and third, those who fail to abide by the precepts or do not do good deeds. I never instruct them.³⁷¹ Aside from these types, however, regardless of man or woman, Buddhist or Daoist, official or commoner—to each I will transmit the divine law and bestow the precepts.³⁷²

“Those who cultivate perfection and [endeavor to] complete these instructions highly value the gold of Mount Sumeru. They receive the various scriptures and honor them as their ancestors. **[23a]** They establish calm joyfulness, following the methods of the lesser transmission. Although it is the lesser transmission, it is yet the foundation of the greater transmission.³⁷³

“The *Yinguo jing* 因果經³⁷⁴ mentions that in cultivation there are eight types of fields of blessedness (*futian* 福田).³⁷⁵ First among them is the field of blessedness which consists of saving people from suffering and looking after the sick. Making innate nature strong is like burning incense in the southern monastery, like making offerings in the northern temple. Saving the life of even a single person is like building a seven-storied jeweled pagoda.

“Whether man or woman, if you receive these instructions, never transmit them in confusion. If you do so, you will lessen and disperse your wondrous opportunity to become an immortal. Your ancestors up to nine generations will fall into perishing ruin, forever to be imprisoned

³⁷¹ A similar sentiment is expressed in the *Shixu lun*, attributed to Wang Chongyang: “There are three kinds of people with whom you should join and three whom you should avoid. Join those with an illuminated heart-mind, wisdom, or strong determination. Avoid those who are ignorant concerning external projections of the heart-mind, who lack wisdom and are turbid in innate nature, or who lack determination and are inclined to quarrel” (DZ 1233, 3a).

³⁷² On the place of precepts in early Quanzhen see section 1b above.

³⁷³ On the greater and lesser transmissions see sections 3ab, 4b–5a, and 12a above.

³⁷⁴ The *Yinguo jing* (Sūtra on Karmic Consequences) may be the Buddhist *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* 過去現在因果經 (Sūtra on the Karmic Consequences of Past and Present; T. 189) (Hachiya 1972, 158–59), translated into Chinese by Gunabhadra (394–468).

³⁷⁵ Buddhism. Fields of blessedness (Chn.: *futian* 福田; Skt.: *punya-ksetra*) refer to realms and conditions of existence characterized by blessing and joyousness, specifically those associated with and produced by the Buddhist community. They are classified according to two, three, four, and eight. Some of these include that of study, that of merit and virtue, that of parents and teachers, that of the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, etc. See Soothill and Hodous 1937, 426; Ding 1939, 2501; Xingyun 1989, 5852. On the meaning of *futian* in Daoism see Min and Li 1994, 970; Hu 1995, 487.

in Fengdu,³⁷⁶ and never again attain human form. Be cautious about it! Be on guard about it! Receive the teachings with sincerity and practice them with dedication!

³⁷⁶ Fengdu 酆都 is one of the Chinese netherworlds or “hells.” See Min and Li 1994, 1006; Hu 1995, 656, 1469; Chenivresse 1996; 1997; 1998; Nickerson 1997, 234–37. For a symbolic diagram see *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 17.22a. According to the “Changchun shu,” associated with Qiu Changchun, “Perfected Danyang said, ‘If the roots of karma (*yegen* 業根) are deep and not completely eliminated, how can you expect to attain the Dao? Moreover, there is the [sexual] technique (*shu* 術) of extraction and battle in the bedroom, which exhausts and confuses vital essence and spirit. This undermines virtue and misleads people. Their names become placed in the ghost records (*guilu* 鬼錄), and they then sink into Fengdu’” (*Zhenxian yulu*, DZ 1256, 1.16b).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

CONCISE CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY QUANZHEN DAOISM
1113–1310

- 1113 Birth of founder, Wang Zhe 王嘉 (Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170), in the village of Dawei 大魏 in Xianyang 咸陽 (near Chang'an; Shaanxi).
- 1126 Jurchens defeat the Khitan-Liao and Northern Song forces. Formal establishment of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) and control of Chinese territory north of the Changjiang River.
- 1131 Jurchens take control of Shaanxi. Establish puppet state of Qi.
- 1143 Wang Zhe abandons official and military careers. Erratic behavior and drunkenness earn him the nickname Haifeng 害風 (Lunatic).
- 1159 Wang Zhe's first mystical experience. Traditionally said to involve an encounter with the two immortals Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 (Zhengyang 正陽 [Aligned Yang]; 2nd c. C.E.?) and Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (Chunyang 純陽 [Purified Yang]; b. 798?) in Ganhe 甘河 township. Initiates conversion process. Wang changes his name, adopting the Daoist name of Chongyang 重陽 (Redoubled Yang), indicating his lineage connection with Zhengyang and Chunyang.
- 1160 Wang Chongyang's second mystical experience, involving an encounter with Lü Dongbin in the town of Liquan 醴泉 (Shaanxi). Receives "five secret transmissions."
- 1161 Wang Chongyang completely abandons his family, dedicating himself exclusively to a religious way of life. Builds underground enclosure called Tomb for Reviving the Dead (*huo siren mu* 活死人墓). Lives there for almost three years, engaging in ascetic practices, practicing internal alchemy, and exchanging poetry with those who came to visit him.
- 1163 Wang Chongyang moves to Liujiang 劉蔣 (Shaanxi) in Zhongnan 終南 mountains, where a Daoist eremitic community is established. Builds meditation hut, where he lives and practices for four years. Trains with He Dejin 和德瑾 (Yuchan

- 玉蟾 [Jade Toad]; d. 1170) and Li Linjiang 李靈陽 (Linyang 靈陽 [Numinous Yang]; d. 1189).
- 1164 Wang Chongyang's third and final mystical experience, involving a dubious encounter with Liu Haichan 劉海蟾 (fl. 1031). Wang completely forsakes alcohol consumption.
- 1164 Wang gains his first known disciples, Shi Chuhou 史處厚 (Dongyang 洞陽 [Cavernous Yang]; 1102–1174) and Yan Chuchang 嚴處常 (1111–1183), while living in Liujiang village.
- 1167 Wang Chongyang burns down meditation hut and moves from Shaanxi to Shandong.
- 1167 Wang Chongyang arrives in Shandong and converts his first known Shandong disciple, Liu Tongwei 劉通微 (Moran 默然 [Silent Suchness]; d. 1196). Liu goes west to Shaanxi, most likely to join eremitic community at Liujiang.
- 1167 Wang Chongyang attends social gathering at estate of a local official named Fan Mingshu 范明叔. Meets Ma Yu 馬鈺 (Danyang 丹陽 [Elixir Yang]; 1123–1184). Ma agrees to let Wang build meditation hut on his estate.
- 1167 Imperial edict issued for the reconstruction of Tianchang guan 天長觀 (Monastery of Celestial Perpetuity; a.k.a. Baiyun guan 白雲觀 [White Cloud Temple]) (Beijing).
- 1167 Wang builds Quanzhen an 全真庵 (Hermitage of Complete Perfection) on Ma Danyang's property. While living there for the next six months, converts Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (Changchun 長春 [Perpetual Spring]; 1143–1227), Tan Chuduan 譚處端 (Changzhen 長真 [Perpetual Perfection]; 1123–1185), and Wang Chuyi 王處一 (Yuyang 玉陽 [Jade Yang]; 1142–1217).
- 1168 Wang converts Ma Danyang. Ma separates from his wife, Sun Buer 孫不二, and hands over his property to his son.
- 1168 Wang and his disciples move to Kunyu 崑崙 mountains and establish Yanxia dong 煙霞洞 (Cavern of Misty Vapors). Period of intensive ascetic training. Hao Datong 郝大通 (Guangning 廣寧 [Expansive Serenity]; 1140–1213) and Zhou Deqing 周德清 (Xuanjing 玄靖 [Mysterious Stillness]), Wang Yuyang's widowed mother, become Wang's disciples.
- 1168 Wang and his disciples leave Yanxia dong. Begin to establish associations (*hui* 會) in northeastern Shandong.
- 1169 Sun Buer 孫不二 (Qingjing 清靜 [Clear Stillness]; 1119–1183) and Liu chuxuan 劉處玄 (Changsheng 長生 [Perpetual Life]; 1147–1203) become fully-recognized disciples.

- 1169 Wang Chongyang, his first-generation disciples, and lay patrons complete establishment of five associations in northern Shandong. Popular membership probably around 2,000 people.
- 1169 Wang Chongyang leaves Shandong with four of his disciples, Liu Changsheng, Ma Danyang, Qiu Changchun, and Tan Changzhen.
- 1170 Wang Chongyang dies in Bianliang 汴梁, on way back to Shaanxi. Leadership of the Quanzhen movement passes to Ma Danyang.
- 1170 Wang's Shandong disciples continue on to Shaanxi. There they meet He Dejin and Li Lingyang, Wang's earlier companions, and Shi Chuhou, Yan Chuchang, and Liu Tongwei, Wang's earlier disciples. The nine adepts construct a tomb and small temple at the very site in Liujiang village where Wang had burned down his meditation hut.
- 1170 He Dejin dies.
- 1171 Disciples retrieve Wang's body from Bianliang and inter it at Liujiang. Wang's former hermitage becomes the Quanzhen Zuting 祖庭 (Ancestral Hall), later renamed Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Redoubled Yang) and Lingxu guan 靈虛觀 (Monastery of Numinous Emptiness).
- 1171 Disciples observe three-year mourning period.
- 1174 Ma Danyang takes on formal leadership of Quanzhen, with his primary missionary activity occurring in Shaanxi province.
- 1174 Shi Chuhou dies.
- 1174 Qiu Changchun undertakes solitary training in Panxi 磻溪, and then later in the Longmen 龍門 (Dragon Gate) mountains, both in Shaanxi province.
- 1174 Reconstruction of Tianchang guan completed. Yan Deyuan 閻德原 (1094–1189) of the Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity) tradition appointed abbot.
- 1175 First known stele of Quanzhen movement carved under Tan Changzhen's initiative and completed by Quanzhen adherent named Shi Daojuan 石道涓 (fl. 1175). Stele erected in Qimen township.
- 1181 Imperial announcement requiring Daoists to return to their places of birth. Ma Danyang moves from Shaanxi back to Shandong. Transfers leadership responsibilities to Qiu Changchun.
- 1183 Sun Buer dies.
- 1183 Yan Chuchang dies.
- 1184 Ma Danyang dies.

- 1185 Tan Changzhen dies.
- 1186 Jin emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161–1189) appoints Sun Mingdao 孫明道 (fl. 1190) of the Zhengyi tradition as abbot of Tianchang guan.
- 1187 Wang Yuyang summoned to court of Jin emperor Shizong.
- 1188 Qiu Changchun summoned to court of Jin emperor Shizong. Serves at court until 1191.
- 1188 Jin emperor Shizong orders construction of Xiuzhen guan 修真觀 (Monastery for Cultivating Perfection) for Wang Yuyang.
- 1189 Li Lingyang dies.
- 1190 Jurchen-Jin proscription against Quanzhen.
- 1191 Under imperial patronage of Jin emperor Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1190–1208) and the supervision of Sun Mingdao, abbot of Tianchang guan, the *Da Jin xuandu baozang* 大金玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis of the Great Jin; a.k.a. Daoist Canon) completed and printed.
- 1191 Qiu Changchun returns to Shandong and begins organizing and leading Quanzhen associations.
- 1196 Liu Tongwei dies.
- 1197 Lifting of proscription. Imperial recognition of Quanzhen monasteries.
- 1197 Liu Changsheng summoned to the court of Jin emperor Zhangzong.
- 1201 Wang Yuyang performs *jiao* 醮 ritual at Taiqing guan 太清觀 (Monastery of Great Clarity; Shanxi). Results in successful birth of Jin emperor Zhangzong's heir.
- 1202 Tianchang guan partially destroyed during Mongol invasion. Rebuilt and renamed Taiji gong 太極宮 (Palace of the Great Ultimate).
- 1203 Liu Changsheng dies.
- 1208 Copies of the *Da Jin xuandu baozang* presented to Qiu Changchun at Taixu guan 太虛觀 (Monastery of Great Emptiness; Shandong) and Wang Yuyang at Yuxu guan 玉虛觀 (Monastery of Jade Emptiness; Hebei).
- 1210 Mongols begin conquest of Jurchen-Jin dynasty.
- 1213 Hao Guangning dies.
- 1215 Mongols capture Jin territory north of the Yellow River.
- 1217 Wang Yuyang dies. Of Wang Chongyang's first-generation disciples, only Qiu Changchun remains.

- 1217 Jin emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 1213–1224) summons Qiu Changchun to court. Qiu declines.
- 1219 Song emperor Ningzong 寧宗 (r. 1195–1224) summons Qiu Changchun to court. Qiu declines.
- 1219 Chinggis Qan (Genghis Khan; ca. 1162–1227; r. 1206–1227) summons Qiu Changchun to Hindu Kush (present-day Afghanistan). Qiu accepts.
- 1220 Qiu Changchun sets out with nineteen select disciples to travel to the camp of Chinggis Qan. Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (Qinghe 清和 [Clear Harmony]; 1169–1251), future successor of Qiu, and Li Zhichang 李志常 (Zhenchang 真常 [Perfected Constancy]; 1193–1256) are among the disciples chosen.
- 1222 Qiu Changchun meets with Chinggis Qan. Quanzhen designated as tax-exempt religious institution and given *de facto* control of northern China's religious communities.
- 1223 Qiu Changchun returns to Yanjing (Beijing) and oversees Quanzhen expansion from rebuilt Tianchang guan. Establishes eight associations in Yanjing.
- 1225 Buddhist monk Fuyu 福裕 (1203–1275) goes to Mongol court and charges Quanzhen with seizing Buddhist temples and spreading text centering on the Daoist *huahu* 化胡 (“conversion of the barbarians”) theory.
- 1227 Qiu Changchun dies. All of Wang Chongyang's first-generation disciples now deceased.
- 1227 Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (Qinghe 清和 [Clear Harmony]; 1169–1251), originally a disciple of Liu Changsheng and later disciple of Qiu Changchun, assumes leadership of Quanzhen.
- 1228 Tianchang guan renamed Changchun gong 長春宮 (Palace of Perpetual Spring) in honor of Qiu Changchun. Hall built on eastern side to house Qiu's remains. Original location of Baiyun guan 白雲觀 (White Cloud Monastery).
- 1229 Li Zhichang 李志常 (Zhenchang 真常 [Perfect Constancy]; 1193–1256), second-in-charge of Quanzhen, becomes tutor of Mongol heir apparent as well as of sons of some Mongol nobles.
- 1230 Quanzhen takes control of Louguan tai 樓觀臺 (Lookout Tower Monastery) temple complex (Shaanxi), the first Daoist monastery. Li Zhirou 李志柔 (1189–1266) serves as abbot of Zongsheng gong 宗聖宮 (Palace of the Ancestral Sage).

- 1230 Increase in stele erection and monastery construction, which remains fairly constant through 1350.
- 1234 Final defeat of the Jurchens by the Mongols. End the Jin dynasty. Mongols gain complete control of northern China.
- 1238 Yin Zhiping transfers leadership of Quanzhen to Li Zhichang, another disciple of Qiu Changchun.
- 1244 Completion of *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis; a.k.a. Daoist Canon) under the supervision of Song Defang 宋德方 (1183–1247), a disciple of Qiu Changchun, and his student Qin Zhian 秦志安 (1188–1244). Largest Daoist textual collection ever compiled and only collection completed without imperial sponsorship.
- 1246 Pan Dechong 潘德冲 (1191–1256) appointed as chief superintendent of Quanzhen Daoists in the northern and southern routes of Hedong. Oversees reconstruction of Yongle gong 永樂宮 (Palace of Eternal Joy; Shanxi), former cultic site dedicated to the worship of Lü Dongbin.
- 1251 Yin Zhiping dies.
- 1256 First Buddho-Daoist debate scheduled. Daoists refuse to participate.
- 1256 Li Zhichang dies. Zhang Zhijing 張志敬 (Chengming 誠明 [Authentic Illumination]; 1220–1270), a disciple of Qiu Changchun, becomes Quanzhen patriarch.
- 1258 First formal Buddho-Daoist debate. Centering on *huahu* theory, including two related, polemical texts, the *Huahu jing* 化胡經 (Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians) and the *Laozi bashiyi hua tushuo* 老子八十一化圖說 (Illustrated Explanations of Laozi's Eighty-one Transformations). Quanzhen Daoists lose.
- 1260 Peak of Quanzhen stele erection. Corresponding to intense construction and restoration of Quanzhen monasteries and sacred sites.
- 1262 Construction of main halls of Yongle gong completed. Fully functioning Quanzhen monastery.
- 1269 Honorific titles bestowed on “five patriarchs” and “seven masters” of early Quanzhen movement by Qubilai Qan (Khubilai Khan; Emperor Shizu 世祖; r. 1260–1294).
- 1270 Zhang Zhijing dies. Wang Zhitan 王志坦 (1201–1273), a disciple of Qiu Changchun, becomes Quanzhen patriarch.

- 1273 Wang Zhitan dies. Qi Zhicheng 祁志誠 (Dongming 洞明 [Cavernous Illumination]; 1219–1293), a disciple of Qiu Changchun, becomes Quanzhen patriarch.
- 1279 Final defeat of the Southern Song by the Mongols. Formal establishment of the Mongol-Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). First non-Chinese people to control all Chinese territories.
- 1281 Second Buddho-Daoist debate. Daoist side represented by the Quanzhen patriarch Qi Zhicheng 祁志誠 (1219–1293), the Celestial Master Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 (1244–1291), and the Dadao 大道 (Great Dao) patriarch Li Dehe 李德和 (d. 1280). Daoists lose again.
- 1281 Mongol-Yuan proscription against Quanzhen. Results in a number of anti-Daoist edicts by Qubilai Qan, culminating in the burning and destruction of Daoist texts, textual collections, and printing blocks in 1281 (only the *Daode jing* was to be spared), under which much of the *Xuandu baozang* was lost.
- 1293 Qi Zhicheng dies.
- 1310 Imperial recognition of Quanzhen patriarchs. Mongol emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 1308–1311) bestows honorific title of “perfected lord” (*zhenjun* 真君). Recognition includes “five patriarchs,” “seven masters,” and eighteen disciples who accompanied Qiu Changchun on his westward journey.

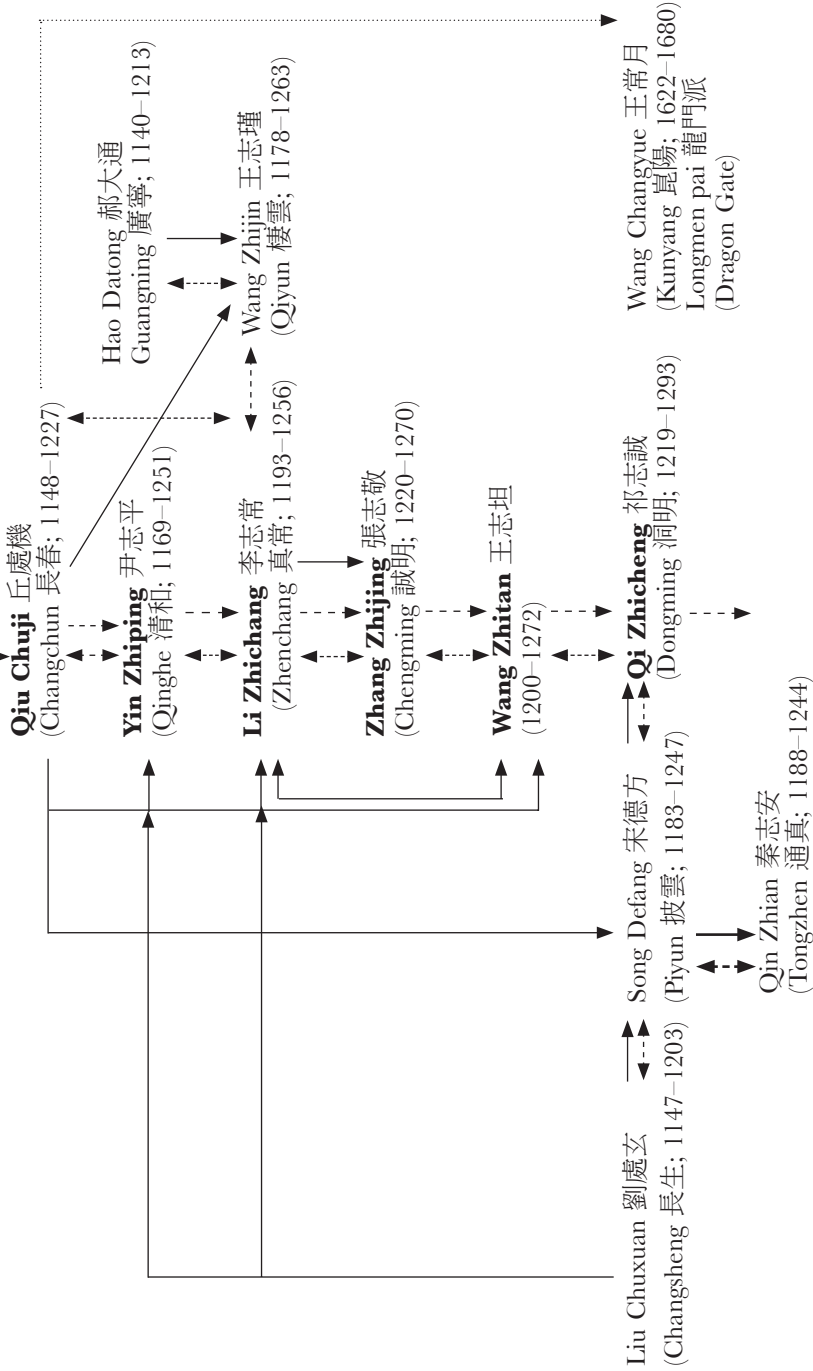
APPENDIX TWO

GENEALOGY OF EARLY QUANZHEN DAOISM

The following lineage charts are an initial attempt to map the genealogy of early Quanzhen Daoism, including the hypothesized teachers of Wang Chongyang and other influences on the early movement. A chart of the Quanzhen patriarchs, from the first (Wang Chongyang) through the eighth (Qi Zhicheng), is also provided. With a varied system of symbols, I have attempted to map the actual complexity of religious communities, emphasizing the multi-lineal rather than uni-lineal directions of influence. That is, the relationship between a teacher and his or her students is not a simple one-directional transmission. Students and supporters are often as influential on the shifting concerns of and developments in a given religious community. Lineage charts of second- and third-generation Quanzhen adepts may be found in Ren 1990, 2.728; Li 2003, 460–61. The following legend will help orient the interested reader:

Teacher-Disciple	—————▶
Influenced	-----▶
Influenced Each Other	◀-----▶
Lineage Successor	- - - -▶
Patriarch	Bold
Mother-Son▶
Eventually Led To▶

EARLY PATRIARCHS



APPENDIX THREE

EARLY QUANZHEN TEXTUAL CORPUS

The early Quanzhen textual corpus, here defined as the works associated with Wang Chongyang and his first-generation disciples, consists of a diverse and wide-ranging collection of writings.¹ The following genres may be identified: poetry, as contained in anthologies (*ji* 集); discourse records/recorded sayings (*yulu* 語錄); instructions (*jue* 訣); discourses (*lun* 論); commentaries (*zhu* 注/註); records (*lu* 錄/*ji* 記); and hagiographies (*zhuan* 傳). The last two genres were not written by the early Quanzhen adepts; rather, they provide information on the lives and activities of these persons. For the purposes of the present study, I propose the following typology: (1) Literary Anthologies; (2) Discourse Records; (3) Didactic Texts; (4) Exegeses; and (5) Histories, Hagiographies, and Epigraphy.² Selections from these and other relevant

¹ These texts are contained in the Ming-dynasty (1368–1644) Daoist Canon of 1445, including the 1607 supplement (see Komjathy 2002b). Punctuated editions of the texts associated with Wang Chongyang and the Seven Perfected have recently been published by Bai Ruxiang and Zhao Weidong. Unfortunately, the editors adopted the increasingly standard use of simplified Chinese characters in mainland Chinese publications. There is also a large body of inscriptions associated with the early tradition (see Chen Y. 1988; Goossaert 1997; forthcoming). While some reference will be made to these materials, for the most part I restrict my study to the texts preserved in the Ming-dynasty Daoist Canon. Vincent Goossaert's dissertation (1997), emphasizing the social and institutional history of Quanzhen from 1170 to 1370, utilizes a large amount of relevant Daoist epigraphy (see also Katz 1999; Goossaert 2001).

² Other typologies have been proposed. Judith Boltz (1987), who covers a much broader timeframe and set of Daoist sub-traditions, divides Daoist texts as a whole into revelation and ritual; hagiography; topographic, epigraphic, and historiographic treatises; literary anthologies and dialogic treatises (*yulu*); and exegeses and encyclopedic compilations. Vincent Goossaert (1997, 406–61), influenced by Boltz, utilizes the following: Anthologies littéraires, Les entretiens (*yulu* 語錄), Textes didactiques, Classiques et commentaires, and Hagiographie. Yao Tao-chung (2000, 573–581) discusses the early Quanzhen textual corpus in terms of anthologies; cultivation texts; inner alchemy; annotations; hagiographies; and records (specifically of Qiu Changchun's meeting with Chinggis Qan). Finally, the section on Quanzhen in *The Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Schipper and Verellen 2004) divides the extant textual corpus into hagiography and biography, *logia* (*yulu* 語錄) and collected works, rules and organization, and individual practice. Some later Daoist texts categorized as “Quanzhen” in that work deserve more careful reflection. Boltz, Yao and the contributors to the *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要 (Ren and Zhong 1991) and *The Historical Companion* (Schipper and Verellen

texts will be translated in my forthcoming anthology of Quanzhen writings, tentatively titled *The Way of Complete Perfection*.

Familiarity with and reflection on the early Quanzhen textual corpus raises a number of issues. First, dating and authorship are often difficult to determine. The least problematic texts in this respect are the literary anthologies, but, as most of these were compiled after a given adept's death, the provenance of *individual* poems requires some consideration. Far more challenging are the various texts that lack introductory materials, and which do not appear in standard bibliographical works (see Goossaert 1997, 436–37).³ One is then left to develop an appropriate methodology for determining authorship, date of composition, and related historical context. One possible methodology would utilize comparison of content and technical terminology in combination with historical contextualization to determine a given text's provenance. Such a methodology parallels the one advocated by Schipper and Verellen (2004, 4–5, 42, 47). As these issues are discussed in the introduction to my annotated translation of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* provided in Part II, I will simply make one comment here. From my perspective, each text must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis, and simple dismissal should be avoided.

2004) provide details concerning each text, for which the present discussion is indebted. Most of the entries on the early Quanzhen textual corpus in *The Historical Companion* were contributed by Florian Reiter:

³ The fact that few texts from the early Quanzhen textual corpus appear in Jin and Yuan dynasty bibliographies and that few are cited in later Quanzhen writings has led Goossaert to make the following point: “Our lack of a fundamental text defining a Quanzhen identity is not an effect of faulty transmission. There was indeed no such thing as a specific Quanzhen scriptural tradition, because there is no Quanzhen revealed scripture. Of course, Wang Zhe, later Quanzhen masters, as well as number contemporary religious seekers not belonging to the order met with immortals and received from them poems and oral instructions. These revelations, however, were of a personal nature and were not meant to be the basis of a written tradition.... The ultimate authority within the early Quanzhen order was not a fundamental text but the action and speech of the patriarchs and masters.... [T]he huge majority of Quanzhen literature is either performative or narrative: it proposes a detailed pedagogy in action, by exhorting adepts and telling the exemplary story of the order's patriarchs and former masters. It aims at convincing auditors and readers to join the order and imitate its patriarchs. As such, this literature can be considered a huge repertory of fragments of contextualized teachings that together form a Quanzhen lore” (2001, 120–21; see also Boltz 1987, 137–39; Schipper and Verellen 2004). More work needs to be done on these and related textual issues.

LITERARY ANTHOLOGIES

Literary anthologies, composed primarily of diverse poetic forms, constitute by far the greatest number of extant works from the early Quanzhen movement. The Ming-dynasty Daoist Canon, completed in 1445, contains poetry collections by Wang Chongyang and each of his major Shandong disciples, with the exception of Sun Buer.⁴ These works consist of most of the major genres of Chinese “poetry” (see Yip 1976) utilized during the Song-Jin period,⁵ specifically “poetry” (*shi* 詩), “lyrics” (*ci* 詞), and “songs” (*ge* 歌).

In terms of the early Quanzhen textual corpus, *shi*-poetry most often involves one of two forms, namely, *lüshi* 律詩 (“regulated verse”) and *jueju* 絕句 (“quatrains”). The former consists of eight seven-character lines, while the latter employs four five-character lines. The *jueju* form may also be written in seven-character quatrains (Bodman and Wong 1986). *Ci*-lyrics were originally song texts set to existing musical tones. *Ci*-lyric titles always point to particular *cipai* 詞牌 (tune patterns) for which the lyric is composed. These tune patterns, totaling about 825, came to be viewed as definite verse patterns. *Ci*-lyrics are most often characterized by lines of unequal length, which stands in sharp contrast to regulated verse with its strictly five-character and seven-character lines. *Ci*-lyrics are generally associated with the Song dynasty, for the genre reached its height during this period (Chang 1986). Fortunately, most of the early Quanzhen poetry has been collected in the *Quan Jin shi* 全金詩 (Complete Jin Dynasty Poetry; Xue and Guo 1995) and the *Quan Jin Yuan ci* 全金元詞 (Complete Jin and Yuan Dynasty Lyrics; Tang 1979), complete with punctuation that is especially helpful in terms of the *ci*-lyrics. The early textual corpus contains the following anthologies:⁶

⁴ Poetry attributed to Sun Buer is preserved in the *Minghe yuyin* (Lingering Overtones of the Calling Crane; DZ 1100) (see Boltz 1987, 155; 188–90; below) and later, “extra-canonical” collections (see Komjathy 2002b; Despeux and Kohn 2003).

⁵ The generic English “poetry,” subdivided into forms based on characteristic features (e.g., alexandrine couplet), has no equivalent in Chinese. The Chinese term *shi*, usually translated as “poetry,” is a particular poetic genre. For present purposes, “poetry” refers to the general English designation, including the diverse Chinese forms, while “*shi*-poetry” refers to the Chinese technical meaning.

⁶ In this section and the ones that follow, texts are listed alphabetically.

Chongyang fenli shihua ji 重陽分梨十化集

Translation: Chongyang's Anthology on Ten Conversions by Dividing Pears

Abbreviation: *Fenli shihua ji*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1155

Length: 2 j.

Author: Wang Zhe 王嘉 (Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170)

Preface Author: Ma Dabian 馬大辨 (fl. 1185)

Compiler/Editor: Zhu Baoyi 朱抱一 (Lingzhen 靈真 [Numinous Perfection]; fl. 1183)

Date: 1183 (preface)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 145–46; Ren and Zhong 1991, 909; Hachiya 1992; Yao 2000, 574–75; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1159–60

This is a literary anthology of poetry-exchanges between Wang Chongyang, the founder of Quanzhen, and Ma Danyang, his senior-most disciple and the second patriarch of Quanzhen. The collection effort was overseen by Zhu Baoyi and contains a preface by Ma Dabian, both of whom were disciples of Ma Danyang. The extant edition is based on an earlier Shaanxi edition printed between 1170 and 1182 (Boltz 1987, 145). The preface provides information on the context of composition. While Wang Chongyang lived on Ma Danyang's property in the Quanzhen an 全真菴 (Hermitage of Complete Perfection), he would frequently compose poems urging Ma and his wife, Sun Buer 孫不二 (Qingjing 清靜 [Clear Stillness]; 1119–1183), to separate and become renunciants. Wang sent poems accompanied with a divided pear (*fenli* 分梨) to the couple every ten days. The purpose of this gesture was to convince the couple to divorce, with the Chinese phrase “divided pear” also being a pun on *fenli* 分離 (“separation” or “division”) (*Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 7.6b; Yao 1980, 52). The anthology contains one of the few poems addressed directly to Sun Buer, wherein Wang urges her to renounce householder life and seek spirit immortality (*shenxian* 神仙) (2.6a).

Chongyang jiaohua ji 重陽教化集

Translation: Chongyang's Anthology on Teaching and Conversion

Abbreviation: *Jiaohua ji*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1154

Length: 3 j.

Author: Wang Zhe 王嘉 (Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170)

Preface Author: Fan Yi 范懔 (fl. 1185), Liang Dong 梁棟 (fl. 1185), among others

Compiler/Editor: Zhu Baoyi 朱抱一 (Lingzhen 靈真 [Numinous Perfection]; fl. 1183)

Date: 1183 (preface)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 145–46; Ren and Zhong 1991, 907–8; Hachiya 1992; Yao 2000, 574; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1159

This is another literary anthology of poetry-exchanges between Wang Chongyang, the founder of Quanzhen, and Ma Danyang, his senior-most disciple and the second patriarch of Quanzhen. It contains six prefaces dating to 1183, including ones by Fan Yi (fl. 1185), Superintendent of Schools in Ninghai (Shandong), and some of Ma Danyang's disciples. The collection effort was overseen by Zhu Baoyi, another follower of Ma Danyang. The extant edition is based on an earlier Shaanxi edition printed between 1170 and 1182 (Boltz 1987, 145), and had the original title *Jiaohua xiashou chi* 教化下手遲 (preface, 6a; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1159). Compiled as a tribute to the master-disciple relationship between Wang and Ma, the *Jiaohua ji* consists primarily of some two hundred *shi*-poems on self-cultivation. Like the *Fenli shihua ji* (above), this collection also contains Ma Danyang's poetic responses, many of which were written in the form called *chaizi cangtou* 拆字藏頭 (“opening [line] hiding a selected character”). In utilizing this form, Ma was required not only to adopt the prescribed metrical pattern and rhyme scheme, but also to evoke the opening character from the last character in the father verse (Boltz 1987, 146; also 309, n. 353; also Eskildsen 2004, 240, n. 11). In addition to documenting Wang's pedagogical approach, the anthology reveals the dynamics of the master-disciple relationship.

Chongyang quanzhen ji 重陽全真集

Translation: Chongyang's Anthology of Complete Perfection

Abbreviation: *Quanzhen ji*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1153

Length: 13 j.

Author: Wang Zhe 王嘉 (Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170)

Preface Author: Fan Yi 范懌 (fl. 1185)

Compiler/Editor: Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (Changsheng 長生 [Perpetual Life]; 1147–1203)

Date: 1188 (preface)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 144–45; Ren and Zhong 1991, 906–7; Hachiya 1992; Yao 2000, 574; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1158–59

This is a literary anthology of the poetry of Wang Chongyang, the founder of Quanzhen. It contains a preface dating to 1188 by Fan Yi, Superintendent of Schools in Ninghai (Shandong). Based on information provided in the preface, it seems that Liu Changsheng may have initiated the collection effort (3ab). Liu sent two of his disciples, Cao Tian 曹填 (d. 1207) and Liu Zhenyi 劉真一 (d. 1206), to request that Fan Yi write the preface. There may have also been an earlier Shaanxi edition, which was compiled while Wang Chongyang was still alive (*Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 1.2b; *Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.12b–13a; also *Cantong qi fahui*, DZ 1005, 2.18b–19a) (Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1158). As Judith Boltz has noted, the edition found in the Ming-dynasty Daoist Canon is generally arranged according to categories of verse. Chapters one, two and ten are devoted exclusively to *shi*-poetry, while chapters three through eight and eleven through thirteen contain *ci*-lyrics. Finally, chapter nine consists of a variety of *ge*-songs, *ci*-lyrics, and *shi*-poetry (Boltz 1987, 144). The *Quanzhen ji* is the most extensive collection of Wang's writings, consisting of over one thousand poems. It gives the reader some glimpse into private moments of Wang Chongyang's life and feelings as well as providing important biographical and historical information that supplements hagiographical accounts. The *Quanzhen ji* reveals that Wang associated with people from diverse socio-economic, religious, and professional backgrounds. In addition to emphasizing the central beliefs and worldview of early Quanzhen, including self-purification and renunciation, Wang makes frequent mention to various technical aspects of internal alchemy. Important sections of the text include the poem sequences on cultivation and practice (1.14a–16b), the Four Hindrances (1.18ab), the Tomb for Riving the Dead (2.10a–13a), the Five Night-watches (7.7b–8a, 8.5a–6a, 8.10a–11a, 13.17b–18a),

awakening to Perfection (9.11b–12b), as well as two writings addressed to the Gold Lotus Society and Jade Flower Society (10.20a–21a).

Danyang shengguang can 丹陽神光燦

Translation: Danyang's Luster of Spirit Radiance

Abbreviation: *Shengguang can*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1150

Length: 37 pp.

Author: Ma Yu 馬鈺 (Danyang 丹陽 [Elixir Yang]; 1123–1184);
a.k.a. Ma Jue 馬珏

Preface Author: Ning Shichang 甯師常 (fl. 1175)

Compiler/Editor: N/A

Date: 1175 (preface)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 152; Ren and Zhong 1991, 903–4; Hachiya 1992; Yao 2000, 575; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1157

This is a literary collection of one hundred *ci*-lyrics written to the tune “Manting fang” 滿庭芳 (Fragrance Filling the Courtyard). Containing a preface dating to 1175 by Ning Shichang, the text is attributed to a certain “Ma Jue 馬珏 of the Kunyu 崑嶺 mountains”, whom Florian Reiter takes as referring to someone other than Ma Danyang (Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1157). The content of these *ci*-lyrics not only parallels that found in Ma Danyang's *Jinyu ji* (below), but also some of the writings contained in the *Fenli shihua ji* (DZ 1155, 1.7ab). In addition, Ning's preface informs us that the anthology was compiled in Shaanxi after the death of Wang Chongyang in 1170 (2a). These various details point toward “Ma Jue” as a pseudonym of Ma Yu, with *jue* 珏, composed of two *wangs* 王, or alternatively of *wang* 王 with *yu* 玉. This character may be read esoterically as sign of respect for Wang Chongyang. By using this name, Ma is showing the affinity between himself and Wang: following the death of Wang, Ma has become the second/redoubled “Wang” or the union of “Wang” and “Yu” (鈺→玉), the first name that Wang Chongyang gave to Ma. According to the preface, “spirit radiance” (*shengguang* 神光) refers to the expansion of consciousness and divine capacities within Ma Danyang, and the Quanzhen adept by extension, following his initial awakening. Paralleling Wang Chongyang's *Quanzhen ji*, the *Shengguang can* documents Ma's personal attention to the needs of various disciples and patrons. This work emphasizes an ascetic orientation for spiritual progress to occur. In addition to severing

ties to the mundane world, Ma frequently discusses internal alchemy concepts and practices. Some important *ci*-lyrics include those on Wang Chongyang's life before and after "ascending to the empyrean" (1b–2b) as well as two prefatory comments about a prophetic dream in which Ma was divinely healed in 1174 by He Dejin 和德瑾 (Yuchan 玉蟾 [Jade Toad]; d. 1170), Wang Chongyang's earlier spiritual companion (13ab; cf. *Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 1.9ab; *Jinlian ji*, DZ 173, 2.11b–12a) (Boltz 1987, 152).

Dongxuan jinyu ji 洞玄金玉集

Translation: Anthology of Gold and Jade from the Cavern
Mystery

Abbreviation: *Jinyu ji*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1149

Length: 10 j.

Author: Ma Yu 馬鈺 (Danyang 丹陽 [Elixir Yang]; 1123–1184)

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: N/A

Date: Unknown

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 149–51; Ren and Zhong 1991, 902–3;
Hachiya 1992; Yao 2000, 575; Schipper and Verellen 2004,
1157

This is the largest literary anthology of Ma Danyang, the senior-most disciple of Wang Chongyang and second Quanzhen patriarch, and contains some 900 *shi*-poems, *ci*-lyrics, and *ge*-songs. The collection lacks a preface, so historical information on its overall context of compilation remains obscure. Nonetheless, there are brief prefaces to specific poems, which are valuable for historical information on Ma's life and the development of the Quanzhen movement. Some of the poems come from Ma's time in the Kunyu mountains and were written in Shandong as late as 1183 (see 6.8b; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1157). The title may be understood in two parts. *Jinyu* ("gold and jade") first invokes the name of a meditation hut, the Jinyu an 金玉菴 (Hermitage of Gold and Jade) in Huangxian 黃縣 (Shandong), where Ma spent the last years of his life (1.23a; 10.17a). *Jinyu* also suggests the first name given to Ma by Wang Chongyang (i.e., Yu 鈺) as well as various alchemical associations (see, e.g., 7.11a, 10.13b). The received collection may have been compiled in the late thirteenth century (Boltz 1987, 147; cf. *Dadan*

zhizhi, DZ 244; below), possibly almost one hundred years after Ma's death. *Dongxuan* suggests its placement in the Daoist Canon, wherein the primary division centers on the so-called Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞) (see Komjathy 2002b). In addition, the use of *wuwei qingjing* 無為清淨 ("non-action and clear purity"), like its use in the title of the recorded sayings of Liu Changsheng (DZ 1058; below), may suggest an alternative designation for the early Quanzhen movement, rather than a personal name. This work reveals much about the life and activities of Ma Danyang. Like his teacher, Ma associated with people from all walks of life. Ma also discusses the necessity of renunciation and alchemical practice, emphasizing clarity (*qing* 清) and stillness (*jing* 靜) as central to Daoist cultivation. Some important sections include poems on a dream wherein Wang Chongyang encounters the famous immortal Zhongli Quan 鐘離權 (1.1ab), Wang Chongyang's designation of Ma as Quanzhen leader (1.2a–3b), Wang Chongyang's standing as an immortal (4.4b, 6.3b, 7.1a–3b), Ma's death poem (6.8b–9a), and Ma's mystical experiences with Wang Chongyang (10.15b–16a, 10.23a–24a).

Jianwu ji 漸悟集

Translation: Anthology on Gradual Awakening

Abbreviation: N/A

Catalogue Number: DZ 1142

Length: 2 j.

Author: Ma Yu 馬鈺 (Danyang 丹陽 [Elixir Yang]; 1123–1184)

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: N/A

Date: ca. 1183

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 151–52; Ren and Zhong 1991, 897–88; Hachiya 1992; Yao 2000, 575; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1153

This is a literary anthology containing approximately 300 *ci*-lyrics by Ma Danyang, the senior-most disciple of Wang Chongyang and second Quanzhen patriarch. Many of these *ci*-lyrics date to Ma's time in the Kunyu 崑崙 mountains under the spiritual direction of Wang Chongyang and possibly to the final years of his life. This may locate the compilation of the work to the 1180s, perhaps shortly after Ma's death. The title brings to mind a distinction within the Chan Buddhist tradition concerning enlightenment (*wu* 悟), namely, sudden (*dun* 頓)

versus gradual (*jian* 漸) (see Gregory 1987). Many of the poems are addressed to disciples or patrons and provide insights into religious practice. There are also moments when Ma admonishes himself towards greater dedication and more complete self-transformation. Some interesting *ci*-lyrics include those on becoming a renunciant and Quanzhen adherent (1.1b–2a), ascetic discipline (1.2b, 1.10a, 2.1a), advice for the entire community of female adepts (1.20b), “gradual awakening” (*jianwu* 漸悟) (1.26a–27b; 2.26a–28a), *wugeng* training (2.9b–10a; 2.10ab), as well as a prefatory note that informs the reader of Ma’s conversion dream, possibly sent by Wang Chongyang. (1.2a).

Minghe yuyi 鳴鶴餘音

Translation: Lingering Overtones of the Calling Crane

Abbreviation: N/A

Catalogue Number: DZ 1100

Length: 9 j.

Author: Multiple

Preface Author: Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348)

Compiler/Editor: Peng Zhizhong 彭致中 (fl. 1345)

Date: 1347

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 188–90; Ren and Zhong 1991, 842–43;
Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1150–52

This mid-fourteenth century literary anthology consists of about 500 pieces, mostly *ci*-lyrics, written by some forty different figures to 150 tunes. Many of the *ci*-lyrics are attributed to major Daoists of the Song-Jin period. Although not part of the early Quanzhen textual corpus per se, and slightly problematic in terms of dating, the *Minghe yuyi* contains works attributed to Wang Chongyang (1.13b–14a, 3.1a, 4.10b–11a, 4.11b–12a, 5.16b), Ma Danyang (1.5b–6a, 1.13ab, 3.1a–2a, 3.2b–7a, 4.1ab, 4.8b–10b, 4.16a, 5.15b–16b, 6.7b–8b, 6.12a–13a, 9.1a–2a), Qiu Changchun (1.3ab, 1.10a–11b, 1.14a–15b, 1.17ab, 1.18ab, 2.17a–18a, 4.3a–7a, 4.16b, 5.2a, 5.2b–3a, 5.7a–15b), Hao Guangning (1.9a–10a), Sun Buer (5.7a, 6.13a–17a), as well as later, third-generation Quanzhen adepts such as Song Defang (Piyun 披雲 [Wrapped-in-Clouds]; 1183–1247) (1.6b–7b, 7.1a–11a), a disciple Liu Changsheng and later of Qiu Changchun and overseeing editor of the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis), and Wang Zhijin 王志謹 (Qiyun 棲雲 [Perched-in-Clouds]; 1178–1263) (1.6ab), a disciple of Hao Guangning and later of Qiu Changchun and one of the most

influential second-generation Quanzhen leaders. Of these, the *ci*-lyrics attributed to Sun Buer are among the most significant, as they are the only extant writings that may have actually been written by her.⁷

Panxi ji 磻溪集

Translation: Anthology from Panxi

Abbreviation: N/A

Catalogue Number: DZ 1159

Length: 6 j.

Author: Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (Changchun 長春 [Perpetual Spring]; 1148–1227)

Preface Author: Hu Guangqian 胡光謙 (fl. 1185), Chen Daren 陳大任 (fl. 1205), among others

Compiler/Editor: Unknown

Date: 1186/ca. 1208 (prefaces)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 157–58; Wong 1988; Ren and Zhong 1991, 913–14; Reiter 1993; Zhu 1994; Hachiya 1998; Yao 2000, 575–76; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1160–61

This literary anthology consists of more than 450 *shi*-poems and *ci*-lyrics by Qiu Changchun. It contains the only extant writings that can be unproblematically attributed to Qiu. This anthology contains four prefaces dating to 1186, 1187, 1206, and 1208. Interestingly, two of the prefaces were compiled by disciples residing in the Taixu guan 太虛觀 (Monastery of Great Emptiness), the Quanzhen monastery

⁷ Two later, Qing-dynasty (1644–1911) works contained in the *Daozang jiyao* 道藏集要 (Collected Essentials of the Daoist Canon; see Komjathy 2002b) are attributed to Sun Buer; these are the *Sun Buer yuanyun fayu* 孫不二元君法語 (Dharma Sayings of Primordial Goddess Sun Buer; JY 212; ZW 370) and *Sun Buer yuanyun chuanshu dandan bishu* 孫不二元君傳述丹道秘書 (Secret Writings on the Way of the Elixir Transmitted by Primordial Goddess Sun Buer; JY 213; ZW 371) (see Boltz 1987, 155–56; Despeux 1990, 170, 292–301; Yao 2000, 578; Despeux and Kohn 2003, 212–14, 241–43). While the attribution of the lyrics contained in the *Minghe yuyi* to Sun is open to question, it is clear that she did become highly venerated and inspirational in later traditions of female alchemy (*nidan*) (see Pregadio and Skar 2000, 490). For example, poems attributed to her appear in various collections, including the *Sun Buer nidan shi zhu* 孫不二女丹詩註 (Commentary on Sun Buer's Poetry on Women's Alchemy; Chen 1934), *Nidan hebian* 女丹合編 (Collected Works on Women's Alchemy; Tao 1989, 1–188) and *Nü jindan fayao* 女金丹法要 (Essential Methods of the Gold Elixir for Women; JH 48) (see Despeux 1990, 170, 291–302; 2000; Despeux and Kohn 2003, 206, 212–14). Sections of this text and the *Sun Buer yuanyun gongfu cidi* 孫不二元君功夫次第 (Practices and Stages of Sun Buer; Tao 1989, 282–88) have been translated in Thomas Cleary's *Immortal Sisters: Secret Teachings of Taoist Women* (1989b).

in Qiu's hometown of Qixia 棲霞 where he received a copy of the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis; a.k.a. Daoist Canon). The prefaces provide important historical and biographical details concerning Qiu Changchun. The title of the collection alludes to a tributary of the Wei River known as Panxi 磻溪 (Pan Brook), where Qiu engaged in solitary training from 1174 to 1180. It contains over 450 *shi*-poems and *ci*-lyrics in varying length and style. Many of these compositions are addressed to government officials, including the Jin emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161–1189) (3.6a–7a), but we also find unique descriptions of scenery, seasons, as well as plants and animals. Some important sections include *shi*-poems and *ci*-lyrics on Panxi (1.1ab, 1.3ab), Longmen dong 龍門洞 (Dragon Gate Cavern; near Longxian, Shaanxi) (1.7ab), visiting Shangqing gong 上清宮 (Palace of Highest Clarity) and Taiqing gong 太清宮 (Palace of Great Clarity), possibly references to the sacred site of Laoshan (near Qingdao, Shandong), cultivating the Dao (4.13b–15a), and being free from mundane thoughts (5.1a–5b). This anthology also contains Qiu's famous verse sequence in eight quatrains titled “Qingtian ge” 青天歌 (Song of Azure Heaven; 3.1ab), for which Wang Jie 王玠 (Daoyuan 道淵 [Dao Source]; fl. 1331–1380) wrote a commentary entitled *Qingtian ge zhushi* 青天歌注釋 (Exegesis of the “Qingtian ge”; DZ 137).

Shuiyun ji 水雲集

Translation: Anthology of Water and Clouds

Abbreviation: N/A

Catalogue Number: DZ 1160

Length: 3 j.

Author: Tan Chudian 譚處端 (Changzhen 長真 [Perpetual Perfection]; 1123–1185)

Preface Author: Fan Yi 范懌 (fl. 1185)

Compiler/Editor: Wang Liuhui 王琚輝 (fl. 1180), Liu Changsheng 劉長生 (1147–1203), and others

Date: 1187/ca. 1220 (prefaces)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 160–62; Ren and Zhong 1991, 915–16; Hachiya 1989; 1998; Yao 2000, 576; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1167⁸

⁸ Note that the entry on the *Shuiyun ji* in *The Historical Companion* (Schipper and Verellen

Consisting of over 200 *shi*-poems and *ci*-lyrics, this is the only extant literary anthology containing the writings of Tan Changzhen. The received edition has a somewhat complicated history. The original printing was prepared by a certain Wang Liuhui of the Quanzhen 全真菴 (Temple of Complete Perfection) in Junzhou 濬州 (Henan). After being lost in a flood in 1186, it was recompiled by Liu Changsheng, who recovered what writings he could. Liu in turn requested a preface, dating to 1187, from Fan Yi, Superintendent of Schools in Ninghai (Shandong) and childhood friend of Tan. Later, Lu Qian'gao 路鈐高 (d.u.) and others acquired a complete edition that had been preserved by disciples of Tan. That edition was reprinted with a postface dating to 1229 by Fan Yi's son (3.18b–19a) (Boltz 1987, 160–61; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1167). The extant edition contains that postface as well as a second one dating to 1289; these postfaces trace the history of the work through the thirteenth century. The title of the collection refers to various dimensions of early Quanzhen praxis, including the internal landscape actualized through internal alchemy and the necessity of following a solitary, ascetic path free of enculturation and habituation (see, e.g., 1.1ab, 1.4a, 1.8b–9b, 2.19a; cf. *Jinyu ji* 金玉集, DZ 1149, 10.19b–20a). The opening regulated verses commemorate the Chaoyuan gong 朝元宮 (Palace for Attending to the Origin) (Luoyang, Henan), where Tan Changzhen resided. Throughout this collection, Tan emphasizes the importance of clarity and stillness as well as of realizing one's innate nature. Some important sections include *shi*-poems and *ci*-lyrics on becoming a renunciant and Quanzhen adherent (1.6b–7a), traveling to Huashan 華山 (Mount Hua; Huayin, Shaanxi) (1.10b), admonishing community members to practice (1.14a–15a), skeletons and being “spiritless” (*luotuo* 落魄) (1.18b–19b), which Fan Yi suggests may initiate awakening (Boltz 1987, 161), the Quanzhen lineage wherein Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin and Liu Haichan are identified as the “Three Patriarchs (*sanzu* 三祖) (2.1a), Quanzhen as a self-conscious religious movement (2.1b, 2.14a, 3.13a), as well as “spirit radiance” (*shengguang* 神光) (2.3b–5a). In addition, the *Shuiyun ji* includes some of Tan's recorded sayings, entitled “Shi menren yulu” 示門人語錄 (Discourse Record, as Revealed to Disciples) (1.20b–21a). This text also appears in the *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 真仙直指語錄 (Discourse Records

2004, 1167) was misplaced. It should have appeared on page 1161 between the entries on the *Panxi ji* and *Taigu ji*.

and Direct Pointers of Perfected Immortals; DZ 1256; 1.9b–10b; below), and one noteworthy feature is reference to the *Jin zhenren yulu* 晉真人語錄 (Discourse Record of Perfected Jin; DZ 1056; below).

Taigu ji 太古集

Translation: Anthology of Taigu

Abbreviation: N/A

Catalogue Number: DZ 1161

Length: 4 j.

Author: Hao Datong 郝大通 (Taigu 太古 [Great Antiquity]/Guangning 廣寧 [Expansive Serenity]; 1140–1213).

Preface Author: Hao, Fan Yuanxi 范圓曦 (1178–1249), Feng Bi 馮璧 (1162–1240), and Liu Qi 劉祁 (1203–1250)

Compiler/Editor: Fan Yuanxi 范圓曦 (1178–1249)

Date: 1178/1236 (prefaces)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 165–67; Ren and Zhong 1991, 916; Hachiya 1998; Yao 2000, 577; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1161

Originally consisting of fifteen scrolls, this literary anthology is the only independent work containing the writings of Hao Guangning.⁹ The main writings are introduced by Hao himself in a preface dated to 1178. This is followed by three other prefaces, all dating to 1236, by Fan Yuanxi, one of Hao's disciples, and by Feng Bi and Liu Qi, two prominent Yuan-dynasty literati (see Yao 1995, 167–68). It was Fan Yuanxi who was responsible for preparing the definitive edition of Hao's literary works and who personally requested the prefaces from Feng and Liu. The title comes from Hao's style-name Taigu (Great Antiquity). The extant version begins with the *Zhouyi cantong qi jianyao shiyi* 周易參同契簡要釋義 (Concise Exegesis on the *Zhouyi cantong qi* [Token for the Kinship of the Three based on the *Zhouyi*]).¹⁰ This is followed by thirty-three diagrams in explication of the *Yijing* 易經 (Classic of

⁹ The *Taigu ji* and Liu Changsheng's *Xianyue ji* (Anthology on Immortal Bliss; DZ 1141) are not included in the list of anthologies contained in the *Daozang tiyao* (Ren and Zhong 1991).

¹⁰ The *Cantong qi* 參同契 (Token for the Kinship of the Three; DZ 999 and DZ 1004; trl. Wu and Davis 1932; Zhou 1988) is a terse and highly-symbolic discussion of external alchemy, which became influential in later internal alchemy traditions (see Pregadio and Skar 2000, 466–67).

Changes). The anthology concludes with a sequence of thirty “Jindan shi” 金丹詩 (Poems on the Gold Elixir) (4.1a–8b). As these contents indicate, a large portion of the *Taigu ji* covers internal alchemy practice and its related concern with *Yijing* symbology.

Xianle ji 仙樂集

Translation: Anthology on Immortal Bliss

Abbreviation: N/A

Catalogue Number: DZ 1141

Length: 5 j.

Author: Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (Changsheng 長生 [Perpetual Life]; 1147–1203)

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: Unknown

Date: Unknown

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 162–63; Ren and Zhong 1991, 896–97; Hachiya 1998; Yao 2000, 576–77; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1152–53

This literary anthology contains the writings of Liu Changsheng. It lacks a preface, and its overall date and context of compilation remains unknown. It contains some 500 *shi*-poems (especially chapters 2 and 5) and *ci*-lyrics (especially chapter 4), including poems, more like aphorisms, only three to five characters in line-length. Most of the poems contained in the *Xianle ji* are didactic in content, with very few providing biographical details. The text begins with the “Tiandao zuifu lun” 天道罪福論 (Discourse on the Transgressions and Blessings of the Celestial Dao) (1.1a–3b). Particularly interesting are the almost four hundred pentasyllabic *jueju* (2.1a–17a, 5.1a–20a), all untitled aphorisms emphasizing basic principles and practices of Quanzhen. This collection also contains a list of twelve and ten admonitions (2.18a–18b), which parallels a similar list attributed to Ma Danyang (*Zhenxian yulu*, DZ 1256, 1.8b–9b).

Yunguang ji 雲光集

Translation: Anthology from Yunguang

Abbreviation: N/A

Catalogue Number: DZ 1152

Length: 4 j.

Author: Wang Chuyi 王處一 (Yuyang 玉陽 [Jade Yang]; 1142–1217)

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: Unknown

Date: ca. 1217

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 164–65; Ren and Zhong 1991, 905; Hachiya 1998; Yao 2000, 576; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1143–44¹¹

Containing some 600 *shi*-poems and *ci*-lyrics, this literary anthology literary is the only independent work containing the writings of Wang Yuyang. The text lacks a preface, but many of the commemorative and epistolary verses are dated by title or contain an explanatory preface. The title of this collection refers to the Yunguang dong 雲光洞 (Grotto of Cloud-like Radiance) of Tiecha shan 鐵槎山 (Mount Tiecha; Wendeng, Shandong) (2.26b), where Wang Chongyang advised Wang Yuyang to go into seclusion. It was in these caves that Wang engaged in intensive ascetic practice for nine years (1168–1177), during which time he had a number of experiences confirming the success of his training. The *Yunguang ji* reveals Wang Yuyang as an active proselytizer who socialized with and taught men and women from every type of socio-economic background. The poems also document Wang's various commitments to the success of Quanzhen as a religious movement, including his promotion of temple acquisition and restoration and the performance of Daoist rituals. The core beliefs and practices of Quanzhen are also emphasized. Some important *shi*-poems and *ci*-lyrics include those on spiritual direction for acquaintances and disciples (1.4b, 1.6a, 1.8a, 1.13b, 4.28ab), the meaning of Complete Perfection (1.6b), his encounter with Wang Chongyang (1.7a), the acquisition and restoration of temples (1.13b, 1.15b, 1.16b, 2.33b, 3.13a), and the revelation that he received from Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Sovereign Lord of Eastern Florescence) (3.29a).

¹¹ Note that the entry on the *Yunguang ji* in *The Historical Companion* (Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1143) was misplaced. It should have appeared on page 1158 between the entries on the *Wuzhen ji* and *Quanzhen ji*.

DISCOURSE RECORDS

Discourse records (*yulu* 語錄), also referred to as “dialogic treatises” or “recorded sayings,” were a much favored literary genre in the early Quanzhen tradition. Although most often associated with Chan (Zen) Buddhism, the formalistic features of this genre, specifically dialogue exchanges between a given teacher and his disciple(s), originate in a variety of classical texts. For example, the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects; trl. Lau 1992) and *Mengzi* 孟子 (Book of Master Meng; trl. Lau 1984) both present their teachings in terms of master-disciple exchanges. However, the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Book of Master Zhuang) was the text that provided the greatest inspiration for a formal and systematized use of “discourse records.” This is clearly the case with regard to the Chan tradition, wherein discourse records became among the preferred means of expressing a given teacher’s approach to enlightenment (see Yanagida 1983; Berling 1987; Gardner 1991; McRae 1992; Dumoulin 1994; Gregory and Getz 1999; Poceski 2004).¹²

It was during the Song-Jin period that Chan discourse records became prominent, with texts such as the *Linji lu* 臨濟錄 (Record of Linji; T. 47.504c–14–25) being among the more representative and influential (see Fuller Sasaki 1975; Watson 1999; cf. Powell 1986; Leighton 2000; also Gardner 1990; 1996). Similarly, various internal alchemy texts of the period claim to represent the dialogic exchanges between teachers and their students. Representative among these are the so-called Zhong-Lü texts (see Baldrian-Hussein 1984, especially 23–31; Boltz 1987, 139–43; Pregadio and Skar 2000, 469–70), especially the *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16; trl. Wong 2000) and *Baiwen pian* 百問篇 (Chapters of One Hundred Questions; DZ 1017, j. 5; trl. Homann 1976), as well as the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 (Great Compendium on the Gold Elixir) as contained in the encyclopedic *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 (Ten Works on Cultivating Perfection; DZ 263, j. 9–13) (see Boltz 1987, 324–37; Pregadio and Skar 2000, 478).

As I have already discussed the characteristics and development of the discourse records genre in my introduction to the above translation of the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, here it may simply be mentioned that in

¹² Livia Kohn (1986) has provided some insights on the relationship between the *Zhuangzi* and Chan Buddhism.

my typology of early Quanzhen literature “instructions” (*jue* 訣) and “direct sayings” (*zhiyan* 直言) are included in the category of “discourse records.”¹³ Both of these literary forms most often present themselves in question-and-answer format. In addition, the discourse records of early Quanzhen were most likely compiled and/or composed by disciples of the teacher in question.¹⁴

Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣

Translation: Perfected Chongyang’s Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock

Abbreviation: *Jinguan yusuo jue*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1156

Length: 23 pp.

Author: Wang Zhe 王嘉 (Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170) (attributed)

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: Unknown

Date: ca. 1170

Translations: Kohn 1993, 175–80 (18a–20a); herein

References: Boltz 1987, 147–48; Ren and Zhong 1991, 910–11; Hachiya 1972; 1992; Yao 2000, 578; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1185

The text lacks a preface or any additional historical information to assist one with issues of dating and authorship. It is simply attributed to “Wang Zhe, Master Chongyang of the Zhongnan mountains,” and questions have been raised concerning the relationship of the text to Wang Chongyang (Hachiya 1972; 1992). Nonetheless, as demonstrated in the present study, internal evidence suggests that the text was composed during the Song-Jin period, originates in an early Quanzhen context, and more than likely preserves some authentic teachings of Wang Chongyang. This is substantiated by its similarities with another one of Wang’s discourse records (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 10.20a–21a;

¹³ Although not strictly a “discourse record” per se, the *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* (Record of Celebrated Meetings of Mysterious Winds; DZ 176) purports to record the teachings given by Qiu Changchun to Chinggis Qan. Similarly, the *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* (Record of Perfected Changchun’s Westward Travels; DZ 1429) contains records of Qiu Changchun’s instructions on a variety of occasions. See “Histories, Hagiographies, and Epigraphy” below.

¹⁴ In this section, I use the category “author” to indicate the teacher to whom the contents of each text are attributed.

above). The text was possibly compiled by one or more of Wang's first generation-disciples in the late twelfth century, the time when the Zhongnan 終南 mountains (Shaanxi) became more central in the Quanzhen movement due to Wang Chongyang's interment in Liujiang 劉蔣 in 1172 and the establishment of the Zuting 祖庭 (Ancestral Hall) there. The text presents itself as a series of thirty-two questions and corresponding answers between Wang Chongyang and one or more of his disciples. The text is quite eclectic in content, providing wide-ranging instruction on Quanzhen training regimens. Much of the text's content focuses on internal alchemy and various "exercises" (*fa* 法/*gong* 功). As such, it is one of the most detailed manuals on early Quanzhen religious praxis.

Chongyang zhenren shou Danyang ershisi jue 重陽真人受丹陽二十四訣

Translation: Twenty-four Instructions Transmitted from Perfected Chongyang to Danyang

Abbreviation: *Ersihisi jue*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1158

Length: 4 pp.

Author: Wang Zhe 王喆 (Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170) (attributed)

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: Unknown

Date: Early thirteenth century (?)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 146–47; Ren and Zhong 1991, 912–13; Hachiya 1992; Yao 2000, 577; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1160

Like the *Jinguan yusuo jue*, this dialogic treatise lacks a preface or historical information relevant to issues of dating and authorship. Internal evidence suggests that the text originates in a late twelfth century or early thirteenth century Quanzhen context, and it may have been compiled or composed by one or more of Ma Danyang's disciples (see 4b). As the title indicates, the *Ersihisi jue* supposedly records a series of questions posed by Ma Danyang to Wang Chongyang and the latter's responses. In fact, there are a variety of textual corruptions and problematic characteristics. It opens with Ma asking Wang to explain the meaning of twenty-four technical terms. Wang in turn provides definitions, after which Ma asks a number of questions meant to clarify the earlier responses. However, the initial list differs from the contents of individual

questions that follow. This text is made even more problematic by the final section, wherein the teachings from a variety of historical figures (e.g., Kongzi 孔子 and Mengzi 孟子) and texts (e.g., *Jingang jing* 金剛經 [Diamond Sūtra]) are recorded in list form. Reference is also made to the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 (Scripture on the Yellow Court) and *Jin zhenren yulu* 晉真人語錄 (Discourse Record of Perfected Jin; DZ 1056; below). These textual problems notwithstanding, the technical terms discussed in the *Ershisi jue* do find parallels in the early Quanzhen textual corpus as a whole, and the text is, in turn, helpful for understanding some of the more technical works in the early Quanzhen textual corpus.

Danyang zhenren yulu 丹陽真人語錄

Translation: Discourse Record of Perfected Danyang

Abbreviation: *Danyang yulu*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1057

Length: 16 pp.

Author: Ma Yu 馬鈺 (Danyang 丹陽 [Elixir Yang]; 1123–1184)

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: Wang Yizhong 王頤中 (Lingyin 靈隱 [Numinous Seclusion]; fl. 1180)

Date: ca. 1185

Translations: Cleary 2000, 106–11 (1b, 6a–8a, 9a–10a, 11b, 12b)

References: Boltz 1987, 154; Ren and Zhong 1991, 803–4; Hachiya 1992; Yao 2000, 577; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1144–45

This discourse record was compiled by a certain Wang Yizhong, one of Ma's disciples in Ninghai (Shandong). It seems that these teachings come from the final years of Ma's life (1182–1184), when he moved back to Shandong (1a, 4b). In the opening section of the text Wang Yizhong informs the reader that he arrived in Ninghai in 1183, so these recorded sayings may be the last recorded teachings of Ma Danyang. Here Ma Danyang emphasizes the importance of clarity and stillness (*qingjing* 清靜), non-action (*wuwei* 無為), and the dual cultivation of innate nature (*xing* 性) and life-destiny (*ming* 命). Reference is made to the Heshang gong 河上公 commentary on the *Daode jing* 道德經 (Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power) (DZ 682) and Tang Chun's 唐淳 (Jinling 金陵 [Gold Mound]; d.u.) commentary on the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman) (DZ 121) (10a). Ma also mentions the patriarchs Zhongli Quan (5a), Lü Dongbin (5a), and Liu Haichan (5b) as well as the lesser-known Shandong hermit Liu Biangong 劉卞功 (Gaoshang 高尚 [Exalted Eminence]; 1071–1143) (8b) (see Goossaert 1997, 47–54;

1999). Lessons are also drawn by recalling his experiences as a disciple of Wang Chongyang, including the hardship of the beatings (12b). The *Danyang yulu* relates to the *Danyang zhiyan* (Direct Sayings of Danyang; DZ 1234; below), another collection of Ma's public discourses.

Danyang zhenren zhiyan 丹陽真人直言

Translation: Direct Sayings of Perfected Danyang

Abbreviation: *Danyang zhiyan*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1234

Length: 3 pp.

Author: Ma Yu 馬鈺 (Danyang 丹陽 [Elixir Yang]; 1123–1184)

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: Unknown

Date: ca. 1180

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 153–54; Ren and Zhong 1991, 975; Hachiya 1992; Yao 2000, 577–78; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1162

This discourse record purports to be a transcription of an address that Ma Danyang gave to the Chongyang hui 重陽會 in the Longmen 龍門 mountains (near Longxian, Shaanxi) (1a). Judith Boltz conjectures that the talk may have been given in late 1179 when Ma was staying at Youde guan 佑德觀 (Monastery for Attending to Virtue) in Longzhou 隴州 (Shaanxi) (1987, 153). A partial transcript of this record also appears in the *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 真仙直指語錄 (Discourse Records and Direct Pointers of Perfected Immortals; DZ 1256, 1.1a–2a; below), while a different version altogether is included in the *Qunxian yaoyu zuanji* 群仙要語纂集 (Collection of Essential Sayings from Various Immortals; DZ 1257, 2.15a–16a; below) (Boltz 1987, 312, n. 385). Here Ma emphasizes the necessity of pursuing a disciplined program of religious praxis that will result in a state of formless transcendence.

Jin zhenren yulu 晉真人語錄

Translation: Discourse Record of Perfected Jin

Abbreviation: N/A

Catalogue Number: DZ 1056

Length: 14 pp.

Author: Jin Daocheng 晉道成 (Chongzhen 崇真 [Exalted Perfection]; fl. 1110?)

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: Unknown

Date: Thirteenth century

Translations: N/A

References: Ren and Zhong 1991, 802–3; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1144

Of unknown provenance, this work bears a certain resemblance to the so-called Zhong-Lü textual tradition of internal alchemy and exerted some influence on the early Quanzhen adepts (see, e.g., *Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 10.20a–21a; “Changzhen yulu,” *Zhenxian yulu*, DZ 1256, 1.10b; below). Although unattributed, the contents of the *Jin zhenren yulu* parallel those of the “Chongzhen pian” 崇真篇 (Chongzhen’s Chapter), which appears in Zeng Zao’s 曾慥 (Zeng Cao; fl. 1131–1155) *Daoshu* 道樞 (Pivot of the Dao; DZ 1017, 19.3a–4b) (see Boltz 1987, 231–34; Pregadio and Skar 2000, 477–78). That text is attributed to Jin Daocheng. Only the first section of the present text (1a–4b) corresponds to the title. Because various sections of this text are cited in the early Quanzhen textual corpus, one can reasonably date the opening sections to no later than the middle of the twelfth century. However, the subsequent sections most likely date to no earlier than the thirteenth century. The *Jin zhenren yulu* contains two works associated with Wang Chongyang. These are the “Chongyang zushi xiuxian liaoxing bijue” 重陽祖師修仙了性秘訣 (Patriarch Chongyang’s Secret Instructions on Cultivating Immortality and Realizing Innate Nature; DZ 1056, 4b–6b; abbr. “Chongyang bijue” 重陽秘訣) and “Da Ma shifu shisi wen” 答馬師父十四問 (Responses to Teacher Ma’s Fourteen Questions; DZ 1056, 6b–8b; abbr. “Da Ma wen” 答馬問). These sections are followed by dictionary-like entries on a variety of Quanzhen technical terms, including *quanzhen* 全真 (“complete perfection”), *chujia* 出家 (“leaving the family”), *riyong* 日用 (“daily practice”), and so forth.

Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu 盤山棲雲王真人語錄

Translation: Discourse Record of Perfected Wang Qiyun of Mount Pan

Abbreviation: *Qiyun yulu*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1059

Length: 44 pages

Author: Wang Zhijin 王志瑾 (Qiyun 棲雲 [Residing-among-Clouds]; 1178–1263)

Preface Author: Lun Zhihuan 論志煥 (fl. 1250)

Compiler/Editor: Lun Zhihuan 論志煥 (fl. 1250)

Date: 1247 (preface)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 171–72; Ren and Zhong 1991, 805–6;
Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1146–47

This work presents itself as the discourse record of Wang Zhijin, a disciple first of Hao Guangning and later of Qiu Changchun, who was one of the most influential second-generation Quanzhen leaders. The title of this work comes from the mountain where Wang resided and where a temple, the Qiyun guan 棲雲觀 (Monastery Residing-among-Clouds), was built in his honor following a visit in 1226 by Qiu Changchun. The *Qiyun yulu* was originally compiled by one of Wang's disciples with the surname Liu 劉 and contains a preface (dated 1247) by a certain Lun Zhihuan, another follower of Wang Zhijin. The compilation is based on over a hundred transcriptions from a variety of occasions. As a work associated with a second-generation adept, this discourse record is not part of the early Quanzhen textual corpus strictly defined. For the present purposes its importance rests in its frequent allusion to the teachings of early Quanzhen adepts, especially those of Ma Danyang and Qiu Changchun. It may thus be used as a supplement to those mentioned above. A different version of this text appears in the *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 (Ten Works on Cultivating Perfection; DZ 263, 53.1a–41b) (Boltz 1987, 316, n. 434).

Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu 清和真人北遊語錄

Translation: Discourse Record of Perfected Qinghe during
Northward Travels

Abbreviation: *Qinghe yulu*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1310

Length: 4 j.

Author: Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (Qinghe 清和 [Clear Harmony];
1169–1251).

Preface Author: Li Zhichang 李志常 (Zhenchang 真常 [Perfect
Constancy]; 1193–1256) and Duan Zhijian 段志堅 (fl. 1240),
among others

Compiler/Editor: Duan Zhijian 段志堅

Date: 1237 (preface)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 168; Ren and Zhong 1991, 1031–32;
Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1146–47

This is a discourse record containing the teachings of Yin Zhiping, a disciple first of Liu Changsheng and then of Qiu Changchun, who ascended to the position of Quanzhen patriarch following the death of the latter in 1227. Shortly after Yin transferred leadership of the Quanzhen order to Li Zhichang in 1238, Yin's disciples compiled his various instructions into the *Qinghe yulu*. Li Zhichang in turn added a preface dating to 1240. This is supplemented by those of two local literati (dated 1237) and by Duan Zhijian, the compiler (dated to 1237). Like the *Qiyun yulu* associated with Wang Zhijin (above), this text is not part of the early Quanzhen textual corpus per se. However, it makes frequent allusions to the teachings of the first-generation Quanzhen adherents, with only Sun Buer not mentioned. Of these, Ma Danyang, Liu Changsheng and Qiu Changchun appear most frequently. In this way, the *Qinghe yulu* provides supplemental insights concerning early Quanzhen beliefs and practices, especially as experienced and understood by one of the foremost members of second-generation adepts.

Wuwei qingjing Changsheng zhenren zhizhen yulu 無為清靜長生真人至真語錄

Translation: Most Perfect Discourse Record of Perfected Changsheng of Non-action and Clear Stillness

Abbreviation: *Changsheng yulu*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1058

Length: 31 pp.

Author: Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (Changsheng 長生 [Perpetual Life]; 1147–1203)

Preface Author: Han Shiqian 韓士倩 (Yanguang 彥廣 [Accomplished Expansiveness]; fl. 1200)

Compiler/Editor: Unknown

Date: 1202 (preface)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 163; Ren and Zhong 1991, 804–5; Hachiya 1998; Yao 2000, 578; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1145

This discourse record is associated with Liu Changsheng. The *Changsheng yulu* is presented as an account of Liu's responses to a series of questions on eighty technical terms, which are listed at the beginning of the text and arranged in sets of two related items. Unlike other texts in the Quanzhen *yulu* genre, the present work seems more like a self-authored composition than a compilation of oral material. It contains

a preface by a certain Han Shiqian dating to 1202. Han's preface was requested by two of Liu Changsheng's disciples with the surnames Xu 徐 and Li 李. Although no further information is provided, one wonders if the latter might be Li Zhichang 李志常 (Zhenchang 真常 [Perfect Constancy]; 1193–1256), a disciple first of Liu Changsheng and then of Qiu Changchun. Some of the topics covered include phenomena (*fa* 法) and emptiness (*kong* 空), life (*sheng* 生) and death (*si* 死), clarity (*qing* 清) and turbidity (*zhuo* 濁), emotionality (*qing* 情) and thinghood (*wu* 物), and so forth. Another text with the title “Changsheng yulu” 長生語錄 appears in the thirteenth-century *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 真仙直指語錄 (Discourse Records and Direct Pointers of Perfected Immortals; DZ 1256; 1.10b–12a; below).

Zhenxian zhizhi yulu 真仙直指語錄

Translation: Discourse Records and Direct Pointers of Perfected Immortals

Abbreviation: *Zhenxian yulu*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1256

Length: 2 j.

Author: Various

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: Xuanquanzi 玄全子 (Master Mysterious Completion; d.u.)

Date: Late thirteenth century (?)

Translations: “Changchun shu” in Belamide 2002, 178–84.

References: Ren and Zhong 1991, 995; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1162

This collection of various discourse records most likely dates from the late thirteenth century and was at least partially compiled by an unknown Quanzhen adherent with the religious name Xuanquan.¹⁵ The collection effort seems to have been undertaken after the death of Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (Qinghe 清和 [Clear Harmony]; 1169–1251), the successor of Qiu Changchun and national leader of the Quanzhen religious order. The discourse record attributed to Yin fills the whole of

¹⁵ Xuanquanzi also compiled another, related text on internal alchemy titled the *Zhuzhen neidan jiyao* 註真內丹集要 (Collected Essentials of Internal Alchemy by Various Perfected; DZ 1258; abbr. *Neidan jiyao*). The *Neidan jiyao* includes the important “Jindan zhengyan” 金丹證驗 (Verifications of Gold Elixir [Practice]), an essay on experiences occurring during internal alchemy practice.

the second *juan*. For present purposes, the *Zhenxian yulu* is significant for its sections on internal alchemy practice associated with early Quanzhen adepts. The first chapter (1.1a–2a) contains discourse records associated with Ma Danyang, which parallel those found in the *Danyang zhiyan* (DZ 1234, 1a–2a; above) and *Danyang yulu* (DZ 1057; above). Other relevant sections include the “Changzhen Tan xiansheng shi menren yulu” 長真譚先生示門人語錄 (Discourse Record of Venerable Tan Changzhen, as Revealed to His Disciples; 1.9b–10b; abbr. “Changzhen yulu” 長真語錄; also *Shuiyun ji*, DZ 1160, 1.20b–21a; above); “Changsheng Liu zhenren yulu” 長生劉真人語錄 (Discourse Record of Perfected Liu Changsheng; 1.10b–12a; abbr. “Changsheng yulu” 長生語錄; cf. *Changsheng yulu*, DZ 1256); “Changchun Qiu zhenren ji Xizhou daoyou shu” 長春丘真人寄西州道友書 (Writings Sent by Perfected Qiu Changchun to Daoist Friends in Xizhou; 1.12a–19a; abbr. “Changchun shu” 長春書); and “Hao Taigu zhenren yu” 郝太古真人語 (Sayings of Perfected Hao Taigu; 1.19a–22b; abbr. “Taigu yu” 太古語). With regard to dating these various writings, it is noteworthy that the discourse record attributed to Tan Chudian 譚處端 (Changzhen 長真 [Perpetual Perfection]; 1123–1185) also appears in his *Shuiyun ji*, dating possibly to as early as 1187 or as late as 1220. The *Zhenxian yulu* also has characteristics that might lead one to categorize it as a “didactic text.” Interestingly, many of the relevant Quanzhen sections are included in the *Daojiao yifan* 道教儀範, a contemporary monastic manual compiled by the late Min Zhiting 閔智亭 (1924–2004).

DEDUCTIVE TEXTS

On some level, sections of each work in the extant textual corpus could be categorized as “didactic,” that is, as having the primary intention to instruct. However, two works in particular require this categorization. These are the *Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun* (Chongyang’s Fifteen Discourses to Establish the Teachings; DZ 1233; 6 pp.; abbr. *Shiwu lun*), attributed to Wang Chongyang, and the *Dadan zhizhi* (Direct Pointers to the Great Elixir; 2 j.; DZ 244; trl. Belamide 2002), attributed to Qiu Changchun.

Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun 重陽立教十五論

Translation: Chongyang’s Fifteen Discourses to Establish the Teachings

Abbreviation: *Shiwu lun*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1233

Length: 6 pp.

Author: Wang Zhe 王嘉 (Chongyang 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113–1170) (attributed)

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: Unknown

Date: ca. 1170

Translations: Yao 1980, 73–85; Ebrey 1981/1995; Reiter 1984a; Cleary 1991, 130–35; Kohn 1993, 86–92

References: Reiter 1984a; Boltz 1987, 148; Ren and Zhong 1991, 974–75; Hachiya 1992; Yao 2000, 577; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1170

As the title indicates, this is a set of fifteen discourses, short essays, attributed to Wang Chongyang. In content, the text presents itself as a manual on the basic Quanzhen religious system that is intended for novices. It consists of the following discourses: (1) Living in Hermitages; (2) Cloud Wandering; (3) Studying Texts; (4) Preparing Medicinal Herbs; (5) On Construction; (6) Companions in the Dao; (7) Sitting in Meditation; (8) Controlling the Heart-mind; (9) Refining Innate Nature; (10) Pairing the Five Qi; (11) Merging Innate Nature and Life-destiny; (12) The Way of Sages; (13) Going Beyond the Three Realms; (14) Methods for Nourishing the Body; and (15) Leaving the Mundane World. The extant *Shiwu lun* lacks a preface, and questions have been raised concerning its attribution to Wang Chongyang (e.g., Goossaert 1997; 2001; Marsone 2001; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1127, 1168). However, when analyzed in content, taking into account the overall characteristics of early Quanzhen and the early textual corpus, the *Shiwu lun* expresses tenets and concerns from the movement's early phases. The main discrepancy in this respect is the section on preparing herbal medicines (2ab), though a basic understanding of herbology on the part of hermits would likely have been part of common folklore at the time as well as a prerequisite for an eremitic lifestyle. The text appears to have originated in an early Quanzhen context and may, in fact, have been composed either by Wang Chongyang or other first-generation adepts in an attempt to provide direction for potential converts and new initiates. In terms of internal textual evidence, the only clearly relevant aspect is citation of the sixth-century *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31) (4b). Other hints include an allusion to the section on friendship (3a) in the *Danyang yulu* (DZ 1057, 3a; above), and Ma Danyang's suggestion that Wang Chongyang

wrote on the theme of “Wandering” (*Jinyu ji*, DZ 1149, 2.13a–13b; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1170). Sections 7, 8, 9 and 13 (3b–5b) appear in the fourteenth-century *Qunxian yaoyu zuanjì* 群仙要語纂集 (DZ 1257, 2.2b–4a; below). It should also be mentioned that the *Shiwu lun* is widely circulated in contemporary Quanzhen monastic contexts, and it has been engraved on a stele in the courtyard of Yuquan yuan 玉泉院 (Temple of the Jade Spring), the base-temple of Huashan 華山 (Huayin; Shaanxi).

Dadan zhizhi 大丹直指

Translation: Direct Pointers to the Great Elixir

Abbreviation: N/A

Catalogue Number: DZ 244

Length: 2 j.

Author: Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (Changchun 長春 [Perpetual Spring]; 1148–1227) (attributed)

Preface Author: Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (Changchun 長春 [Perpetual Spring]; 1148–1227) (attributed)

Compiler/Editor: Unknown

Date: ca. 1270 (?)

Translations: Belamide 2002, 185–219

References: Boltz 1987, 160; Ren and Zhong 1991, 175; Hachiya 1998; Yao 2000, 578; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1171

Attributed to Qiu Changchun, this is a didactic text on internal alchemy practice that provides detailed instructions and accompanying illustrations on the alchemical process. The attribution to Qiu is made problematic for a number of reasons. First, Qiu Changchun is identified according to a title bestowed in 1269, which yet lacks the additional honorific “perfected lord” (*zhenjun* 真君) added in 1310 (Boltz 1987, 160; Ren and Zhong 1991, 175). If the text dates to the years between 1269 and 1310, this is some forty to eighty years after the death of Qiu. However, the appearance of such an honorific title cannot be one’s sole criterion for dating, as the *Jinyu ji* by Ma Danyang indicates (above); it may simply suggest the time when the work was compiled or transcribed. Another issue is the textual parallels between the *Dadan zhizhi* and other earlier, tenth-century *neidan* works, including the *Lingbao bifa* 靈寶畢法 (Final Methods of Numinous Treasure; DZ 1191; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 801–2), *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of Transmitting the Dao; *Xiuzhen shishu*, DZ 263, 14–16; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 801), and *Xishan ji* 西山記 (Record of Xishan; DZ 246; Schipper and Verellen

2004, 804). Equally problematic is the repeated reference to Shi Jianwu 施肩吾 (fl. 820), a famous poet and recluse who lived at Xishan in Jiangxi, and the placement of Wang Chongyang as the twelfth patriarch in the Xishan 西山 (Western Mountain) lineage of *neidan* (2.8b; cf. *Xishan ji*, DZ 246). Finally, in addition to instructions attributed to Qiu Changchun, the primary text is interspersed with commentarial notations and glosses (e.g., 1.6b–7a); this textual feature suggests the work of redactors as well as the likely existence of an earlier written version. Such details reveal the *Dadan zhizhi* as perhaps the most problematic work of the “early textual corpus.” On the one hand, if the work post-dates Qiu’s death, one would expect reference to ideas, personages and/or later historical texts. This is not the case. On the other hand, if the work pre-dates Qiu’s death, one would expect to find parallels with other writings by Qiu. This is also not the case with regard to the *Panxi ji* (cf. Eskildsen 2004, 61, 107). It is thus difficult to determine what relation, if any, the text has to actual teachings and practices associated with Qiu Changchun. More in-depth study of the *Dadan zhizhi* in relation to the *Panxi ji* and the “Changchun shu” 長春書 (*Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 真仙直指語錄, DZ 1256, 1.12a-19a; above) may clarify the viability of associating the work with Qiu and/or including the text in the early Quanzhen textual corpus. At present, the work may be used, with some reservations, to clarify aspects of early Quanzhen internal alchemy practice.

Qunxian yaoyu zuanji 群仙要語纂集

Translation: Collection of Essential Sayings from Various Immortals

Abbreviation: *Qunxian zuanji*

Catalogue Number: DZ 1257

Length: 2 j.

Author: Various

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: Dong Jinchun 董瑾醇 (Huanchu 還初 [Returning to the Beginning]; d.u.)

Date: Fourteenth century (?)

Translations: N/A

References: Ren and Zhong 1991, 995–96; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 947

This is an anthology of works from different historical periods and different Daoist religious movements. Although not part of the early

Quanzhen textual corpus as strictly defined, the *Qunxian zuanjì* does contain two works associated with early Quanzhen adepts. First, there is the “Chongyang zushi lun dazuo” 重陽祖師論打坐 (Patriarch Chongyang’s Discourse on Meditation; 2.2b–4a; abbr. “Chongyang dazuo” 重陽打坐), attributed to Wang Chongyang. It consists of discourses 7 (“Seated Meditation”), 8 (“Controlling the Heart-mind”), 9 (“Refining Innate Nature”), and 13 (“Going Beyond the Three Realms”) of the *Shiwu lun* (DZ 1233, 3b–5b; above). The second relevant section is the “Ma Danyang zhenren zhiyan” 馬丹陽真人直言 (Direct Sayings of Perfected Ma Danyang; 2.15a–16a; abbr. “Danyang zhiyan” 丹陽直言), attributed to Ma Danyang. The latter differs from the text of the same name preserved as a separate work (DZ 1234; above).

EXEGESES

Exegeses, or commentaries on earlier Daoist scriptures, are slightly rarer in the early Quanzhen textual corpus. Although we know that certain Daoist texts occupied a central place in the early movement, specifically the *Daode jing* 道德經 (Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power), *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620), and *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31), it seems that of the early adepts only Liu Changsheng was dedicated to systematic exegesis of the received scriptures. While Liu Changsheng is said to have written three commentaries (*Jinlian xiangzhuan*; DZ 174, 31b), only two survive, with his commentary on the *Daode jing* being lost.¹⁶ There is also a commentary on the *Qingjing jing* written by Liu Tongwei, one of the lesser known early Quanzhen adherents.

Huangdi yinfu jing zhu 黃帝陰符經注

Translation: Commentary on the *Huangdi yinfu jing*

Abbreviation: *Yinfu jing zhu*

Catalogue Number: DZ 122

Length: 16 pp.

Author: Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (Changsheng 長生 [Perpetual Life]; 1147–1203)

¹⁶ Some of Liu’s interpretations of this text can be glimpsed based on the *Changsheng yulu*, wherein Liu Changsheng concludes many of his teachings with a quotation from the *Daode jing* and other Daoist scriptures.

Preface Author: Fan Yi 范懔 (fl. 1185)

Compiler/Editor: N/A

Date: 1191 (preface)

Translations: N/A

References: Ren and Zhong 1991, 92; Hachiya 1998; Yao 2000, 579; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 696–97

This is Liu Changsheng's commentary on the anonymous, sixth-century *Yinfu jing* (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31; trl. Rand 1979; Cleary 1991, 220–22; see Schipper and Verellen 2004, 320–21),¹⁷ a concise text on cosmological attunement and self-cultivation. Liu's commentary is introduced by a preface (dated 1191) by Fan Yi, Superintendent of Schools in Ninghai (Shandong). The *Yinfu jing* is a very concise text, some three hundred characters in one version, whose contents are often abstract and open to a variety of interpretations. It gives particular attention to cosmological principles, specifically yin and yang, and identifies the heart-mind (*xin* 心) as the most important aspect of a human being. The *yinfu* 陰符 (“hidden talisman”) of the title emphasizes that each individual has an innate connection with the Dao. This resembles a talisman in two separate pieces, which when rejoined reveal the original unity. “When heaven and humanity join and manifest, / The ten thousand transformations have a stable base” (1a). The *Yinfu jing* became highly influential in internal alchemy lineages in general and Quanzhen in particular, with the latter's early adepts citing it frequently. Liu's *Yinfu jing zhu* presents a line-by-line commentary on the text, emphasizing fundamental Quanzhen beliefs and practices. Among the more interesting sections, Liu comments on the possibility of attaining “spirit pervasion” (*shentong* 神通; 11ab), which is associated with numinous abilities (Skt. *siddhi*), and activating a different kind of heart-mind (6ab), which is characterized by nine openings.

Huangting neijing yujing zhu 黃庭內景玉經注

Translation: Commentary on the *Huangting neijing yujing*

Abbreviation: *Huangting jing zhu*

¹⁷ The *Yinfu jing* has been translated into English a number of times (see Komjathy 2003a). A translation with historical discussion appears in Rand 1979. For an additional historical discussion see Reiter 1984b. A translation of the *Yinfu jing zhu* (Commentary on the *Yinfu jing*; ZW 255) by Liu Yiming 劉一明 (Wuyuan 悟元 [Awakening to the Origin]; 1734–1821), eleventh Longmen 龍門 (Dragon Gate) patriarch, may be found in Cleary 1991, 220–38.

Catalogue Number: DZ 401

Length: 46 pp.

Author: Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (Changsheng 長生 [Perpetual Life]; 1147–1203)

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: N/A

Date: Late twelfth century

Translations: N/A

References: Ren and Zhong 1991, 297–98; Hachiya 1998; Yao 2000, 579; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 789

This is Liu Changsheng's commentary on the anonymous, fourth-century *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (Scripture on the Inner View of the Yellow Court; DZ 331; trl. Huang 1990; see Schipper and Verellen 2004, 184–85; cf. *ibid.*, 96–97). Composed in heptasyllabic lines divided into a variety of sections, the *Huangting neijing jing* is a fourth-century text that occupied a central place in Shangqing 上清 (Highest Clarity) Daoism (see Robinet 1993, 55–96; 2000). Describing the subtle anatomy and physiology of the human body, including its internal divinities, the *Huangting jing* was considered a visualization manual by Shangqing adepts.¹⁸ The *huangting* 黃庭 (“yellow court”) of the title refers to an energetic location in the human body, most often associated with the spleen. The text also provided much of the technical terminology for internal alchemy. Liu's *Huangting jing zhu* lacks a preface, but the commentary is interesting for providing some insights into the ways in which the text was understood and applied in the early Quanzhen tradition. Unfortunately, Liu does not provide a systematic explanation of key terms and practices, preferring to interact with the text through poetic expression.

Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing songzhu 太上老君說常清靜經頌註

Translation: Devotional Commentary on the *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing*

Abbreviation: *Qingjing jing zhu*

Catalogue Number: DZ 974

Length: 8 pp.

¹⁸ The *Huangting neijing jing* has been translated by Jane Huang (1990, 231–54) and Patrick Carré (1999). Partial translations may be found in Kroll 1996 and Homann 1971. The latter also represents an initial attempt to understand the text's esoteric language, including the various deities mentioned therein. A concordance has been prepared under the direction of Kristofer Schipper (1975).

Author: Liu Tongwei 劉通微 (Moran 默然 [Silent Suchness]; d. 1196)
 Preface Author: Liu Tongwei 劉通微 (Moran 默然 [Silent Suchness]; d. 1196)
 Compiler/Editor: N/A
 Date: Late twelfth century
 Translations: N/A
 References: Ren and Zhong 1991, 728–29; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 730

This is Liu Tongwei's commentary on the anonymous eighth-century *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620; see Kohn 1998, 64–69; Kohn and Kirkland 2000; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 562).¹⁹ The *Qingjing jing* is part of a series of texts that I would label “Clarity-and-Stillness literature”, in which particular emphasis is placed on the heart-mind (*xin* 心) as well as on clarity (*qing* 清) and stillness (*jing* 靜). Liu Tongwei's *Qingjing jing zhu* is especially important since it is the only known work by him, and the text helps one understand Liu's expression of the Quanzhen emphasis on the *Qingjing jing*. The text does clarify certain aspects of Quanzhen psychological views and aspects of psychosomatic training, but it is often simply poetic paraphrases of the text rather than systematic exegesis. For example, commenting on the connection between desires, the heart-mind and spirit, Liu explains, “The heart-mind is the storehouse of the numen (*ling* 靈); if spirit perches in stillness, it can become calm. Greed, anger and ignorance [the Three Poisons] are easy to act through; morality, concentration and wisdom are difficult to follow. If you deeply long for the alignment within alignment, firmly establish yourself in the seclusion within seclusion. Never giving rise to the Six Desires, the world of the divine law will naturally broaden” (3a).

HISTORIES, HAGIOGRAPHIES, AND EPIGRAPHY

In addition to the prefaces contained in extant literary collections, most of the historical and biographical information relating to early

¹⁹ The *Qingjing jing* has also been translated a number of times (see Komjathy 2003a). A sound translation appears in Livia Kohn's *The Taoist Experience* (1993, 25–29). A translation with a modern internal alchemy commentary has been published by Eva Wong (1992).

Quanzhen contained in the Ming-dynasty Daoist Canon comes from mid- to late-thirteenth century works.²⁰ These include hagiographies (biographies of saints), histories, and epigraphy (inscriptions).

Changchun zhenren xiyou ji 長春真人西遊記

Translation: Record of Perfected Changchun's Westward Travels

Abbreviation: *Xiyou ji*²¹

Catalogue Number: DZ 1429

Length: 2 j.

Author: Li Zhichang 李志常 (Zhenchang 真常 [Perfected Constancy]; 1193–1256)

Preface Author: Sun Xi 孫錫 (fl. 1230)

Compiler/Editor: Li Zhichang 李志常 (Zhenchang 真常 [Perfected Constancy]; 1193–1256)

Date: 1228 (preface)

Translations: Waley 1931

References: Boltz 1987, 66–67, 159–60; Ren and Zhong 1991, 1131–32; Hachiya 1998; Yao 2000, 580; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1141–42

This is a first-hand account of Qiu Changchun's famous "westward journey" to meet Chinggis Qan (Genghis Khan; ca. 1162–1227; r. 1206–1227). Completed in 1228, this text was compiled by Li Zhichang, one of the nineteen disciples who accompanied Qiu Changchun to the Hindu Kush and who later became leader of the Quanzhen monastic order. The *Xiyou ji* begins with a brief biographical sketch of Qiu Changchun's life up to the time of the journey. The remainder of the text is a detailed journal of the last seven years of Qiu's life, beginning with his westward journey in 1221 and ending with his term as abbot of Tianchang guan 天長觀 (Monastery of Celestial Perpetuity; Beijing; a.k.a. Baiyun guan 白雲觀). The work also gives one a glimpse into Qiu's religious activities in northern China during the 1220s.

²⁰ This is also generally true of extant epigraphic materials, the main sources utilized in Vincent Goossaert's dissertation (1997).

²¹ The *Xiyou ji* should not be confused with the *Xiyou lu* 西遊錄, also rendered as *Record of Westward Travels*. The latter is attributed to Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (1190–1244), an influential advisor of Chinggis Qan, and is a somewhat polemical account of the meeting of Qiu Changchun and Chinggis Qan, including its subsequent effects. For a translation and study see de Rachewiltz 1962; see also Boltz 1987, 159–60.

Ganshui xianyuan lu 甘水仙源錄

Translation: Record of the Immortal Stream of Ganshui

Abbreviation: *Ganshui lu*

Catalogue Number: DZ 973

Length: 10 j.

Author: Various

Preface Author: Li Daoqian 李道謙 (Hefu 和甫 [Harmonious Beginning]; 1219–1296); Zhang Haogu 張好古 (fl. 1290) (postface)

Compiler/Editor: Li Daoqian 李道謙 (Hefu 和甫 [Harmonious Beginning]; 1219–1296)

Date: 1288

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 123–24; Ren and Zhong 1991, 727–28; Yao 2000, 580; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1141

This is an epigraphy collection completed in 1288 by Li Daoqian, a disciple of Yu Dongzhen 余洞真 (1166–1250), abbot of Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Chongyang; Liujiang [Huxian], Shaanxi), and a major Quanzhen archivist and historian responsible for many of the extant historical and hagiographical works on the early tradition. The title of this text refers to Ganhe 甘河 township (near present-day Xi'an), where Wang Chongyang is believed to have had his first mystical experience in 1159. Li Daoqian traveled throughout northern China in order to gather inscriptions from bronze and stelae at some one hundred Quanzhen sacred sites. The text begins with an edict by Qubilai Qan (Khubilai Khan; Emperor Shizu 世祖; 1215–1294; r. 1260–1294) (dated 1269) that grants honorific religious titles to the so-called Five Patriarchs, Wang Chongyang and the Seven Perfected of Quanzhen. The first eight chapters reproduce fifty-seven tomb inscriptions in chronological order, beginning with a memorial to Wang Chongyang and ending with a eulogy for Shen Zhizhen 申志貞 (1210–1284). The last two chapters are predominately inscriptions that trace the history of Quanzhen temples and monasteries. The collection concludes with prefaces and poems dedicated to a variety of Quanzhen figures. The inscriptions contained in the *Ganshui lu* are also contained in recent collections, including those of Chen Yuan et al. (1988) and Vincent Goossaert (forthcoming). Goossaert (1997, 531–57) provides dates and other relevant information on extant Quanzhen inscriptions.

Jinlian zhengzong ji 金蓮正宗記

Translation: Record of the Orthodox Lineage of the Gold Lotus

Abbreviation: *Jinlian ji*

Catalogue Number: DZ 173

Length: 5 j.

Author: Qin Zhian 秦志安 (Shuli 樗櫟 [Useless Timber]; 1188–1244)

Preface Author: Qin Zhian 秦志安 (Shuli 樗櫟 [Useless Timber]; 1188–1244)

Compiler/Editor: N/A

Date: 1241 (preface)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 65–66; Ren and Zhong 1991, 127; Yao 2000, 580; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1135

This hagiography was compiled and contains a preface dating to 1241 by Qin Zhian, well known for his involvement with editing and compiling the *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis). *Jinlian* 金蓮 (Gold Lotus) is an alternate name for the Quanzhen movement. The name *Jinlian* seems to originate with the *Jinlian tang* 金蓮堂 (Hall of the Gold Lotus; a.k.a. *Jinlian hui*), which was established for Wang Chongyang and his disciples in Ninghai (Shandong) in 1169 by a patron named Zhou Baitong 周伯通 (DZ 297, 1.5b; Boltz 1987, 277, n. 160). The text begins with the “biographies” of Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Sovereign Lord of Eastern Florescence), Zhongli Quan 鍾離權, Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, and Liu Haichan 劉海蟾. The second chapter contains entries on Wang Chongyang, He Dejin 和德瑾 (Yuchan 玉蟾 [Jade Toad]; d. 1170), and Li Lingyang 李靈陽 (Lingyang 靈陽 [Numinous Yang]; d. 1189), whose original name is unknown.²² Chapter three covers Ma Danyang, while chapter four and five cover the other six members of the so-called Seven Perfected. Each entry includes a hagiographical account and a concluding eulogy. Important information contained in the entries includes honorific imperial titles as well as lists of literary works associated with the adept under consideration. The *Jinlian ji* is the earliest Quanzhen hagiographical

²² It is strange and perhaps noteworthy that He Dejin has the same Daoist religious name, Yuchan 玉蟾, as the later Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (fl. 1209–1224) (see Boltz 1987, 176–79; Pregadio and Skar 2000, 471). One also notices a possible lineage connection with Liu Haichan 劉海蟾.

collection contained in the Ming-dynasty Daoist Canon, compiled roughly fourteen years after the death of Qiu Changchun, the last living first-generation adept.

Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan 金蓮正宗仙源像傳

Translation: Illustrated Biographies of the Orthodox Immortal Stream of the Gold Lotus

Abbreviation: *Jinlian xiangzhuan*

Catalogue Number: DZ 174

Length: 43 pp.

Author: Liu Zhixuan 劉志玄 (fl. 1326) and Xie Xichan 謝西蟾 (fl. 1326)

Preface Author: Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 (Taixuan 太玄 [Great Mystery]; d. 1343) and Liu Zhixuan 劉志玄 (fl. 1326)

Compiler/Editor: N/A

Date: 1326 (preface)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 64–65; Ren and Zhong 1991, 128; Yao 2000, 580; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1136–37

Completed in 1326, this hagiography was co-authored by Liu Zhixuan and Xie Xichan, two later Quanzhen adherents. It includes a preface (dated 1327) by Zhang Sicheng, the thirty-ninth Tianshi 天師 (Celestial Master). As the name indicates, the *Jinlian xiangzhuan* is an illustrated hagiography, with Jinlian being an alternate name for Quanzhen. The text begins with Chinggis Qan's (Genghis Khan; ca. 1162–1227; r. 1206–1227) invitation to Qiu Changchun as well as the imperial decrees of 1269 and 1310 granting honorific titles to the major leaders of Quanzhen. This is followed by the illustrated biographies proper. First, there is the now-standardized Five Patriarchs (*wuzu* 五祖), namely, Hunyuan Laozi 混元老子 (Laozi, the Primordial Origin), Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Sovereign Lord of Eastern Florescence), Zhongli Quan 鍾離權, Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, and Liu Haichan 劉海蟾. These are followed by illustrated biographies of Wang Chongyang and the Seven Perfected. Each entry includes information on literary works associated with the given adept, the honorific titles bestowed by the Yuan imperial court, as well as important temples and hermitages.

Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian 歷世真仙體道通鑑續編

Translation: Comprehensive Mirror of Successive Generations of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embody the Dao, Supplements

Abbreviation: *Lishi tongjian xubian*
 Catalogue Number: DZ 297
 Length: 5 j.
 Author: Zhao Daoyi 趙道一 (fl. 1294–1307)
 Preface Author: N/A
 Compiler/Editor: N/A
 Date: Early fourteenth century (?)
 Translations: N/A
 References: Boltz 1987, 56–59; Ren and Zhong 1991, 221–22;
 Schipper and Verellen 2004, 893

This text is associated with two other texts, including the primary *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror of Successive Generations of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embody the Dao; 53 j.; DZ 296; abbr. *Lishi tongjian*) and *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji* 歷世真仙體道通鑑後集 (Comprehensive Mirror of Successive Generations of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embody the Dao, Later Anthology; DZ 298; 6 j.; abbr. *Lishi tongjian houji*) (see Boltz 1987, 56–59; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 887–92). All three *Lishi tongjian* texts were compiled by Zhao Daoyi, a Daoist master of Fuyun guan 浮雲觀 (Floating Cloud Monastery) in Longxing (Jiangxi) (see *ibid.*, 246). The *Xubian* version most likely dates from the fourteenth century, although it collects material from various periods of the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368). Though not a Quanzhen text per se, the *Lishi tongjian xubian* contains hagiographical information on Wang Chongyang (1.1a–11b), Ma Danyang (1.12a–22a), Tan Changzhen (2.1a–5a), Liu Changsheng (2.5a–10a), Qiu Changchun (2.10a–22a), Wang Yuyang (3.1a–5b), Hao Guangning (3.6a–8a), He Dejin (3.8a–8b), Li Lingyang (3.8b–9b), as well as some later Quanzhen adepts. The *Lishi tongjian houji* contains an entry on Sun Buer (6.15b–19a).

Qizhen nianpu 七真年譜

Translation: Chronological Account of the Seven Perfected
 Abbreviation: N/A
 Catalogue Number: DZ 175
 Length: 22 pp.
 Author: Li Daoqian 李道謙 (Hefu 和甫 [Harmonious Beginning];
 1219–1296);
 Preface Author: N/A
 Compiler/Editor: N/A
 Date: 1271

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 68; Ren and Zhong 1991, 129; Yao 2000, 580; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1137–38

This is a more narrowly focused work that emphasizes the lives and activities of Wang Chongyang and the Seven Perfected organized chronologically. Like the *Ganshui lu* (above), it was compiled by Li Daoqian, a disciple of Yu Dongzhen 余洞真 (1166–1250), abbot of Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Chongyang; Liujiang [Huxian], Shaanxi), and a major Quanzhen archivist and historian responsible for many of the extant historical and hagiographical works on the early tradition. Dating to 1271, the *Qizhen nianpu* covers important dates in the history of the Quanzhen movement, beginning with the birth of Wang Chongyang (1113) and ending with death of Qiu Changchun (1227), the last of the first-generation Quanzhen adherents.

Tixuan zhenren xianyi lu 體玄真人顯異錄

Translation: Record of Wondrous Manifestations of Perfected Tixuan

Abbreviation: *Tixuan lu*

Catalogue Number: DZ 594

Length: 15 pp.

Author: Unknown

Preface Author: N/A

Compiler/Editor: N/A

Date: Early thirteenth century (?)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 66; Ren and Zhong 1991, 427–28; Mori 1992; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1139–40

This is the only hagiography covering a single figure from the early Quanzhen movement. Tixuan 體玄 (Embodying Mystery) was a honorary name given to Wang Chuyi 王處一 (Yuyang 玉陽 [Jade Yang]; 1142–1217) by the Jin emperor Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1190–1208) in 1197 (see Yao 1980, 113). The *Tixuan lu* is an anonymous work that covers nineteen episodes in the life of Wang Yuyang, with particular emphasis placed on his miraculous deeds (cf. *Yunguang ji*, DZ 1152, 4ab; *Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 2.13a).

Xuanfeng qinghui lu 玄風慶會錄

Translation: Record of Celebrated Meetings of Mysterious Winds

Abbreviation: *Xuanfeng lu*

Catalogue Number: DZ 176

Length: 9 pp.

Author: Yila Chucui 移刺楚才 (Yelü Chucui 耶律處材 [1190–1244]) (attributed)

Preface Author: Anonymous

Compiler/Editor: N/A

Date: 1232 (preface)

Translations: Waley 1931, 21–25 (selections)

References: Boltz 1987, 159–60; Ren and Zhong 1991, 129–30; Zhang 1992; Yao 2000, 580–81; Katz 2001; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1138

Supplementing the accounts provided in the *Xiyou ji* and *Xiyou lu*, this text is a record of Qiu Changchun's famous "westward journey" to meet Chinggis Qan (Genghis Khan; ca. 1162–1227; r. 1206–1227). It specifically purports to document a single sermon given on the sixteenth day of the tenth lunar month (Boltz 1987, 159), but more than likely derives from a series of meetings and discussions that occurred in 1222. The *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* contains an anonymous preface dated to 1232, but the text itself is attributed to Yila Chucui, which is a corruption of Yelü Chucui (see de Rachewiltz 1962). Yelü Chucui also authored the *Xiyou lu* and was an influential assistant to Chinggis Qan. As such, his feelings toward Qiu fluctuate between support and respect and fear and disdain. The *xuanfeng* 玄風 (lit., "mysterious winds") of the title was yet another alternate name for Quanzhen at the time. The *Xuanfeng lu* also relates to another "extra-canonical" text titled the *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* (Illustrations of Celebrated Meetings of Mysterious Winds) (see Katz 2001). The text provides details on the actual content of Qiu's instructions to the Qan, wherein particular emphasis is given to the benefit of sexual abstinence and the importance of virtue.

Zhongnan shan Zuting xianzhen neizhuan 終南山祖庭仙真內傳

Translation: Esoteric Biographies of Immortals and Perfected of the Ancestral Hall of the Zhongnan Mountains

Abbreviation: *Zhongnan neizhuan*

Catalogue Number: DZ 955

Length: 3 j.

Author: Li Daoqian 李道謙 (Hefu 和甫 [Harmonious Beginning]; 1219–1296)

Preface Author: Wang Daoming 王道明 (fl. 1285)

Compiler/Editor: N/A

Date: 1284 (preface)

Translations: N/A

References: Boltz 1987, 68; Ren and Zhong 1991, 716–17; Yao 2000, 580; Schipper and Verellen 2004, 1140

This is a lesser-known Quanzhen hagiographical collection. Like the *Ganshui lu* (above) and *Qizhen nianpu* (above), it was compiled by Li Daoqian, a disciple of Yu Dongzhen 余洞真 (1166–1250), abbot of Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Chongyang; Liujiang [Huxian], Shaanxi), and a major Quanzhen archivist and historian responsible for many of the extant historical and hagiographical works on the early tradition. The *Zhongnan neizhuan* has a preface (dated 1284) by Wang Daoming, the abbot of Yuxian gong 遇仙宮 (Palace for Encountering Immortals) in Ganhe 甘河 township (Zhongnan), wherein Wang Chongyang reportedly had one of his mystical experiences. The title of the work refers to the Zuting 祖庭 (Ancestral Hall) in the Zhongnan mountains (Liujiang [Huxian]; Shaanxi), the place where Wang Chongyang's body was interred and where Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Chongyang) was eventually established in his honor. This work provides biographies of thirty-seven lesser known and later Quanzhen adepts, beginning with He Dejin 和德瑾 (Yuchan 玉蟾 [Jade Toad]; d. 1170) and ending with Gao Daokuan 高道寬 (1195–1277). In addition to information on He Yuchan (1.1a–2b), the *Zhongnan neizhuan* also has entries on Li Lingyang 李靈陽 (Linyang 靈陽 [Numinous Yang]; d. 1189) (1.3a–4a), Liu Tongwei 劉通微 (Moran 默然 [Silent Suchness]; d. 1196) (1.4a–5b), Shi Chuhou 史處厚 (Dongyang 洞陽 [Cavernous Yang]; 1102–1174) (1.5b–7a), and Yan Chuchang 嚴處常 (1111–1183) (1.7a–8a). These individuals include Wang Chongyang's earliest acquaintances/mentors and earliest disciples. Interestingly, the *Zhongnan neizhuan* hints at a distinct late twelfth century Daoist eremitic community associated the Zhongnan mountains, which eventually merged into the Quanzhen movement following the death of Wang Chongyang. The historical connection of these mountains with the Daoist tradition in general begs the question of the situation of such sacred sites as Louguan tai 樓觀臺 (Lookout Tower Monastery; Zhouzhi, Shaanxi) before the advent of Quanzhen.²³

²³ A list of lost Quanzhen texts appears in Goossaert 1997, 424–32.

CHINESE TEXT OF
CHONGYANG ZHENREN JINGUAN YUSUO JUE

三訣同卷

重陽真人金闕玉鎖訣

重陽真人授丹陽二十四訣

馬自然金丹口訣

終南山重陽子王結撰

交九

重陽真人金闕玉鎖訣

或問曰如何是修真妙理答曰第一先除無

名煩惱第二休貪戀酒色財氣此者便是修

行之法夫人之一身皆具天地之理天地所

以含養萬物萬物所以盈天地間其天地之

高明廣大未嘗為萬物所蔽修行之人凡應

萬事亦當體之難曰天有昏暗地有動搖山

有崩摧海有枯竭日月有盈缺且人有疾病

無常如何治之答曰欲要治之除是遠太上

煉五行之法

問曰如何是五行之法文九答曰第一先須持戒

清靜忍辱慈悲實善斷除十惡行方便救度

一切衆生忠君王孝敬父母師資此是修行

之法然後習真功訣曰第一身中東西要識

庚甲卯酉第二身中南北要識坎離鉛汞訣

1b

2a

曰庚甲卯酉者為晝夜甲卯者是肝之氣八

節中立春春分口中為津也庚酉者是肺之

氣八節中立秋秋分口中為液也坎離者寒

暑離鉛者是身中心氣八節中立夏夏至身

中為血也坎汞者是腎中氣八節中立冬冬

至身中為精也精生魄血生魂精為性血為

命人了達性命者便是真修行之法也訣曰

精血者是肉身之根本真氣者是性命之根

本故曰有血者能生真氣也真氣壯實者自

然長久聚精血成形也

2b

問曰既為人因甚生死先後者何也答曰先

死者為其人心著欲樂貪戀境界是男子者

損精神人損血白日不斷無名煩惱夜中不

斬三屍陰鬼男子婦人已無常也

問曰不死之人何也答曰不死者為其人身

清靜無垢惜真文九炁在丹田精血不衰其人不

死也難曰多見今人清靜休妻亦不能成道

者何也答曰雖是此人清靜却不達真清靜

之功其人雖是一身清靜却不能定於精血

養真氣此人身清心不清其身靜意不靜豈

3a

不聞清靜經云夫道者有清有濁有動有靜
清者濁之源動者靜之基經云不垢不淨若
論真清靜者眼內無淚鼻內無膿口內無唾
不鍊大小便男子養精女子定血萬邪歸正
萬病不生方可是丹田清靜令人說清靜者都

3b

是假名夫修行若內外相應未言大乘先說
小垂心經云能小能大未言過去先說現在
過去者是果見在者是功又云功成果滿未
言真是說假惟一靈是真肉身哭是假相借
煉假成真感合為一訣曰見在一身安樂為小
乘都是大乘之根初地法心為小乘結果為小
大乘小乘為根大乘為梢訣曰梢根相借梢
借根而生今修行者不知身從何得性命緣
何生訣曰皆不離陰陽所生須借父精母血
二物者為身之本也令人修行都不惜父精
母血耗散真氣損却元陽故有老老有病病
中有死既有無常何不治之夫真道者空中
有寶寶中有空經云大道無形生育天地大
道無名長養萬物從真性所生為人者亦復
如是昔日老君煉金木水火土留下三乘妙

4a

言行行滅罪句句長生第一上有神仙抱一
第二中有富國安民第三下有強兵戰勝
問曰何者是神仙抱一抱一者天下人身之
根本一者是萬物之根本一者為道也昔為
初一者真水也水中生氣氣中生水萬物者
從一生萬物是長養一生二生三生萬
物三中四智功五服德起六根掃蕩七魄運
開八卦說九思真道無漏果圓融意想自
神長在丹田抱守元炁莫教散失此者是抱
一之法

4b

問曰何者是富國安民訣曰男子女人身中
各有九江四海龍宮庫藏中有七珍八寶莫
教六賊偷了此是富國安民
問曰何者是強兵戰勝訣曰夫戰勝者天下
少人知夫戰勝是常之法難曰既論清靜之
法何得說戰勝理解曰今人不達戰勝之法
又能治於病疾無常戰勝者第一先戰退無
名煩惱第二夜間境中要戰退三尸陰鬼第
三戰退萬法此者是戰勝之法若人會得三
乘者靈殃惱為福也夫修行者常清靜為根

5a

本大乘之法欲為大乘者須索從小乘而起清不離濁動不離靜靜中便生動濁中便自有清有天地有日月有水火有陰陽謂之真道經云純陽而不生純陰而不長陰陽和合者能生萬物今人修道者却不修真道者

5b

了達性命也性命者是精血也人有萬病是病者皆傷人之命矣有疾病者盡不干五臟之事都是損了精氣血三寶欲要安樂長生者除是持清靜之識或有未出家之人年少時不能持清靜之果從小乘入中乘上乘初地達法心為小乘覺悟者為中乘了達者為上乘第一是化城第二是銀城第三是金城似一根大樹先有其根後有其梢如常時只算清靜大為正道也

問曰假令一身清靜却逢天魔之日如何治之又假令逢外道彼巡請曰如何治之答曰波迦者界也境界皆有只要識進退三要辨清濁若逢陰陽者加大入水却濁不相煎之法訣曰假令魔軍來時急須準備檢三千強兵訣曰三千疏真功強兵者為其氣也有來

6a

無去千息數積其氣在丹田不散只教眼不教冷自結胎仙為妙法也若人得如上妙者永得如上真功成果滿永得安樂長生一切修功之人臨有難之日小心準備

死相

6b

問曰如何是死相訣曰天性動搖樹倒山摧六神俱亂性命不能保精神恍惚天地闇日月無光便是無常之苗也有漏之身為地獄無漏之果為天堂人有漏之身須證無漏之果圓者皆共成於道果

問曰假令白牛去時如何擒捉訣曰白牛去時緊叩玄關牢鎖四門急用仙人釣魚之法又用三島手印指黃河逆流掩上金關納合玉鎖如人斬眼白牛自然不走名機出水登彼岸之法有十般定性命之法訣曰一名金關玉鎖定二名三島回生換死定三名九曲黃河逆流定是名無漏果圓者皆共成於仙道若定了寶時休教滯了腰脚昏了眼目此是定三寶之法

7a

問曰若有人收定三寶搬運歸寄何處先用
蘆芽穿膝之法烹氣衝竇爐骨連氣直至湯
泉補於二足然後七返還丹之法如氣帶定
腰脚時便行鐵車黑牛功然後開宰門如得
元炁實壯者先行肘後飛金晶之法如不用

7b

行此功者不行穿膝之法不行七返三鳥之
法便行肘後搬精補腦之法望長生不老令
人行功願上不顧下如小兒墮塔下不堅牢
也如何是中炁實要堅牢也又於坎宮使用
羊鹿大牛三車搬從荆山運竇訣曰荆山却
近有一人姓卞名和有一日荆山打柴却見
一鳳凰落於一塊石上卞和便知石中有寶
將來獻帝帝大怒削了卞和雙足訣曰卞和
者識也意頑石也鳳凰者是真氣成是身玉
者是骨中精髓則者是兩足不行穿膝之法
訣曰善清靜名曰下元竇成如日月相似便
用三車搬運上崑崙頂嘆曰今人能道不能
造能說不能訣又曰行功心行意不行令人
多迷不修身體第一神性是大牛之車須索
動青牛拽車車中載寶是鹿車第二行白牛

8a

拽車車中載寶第三暖氣行火是羊車赤牛
拽車車中載寶三車行時初離荆山尾闈中
入地軸過天關過下雙關腎俞二穴是腰腿
入曹溪地夾脊上雙關夾脊是也雙射上苑
巖分水嶺二名天臺嶺三名女子蓮寶前安
乳否頻進真火如行此功一年今婦人如童
男意想鉛汞二珠射蓬萊腦後開天門自開
透紅霞真炁入髓海自暖令人頭白再黑名
曰肘後飛金晶之法我師言曰皆見提井人
不見用繩兒無雖後生有神水還丹曰夫行
功之時子午起跏趺坐搓手如真氣煎體過
天橋過顛顛是也只教上腮下腮上用意分
真氣兩下流轉太陽元中落於腮上流牙齒
從左口角右口角取液又為玄珠甘露用赤
龍攪得勻停漱為雪花白有甘味也口是八
色琉璃渠一中八味水二水中能生八識口
含藏真氣真氣中分八卦良為立春震為春
分巽為立夏離為夏至坤為立秋兌為秋分
乾為立冬坎為冬至八卦中各生陰陽陰陽
中各分寒暑訣曰咽津為陰隨後行氣乃為

8b

9a

陽須索陰陽水火停分二清津分三兩咽常留二停恐樹枯竭又云惜水流不得江河斷絕又問七返訣曰咽神水到氣額中肺化為液善治諸咳嗽漸生於魄又云咽津到心上令人心開悟解又是洗心神水洗心見性頌

9b

曰見花玉葉開步步入仙臺神水化血又咽神水到肝肝為木假名為青龍龍得水時必旺善治一切眼氣化為津又咽神水到脾脾為土土得水者能生黃芽腹為大小腸九曲至臍中一寸三分方圓一寸左青右白前赤後黑中黃戊己名為丹田田內一座官宮中名曰黃庭官中有一爐名為丹爐爐上坐定一隻金鼎下頻進真火上頻添神水水火者坎離也夫水火是君火臣火民火三火者為真味也心性意是也今人未了達三般者第一味不明第二味不悟第三味智不成道矣若人達三般者三明六通也進火時上用水洗下用火煅經云身下出火身上出水其上合下閉乾坤相合教龍盤金鼎使虎遶丹田者為妙名曰爐刀圭也若人行此功者永得

10a

安樂長生也問曰既刀圭何者言為一粒刀圭何者自飲刀圭何者為鐵離刀圭訣曰三刀圭者為寶也是精氣血也訣曰一粒刀圭者津液自飲刀圭者咽津服炁鐵離刀圭者是真炁行功不退變萬邪皈正如行功時飢食金飴渴飲玉漿冷時進火熱時進水火者是真陽水者是真陰此功者是抽添加減之法訣曰抽者從上收真炁添者從下進暖炁入丹田若人腎官暖者萬病消除

10b

問曰男子女人忽時便有疾病無常何如也答曰為一切男子女人心著慾樂貪慾境界之事白日不斷無名煩惱夜間境中不能斷三尸陰鬼男子損却精女人損却血炁三寶走却元陽故乃人有疾病無常也不聞神仙之語人似破漏房屋主人不修補者官殿倒塌壞其梁柱是人有疾病也難曰因甚小兒清靜不損三寶亦有疾病無常者何也訣曰小兒有病者昔日在母腹中因母血氣虧弱受母十月胎氣不足又或犯風溼暑濕四集不忌受胎小兒故有疾病無常也

11a

問曰因甚有醜好之人何謂也訣曰貌正者是日父母二氣感應日月午時已前丑時已後便得端正真實長命有衣祿貌正得父母喜悅之心午時已後丑時已前受胎有一貌不正者或病聾喑瘖多性劣不得人意命窮無衣祿壽命不長也此是造化之根本也

11b

問曰假令逢冤魔者如何治之訣曰宜清靜忙中偷閑閑中取靜若人有難之時急須回避心王須用灌想之法急驅神意入上泥丸神宮正坐意想眼見前仙男仙女各動仙樂叩齒定意看崑崙山景見上牛羊鹿馬五鬼意想上拿住繫定功時忽思上有一寶樹樹上有花花開結子意摘取吞之是喫了此物者永得安樂長生此是修正法一句了無大牢鎖四門訣曰血海命門氣定無開閉戶精定不思外境神定精血散者性命也一意者為真主人也齒是為玄關關叩齒者為玉鎖關從金精上玄者為金關緊叩齒者為玉鎖六根不動者是六度統都關下納氣為勸陽關上腮為頂陽關鼻為天門夾脊為雙關行

12a

功之時一齊開鎖神不動者意不亂也意者恍惚也此是清靜之法也及春夏秋冬但小兒小便黃色者是丹田虛敗失却下元存真急急用穿九曲之法又名九轉穿小腸九透真炁入腎堂小便自然青白色也一身便得安樂

12b

問曰何者是三乘之法訣曰下乘者如新生孩兒中乘者如小兒坐地上乘者如小兒行走若人通此三乘便超三界欲界色界無色界是心性顯具三身清靜法身圓滿報身三昧化身三者各有顯跡之神第一會太上煉甲乙木是虛坦會老君著青衣度三千青衣道士者轉青神黃卷三十六部靈寶尊經留下九轉丹黃芽穿膝之法絕國第二會釋迦佛留下煉南方丙丁火身被烈火聚煖三千赤子比丘僧人留下十二部大乘經射九重鐵鼓之法蘆芽穿膝之法龍華三會夫子在魯國之習學堂煉西方庚辛金三千白衣居士留下十卷論語并穿九曲明珠蘆芽穿膝之法三教者如鼎三足身同歸一無二

13a

無三三教者不離真道也喻曰似一根樹生三枝也

13b

問曰大道之中離等神仙解曰聞傳道集中有五等神仙第一不持戒不斷酒肉不殺生不思善為鬼仙之類第二養真氣長命者為地仙第三好戰爭是劍仙第四打坐修行者為神仙第五孝養師長父母六度萬行方便救一切眾生斷除十惡不殺生不食酒肉邪非偷盜出意回天心正直無私曲名曰天仙當月初發善心處便是吉祥之地為善法大修行人後有禁忌之文訣曰男女五月六月宜清靜大忌十一月十二月宜清靜又男子五月六月大殺之月勿近婦人為五勞七傷男損性命女人損性者是精血氣也損者令人左癱右瘓赤白帶下若損五行真氣為勞損七寶為傷萬病者各有來處

問曰病從何生訣曰萬病皆從八節不正之氣而生

問曰何者八邪訣曰八卦中陰陽不順是八節中氣令人入邪者是飢飽勞役風寒暑濕

14a

飢來痛飽寒極憂心遠行困倦及冷熱身醉亦不可行功變成大病也宜清靜行之行時舌上收玉液丹鼻中收元陽丹腎堂中收金液丹如精髓滿骨實者死經百年筋骨不解名為連子環鎖骨訣曰二十四忌大丹者是一年二十四炁上令告我師願求妙訣須索意思肯捨重金淨財第一捨身布施第二將花獻師第三令膳而供養解曰捨身布施者若見師長父母危時捨命求命將花獻師者若師長須打罵須將喜笑迎之面上無嗔怒令饒而供養者食有好味先奉其師此名三布施也仙人言曰堅者為道歡喜者為緣若求師不勤豈至於道呂翁曰不因師指此事難知又云學而不知者不學而悟之學而不從師名為盜學也是法中賊若掩祖上師得促自己壽與常人同例自揚已得是斷行做作此人可以成道乎其人謂輕師慢法不堪為師未學修行先持救濟他人者為救自己者憑功德行人各認祖宗科牌太上為祖釋迦為宗夫子為科牌自從三教既寂已後

14b

15a

一切男女在愛河內煎煮苦海漂沉受其煩惱六道沉淪不生不落去住三教聖主三界聖母却來救度兒女名號記顯現分明壽印信為其勸同解曰一身為金受戒者為記心悟了達者為火隨求經云如意寶印從心顯

15b

名為號有十號者為十善十號者為能人一號元修二號轉分明三號通三界四號長生五號光明現六號意通七號全身主八號福祿增九號天元修十號者為能人一加性十號無漏功德自然成三教者是隨意演化衆生皆不離於道也古人言曰世間性命事大修行者生老病死苦令人各不曉真道往往著空盡落空現在亦不能了何言過去之事又聞達磨經云過去非言實未來不為真太上煉九轉還丹令人去病疾了生死夫子教仁義禮智信恐人招業在身令人修此亦能治其疾病

問曰如何治於病疾訣曰除眼大良藥解曰長大歡為良藥訣曰歡喜者是藥之根本常煩惱者是萬病之根本或常清靜者是大道

16a

之苗但見今人修行或僧道五戒男子婦人却因甚病疾無常或男子女人有夫無婦者丹田走却靈龜耗散真炁下元虛冷漸生萬病男子清靜六十四日精炁滿女子清靜四十九日血炁滿物極者則返清為濁返靜為動返心意散失九竅走却真氣炁濁令女子月水多男子夜夢陰境盜了七珍八寶故人

16b

有疾病也

問曰陰鬼如何治之答曰用刀圭之法曰何者為刀圭訣曰刀圭者一也有水有氣能生萬物也炁為圭為雲水為雨又曰出炁為刀入炁為主行功為萬有驗者為刀圭是返老還童也經云身下出火身上出水水火為藥訣曰蘆芽穿膝上下河車安爐竈是紫河車搬精補腦之上車連火時水暖進水時火涼水火雙行者是溫溫鉛鼎鼎中入氣起休交上隨車火時散入百脉皮膚滋潤身體光澤此是修養之法難曰因何人肥者先衰訣曰肥人者修外不修裏骨中無髓丹田走却真炁故衰病也修內道者安樂長生之苗訣曰

17a

長教龍盤金鼎虎遶丹田震卦起雷巽卦起
風行功時漱津一大口分三度咽按氣下行
三偏自然有龍吟虎嘯之聲亦能除腹中萬
病耳聽之如雷槌畫鼓上者為昇下者為降
頌曰真空妙理無人知曲江端坐着烏飛處
地雷聲鷲鬼魅正是陰陽造化時子後午前
加減用水火烹煎龍虎隨金公帶酒黃婆醉
拽定王公問是誰

17b

問曰金公是神黃婆是炁陽炁是嬰兒陰炁
是姤女青龍者是肝之炁也白虎者是肺之
炁也坎離者是精血訣曰行功時坐如泰山
立如寶塔牢鎖四門緊叩玄關漱津一口為
猛三咽下接炁過離隔活作三度自然龍虎
之炁復如行住坐臥禁口閉目耳不聽聲眼
視內景一日正觀丹田意中想見隨手炁下
降隨吸炁上昇不過離隔不教注面上六
炁各到中元相見清炁右行濁氣左行各轉
九遭炁上下不能出左右結成纏繞龍盤
虎遶氣自然和會又嬰兒姤女為夫婦之法
炁聚於脾上安爐竈黃婆匹配之法又名天

18a

地交泰之法又名坎離交媾是體交神不交
之法神不交者是清靜之法千徧不搖不動
之法今人者多修外道不修內道見在道過
去法夫修行者外有條大道教內有正路無
人知處大眾前行三里見三條大澗亦無底
怎生過去訣曰三條大澗者是三教三乘起
三屍定三寶起三界向前又行三里見六條
深澗不能前進是何門訣曰是六度萬行六
根清靜斬六賊戒六欲樹六梯向前又行三
里見三座枋是寶淨枋七林屍多便是臨作
用行三里又見一座園名為含果園一翁看
定園門有綠者空手得過向前園又行三里
見一根大樹上繫定金牛河邊上有座臺男
子黃金臺女子鳳凰臺神仙釣魚臺安樂千
花臺若無常望鄉臺河口有三箇女子渡口
便是魔女東滿舟船過此河又行三里見一
座大山名是須彌山山東坡有一隻青羊是
老君之炁西坡見一隻白羊是夫子之炁正
南見一隻黃羊是大覺金仙之炁三箇羊兒
引接大眾入山名三陽聚鼎山山中有一座

18b

19a

城名爲北城有四門門上有牌牌上有字東是開光門西是長生門南是金光門北是大淪門此是眼耳鼻口入得四門見四洞府天樂洞白雲洞竹園洞長生洞入得四洞見四寺無淨寺玄空寺竹林寺 有四果安

19b

禪羅漢斯陀舍須陀洹阿那含阿羅漢爲四寺主此是四果仙人也向前又見五觀第一功名觀第二醫藥觀第三安陽觀第四真如觀第五堯率觀五觀中有五宮雙女宮是眼大龍宮是口上白宮是鼻水晶宮是耳天秤宮是心內坐大樓閣上下十二呼吸名曰十二重樓也有中宮樓月宮樓天仙樓取寶樓聖井樓法悉妙音樓識道樓禪頂樓景陽樓鍾鼓樓二聖樓每年十二月一日十二時人身中有十二月樓樓者按經十二經十二支干四面又見九宮是人有九竅也夫九竅宮者東有風雷宮雙林宮南有紫微宮牟尼宮西有聖母宮惠羅宮北有梵宮水晶宮中央號安宮此名爲九宮猶地列九州也又微府元共計十州也是十國焦祖國牟尼國開花

20a

城名爲北城有四門門上有牌牌上有字東是開光門西是長生門南是金光門北是大淪門此是眼耳鼻口入得四門見四洞府天樂洞白雲洞竹園洞長生洞入得四洞見四寺無淨寺玄空寺竹林寺 有四果安

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21a

時神氣轉悉逐意行遲時前趕前衝為陰左
將陰神六甲驅轉六相八誠一真靈內遊
九宮看說十國長生降臺使嬰兒蛇女丹田
安爐竈進火燒華意想見爐紅竈熱丹藥方
成意想青龍在左白虎在右朱雀在前玄武
在後四坐大神各手執長鈴闕闕看定華爐
自服妙藥若人累行此功未得長生令邪氣
自散真氣自生口若飲荆山玉泉口中自然
香甜也二下亮通達腎堂隨呼吸取之寶氣
入口嗽三十六遍為雪花咽入丹田為雪也
○隨後便上合下開乾坤相合真氣滿足脾破
者萬病消除似竈中燒瓦時到自然成如雞
抱卵婦人懷胎不計時候但覺身中疼痛者
便是鐵黑牛搬車也是真一氣真一性黑者
是下氣也痛氣大便出腫氣小便出又有降
天關地軸法望項陽關泥丸宮鼻中長引真
氣入口大呵作六遍天開地軸如死不動每
日行宮者常調和陰陽冬至日一陽生夏至
日一陰生冬至者是子時已後望東方日出
為陽夏至者午時已後日沒是陰也陰陽返

21b

22a

復之理也地氣上騰天雨下降三日一風十
朝二雨風雨順時人民便快樂便是一身快
樂無病長久也人有萬病者每一病各一般
真功治其病自應也第一大煉九轉還丹之
法有黃芽穿膝之法射九重鐵鼓之法太子
遊四門之法有金鞭指輪之法有蘆芽穿膝
之法有軒轅跨火之法有玉女摸身之法有
鍾離背劍之法有呂翁釣魚之法有陳希夷
大睡之法三教內行法門者盡各治於疾病
也更有能起生者人行轉此功丹田養熱真
氣夜間多夢見山上放牛其牛若是赤牛或
青牛或仙人道士宮觀寺院大道好房高車好
樹夜見小兒女并大官人者至是丹田氣壯
若夢見小道荒棘惡人趁破房屋塔墓樹倒
河渡恐怕並是丹田氣衰弱宜用補之訣曰
對三人休言說六耳恐漏神仙之機訣曰此
三人者第一對夫不孝之人第二對夫不敬
信之人第三對夫不傳戒不善之人莫說此
訣除此等人外不分男子女人僧道官人皆
得傳法受戒此修真成訣者價直須彌金取

22b

23a

諸經爲祖對安樂者是小乘之法雖是小乘
 却是大乘根本因果經中俱言修行有八般
 福田救苦看病福田者是第一救生性強如
 南寺燒香址院送供救一人之命如造七級
 寶塔若男子女人收得此訣勿可亂傳如有
 亂傳者輕泄仙人妙機九祖盡墮於沉淪永
 鎮鄭都不得人身慎之戒之信受奉行

重陽真人金關玉鎖訣

APPENDIX FIVE

TOWARDS A TECHNICAL GLOSSARY OF EARLY
QUANZHEN DAOISM

an 庵: hut/hermitage. A secluded enclosure for intensive religious praxis. Also referred to as “reed-thatched huts” (*ya'an* 茅庵) and “grass-thatched shelters” (*caoshe* 草舍). The most famous early Quanzhen hut was the Quanzhen an 全真庵 (Hermitage of Complete Perfection), which was built by Wang Chongyang on Ma Danyang’s property. The first section of the *Shiwu lun* 十五論 (Fifteen Discourses; DZ 1233, 1a; see also 2b-3a) is entitled “Zhu’an” 住庵 (Living in Hermitages). See also *huandu* 環堵 (“meditation enclosure”)*. In later usage, *an* may designate a formal sacred site and be translated as “temple” or “shrine.”

bagua 八卦: eight trigrams. The eight trigrams (three-line diagrams) of the *Yijing* 易經 (Classic of Changes), which combine to form the sixty-four hexagrams (six-line diagrams), believed to represent all possible changes and transformations (based on yin-yang 陰陽 interaction) in the cosmos. Each diagram is composed of yin (“broken”) lines (--) and yang (“unbroken”) lines (—). Also used symbolically in internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)*, they are as follows: (1) Qian-heaven (*qian* 乾)* ☰, (2) Kun-earth (*kun* 坤)* ☷, (3) Li-fire (*li* 離)* ☲, (4) Kan-water (*kan* 坎)* ☵, (5) Dui-lake (*dui* 兌) ☱, (6) Zhen-thunder (*zhen* 震) ☳, (7) Sun-wind (*sun* 巽) ☴, and Gen-mountain (*gen* 艮) ☶. According to the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 (Great Compendium of the Gold Elixir; DZ 263, 10.12b), “The head (*tou* 頭) is Qian-heaven; the feet (*zu* 足) are Kun-earth; the bladder (*pangguang* 膀胱) is Gen-mountain; the gall-bladder (*dan* 膽) is Sun-wind; the kidneys (*shen* 腎) are Kan-water; the heart (*xin* 心) is Li-fire; the liver (*gan* 肝) is Zhen-thunder; and the lungs (*fei* 肺) are Dui-lake.” According to the tenth-century *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, 14.11b), “Zhen-thunder is the liver; Kan-water is the kidneys; and Gen-mountain is the bladder. . . Sun-wind is the gall bladder; Li-fire is the heart; and Dui-lake is the lungs.”

bajie 八節: Eight Nodes. They are the beginning of the four seasons, solstices, and equinoxes: (1) Beginning of spring (*lichun* 立春; approx.

February 5); (2) Vernal equinox (*chunfen* 春分; approx. March 20); (3) Beginning of summer (*lixia* 立夏; approx. May 5); (4) Summer solstice (*xiazhi* 夏至; approx. June 21); (5) Beginning of autumn (*liqiu* 立秋; approx. August 7); (6) Autumnal equinox (*qiufen* 秋分; approx. September 23); (7) Beginning of winter (*lidong* 立冬; approx. November 7); (8) Winter solstice (*dongzhi* 冬至; approx. December 21). In internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)* practice, there are correspondences among the Eight Nodes, eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦)*, and branch-time (*dizhi* 地支)* associations: (1) Winter solstice, Kun-earth ☷, and *zi* (11pm–1am), (2) Spring begins, Zhen-thunder ☳, —, (3) Vernal equinox, Li-fire ☲, and *mao* (5–7am) (4) Summer begins, Dui-lake ☱, —, (5) Summer solstice, Qian-heaven ☰, and *wu* (11am–1pm) (6) Autumn begins, Sun-wind ☱, —, (7) Autumnal equinox (*qiufen*), Kan-water ☵, and *you* (5–7pm); (8) Winter begins, Gen-mountain ☶, and —. These various associations are discussed in section 1.4a of the tenth-century *Lingbao bifa* 靈寶畢法 (Final Methods of Numinous Treasure; DZ 1191; trl. Baldrian-Hussein 1984) and in section 8b of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156).

balou 八漏: Eight Dissipations. One classification of “leakage” or “dissipation” (Chn.: *lou* 漏; Skt.: *āsvara*)*, which Quanzhen adepts endeavored to avoid by achieving a state of “non-leakage” or “non-dissipation” (Chn.: *wulou* 無漏; Skt.: *anāsvara*)*. According to the fourteenth-century *Jiutian shengshen zhangjing zhu* 九天生神章經注 (Commentary on the *Jiutian shengshen zhangjing* [DZ 318]; DZ 398, 1.14a), “Daoist books mention the Eight Dissipations: eye tears are liver leakage (*lou* 漏); nose mucus is lung leakage; mouth spittle is kidney leakage; external perspiration (*waihan* 外汗) is heart leakage; *ye*-stealing perspiration (*yedao han* 液盜汗) is small intestine leakage; sleep drool (*qin er xian* 寢而涎) is brain leakage; dream-ghosts (*meng er gui* 夢而鬼) are spirit leakage; illicit desires (*yinyu* 淫欲) are body leakage. When you stop the arisal of these various leakages, if the heart lord (*xinjun* 心君) is stabilized, then [dissipation] stops.”

bamai 八脈: Eight Meridians. The Eight Extraordinary Vessels (*qijing bamai* 奇經八脈) of classical Chinese medicine. The latter are not related to any orb in particular; they are “extraordinary,” in the sense that they are physic networks that, when activated, lead to increased energetic sensitivity and spiritual abilities. Of these Eight Extraordinary Vessels, four occupy a central place in internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)* practice:

(1) Governing Vessel (*dumai* 督脈)*, moving from the base of the spine, up the centerline of the back, around the crown-point, to the upper lip; (2) Conception Vessel (*renmai* 任脈)*, moving from the perineum, up the centerline of the front of the body, to the lower lip; (3) Thrusting Vessel (*chongmai* 衝脈/沖脈)*, moving through the center of the body, between the crown-point and perineum; and (4) Belt Vessel (*daimai* 帶脈)*, the only horizontal channel, moving around the waist from the lower abdomen to the Gate of Life (*mingmen* 命門)*. The other four psychic channels include two arm meridians and two leg meridians; in Daoist praxis, these meridians go down the outside of the arms and legs, and up the inside of the arms and legs.

bingding 丙丁: (celestial stem [*tiangan* 天干]* combination). Associated with the Fire phase and south.

chanü 姮女: Maiden. Sometimes appearing as *nücha* 女姮, a symbolic referent for the lungs (*fei* 肺). Usually paired with the Child (*ying'er* 嬰兒)*. The *Danyang yulu* 丹陽語錄 (Discourse Record of Danyang; DZ 1057, 15b) explains, “Spirit and qi are innate nature and life-destiny. Innate nature and life-destiny are the dragon (*long* 龍)* and tiger (*hu* 虎)*. The dragon and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water (*shui* 水)* and fire (*huo* 火)*. Water and fire are the Child and Maiden. The Child and Maiden are perfect yin (*zhenyin* 真陰) and perfect yang (*zhenyang* 真陽).”

chenshi 塵世: world of dust. The mundane world.

chilong 赤龍: Crimson Dragon. The tongue. According to the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1153, 8b), “Collect the *ye*-fluids from the right and left corners of the mouth. This in turn is the Mysterious Pearl (*xuanzhu* 玄珠) and the Sweet Dew (*ganlu* 甘露). Use the Crimson Dragon to stir and obtain the proper blending, so that it coagulates into a snow flower.”

Chongyang gong 重陽宮: Palace of Chongyang. Later name of the Zuting 祖庭 (Ancestral Hall; present-day Huxian, Shaanxi), the location of the eremitic community of Liujiang 劉蔣 where Wang Chongyang engaged in religious praxis from 1163–1167 and where he was buried after his death in 1170. Considered the “ancestral hall” (*zuting* 祖庭) of the Quanzhen 全真 (Complete Perfection) movement.

Chuandao ji 傳道集: Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao (DZ 263, j. 14–16; also DZ 1309; trl. Wong 2000). The complete title is *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鍾呂傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao from Zhong to Lü). Most likely a tenth-century Zhong-Lü 鍾呂* text, associated with Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 (Zhengyang 正陽 [Upright Yang]; 2nd c. C.E.?)* and Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (Chunyang 純陽 [Purified Yang]; b. 798 C.E.?)*. Written in question-and-answer format, the *Chuandao ji* is a fairly systematic discussion of internal alchemy practice. Mentioned in section 13a of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156).

chujia 出家: leave the family. By extension, a “renunciant” or “monastic.” Someone who has committed himself or herself to Daoist practice-realization, including ascetic and ethical guidelines. A formal monk or nun.

damo 大魔: great demon. The Demon King (Chn.: *mowang* 魔王; Skt.: *deva-māra*), an evil demon and lifelong adversary of the Buddha, who attempted to prevent Śākyamuni Buddha from attaining enlightenment. One of the four demons (Chn.: *simo* 四魔; Skt.: *catvāro mārāh*).

dan 丹: elixir. Alternatively rendered as “cinnabar.” In internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)*, symbolic designation for the seed of immortality within the adept’s body.

Dao 道: Way. Both *the* Way and *a* way. The ultimate concern of Daoism. Refers simultaneously to the unnamable, all-pervading mystery, the Source of all that is, the universe in its multi-layered numinosity, the universe as cosmological process, and the way of life of a human embodying such alignment. According to the fourth-century B.C.E. *Daode jing* 道德經 (Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power)*, “The Dao that can be spoken is not the constant Dao. The name that can be named is not the constant name. Nameless—the beginning of the heavens and earth. Named—the mother of the ten thousand beings. Thus, constantly desireless, one may observe its subtlety. Constantly desiring, one may observe its boundaries. These two emerge from sameness, but differ in name. This sameness is called ‘mysterious.’ Mysterious and again more mysterious—the gateway to all that is wondrous” (ch. 1). The ninth-century *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620)* explains, “The great Dao is without form. It brings forth and nurtures heaven and earth. The great Dao is without feelings.

It regulates the course of the sun and moon. The great Dao is without name. It raises and nourishes the ten thousand beings. I do not know its name; forced to name it, I call it Dao” (1a).

Daode jing 道德經: Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power. Fourth-century B.C.E. classical Daoist text, occupying a central position in early Quanzhen. Emphasizes the Dao 道* as unnamable mystery and Source of all that is, inner power or virtue (*de* 德)*, suchness (*ziran* 自然)*, non-action (*wuwei* 無為)*, clarity and stillness (*qingjing* 清靜)*, lessening and decreasing (*shaogua* 少寡), and so forth. Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (Changsheng 長生 [Perpetual Life]; 1147–1203) wrote a now-lost commentary on the text. Mentioned and alluded to throughout the early Quanzhen textual corpus. For instance, in the *Quanzhen ji* 全真集 (DZ 1153, 13.7b–8a), Wang Chongyang 王重陽 explains, “[To practice spiritual refinement] you must fully understand the three hundred characters of the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 and read up on the five thousand words of the *Daode jing* 道德經” (13.7b–8a; also 10.21b; *Shiwu lun*, DZ 1233, 4b).

daoguo 道果: fruits of the Dao. Mentioned in section 6b of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156). Refers to stages of realization on the Daoist path. For instance, the seventh-century *Haikong zhizang jing* 海空智藏經 (Scripture of Master Haikong zhizang; DZ 9) lists them as follows: earth immortal (*dixian* 地仙), flying immortal (*feixian* 飛仙), self-dependent (Chn.: *zizai* 自在; Skt.: *isvāra*), free-from-dissipation (Chn.: *wulou* 無漏; Skt.: *anāsrava*), and non-action (*wuwei* 無為) (1.6a).

dazuo 打坐: seated meditation. Literally meaning, “to engage in sitting.” Also referred to as “aligned sitting” (*zhengzuo* 正坐)*, “cross-legged sitting” (*jiāfu zuo* 跏趺坐)*, or “quiet sitting” (*jingzuo* 靜坐)*. Section seven of the *Shiwu lun* 十五論 (Fifteen Discourses; DZ 1233) is titled “Dazuo” 打坐 (Seated Meditation).

de 德: inner power. Alternatively rendered as “virtue.” An important technical term in both classical Daoism and in early Quanzhen. One’s original endowment from and cultivated embodiment of the Dao. According to the fourth-century B.C.E. *Daode jing* 道德經 (Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power)*, “The highest virtue (*shangde* 上德) is not virtue; thus there is virtue. The lowest virtue (*xiade* 下德) does not lose virtue; thus there is no virtue. The highest virtue is in non-action (*wuwei* 無為)* and through this does not act. The lowest virtue is in action, and through this does act” (ch. 38).

dizhi 地支: terrestrial branches. The twelve terrestrial branches used as time measurements in ancient China. Including the symbolic zodiac correspondences and their yin-yang associations, they are as follows: (1) *zi* 子 (rat/yang); (2) *chou* 丑 (ox/yin); (3) *yin* 寅 (tiger/yang); (4) *mao* 卯 (rabbit/yin); (5) *chen* 辰 (dragon/yang); (6) *si* 巳 (snake/yin); (7) *wu* 午 (horse/yang); (8) *wei* 未 (sheep/yin); (9) *shen* 申 (monkey/yang); (10) *you* 酉 (rooster/yin); (11) *xu* 戌 (dog/yang); and (12) *hai* 亥 (boar/yin). Also used to designate times of the day, which are associated with specific orbs (*zangfu* 藏府)*: (1) *zi* (11pm–1am/gall bladder); (2) *chou* (1am–3am/liver); (3) *yin* (3am–5am/lungs); (4) *mao* (5am–7am/large intestine); (5) *chen* (7am–9am/stomach); (6) *si* (9am–11am/spleen); (7) *wu* (11am–1pm/heart); (8) *wei* (1pm–3pm/small intestine); (9) *shen* (3pm–5pm/bladder); (10) *you* (5pm–7pm/kidneys); (11) *xu* (7pm–9pm/pericardium); (12) *hai* (9pm–11pm/triple warmer). In internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)*, sometimes the correspondences are changed to the following: *zi* with Water/kidneys, *mao* with Wood/liver, *wu* with Fire/heart, and *you* with Metal/lungs. The terrestrial branches may also refer to energetic points along the body, beginning with the coccyx, moving up the back, around the crown-point, and down the front of the body: (1) *zi* (Huiyin 會陰 [Hundred Meetings]; CV-1)*, (2) *chou* (Weilü 尾閭 [Tailbone Gate]; GV-1)*, (3) *yin* (Mingmen 命門 [Gate of Life]; GV-4)*, (4) *mao* (Jiaji 夾脊 [Narrow Ridge]; GV-6)*, (5) *chen* (Zhiyang 至陽 [Utmost Yang]; GV-9; a.k.a. Difei 底肺 [Bottom of Lungs]), (6) *si* (Yuzhen 玉枕 [Jade Pillow]; GV-17)*, (7) *wu* (Baihui 百會 [Hundred Meetings]; GV-20)*, (8) *wei* (Mingtang 明堂 [Hall of Light]; GV-23)*, (9) *shen* (Yuhu 玉戶 [Jade Door]; CV-22; a.k.a. Tiantu 天突 [Celestial Chimney]), (10) *you* (Zigong 紫宮 [Purple Palace]; CV-19), (11) *xu* (Zhongting 中庭 [Central Court]; CV-16), and (12) *hai* (Qihai 氣海 [Ocean of Qi]; CV-6). Combined with the ten celestial stems (*tiangan* 天干)*, the twelve terrestrial branches are used to form the so-called sexegenial or sexagenary cycle, that is, designations for the sixty-year cycle.

ershisi jie 二十四節: Twenty-four Periods. The twenty-four solar periods of the year associated with the agricultural cycle: (1) Beginning of spring (*lichun* 立春; approx. February 5); (2) Rain water (*yushui* 雨水; approx. February 19); (3) Excited insects (*jingzhi* 驚蟄; approx. March 5); (4) Vernal equinox (*chunfen* 春分; approx. March 20); (5) Clear brightness (*qingming* 清明; approx. April 5); (6) Grain rain (*guyu* 穀雨; approx. April 20); (7) Beginning of summer (*lixia* 立夏; approx. May 5); (8) Slight fullness (*xiaoman* 小滿; approx. May 21); (9) Bearded grain (*mangzhong*

芒種; approx. June 6); (10) Summer solstice (*xiazhi* 夏至; approx. June 21); (11) Slight heat (*xiaoshu* 小暑; approx. July 7); (12) Great heat (*dashu* 大暑; approx. July 23); (13) Beginning of autumn (*liqiu* 立秋; approx. August 7); (14) Limit of heat (*chushu* 處暑; approx. August 23); (15) White dew (*bailu* 白露; approx. September 8); (16) Autumnal equinox (*qiufen* 秋分; approx. September 23); (17) Cold dew (*hanlu* 寒露; approx. October 8); (18) Frost descends (*shuangjiang* 霜降; approx. October 23); (19) Beginning of winter (*lidong* 立冬; approx. November 7); (20) Light snow (*xiaoxue* 小雪; approx. November 22); (21) Heavy snow (*daxue* 大雪; approx. December 7); (22) Winter solstice (*dongzhi* 冬至; approx. December 21); (23) Slight cold (*xiaohan* 小寒; approx. January 6); and (24) Severe cold (*dahan* 大寒; approx. January 21). These are sub-divided into the Eight Nodes (*bajie* 八節)*, namely, the beginning of the four seasons, the solstices, and equinoxes.

fa 法: method. Sometimes used in the technical Buddhist sense of *dharmā*. In Quanzhen practice, usually refers to actual techniques or sacred teachings.

fashen 法身: Dharma Body. An alternative name for the yang-spirit (*yangshen* 陽神)* or body-beyond-the-body (*shenwai shen* 身外身)*. The subtle body or transcendental spirit activated through intensive alchemical practice and transformation, which is able to transcend physical death and enter the celestial realms. According to the *Shiwu lun* 十五論 (Fifteen Discourses; DZ 1233, 5b), “The Dharma Body is a representation of formlessness. It is neither emptiness nor existence, has neither after nor before. It is neither low nor high, neither long nor short. When applied, there is nowhere that it does not pervade. When stored, it is dark and obscure, without residual traces. If you realize this way, you can appropriately nourish this body. The more you nourish it, the more accomplishments (*gong* 功) you attain. The less you nourish it, the less accomplishments you attain. Do not desire to go back; do not yearn for the mundane world. Then you will depart and dwell in suchness [the Dao].”

fangcun 方寸: square inch. The heart.

fannaο 煩惱: vexations. *Fannaο* is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit *kleśa*. It refers to pain, affliction, distress, worry, trouble, or whatever causes such conditions. In Chinese Buddhism, *fannaο* refers to delusions generated by desire and ignorance which disturb the mind. There

are both basic and derivative forms of vexation. The six basic forms include covetousness (Chn.: *tan* 貪; Skt.: *rāga*), anger (Chn.: *chen* 嗔; Skt.: *pratigha*), ignorance (Chn.: *chi* 痴; Skt.: *mūḍha*), arrogance (Chn.: *man* 慢; Skt.: *māna*), doubt (Chn.: *yi* 疑; Skt.: *vicikitsā*), and false views (Chn.: *jian'e* 見惡; Skt.: *drsti*).

ganlu 甘露: Sweet Dew. Saliva produced during Daoist practice. Also referred to as “jade fluids” (*yuye* 玉液)*, Spirit Water (*shenshui* 神水)*, and Jade Broth (*yujiang* 玉漿)*.

geng 更: watch (time period). Specifically, the Five Watches (*wugeng* 五更)*.

gengjia 庚甲: (celestial stem [*tiangan* 天干]* combination). In internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)* and in this combination, *geng* usually refers to Metal and the western direction as well as to the emotions (*qing* 情) and the tiger (*hu* 虎)*; *jia* usually refers to Wood and the eastern direction as well as to innate nature (*xing* 性)* and the dragon (*long* 龍)*.

gengxin 庚辛: (celestial stem [*tiangan* 天干]* combination). Associated with the Metal phase and west.

gong 功: exercise. Alternatively rendered as “merit” or “accomplishment.” One of the central aspects of early Quanzhen training regimens was the cultivation of “perfect accomplishment” (*zhengong* 真功)*, also rendered as “exercises of perfection.” In this way, it is related to “numinous abilities” (Chn.: *tong* 通; Skt.: *siddhi*)*.

gong 公: Duke: Shorthand for Gold Duke (*jingong* 金公)*, usually associated with the heart and spirit.

guan 觀: observation/monastery. Associated with inner observation (*neiguan* 內觀)*, a Daoist form of meditation that came to prominence during the Tang dynasty (618–907) under the influence of Buddhist insight meditation (Pali: *vipassanā*; Skt.: *vipaśyanā*). Applied to a sacred site, refers to a formal monastery.

heche 河車: Waterwheel. Also referred to as the Celestial Cycle (*zhoutian* 周天)*, sometimes translated as “Heavenly Circuit.” Sometimes associated with “reverting essence to repair the brain” (*huanjing bunao* 還精補腦)*. Moving transformed vital essence along an energetic pathway composed of the Three Passes (*sanguan* 三關)*, from the base of the spine, up the centerline of the spine, to the head region.

hong 汞: mercury. Usually associated with original qi (*yuanyi* 元氣)*. Sometimes occurring with lead (*qian* 鉛)*. According to the *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions; DZ 1158, 1b), lead corresponds to original spirit (*yuanshen* 元神)* and thus to innate nature (*xing* 性)*, while mercury corresponds to original qi (*yuanyi* 元氣)* and thus to life-destiny (*ming* 命)*. The *Danyang yulu* 丹陽語錄 (Discourse Record of Danyang; DZ 1057, 15b) explains, “Spirit and qi are innate nature and life-destiny. Innate nature and life-destiny are the dragon and tiger. The dragon and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water and fire. Water and fire are the Child and Maiden. The Child and Maiden are perfect yin and perfect yang.”

houtian qi 後天氣: post-natal qi. Sometimes rendered as “post-heaven qi” or “deuterocosmic qi.” Refers to the qi acquired after birth, namely, qi derived from food and breath. It is thus associated with the spleen and lungs.

hu 虎: Tiger. Sometimes appearing as “white tiger” (*baihu* 白虎)*, and thus associated with the Metal phase, the west, and the lungs. Usually associated with subtle breath (*qi* 氣)* and paired with the Dragon (*long* 龍)*. According to the *Danyang yulu* 丹陽語錄 (Discourse Record of Danyang; DZ 1057, 15b), “Spirit and qi are innate nature and life-destiny. Innate nature and life-destiny are the dragon and tiger. The dragon and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water and fire. Water and fire are the Child and Maiden. The Child and Maiden are perfect yin and perfect yang.”

hua 化: conversion/transformation. Refers to both formal conversion to Quanzhen and alchemical transformation.

huandan 還丹: reverted elixir. Refers to the numinous presence activated through alchemical praxis, specifically through conservation and transformation. Sometimes spoken of in terms of “seven reversions” (*qifan* 七反; *qihuan* 七還) and “nine reversions” (*jiufan* 九反; *jiuhuan* 九還). The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16; also DZ 1309; trl. Wong 2000) contains a section titled “Discourse on the Reverted Elixir” (16.1a–5b). According to the eleventh-century *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Tablets from a Cloudy Satchel; DZ 1032; see Schipper 1981; Boltz 1987, 229–31), “Practicing this way is called constantly attending to the Numinous Treasure (*lingbao* 靈寶). The ‘numinous’ is spirit; the ‘treasure’ is vital

essence. Constantly cherish qi and treasure vital essence. Firmly seal [the body] and close the mouth. Ingest qi and swallow *ye*-fluids. The *ye*-fluids transform and become vital essence. Vital essence transforms and becomes qi. Qi transforms and becomes spirit. Spirit, through reverted transformation (*fanhua* 反化), becomes *ye*-fluids. *Ye*-fluids, through reverted transformation, become vital essence. Vital essence, through reverted transformation, becomes qi. Qi, through reverted transformation, becomes spirit. [The process occurs] like this through seven reversions (*qifan*) and seven reversals (*qihuan*)” (56.14ab). In the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 (Great Compendium on the Gold Elixir; DZ 263, j. 9–13), we find the following: “Fire in generation (*sheng* 生) is the number two and in completion (*cheng* 成) is the number seven. Considering [the process of] reversion (*fan* 反), normally there is downward [movement], while in reversion there is upward [movement]. Considering [the process of] reversal (*huan* 還), normally there is upward [movement], while in reversal there is downward [movement]. Some say that wood is three and metal is four. When merged and completed, they unite to become the number seven. Thus, one may speak of ‘seven reversions’ (*qifan* 七反). This teaching is truly subtle. Thus, Metal with Wood and Water with Fire are the father and mother, the ancestor and patriarch of the Five Phases, and the root and foundation of the reverted elixir (*huandan*)” (13.9b–10a; also 9.10a).

huandu 環堵: meditation enclosure. Literally meaning “enclosed and shut-off.” Also appearing as *huanqiang* 環牆. In its early usage, *du* 堵 refers to a specific spatial measurement. A *huandu* refers to a small square hut measuring four *du* on each side, with one *du* equaling approximately one *zhang* 丈. During the Song-Jin period this approximately equaled three meters. A *huandu*, or meditation enclosure, was thus about twelve-foot square. The earliest occurrences of the phrase *huandu* appear in chapter 42 of the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites) and in chapters 23 and 28 of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Book of Master Zhuang). In early Quanzhen, *huandu* referred to both an actual meditation hut and the condition of being sealed off from the world. The early adepts engaged in three-year (1000-day) and 100-day enclosure, with the latter becoming institutionalized in the later Quanzhen monastic order.

huanqiang 環牆: meditation enclosure. Usually appearing as *huandu* 環堵*.

huangpo 黃婆: Yellow Matron. Usually associated with the spleen (*pi* 脾) and subtle breath (*qi* 氣). Sometimes used as an alternative name for the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭)*. Usually paired with the Gold Duke (*jingong* 金公)*, associated with the heart and spirit. According to the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions of the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156, 17a), “The Gold Duke is spirit; the Yellow Matron is qi.” The *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions; DZ 1158) has the following: “The Gold Duke is the heart-mind, while the Yellow Matron is the spleen” (1b). The ninth-century *Lingbao bifa* 靈寶畢法 (Final Methods of Numinous Treasure; DZ 1191; trl. Baldrian-Hussein 1984) instructs, “The Yellow Matron is the perfect *ye*-fluids in the spleen; it joins with qi and water to enter the Yellow Court” (1.14b).

huangting 黃庭: Yellow Court. A subtle body location most often referring to the spleen region, with the color yellow being associated with the Earth phase. The name derives from the third-century *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 (Scripture on the Yellow Court; DZ 331; 332)*. The *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (Scripture on the Internal View of the Yellow Court; DZ 331; trl. Huang 1990) contains a section titled “Huangting” (Yellow Court). The *Huangting jing* itself does not give a specific location, but an eighth-century commentary informs one that some practitioners understand it to be a cranial location while others associate it with the spleen (*Huangting waijing jing zhu*, DZ 263, 58.1b–2a). No early Quanzhen texts give a clear correlate, but the *Dadan zhizhi* provides visual representations locating it between the heart region and abdominal region (see DZ 244, 1.3ab, 1.4ab, 1.5a, 1.12b). According to the tenth-century *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16; trl. Wong 2000)*, “The Yellow Court is below the spleen-stomach and above the bladder. It is north of the heart, south of the kidneys, west of the liver, and east of the lungs. It is clear above and turbid below. Externally it takes on the four colors. It links the two ascending [pathways; i.e., Governing and Conception vessels] and connects the eight channels of water” (15.14b). The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 explains, “[The Yellow Court] is above the bladder, below the spleen, in front of the kidneys, left of the liver, and right of the lungs” (10.10a).

Huangting jing 黃庭經: Scripture on the Yellow Court. A third-century Daoist scripture associated with the early Shangqing 上清 (Highest Clarity) tradition. Received in two versions, the *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景玉經 (Scripture on the Internal View of the Yellow Court; DZ

331; trl. Huang 1990) and *Huangting waijing jing* 黃庭外景玉經 (Scripture on the External View of the Yellow Court; DZ 332; trl. Huang 1990). Discusses the Daoist subtle body using esoteric names and often used as a visualization manual. The text is mentioned in section 10.6a of the *Quanzhen ji* 全真集 (Anthology of Complete Perfection; DZ 1153) and in section 2b of the *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions; DZ 1158). Liu Changsheng 劉長生 (1147–1203) also wrote a commentary titled *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經注 (Commentary on the *Huangting neijing yujing*; DZ 401).

huangya 黃芽: Yellow Sprouts. An alternate name for the elixir of immortality. Yellow Sprouts refer to the elixir. The *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156) has the following: “Swallow the Spirit Water and make it go to the spleen. The spleen corresponds to [the phase] Earth. When Earth obtains this water, it generates Yellow Sprouts” (9a). According to the *Huayang pian* 華陽篇 (Chapters of Master Huayang), as appearing in the twelfth-century *Daoshu* 道樞 (Pivot of the Dao; DZ 1017), “When *zi* 子 [Kan-water and original qi in the kidneys] and *wu* 午 [Li-fire and original spirit in the heart] conjoin, gather the essential flower (*jingying* 精英) of the spleen. This is called the elixir of the Yellow Sprouts” (10.3b).

hun 魂: ethereal soul. Etymologically, consisting of “ghost” (*gui* 鬼) and “cloud” (*yun* 云), thus sometimes translated as “cloud soul.” Yang in nature, the ethereal soul resides in the liver and relates to an etheric form and dreams. At death, it is said to abandon the body and ascend to the heavens, eventually dissolving into the cosmos. Often associated with a yin counterpart known as the corporeal soul (*po* 魄).^{*} In Daoism, sometimes identified as the Three Hun (*sanhun* 三魂)^{*}.

huo 火: Fire. One of the Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行)^{*} and one of the primary symbols used in internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)^{*}. Associated with the trigram Li-fire ☲^{*}, the heart, and spirit. Usually paired with Water (*shui* 水)^{*}.

Huo siren mu 活死人墓: Tomb for Reviving the Dead. More conventionally translated as Tomb of the Living Dead. Located in Nanshi village, near Ganhe and Huxian, this was Wang Chongyang’s 王重陽 (1113–1170) first hermitage. It was a mound of dirt several feet high, with a ten-foot high ceiling dug under it. Near the entrance to this underground enclosure, Wang placed a plaque which read “Wang Haifeng” 王害風 (Lunatic Wang). From 1161 to 1163, Wang spent

three years in this enclosure, most likely engaging in ascetic practices, practicing internal alchemy, and exchanging poetry with those who came to visit him.

huohou 火候: firing times. Refers to different degrees of alchemical training. Such praxis involves times of “increasing the fire” (activity) and times of “decreasing fire” (rest).

jiayi 夾脊: Narrow Ridge. Literally meaning “beside-the-spine,” this is one of the Three Passes (*sanguan* 三關)*. Narrow Ridge is the middle pass (*zhongguan* 中關), located at mid-spine.

jiangong 絳宮: Scarlet Palace. The middle elixir field (*dantian* 丹田)*. Usually refers to the heart region.

jiayi 甲乙: (celestial stem [*tiangan* 天干]* combination). Associated with the Wood phase and east.

jin 金: metal/gold. Both one of the Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行)* and a symbol used in internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)*. Represents the highest level of alchemical praxis. Appears in such phrases as “gold elixir” (*jindan* 金丹)*, “gold essence” (*jinjing* 金精)*, “gold *jin*-fluids” (*jinjin* 金津)*, etc.

jin 津: fluids. Sometimes used in a more general sense of “fluids” (*jinye* 津液) and sometimes in more specific terms as referring to saliva generated during alchemical practice. As distinguished from *ye*-fluids (*ye* 液)*, *jin*-fluids follow the circulation of the qi and blood as well as assist their flow, spreading throughout the surface of the body to warm and moisten the muscles, flesh and orifices, and flush the skin with nourishment. *Jin*-fluids are thin, clear and watery, and flow quickly and easily.

jindan 金丹: gold elixir. Both the culmination of alchemical praxis and an early name for internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)* as a tradition. In the former sense, interpreted variously, including as higher consciousness, an embryo of immortality (*xiantai* 仙胎)*, a transcendent spirit, and so forth.

jing 精: vital essence. Etymologically, composed of “rice” (*mi* 米) and “pure” (*qing* 青), thus more substantial in nature. One of the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶)*, namely, vital essence, subtle breath (*qi* 氣)*, and spirit (*shen* 神)*. Associated with the kidneys, vital essence is considered the core vitality of the human beings, the physical matrix of health. Generally speaking, vital essence is the most substantial of the body

substances, relating to semen in men and menstrual blood in women. It principally relates to one's constitution and physicality, as originating in "genetic" endowments from one's ancestral line and parents. In this sense, one only has a finite amount of vital essence. Associated with the kidneys, vital essence relates to growth, reproduction, and development, produces the marrow (associated with the brain), and is the basis of constitutional strength.

jìng 靜: stillness. Alternatively rendered as "tranquility." Sometimes appearing as *jìng* 淨 ("purity"). A central concern in both classical Daoism and in the "Clarity-and-Stillness literature," a family of Tang-dynasty (618–907) texts of which the *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620)* is the most well-known. In combination with "clarity" (*qing* 清)*, refers to both a meditative state and an all-pervading existential approach. Perhaps the most central practice-realization in early Quanzhen Daoism. According to the *Qingjing jing*, "The human spirit is fond of clarity, but the heart-mind disturbs it. The human heart-mind is fond of stillness, but desires meddle with it. If you can constantly banish desires, then the heart-mind will become still naturally. If you can constantly settle the heart-mind, then the spirit will become clear naturally" (1b).

Jingang jing 金剛經: Vajra-cchedikā Sūtra: Diamond Sūtra. The *Diamond Sūtra* is a Buddhist scripture, which is part of the Perfection of Wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*) family of texts and related to the seventh-century *Xinjing* 心經 (Heart Sūtra; T.250–57)*. It is mentioned in sections 1.12b and 3.6b of the *Quanzhen ji* 全真集 (Anthology of Complete Perfection; DZ 1153) and in section 4a of the *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions; DZ 1158).

jìngōng 金公: Gold Duke. Usually associated with the heart (*xin* 心)*. Often paired with the Yellow Matron (*huangpo* 黃婆)*. The *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156, 17a) has the following: "The Gold Duke is spirit; the Yellow Matron is qi." According to the *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions; DZ 1158, 1b), the Gold Duke corresponds to the heart, while the Yellow Matron corresponds to the spleen and thus to the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭)*.

jìnguan 金關: Gold Pass. A subtle body location. Possibly an alternative name for the Jade Capital (*yujing* 玉京)*, the upper of the Three Passes (*sanguan* 三關)*, or the "Gold Portal" (*jinque* 金闕)*, also translated as

“Goldtower,” a mystical cranial location. The term appears in section 4, titled “Huangting” 黃庭 (Yellow Court), of the third-century *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (Scripture on the Internal View of the Yellow Court; DZ 331; trl. Huang 1990): “The seven orifices and Jade Flute (*yuyue* 玉籥) should be closed and sealed, along with the two doors. Doubly seal the Gold Pass and Obscure Pivot.” Mentioned twice in the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock). According to section 6b, “You should cover the Gold Pass from above and shut the Jade Lock. If this is accomplished in the blink of an eye, then the white ox [vital essence] naturally will not depart. This is called the Method for Mechanically Issuing Water to Ascend the Other Shore.” Section 11b has the following: “The teeth are the [upper] Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan* 玄關); keep them closed. The elixir field is the lower Mysterious Pass; keep it raised. As the gold essence ascends to the Mysterious [Pass], it reaches the Gold Pass; keep it tight. Tapping the teeth is known as the Jade Lock.”

jinyin 金津: gold *jin*-fluids. Sometimes appearing as “jade *jin*-fluids” (*yujin* 玉津). On the most general level, refers to saliva produced through Daoist training. In a more technical sense, *jin*-fluids follow the circulation of the *qi* and blood as well as assist their flow, spreading throughout the surface of the body to warm and moisten the muscles, flesh and orifices, and flush the skin with nourishment. *Jin*-fluids are thin, clear and watery, and flow quickly and easily.

jinque 金闕: Gold Portal. Alternatively rendered as Goldtower. One of the Nine Peaks (*jiufeng* 九峰)*, nine mystical cranial locations, which are sometimes associated with the Nine Palaces (*jiugong* 九宮)*. According to the “Yuanqi tixiang tu” 元氣體象圖 (Diagram of the Body’s Original Qi), a depiction of the body as a mountain that appears in the early fourteenth-century *Jindan dayao tu* 金丹大要圖 (Diagram of the Great Essentials of the Gold Elixir; DZ 1068), the Gold Portal is in the center of the head.

jiuchong 九蟲: Nine Worms. Nine material parasites residing in the human body. Visual representations appear in the ninth-century *Chusanshi jiuchong jing* 除三尸九蟲經 (Scripture on Expelling the Three Death-bringers and Nine Worms; DZ 871, 9a–14a). Here they are identified as follows: (1) Fuchong 伏蟲 (Slinking Worm), (2) Huichong 蛔蟲 (Coiling Worm), (3) Baichong 白蟲 (White Worm), (4) Rouchong 肉蟲 (Flesh Worm), (5) Feichong 肺蟲 (Lung Worm), (6) Weichong 胃蟲

(Stomach Worm), (7) Gechong 膈蟲 (Diaphragm Worm), (8) Chichong 赤蟲 (Crimson Worm), and (9) Qiaochong 蹺蟲 (Stilted Worm). This and related texts also provide the length (between one and four inches) and colors of the various worms, indicating that they were seen as material in nature.

jiufeng 九峰: Nine Peaks. In Daoist views of the body, the spine and head are often envisioned as a series of mountain peaks, with the head being Mount Kunlun 崑崙. The head in turn has a variety of mystical cranial locations, charted as nine mountain peaks.

jiugong 九宮: Nine Palaces. Nine mystical cranial locations. According to the *Yuandan shangjing* 元丹上經 (Highest Scripture on the Original Elixir; DZ 1345), “Above the area between the two eyebrows, one inch in is the Palace of the Hall of Light (*mingtang gong* 明堂宮). Two inches in is the Palace of the Grotto Chamber (*dongfang gong* 洞房宮). Three inches in is the Palace of the Elixir Field (*dantian gong* 丹田宮). Four inches in is the Palace of the Flowing Pearl (*liuzhu gong* 流珠宮). Five inches in is the Palace of the Jade Thearch (*yudi gong* 玉帝宮)... One inch above the Hall of Light is the Palace of the Celestial Court (*tianting gong* 天庭宮). One inch above the Grotto Chamber is the Palace of Secret Perfection (*jizhen gong* 機真宮). One inch above the Elixir Field is the Palace of the Mysterious Elixir (*xuandan gong* 玄丹宮). One inch above the Flowing Pearl is the Palace of the Great Sovereign (*taihuang gong* 太皇宮). Thus, the human head has Nine Palaces” (2b–8a). This description parallels the one contained in the earlier *Suling jing* 素靈經 (Scripture on Unadorned Numinosity; DZ 1314) (12b–22a).

jiulou 九漏: nine dissipations. Alternatively rendered as “nine outflows” or “nine leakages.” Associated with dissipation relating to the Nine Cavities (*jiuqiao* 九竅)*, namely, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, small intestine (urethra), and large intestine (anus).

jiuqiao 九竅: Nine Cavities. The Seven Cavities (*qiqiao* 七竅)*, eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, plus the small intestine (*xiaobian* 小便) and large intestine (*dabian* 大便), with the latter two terms suggesting the associated body openings of urethra and anus. Sometimes the former are referred to as the yin cavities (*yingqiao* 陰竅), while the latter are called the yang cavities (*yangqiao* 陽竅). Appears in chapter 2 of the third-century B.C.E. *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Book of Master Zhuang; DZ 670): “The hundred joints (*baihai* 百骸), Nine Cavities (*jiuqiao* 九竅), and six

yin-orbs (*liuzang* 六臟) all come together and exist here [as my body]" (Watson 1964, 33). Also appears in section 1a of the sixth-century *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31)*: "The aberrations of the Nine Cavities are in the Three Essentials (*sanyao* 三要). They can be aroused or stilled." In his commentary on the *Yinfu jing* (DZ 122), Liu Changsheng 劉長生 (1147–1203) understands the Nine Cavities as positive in nature: "The Nine Cavities are the yang pathways of the nine pervasions (*jiutong* 九通) [*siddhi* or numinous abilities]. They are not yet open because of the deviant barriers of the nine yin. The human heart is the square inch (*fangcun* 方寸). Within its emptiness, there is numinous luminosity (*lingming* 靈明). The hearts of superior people have nine openings. Those of average people have seven openings. Those of inferior people have five openings. When a heart has no openings, we call such people ignorant" (6a; cf. DZ 121, 9b–10a).

jiutian 九天: Nine Heavens. Refers to both the cosmos in its multi-layered numinosity and mystical cranial locations. Sometimes used synonymously with the Nine Peaks (*jiufeng* 九峰)* or Nine Palaces (*jiugong* 九宮)*.

jiuzhuan huandan 九轉還丹: nine-times reverted elixir. The spiritual presence or transcendent being created through alchemical praxis, specifically through conservation and transformation. See "reverted elixir" (*huandan* 還丹)*.

kan 坎: Kan-water ☵. One of the eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦)*, composed of one yang ("unbroken") line inside of two yin ("broken") lines. Usually associated with the kidneys (*shen* 腎) and thus with vital essence (*jing* 精)*. According to the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 (Great Compendium of the Gold Elixir; DZ 263, 10.12b), "The head (*tou* 頭) is Qian-heaven; the feet (*zu* 足) are Kun-earth; the bladder (*pangguang* 膀胱) is Gen-mountain; the gall-bladder (*dan* 膽) is Sun-wind; the kidneys (*shen* 腎) are Kan-water; the heart (*xin* 心) is Li-fire; the liver (*gan* 肝) is Zhen-thunder; and the lungs (*fei* 肺) are Dui-lake." Kan-water is usually paired with Li-fire*. A fairly systematic discussion of this relationship appears in the *Chuandao ji* (Record of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, 15.1a–4b; trl. Wong 2000, 65–70).

kuilei 傀儡: marionette. Used to symbolize the life of the ordinary human being (*suren* 俗人). Like a puppet on "pulling-strings" (*xuansi* 懸絲),

controlled by external influences and being manipulated to perform for the entertainment of others.

kulou 骷髏: skeleton. Used to symbolize the inevitability of (physical) death and the life of the ordinary human being (*suren* 俗人) as such. Frequently appears with parallel terms of “walking corpse” (*xingshi* 行屍)* and “running bones” (*zougu* 走骨)*.

kun 坤 : Kun-earth ☷. One of the eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦)*, composed of three yin (“broken”) lines. Usually associated with the abdomen (*fu* 腹) and thus with original qi (*yuanqi* 元氣)*. Under a different interpretation, it refers to the feet. Kun-earth is usually paired with Qian-heaven ☰*.

Kunlun shan 崑崙山: Mount Kunlun. Both a paradisiacal land of immortality and the body as locale of perfection (*zhen* 真)*. In the former sense, a western mountain overseen by Xi Wangmu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West), whose peaches of immortality come to fruition every thousand years or so. As a reference to the body, usually associated with a mystical cranial location, as well as with spirit and consciousness.

Kunyu shan 崑崙山: Mount Kunyu. Located in Shandong province, where Wang Chongyang 王重陽 (1113–1170) and his disciples established Yanxia dong 煙霞洞 (Cavern of Misty Vapors)*. This occurred in 1168, and Wang was accompanied by Ma Danyang 馬丹陽 (1123–1184), Qiu Changchun 丘長春 (1148–1227), Tan Changzhen 譚長真 (1123–1185), and Wang Yuyang 王玉陽 (1142–1217). This was an intensive training period, during which Wang initiated a program of rigorous asceticism that included sleep deprivation, exposure to extreme heat and cold, humiliating scoldings, and beatings when their diligence faltered. Wang Chongyang also forced them to beg for alms in their hometowns. During his six months in the Kunyu mountains, Wang Chongyang also attracted more disciples. One important adept who converted at this time was Hao Guangning 郝廣寧 (1140–1213), whose elderly mother had just died.

Laojun 老君: Lord Lao. The embodiment of the Dao and “deified” form of Laozi. In the Daoist tradition, Lord Lao came to prominence with a revelation said to have been received from Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (fl. 140 C.E.?). According to traditional accounts, in 142 C.E. Zhang Daoling received this revelation, during which Zhang was appointed

as terrestrial representative, the “Celestial Master,” and given healing powers as a sign of his empowerment.

li 離: Li-fire ☲. One of the eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦)*, composed of one yin (“broken”) line inside of two yang (“unbroken”) lines. Usually associated with the heart (*xin* 心) and thus with spirit (*shen* 神)*. According to the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 (Great Compendium of the Gold Elixir; DZ 263, 10.12b), “The head (*tou* 頭) is Qian-heaven; the feet (*zu* 足) are Kun-earth; the bladder (*pangguang* 膀胱) is Gen-mountain; the gall-bladder (*dan* 膽) is Sun-wind; the kidneys (*shen* 腎) are Kan-water; the heart (*xin* 心) is Li-fire; the liver (*gan* 肝) is Zhen-thunder; and the lungs (*fei* 肺) are Dui-lake.” Li-fire is usually paired with Kan-water*. A fairly systematic discussion of this relationship appears in the *Chuandao ji* (Anthology of the Transmission the Dao; DZ 263, 15.1a–4b; trl. Wong 2000, 65–70).

liuchen 六塵: Six Defilements. Literally meaning “six dusts,” a Buddhist technical term relating to six types of defilements (Skt.: *sad-visaya*). They include color (*se* 色), sound (*sheng* 聲), odor (*xiang* 香), taste (*wei* 味), tangibility (*chu* 觸), and phenomena (*fa* 法).

liudao 六道: Six Paths. Refers to the six conditions of sentient existence. They are hell-dweller, hungry ghost, animal, lesser spirit (*asura*), human, and god (*deva*).

liudu 六度: Six Perfections. Literally, the “six degrees” or “six crossings.” The Six Perfections (Skt.: *pāramitā*) include *dāna* (charity or giving), *sīla* (keeping the precepts), *ksānti* (patience under insult), *vīrya* (zeal and progress), *dhyāna* (meditation or contemplation), and *prajñā* (wisdom or insight).

liufu 六腑/六府: six yang-orbs. Conventionally translated as “yang organs,” “palaces,” or “receptacles,” refers to the gall bladder (*dan* 膽), small intestine (*xiaochang* 小腸), stomach (*wei* 胃), large intestine (*dachang* 大腸), urinary bladder (*pangguang* 膀胱), and Triple Warmer (*sanjiao* 三焦)*. Paired with the five yin-orbs (*wuzang* 五臟)*, with the pericardium added as the yin counterpart to the Triple Warmer.

liugen 六根: Six Roots. Also rendered as “Six Causes,” these are the six sense-organs (Skt.: *sad-indriya*), including eyes/seeing (*yan* 眼), ears/hearing (*er* 耳), nose/smelling (*bi* 鼻), mouth/tasting/speaking (*kou* 口), body/touching (*shen* 身), and mind/thinking (*xin* 心). Sometimes the mouth is replaced with the tongue (*she* 舌), while the mind is replaced

with “knowing” (*zhi* 知) or “intention/thinking” (*yi* 意). Originally alluded to in the “Waiwu” 外物 (Beyond Things; ch. 26) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Book of Master Zhuang), but usually identified as a Buddhist technical term for the six *indriya* or sense-organs. Associated with the Six Desires (*liuyu* 六欲)* and Six Thieves (*liuzei* 六賊)*. Also related to specific forms of dissipation (*lou* 漏)*. The Daoist Canon contains a text titled *Liugen guidao lun* 六根歸道論 (Discourse on the Six Roots Returning to the Dao; DZ 1261).

liuqi 六氣: six qi. Alternatively rendered as six pneumas or six vapors. The six climatic influences that have the potential to generate disease (*bing* 病) in human beings. They are wind (*feng* 風), dryness (*gan* 乾), dampness (*shi* 濕), cold (*han* 寒), summer heat (*shure* 暑熱) or heat (*re* 熱), and fire (*huo* 火). Mentioned in chapter 8 and discussed in chapters 66–74 of the *Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問 (Yellow Thearch’s Inner Classic: Basic Questions). According to the tenth-century *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16; trl. Wong 2000), the six qi are six climatic and cosmological patterns, namely, the three divisions of yin and three divisions of yang: (1) Greater yin (*taiyin* 太陰), (2) Ceasing yin (*jueyin* 欸陰), (3) Lesser yang (*shaoyang* 少陽), (4) Yang brightness (*yangming* 陽明), (5) Lesser yin (*shaoyin* 少陰), and (6) Greater yang (*taiyang* 太陽) (15.16b–17a).

liuqing 六情: six emotions. Usually identified as pleasure (*xi* 喜), anger (*nu* 怒), grief (*ai* 哀), happiness (*le* 樂), selfish love (*ai* 愛), and hatred (*wu* 惡).

liuti 六梯: six stages. Possibly related to the purification and stilling of the six sense-organs (*liugen* 六根)*.

liutong 六通: Six Pervasions. A Buddhist technical term, refers to the six “supernatural” or numinous powers (Skt.: *siddhi*) acquired by a Buddha. They include “magical” powers: the divine ear (clairaudience), penetration of the minds of others (clairvoyance), the divine eye (ability to see into time and space), memory of former existences, and knowledge of the extinction of karmic outflows. The “Lun liutong jue” (Instructions on the Six Pervasions; *Neidan jiyao*, DZ 1258, 3.12a–14a), a Yuan dynasty internal alchemy text, identifies them as follows: (1) Pervasion of Heart-mind Conditions (*xinjing tong* 心境通), involving the ability to experience unified nature as distinct from the ordinary body (*quxing* 軀形); (2) Pervasion of Spirit Conditions (*shenjing tong* 神境通), involving the ability to know things beyond ordinary perception; (3) Pervasion of

Celestial Vision (*tianyan tong* 天眼通), involving the ability to perceive internal landscapes within the body; (4) Pervasion of Celestial Hearing (*tianer tong* 天耳通), involving the ability to hear the subtle communications of spirits and humans; (5) Pervasion of Past Occurrences (*suxin tong* 宿信通), involving the ability to understand the karmic causes and effects relating to the Three Worlds of desire, form, and formlessness; and (6) Pervasion of the Heart-minds of Others (*tuoxin tong* 他心通), involving the ability to manifest the body beyond the body (*shenwai shen* 身外身).

liuyu 六欲: six desires. Alternatively referred to as the Six Thieves (*liuzei* 六賊)*. Desires generated by the Six Roots (*liugen* 六根)*, namely the eyes (*er* 耳), ears (*er* 耳), nose (*bi* 鼻), mouth (*kou* 口), body (*shen* 身), and mind (*xin* 心) or thinking (*yi* 意). Appears in section 1b of the *Qingjing jing* (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620). Also a Buddhist technical term relating to the six sources of sexual attraction: color, form, carriage, voice, softness, and features. One of the Ten Demons (*shimo* 十魔)*.

liuzei 六賊: Six Thieves. Sight (*se* 色), sound (*sheng* 聲), smell (*xiang* 香), taste (*wei* 味), touch (*chu* 觸), and phenomena (Chn.: *fa* 法; Skt.: *dharma*). Alternatively referred to as the Six Desires (*liuyu* 六欲)*. Desires, as sources of dissipation and disruption (thieves of vitality and spiritual progress), generated by the Six Roots (*liugen* 六根)*, namely the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, body (*shen* 身), and mind (*xin* 心) or thinking (*yi* 意). Colors are the thief of the eyes, sounds that of the ears, smells that of the nose, flavors that of the mouth, touch that of the body, and phenomena that of the mind. Also a Buddhist technical term.

long 龍: Dragon. Sometimes appearing as “azure dragon” (*qinglong* 青龍)*, and thus associated with the Wood phase, the east, and the liver. Usually associated with spirit (*shen* 神)* and paired with the Tiger (*hu* 虎)*. According to the *Danyang yulu* 丹陽語錄 (Discourse Record of Danyang; DZ 1057, 15b), “Spirit and qi are innate nature and life-destiny. Innate nature and life-destiny are the dragon and tiger. The dragon and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water and fire. Water and fire are the Child and Maiden. The Child and Maiden are perfect yin and perfect yang.”

Longmen 龍門: Dragon Gate. Branch of Quanzhen associated with Qiu Changchun 丘長春 (1148–1227), and which is named after the Longmen mountains where Qiu engaged in intensive religious praxis.

Formally established during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) by Wang Changyue 王常月 (Kunyang 崑陽 [Paradisiacal Yang]; d. 1680), abbot of Baiyun guan 白雲觀 (White Cloud Monastery; Beijing) in the mid-1600s.

Longmen dong 龍門洞: Dragon Gate Cavern. Located near present-day Longxian, Shaanxi, the place in the Longmen mountains where Qiu Changchun 丘長春 (1148–1227) engaged in intensive religious praxis. Considered the “ancestral hall” (*zuting* 祖庭)* of contemporary Longmen (Dragon Gate) Daoism, a Quanzhen 全真 (Complete Perfection) lineage associated with Qiu.

lou 漏: dissipation. Literally meaning “leakage” or “outflow.” Both a Daoist and Buddhist technical term (Skt.: *āsrava*). Sometimes used synonymously with “vexation” (Chn.: *fannaο* 煩惱; Skt.: *kleśa*)*. Refers to karma-producing activities, sensory outflow, excess emotionality and intellectual activity, as well as desire-based, qi-dissipating entanglements. Various typologies are provided, including the “four dissipations” (*silou* 四漏), “eight dissipations” (*balou* 八漏), and “nine dissipations” (*jiulou* 九漏). Sometimes mapped out in terms of Five Phase (*wuxing* 五行)* correspondences. Contrasted with the state of “non-dissipation” (Chn.: *wulou*; Skt.: *anāsvara*)*.

Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓: (Daoist immortal). One of the most famous Daoist immortals, often considered the patriarch of internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)* lineages in general. Also known by his Daoist name Chunyang 純陽, Lü Dongbin (b. 798?) came to prominence during the Tang (618–907) and Song (Northern: 960–1126; Southern: 1127–1279) dynasties. Said to be the disciple of Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 (Zhengyang 正陽 [Aligned Yang]; 2nd c. C.E.?)*. Both of these immortals are sometimes associated with Wang Chongyang’s mystical experiences and identified as two of the so-called Five Patriarchs (*wuzu* 五祖)* of early Quanzhen 全真 (Complete Perfection) Daoism. These two immortals were also the inspiration for the Zhong-Lü 鍾呂 textual tradition, of which the *Baiwen pian* 百問篇 (Chapters of One Hundred Questions; DZ 1017, j. 5; trl. Homann 1976) and *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16; trl. Wong 2000) are representative.

ma 馬: horse. Designation for intention (*yi* 意), or thinking more generally, in its agitated and disrupted state, behaving like a wild horse running around. Most frequently appearing as the compound *mayi* 馬意 (horse-thought). Sometimes appearing as *yima* 意馬.

maoyou 卯酉: (branch combination [*dizhi* 地支]*) . Associated with two times of the day, specifically 5am–7am (spring/east) and 5pm–7pm (autumn/west). In internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)* and this combination, *mao* usually refers to the heart (*xin* 心)*, while *you* usually refers to the kidneys (*shen* 腎)*.

ming 命: life-destiny. Also translated as “fate.” Associated with original *qi* (*yuanyi* 元氣)*. Life-destiny relates to one’s foundational vitality and physicality or corporeality more generally. Often paired with “innate nature” (*xing* 性)*. According to the *Shiwu lun* 十五論 (Fifteen Discourses, DZ 1233, 4b), “Innate nature is spirit; life-destiny is *qi*... Innate nature and life-destiny are the roots of cultivation and practice (*xiuxing* 修行).” The *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions, DZ 1158, 1a) explains, “Innate nature is original spirit, while life-destiny is original *qi*.”

mingmen 命門: Gate of Life. A subtle body location. The Gate of Life most often refers to the area between the kidneys, associated with the transformation of vital essence to *qi*. Alternately referred to as the Palace of Essence (*jingong* 精宮), it is identified as the fourth point on the Governing Vessel (*dumai* 督脈; GV-4). Sometimes the Gate of Life may also refer to the lower elixir field, that is, the lower abdomen. The term appears in the section 12a of the *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (Scripture on the Internal View of the Yellow Court; DZ 331; trl. Huang 1990). See also *Huangting waijing jing* 黃庭外景經, DZ 332, 1.1a.

neidan 內丹: internal alchemy. Physiological alchemy, in contrast to laboratory or operative alchemy (*waidan* 外丹). Later name for group of movements originally referred to as the Gold Elixir (*jindan* 金丹)*. Emphasis is placed on internal cultivation and transformation, a movement from ordinary human being to immortality/transcendence (*xian* 仙)* and perfection (*zhen* 真)*. Involves the activation of a subtle, ethereal body within the body, the creation of a spirit capable of transcending dissolution and physical mortality.

neiguan 內觀: inner observation. A Daoist meditative practice that came to prominence during the Tang dynasty (618–907). Developed through the influence of Buddhist insight meditation (Pali: *vipassanā*; Skt.: *vipāśyanā*), the Daoist practice of inner observation emphasizes conscious introspection of one’s entire psycho-somatic experience, including the various energies and divinities in the body.

neiyuan 內院: Inner Courtyard. Most often refers to the upper elixir field (*shang dantian* 上丹田)*, the center of the head. May also refer to the heart region.

nirvan gong 泥丸宮: Palace of Nirvana. The upper elixir field (*dantian* 丹田)*. Usually refers to the center of the head or crown-point.

Penglai 蓬萊: Penglai Island. Both a paradisiacal land of immortality and the body as locale of perfection (*zhen* 真)*. In the former sense, an island located in the eastern sea.

po 魄: corporeal soul. Etymologically, consisting of “ghost” (*gui* 鬼) and “white” (*bai* 白), thus sometimes translated as “white soul.” Yin in nature, the corporeal soul resides in the lungs and relates to a terrestrial form and emotions. At death, it is said to descend with the body, eventually dissolving with the bones. Often associated with a yang counterpart known as the ethereal soul (*hun* 魂)*. In Daoism, sometimes identified as the Seven Po (*qipo* 七魄)*.

qi 氣: subtle breath. Sometimes translated anachronistically as “energy” and enigmatically as “pneuma.” Etymologically, composed of “rice” (*mi* 米) and “vapor” (*qi* 气), thus more subtle in nature. Both the physical breath and subtle breath, similar to *prāna* in Hindu yogic traditions. One of the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶)*, namely, vital essence (*jing* 精), subtle breath (*qi* 氣), and spirit (*shen* 神)*. Qi is the all-pervasive animating force within the body and cosmos. It is what circulates through the meridians (*mai* 脈)* and what gives life to stars. Qi is the actual physical breath (associated with the lungs), the vapors circulating through and as the universe, and everything that moves into the body, inside the body, and out of the body. Qi is, in turn, often differentiated into a number of types, including pre-natal qi (*xiantian qi* 先天氣)*, post-natal qi (*houtian qi* 後天氣)*, original qi (*yuanyi qi* 元氣)*, perfect qi (*zhenqi* 真氣)*, and protective qi (*weiqi* 衛氣)*.

qian 鉛: lead. Associated with original spirit (*yuanshen* 元神)*. Sometimes occurring with mercury (*hong* 汞)*. According to the *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions; DZ 1158, 1b), lead corresponds to original spirit (*yuanshen* 元神)* and thus to innate nature (*xing* 性)*, while mercury corresponds to original qi (*yuanyi qi* 元氣)* and thus to life-destiny (*ming* 命)*. The *Danyang yulu* 丹陽語錄 (Discourse Record of Danyang; DZ 1057, 15b) explains, “Spirit and qi are innate nature and life-destiny. Innate nature and life-destiny are the dragon and tiger. The dragon

and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water and fire. Water and fire are the Child and Maiden. The Child and Maiden are perfect yin and perfect yang.”

qian 乾: Qian-heaven ☰. One of the eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦)*, composed of three yang (“unbroken”) lines. Usually associated with the head (*shou* 首) and thus with primordial spirit (*yuanshen* 元神)*. Qian-heaven is usually paired with Kun-earth ☷*.

qibao 七寶: Seven Treasures. Sometimes referred to as the Seven Gems (*qizhen* 七珍), most likely refers to vital essence (*jing* 精), blood (*xue* 血), qi 氣, marrow (*sui* 髓), the brain (*nao* 腦), kidneys (*shen* 腎), and heart (*xin* 心). Adapting the seven precious gems of Buddhism, the thirteenth-century *Nei riyong jing* 內日用經 (Scripture for Daily Internal Practice, DZ 645, 1b–2a) has the following: “Essence is quicksilver; blood is yellow gold; qi is beautiful jade; marrow is quartz; the brain is numinous sand; the kidneys are jade rings; and the heart is a glittering gem. These are the Seven Treasures—Keep them firmly in your body, never letting them disperse. Refine them into the great medicine of life.” According to the thirteenth-century *Zazhu jiejing* 雜著捷徑 (Short-cuts by Various Authors; *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書, DZ 263, 21.5a), “The Seven Treasures are spirit (*shen* 神), qi 氣, meridians (*mai* 脈), vital essence (*jing* 精), blood (*xue* 血), saliva (*tuo* 唾), and water (*shui* 水).” In later Quanzhen, the Seven Treasures are a rush mat, quilted robe, calabash (begging bowl), palm-leaf hat, palm-leaf fan, blue satchel, and flat staff (*Qinggui xuanmiao* 清規玄妙, ZW 361, 10.598).

qihai 氣海: Ocean of Qi. The lower elixir field (*dantian* 丹田)*. Usually refers to the abdominal region.

qing 清: clarity. Alternatively rendered as “purity.” A central concern in both classical Daoism and in the “Clarity-and-Stillness literature,” a family of Tang-dynasty (618–907) texts of which the *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620)* is the most well-known. In combination with “stillness” (*jing* 靜)*, refers to both a meditative state and an all-pervading existential approach. Perhaps the most central practice-realization in early Quanzhen Daoism. According to the *Qingjing jing*, “The human spirit is fond of clarity, but the heart-mind disturbs it. The human heart-mind is fond of stillness, but desires meddle with it. If you can constantly banish desires, then the heart-mind will become still naturally. If you can constantly settle the heart-mind, then the spirit will become clear naturally” (1b).

qingjing 清靜: clarity and stillness. Alternatively rendered as “purity and tranquility” or “clear stillness.” Most often refers to meditative praxis and an all-encompassing existential approach. In a more technical sense, *qingjing* may refer to sexual abstinence. According to the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156), “It is best for men and women to develop clarity and stillness during the fifth and sixth months and during the time of Great Avoidance in the eleventh and twelfth months. In addition, men, during the fifth and sixth months and the month of Great Killing, must not have sex. This is because [sex will cause] the Five Exhaustions (*wulao* 五勞) and Seven Injuries (*qishang* 七傷). Men will dissipate their innate nature and life-destiny, while women dissipate innate nature” (13b). The same text also has the following: “If men can be clear and still for sixty-four days, their vital essence and qi will become abundant. If women can be clear and still for forty-nine days, their blood and qi will become abundant” (16a). Sometimes a distinction is made between internal and external clarity and stillness.

Qingjing jing 清靜經: Scripture on Clarity and Stillness. An eighth-century scripture associated with a group of Tang-dynasty (618–907) texts that could be labeled “Clarity-and-Stillness literature.” One of the most influential Daoist scriptures on the early Quanzhen movement. Mentioned in section 3a of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156). Liu Tongwei 劉通微 (Moran 默然 [Silent Suchness]; d. 1196) also wrote a commentary titled the *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing songzhu* 太上老君說常清靜經頌註 (Commentary on the *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing jing*; DZ 974).

qimen 七門: Seven Gates. Seven energetic/mystical locations in the human body. They are as follows: (1) Celestial Gate (*tianmen* 天門), associated with Niwan 泥丸 (Nirvana Palace; head)*; (2) Terrestrial Gate (*dimen* 地門), associated with Weilü 尾閭 (Tailbone Gate; coccyx)*; (3) Middle Gate (*zhongmen* 中門), associated with Jiaji 夾脊 (Narrow Ridge; above Mingmen 命門 [Gate of Life-destiny])*; (4) Front Gate (*qianmen* 前門), associated with Mingtang 明堂 (Hall of Light; head)*; (5) Back Gate (*houmen* 後門), associated with Yuzhen 玉枕 (Jade Pillow; occiput)*; (6) Tower Gate (*loumen* 樓門), associated with Chonglou 重樓 (Storied Tower; trachea)*; (7) Chamber Gate (*fangmen* 房門), associated with Jianggong 絳宮 (Scarlet Palace; heart region)*. Appears in lower (*xia* 下) section (4a/5b) of the third-century C.E. *Huangting waijing jing* 黃庭外景經 (Scripture on the External View of the Yellow Court; DZ

332). Sometimes used synonymously with the Seven Cavities (*qiqiao* 七竅)*, namely, the eyes, ears, nose, and mouth.

qipo 七魄: Seven Po. The seven corporeal souls. In the eleventh-century encyclopedia *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Tablets from a Cloudy Satchel; DZ 1032), they are identified as follows: (1) Shigou 尸狗 (Corpse Dog), (2) Fushi 伏矢 (Concealed Arrow), (3) Queyin 雀陰 (Sparrow Yin), (4) Tunzei 吞賊 (Seizing Thief), (5) Feidu 非毒 (Negative Poison); (6) Chuhui 除穢 (Oppressive Impurity), and (7) Choufei 臭肺 (Putrid Lungs) (54.7ab). Visual representations appear in the ninth-century *Chu sanshi jiuchong jing* 除三尸九蟲經 (Scripture on Expelling the Three Death-bringers and Nine Worms; DZ 871, 3a). According to that text, “The Seven Po consist of yin and deviant qi (*yinxie zhi qi* 陰邪之氣). They are ghosts (*gui* 鬼). They can make people into walking corpses (*xingshi* 行尸), causing them to be stingy and greedy, jealous and full of envy. They give people bad dreams and make them clench their teeth. They command the mouth to say ‘right’ when the heart-mind thinks ‘wrong.’ In addition, they cause people to lose their vital essence in sexual passion and become dissipated by hankering after luxury and ease. Through them, people completely lose their purity and simplicity” (2a).

qiqiao 七竅: Seven Cavities. The seven sensory openings in the human body, namely, eyes (2), ears (2), nose (2), and mouth (1). First mentioned in the “Ying diwang” 應帝王 (Responding to Thearchs and Kings; ch. 7) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Book of Master Zhuang), also appears in the lower (*xia* 下) section (5b) of the third-century C.E. *Huangting waijing jing* 黃庭外景經 (Scripture on the External View of the Yellow Court; DZ 332).

qiqing 七情: seven emotions. Most often refers to pleasure (*xi* 喜), anger (*nu* 怒), worry (*you* 憂), thought (*si* 思), grief (*bei* 悲), fear (*kong* 恐), and fright (*jing* 驚). Mentioned in chapter 39 of the Han-dynasty (Early: 202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.; Later: 25–221) *Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問 (Yellow Thearch’s Inner Classic: Basic Questions) in a six-character set, anger is said to make the qi rise, pleasure the qi tardy, fear the qi descend, fright the qi disordered, and thought the qi congealed. The early fourth-century B.C.E. “Neiye” 內業 (Inward Training) chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子 (Book of Master Guan) identifies the following emotions: “The reason why one loses [qi] is inevitably because of sorrow (*you* 憂), happiness (*le* 樂), joy (*xi* 喜), anger (*nu* 怒), desire (*yu* 欲),

and profit-seeking (*li* 利). If you are able to cast of sorrow, happiness, joy, anger, desire, and profit-seeking, the heart-mind will revert to equanimity” (Roth 1999, 50–51). Chapter 2 of the late fourth-century B.C.E. *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Book of Master Zhuang; DZ 670) has the following: “Joy (*shan* 善), anger (*nu* 怒), grief (*ai* 哀), delight (*le* 樂), worry (*lü* 慮), regret (*tan* 歎), fickleness (*bian* 變), inflexibility (*zhi* 執), modesty (*kui* 媿), willfulness (*yi* 佚), candor (*qi* 啟), insolence (*tai* 態)—music from empty holes, mushrooms springing up in dampness. Day and night they replace each other before us, and no one knows where they sprout from.... It would seem as though they have some true master, and yet I find no trace of him. He can act, but I cannot see his form. He has identity but no form” (Watson 1967, 37–38). One of the Ten Demons (*shimo* 十魔)*.

qishang 七傷: Seven Injuries. Most likely refers to dissipation associated with the Seven Treasures (*qibao* 七寶)*, namely, vital essence (*jing* 精), blood (*xue* 血), subtle breath (*qi* 氣), marrow (*sui* 髓), the brain (*nao* 腦), kidneys (*shen* 腎), and heart (*xin* 心). May also refer to the seven disease-causing factors of Chinese medicine: (1) Injury to the spleen from excessive eating; (2) Injury to the liver from excessive anger; (3) Injury to the kidneys from excessive labor and lifting; (4) Injury to the lungs from excessive cold; (5) Injury to the heart from excessive anxiety and worry; (6) Injury to the body from wind, rain, cold or summer heat; and (7) Injury to the emotions from excessive fear. May also refer to seven manifestations of kidney depletion in men: (1) Cold genitals; (2) Impotence; (3) Abdominal urgency; (4) Seminal emission; (5) Insufficiency of essence with dampness of genitals; (6) Thin semen; and (7) Frequent urination, dribbling of urine or interrupted urination.

qizhen 七真: Seven Perfected. The seven principal Shandong disciples of Wang Chongyang 王重陽, including (1) Ma Yu 馬鈺 (Danyang 丹陽 [Elixir Yang]; 1123–1184), (2) Tan Chudian 譚處端 (Changzhen 長真 [Perpetual Perfection]; 1123–1185), (3) Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (Changchun 長春 [Perpetual Spring]; 1148–1227), (4) Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (Changsheng 長生 [Perpetual Vitality]; 1147–1203), (5) Wang Chuyi 王處一 (Yuyang 玉陽 [Jade Yang]; 1142–1217), (6) Hao Datong 郝大通 (Guangning 廣寧 [Expansive Serenity]; 1140–1213), and (7) Sun Buer 孫不二 (Qingjing 清靜 [Clear Stillness]; 1119–1183).

quan 勸: admonition. A precept or ethical guideline. The two earliest lists of Quanzhen admonitions are those of Liu Changsheng 劉長生,

appearing in his *Xianle ji* 仙樂集 (Anthology of Immortal Joy, DZ 1141, 2.18a–18b), and those of Ma Danyang 馬丹陽, appearing in the late thirteenth-century *Zhenxian yulu* 真仙語錄 (Discourse Record of Perfected Immortals, DZ 1256, 1.8b–9b).

quanzhen 全真: complete perfection. The culmination of Quanzhen religious praxis, alchemical transformation, and mystical attainment. An alchemically-transformed and perfected ontological condition characterized by purification of consciousness, numinous abilities, mystical experiencing, and activation of the yang-spirit (*yangshen* 陽神)*, which is also referred to as the body-beyond-the-body (*shenwai shen* 身外身)*.

Quanzhen 全真: Complete Perfection. Alternatively rendered as “Complete Reality,” “Complete Realization,” “Complete Truth,” or “Completion of Authenticity.” The name of a Daoist religious movement that emerged during the Jurchen Jin dynasty (1115–1237) and became a fully developed nationwide monastic order during the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). In the early phase of its development, emphasis was placed on intensive, radical training regimens centering on asceticism and internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹). With its later branch of Longmen 龍門 (Dragon Gate)* being most prominent, one of only two Daoist movements surviving in name into the contemporary world, the other being the Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity) reconstitution of the earlier Tianshi 天師 (Celestial Masters) movement.

Quanzhen an 全真庵: Hermitage of Complete Perfection. Wang Chongyang’s meditation hut on Ma Danyang’s property, where Wang lived during the year of 1168.

qushen 軀身: ordinary body. The body in its disrupted and decaying condition.

rengui 壬癸: (celestial stem [*tiangan* 天干]* combination). Associated with the Water phase and north.

ri 日: the sun. In the human body, refers to the left eye. Usually appearing in combination with “moon” (*yue* 月), the right eye.

riyong 日用: daily practice. Alternatively translated as “daily application” or “daily sustenance.” In the *Danyang zhiyan* 丹陽直言 (Direct Sayings of Danyang; DZ 1234), Ma Danyang advises, “Daily practice involves never deceiving or mocking heaven and earth. Always train yourself diligently. Cherish each moment. Do not pass the day in vain. Decrease

your sleep, as this is something that [ordinary] people desire. You should rectify your misdeeds, but this is not [only] to be done through seated meditation. You should keep your heart-mind stable for a long time. Whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, follow the Dao. All adepts should quit giving rise to thoughts. Quickly seek out innate nature and life-destiny. If you can just clear your heart-mind and abandon your desires, you will become a spirit immortal. Acknowledge nothing else and stop having doubts! These are proper and true words. You only need to be constantly clear and constantly pure” (1a). In the same text, Ma also instructs, “Each day, you must not forget the matter of daily practice. Daily practice consists of two types: daily external practice (*wai riyong* 外日用) and daily internal practice (*nei riyong* 內日用). As for daily external practice, you are strongly forbidden to see the faults of others, boast of your own virtue, envy the wise and talented, give rise to worldly thoughts that are the fire of ignorance, give rise to feelings of superiority over the masses, [discriminate] between self and other or right and wrong, or to speak of hatred and affection. As for daily internal practice, quit giving rise to doubtful thoughts. Always do not be forgetful of the internal. Whether wandering about or standing and sitting, you should clear your mind and discard your desires. Have nothing that hangs on or hinders [your progress]. Do not get defiled and do not cling. In true clarity and true purity, wander about freely at your will. Consistently throughout the day contemplate the Dao in the same way a hungry person thinks of food or a thirsty person of drink. If you become aware of the slightest imbalance, you must correct it. If you train yourself in this way, you will become a spirit immortal” (2a–2b). There are also two perhaps related texts in the Daoist Canon, namely, the *Nei riyong jing* (Scripture for Daily Internal Practice; DZ 645; trl. Kohn 2000; Komjathy 2002/03) and *Wai riyong jing* (Scripture for Daily External Practice; DZ 646; trl. Kohn 2000).

san dantian 三丹田: three elixir fields. Also appearing as “three fields” (*santian* 三田)*. Most often refers to the Palace of Nirvana (*niwan gong* 泥丸宮; center of head)*, Vermilion Palace (*jiangong* 絳宮; heart region)*, and Ocean of Qi (*qihai* 氣海; abdominal region)*.

sanbao 三寶: Three Treasures. Most frequently refers to vital essence (*jing* 精)*, subtle breath (*qi* 氣)*, and spirit (*shen* 神)*. Sometimes refers to vital essence, blood (*xue* 血)*, and subtle breath. These are the “internal Three Treasures” (*nei sanbao* 內三寶). Adapting the Buddhist designation of *triratna* or *ratnatraya* (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha), there are also

the “external Three Treasures” (*wai sanbao* 外三寶), namely, Dao (*dao* 道), scriptures (*jing* 經), and teachers (*shi* 師). According to the *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions; DZ 1158), “There are the internal Three Treasures and the external Three Treasures. The Dao, scriptures, and teachers are the external Three Treasures. The internal Three Treasures are vital essence, qi, and the spirit” (2a).

sancai 三才: Three Powers. First appearing in the *Shuogua* 說卦 (Explanation of the Diagrams) of the *Yijing* 易經 (Classic of Changes) and emphasized in the sixth-century *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31), the Three Powers refer to heaven (*tian* 天), earth (*di* 地), and humanity (*ren* 人). In the *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions; DZ 1158, 4b), each of these primary Three Powers are said to have three powers of their own: “The heavens have three powers, namely, the sun, moon, and stars. The earth has three powers, namely, [the stems] *yi* 乙, *bing* 丙, and *ding* 丁. Human beings have three powers, namely, vital essence (*jing* 精), subtle breath (*qi* 氣), and spirit (*shen* 神).”

sanche 三車/*sanju* 三車: Three Carts. Borrowed from the famous Parable of the Burning House in the Buddhist *Lotus Sūtra* (ch. 3), they are the ox cart (*niuche* 牛車), deer cart (*luche* 鹿車), and ram cart (*yangche* 羊車). In Buddhist usage, they are synonymous with the Three Vehicles (*sansheng* 三乘)*, namely, that of the hearer or obedient disciple (Chn.: *shengwen* 聲聞; Skt.: Śrāvaka), that of the enlightened for oneself (Chn.: *yuanjue* 緣覺; Skt.: Pratyeka-buddha), and that of the bodhisattva (Chn.: *pusa* 菩薩), or universal salvation. In internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)* practice, the Three Carts most often refer to the passageways through the Three Passes (*sanguan* 三關)*, located approximately at the coccyx, mid-spine, and occiput. They have the following correspondences: (1) Yangche 羊車 (Ram Cart), located at Weilü 尾閭 (Tailbone Gate; GV-1)*, (2) Luche 鹿車 (Deer Cart), located at Jiaji 夾脊 (Narrow Ridge; GV-6)*, and (3) Niuche 牛車 (Ox Cart), located at Yuzhen 玉枕 (Jade Pillow; GV-17)*.

sandan 三丹: Three Elixirs. Sometimes used as an abbreviated form of the three elixir fields (*san dantian* 三丹田)* and sometimes refers to the spiritual capacities associated with those subtle body locations: transformed vital essence with the lower field, transformed qi with the middle field, and transformed spirit with the upper field.

sandao 三島: Three Islands. According to the tenth-century *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, 14–16; trl. Wong 2000), “Now, within the human body, ‘water’ refers to the four oceans, five lakes, nine rivers and three islands. . . . The peak of the head is the upper island; the heart is the middle island; and the kidneys are the lower island” (15.1a–2a). The thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 (Great Compendium on the Gold Elixir; DZ 263, j. 9–13) has the following: “The three islands of Penglai are the peaks of immortality above the ocean. The human body also contains the three islands of Penglai: the peak of the head is the upper island; the heart is the middle island; and the kidneys are the lower island” (13.16b). Often appearing with the Ten Continents (*shizhou* 十州)*. In *juan* 26 of the eleventh-century *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Tablets from a Cloudy Satchel; DZ 1032), the Three Islands are listed as Mount Kunlun 崑崙, Fangzhang 方丈, and Pengqiu 蓬丘 (Penglai 蓬萊). In internal alchemy practice, the ten continents and Three Islands are used to refer to the body as the locus for perfection and immortality. A diagram on the ten continents and three islands appears in section 8a of the twelfth-century *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* 修真太極混元圖 (Diagram on Cultivating Perfection, Differentiation, and Primordial Chaos; DZ 149; trl. Baryosher-Chemouny 1996).

sandu 三毒: Three Poisons. In Buddhist technical usage, refers to greed (*tan* 貪), anger (*chen* 嗔), and ignorance (*chi* 痴). Sometimes refers to the body (*shen* 身), thinking (*yi* 意), and the mouth (*kou* 口). Also used synonymously with the Three Essentials (*sanyao* 三要)*, usually referring to eyes, ears, and mouth. Appears in section 1b of the ninth-century *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture on Clarity and Stillness; DZ 620).

sanguan 三關: Three Passes. Three locations along the spine, through which it is difficult to circulate qi. They are Tailbone Gate (*weilü* 尾閭; GV-1; the coccyx)*, Narrow Ridge (*jiaji* 夾脊; GV-6; mid-spine)*, and Jade Pillow (*yuzhen* 玉枕; GV-17; occiput)*. The latter is sometimes referred to as Jade Capital (*yujing* 玉京)*.

sanguan 三官: Three Bureaus. Also translated as Three Offices or Three Officers. Usually refers to three subtle administrations utilized in early Tianshi 天師 (Celestial Masters) ritual, specifically those of heaven, earth, and water.

sanguang 三光: Three Radiances. Most often refers to the sun (*ri* 日), moon (*yue* 月), and stars (*xing* 星). May also designate vital essence

(*jing* 精), subtle breath (*qi* 氣), and spirit (*shen* 神). Appears in section 4b and 5a of the third-century C.E. *Huangting waijing jing* 黃庭外景經 (Scripture on the External View of the Yellow Court; DZ 332).

sanhun 三魂: Three Hun. The three ethereal souls, alternatively rendered as “three cloud-souls.” Associated with the liver, they are the yang and positive “souls.” The ninth-century *Chu sanshi juchong jing* 除三尸九蟲經 (Scripture on Expelling the Three Death-bringers and Nine Worms; DZ 871, 1a–1b) contains illustrations of the Three Hun, wherein they are identified as follows: Shuangling 爽靈 (Lively Numen), Taiguang 台光 (Terrace Radiance), and Youjing 幽精 (Mysterious Essence). Here one is informed: “The Three Hun are located beneath the liver. They look like human beings and wear green robes with yellow inner garments. Every month on the third, thirteenth, and twenty-third, they leave the body in the evening to go wandering around” (1b).

sanhuo 三火: Three Fires. Possibly an alternate designation for the Fires of Samādhi (*sanmei huo* 三昧火). According to the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; 1157, 9b), they include the sovereign-fire (*junhuo* 君火), the minister-fire (*chenhuo* 臣或), and the subject-fire (*minhuo* 民火).

sanjiao 三焦: Triple Warmer. Also referred to as the Triple Burner or Three Burners. On the most basic level the Triple Warmer is not an “organ” per se, but rather represents three subtle regions of the body and related functions. In classical Chinese medicine, the Triple Warmer is three things simultaneously: one of the six yang-orbs, a thoroughfare for original qi (*yuanqi* 元氣)*, and three divisions of the body. As a yang-orb, the Triple Warmer is in charge of irrigation and controls the water passages. It is also responsible for “letting out,” specifically with regard to protective qi (*weiqi* 衛氣)* in the Upper Warmer, nutritive qi (*yingqi* 營氣) in the Middle Warmer, and fluids (*jinye* 津液) in the Lower Warmer. The association with original qi also aligns the Triple Warmer with the Gate of Life (*mingmen* 命門)*, the area between the kidneys. Finally, the Triple Warmer as regions of the body leads to the following divisions: Upper Warmer above the diaphragm; Middle Warmer between the diaphragm and umbilicus; and Lower Warmer below the umbilicus. Sometimes the Upper Warmer is associated with the heart and lungs, the Middle Warmer with the spleen and stomach, and the Lower Warmer with the liver and kidneys. Thus, it may be that attending to the Triple Warmer in its various dimensions is also attending to the body-self as a complete system.

sanjiao 三教: Three Teachings. Buddhism (*fojiao* 佛教), Confucianism (*rujiao* 儒教), and Daoism (*daojiang* 道教).

sanjie 三界: Three Worlds. The Three Worlds are the world of desire (*yujie* 欲界), the world of form (*sejie* 色界), and the world of formlessness (*wusejie* 無色界). The thirteenth discourse of the *Shiwu lun* 十五論 (Fifteen Discourses; DZ 1233) is entitled “Chao sanjie” 超三界 (Going Beyond the Three Worlds). Here one is informed, “The Three Worlds are the world of desire, the world of form, and the world of formlessness. When the heart-mind forgets planning and thinking, one goes beyond the world of desire. When the heart-mind forgets mental projections, one goes beyond the world of form. When the heart-mind does not manifest even a vision of emptiness, one goes beyond the world of formlessness. Abandoning these Three Worlds, the spirit dwells in the country of immortals and sages. Innate nature resides in the region of Yuqing 玉清 (Jade Clarity)” (5a–5b).

sanmei 三昧: Samādhi. Literally “three obscurities,” a Chinese transliteration of this Buddhist technical term. Refers to meditative absorption, ecstasy, or enstasy. Sometimes appears as “stability” or “concentration” (*ding* 定)*.

sanshen 三身: Three Bodies. A Buddhist technical term, the Three Bodies (Skt. *trikāya*) refers to the threefold body or nature of a Buddha: the Dharmakāya (*zixing* 自性), Sambhogakāya (*shouyong* 受用), and Nirmānakāya (*bianhua* 變化), i.e., the dharma-body (*fashen* 法身), bliss-body (*baoshen* 報身), and transformation-body (*huashen* 化身). These correspond to (1) the body of a Buddha in its essential nature; (2) the body of a Buddha received for his own use and enjoyment; and (3) the body of a Buddha by which he can appear in any form. In the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock), they are identified as follows: the Dharma Body of Clarity and Stillness (*qingjing fashen* 清靜法身), the Bliss Body of Enlightened Fullness (*yuanman baoshen* 圓滿報身), and the Transformation Body of Samādhi (*sanmei huashen* 三昧化身).

sansheng 三乘: Three Transmissions. In Buddhist usage, translated as Three Vehicles, namely, that of the hearer or obedient disciple (Chn.: *shengwen* 聲聞; Skt.: Śrāvaka), that of the enlightened for oneself (Chn.: *yuanjue* 緣覺; Skt.: Pratyeka-buddha), and that of the bodhi-sattva (Chn.: *pusa* 菩薩), or universal salvation. In early Quanzhen, most

often refers to the Three Teachings (*sanjiao* 三教)*, namely, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism.

sanshi 三尸: Three Death-bringers. Alternatively rendered as Three Corpses and sometimes appearing as Three Worms (*sanchong* 三蟲), conventionally understood as three “biospiritual parasites” residing in the human body. They reside in the three elixir fields (*san dantian* 三丹田)*, namely, Palace of Nirvana (*niwan gong* 泥丸宮; center of head)*, Vermilion Palace (*jiangong* 絳宮; heart region)*, and Ocean of Qi (*qihai* 氣海; lower abdomen)*. The ninth-century *Chu sanshi jiuchong jing* 除三尸九蟲經 (Scripture on Expelling the Three Death-bringers and Nine Worms; DZ 871, 7a–8a) contains illustrations of the Three Death-bringers, wherein they are identified as follows: Peng Ju 彭琚 (upper), Peng Zhi 彭質 (middle), and Peng Jiao 彭矯 (lower) (also DZ 817). Thus, they are sometimes referred to as the “Three Pengs” (*sanpeng* 三彭). Other texts, such as the *Sanchong zhongjing* 三蟲中經 (Central Scripture on the Three Death-bringers; *Yunji qiqian*, DZ 1032, 81.15b–17a), provide alternative names: Qinggu 青古 (Blue Decrepitude; upper), Baigu 白姑 (White Hag; middle), and Xueshi 血尸 (Bloody Corpse; lower) (also DZ 303, 4a). Other relevant information appears in the eleventh-century encyclopedia *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Tablets from a Cloudy Satchel; DZ 1032, 81–83) and the *Zhonghuang jing* 中黃經 (Scripture on the Center Yellow; DZ 817, 7a–8a; also *Yunji qiqian*, DZ 1032, 13).

santian 三田: Three Fields. The three elixir fields (*san dantian* 三丹田)*.

sanyao 三要: Three Essentials. Usually refers to the eyes (*yan* 眼), ears (*er* 耳), and mouth (*kou* 口). Appears in the section 1a of the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31). Sometimes divided into the “internal Three Essentials” (*nei sanyao* 內三要) and “external Three Essentials” (*wai sanyao* 外三要). The former refers to vital essence (*jing* 精), subtle breath (*qi* 氣), and spirit (*shen* 神), and is thus an alternative name for the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶)*. The latter refers to the eyes, ears, and mouth. The two sets form an interrelated pattern: “The eyes are the gate of spirit. The ears are the gate of vital essence. The mouth is the gate of qi. If one looks at something and does not cease, then spirit dissipates (*lou* 漏) through the eyes. If one listens to something and does not cease, then vital essence dissipates through the ears. If one speaks and does not cease, then qi dissipates through the mouth” (*Yinfu jing jiezhu* 陰符經解註, DZ 126, 11b). According to the *Jindan dacheng ji* (Great Compendium of the Gold Elixir; DZ 263, 10.3a), they are

as follows: “The first essential is the Pond of Great Spring (*dayuan chi* 大源池) [mouth]. The second essential is the Vermilion Palace (*jiang-gong* 絳宮) [heart region]. The third essential is the Earth Door (*dihu* 地戶) [perineum].”

sanyuan 三元: Three Primes. An alternate name for the Three Fields (*santian* 三田)* or three elixir fields (*san dantian* 三丹田)*.

she 舌: tongue. Associated with the heart-mind (*xin* 心)*, which in turn relates to spirit (*shen* 神)*. According to Wang Chongyang 王重陽, “the tongue is the root of disaster” (*she wei huo bengen* 舌為禍本根) (*Quanzhen ji*, DZ 1153, 3.17b, 13.9a; *Jiaohua ji*, DZ 1154, 2.6b).

she 蛇: snake. Usually associated *qi*, but sometimes refers to the heart and spirit. Often appears with the dragon (*long* 龍), which in this pairing relates to the kidneys and vital essence. According to the *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions; DZ 1158, 2a), “The dragon is innate nature (*xing* 性) and the kidneys; the snake is the flourishing *qi* in the heart.”

shen 神: spirit. Associated with the heart (*xin* 心)*, consciousness, and divine capacities. One of the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶)*, namely, vital essence (*jing* 精)*, subtle breath (*qi* 氣)*, and spirit. Of these three, spirit is the most refined. In internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹) practice, one aims for “spirit liberation” (*shenjie* 神解) and spirit immortality (*shenxian* 神仙)*, that is, transcendence of spirit from the limitations of ordinary human being. This usually involves joining the ranks of immortals and Perfected.

shen 身: body/self. The human physique viewed from the side.

shen wai shen 身外身: body-beyond-the-body. Also referred to as the yang-spirit (*yangshen* 陽神)* or the Dharma Body (*fashen* 法身)*. The subtle body or transcendent spirit activated through intensive alchemical practice and transformation, which is able to transcend physical death and enter the celestial realms.

shenguang 神光: spirit radiance. A luminous and numinous quality or ability evidencing a condition of mystical pervasion, wherein one becomes an *embodiment* of the Dao. A condition of purification and illumination, wherein intellectual and emotional turmoil are stilled and spirit, associated with the heart (*xin* 心)*, becomes all-pervasive. One of Ma Danyang’s poetry anthologies is entitled *Shenguang can* 神光燦

(On the Luster of Spirit Radiance; DZ 1150), wherein Ma frequently describes the qualities of spirit radiance.

shenshui 神水: Spirit Water. Saliva produced during Daoist practice. Also referred to as “jade fluids” (*yuye* 玉液)*, Sweet Dew (*ganlu* 甘露)*, or Jade Broth (*yujiang* 玉漿)*.

shentong 神通: spirit pervasion. A condition of mystical being wherein spirit becomes all-pervading and the adept becomes an embodiment of the Dao in its mysteriousness and numinosity. According to Liu Changsheng 劉長生 (1147–1203), “If you pervade (*tong* 通) the Dao, heaven and earth are pervaded. If heaven and earth are pervaded, the myriad transformations are pervaded. If the myriad transformations are pervaded, [you attain] spirit pervasion. If there is spirit pervasion, you respond to circumstances with unlimited transformations. You embrace the One without interruption. In calm attunement with Perfection, you return to simplicity” (*Yinfu jing zhu* 陰符經註, DZ 122, 11a–11b).

shi'e 十惡: ten evils. A Buddhist technical term (Skt.: *daśakuśāla*) referring to the following: killing, stealing, committing sexual misconduct, lying, slandering, using coarse language, equivocating, coveting, being angry, and holding false views.

shier lou 十二樓: Twelve-storied Tower. The trachea. Abbreviation for *shier zhong lou* 十二重樓*.

shier zhong lou 十二重樓: Twelve-storied Tower. The trachea. Abbreviated as *shier lou* 十二樓* or *zhonglou* 重樓*.

shimo 十魔: Ten Demons. Also referred to as the Ten Demon Lords (*shi mojun* 十魔君), they are ten forms of temptation: (1) Demon of the Six Desires (*liuyu mo* 六欲魔); (2) Demon of the Seven Emotions (*qiqing mo* 七情魔); (3) Demon of Wealth (*fumo* 富魔); (4) Demon of Nobility (*guimo* 貴魔); (5) Demon of Affection (*en'ai mo* 恩愛魔); (6) Demon of Calamity (*zainan mo* 災難魔); (7) Demon of Violence (*daobing mo* 刀兵魔); (8) Demon of Sagely Excellence (*shengxian mo* 聖賢魔); (9) Demon of Prostitute Pleasure (*zhile mo* 妓樂魔); and (10) Demon of Women and Sex (*nüse mo* 女色魔). The Ten Demons are discussed in the *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, 16.25a–26b; trl. Wong 2000, 138–40) and in the *Dadan zhizhi* 大丹直指 (Direct Pointers to the Great Elixir; DZ 244, 2.5a–6b; trl. Belamide 2002, 208–10).

shui 水: Water. One of the Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行)* and one of the primary symbols used in internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)*. Associated with the trigram Kan-water ☵*, the kidneys, and vital essence. Usually paired with Fire (*huo* 火)*.

shuimo 睡魔: demons of sleep. Also translated as “sleep-demons,” “demon of sleep,” or “nightmares.” Associated with the process of “refining the sleep-demons” (*lian shuimo* 煉睡魔). Dream-time phantasms or non-material apparitions identified as possible sources of dissipation.

sida 四大: Four Elements. The four elements of classical Indian and Buddhist cosmology, namely, earth (*di* 地/*tu* 土), water (*shui* 水), fire (*huo* 火), and wind (*feng* 風). The human body considered in its elemental physicality. Also adapted in the Daoist tradition as referring to the Dao 道, heavens (*tian* 天), earth (*di* 地), and humanity (*ren* 人). May also refer to the four limbs (*sizhi* 四肢). According to the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156, 3a), “The unified numen (*yiling* 一靈) is real; the four elements of body are false.”

si fannao 四煩惱: four vexations. A Buddhist technical term referring to the following: (1) ignorance of ego (*wochi* 我痴), (2) belief in ego (*wojian* 我見), (3) egotism (*wo'man* 我慢), and (4) self-love (*woai* 我愛).

siguo 四果: Four Fruits. The four levels of commitment/attainment in Theravāda Buddhism, including stream-enterer, once-returned, non-returned, and arhat. Stream-enterer refers to someone who has formally taken monastic vows (entered the Dharma), while once-returned refers to someone who must complete one more incarnation cycle before liberation (*nirvāna*). Non-returned refers to someone who will reach liberation during this life-time. Finally, an arhat, the highest attainment, is someone who is fully liberated and free from the cycle of transmigration. These levels are discussed in the *Jingang jing* 金剛經 (Vajra-cchedikā Sūtra; Diamond Sūtra; T. 235–37, 273, 2734; trl. Red Pine 2001).

sihai 四害: Four Hindrances. Four principal sources of self-disruption. They include alcohol (*jiu* 酒), sex (*se* 色), wealth (*cai* 財), and anger (*qi* 氣).

sihai 四海: Four Oceans. The tenth-century *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16; also DZ 1309; trl. Wong 2000) has the following: “Now, within the human

body, ‘water’ refers to the four oceans, five lakes, nine rivers and three islands.... The heart is the Ocean of Blood (*xuehai* 血海); the kidneys are the Ocean of Qi (*qihai* 氣海); the brain is the Ocean of Marrow (*suihai* 髓海); and the spleen and stomach are the Ocean of Water and Grain (*shuigu zhi hai* 水穀之海). This is what we mean by the ‘four oceans.’” (15.1a–2a).

sichen 四塵: Four Defilements. Literally, “four dusts.” A Buddhist technical term, refers to “defilements” (Chn.: *chen* 塵; Skt.: *artha*), including color (*se* 色), smell (*xiang* 香), taste (*wei* 味), and touch (*chu* 觸). Sometimes refers to the secondary attributes (Skt.: *guna*) of phenomena.

simen 四門: Four Gates. The eyes (*yan* 眼), ears (*er* 耳), nose (*bi* 鼻), and mouth (*kou* 口). Mentioned in section 3b of the *Shiwu lun* 十五論 (Fifteen Discourses; DZ 1233) and section 19a of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156).

simo 四魔: four demons. The four kinds of demons (Chn.: *mo* 魔; Skt.: *māra*) which produce vexation in human beings: (1) Demon of vexations (*kleśa-māra*) that injure body and mind; (2) Demon of aggregates (*skandha-māra*); (3) Demon of death (*mṛtya-māra*), who cuts off the lives of living beings; and (4) Great Demon King (*devaputra-māra*), king of the sixth and highest heaven in the realm of desire who tries to prevent humans from doing good.

sishi 四時: four time periods. On the primary meaning-level, refers to the four seasons (spring, summer, autumn, and winter). Also related to the four corresponding hours (*mao*, *wu*, *you*, and *zi*) and the four life-stages (birth, growth, maturation, and decay).

sixian 四賢: Four Worthies. Early designation for four of Wang Chongyang’s Shandong disciples. Refers to Ma Danyang 馬丹陽, Tan Changzhen 譚長真, Liu Changsheng 劉長生, and Qiu Changchun 丘長春. Also appearing as the “four wise ones” (*sizhe* 四哲)* or “four immortals” (*sixian* 四仙).

sixiang 四象: Four Symbols. Representations of the four cardinal directions and four associated animals: (1) Azure dragon (*qinglong* 青龍; east); (2) Vermilion bird (*zhuque* 朱雀; south); (3) White tiger (*baihu* 白虎; west); and (4) Mysterious Warrior (*xuanwu* 玄武; snake-turtle; north).

sixin 死心: dead heart-mind. The heart-mind stilled of excess emotional and intellectual turmoil. The “stabilized heart-mind” (*dingxin* 定心) as

distinguished from the “chaotic heart-mind” (*luanxin* 亂心). Finds historical precedence in chapter 2 of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Book of Master Zhuang; DZ 670), where Zi Qi 子綦 is described as absorbed in some form of meditation (*zuo* 坐). Here he is said to have a form (*xing* 形) like withered wood (*gaomu* 槁木) and a heart-mind (*xin* 心) like dead ashes (*sihui* 死灰).

sizhe 四哲: Four Wise Ones. Early designation for four of Wang Chongyang’s Shandong disciples. Refers to Ma Danyang 馬丹陽, Tan Changzhen 譚長真, Liu Changsheng 劉長生, and Qiu Changchun 丘長春. Also appearing as “four worthies” (*sixian* 四賢)* or “four immortals” (*sixian* 四仙).

su 俗: ordinariness. Habituated and enculturated being as opposed to the Dao. Discussed in the *Changsheng yulu* 長生語錄 (Discourse Record of Changsheng; DZ 1058), where “ordinariness” is contrasted with the Dao and with “perfection” (*zhen* 真)*. According to Liu Changsheng 劉長生, “Ordinariness relates to the ordinary body (*suqu* 俗軀) of human beings. Perfection (*zhen* 真) relates to exalted spirit (*zhishen* 至神). We refer to [ordinariness] as ‘being’ (*you* 有) and ‘thingness’ (*wu* 物). The Dao is beyond being and is the predecessor (*xian* 先) of the heavens and earth” (22b).

suren 俗人: ordinary human being. The habituated self conditioned by familial obligations, societal expectations, and emotional and intellectual turmoil. Often referred to as a “skeleton” (*kulou* 骷髏)*, “marionette” (*kuilei* 傀儡)*, “walking corpse” (*xingshi* 行屍)*, and “running bones” (*zougu* 走骨)*.

tianchi 天池: Celestial Pond. The mouth as storehouse of the jade fluids (*yuye* 玉液). Alternatively referred to as the Jade Pond (*yuchi* 玉池)*.

tiangan 天干: celestial stems. The ten celestial stems used as time measurements in ancient China. They are as follows: (1) *jia* 甲 (yang); (2) *yi* 乙 (yin); (3) *bing* 丙 (yang); (4) *ding* 丁 (yin); (5) *wu* 戊 (yang); (6) *ji* 己 (yin); (7) *geng* 庚 (yang); (8) *xin* 辛 (yin); (9) *ren* 壬 (yang); (10) *gui* 癸 (yin). Traditionally speaking, the week is divided into ten days, beginning with *jia* and ending with *gui*. The Celestial Stems are combined to form Five Phase associations: (1) *jiayi* 甲乙: Wood: east; (2) *bingding* 丙丁: Fire: south; (3) *wuji* 戊己: Earth: center; (4) *gengxin* 庚辛: Metal: west; (5) *rengui* 壬癸: Water: north. Combined with the twelve terrestrial

branches (*dizhi* 地支)*, the ten celestial stems are used to form the so-called sexagenary cycle, that is, designations for the sixty-year cycle.

tiangong 天宮: Celestial Palace. A celestial paradise or realm of perfection. According to the *Taiqing yuce* 太清玉冊 (Jade Register of Great Clarity; DZ 1483), “The room where Tianzun shangdi 天尊上帝 (Celestial Worth Highest Sovereign) receives offerings is called the Celestial Palace.” Perhaps also a mystical cranial location.

tianguan 天關: Celestial Pass. According to the “Da Ma shifu shisi wen” 答馬師父十四問 (Responses to Teacher Ma’s Fourteen Questions; *Jin zhenren yulu* 晉真人語錄, DZ 1056, 6b–8b), associated with Wang Chongyang, “The Celestial Pass and Earth Pivot refer to spirit and qi. You should simply remain unattached and undefiled. If the heart-mind is stable (*ding* 定), then qi will be stable. If the heart-mind is agitated, then qi will be dispersed. If there heart-mind is unagitated, then the child [spirit] and mother [qi] will guard each other” (7a). In the “Sanguan” 三關 (Three Passes) section of the third-century *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (Scripture on the Internal View of the Yellow Court; DZ 331; trl. Huang 1990), we find the following: “Vital essence and qi are deep inside the Three Passes. The subtle is hidden within the Nine Tenuities (*jiuwei* 九微). The mouth is the Celestial Pass, the pivot of vital essence and spirit. The feet are the Earth Pass (*diguan* 地關), the door of life and destiny. The hands are the Human Pass (*renguan* 人關), which control prosperity and decline” (6b). Similarly, the thirteenth-century *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集 (Great Compendium on the Gold Elixir; DZ 263, j. 9–13) has the following: “The head is Celestial Pass; the feet are the Earth Pass; and the hands are the Human Pass” (10.3a). According to the *Dadan zhizhi* 大丹直指 (Direct Pointers to the Great Elixir; DZ 244; trl. Belamide 2002), “The qi naturally moves from Tailbone Gate (*weilü* 尾閭) to enter the Three Passes beside the spine. It directly ascends to the Windlass Cavity (*lulu xue* 轆轤穴) and Celestial Pass, which is behind the brain. It enters Kunlun 崑崙, and then again descends to the elixir field. This complete circulation pattern revolves without interruption” (1.9b–10a). Also mentioned in 8a of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Gate Lock). Sometimes used synonymously with the Celestial Gate (*tianmen* 天門)*.

tianmen 天門: Celestial Gate. Also translated as Gate of Heaven. Appears in chapter 10 of the fourth-century B.C.E. *Daode jing* 道德經 (Scripture

on the Dao and Inner Power): “Opening and closing the Celestial Gate, can you become like a female?” According to Heshang gong’s 河上公 (Master Dwelling-by-the-River) commentary (DZ 682), the Celestial Gate is the nose. Also mentioned in section of 35 of the *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (Scripture on the Internal View of the Yellow Court; DZ 331). According to an eighth-century commentary (DZ 402), the Celestial Gate is between the eyebrows and is also called the Celestial Court (*tianting* 天庭). Sometimes used synonymously with the Celestial Pass (*tianguan* 天關)*.

tianmo 天魔: Celestial Demon. The Demon King (Skt.: *deva-māra*; Chn.: *damo* 大魔), an evil demon and lifelong adversary of the Buddha, who attempted to prevent Śākyamuni Buddha from attaining enlightenment. One of the four demons (Chn.: *simo* 四魔; Skt.: *catvāro mārāh*)*.

tiantang 天堂: Celestial Hall. An immortal realm. Also the body as locus of perfection and a subtle cranial location. According to the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Gate Lock), “A body with dissipation (*lou* 漏) turns into one’s own Earth Prison (*diyu* 地獄), while the fruit of non-dissipation (*wulou zhi guo* 無漏之果) is the Celestial Hall” (6a).

tianting 天庭: Celestial Court. Mentioned in section four of the *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (Scripture on the Internal View of the Yellow Court; DZ 331). According to an eighth-century commentary (DZ 402), the Celestial Court is between the eyebrows and is also called the Celestial Gate (*tianmen* 天門)*. According to the *Yuandan shangjing* 元丹上經 (Highest Scripture on the Original Elixir; DZ 1345), “Above the area between the two eyebrows, one inch in is the Palace of the Hall of Light (*mingtang gong* 明堂宮). Two inches in is the Palace of the Grotto Chamber (*dongfang gong* 洞房宮). Three inches in is the Palace of the Elixir Field (*dantian gong* 丹田宮). Four inches in is the Palace of the Flowing Pearl (*liuzhu gong* 流珠宮). Five inches in is the Palace of the Jade Thearch (*yudi gong* 玉帝宮)... One inch above the Hall of Light is the Palace of the Celestial Court (*tianting gong* 天庭宮). One inch above the Grotto Chamber is the Palace of Secret Perfection (*jizhen gong* 機真宮). One inch above the Flowing Pearl is the Palace of the Great Sovereign (*taihuang gong* 太皇宮). Thus, the human head has Nine Palaces” (2b–8a).

tong 通: pervasion. Refers to “supernatural” or numinous abilities (Skt.: *siddhi*). Often discussed in terms of Six Pervasions (*liutong* 六通)*.

waidao 外道: deviant ways. Literally meaning “outside the Dao” and sometimes translated as “heterodoxies,” refers to various non-Daoist beliefs and practices. The eleventh-century *Youlong zhuan* 猶龍傳 (Like unto a Dragon; DZ 774) lists ninety-six deviant ways (4.7b–8b). Many of these are ascetic techniques of ancient India, including walking around naked, self-immolation, and so forth. Similar deviances are also listed in the thirteenth-century *Laojun bashiyi hua tushuo* 老君八十一化圖說 (Illustrated Explanations of the Eighty-One Transformations of Lord Lao).

waijing 外境/外景: external projections. The external world as subjectively perceived and as source of personal disruption.

waimo 外魔: external demons. Alternatively rendered as “demons of the outside.” External demons are images and sources of attraction relating to the external world (*waijing* 外景); such external stimuli initiate sensory responses in the form of desire and dissipation.

weiqi 衛氣: protective qi. Protective qi has the function of protecting the body from attack by exterior pathogenic factors (e.g., wind, cold, etc.) as well as of warming, moistening, and nourishing skin and muscles, opening and closing the pores, and regulating body temperature.

wuchang 無常: impermanence. According to Buddhism, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the known universe and human life as such.

wudeng 五等: five ranks. Also referred to has the five classes (*wupin* 五品), the five ranks of immortals (*xian* 仙)*. According to the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Gate Lock; DZ 1156), they are, in order of ascendancy, ghost immortal (*guixian* 鬼仙), terrestrial immortal (*dixian* 地仙), sword immortal (*jianxian* 劍仙), spirit immortal (*shenxian* 神仙), and celestial immortal (*tianxian* 天仙) (13a). Also mentioned in section 1 of the *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16; also DZ 1309; trl. Wong 2000).

wudi 五帝: Five Thearchs. The thearchs or emperors of the five directions, including the Azure Thearch of the east, Red Thearch of the south, Yellow Thearch of the center, White Thearch of the west, and Black Thearch of the north. Also may refer to bodily manifestations of the Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行)*.

wugeng 五更: five night-watches. Also referred to as the five drum-soundings (*wugu* 五鼓). The five periods of darkness. They are as follows: (1) *xu* 戌 (7pm–9pm), (2) *hai* 亥 (9pm–11pm), (3) *zi* 子 (11pm–1am), (4) *chou* 丑 (1am–3am), and (5) *yin* 寅 (3am–5am).

wuhui 五會: five associations. Also rendered as “five congregations” or “five assemblies.” The five early Quanzhen associations in Shandong established by Wang Chongyang, his first-generation Shandong disciples, and lay supporters. They were Yuhua hui 玉花會 (Association of Jade Flower; Dengzhou 登州), Qibao hui 七寶會 (Association of Seven Treasures; Wendeng 文登), Jinlian hui 金蓮會 (Association of Gold Lotus; Ninghai 寧海), Sanguang hui 三光會 (Association of Three Radiances; Fushan 福山), and Pingdeng hui 平等會 (Association of Equal Rank; Laizhou 萊州).

wuji 戊己: (celestial stem [*tiangan* 天干]* combination). Associated with the Earth phase and the center.

wulao 五勞: Five Exhaustions. Most likely refers to disharmony and disruption of the five qi (*wuqi* 五氣)*, the qi associated with the five yin-orbs (*wuzang* 五臟)*. In terms of the senses, excessive looking (eyes) can injure the liver, excessive talking (tongue) can injure the heart, excessive eating (mouth) can injure the spleen, excessive (labored) breathing (nose) can injure the lungs, and excessive listening can injure the kidneys. May also refer to Five Exhaustions of classical Chinese medicine. According to chapter 23 of the *Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問 (Yellow Thearch’s Inner Classic: Basic Questions), “The Five Exhaustions are what cause injury (*shang* 傷). Extended perceiving injures the blood (*xue* 血); extended lying down injures the qi; extended sitting injures the flesh (*rou* 肉); extended standing injures the bones (*gu* 骨); and extended walking injures the sinews (*jin* 筋).”

wulou 無漏 (*bulou* 不漏): non-dissipation. Literally meaning “without leakage,” freedom from outflow. The phrase refers to a condition where the adept has sealed himself or herself off from every possible source of dissipation (*lou* 漏)*. The preface to the *Jindan sibaizi* 金丹四百字 (Four Hundred Characters on the Gold Elixir; DZ 1081), attributed to Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (d. 1082), explains, “The ethereal soul resides in the liver; do not allow the eyes to dissipate it. The corporeal soul resides in the lungs; do not allow the nose to dissipate it. The spirit resides in the heart; do not allow the mouth to dissipate it. The vital essence resides in the kidneys; do not allow the ears to dissipate it. The

intent resides in spleen; do not allow the four limbs or various openings (*kongqiao* 孔竅) to dissipate it. Thus, we may speak of non-dissipation” (1b). In Buddhism, a distinction is made between “out-flowing” (Chn.: *lou* 漏; Skt.: *āsrava*) and “free from out-flowing” (Chn.: *wulou* 無漏; Skt.: *anāsrava*). The former refers to delusions generated by sensory engagement, while the latter refers to being free from delusions and karma-producing activities. Out-flowing in turn relates to vexation (Chn.: *fannaο* 煩惱; Skt.: *kleśa*) and delusion (Chn.: *huo* 禍).

wumen 五門 (*wuhu* 五戶): five gates (five doors). Usually refers to the eyes (2), ears (2), and mouth (1).

wuming 無明: ignorance. A Buddhist technical term referring to ignorance of the true nature of existence (Skt.: *avidyā*), namely, impermanence. In this sense, it is ignorance (*chi* 痴) understood as being unenlightened. One of the Three Poisons (*sandu* 三毒)*.

wuqi 五氣: Five Qi. The qi associated with the five yin-orbs (*wuzang* 五臟)*. Also may relate to the “five spirits” (*wushen* 五神)*, the spirits of the five yin-orbs. Sometimes refers to qi of the Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行)*.

wushen 五神: Five Spirits. Usually refers to the spirits of the five yin-orbs (*wuzang* 五臟)*. Sometimes the gall-bladder or Triple Warmer is added. The Five Spirits in turn have Five Phase (*wuxing* 五行)* correspondences. According to the *Dadan zhizhi* 大丹直指 (Direct Pointers to the Great Elixir; DZ 244), attributed to Qiu Changchun, they have the following names: “The spirit of the heart is called Lord Elixir Origin (*danyuan* 丹元). The spirit of the lungs is called Lord Brilliant Splendor (*haohua* 皓華). The spirit of the liver is called Lord Dragon Mist (*longyan* 龍煙). The spirit of the kidneys is called Lord Mysterious Obscurity (*xuanming* 元冥). The spirit of the spleen is called Lord Perpetual Existence (*changun* 常存)” (1.1a). These names parallel those listed in the third-century *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (Scripture on the Internal View of the Yellow Court; DZ 331, 3a).

wuxin 無心: no-mind. Literally meaning “without a heart-mind,” a realized condition wherein the emotional and intellectual activity of the heart-mind has been stilled (*jing* 靜) and stabilized (*ding* 定). A condition wherein the adept becomes so free from emotional and intellectual turmoil that he or she no longer has a heart-mind as conventionally and mistakenly understood.

wuxing 五行: Five Phases. Sometimes translated as Five Elements or Five Agents, they are Wood (*mu* 木), Fire (*huo* 火), Earth (*tu* 土), Metal (*jin* 金), and Water (*shui* 水). Consisting of an almost unlimited number of correspondences and associations. In terms of internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)*, the following are centrally important: (1) Wood: liver: east: azure dragon: Zhen-thunder ☳: beginning of spring and vernal equinox: *jiayi* 甲乙: *mao* 卯 (5–7am): ethereal soul (*hun* 魂): *jin*-fluids; (2) Fire: heart: south: vermilion bird: Li-fire ☲: beginning of summer and summer solstice: *bingding* 丙丁: *wu* 午 (11am–1pm): spirit (*shen* 神): blood; (3) Earth: spleen: center: —: —: —: *wuji* 戊己: —: intention (*yi* 意): thought (*si* 思); (4) West: lungs: white tiger: Dui-lake ☱: beginning of autumn and autumnal equinox: *gengxin* 庚辛: *you* 酉 (5–7pm): corporeal soul (*po* 魄): *ye*-fluids; and (5) North: kidneys: Mysterious Warrior: Kan-water ☵: beginning of winter and winter solstice: *wengui* 壬癸: *zi* 子 (11pm–1am): aspiration (*zhi* 志): vital essence (*jing* 精).

wuyun liuqi 五運六氣: Five Periods and Six Qi. Sometimes referred to as “cosmobiology.” Based on classical Chinese medicine rooted in Five Phase (*wuxing* 五行)* cosmology, a theory of disease developed by Wang Bing 王冰 in the Tang dynasty (618–907) which came to prominence during the Song-Jin period. In simple terms, the five periods relate to five phases of circulation based on the ten celestial stems (*tiangan* 天干)*, which ensure the orderly progression of the seasons and formation of corresponding climatic influences. These five circulatory phases have the following correspondences: (1) *jiayi* 甲己 with Earth and the formation of dampness (moisture); (2) *yigeng* 乙庚 with Metal and the formation of dryness; (3) *bingxin* 丙辛 with water and the formation of cold; (4) *dingren* 丁壬 with Wood and the formation of wind; and (5) *wugui* 戊癸 with Fire and the formation of heat. These Five Periods are combined with an annual cycle of six climatic influences. The Six Qi (*liuqi* 六氣)* include wind (Wood/liver), dryness (Metal/lungs), dampness (Earth/spleen), cold (Water/kidneys), and heat and/or fire (Fire/heart). In order to create parallelism, fire is sometimes divided into the “ruler fire” (*junhuo* 君火) and “minister fire” (*xianghuo* 相火).

wuzang 五臟/五藏: five yin-orbs. Conventionally translated as “five yin organs,” “depots,” or “storehouses,” refers to the liver (*gan* 肝), heart (*xin* 心), spleen (*pi* 脾), lungs (*fei* 肺), and kidneys (*shen* 腎). Sometimes the pericardium (*xinbao* 心包) is added to create parallelism with the six yang-orbs (*liufu* 六腑)*.

wuzi 五賊: Five Thieves. Usually refers to seeing (eyes), hearing (ears), and speaking (mouth). Sensory activity and engagement as sources of dissipation. Sometimes used synonymously with the Five Gates (*wumen* 五門)*.

wuzu 五祖: Five Patriarchs. According to the early fourteenth-century *Jinlian xiangzhuàn* 金蓮像傳 (Illustrated Biographies of the Gold Lotus; DZ 174), they are Hunyuan Laozi 混元老子 (Laozi, the Primordial Origin), Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Sovereign Lord of Eastern Florescence), Zhongli Quan 鐘離權 (Zhengyang 正陽 [Aligned Yang]; 2nd c. C.E.?), Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (Chunyang 純陽 [Purified Yang]; b. 798?), and Liu Cao 劉操 (Haichan 海蟾 [Oceanic Toad]; fl. 1031). In contemporary Longmen liturgy (*gongke* 功課), Laozi is dropped from the Five Patriarchs, while Wang Chongyang is added.

xian 仙/僊: immortal/immortality. Alternatively rendered as “transcendent”/“transcendence.” Usually refers to a shift in ontological condition attained through intensive alchemical training and transformation. The actual meaning of the term varies depending on the tradition and often on a given practitioner. In the case of Quanzhen Daoism, an “immortal” or “Perfected” is an adept who has activated the yang-spirit (*yangshen* 陽神)* and who has the ability to transcend physical death and enter the celestial realms. The most commonly referenced types of immortals are “spirit immortals” (*shenxian* 神仙) and “celestial immortals” (*tianxian* 天仙). According to the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156, 13a), “Perfected Chongyang responded, ‘According to the *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao), there are five ranks (*wudeng* 五等) of spirit immortals. Those of the first rank neither uphold the precepts nor avoid alcohol and meat; they are not loathe to take life and do not contemplate the good. Such is the class of ghost immortals (*guixian* 鬼仙). Those of the second rank nourish the perfect qi and prolong life-destiny. Such is the class of terrestrial immortals (*dixian* 地仙). Those of the third rank are good at fighting and contending. Such is the class of sword immortals (*jianxian* 劍仙). Those of the fourth rank practice meditation and cultivation. Such is the class of spirit immortals (*shenxian* 神仙). Those of the fifth rank are filial in taking care of teachers, elders, and parents. Such immortals observe the Six Perfections (Skt.: *pāramitā*), practice the myriad activities of skillful means, endeavor to save all sentient beings, and sever ties

to the ten evils. They neither take life nor drink alcohol and eat meat. They cannot be deviant or steal. Their intention is identical with that of the heavens. Their heart-minds are aligned and upright, without [any trace of] selfishness or falseness. [This rank of immortal] is called a celestial immortal (*tianxian* 天仙).” The late thirteenth-century *Zhenxian yulu* 真仙語錄 (Discourse Record of Perfected Immortals; DZ 1256) contains the following information: “Patriarch Ma [Danyang] said, ‘The immortals have four ranks, including ghost immortal, human immortal, terrestrial immortal, and spirit immortal’” (2.12a).

xiantian qi 先天氣: prenatal qi. Also translated as pre-heaven qi or protocosmic qi. Refers to the qi acquired before birth, namely, cosmic qi and ancestral qi.

xieqi 邪氣: deviant qi. Sometimes rendered as “evil qi” or “heteropathic qi.” Heteropathic qi is disruptive, injurious, and diseasing-causing, specifically qi relating to exterior pathogenic factors and the various causative factors of disease. Contrasted with “aligned” or “orthopathic qi” (*zhengqi* 正氣)*.

xin 心: heart-mind. Both the actual organ and consciousness. The ruler of the human body and seat of all emotional and intellectual activity. Also associated with spirit (*shen* 神)*. In its disrupted state referred to as the “chaotic heart-mind” (*luanxin* 亂心). As locus of numinous presence referred to as the “stabilized heart-mind” (*dingxin* 定心).

Xinjing 心經: Heart Sūtra. The seventh-century *Panruo xinjing* 般若心經 (Heart Sūtra of Perfect Wisdom, T. 250–57), a concise Buddhist text from the *prajñā-pāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom) family of texts. The *Heart Sūtra* in particular and the Perfection of Wisdom texts more generally emphasize *prajñā*, wisdom or insight. In these texts, silence is understood as the “perfection of wisdom,” as wisdom, all-knowing and all-penetrating, is deep, inconceivable and ineffable, transcending all concepts and words. Wisdom also sees the “emptiness” (Chn.: *kong* 空; Skt.: *śūnyatā*) of all phenomenal existence (Chn.: *fa* 法; Skt.: *dharma*). Everything existing is fundamentally “empty,” that is, absent of “own-being.”

xing 性: innate nature. Associated with original spirit (*yuanshen* 元神)*. Etymologically, composed of “heart” (*xin* 心) and “to be born” (*sheng* 生). The heart-mind with which one was born. The Dao made manifest as one’s consciousness. Often paired with “life-destiny” (*ming* 命)*.

According to the *Shiwu lun* 十五論 (Fifteen Discourses, DZ 1233, 4b), “Innate nature is spirit; life-destiny is qi . . . Innate nature and life-destiny are the roots of cultivation and practice (*xiuxing* 修行).” The *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions, DZ 1158, 1a) explains, “Innate nature is original spirit, while life-destiny is original qi.”

xing 行: practice. Alternatively rendered as “deed.”

xinggong 行功: practicing exercises. Alternatively rendered as “deeds and merit.”

xingshi, 行屍: walking-corpse. The ordinary human being.

xiu 修: cultivation. Often appearing as “cultivating perfection” (*xiuzhen* 修真) and “cultivating the Dao” (*xiudao* 修道). One of the primary concerns of Daoists.

xiudao 修道: cultivating the Dao. Daoist cultivation. The commitment to remain aligned with (*zheng* 正) and pervaded by (*tong* 通) the Dao.

xiuxing 修行: cultivation and practice. Compound term designating Daoist cultivation.

xiuzhen 修真: cultivating perfection. Intensive internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)* practice, envisioned to result in a shift in ontological condition referred to as “perfection” (*zhen* 真)* or immortality (*xian* 仙)*.

xuanguan 玄關: Mysterious Pass. Also appearing as Mysterious Gate (*xuanmen* 玄門)*, may refer to multiple corporeal aspects, including the teeth, nose, the area between the eyebrows, the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭), and/or the lower elixir field (*dantian* 丹田). According to section 11b of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Gate Lock; DZ 1156), “The teeth are the [upper] mysterious pass (*xuanguan*); keep them closed. The elixir field is the lower mysterious pass; keep it raised.” Similarly, section 17b explains, “When practicing this exercise (*xinggong* 行功), sit like Mount Tai and stand like a treasure pagoda. Securely guard the Four Gates (*simen* 四門) and firmly lock the Mysterious Pass.” According to the *Dadan zhizhi* 大丹直指 (Direct Pointers to the Great Elixir; DZ 244; trl. Belamide 2002), “The Mysterious Pass is located 1.3 inches inside the navel” (2.14b).

xuanmen 玄門: Mysterious Gate. Also appearing as Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan* 玄關)*, may refer to multiple corporeal aspects, including the teeth, nose, the area between the eyebrows, the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭), and/or the lower elixir field (*dantian* 丹田).

Xumi shan 須彌山: Mount Sumeru. A sacred Buddhist mountain often representing the *axis mundi*. Mentioned, for example, in the *Jingang jing* 金剛經 (Vajra-cchedikā Sūtra; Diamond Sūtra; T. 235–37, 273, 2734; trl. Red Pine 2001): “Subhuti, imagine a person with an immense, perfect body whose self-existence is like that of Mount Sumeru” (Red Pine 2001, 9). In Quanzhen, sometimes refers to the body as locus of enlightenment.

Yanxia dong 煙霞洞: Cavern of Misty Vapors. Located on Mount Kunyu 崑崙* in Shandong province, it was established by Wang Chongyang 王重陽 (1113–1170) and his disciples in 1168. Wang was accompanied there by Ma Danyang 馬丹陽 (1123–1184), Qiu Changchun 丘長春 (1148–1227), Tan Changzhen 譚長真 (1123–1185), and Wang Yuyang 王玉陽 (1142–1217). This was an intensive training period, during which Wang initiated a program of rigorous asceticism that included sleep deprivation, exposure to extreme heat and cold, humiliating scoldings, and beatings when their diligence faltered. Wang Chongyang also forced them to beg for alms in their hometowns. During his six months in the Kunyu mountains, Wang Chongyang also attracted more disciples. One important adept who converted at this time was Hao Guangning 郝廣寧 (1140–1213), whose elderly mother had just died.

yangshen 陽神: yang-spirit. Also referred to as the body-beyond-the-body (*shenwai shen* 身外身)* or the Dharma Body (*fashen* 法身)*. The subtle body or transcendent spirit activated through intensive alchemical practice and transformation, which is able to transcend physical death and enter the celestial realms. According to the *Dadan zhizhi* 大丹直指 (Direct Pointers to the Great Elixir; DZ 244, 2.2b), “Guard against the yin-ghosts (*yingui* 陰鬼), external demons (*waimo* 外魔), Seven Corporeal Souls (*qipo* 七魄), and Three Death-bringers (*sanshi* 三尸) from dispersing celestial perfection by confusing the yang-spirit and inhibiting it from ascending to the Celestial Palace (*tiangong* 天宮).”

yidian 一點: a spark. Alchemical term denoting the seed of enlightenment and immortality in each being.

yiling 一靈: unified numen. The numinous manifesting in/through/as one’s being; spirit in a condition of complete perfection. An alternative name for the yang-spirit (*yangshen* 陽神)* or the body-beyond-the-body (*shenwai shen* 身外身)*. According to the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣

(Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock; DZ 1156, 3a), “The unified numen is real; the four elements (*sida* 四大) of body are false.”

Yinfu jing 陰符經: Scripture on the Hidden Talisman. Most likely composed in the sixth century, the *Yinfu jing* (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31; trl. Rand 1979; Cleary 1991, 220–38) emphasizes cosmological integration and the activation of the hidden talisman (*yinfu* 陰符), one’s innate connection with and endowment from the Dao. Mentioned and alluded to throughout the early Quanzhen textual corpus. For instance, in the *Quanzhen ji* 全真集 (DZ 1153, 13.7b–8a), Wang Chongyang 王重陽 explains, “[To practice spiritual refinement] you must fully understand the three hundred characters of the *Yinfu jing* and read up on the five thousand words of the *Daode jing* 道德經” (13.7b–8a). The section headings of the received *Yinfu jing* appear as the names of specific transformative techniques in section 4a of the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Gate Lock; DZ 1156).

yingui 陰鬼: yin-ghosts. Dream-time phantasms. They are the objects of sexual attraction that may lead to seminal emission, an acknowledged source of depletion in Daoism. According to the *Dadan zhizhi* 大丹直指 (Direct Pointers to the Great Elixir; DZ 244, 2.2b), “Guard against the yin-ghosts, external demons (*waimo* 外魔), Seven Po (*qipo* 七魄), and Three Death-bringers (*sanshi* 三尸) from dispersing celestial perfection (*tianzhen* 天真) by confusing the yang spirit (*yangshen* 陽神) and inhibiting it from ascending to the Celestial Palace (*tiangong* 天宮).”

ying'er 嬰兒: Child. Usually associated with the liver (*gan* 肝). Often paired with the Maiden (*chanü* 姮女). According to the *Ershisi jue* 二十四訣 (Twenty-four Instructions; DZ 1158, 1b), lead (*qian* 鉛)* corresponds to original spirit (*yuanshen* 元神)* and thus to innate nature (*xing* 性)*, while mercury (*hong* 汞)* corresponds to original *qi* (*yuanki* 元氣)* and thus to life-destiny (*ming* 命)*. The *Danyang yulu* 丹陽語錄 (Discourse Record of Danyang; DZ 1057, 15b) explains, “Spirit and *qi* are innate nature and life-destiny. Innate nature and life-destiny are the dragon (*long* 龍)* and tiger (*hu* 虎)*. The dragon and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water (*shui* 水)* and fire (*huo* 火)*. Water and fire are the Child and Maiden. The Child and Maiden are perfect yin (*zhenyin* 真陰) and perfect yang (*zhenyang* 真陽).”

yinyuan 因緣: karma. Literally, cause (*yin* 因) and effect (*luan* 緣). Karmic connections.

yuchi 玉池: Jade Pond. The mouth as storehouse of the jade fluids (*yuye* 玉液). Alternatively referred to as the Celestial Pond (*tianchi* 天池).

yujiang 玉漿: Jade Broth. Saliva produced during Daoist practice. Also referred to as “jade fluids” (*yuye* 玉液)*, Spirit Water (*shenshui* 神水)*, and Sweet Dew (*ganlu* 甘露)*.

yujing 玉京: Jade Capital. The upper of the Three Passes (*sanguan* 三關)*. Located at the occiput and sometimes referred to as Jade Pillow (*yuzhen* 玉枕)*.

yuye 玉液: jade *ye*-fluids. Sometimes appearing as gold *ye*-fluids (*jinye* 金液). On the most general level, refers to saliva produced through Daoist training. *Ye*-fluids are distributed to the various orbs, bones and joints, brain and marrow, but do not flow with the *qi* and blood. They are thick and viscous, move slowly, and function as a moistening lubricant and supplement to the vital essence, especially in the deep yin areas of the body, such as the joints and marrow.

yuan 猿: monkey. Designation for the heart-mind (*xin* 心)* in its agitated and confused state, behaving like a monkey jumping around. Most frequently appearing as the compound *yuanxin* 猿心 (monkey-mind). Sometimes appearing as *xinyuan* 心猿.

yuanqi 元氣/原氣: original *qi*. Also translated as “primal *qi*” or “primordial breath.” Usually refers to *qi* acquired before birth, namely, cosmic *qi* and ancestral *qi*. In this sense, used synonymously with prenatal *qi* (*xiantian qi* 先天氣). Sometimes identified as a later stage of transformation in the *qi*-production cycles.

yuanshen 元神: original spirit. Original nature. Pure spirit. One’s innate and original numinosity.

yuanyang 元陽: original yang. One’s being in its primordial purity and numinosity. Also the culmination of alchemical praxis and transformation.

yusuo 玉鎖: Jade Lock. A subtle body location. Usually refers to the locking mechanism of the jaw. Mentioned twice in the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Gold Pass and Jade Lock). According to section 6b, “You should cover the Gold Pass (*jinguan* 金關) from above and shut the Jade Lock. If this is accomplished in the blink of an eye, then the white ox [vital essence] naturally will not depart.

This is called the Method for Mechanically Issuing Water to Ascend the Other Shore.” Section 11b has the following: “The teeth are the [upper] Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan* 玄關); keep them closed. The elixir field is the lower Mysterious Pass; keep it raised. As the golden essence ascends to the Mysterious [Pass], it reaches the Gold Pass; keep it tight. Tapping the teeth is known as the Jade Lock.”

yue 月: the moon. In the human body, refers to the right eye. Usually appearing in combination with “sun” (*ri* 日), the left eye.

zaohua 造化: the transformative process. Alternatively rendered as the “creative process” and inaccurately as “creation.” The universe in its continual unfolding, differentiation, and transformation.

zhen 真: perfect/perfected/perfection. Alternatively rendered as “real/realized/reality,” “true/truth,” or “authentic/authenticity.” The Dao in its suchness or perfection. Simultaneously, one’s original endowment from the Dao and the culmination of Quanzhen training regimens. The ontological condition where one has completed the progress of alchemical refinement and transformation. In this sense, “perfection” is synonymous with “immortality” (*xian* 仙)*.

zhenren 真人: Perfected. Alternatively rendered as Realized Being, True Person, and Authentic. Often abbreviated as *zhen* 真 (“Perfected”). One of the ideals or models of the Daoist tradition. Someone dedicated to self-transformation who has a high degree of spiritual attainment. In the ultimate sense, an adept who has activated the yang-spirit and gained the ability to transcend physical death and enter the celestial realms.

zhenqi 真氣: perfect qi. Alternatively rendered as “true qi” or “authentic energy.” Perfect qi is the final stage in the process of refinement and transformation of qi; it is the qi which circulates in the meridians and nourishes the orbs.

zhengqi 正氣: aligned qi. Sometimes rendered as “correct qi” or “orthopathic qi.” Sometimes synonymous with “perfect qi” (*zhenqi* 真氣), orthopathic qi is qi flowing harmoniously and beneficially throughout the body and the related ability to resist disease. Contrasted with “deviant” or “heteropathic qi” (*xieqi* 邪氣)*.

Zhongli Quan 鍾離權: (Daoist immortal). One of the most famous Daoist immortals, considered a patriarch of internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹)* lineages in general. Also known by his Daoist name Zhengyang

正陽 (Aligned Yang), Zhongli Quan (2nd c. C.E.?) is said to have been the teacher of Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (Chunyang 純陽 [Purified Yang]; b. 798?)*. Both of these immortals are sometimes associated with Wang Chongyang's mystical experiences and identified as two of the so-called Five Patriarchs (*wuzu* 五祖)* of early Quanzhen 全真 (Complete Perfection) Daoism. These two immortals were also the inspiration for the Zhong-Lü 鍾呂 textual tradition, of which the *Baiwen pian* 百問篇 (Chapters of One Hundred Questions; DZ 1017, j. 5; trl. Homann 1976) and *Chuandao ji* 傳道集 (Anthology of the Transmission of the Dao; DZ 263, j. 14–16; trl. Wong 2000) are representative.

zhonglou 重樓: Storied Tower. The trachea. Abbreviation for *shier zhong lou* 十二重樓*.

zhoutian 周天: Celestial Cycle. Often divided into a larger (*da zhoutian* 大周天) and smaller cycle (*xiao zhoutian* 小周天), sometimes translated as Macrocosmic Orbit and Microcosmic Orbit, respectively. Also referred to as the Waterwheel (*heche* 河車). Moving transformed vital essence along an energetic pathway composed of the Three Passes (*sanguan* 三關)*, from the base of the spine, up the centerline of the spine, to the head region.

Zhuangzi 莊子: Book of Master Zhuang. A third-century B.C.E. classical Daoist text that exerted a major influence on early Quanzhen Daoism. The name “complete perfection” (*quanzhen* 全真)* itself may derive from chapter twenty-nine, which is titled “Dao Zhi” 盜跖 (Thief Zhi). The early adepts borrowed technical terminology, specific practices, and a literary model from the *Zhuangzi*. In particular, one finds references to “carefree wandering” (*xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊; ch. 1), “heart-mind like dead ashes” (*xin ru sifu* 心如死灰; ch. 2), and “seven cavities” (*qiqiao* 七竅; ch. 7). In addition, the Quanzhen emphasis on eremitic withdrawal and the Quanzhen practice of “meditation enclosures” (*huandu* 環堵) may be traced back to relevant passages in the *Zhuangzi* (chs. 23 and 28). The model of direct instruction from teacher to student and the literary genre of “discourse records” (*yulu* 語錄), although conventionally associated with Chan Buddhism, finds one of its earliest and most influential expressions in the *Zhuangzi*.

zong 宗: Ancestor. A symbolic name for innate nature (*xing* 性)*.

zougu 走骨: running bones. The ordinary human being.

zu 祖: Patriarch: A symbolic name for life-destiny (*ming* 命)*.

zuobo 坐鉢: sitting-bowl. Clepsydra meditation. A form of communal meditation that became prominent in Quanzhen monasticism during the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). Here a sinking clepsydra (water-clock) was used as a time-keeping device.

Zuting 祖庭: Ancestral Hall. In terms of early Quanzhen, refers to Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Chongyang)* (present-day Huxian, Shaanxi), the location of the eremitic community of Liujiang 劉蔣 where Wang Chongyang engaged in religious praxis from 1163–1167 and where he was buried after his death in 1170. Considered the “ancestral hall” (*zuting* 祖庭) of the Quanzhen 全真 (Complete Perfection) movement. There are other *zuting* associated with Quanzhen in contemporary Longmen 龍門 (Dragon Gate)*. Louguan tai 樓觀臺 (Lookout Tower Monastery; Zhouzhi, Shaanxi) is considered the Ancestral Hall of Daoism, as it is where Laozi 老子 is believed to have transmitted the *Daode jing* 道德經 to Yin Xi 尹喜. Longmen dong 龍門洞 (Dragon Gate Cavern; near Longxian, Shaanxi) is considered the Ancestral Hall of Longmen, as it is where Qiu Changchun 丘長春 engaged in intensive training.

APPENDIX SIX

COMPARATIVE CHART OF HACHIYA'S ANNOTATIONS WITH THE TEXT CONTAINED IN THE DAOIST CANON (DZ 1156)

Hachiya Kunio's 蜂屋邦夫 study and annotated edition of the *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣 (1972) divides the text into sections, based on Hachiya's understanding of its contents. The divisions are as follows:

1. Questions on First Principles
2. Questions on Patterns
 - a. Practice Stages
 - b. Practice Formalities
 - c. Appended Items
 - d. Kinds of Practices and Types of Spirit Immortality
3. Questions on Content
 - a. Concrete Objects
 - i. Five Orbs, Five Phases, Eight Trigrams
 - ii. Discourse on Water and Fire
 - iii. Discourse on Transporting the Three Treasures
 - iv. Discourse on Practicing Exercises
 - b. Efficacious Results
 - i. Discourse on Vital Essence and Blood
 - ii. Discourse on Clarity and Stillness
 - iii. Discourse on Experiencing Difficulties
 - iv. Healing Diseases and Other Matters
4. Symbols
5. Effects
 - a. Conditions and Causes
 - b. Effects

For those interested in accessing and consulting Hachiya's study (H) in reference to the edition found in the Daoist Canon (DZ), I have supplied a comparative table below.

DZ	H	DZ	H
1a	79, 81, 104	13a	93, 102
1b	79, 80, 104	13b	99, 109
2a	104, 140	14a	98, 109, 159
2b	139, 140	14b	93, 96, 98
3a	89, 140, 95	15a	94, 96
3b	83, 140	15b	94, 142
4a	83	16a	117, 142
4b	83, 89	16b	115, 117, 130, 150
5a	89, 139, 142	17a	106, 130
5b	144	17b	106, 131–32
6a	144, 145	18a	95, 132, 151
6b	145, 147	18b	151, 152
7a	118–19, 121, 125	19a	153, 154
7b	121, 125	19b	154, 155
8a	121, 122, 126	20a	101, 155
8b	108, 126	20b	101, 106, 134
9a	105, 110, 126	21a	134
9b	108, 110	21b	134
10a	110, 114, 118, 137	22a	96, 100, 158
10b	137, 149	22b	90, 157, 158
11a	146, 149	23a	90, 157, 158
11b	128, 146		
12a	90, 128, 149		
12b	90, 91, 93		

CHARACTER GLOSSARY

- “Baixin” 白心
 “Bu suanzi” 卜算子
 “Changchun Qiu zhenren ji Xizhou daoyou shu” 長春丘真人寄西州道友書
 “Changchun shu” 長春書
 “Changsheng Liu zhenren yulu” 長生劉真人語錄
 “Changsheng yulu” 長生語錄
 “Changzhen Tan xiansheng shi menren yulu” 長真譚先生示門人語錄
 “Changzhen yulu” 長真語錄
 “Chongyang bijue” 重陽秘訣
 “Chongyang dazuo” 重陽打坐
 “Chongyang zushi lun dazuo” 重陽祖師論打坐
 “Chongyang zushi xiuxian liaoxing bijue” 重陽祖師修仙了性秘訣
 “Chongzhen pian” 崇真篇
 “Da Ma shifu shisi wen” 答馬師父十四問
 “Da Ma wen” 答馬問
 “Danyang yulu” 丹陽語錄
 “Dao Zhi” 盜跖
 “Dazuo” 打坐
 “Dechong fu” 德充符
 “Hao Taigu zhenren yu” 郝太古真人語
 “Hua Danyang” 化丹陽
 “Jiande” 建德
 “Jiangxin” 降心
 “Jiaozhu Chongyang dijun zefa bang” 教主重陽帶君責罰榜
 “Jindan jue” 金丹訣
 “Jindan shi” 金丹詩
 “Jindan zhengyan” 金丹證驗
 “Lianxing” 鍊性
 “Lun baguan jie” 論八關節
 “Lun liutong jue” 論六通訣
 “Lun zhengyan” 論證驗
 “Ma Danyang zhenren zhiyan” 馬丹陽真人語錄
 “Manting fang” 滿庭芳
 “Monan” 魔難
 “Neiguan qihuo lianshen hedao jueyi” 內觀起火鍊神合道訣義
 “Neiguan qihuo lianshen hedao tu” 內觀起火鍊神合道圖
 “Neiye” 內業
 “Qingting ge” 青天歌
 “Quanzhen jiaozu bei” 全真教祖碑
 “Shi menren yulu” 示門人語錄
 “Shuyan” 樞言
 “Taigu yu” 太古語
 “Taishang lian wuxing zhi fa” 太上鍊五行之法
 “Tuoke shengxian zhaofan rusheng juetu” 脫殼升仙趙凡入聖訣圖
 “Wuqi chaoyuan lianshen ruding tu” 五氣朝元鍊神入頂圖
 “Xinggong yingyan” 行功應驗
 “Xinshu shang” 心術上
 “Xinshu xia” 心術下
 “Xiudao” 修道
 “Xiuxing zan” 秀形贊
 “Xiuxing” 修行
 “Yuanqi tixiang tu” 元氣體象圖
 “Yuhua she shu” 玉華社疏
 “Yushi” 遇師
 “Zhong-Lü erxian qingtian yi” 鐘呂二仙慶誕儀
 “Zhouhe” 宙合
 “Zhouhou fei jinjing” 肘後飛金晶
 “Zhouhou fei jinjing” 肘後飛金精
 “Zhu'an” 住庵
 “Zhu huandu” 住環堵
 ai (love) 愛
 ai (sadness) 哀
 an (calm) 安
 an (hermitage) 庵
 babao 八寶
 Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾
 Baichong 白蟲
 Baigu 白姑
 baihai 百骸
 baimai 百脈
 bainiu 白牛
 baixue 白雪
 Baiyu 白玉
 Baiyun guan 白雲觀
 Bai zhang qinggui 百丈清規
 baizhuai 擺拽
 bajie 八節
 balou 八漏
 bamai 八脈
 ban (plank) 板
 bao (treasure) 寶

- bao (uterus) 胞
 baogong 胞宮
Baopuzi neipian 抱朴子內篇
 Baopuzi 抱朴子
 baota 寶塔
 baoyi 抱一
 bei (grief) 悲
 benfen 本分
 bengen 本根
 benlai xing 本來性
 benshen 本身
 benxing 本性
 benzhen 本真
 bi 鼻
 Bian He 卞和
 bianhua 變化
 Bianjing 汴京
 Bianliang 汴梁
 bianxian 變現
 bieshi 別使
 bigu 辟穀
 Biluo 碧羅
 bing (disease) 病
 boxun 波巡
 Boyang 伯陽
 bu bu 不不
 bu pingdeng 不平等
 bucheng 不成
 budong 不動
 buquan 不全
 buran 不染
 busi 不死
 buyi 布衣
 buyu xiansheng 不語先生
 buzhen 不真
 buzhuo 不著
 cai (avarice/wealth) 財
Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao 參同契五相
 類秘要
 Cao Tian 曹填
 caoshe 草舍
 chaizi cangtou 拆字藏頭
 Chan (Zen) 禪
 chang (constancy) 常
 Changchun 長春
 Changchun gong 長春宮
 Changchun hui 長春會
 changjing 常靜
 changqing 常清
 Changsheng 長生
 Changsheng hui 長生會
 changzai 常在
 Changzhen 長真
 chanü 姮女
Chanyuan qinggui 禪院清規
 chaofan 超凡
 chaofan rusheng 超凡入聖
 chaotuo 超脫
 chaoyuan 朝元
 Chaoyuan gong 朝元宮
 chen (anger) 嗔
 chen (dust/defilement) 塵
 chen (ignorance) 嗔
 Chen Tuan 陳搏
 Chen Xiyi 陳希夷
 cheng (complete) 成
 cheng (sincere) 誠
 cheng suozuo zhi 成所作智
 chengdao 成道
 chenshi 塵世
 chi 痴/癡
 Chi 遲
 Chichong 赤蟲
 chijie 持戒
 chilong 赤龍
 chizhai 持齋
 chong (thoroughfare) 衝
 Chong'er 重耳
 chongmai 衝脈
 chongqi 沖氣
 Chongyang 重陽
 Chongyang dian 重陽殿
 Chongyang gong 重陽宮
 Chongyang hui 重陽會
 Chongzhen 崇真
 chou (anxiety) 愁
 chou (branch) 丑
 Choufei 臭肺
 choutian 抽添
Chu sanshi juchong jing 除三尸九蟲經
Chuandao ji 傳道集
 chuanxi 喘息
 chuhuan 出環
 Chuhui 除穢
 chujia 出家
 chunqi 春氣
 Chunyang 純陽
 chunyang 純陽
Chunyang Lü zhenren yaoshi zhi 純陽呂真人藥石製
 chunyang zhi shen 純陽之神
 chunyang zhi xian 純陽之仙
 chushen rumeng 出神入夢
 chuxiang 初相
Chuzhen jie 初真戒
 ci 詞
 cibei 慈悲
 cipai 詞牌

- cun (inch) 寸
 cun (visualize/preserve) 存
 cunxiang 存想
 cuo (confusion) 錯
Da jin xuandu baozang 大金玄都寶藏
 da yuanjing zhi 大圓鏡智
 dacheng fa 大成法
 dadan 大丹
 Dadao 大道
 dadao 達道
 dade 大德
 daimai 帶脈
 dali 達理
 damo 大魔
Damo duoluo chanjing 達摩多羅禪經
 dan (cinnabar/elixir) 丹
 dan (gall) 膽
 dantian 丹田
 Danyang 丹陽
 danyuan 丹元
 dao (bandit) 盜
 Dao 道
 daobing mo 刀兵魔
Daode jing 道德經
 daogui 刀圭
 daoguo 道果
 daohao 道號
 daojia 道家
 daoli 道理
Daomen kelue 道門科略
 daoren 道人
 daoshi 道士
Daoshu 道樞
Daoshu shier zhong 道書十二種
 daoxing 道性
 Daoyuan 道淵
Daozang 道藏
Daozang jinghua lu 道藏精華錄
Daozang jinghua 道藏精華
Daozang jiyao 道藏集要
Daozang xubian 道藏續編
 Dawei 大魏
 dazuo 打坐
 de (virtue/inner power) 德
 dedao 得道
 deng 等
 dengzhen 登真
 Dengzhou 登州
 Deqing 德清
 Dewei 德威
 diandao 顛倒
 diaoxi fa 調息法
 ding (concentration/stability) 定
 ding (tripod/cauldron) 鼎
 dingxin 定心
 dixian 地仙
 diyu 地獄
 dizhi 地支
 dizhu 地柱
 dong (cavern) 洞
 dong (movement) 動
 Dong Jinchun 董董醇
 dongfang 洞房
 Donghua dijun 東華帝君
 dongjing 動靜
 dongtian 洞天
 Dongyang 洞陽
 Du Guangting 杜光庭
 du yiqie zhongsheng 度一切眾生
 duan (sever) 斷
 dumai 督脈
 dun 沌
 Dunhuang 敦煌
 e (perversion) 惡
 en (grace) 恩
 en'ai mo 恩愛魔
 enian 惡念
 er 耳
 fa (method/dharma) 法
 fajie 法界
 faming 法名
 Fan Mingshu 范明叔
 Fan Yi 范懌
 fang (method/formula) 方
 fangbian panruo 方便般若
 fangbian 方便
 fangcun 方寸
 fanhua 反化
 fannao 煩惱
 fanxu 反虛
 FanYuanxi 范圓曦
 fashen 法身
 fashi 法師
 faxin 法心
 fei (faults) 非
 Feichong 肺蟲
 Feidu 非毒
 Fengdu 豐都
 Fengzi 風子
 fenli (divided pear) 分梨
 fenli (separation) 分離
 fou 缶
 Fouyun guan 浮雲觀
 fu (yang-orb) 府/腑
 Fuchong 伏蟲
 Fuchun 富春
 fumo 富魔
 fuqi 服氣

- Fushan 福山
 Fushi 伏矢
 Fuyu 福裕
 Fuyun shan 浮雲山
 gaiji 溉濟
 gaizheng 改正
 Ganhe 甘河
 ganlu 甘露
Ganshui xianyuan lu 甘水仙源錄
 Gao Daokuan 高道寬
 gaomu 槁木
 Gaoshang 高尚
 Ge Hong 葛洪
 Gechong 膈蟲
 gen (root/cause) 根
 geng (night-watch) 更
 Gengsang Chu 庚桑楚
 geng 庚
 gong (exercise/accomplishment) 功
 gong (merit) 功
 gong (palace) 宮
 gong'an (koan) 公案
 gongke 功課
 gongque 宮闕
 gongxing 功行
 gongyang 供養
 gu (bone) 骨
 guan (monastery) 觀
 guan (observation/vipaśyana) 觀
 guan (official) 官
 Guangning 廣寧
 guangzhan 光綻
 guanzhao panruo 觀照般若
Guanzi 管子
 gui (ghost) 鬼
 guimo 貴魔
 guiren 貴人
 guixian 鬼仙
 gujin 骨筋
 guo shen tong ye 國身同也
 guo 過
 guoqu 過去
Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing 過去現在因果經
 gushen busi diaoxi zhi fa 谷神不死調
 息之法
 gushen 谷神
 hai (branch) 亥
 Haichan 海蟾
 Haifeng 香風
 Han Daoxi 韓道熙
 Han Shiqian 韓士倩
Hanfeizi 韓非子
 hanming 含明
 hao (style-name) 號
 Hao Datong 郝大通
Hao lixiang 好離鄉
 Hao Sheng 郝昇
 Hao Taigu 郝太古
 haohao 浩浩
 haohua 皓華
 he (harmonize) 和
 he (merge/join) 合
 He Dejin 和德瑾
 heche 河車
 Heshang gong 河上公
 hong (mercury) 汞
 houtian qi 後天氣
 hu (pot) 壺
 hu (tiger) 虎
 Hu 忽
 hua (conversion) 化
 hua (transformation) 化
 huagai 華蓋
 huahu 化胡
Huahu jing 化胡經
Huainanzi 淮南子
 huan (sorrow) 患
 Huanchu 還初
 huandan 還丹
 huandu 環堵
 huandu zhi shi 環堵之室
 Huangdi 黃帝
Huangdi neijing lingshu 黃帝內經靈樞
Huangdi neijing suwen 黃帝內經素問
 huanghu 恍惚
 huanglu jiao 黃籙醮
 huangpo 黃婆
Huangting jing 黃庭經
 huangting 黃庭
 Huangxian 黃縣
 huangya 黃芽
 huanjing bunao 還精補腦
 huanqiang 環牆
 huanwang 幻妄
 Huashan 華山
 Huayang Shi 華陽施
 hui (association) 會
 hui (wisdom) 慧
 Huichong 蛔蟲
 hun (ethereal soul) 魂
 huncheng 混成
 Hundun 混沌
 hunhun momo 昏昏默默
 hunting 魂停
 hunyuan 混元
 hunzuo 混坐
 huo (calamity) 禍
 huo siren mu 活死人墓

- huò 禍
 huòhòu 火候
 huòyuàn 火院
 Húxiàn 鄆縣
 jì (anthology) 集
 jì (pivot) 機
 jì (record) 記
 jì (self) 己
 jì (trigger) 機
 jì 冀
 jià (falseness/provisional) 假
 jiǎ 甲
 jiāfēng 家風
 jiǎfú zuò 跣趺坐
 jiǎjǐ 夾脊
 jiǎmíng 假名
 jiǎn (gradual) 漸
 jiàn (seeing) 見
 jiàn'è 見惡
 jiāngchǎn 講懺
 jiāngōng 絳宮
 jiānxiān 劍仙
 jiàn xìng 見性
 jiào 醮
 jiàomén rén 教門人
 jiè (precept) 戒
 jié (purity) 潔
 jié (release) 解
 jīè mo 妓樂魔
 jīn (fluids) 津
 jīn (sinew) 筋
 Jìn Daochéng 晉道成
Jìn zhēnrén yǔlù 晉真人語錄
Jīndān dàoyào tú 金丹大要圖
Jīndān sībǎizi 金丹四百字
 jīndān 金丹
 jīng (fright) 驚
 jīng (mental projection) 境
 jīng (meridian) 經
 jīng (purity) 淨
 jīng (stillness) 靜
 jīng (vital essence) 精
 jīng zhì shì 靜之室
 Jīng 荊
Jīngāng jīng 金剛經
 jīnghǎi 精海
 jīngjiào 經教
 jīngjiè 境界
 jīngmài 經脈
 jīngōng 金公
 jīngqū 精區
 jīngquán 精全
 Jīngshān 荊山
 jīngshè 靜舍
 jīngshén 精神
 jīngshén 靜神
 jīngshì 靜室
 jīnguān 金關
 jīnguāng 金光
 Jīngzhào 京兆
 jīngzuò 靜坐
 jīnjīa 金枷
 jīnjīn 金津
 jīnjīng (gold crystal) 金晶
 jīnjīng (gold essence) 金精
Jīnjīng lùn 金晶論
 Jīnlián 金蓮
 Jīnlián huì 金蓮會
Jīnlián zhèngzōng jì 金蓮正宗記
Jīnlián zhèngzōng xiānyuán xiàngzhuàn 金蓮正宗仙源像傳
 Jīnlíng dàoren 金陵道人
 jīnmén 金門
 jīnquè 金闕
 jīnrén 今人
 jīnsuǒ 金鎖
 jīnyè 津液
 jīnyù 金玉
 Jīnyù ān 金玉庵
 jiǔ (alcohol) 酒
 jiǔ sè cái qì 酒色財氣
 jiǔchōng 九蟲
 jiǔfēng 九峰
 jiǔgōng 九宮
 jiǔqiào 九竅
 jiǔsī 九思
Jiǔtiān shēngshén zhāngjīng zhū 九天生神章經注
 jiùtiān 九天
 jiùtōng 九通
 jiùzhuàn 九轉
 juǎn (scroll) 卷
 jué (awaken) 覺
 jué (perceive) 覺
 juéju 絕句
 juhuan 居環
 Junzhou 濬州
 junzhu 君主
 junzi 君子
 juren 舉人
 kaiwu 開悟
 kong (empty) 空
 kong (fear) 恐
 kongqiao 孔竅
 Kongzi 孔子
 koujue 口訣
 ku (suffering/grief) 苦
 kua (boast) 誇

- kuilei 傀儡
 kuilu 廬虧
 kulou 骷髏
 Kunlun 崑崙
 Kunyang 崑陽
 Kунyу 崑崙
 Laizhou 萊州
 Lanyun 懶雲
 Lao Dan 老耽
 laobi 牢閉
 Laojun 老君
 Laozi 老子
Laozi bashiyi hua tu 老子八十一化圖
 le (joy) 樂
 li (profit) 利
 li (respect/ritual propriety) 禮
 Li Daochun 李道純
 Li Daoqian 李道謙
 Li Dasheng 李大乘
 Li Dehe 李德和
 Li Lingyang 李靈陽
 Li Zhichang 李志常
 Li Zhirou 李志柔
 Li 李
 lian (refine) 煉/鍊
 Liang 梁
 lianjing huaqi 煉精化氣
 lianqi huashen 煉氣化神
 lianshen huanxu 煉神還虛
 lianshen 煉神
 liaoda 了達
 liaoliao 了了
 liaowu 了悟
 ling (mandate) 令
 ling (numen/numinosity) 靈
 ling zhi fu 靈之府
 Lingbao 靈寶
Lingbao bifa 靈寶畢法
 Lingbao hui 靈寶會
 lingming 靈明
 lingshen 靈風
Lingshu 靈樞
 lingtong 靈通
 lingwu 靈物
 Lingxu guan 靈虛觀
 Lingyang 靈陽
 Lingzhen 靈真
Linji lu 臨濟錄
 Liquan 醴泉
Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian 歷世真仙體
 道通鑑
 Liu Biangong 劉卞功
 Liu Cao 劉操
 Liu Changsheng 劉長生
 Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄
 Liu Haichan 劉海蟾
 Liu Tongwei 劉通微
 Liu Wen 劉溫
 Liu Yiming 劉一明
 Liu Zhenyi 劉真一
 Liu Zhixuan 劉志玄
 Liu Zhonglu 劉仲錄
 Liu Zuqian 劉祖謙
 Liu 劉
 liudao 六道
 liudu 六度
 liufu 六腑
 liugen 六根
 liujia 六甲
 Liujiang 劉蔣
 liumen 六門
 liuqi 六氣
 liuqing 六情
 liushen 六神
 liuti 六梯
 liutong 六通
 Liuxia Ji 柳下季
 liuyu mo 六欲魔
 liuyu 六欲
 liuzei 六賊
 long (dragon) 龍
 longhu xue 龍虎穴
 Longmen 龍門
 Longmen dong 龍門洞
 Longmen shan 龍門山
 Longxing 隆興
 longyan 龍煙
 longyao 龍躍
 Longzhou 隴州
 lou (dissipation) 漏
 Louguan tai 樓觀臺
 Louguan 樓觀
 lü (anxiety) 慮
 lu (furnace) 爐
 lu (record) 錄
 Lü Daoan 呂道安
 Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓
 Lü Yan 呂巖
 luan (chaos/confusion) 亂
 luanxin 亂心
 luanzhen 亂真
 lun (discourse) 論
 Lun Zhihuan 論志煥
 lunhui 輪迴
Lunyu 論語
 lüshi 律詩
 luzao 爐灶
 Ma Congyi 馬從義

- Ma Dabian 馬大辨
 Ma Danyang 馬丹陽
 Ma Jue 馬玕
 Ma Yu 馬鈺
 Ma Ziran 馬自然
 mai (vessel/meridian) 脈
 man 慢
 mao 卯
 Mawangdui 馬王堆
 mayi 馬意
 meichu 美處
 men (gate) 門
 meng er gui 夢而鬼
 mi (delusion) 迷
 miao (temple) 廟
 miao (wondrous) 妙
 miao guan cha zhi 妙觀察智
 Min Yide 閔一得
 ming (fame) 名
 ming (illumination) 明
 ming (life-destiny) 命
 ming (personal name) 名
 mingmen 命門
 mingming miaomiao 冥冥杳杳
 mingshi 明師
 mingtang 明堂
 Mingzhen hui 明真會
 miyu wupian 秘語五篇
 mo (demon) 魔
 moguan 默觀
 mojun (demon army) 魔軍
 mojun (demon lord) 魔君
 Moran 默然
 Muping 牟平
 Nanjing 難經
 Nanshi 南時
 Nanzong 南宗
 nao (brain) 腦
 nei (inside) 內
 nei riyong 內日用
 nei rongyan 內容顏
 Neidan jiyao 內丹集要
 neidan 內丹
 neidao 內道
 neiguan qihuo 內觀起火
 neiguan 內觀
 neijing 內景
 neishi 內視
 neishou 內守
 neixiu 內修
 neiyuan 內院
 nian (thought/recollection) 念
 ning (calm) 寧
 Ning Shichang 寧師常
 Ninghai 寧海
 Ningzong 寧宗
 Niu Daochun 牛道淳
 Niuxian shan 牛仙山
 niwan gong 泥丸宮
 niwan 泥丸
 nu (anger) 怒
 Nu jindan fayao 女金丹法要
 Nüdan hebian 女丹合編
 nüdan 女丹
 nüse mo 女色魔
 pan (class) 般
 pan (craving) 攀
 Pan Dezhong 潘德沖
 panjiao 判教
 panruo 般若
 Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu 盤山棲雲王真人語錄
 Panshan yulu 盤山語錄
 Panxi 磻溪
 Peng Jiao 彭矯
 Peng Ju 彭瑯
 Peng Zhi 彭質
 peng 烹
 Penglai 蓬萊
 penglang 蓬郎
 pi (skin) 皮
 piaofeng 飄風
 pin (poverty) 貧
 ping dengxing zhi 平等性智
 Ping'an hui 平安會
 Pingdeng hui 平等會
 po (corporeal soul) 魄
 pu (simplicity) 朴
 Pubian guangming qingjing chisheng ruyin bao yixin wu nengsheng daming wang da sui qiu tuolou ni jing 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經
 qi (anger) 氣
 qi (navel) 臍
 qi (subtle breath) 氣
 qi heche 起河車
 Qi Zhicheng 祁志誠
 qian (lead) 鉛
 qiao (cavity) 竅
 Qiaochong 曉蟲
 Qibao hui 七寶會
 qibao 七寶
 qiduo jinlian 七朵金蓮
 Qigong yangsheng congshu 氣功養生叢書
 qigu 棄穀
 qihai 氣海
 qiheng zhi fu 奇恆之腑
 qijing bamai 奇經八脈

- qimen 七門
 Qimen 淇門
 qin (family/relatives) 親
 qin er xian 寢而涎
 Qin Zhian 秦志安
 Qindu 秦渡
 qing (clarity) 清
 qing (emotion) 情
 Qing 青
 Qinggu 青古
 Qingui xuanmiao 清規玄妙
 Qinghe 清和
 qingjing (clarity and purity) 清淨
 qingjing (clarity and stillness) 清靜
 qingjing fashen 清靜法身
 Qingjing jing 清靜經
 qingpin 清貧
 qingshe 清舍
 Qingsong guan 青松觀
 Qingtian ge zhushi 青天歌註釋
 qipo 七魄
 qiqiao 七竅
 qiqing mo 七情魔
 qiqing 七情
 qiquan 氣全
 qishi 乞食
 Qiu Changchun 丘長春
 Qiu Chuji 丘處機
 qiyan 氣院
 Qiyun (Xiyun) 棲雲
 Qiyun guan (Xiyun guan) 棲雲觀
 Qiyun yulu 棲雲語錄
 qizhen (seven gems) 七珍
 qizhen (Seven Perfected) 七真
 Qizhenzi 棲真子
 qizhuan 氣轉
 quan (admonition/exhortation) 勸
 quan (complete) 全
 Quan jin shi 全金詩
 Quan jin Yuan ci 全金元詞
 quanjing 全精
 quanqi 全氣
 quanshen 全神
 quanzhen 全真
 Quanzhen 全真
 Quanzhen an 全真庵
 quanzhen jiao 全真教
 Quanzhen qingui 全真清規
 quanzhen zhi dao 全真之道
 quanzhen zhi jiao 全真之教
 Quanzhen zuobo 全真坐鉢
 quegu 卻穀
 Queyin 雀陰
 Qunxian yaoyu zuanji 群仙要語纂集
 Qunxian zuanji 群仙纂集
 ranhou 然後
 ren (forbearance) 忍
 ren (human) 人
 ren (humaneness) 仁
 Ren 任
 rengui 王癸
 renmai 任脈
 renshen 人身
 renwo 人我
 renxian 人仙
 riri 日日
 riyong 日用
 rou (flesh) 肉
 Rouchong 肉蟲
 rouruo 柔弱
 ru zhendao 入真道
 rudao 入道
 ruding 入定
 rujing 入靜
 san (dissipate) 散
 san dantian 三丹田
 san dashi 三大士
 sanbao 三寶
 sancai 三才
 sanche 三車
 sancheng 三成
 Sanchong zhongjing 三蟲中經
 sanchong 三蟲
 sandan 三丹
 sandao 三盜
 sandu 三毒
 sangong 三宮
 sangan 三關
 Sanguang hui 三光會
 sanhun 三魂
 sanjiao (three teachings) 三教
 sanjiao (triple warmer) 三焦
 sanjie 三界
 sanmei 三昧
 sanming 三明
 sanqi 三氣
 sanshen 三身
 sansheng 三乘
 sanshi liuzei 三尸六賊
 sanshi 三尸
 sanshi 三時
 santian 三田
 Sanyang 傘陽
 sanyao 三要
 sanyuan 三元
 sanzei 三賊
 se (sex) 色
 seiza 正座

- Shanghan lun* 傷寒論
 Shangqing 上清
 shangshi 上士
 shangtian 上田
Shangyangzi jindan dayao xianpai 上陽子金丹大要仙派
 shangyuan 上元
 Shantong 山侗
 shanxin 善心
 Shao 邵
 she (association) 社
 she (enclosure) 舍
 she wei huo ben gen 舌為禍本根
 she 舌
 shen (body/self/person) 身
 shen (spirit) 神
 Shen Zhizhen 申志真
 shenbing 神兵
 sheng (life/vitality) 生
 sheng (pride) 勝
 sheng (sage) 聖
 sheng (transmission) 乘
 sheng zhi dao 聖之道
 shenglu 生路
 shengming 生命
 shengong (kidney palace) 腎宮
 shengong (spirit palace) 神宮
 shengpin 聖品
 shengren 聖人
 shenguan 神官
 shenguang 神光
 shengxian mo 聖賢魔
 shengxian 昇仙
 shenming 神明
Shenrong bencao jing 神農本草經
 shenquan 神全
 shenshui 神水
 shenti (body) 身體
 shenti (spirit form) 神體
 shentong 神通
 shenwai shen 身外身
Shenxian zhuan 神仙傳
 shenxian 神仙
 Shenxiao 神霄
 shenxing 神性
 shenyi 神異
 shi (condition/affair) 事
 shi (consciousness) 識
 shi (corpse) 尸
 shi (poetry) 詩
 Shi Chuhou 史處厚
 Shi Daojuan 石道涓
 Shi Jianwu 施肩吾
 shi mojun 十魔君
 shi'e 十惡
 shiba jie 十八戒
 shifei 是非
 shifu 師父
 Shigou 尸狗
 shijie xian 尸解仙
 shijie 尸解
 shili 施利
 shimo 十魔
 shiquan 十勸
 shishi 時時
 shishu 師叔
 shixiang panruo 實相般若
 Shixiong 世雄
 Shizong 世宗
 Shizu 世祖
 shou (longevity) 壽
 shoudao 守道
 shoujing 守靜
 shouling 守靈
 shousi 守死
 shouyin 手印
 shouyong 受用
 Shu 儻
 shu (technique) 術
 shu 數
 shuai (decay/injury) 衰
 shuangguan 雙關
 shuidao 水道
 shuigu hai 水穀海
 shuimo 睡魔
 Shuli 樗櫟
 si (death) 死
 si (self-interest) 私
 si (thought/worry) 思
 sida 四大
 sihai 四害
 sihui 死灰
 silu 死路
 Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎
 simen 四門
 Siming 司命
 simo 四魔
 sixian (four immortals) 四仙
 sixian (four worthies) 四賢
 sixiang 四象
 sixiang 死相
 sixin 思尋
 sixin 死心
 sizhe 四哲
 sizhi gong 四智功
 Song Defang 宋德方
 su (ordinary) 俗
 sui (marrow) 髓

- suihai 髓海
Sun Buer nidan shi zhu 孫不二女丹詩註
Sun Buer yuanjun chuanshu dandao bishu 孫不二元君傳述丹道秘書
Sun Buer yuanjun fayu 孫不二元君法語
 Sun Buer 孫不二
 Sun Fuchun 孫富春
 Sun Mingdao 孫明道
 Sun Qingjing 孫清靜
 Sun Xiangu 孫仙姑
 Sun Yuanzhen 孫瑗禎
 suoan 鎖庵
 suohuan 鎖環
 suoyi xiansheng 蓑衣先生
 suqu 俗軀
 suren 俗人
Suwen 素問
 Taigu 太古
 Taiji gong 太極宮
 Taiji quan 太極拳
 Taiping gong 太平宮
Taiping jing 太平經
 Taiqing guan 太清觀
Taishang chu sanshi juchong baosheng jing
 太上除三尸九蟲保生經
Taishang laojun nei riyong miaojing 太上老君內日用妙經
 taiwu 太無
 taixian 胎仙
 Taixu guan 太虛觀
 taixu 太虛
 Taiyi 太一
 tan (greed/lust) 貪
 Tan Changzhen 譚長真
 Tan Chuduan 譚處端
 Tan Yu 譚玉
 tang (hall) 堂
 Tang Chun 唐淳
 Tang 揚
 Tao Hongjing 陶弘景
Taoguang ji 韜光集
 ti (physical structure) 體
 Tianchang guan 天長觀
 tianchi 天池
 tiandao 天道
 tiangan 天干
 tiangong 天宮
 tianguan 天官
 tianguan 天關
 tianji 天機
 tianjing 天經
 tianmen 天門
 tianmo 天魔
 Tianshi 天師
 tiantang 天堂
 tianting 天庭
 tianxia 天下
 tianxian 天仙
 tianxin 天心
Tianyinzi 天隱子
 tianzhen 天真
 tianzhu 天柱
 Tiecha shan 鐵槎山
 tiejiao xiansheng 鐵腳先生
 tiqie 提挈
 tong (connect/pervade) 通
 Tongmi 通密
 Tongmiao 通妙
 tongwu 通物
 Tongzheng 通正
 Tunzci 吞賊
 tuo (saliva) 唾
 tuoke 脫殼
 wai (outside) 外
 wai riyong 外日用
 waidan 外丹
 waidao 外道
 waihan 外汗
 waijing 外景/外境
 waimo 外魔
 waiwu 外物
 wang (disorder) 妄
 wang (forgetfulness) 忘
 Wang Changyue 王常月
 Wang Chongyang 王重陽
 Wang Chuyi 王處一
 Wang Haifeng 王害風
 Wang Jie 王玠
 Wang Lihui 王琉輝
 Wang Xuanfu 王玄甫
 Wang Yizhong 王頤中
 Wang Yuan 王遠
 Wang Yuyang 王玉陽
 Wang Zhe 王喆
 Wang Zhijin 王志瑾
 Wang Zhitan 王志坦
 Wangwu shan 王屋山
 wanjing 萬境
 Wanlian hui 萬蓮會
 wanshen 萬神
 wanwu 萬物
 Weichong 胃蟲
 weilai 未來
 weilü 尾閭
 weiming 威明
 weiqi 衛氣
 wen (hearing) 聞
 Wendeng 文登

- woshi 我師
 wu (awakening/enlightenment) 悟
 wu (non-being) 無
 wu (thing) 物
 wu shili 無施利
 wuchang 無常
 wudeng 五等
 wugeng 五更
 wugu 五鼓
 wuhu 五戶
 wujie 五戒
 wulou guo 無漏果
 wulou 無漏
 wumen 五門
Wumen guan (Mumonkan) 無門關
 wuming (without intelligence) 無明
 wuming (without name) 無名
Wupian lingwen 五篇靈文
 wupian miyu 五篇秘語
 wuqi 五氣
 wuqing 無情
 wuqing 物情
 wuse 五色
 wushen 五神
 wuwai 物外
 wuwei (five flavors) 五味
 wuwei (nonaction) 無為
 wuwu 無物
 wuxin 無心
 wuxing 無形
 wuxing 五行
 wuxing diandao 五行顛倒
 wuyan 五眼
 wuyin 五音
 wuying 無影
 wuyou 無憂
 Wuyuan 悟元
 wuyun liuqi 五運六氣
 wuzang 五臟
 wuzei 五賊
Wuzhen pian 悟真篇
 Wuzong 武宗
 wuzu 五祖
 xi (pleasure/joy) 喜
 xian (immortal) 仙
 xian (predecessor) 先
 xian (withdrawal) 閑
 xian nei xian 閑內閑
 xiang (imagine) 想
 xiang... fang 向... 方
 xiansi houshui 先死後蛻
 xiantian qi 先天氣
 Xianyang 咸陽
 xianzai 現在
 xianzhou 仙酎
 Xiao Daoxi 蕭道熙
 xiao zhoutian 小周天
Xiaojing 孝經
 xiaoxi 消息
 xiaoyao 逍遙
 Xiaozai hui 消災會
 xiashi 下士
 xiayuan 下元
 xie (deviant/perverse) 邪
 Xie Xichan 謝西蟾
 xie 邪
 xieqi 邪氣
 xin (heart-mind) 心
 xin (honest) 信
 xin ruo sihui 心若死灰
 xing (circulate/walk) 行
 xing (form) 形
 xing (innate nature) 性
 xing (practice/deed) 行
 xing (surname) 姓
 xing zhu zuo wo 行住坐臥
 xinggong 行功
Xingming guizhi 性命圭旨
 xingming shuangxiu 性命雙修
 xingshi 行尸
 xingshi 行屍
 xinhui 心灰
Xijing 心經
 xinjun 心君
 xinxie 心泄
 xinyuan yima 心猿意馬
 xinzhai 心齋
 Xishan 西山
Xishan ji 西山記
 xiu (cultivate) 修
 xiuchi 修持
 xiudao 修道
 xiulian 修煉
 xiuqi 休妻
 xiushen 修身
 xiuxian 修仙
 xiuxing 修行
 xiuxiu 休休
 xiuzhen 修真
 Xiuzhen guan 修真觀
Xiuzhen shishu 修真十書
Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu 修真太極混元圖
 Xiwangmu 西王母
 Xiyi 希夷
Xiyi zhimi lun 析疑指迷論
Xiyou lu 西遊錄
 xu (branch) 戌
 xu (emptiness) 虛

- Xu 徐
 xuan (mysterious) 玄
 xuan zhi you xuan 玄之又玄
 Xuanbao 玄寶
 Xuandu baozang 玄都寶藏
 Xuandu guan 玄都觀
 xuanfeng 玄風
 xuanguan 玄關
 Xuanjing 玄靖
 xuanli 玄理
 xuanmen 玄門
 xuanmiao 玄妙
 xuanming 玄冥
 xuanpin 玄牝
 Xuanquanzi 玄全子
 xuansi 懸絲
 xuanting gongzhu 玄庭公主
 xuanyuan gong 玄元宮
 xuanzhu 玄珠
 Xuanzong 宣宗
 xucheng 虛成
 xue (blood) 血
 xuehia 血海
 xuemai 血脈
 Xueshi 血尸
 Xujing 虛靜
 xukong 虛空
 Ya 雅
 ya'an 芽庵
 Yan Chuchang 嚴處常
 Yan Deyuan 閻德原
 Yan Hui 顏回
 Yan 兗
 yan 眼
 yang 陽
 yanggu 陽骨
 yangguan 陽關
 yangqi 陽氣
 yangshen (nourishing the body) 養身
 yangshen (yang-spirit) 陽神
 yangsheng (nourishing life) 養生
 Yanxia dong 煙霞洞
 ye (fluids) 液
 yedao han 液盜汗
 yehuo 業火
 Yelü Chucui 耶律楚材
 yi (righteous) 義
 yi (thought/intent) 意
 yi 疑
 yidian 一點
Yijing 易經
 yili 一粒
 yiling 一靈
 yin (branch) 寅
 yin (karma) 因
 yin (yin) 陰
 Yin Zhiping 尹志平
Yinfu jing 陰符經
 ying'er 嬰兒
 yingqi 營氣
 yingui 陰鬼
 yingyan 應驗
 yinian 一念
 yinjing 陰境
 yinling 陰靈
 yinmo 陰魔
 yinxie zhi qi 陰邪之氣
 yinyu 淫欲
 yinyuan 因緣
 yiren 異人
 yixin 一心
 yiyi 一意
 Yong 雍
 Yongle gong 永樂宮
 yongquan 湧泉
 you (being/having) 有
 you (grief/worry) 憂
 you 酉
 Youde guan 佑德觀
 youwei 有為
 Youxian guan 遊仙觀
 youyou 悠悠
 youzhi 有志
 yu (desire) 欲/慾
 yu (meet) 遇
 yu jue qi yuan 欲絕其源
 Yu 豫
 Yu 鈺
 yuan (karma) 緣
 Yuan Haowen 元好問
 Yuan Xian 原憲
 yuancheng 圓成
 yuanjue 圓覺
 yuanqi 元氣
 yuanqi 原氣
 yuanshen 元神
 yuanxin mayi 猿心馬意
 yuanxin 猿心
 yuanyang 元陽
 Yuanzhen 環禎
 Yuchan 玉蟾
 yuchi 玉池
 yufang 玉房
 yugu 玉桔
 yuguan 玉關
 yuhua 玉華
 Yuhua hui 玉華會
 Yuhua she 玉華社

- yujiang 玉漿
 yujing 玉京
 yulu 語錄
 Yuluo 鬱羅
 yumen 玉門
 Yunguang dong 雲光洞
 yunguang 雲光
 Yunji qiqian 雲笈七籤
 Yunqing 允卿
 Yunzhong lu 雲中錄
 Yuqing 玉清
 yuquan 玉泉
 yusuo 玉鎖
 Yuxu guan 玉虛觀
 Yuyang 玉陽
 yuye 玉液
 yuying 育嬰
 yuzhen 玉枕
 zai (calamity) 災
 zaimen 宰門
 zainan mo 災難魔
 zang (yin-orb) 藏/臟
 zangfu 臟腑/藏府
 Zangwai daoshu 藏外道書
 zao (stove) 灶
 zaofeng 遭逢
 zaohua 造化
 zaozhai 早齋
 Zazhu jiejing 雜著捷徑
 zei (thief) 賊
 Zeng Zao (Zeng Cao) 曾慥
 zhai 齋
 Zhang Boduan 張伯端
 Zhang Daoling 張道陵
 Zhang Lu 張魯
 Zhang Zhijing 張志敬
 Zhang Zongyang 張宗演
 Zhang 張
 Zhangzong 章宗
 Zhao Daojian 趙道堅
 Zhao Daoyi 趙道一
 Zhao Jiugu 趙九古
 Zhao Penglai 趙蓬萊
 Zhao Zhou (Jōshū) 趙州
 zhen (perfected/perfection) 真
 Zhen dadao 真大道
 Zhen longhu juxian jing 真龍虎九仙經
 Zhen'gao 真誥
 Zhenchang 真常
 Zhenchang guan 真常觀
 zhendao 真道
 zheng (aligned/proper) 正
 zheng (contention) 爭
 zheng zhong zheng 正中正
 zhenglù 正路
 zhengong 真功
 zhengqi 正氣
 Zhengtong daozang 正統道藏
 zhenggu 枕骨
 zhengxin 正心
 zhengyan 證驗
 Zhengyang 正陽
 zhengyang 正陽
 Zhengyi 正一
 zhengzuo 正坐
 zhenhuo 真火
 zhenjing 真境
 zhenjun 真君
 zhenling 真靈
 zhenren (perfected) 真人
 zhenshen (perfect body) 真身
 zhenshen (perfect spirit) 真神
 zhenshi 真師
 zhenshui 真水
 zhenqi 真氣
 Zhenwu 真武
 Zhenxian yulu 真仙語錄
 Zhenxian zhi zhi yulu 真仙直指語錄
 zhenxin 真心
 zhenxing (perfected form) 真形
 zhenxing (perfected nature) 真性
 zhenxing (perfect practice) 真行
 zhenyang 真陽
 zhenyi 真一
 zhenyin 真陰
 zhenzuo 真坐
 zhi (cessation) 止
 zhi (knowing) 知
 zhi (regulate/cure/govern) 治
 zhi (will/aspiration) 志
 zhi (wisdom) 智
 Zhi 跂
 zhiguo 治國
 Zhiming 智明
 zhiren 至人
 zhishen 治身
 zhishen 至神
 Zhiyi 智顛
 Zhongfu 中孚
 zhonggong 中宮
 Zhonghe ji 中和集
 Zhongli Quan 鍾離權
 Zhong-Lü 鐘呂
 zhonglou 重樓
 zhongmiao zhi men 眾妙之門
 Zhongnan shan 終南山
 zhongqi 中氣
 zhongshi 中士

- zhongyuan 中元
 Zhou Botong 周伯通
 Zhou Deqing 周德清
 Zhou 周
 Zhouhou beiji fang 肘後備急方
 zhouhou danfa 肘後丹法
 zhouhou 肘後
 zhoutian 周天
 Zhouyi cantong qi jianyao shiyi 周易參同契
 簡要釋義
 zhu (commentary) 註/注
 Zhu Baoyi 朱抱一
 zhu xing zuo wo 住行坐臥
 zhuan (biography/hagiography) 傳
 Zhuangzi 莊子
 zhuling gong 朱靈宮
 zhuo (turbidity) 濁
 Zhuzhen neidan jiyao 諸真內丹集要
 zi (branch) 子
 zi (spontaneously/naturally) 自
 zi (style-name) 字
 zi heche 紫河車
 Zi Qi 子綦
 Zigong 紫宮
 Ziran ji 自然集
 ziran 自然
 zishen kuai 自身快樂
 zixing 自性
 Ziyang 紫陽
 zizai 自在
 Zongsheng gong 宗聖宮
 zougu 走骨
 zuowang 坐忘
 Zuowang lun 坐忘論
 zuozheng 坐正
 zushi 祖師
 Zuting 祖庭

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