

SELF-CULTIVATION AND QUANZHEN DAOISM
with special reference to the legacy of QIU CHUJI

by

Paulino T. Belamide

**A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Centre for the Study of Religion
University of Toronto**

Copyright ©2002 by Paulino Belamide

Dedicated to

Julia Ching
(1934 - 2001)

Mentor and Friend

ABSTRACT
SELF-CULTIVATION AND QUANZHEN DAOISM
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LEGACY OF QIU CHUJI

Paulino T. Belamide
Doctor of Philosophy
Centre for the Study of Religion
University of Toronto
2002

The Quanzhen, founded by Wang Chongyang, is unique in Daoist history as the first Daoist religious community to adopt monastic institutions, such as celibacy and communal living. Qiu Chuji was one of Wang's seven principal disciples and his fourth successor as patriarch of Quanzhen. Insofar as his significance in Quanzhen history is concerned, Yao Congwu says: "Wang Chongyang founded it; Qiu Changchun expanded it". Qiu is also considered to be the founder of the Longmen ('Dragon Gate') lineage, which is virtually what remains of Quanzhen Daoism today.

In religious or mystical systems, self-cultivation is the practical component through which believers strive to attain some kind of real experience of ultimate perfection and unity of reality. In today's therapeutic culture that promotes interconnectedness and holism, self-cultivation is becoming a popular concern. This explains the vitality of Daoist self-cultivation today, particularly that of the internal alchemy tradition, as shown by the popularity of *qigong* in China and internationally. Quanzhen did not invent internal alchemy, but it was Quanzhen who 'popularized' it. Before Quanzhen, internal alchemy was transmitted only to members of certain family lineages. In the Quanzhen community, it was available to anybody who was judged to be worthy or gifted for it.

For Quanzhen Daoists, self-cultivation was both external (ethical) and internal (mental, spiritual). In its efforts to attain this external-internal balance, Quanzhen incorporated insights from Chan Buddhism (on the mind and nature) and Confucianism (on ethical conduct). Among Wang Chongyang's seven principal disciples, Qiu Chuji is said to be the most Confucian, the most socially-engaged. This was evident in the Quanzhen activism during the Mongol conquest of China. Such activism made Quanzhen Daoism the most popular and influential religious community in China at that time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction	1
Introduction	1
<i>The Therapeutic Mentality</i>	1
<i>Chinese Yoga</i>	2
The Context Today	4
Daoism and Alchemy	13
Quanzhen Daoism and Self-Cultivation	16
Selected Studies on Quanzhen Daoism	17
Choice of Subject	21
<i>Primary Sources</i>	23
<i>The Difficulties of Daoist Language</i>	25
<i>Notes on Style</i>	29
CHAPTER TWO: Quanzhen Ideology and Practices	31
Introduction	31
<i>The Word 'Quanzhen'</i>	31
<i>The Nature of Quanzhen</i>	33
Wang Chongyang's <i>Fifteen Discourses</i>	35
Self-Cultivation in Quanzhen Daoism	39
<i>Asceticism</i>	40
<i>Compassion</i>	43
<i>Thaumaturgy</i>	46
<i>Ritual</i>	49
<i>Nourishing the Life</i>	53
Dual Cultivation	54
<i>Nature and Life-force in Quanzhen Daoism</i>	56
<i>Ma Danyang's Doctrine of 'Clarity and Stillness'</i>	64
CHAPTER THREE: Internal Alchemy in General	73
Introduction	73
<i>Defining Neidan</i>	76
<i>The Roots of Neidan</i>	79
Theoretical Foundations of Internal Alchemy	82
1. <i>Theory of Proto-cosmos and Deutero-cosmos and of the Three Treasures</i>	83
2. <i>The Principle of 'Going Along and Generating Humanity; Reversing and Attaining Immortality'</i>	84
3. <i>The Way of Nothingness and the Doctrine of the Proto-cosmic One Breath</i>	88
4. <i>The Three Levels of Consciousness</i>	90
5. <i>The Technique of Taking from Kan and Filling in Li</i>	94
6. <i>The Theory of the Dark, Red and Yellow Passes and Openings</i>	99
7. <i>The Theory of the One Opening of the Mystic Pass</i>	102
8. <i>The Three Essential Elements of Internal Alchemy</i>	104
CHAPTER FOUR: Qiu Chuji and Self-Cultivation	110
Introduction: The Man and the Legend	110

Life and Times of Qiu Chuji	111
<i>Qiu became a disciple of Wang Chongyang</i>	114
<i>Qiu Chuji and the Court</i>	116
<i>What Qiu's Journey to the Khan Accomplished</i>	121
Qiu's Teachings on Cultivation	124
<i>Determination</i>	127
<i>Karma</i>	128
<i>Three Paths/Vehicles</i>	130
<i>Renunciation</i>	132
<i>Sexuality</i>	133
<i>Dual Cultivation of the Internal and the External</i>	136
Qiu's Internal Alchemy: "Straightforward Directions on the Great Elixir"	154
1. <i>Coupling the Dragon and the Tiger</i>	158
2. <i>Firing Time During the Microcosmic Orbit</i>	159
3. <i>Flying the Golden Essence Behind the Elbow</i>	160
4. <i>Cycling the Golden Fluid through the Elixir Fields</i>	160
5. <i>The Great Yang Cultivation of the Body</i>	161
6. <i>Consummation in the Three Fields</i>	161
7. <i>Cultivating the Spirit and Sending it to the Top</i>	162
8. <i>Cultivating the Spirit and Uniting with the Dao</i>	164
The Significance of Qiu Chuji's Thought	165
CHAPTER FIVE: Epilogue	168
The Therapeutic Mind and Chinese Thought Today	169
The Therapeutic Mind and Religion Today	170
APPENDICES: Selected Translations	174
Biography of Qiu Chuji (from <i>Yuan Histories</i>)	174
Things to Understand When Learning the Dao	176
The Letter of Changchun, Qiu the Perfected, to the Daoist Faithful of Xizhou	178
Straightforward Directions on the Great Elixir	185
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	
Sources from the <i>Daozang</i>	220
Materials from the <i>Daozang Jinghua</i>	223
Secondary Sources and References	223
Reference.....	234

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Introduction

The Therapeutic Mentality

‘Therapy’ refers to the means or the process of healing or curing – of restoring to health or sound condition, of becoming whole again. Originally, ‘therapeutic’ concerns the treatment of diseases or of any physical or mental disorder by medical or physical means.¹ However, the term can also be applied metaphorically to illustrate an idea of healing that includes the restoration of wholeness in the ethical, spiritual, environmental (natural), and cosmic dimensions. The therapeutic mentality is founded on the notion that true or perfect reality is one interconnected whole and that the world, particularly the human condition as experienced in the here in now, is a broken and alienated reality that needs to be healed and restored. In this context, the meaning of life is not so much perceived in the abstract as pursued in the concrete. Meaning is not so much about plausible intellectual speculations or philosophical explanations about the nature of reality, actual or ideal, as about effective practical knowledge for liberating oneself from predicaments, whether they be physical, mental, ethical or spiritual, that alienate one from his or her true nature and destiny. Meaningful existence, in other words, is about a life of self-cultivation that leads to self-realization.

¹ See *Webster's New World Dictionary*, 3d college ed., 1993.

The therapeutically-minded would be attracted to Daoism by at least two things: its holistic philosophy of life and its practical wisdom on self-cultivation. One can speak of these two things in terms of what can be called 'Daoist Yoga'.² In general, the term 'yoga' includes "any *ascetic technique* and any *method of meditation*" (Eliade 1969:4). However, properly speaking, it refers to what Eliade called the 'corpus of means' or the body of 'effectual techniques' for achieving self-transcendence and liberation (1969:3). Here, self-transcendence refers to the Sanskrit yoga term *samadhi*. Etymologically, *samadhi* means 'placing, putting together' or 'unifying'. What is put together or unified is the subject and the object of consciousness -- in yogic meditation, the ordinary self and the transcendent Self (Feuerstein 1998:3). This self-transcendence can be characterized as either 'ecstasy' (from the Greek *ex* and *stasis*: 'standing outside' the ordinary self) or 'enstasy' (from the Greek *en* and *stasis*: 'standing in' the transcendent Self (Feuerstein 1998:3-4; Eliade 1969:76-77).

Chinese Yoga

Strictly speaking, 'yoga' refers to the various Indian paths of ecstatic self-transcendence. However, 'yoga' has also been applied to those traditions that have been directly or indirectly inspired by the Indian sources: the different traditions of Buddhist Yoga, namely, Tibetan Yoga (Vajrayana), Japanese Yoga (Zen) and Chinese Yoga (Chan) (Feuerstein 1998:7). One clarification needs to be made here, however. To say that 'Chinese Yoga is Chan Buddhism is quite misleading. While Chan can be considered

Chinese Yoga, Chinese Yoga cannot be limited to Chan Buddhism. One can argue that the designation 'Chinese Yoga' belongs first of all to Daoism. After all, Daoism is indigenous while Chan Buddhism is not, despite having been sinified, a process which came about due in part to its interactions with Daoism. There is, properly speaking, such a thing as Daoist Yoga, a distinctively Daoist way to liberation and self-transcendence. This is not to say that everything about the Daoist practice is uniquely and originally Daoist. Certain basic techniques are so ancient and widely appropriated in society that they cannot be claimed exclusively by any particular tradition and are better regarded as common legacies of the Chinese culture.

Etymologically, 'yoga' and 'religion' share a common root meaning. 'Yoga' is derived from the Sanskrit verbal root *yuj*, meaning 'to bind together' or 'to yoke' (Feuerstein 1998:8). As to 'religion', on the other hand, one possible origin for it is the Latin word *religare*, 'to bind back' (*re*, 'back' + *ligare*, 'to bind' or 'to bind together').³ In other words, both imply, among many others, the key notion of 'union', which is precisely the essence or ultimate destination of all religious and yogic endeavor: self-transcending union or oneness with God or the Absolute (cf. Feuerstein 1998:11). In this broad sense, just about any religion or religious practice – or, more precisely, any spirituality or mystical tradition -- can be called yoga.⁴ Similarly, any discipline or method of self-cultivation that does not lead to or at least aim to eventually attain the

² The term is not new. See e.g., Chang [1956] 1973 and Lu 1973.

³ See *Webster's New World Dictionary*, 3d college ed., 1993.

⁴ The Indians speak of different yoga paths, each with a particular religious emphasis, but all directed to more or less the same mystical goal. For example: Jnana Yoga, the yoga of wisdom; Bhakti Yoga, the yoga of love-devotion; Karma Yoga, the yoga of selfless action; Mantra Yoga, the yoga of sacred sound; Hatha Yoga, the yoga of inner power; Tantra Yoga, the yoga of sexual energy; and so on (see Feuerstein 1998).

ultimate goal cannot be called yoga. Consequently, many of the popularized yogas embraced by large numbers of people today, especially in the West, that focus only on the physical or psychological benefits they bring to practitioners may be regarded as inauthentic or, at best, incomplete or unfinished yogas.

Daoist spirituality or mysticism is not a single tradition. We can probably speak of Daoist yogas, as in the Indian case. But here, when we speak of Daoist yoga, we refer mainly to internal alchemy. In Daoist terms, mystical union with the Absolute – the Dao -- is seen as an inner journey back to the primordial dimension and origin of being where all things become one in harmonious and spontaneous existence. Internal alchemy endeavours to achieve this mystical return by manipulating and transmuting internal vital energies in such a way that the natural process is reversed. The ultimate goal is to give birth to a new self that is no longer subject to the limitations of mortality. Today, there are *qigong* systems that claim to be internal alchemy, but, like the popularized yogas mentioned above, they are only after the physical or health benefits. If they do not lead to a mystical goal, they are not, strictly speaking, internal alchemy. At best, they can be regarded as the groundwork for the practice of internal alchemy.

The Context Today

In discussing Daoism and cultivation today, we cannot neglect the practice of *qigong* 氣功, which remains popular in China even when challenged. What is *qigong*? Is it a religious exercise? Etymologically, *qigong* is composed of two nouns: 'breath' or

‘energy’ and ‘work’ or ‘skill’. Literally, it refers to the ‘work on breath’. Throughout Chinese history, *qigong* has been known by different names, e.g., *tugu naxin* 吐古納新 (‘expelling the old [*qi*] and drawing in the new), *xingqi* (‘moving the *qi*’), *yangsheng* (‘nourishing life’), and *neigong* (‘internal work’). The most common name for it in ancient times was *daoyin* 導引, ‘leading and guiding [the *qi*]’ or ‘guiding the *qi* and extending the limbs’.

The term *qigong* was first mentioned in a text attributed to a Daoist master who died in the fourth-century CE, but probably dating from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) (Cohen 1999:13). In general, *qigong* is an umbrella term for a whole range of exercises which includes *taijiquan* and many types of meditation involving breath regulation and circulation. There were suggestions that *qigong* originated from India. Some exercises showing Indian, especially Buddhist, influence seem to affirm this. But there is also evidence that it is an ancient, indigenous development. There are ancient texts, such as the fourth-century BCE *Zhuangzi* and *Mengzi*, and the third-century *Guanzi*, which mention or allude to gymnastic moves, breathing techniques, and quiet meditation. Also, archaeologists have recently found (1972 and 1974) in the tomb at Mawangdui near Changsa, the so-called *Daoyin Tu* 導引圖 (Gymnastics Chart), a colored manuscript from the Han Period (ca. third-century BCE) depicting forty-four male and female figures in various gymnastic postures.⁵

As they became part of Chinese culture in general through the centuries, *qigong* techniques also became identified with religious traditions, particularly Daoism and

Buddhism, that systematically assimilated them for their spiritual purposes. Apparently, because of this mixed background, *qigong* is viewed with some ambiguity: is it a religious or a secular practice? In her unpublished paper "The Ambiguous Character of Chinese Religion(s)", Julia Ching suggests that it can be both: "*Qigong* can be practiced for religious or secular reasons, both in India and in China, in the past and in the present" (2001:5). Today, whether it is promoted by religious or non-religious practitioners, *qigong* is often perceived as a secular therapeutic practice performed by people concerned primarily with physical and mental well-being.

Qigong as we know it, is a relatively recent development in the Chinese scene. It has certain connections with Daoist internal alchemy that was established during the Song dynasty (cf. Miura 1989:332). *Qigong* is basically traditional longevity technology revived and adapted for general application. Traditional longevity techniques became contemporary *qigong* when practitioners recognized their therapeutic potential and began to practice them for the specific purpose of curing diseases. Now, the term is being used to cover just about all Chinese self-healing exercises and disciplines from ancient times to the present. Before, longevity techniques were known by and available only to a few elite seekers of the esoteric, Daoist initiates, and recluses from society.⁶ Their practice spread beyond the traditional elite circles only when, during the early decades of the twentieth century, books about their medical application appeared and accounts of their

⁵ See Despeux's article "Gymnastics: The Ancient Tradition" in Kohn 1989:225-261; also Ching 2001.

⁶ For the following discussion on *qigong* in China, I am indebted to Miura (see Kohn 1989:331-358).

successes in curing chronic ailments and even terminal diseases became known.⁷

However, it was not until the fifties and the sixties that *qigong* became truly known and available to the masses. As the seventies came along, *qigong* activities ‘exploded’ all over China. According to Miura, the ‘*qigong* boom’ in the seventies was due in considerable measure to the activities of a popular Beijing actress Guo Lin 郭林 who devised a *qigong* technique called the New Qigong Treatment [新氣功療法]. Guo initially practiced *qigong* to cure herself of cancer, which she succeeded in doing. In 1970, she started teaching her *qigong* to others and she claims that she had cured twenty people in the last stage of cancer (in Miura 1989:335).

Evidence for this ‘*qigong* boom’ could be seen in bookstores where *qigong* manuals and other *qigong*-related materials began to occupy more and more space, as well as in open demonstrations or performances in public places (e.g., parks) or mass gatherings, and even on television where known *qigong* masters were invited (Penny 1993:166). An important characteristic of this *qigong* revival is its self-conscious effort to make *qigong* scientific and, therefore, modern. That means divesting it of religious-magical trappings, of any elements perceived to be irrational or superstitious. For example, Chen Yingning 陳櫻寧 (1880-1969), in a speech to a meeting of the China Daoist Association, pointed out that the main concern for Daoists today is not how to maintain the forms [*xingshi* 形式] of religious practice (e.g., celibacy, vegetarianism, chanting scriptures, and other rituals), but how to preserve and carry forward the spirit [*jingshen* 精神] of Daoism as embodied in its legacy of learning [*xueshu* 學術] (e.g.,

⁷ Despeux traces the first modern therapeutic or medical use of term ‘*qigong*’ to a 1936 work, *Special Therapy for Tuberculosis: Qigong*, written by a certain Dong Hao and published in Hangzhou (in Cohen

qigong healing, internal alchemy, and the philosophy of Laozi and Zhuangzi) (Chen 1989:432.434; also Penny 1993:169). In this connection, the experiments that established (or, rather, claimed to establish) the physical existence of *qi* were very significant. In 1977 a team of scientists from Shanghai developed a special sensor that could measure the *qi* that was being radiated by a *qigong* master (a similar experiment was done in Beijing in 1983). One report describes *qi* as very much like infrared rays, electromagnetic waves, static electricity, magnetism, or the flow of subatomic particles. With these experiments, Miura declares, “the ancient techniques finally graduated into the scientific age” (1989:336).

However, *qigong* can also suffer from government interventions. In July 1999, the government of the People’s Republic of China outlawed Falun Gong 法輪功 and its organization for “damaging social stability, spreading superstition and fallacies, and deceiving people” – that is, for being a *xiejiao* 邪教, a ‘perverse teaching’ or an ‘evil cult’.⁸ The term Falun Gong is rather difficult to translate. Tentatively, it can be translated as ‘Dharma Wheel Yoga’. Literally, ‘Falun’ means ‘law wheel’ (*fa* 法, in English, is usually rendered as ‘law’; *lun* 輪 as ‘wheel’). The *New York Times* (April 27, 1999) translates it as ‘Buddhist Law’, which is a partly correct literal rendition. However, the Chinese word *fa* as used by the Chinese Buddhists refers properly to ‘Dharma’, a Sanskrit term that itself carries a multitude of meanings and is usually left untranslated. Buddhists themselves never gave it a single definition. Some English equivalents are religion, truth, law, norm, doctrine, righteousness, element, ultimate

1997:13).

constituent, phenomenon (phenomena), and nature (Smith 1995:315). Hence, 'Dharma Wheel'. As to the term *gong* 功, it can be translated, in this context, as 'exercise' or 'practice' (hence, Falun Gong = Dharma Wheel Exercise/Practice). But 'exercise' or 'practice', in the Falun Gong context, refers to a particular form of 'exercise' or 'practice' – to yoga, the body of techniques for attaining mystical goals. Falun Gong is essentially a form of *qigong* that combines Buddhist and Daoist elements in its theory and practice of self-cultivation. It combines *qigong* techniques (e.g., breathing and meditation) with a moral philosophy based on the threefold notions of truthfulness [*zhen* 真], goodness [*shan* 善], and forbearance [*ren* 忍]. Founded by Li Hongzhi 李洪志 in 1992, it claims to have about one hundred million followers-practitioners worldwide (sixty million in China and forty million overseas)⁹. If true, it would be the largest grouping of people in China, much larger than the membership of the Chinese Communist Party.

Besides Li Hongzhi, who now lives in exile in the United States, there are many other *qigong* masters who have gathered enthusiastic following around them.¹⁰ A few have become known internationally and are invited to hold workshops around the world, especially in North America and Europe. One such master is the Thai-Chinese Mantak Chia [Xie Mingde 謝明德], founder of the Universal Tao Center which began in Bangkok in 1974, moved to New York in 1979 until 1994, and is now based in Chiangmai, Thailand. After more than two decades of teaching, he has trained a world-wide network of over 1000 certified instructors and practitioners. According to Chia, he

⁸ The crackdown was apparently precipitated by the April 25, 1999 sit-in by some ten thousand Falun Gong followers outside the Zhongnanhai in Beijing.

⁹ The government puts the number at two million in China.

was a lay disciple of a certain Longmen ('Dragon Gate') Daoist hermit named Yi Eng [Bai Yun 白雲] who trained him for over five years. Chia also says that he was the last in the long line of masters from the Long White Mountain or *Changbai Shan* 長白山 near Manchuria. Yi Eng believed that the only way to keep the Daoist practices alive was to make them available to all, even to Westerners. Consequently, Chia considers it his mission to render the esoteric Daoist knowledge transmitted to him not only universally available but also understandable to people of today, especially his mostly Western students, by using modern scientific language instead of cryptic Daoist vocabulary. He does not consider Daoist practices as religious practices. Brought up as a Christian, he still professes to be one, although he also admits that he no longer belongs to any church.¹¹

Another name which should be mentioned in line with the present discussion is that of Wang Liping 王力平, a Daoist master based in northern China.¹² He claims to be the eighteenth generation transmitter of the Longmen sect founded by the great Quanzhen master Qiu Chuji. According to his biography, he was born in 1949, chosen for Daoist training by three wandering Daoist hermits when he was eleven, and stayed as their disciple for fifteen years. His masters entrusted him with a mission: to spread Daoist culture by teaching people the Daoist arts and philosophy of life. They advised him as

¹⁰ According to official estimates, sixty million people in China practice some form of *qigong* (CNN Time, August 2, 1999).

¹¹ Chia's books contain virtually no information about his masters, including Yi Eng. The information about Yi Eng that I mentioned here is from an interview article "Mantak Chia – A Modern Taoist Master", by Christopher Larthe, in *Positive Health* (Issue 42, July 1999) and a private correspondence from Chia (October 5, 1996). For more information about Mantak Chia and the Universal Tao, visit the Universal Tao Center website at <http://www.universal-tao.com>.

well to remain in secular life, for which reason he married and has a family. After his training, he stayed in obscurity for a period of time, coming out publicly to teach only in 1985. He began teaching in Beijing and then went to other parts of China as well. Now, he occasionally travels to North America to conduct workshops organized by his foreign-based students.

Compared to other so-called world religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism and Islam, Daoism appears to be marginal and socially insignificant. In a sense, this is true if one measures the social significance of religion solely in terms of the public – that is, organized or institutional -- role it plays in the life of a society. We can cite instances from China's history when, as a result of imperial favor or popular support, the Daoist community had played powerful or influential public roles. One of the most famous examples of this was the case of the Qiu Chuji 丘處機 and the popular Quanzhen that he led in the 13th century when China was under Mongol rule, particularly during the time of the Mongol ruler Chinggis Khan (c.1162-1227). Qiu Chuji, who developed a special relationship with Chinggis Khan, Qiu was appointed administrator of all religious communities in the Mongol-controlled parts of China, and the Quanzhen community was granted exemptions from taxes and forced labor. However, the ultimate public role that any religion can assume consists in being officially designated 'state religion'. Historically, the first time this happened to Daoism was in the fifth century, during the Northern Wei Period (386-535) in northern China, when Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (365-448) was the leader of the Celestial Masters (Robinet 1997:39).

¹² For more information about his life and teachings, see his biography *Da Dao Xing* written by Chen Kaiguo 陳開國 and Zheng Shunchao 鄭順潮 (1993). For the English translation, see

Public Daoist institutions, such as temples, monasteries, associations and other organized Daoist entities, are still found or being established in China today. But times have changed and those days of public glory and power are gone. Today, their existence and activities in society is tolerated by a socialist and officially atheistic regime. However, despite this public marginalization, Daoism remains a socially significant part of Chinese cultural life. That is because it has evolved into a cultural legacy that permeates religion, philosophy, arts, medicine, and other aspects of Chinese life.

Diffused or not, Daoism today is no longer an exclusive preserve of the Chinese people; it has also spread and found acceptance among people of the West.¹³ It should be clarified that Daoism in the West is not the same as Daoism in China or Daoism within Chinese communities *per se*. Western Daoism is usually associated with the New Age community and is 'post-religious', that is, divested of traditional religious (ritual and mythological) expressions. To a large degree, Daoism's 'journey to the West' is made possible by the growing general consciousness about openness to alternative, non-conventional worldviews -- or suspicion about the universal validity of conventional and scientific knowledge. In particular, Daoism's spread to the West, like those of the many popular schools of Indian yoga and Buddhist meditation, was facilitated by the mysticism and the holistic health ideology popularized by the New Age movement. All these

Thomas Cleary's *Opening the Dragon Gate* (1996).

¹³ According to the 1988 report of the Institute for World Religions, there are approximately twenty million Daoists all over the world. Of that, thirty thousand are in the United States (cited in Mather and Nichols 1993:272).

contemporary trends can be subsumed under what social psychoanalysts label 'the therapeutic age'.¹⁴

Daoism and Alchemy

Daoism, Henri Maspero once stated, is "a salvation religion which aims to lead the faithful to Life Eternal" or "Long Life" (1981:266). Indeed, as one author points out, seventy five percent of the Daoist Canon or Daozang 道藏, that massive collection of Daoist scriptures and other writings, deal with the subject of long life (Huang 1987:7). In other words, we can say that Daoist religion is basically about the quest for longevity or immortality. And as shown today by the persistence and by the growing widespread acceptance even in the West, of alternative therapeutic ideologies and methods like traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) and other healing techniques or regimen that are said to be Daoist or Daoist-inspired, longevity 'technology' could prove to be one of the more enduring contributions of Daoism to the world.

One of the ways by which Daoists sought to attain longevity and immortality was through alchemy. Alchemy -- the transmutation of base metals into nobler ones -- approached this goal in practical as well as mystical terms. On the one hand, it pursued the production of the elixir or the wonder drug of immortality; on the other hand, it contemplated the alchemical process as a 'model of the *Tao*', i.e., a simulation and reproduction, in humanly accessible space and time, of the hidden processes of nature and of the cosmos (Sivin 1976:523).

¹⁴ E.g., Rieff 1966.

Historically, Chinese alchemy has been divided into external alchemy or *waidan* 外丹 and internal alchemy or *neidan* 內丹. There are a variety of interpretations as to what these two terms include or exclude (see Robinet 1991), but it now seems generally taken for granted that the former refers to laboratory procedures designed for the concoction of the elixir of longevity and immortality, and the latter to physiological and mental techniques of self-cultivation, expressed in laboratory language and symbols, aimed at the development within of the new, subtler, and indestructible self.

In the internal alchemy, the notion and practice of self-cultivation is usually defined in terms of the 'dual cultivation of nature and life force' or *xingming shuangxiu* 性命雙修. This dual cultivation has nothing to do, therefore, with the dual or paired cultivation (sexual cultivation) designed to be performed jointly by a man and a woman. While 'dual' refers primarily to *xing* (nature) and *ming* (life force), it also refers to the two complementary aspects of the discipline of cultivation: the internal practice or *neigong* 內功 and the external practice or *waigong* 外功.

The word *xing* can have many meanings such as nature, especially human nature, or essence, that is, the nature and essence of things. It is a philosophical term much used in Confucianism and Buddhism (such as 'Buddha-nature'). To cultivate both *xing* and *ming* show the influence of Confucianism, especially Neo-Confucian philosophy, which flourished just before and after the time of Wang Chongyang and Qiu Chuji. The school of the eleventh-century Zhou Dunyi, who teaches the Great Ultimate [*Taiji* 太極],

interacted with Daoist and Buddhist teachings. The Great Ultimate refers basically to a cosmic Ultimate, the source and principle of all things, as well as that to which all things return. Zhou's friend and contemporary Zhang Zai teaches the Great Void – the universe as full of *qi*. Zhou's disciples (and Zhang's nephew) were the Cheng brothers Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi. Cheng Yi especially teaches *li* (being, goodness, principle) and asserts that all things are made of both *li* and *qi*. Cultivating *xing* means essentially cultivating a moral, human nature.¹⁵

In terms of the early history of Daoist internal alchemy, scholars distinguish between a northern lineage and a southern lineage of internal alchemy. The northern lineage is usually identified with Quanzhen Daoism [*Quanzhen Dao* 全真道] or Complete Perfection Daoism, one of the new Daoist sects that arose, flourished, and declined during the Jin-Yuan 金元 Period (12th-13th centuries). It was founded by Wang Zhe 王喆 or Wang Chongyang 王重陽 (1112-1170) around the middle of the 12th century. Quanzhen is unique in Daoist history in that it is the first Daoist religious organization to adopt monastic institutions, such as celibacy and communal living. While its era of power and glory ended centuries ago, Quanzhen has managed not only to survive but to maintain its identity, and continues to this day to be one of the principal forms of Daoism, the other being the Daoism of the Heavenly Masters (cf. Goossaert 1997:304).

¹⁵ See Wing-tsit Chan's *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton University Press) and Julia Ching's *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi* (NY: Oxford University Press). Chu Hsi (Zhu Xi) (1130-1200) was the great synthesizer. But he lived in Southern China, whereas Quanzhen developed in the north.

Quanzhen Daoism and Self-Cultivation

This study deals with Quanzhen self-cultivation with special reference to the legacy of Qiu Chuji, also known as Qiu Changchun 丘長春 (1148-1227). Qiu was the fourth successor of Wang Chongyang as leader of the Quanzhen community, and is also regarded as the founder of the lineage that became known as the Longmen Sect 龍門派 or the Dragon Gate, one of the Quanzhen lineages that became autonomous after Wang Chongyang's death in 1170. Of Wang's seven principal disciples, Qiu is, undoubtedly, the most well known. Historically, he is the most prominent and influential religious figure in thirteenth century Yuan China.

In his classic work "Methods of 'Nourishing the Vital Principle' in the Ancient Taoist Religion", Maspero stated that in Daoism, unlike in other religions, dietary restrictions, sexual taboos, breathing exercises, gymnastics, and other practices, are never given a religious character". In what seems to be a contradiction of this statement, he later added, that Daoism "attributes great importance to them and even makes the scrupulous observance of them an absolute condition for salvation" (Maspero 1981:445). In the case of Quanzhen ideology and practices, at least until the time of Qiu Chuji, we suggest that they were seen as an integrated whole, directed to the same religious goal of self-transcendence.

Selected Studies on Quanzhen Daoism

Mention of some general studies on Quanzhen Daoism and those that focus on Qiu Chuji will place this study in context. The first general study of Quanzhen Daoism to appear in English was a Ph.D. dissertation written by Yao Tao-chung in 1980, *Ch'uan-chen: A New Taoist Sect in North China During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. While recognizing the syncretic nature of Quanzhen, especially in its teaching about the unity of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism), he concludes, against suggestions by some scholars, such as Yoshioka Yoshitoyo and Sun Kekuan, that it was initially, during Wang Chongyang's time or until Qiu Chuji's disciples came into the scene, something new and not Daoist. In short, Quanzhen is from the beginning essentially a Daoist religion. Finally, Yao explains the emergence of Quanzhen Daoism as a religious revitalization movement based on the reconstruction of pre-existing religious ideas and the organization of new religious institutions.

The first attempt, at least in English, to produce a comprehensive survey of Quanzhen teachings in general is Eskildsen's 1989 M.A. study *The Beliefs and Practices of Early Ch'üan-chen Taoism*. Eskildsen rejects the opinion that Quanzhen was a syncretic reform movement that tried to get rid of the 'magical' and 'superstitious' elements (e.g. occult practices, search for longevity, alchemy, use of talismans) of traditional Daoism and argues that early Quanzhen Daoists emphasized beliefs and practices unique to Daoism, including those that have tended to be labeled magical or superstitious. He does not say what unique contribution Quanzhen Daoism made in

terms of doctrinal development, except that it emphasized strict asceticism more than any previous Daoist religious movement. From Eskildsen's topical division of early Quanzhen beliefs and practices, we get a picture of a typical Quanzhen adept: an ascetic, a master of various techniques for nurturing life, a Bodhisattva-like figure of compassion, a miracle-worker, and a ritual master.

A narrower but more focused study of Quanzhen history is the *Kindai Dôkyô no kenkyû – O Chôyô to Ba Tanyô*, by Hachiya Kunio 蜂屋邦夫 (1992), on the life and teachings of Quanzhen's first two patriarchs – Wang Chongyang (1112-1170) and his most senior disciple and immediate successor Ma Danyang (1123-1183). From Hachiya's study, we can conclude that Wang Chongyang's main contribution, at least as far as Daoist self-cultivation is concerned, was the spiritualization of the notion of immortality. When he 'entered the Dao', he dedicated himself to the practice of internal alchemy. Internal alchemy then emphasized cultivation of the body. But after his stay and austere training at the Grave of the Living Dead [活死人墓], Wang realized the limit of internal alchemy: it does not go beyond bodily cultivation. Hachiya thinks that Wang's severe physical condition at the Grave inclined him to the spiritual aspect of things (1992:166). After the Grave, the focus of cultivation shifted from the body to the mind, from *ming* to *xing*. To become immortal meant to manifest the true nature [真性].

Wang subscribed to the doctrine of the oneness of the Three Teachings. He adopted the Confucian spirit of benevolence and filial piety [濟世和盡孝], used Buddhism to see through the illusory nature of the world and of the body, and followed

Daoism in the quest for the 'original true nature' [本來的真性] or the 'original true face' [本來面目]. In general, Wang's teachings were more ethical than religious. He advocated an ascetic mendicant lifestyle, forbade involvement in worldly affairs (including farming) and did not think much of rituals and magical activities.

On the more theoretical aspect of early Quanzhen teachings, a very helpful guide is the 1993 study of Zhang Guangbao on the Quanzhen internal alchemy theory of the mind and nature -- *Jin-Yuan Quanzhendao Neidan Xinxinglun Yanjiu* 金元全真道內丹心性論研究. In terms of our discussion on the dual cultivation of nature and life force, this is important, especially in internal alchemy theory, since early Quanzhen speculation emphasized the priority of nature or *xing* over life force or *ming*. The ultimate goal of Quanzhen dual cultivation is the 'wondrous coincidence of nature and life force' [*xingming miaohe* 性命妙合]. However, in reality, as Zhang points, early Quanzhen Daoists never succeeded in attaining this goal. The work on nature and the work on life remained two separate efforts. An important part of this study is Zhang's discussion of Buddhist and Confucian influences in early Quanzhen's interpretation of dual cultivation.

The latest and the most thorough study done on the early history of Quanzhen as a religious institution is the *La création du taoïsme moderne l'ordre Quanzhen* (*The Creation of Modern Taoism: The Quanzhen Order*), a Ph.D. thesis submitted by Vincent Goossaert in 1997. The study affirms the revitalizing character of Quanzhen that Yao talked about. For Goossaert, the emergence of Quanzhen and its acceptance as an orthodox Daoist movement was an important factor in the development of modern

Daoism. Traditionally, Daoist religious institutions tended to be monopolized by certain families and characterized by esotericism and secrecy. In this system, religious careers were closed to most people. With the rise of new Daoist sects in the twelfth century, of which Quanzhen was the most successful, access to religious life was opened up to all, regardless of age, sex and social status. Esotericism and secrecy were rejected and a new approach to initiation and lineage transmission was adopted. These innovations injected new vitality to Daoism, which explains the popularity and rapid growth of the new Daoist sects such as Quanzhen when they began.

What makes Quanzhen distinctive, according to Goossaert, is that “Quanzhen institutions do not revolve around liturgical or cultic innovations, but are the expression of a personal spirituality based on practices that were open to all adepts” (1998:304). Quanzhen preached a religion of the individual based on a quest for the perfection of the body and the mind. The main Quanzhen vehicle for such quest was internal alchemy. Now, internal alchemy, which existed before Quanzhen came into being, was originally an individual practice available only to a small circle of elite practitioners. However, in Quanzhen, this individual practice came to be seen as an integral part of collective life, whether monastic or lay. In Goossaert’s words, “through its original communal institutions, Quanzhen greatly helped popularize inner alchemy within society at large, and made this formerly elitist technique one of the major elements of Chinese modern religious practice” (1998:304).

There are short works on the life and thought of Qiu Chuji. According to De

Rachewiltz and Russell (1984) Qiu Chuji did not add much to the content of Quanzhen teaching. His main concern was in proselytizing, in leading people to the Dao. His role, therefore, was more of a preacher to the multitude who made complex doctrines more understandable by the general faithful. In his chronological biography of Qiu (1959), Yao Congwu (1951:251) summarizes Qiu's contribution to Quanzhen religious history in the following words: "Wang Chongyang founded it [Quanzhen]; Qiu Changchun expanded it" [王重陽創建之；邱長春光大之].

Choice of Subject

This study is about Quanzhen Daoist self-cultivation with special reference to the legacy of Qiu Chuji and perhaps this choice should be explained.

Self-cultivation – the discipline to master the mind and the body -- is an important part of religious practice. Religious speculations about the true nature of reality are meaningless unless they are able to offer practically plausible or effective means to apply such speculations to one's life. Daoist religion is a vast, complex but fascinating territory. Most fascinating is Daoist self-cultivation, in the form of internal alchemy, because it seems to be the most popular aspect of contemporary Daoism, as shown by the many people that currently practice it or elements of it (in the forms of *qigong*) in China and even in the West. Although the internal alchemy tradition predated the birth of Quanzhen, the two are often identified. Quanzhen has been credited with the popularization of internal alchemy, which eventually became an important factor in the

spread of the practice of *qigong* among the general population. In this study, special reference is made to Qiu Chuji, he being the most famous Quanzhen Daoist in history, the leader who presided over Daoism during Quanzhen's meteoric rise to power and influence, the spiritual ancestor of many practicing Daoists today. The aim is to find out what Qiu had to say about self-cultivation. This study differs from the other works mentioned above precisely in its closer attention to Qiu's teaching on self-cultivation.

One of the things done in connection with this study was to gain first hand experience of Daoist self-cultivation. The writer thought that a study of self-cultivation would not be enough without it. So, he went to a remote island north of Vancouver, Canada for a month-long Daoist yoga retreat. The place was run by a couple who are certified students of Mantak Chia, founder of the Thailand-based self-cultivation group called the Universal Tao (formerly known as the Healing Tao).¹⁶ Students were taught breathing techniques, techniques for circulating and transforming *qi* in the body, and other basic exercises. While not the direct subject of this study, the experience afforded the writer an enriching glimpse into the actual workings of Daoist internal cultivation. He also participated in a two-day session of meditative exercises under the guidance of Wang Liping, when he visited Toronto in August 1997. Wang Liping claims to have learned his techniques from Daoist hermits of Qiu Chuji's lineage.

To study Quanzhen Daoist self-cultivation, particularly the teachings of Qiu Chuji, the writer went through and analyzed works that are ascribed to Qiu, or works of others that record or discuss his teachings. Medieval Daoist writings are in a very

difficult form of Chinese often in coded language. For that reason, the writer is including in the thesis some translations especially from Qiu Chuji. An explanation of some primary sources now follows.

Primary Sources

Changchun Qiuzhenren Ji Xizhou Daoyou Shu 長春丘真人寄西州道友書 [*Qiu Changchun's Letter Sent to the Daoist Faithful of Xizhou*], pages 12-19 in the *Zhenxian Zhizhi Yulu* 真仙直指語錄 [*Record of Forthright Directives of Perfected Immortals*] (*Daozang* W32/432; X54/672; Y54/43577; Z27/23558; M 正一部/鼓; H998), compiled by Xuanquan Zi 玄全子, sometime in the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century (Boltz 1987: 169). A rearranged version of this text appears in the *Liezheng Yulu Jiyao* 列真語錄輯要 [*Summaries of the Recorded Sayings of the Perfected Ones*] (*Daozang Jinghua*, vol. 3, no. 8). In this version, the text is divided into two parts: *Qiu Zu Changchun Zhenren Yulu* 邱祖長春真人語錄 [*Recorded Sayings of Patriarch Qiu Changchun the Perfected*] (pp. 15-18) and *Qiu Zu Changchun Zhenren Ji Xizhou Daoyou Shu* 丘祖長春真人寄西州道友書 [*Patriarch Qiu Changchun the Perfected's Letter Sent to the Daoist Faithful of Xizhou*] (p. 19). Another *Qiu Zu Yulu* 邱祖語錄 [*Recorded Sayings of Patriarch Qiu*] exists in pages 5b-17b of the *Qiu Zu Quanshu Jieji* 邱祖全書節輯 [*Extracts from the Complete Works of Patriarch Qiu*] (*Daozang Jinghua*, vol. 5, no. 2). This version of Qiu's *Recorded Sayings* is the longest and incorporates passages from the other versions. Passages from page 12b, line 9 to page 14b, line 1, character 4, can also be found in the other versions.

¹⁶ See Belamide 2000 for a more detailed introduction to this group

Panxiji 潘溪集 (*Daozang* W25/808; X43/597; Y43/34571; Z22/18691; M 太平部/友; H797). This text is a collection of poems on a wide range of topics. Perhaps the most important in the collection, at least in terms of its teaching on the dual cultivation of the *xing* and the *ming*, is the *Qingtian Ge* 青天歌 [*Song to the Blue Sky*]. Indeed, in the *Daozang*, there is a commentary on it, the *Qingtian Ge Zhushi* 青天歌註釋 [*Commentary on the 'Song to the Blue Sky'*] (*Daozang* W2/890; X4/243; Y4/2698; Z3/1457; M 洞真部玉訣類/成; H60), by Wang Daoyuan 王道淵 (a.k.a. Hunran Zi 混然子) around the late Yuan and early Ming Period.

Dadan Zhizhi 大丹直指 [*Straightforward Directions on the Great Elixir*] (*Daozang* W4/391; X7/47; Y7/5088; Z4/2748; M 洞真部方法類/稱; H115). This is the only strictly internal alchemy text attributed to Qiu Chuji. The author is identified as *Changchun Yandao Zhujiao Zhenren* 長春演道主教真人 [*Eternal Spring, Disseminator of the Dao, Patriarch and Perfected*]. These titles were granted in 1269 (Qiu died in 1248). However, Qiu had another title, 'Perfected Lord' [*Zhenjun* 真君]¹⁷, bestowed 1310. That this title is missing in Qiu's name suggests that *Dadan Zhizhi* was written sometime between 1269 and 1310 (*Tiyao* 243; Boltz 1987:314, n408).

Xuanfeng Qinghuilu 玄風慶會錄 [*Record of the Joyful Meeting*] (*Daozang* W3/387; X5/194; Y5/3490; Z3/1884; M 洞真部譜錄類/致; H76). This is a transcript of Qiu Chuji's talk(s) to Chinggis Khan in 1222, written by Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 and dated 1232.

¹⁷ This title was given to all seven principal disciples of Wang Chongyang.

The Difficulties of Daoist Language

Many difficulties have been encountered in doing this thesis research. These include the difficulties of reading primary sources, especially internal alchemy texts written in symbolic and coded language. Frequently, we read about chemical metaphors like lead and mercury, water and fire, cauldron and stove combined with *Yijing* 易經 (*Book of Changes*) symbolism, particularly the trigrams *Qian* (Heaven) and *Kun* (Earth), *Li* (Fire) and *Kan* (Water). It has been said that such language is intentionally coded, since Daoism is an esoteric tradition transmitted by master to disciple. Besides, the subjects treated include so-called sexual techniques of cultivation that are not explicitly described.

There is another level of language involving philosophical or cosmological terms, such as *xiantian* 先天 and *houtian* 後天.¹⁸ Often, these refer to several realities at the same time: a metaphysical reality, a human reality, and a practical or technical reality or factor. Cosmologically, *xiantian* refers to primordial chaos before creation, *houtian* to the ordered universe of myriad things and beings that came into being later. Metaphysically, *xiantian* is that level of being where everything dissolves into ultimate unity or oneness; *houtian* is the opposite – it is the realm of multiplicity and differentiation. At the human level, *xiantian* refers to all that is innate, inborn, or naturally given; *houtian* to what is acquired or cultivated. As a practical or technical

¹⁸ Literally, *xiantian* can be translated as 'protocosmos' and *houtian* as 'deuterocosmos'. Other possible translations for *xiantian* and *houtian* are 'anterior heaven' and 'posterior heaven', 'anterior cosmos' and 'posterior cosmos', or 'pre-cosmic' and 'cosmic'.

reality, *xiantian* would refer to the inherited or inborn or prenatal *qi*; *houtian* to postnatal *qi*, that is, to *qi* derived through respiration and ingestion.

We think also of terms like ‘microcosmic orbit’, the mind-directed¹⁹ circulation of *qi* around the body, the microcosm. To the general reader, ‘microcosmic orbit’ may sound arcane. That is perhaps why, in some recent popular *qigong* literature in English, authors simply call it ‘circulation’.²⁰ There are two types of orbit or circulation: the small and the great. The ‘microcosmic orbit’ or ‘small circulation’ [*xiaozhoutian* 小周天] refers to the successful direction of *qi* around the human torso. This means connecting the two *qi* channels (or vessels), the ‘governor channel’ or *dumai* 督脈 (at the back of the body) and the ‘functional channel’²¹ or *renmai* 任脈 (in front of the body), in a loop by touching the tip of the tongue to the roof of the mouth. The ‘governor channel’ runs from just below the tip of the spine at the perineum, up the backbone and neck and over the top of the head, ending in the roof of the mouth. The ‘functional channel’ runs from the tip of the tongue, down through the throat, continuing down the middle of the body, past the navel, the lower abdomen and sexual organs and ends in the perineum, which is located between the sexual organs and the anus. The ‘great orbit’ or ‘great circulation’ [*dazhoutian* 大周天], known also as ‘macrocosmic orbit’²² refers to the successful direction of *qi* from the torso to the legs and arms. It begins with the microcosmic orbit and then the *qi* is directed from the navel area down through the outside of the legs all the

¹⁹ As Yudelove points out, one *cannot* push *qi* with the mind; one *can* only lead *qi* mentally (Yudelove 1997:25).

²⁰ See e.g., *The Root of Chinese Qigong* (Yang 1997).

²¹ Also known as ‘conception channel’.

²² ‘Macrocosmic orbit’ seems to make sense as a contrast to ‘microcosmic orbit’. However, I think it is misleading as a translation for *dazhoutian*. First of all, the term ‘macrocosmic’ refers to the universe

way to the feet, then winds around to the inside of the feet and is drawn up the inside of the legs. From there, *qi* is directed up the back. As *qi* reaches the upper back, between the shoulder blades, the current splits and moves down the inside of the arms, winding around the hands and then moving up the outside of the arms, returning to the middle of the back. The *qi* continues up the back, around the head, down the front of the body, and then, down the outside of the legs, up the inside of the legs, up the back.²³

Then there are the language transfers from laboratory alchemy. We read of the ingredients [*yaowu* 藥物], the cauldron and stove [*dinglu* 鼎爐], the firing process [*huohou* 火候]. Such terms were originally used for the concoction of an ingestible elixir. In internal alchemy, the human body becomes the laboratory. The ingredients are the three vital elements in the body: *jing*, *qi* and *shen*. The cauldron and stove refers to the place inside the body where the ingredient is 'cooked' or 'refined' or 'smelted' – normally the heart and the kidneys. And the firing process refers to the application of varying breathing techniques and degrees of mental concentration.

All this goes to show the microcosmic/macrocosmic presuppositions of Daoist philosophy. It was assumed that the human organism is a microcosm of the universe as macrocosm. The cultivation of *qi* enables humans to commune with nature, to acquire the secrets of the universe, including that of longevity. That is also why Daoist cultivation has a therapeutic aspect. Here we come to the language of meridians and

outside, not the body. Secondly, microcosmic' include the limbs since it refers to the whole human body, not just the torso.

²³ For a more complete description of and instruction on how to perform the 'great circulation', see Cohen 1999:164-165.

acupoints²⁴ in traditional Chinese medicine. *Qigong* is often described as “acupuncture without the needles” (Cohen 1999:9). It works on basically the same map of the human anatomy, which is a complex network of meridians or channels through which various kinds of *qi* and fluids flow throughout the body. It follows the same Chinese medical principle which says that health is basically about the full and flowing supply of *qi* in the human body. Bodily disorders occur when *qi* does not flow properly causing either an oversupply (a *yang* condition) or an undersupply of *qi* (an *yin* condition) in the affected areas. Imbalance in *qi* distribution is caused by congestion at certain key points along the meridian network. Like acupuncture, *qigong* aims to clear the paths of *qi* in order to restore the yin-yang balance.

Before going further, an explanation of the elixir fields is in order. ‘Elixir field’ or *dantian* 丹田 refers to the place in the body where ingredients are produced and where the elixir is formed. Originally, it refers to an area in the lower abdomen, midway between the navel and the pubic bone. It is variously known, among others, as ‘sea of breath’ [*qihai* 氣海], ‘great origin’ [*taiyuan* 太元], ‘chamber of the spirit’ [*shenshi* 神室], and so on. However, there are actually three elixir fields in the human body, and they are all located along the functional or conception channel running in front of the body. The lower elixir field is located one to one and half inches below the navel and one to two inches deep, depending on the individual. It is where the protocosmic, prenatal, original *qi* resides. The middle elixir field is located at the solar plexus (between the breast or below the heart and above the navel). It is where the

²⁴ Needle points in acupuncture.

deuterocosmic, postnatal *qi* is produced and gathered. Finally, the upper elixir field is located on the forehead. It is where the *shen* or vital spirit resides.

Notes on Style

This thesis is a work in the field of Taoist studies. It is based on texts, done with a certain sympathy for the subject matter, as advised by Friedrich Schleiermacher.

As far as possible, this thesis follows the social science style in organizing the bibliography (author, year, title, place and name of the publisher) and in citing sources in the text (author's last name, year of publication, page of the source). However, in the case of the primary sources, where in some instances the author(s) and/or the date cannot be established definitively, the traditional practice of citing by title in abbreviated form is followed. In the Bibliography, primary sources are listed alphabetically according to the titles of the texts; secondary sources are listed alphabetically according to the last name of the author.

Chinese words are romanized according to the Mandarin-based *Hanyu Pinyin* 漢語拼音 system developed and used in the People's Republic of China, which is becoming the standard romanization scheme for Chinese characters all over the world replacing the Wade-Giles system which was in use during the last century.²⁵ Romanization of persons' names is also done in Pinyin, except when the name has

²⁵ On October 1, 2000, the Library of Congress and other U.S. libraries joined the international community in adopting Pinyin as the new standard romanization scheme for Chinese characters.

appeared in previous publications under a different romanized form, such as Wade-Giles or Yale, or when the author has chosen to write his or her name following a non-Mandarin (e.g. Cantonese) romanization system.

CHAPTER TWO

Quanzhen Ideology and Practices

Introduction

This discussion covers only the early period of Quanzhen Daoism during the Jin and Yuan Dynasties (1115-1368). Before going into the topic proper, a brief consideration of the term *quanzhen* and of the nature of Quanzhen Daoism.

The Word 'Quanzhen'

The term *quanzhen* 全真 is made up of two words: *quan* 全 ('complete') and *zhen* 真 ('perfection' or 'truth'). Quanzhen Daoism is often called the 'Complete Perfection Daoism'. In his book *Taoist Tradition and Change* which deals with the history of Quanzhen Daoism in Hong Kong, Tsui lists four definitions of the term *quanzhen* (1991:37-40). In the first one, which is found in the *Quanzhenjiao Zubei* 全真教祖碑 the term refers to the elimination of errors and delusions, to the 'preservation of (original) perfection' (as the etymology suggests: *quan*, 'to preserve'; *zhen*, 'perfection' or 'truth'), and to the way that leads to immortality [屏去妄幻，獨全其真者，神仙也].²⁶

²⁶ For the text, see the collection of Daoist stele inscriptions, *Daojia Jinshilue* 道家金石略, edited by Chen Yuan (1988:450-454). The notion of original perfection is very similar to the Chan Buddhist notion of 'original face', which suggests Chan influence on Quanzhen Daoism (Tsui 1991:38). 'Original perfection' is, however, also a very Daoist idea. For example, chapter 28 of the *Laozi* (the *Daodejing*), speaks of a 'return to infancy' which is a similar idea.

In the second definition, found in *Xiyi Zhimilun* 析疑指迷論, *quanzhen* is taken as ‘complete perfection’ and used as a nickname for the Dao itself. The document describes it as a state before the arising of any thought – the Great Void, which is the same as the Buddhists called *yuanjue* 圓覺, ‘complete awakening’ and as [Laozi called] *yuankong* 圓空, ‘complete emptiness’ (p. 1).²⁷

In the third definition, which comes from the *Jinzhennren Yulu* 晉真人語錄, *quanzhen* is also taken as ‘complete perfection’. It is the way that corresponds to the mind of heaven. It refers to a state marked by the complete presence of the spirit [*shen* 神], breath [*qi* 炁], and essence [*jing* 精]; the gathering of the five elements [*wuxing* 五行]; and the harmony of the four signs [*sixiang* 四象] (*JinYl*, pp. 8-9).²⁸

A fourth source, the *Zhongheji* 中和集, defines *quanzhen* as the attainment of original perfection, which is accomplished by preserving the body, nourishing the mind and returning to the void. That means gaining completely the essence, the breath and the spirit. One gains the essence completely when the body is kept at ease, which results in the absence of desire. One gains the breath completely when the mind is kept pure, which results in no thought arising. One gains the spirit completely when the will is kept sincere, which results in the unity of the body and the mind and their return to the void.

In still another interpretation, *quanzhen* refers to the method of ‘cultivating both practice and deeds’ [功行雙全], an approach to cultivation advocated by some

²⁷ Y8/5922.

²⁸ Y39/31555.

Quanzhen schools, which can be characterized as ‘this-wordly’ (or ‘inner-worldly’, as opposed to ‘other-worldly’). In Chinese, there is an expression ‘in the world and not leaving the world [即世不離世] or, simply, ‘in this world’ [*rushi* 入世] (as opposed to ‘out of this world’ [*chushi* 出世]). ‘Cultivating both practice and deeds’ refers actually to the ‘combined cultivation of the internal and the external’ [內外雙修] (Hu 1995:454). One cultivates practice by cultivating the internal self – mind, will, quietness, spirit, breath. One cultivates deeds by cultivating external ethical action – altruism and compassion (e.g., helping the poor and rescuing the suffering)²⁹, leading people of goodwill to the Dao, universal detachment³⁰ (*JinYi*; also in Hu 1995:465).

The Nature of Quanzhen

There are at least five divergent views on the nature of Quanzhen: 1) the ‘patriotic movement’ view, represented by Chen Minggui 陳銘珪; 2) the ‘humanitarian and culture-preserving’ view, represented by Yao Congwu 姚從吾; 3) the ‘syncretic movement’ view, represented by Igor de Rachewiltz, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, Sun Kekuan 孫克寬; 4) the ‘Daoist reform movement’ view, represented by Kubo Noritada and most Japanese scholars; and 5) the ‘revitalization movement’ view, represented by Yao Taichung (Yao 1980:220-240). The term ‘revitalization movement’ is employed here by Yao in the sense defined by Anthony Wallace in his 1956 article “Revitalization Movements” in *American Anthropologist* 58:264-281. According to Wallace, a ‘revitalization movement’ is “a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a

²⁹ ‘Others before self’ [先人後己] or ‘provide help for the benefit others’ [濟物利他].

³⁰ ‘Absence of selfish interest in all things’ [與萬物無私].

society to construct a more satisfying culture. Revitalization is thus, from a cultural standpoint, a special kind of culture change phenomenon: the persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major areas of it, as a system (whether accurately or not); they must feel that this system is unsatisfactory; and they must innovate not merely in discrete items, but a new cultural system, specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases, new traits” (1956:265).

In brief, the first view considers Quanzhen as essentially a patriotic movement of Song Dynasty loyalists organized to resist the Jurchens (i.e., the Jin Dynasty rule). The second view regards Quanzhen as a humanitarian-cultural movement designed to provide refuge from Jurchen persecution and an organized means for the preservation of Chinese traditions amidst the perceived cultural chaos of ‘barbarian’ Jurchen rule. The third view suggests that Quanzhen was founded to promote the idea of the unity of the ‘Three Teachings’ (Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism). The fourth view explains Quanzhen as a reform movement that arose in reaction to or protest against the corruption and laxity of the Northern Song Daoists, similar, in certain aspects, to the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Europe. Finally, for Yao, Quanzhen was a revitalization movement which sought to revive and uphold traditional Chinese beliefs in response to foreign domination of Chinese national life.

Historically, Quanzhen is often characterized as ‘syncretic’. That is because it teaches that Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism are essentially one teaching [*sanjiao heyi* 三教合一], and it borrowed openly and extensively from the three major traditions,

using their concepts and terminology to articulate its ideology and practices. Indeed, as Yao points out, it was “the first religious sect in Chinese history to proclaim itself as a manifestation of ideals drawn from the ‘Three Doctrines’” (1980:102). For some scholars, such an openly and unabashedly syncretistic approach puts into question Quanzhen’s claim to the title ‘Daoist’. However, this is a minority opinion.³¹

Daoism, Maspero once stated, is “a salvation religion which aims to lead the faithful to Life Eternal” or “Long Life” (1981:266). The road to salvation, to the attainment of Life Eternal or Long Life, is self-cultivation. In discussing what Quanzhen Daoism is all about, De Rachewiltz and Russell suggest that it is, at its core, a religion of self-cultivation³² (1984:16). Obviously, however, the central place given to it in religious practice, is not unique to Quanzhen. What makes Quanzhen self-cultivation distinctive is its understanding of what it means and of what it consists.

Wang Chongyang’s *Fifteen Discourses*

To get some idea of what Quanzhen self-cultivation is all about, the reader is referred first to a concise introductory text from the Daozang, the *Chongyang’s Fifteen Discourses on Establishing the [Quanzhen] Teaching* [*Chongyang Lijiao Shiwulun* 重陽立教十五論] where we find outlined the bare essentials of Quanzhen Daoism. These *Fifteen Discourses*, ascribed to Wang Chongyang, also known as Wang Zhe 王喆, the recognized founder of Quanzhen Daoism, address three major aspects of Quanzhen

³¹ For a discussion of this issue, see Yao 1980, pp.102f and pp. 228-231; see also Tsui 1991:7-28.

³² Here, self-cultivation refers to both internal and external self-cultivation (1984:15).

Daoist religious life: a) daily lifestyle (Discourses 1-6); b) internal alchemy cultivation (Discourses 7-11); and c) the goal(s) of self-cultivation (Discourses 12-15).

For Wang, Quanzhen religious life is a monastic and cenobitic calling (Discourse 1). Self-cultivation needs a proper environment and that, for him, is a retreat where one can commit oneself to settle down in peace and quiet, protected from the natural elements and isolated from worldly distractions. The idea of commitment to a retreat also suggests that Quanzhen religious life is life in community where there are schedules and rules to observe, and common activities in which to participate. On a higher level, commitment to a retreat is really a method for finding the right balance between activity and stillness most conducive to self-cultivation.

To live the Quanzhen way is to embark on a quest or a journey – in Wang's words, to "roam/wander in the clouds" (Discourse 2). True journeying is not about finding leisure and pleasure (e.g., through sight-seeing, the company of friends, food and clothing); rather it is about journeying, within and without (finding enlightened masters, even if it means exposing oneself to tremendous hardships and dangers) in search of the complete realization of the Dao in one's nature and life-force.

The pursuit of knowledge is an important activity for Quanzhen followers. However, for Wang, studying or reading should serve a specific purpose: self-cultivation. Erudition for its own sake is meaningless (Discourse 3). Only that knowledge which leads to the Dao is worth pursuing.

One body of knowledge that Wang requires all cultivators to master is the use of medicines, in particular herbal medicines (Discourse 4). The first reason given is to enable Quanzhen followers to help people with their health problems. Another reason is that it “helps the Dao” – that is, the use of medicines assists in self-cultivation. This is an important point since we shall find that many Quanzhen Daoists were also achieved herbalist doctors.

As to the construction of shelters, Wang directs his disciples to use, as building materials, reeds and grass instead of trees, the cutting of which he bans because it “cuts off the fluid of the earth’s veins” (Discourse 5). For Wang, palatial residences are incompatible with those who are of the Dao. Instead of yearning to be in such palaces, which will all crumble eventually anyway, people of the Dao should look for that ‘precious palace’ which can only be found inside the body.

Regarding relationships or companionships, Wang warns against developing harmful attachments. Personal attachments are not forbidden, but they should not be based on emotions and external appearances. In picking companions, the best course is to choose only those who are enlightened. In other words, a true and worthy companion is one who accompanies one, as a fellow traveler, to the Dao (Discourse 6).

On the subject of internal cultivation, which is a much more complex matter, Wang can only provide very general statements. He begins by clarifying the meaning of “sitting in meditation” (Discourse 7). According to him, to “sit in meditation” is really

not about meditative postures. Meditation is not an isolated activity segregated from other activities of daily life – that is, it can be practiced anytime anywhere, whether standing, walking or lying down. To “sit in meditation” is to put the mind in a state of calm -- like the unmovable and unshakable Mt Tai. This includes sealing off the senses and not letting in world influences that would stir up the mind. Shutting out the world and keeping the mind still is made possible, Wang suggests, by taming the mind (Discourse 8). The mind is tamed, it is implied, if it is no longer controlled or affected by the senses. Wang talks also about “refining nature (*xing*)” (Discourse 9), however, he does not explain what it is, except that it has to be done in the right balance. In this sense, he compares the process of “refining nature” to the tuning of lute strings and the mixing of metals in making swords. On internal alchemy itself, Wang speaks in terms of matching the five *qi* which leads to the formation of a spiritual entity that “roams above the heaven” (see Discourse 10), and of mingling *xing* and *ming*, which Wang likens to “a bird catching the wind, soaring with ease, and succeeding without effort” (Discourse 11).

Finally, as to what or where self-cultivation ultimately leads to, Wang describes a form of immortality wherein the adept transcends the Three Realms (see Discourse 13) and ascends to the realm of sagehood (see Discourses 12, 15) or realization (see Discourse 7). What is significant about this form of immortality, however, is the manner in which it is supposed to take place: the body [*xing* 形] remains in the mortal world while the mind or the spirit [*shen* 神] ascends and roams the heavens (see Discourses 7, 10, 12, 15). Indeed, Wang views those who desire immortality as something that necessarily involves leaving this mortal world “great fools” (see Discourse 15).

Immortality, or the attainment of it, was understood by the Chinese in at least three ways: 1) physical perfection -- the indestructibility of the body in order to prevent the normal *post-mortem* dissipation of the personality (e.g., into ten “souls”) or the formation of a new physical self within; 2) spiritual perfection – the perfection of the most refined portion of the body-spirit continuum; and 3) assumption – ascent to the realm of immortals (cf. Sivin 1987:186).

Self Cultivation in Quanzhen Daoism³³

In reality, of course, Quanzhen Daoism was much more complex than as just discussed above. ‘Self-cultivation,’ as the term suggests, is about the self or the individual – about the ‘perfection’ or perfectibility of the individual. But in the Quanzhen scheme of things, cultivation of self-perfection was understood (and is better understood) in, to use a current term, a ‘holistic’ way. That is, Quanzhen self-cultivation involved the integration of individual, social, ethical and ritual practices. However, in the bureaucratic context of celestial accounting, this entire complex of self-cultivation practices was seen as a system for making and gathering merits and deeds, and perfection as a matter of accumulating the right number of merits and deeds (Eskildsen 1989:47). Merits (*gong* 功) were earned by performing ascetic and internal practices; deeds (*xing* 行) by being virtuous and doing compassionate acts towards others. As Jin the Perfected says:

³³ See Eskildsen 1989.

If you want true merits, you must purify your mind, stabilize your will, and gather together your vital spirit. Without action and movement, truly pure and still, embrace the Origin and preserve the One, keep the spirit and strengthen the *qi* -- these constitute true merits. If you want true deeds, you must cultivate yourself and accumulate virtue, help the poor and rescue the suffering. When seeing others in adversity, always keep a helping heart or lead and convert people of goodwill to the *Dao* to cultivate themselves. Whatever you do, put others before yourself and be disinterested with the myriad things. These are true deeds.

(*JinYi*, p. 3).³⁴

xx若要真功須是澄心定意打疊精神無動無作真清真淨抱元守矣存神固氣乃真功也。若要真行須要修行縊德濟貧拔苦見人患難常懷拯救之心或化誘善人入道修行所爲之事先人後己與萬物無私乃真行也。

Asceticism

The word 'asceticism' is from the Greek *askesis*, which means 'exercise' or 'training'. It is often used in religious, spiritual contexts, but it is also applied in a secular sense. In religious contexts, according to Walter Kaelber in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, asceticism refers to "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

³⁴ Y39/31552. Also in Wang Chongyang's *Jiaohuaji* 3.

absorption in the sacred³⁵ (1:441). In secular contexts, a life of self-discipline and self-denial can be practiced for such profane goals as strengthening the body and improving one's health. Whether religious or secular, ascetic lifestyle or training is always a means to an end and never an end unto itself (Smith 1995:80).

Religious asceticism include such practices as fasting, abstinence, begging, abandoning possessions, leaving home and family, and living a life of constant wandering (cf. Smith 1995:80). The early Quanzhen Daoists practiced all of these, and they lived their asceticism rigorously. They saw themselves as following in the footsteps of such great ascetics of the past as Yanhui 顏回, a disciple of Confucius; Sakyamuni, the historical Buddha; and Lü Chunyang 呂純陽, also known as Lü Dongbin 呂洞濱 or Lü Yan 呂岩 (*ChangshengYl*, p. 3)³⁶. For Quanzhen masters, asceticism was a process of purging oneself of desires and attachments in order to still the mind and attain enlightenment or Perfection. On another level, Quanzhen adepts regarded asceticism as a way of eliminating karma and accumulating merits (Eskildsen 1989:40). In short, asceticism was a necessary process towards achieving the goals of self-cultivation. To use Liu Changsheng's metaphor, self-cultivation is like mining jade: one has to smash the rock (the mortal body) first in order to get the jade (immortality) (cf. *ChangshengYl*, p. 6)³⁷.

³⁵ Or, the Absolute.

³⁶ Y39/31569.

³⁷ Y39/31571.

“The man of the Dao,” according to Ma Danyang, “does not detest poverty.” That is because “poverty is the foundation of nourishing life” (*DanyangYl*, p. 10)³⁸. For early Quanzhen ascetics, poverty meant ‘pure poverty’ [清貧] and they practiced it in the extreme to the point of utter destitution. It is said that Yanhui was so poor he only had a bucket and a gourd as his possessions; that Sakyamuni begged for food and ate only once a day; that Lu Chunyang lived like a quail (with no fixed abode) and, like a fledgling, had to depend on others for food (*ChangshengYl*, p. 3)³⁹.

An important aspect of such life of ‘pure poverty’ was begging. Early Quanzhen followers were as a rule mendicants. That does not mean, however, that all were willing to go out and beg for a living. On this issue, Ma Danyang relates a painful episode he had with the Master-Founder, Wang Chongyang, an experience he would never forget (*DanyangYl*, p. 12)⁴⁰. Wang had ordered his disciples to go to Ninghai to beg for food and money. Ma did not want to go, asked to be excused and requested Wang to appoint another disciple in his place. Wang asked why he should do that and Ma told him the reason: Ninghai was his home village and he did not want to go back there as a beggar. Upon hearing this, Wang flew into a violent rage and, for the whole night, subjected Ma to his beatings. The experience greatly dispirited Ma and almost led him to leave Wang. Were it not for a brother-disciple Qiu Chuji who talked him out of it, he would be gone. When Wang died and Ma assumed leadership of the community, he also had to deal with some resistance to the begging practice from some disciples.

³⁸ Y39/31563.

³⁹ Y39/31569.

Compassion

One of the titles given Wang Chongyang was “The Perfected of Compassionate Transformations and Wondrous Deeds” [憫化妙行真人] (*Jinyuji* 1:1)⁴¹. It is said that upon ascension to the realm of immortals, he fulfills his ‘original vows’, *benyuan* 本願, by rescuing those in danger, helping the suffering, and leading people to salvation (*Jinyuji* 3:11).⁴² Like the Bodhisattvas, the Perfected or the immortals were expected, as their primary duty, to dispense salvific compassion – by helping less fortunate beings out of their worldly miseries.⁴³ This attribute or spirit of compassion, it was believed, belonged and originated from the universe itself. The universe – that is, Heaven and Earth -- which gave birth to the myriad things, took care of everything equally: it distributed *qi* to both the favored and the hated. Likewise, the Most High⁴⁴ dispensed his powers to save the myriad souls equally: he saved both the noble and the lowly (*ChangshengYi*, p. 24)⁴⁵.

For those who were yet to attain perfection, acts of compassion were creditable deeds that, together with merits, would hasten the attainment of perfection. In this, however, the self-cultivator was seen not only as a dispenser of compassionate deeds, but also as recipient of compassionate intervention by those who had already attained perfection and had ascended to immortality. In other words, the cultivator did not rely

⁴⁰ Y39/31564.

⁴¹ Y42/34197.

⁴² Y42/34226. *Benyuan* is originally a Buddhist term referring to the Bodhisattva vows about leading all sentient beings to salvation.

⁴³ Or, as Eskildsen suggests, the Perfected “exist *entirely* for the purpose of helping those in need” (1989:138) (my emphasis).

⁴⁴ Referring to the Lord Lao, the divinized Laozi.

solely on his or her own efforts; he or she also expected help and guidance from the perfected ones or the immortals. It was believed that immortals were concerned about the progress of those who aspired for perfection and that the aspirant, upon reaching a certain level of achievement, would be granted the privilege of encounter with perfected beings, an event considered to be essential in the attainment of perfection (Eskildsen 1989:153ff).⁴⁶ As Qiu Chuji remarks

Those who attain the Dao, upon attaining the [required amount of] merits and deeds, all receive instruction from a sage (*Beiyoulu* 3:15).⁴⁷

xx 得道之人皆是功行到聖賢自然與之。

Such encounters involved visions or visitations wherein revelations or secret instructions about realizing perfection were transmitted, or simply indications that one had already attained perfection.

Deeds were of two kinds: one concerned the physical needs, the other the spiritual needs of people. The former consisted mainly of helping the poor and the sick by donating food, medicines, other services; the latter consisted basically of preaching about or leading people to the Dao. As a community, the early Quanzhen Daoists were known for their strong commitment to humanitarian causes. As Wang Chongyang says: "To

⁴⁵ Y39/31580.

⁴⁶ Encounters with immortals were usually regarded as a consequence of (or reward for) personal effort. However, there was also the suggestion that the effort, the inclination and determination to follow the *Dao*, could itself be a result of encounters with immortals in previous lifetimes, which is another way of saying that one's present life is determined by one's previous lives (Eskildsen 1989:157-8; 189).

help people and provide medicines [to the sick] are particularly great meritorious [deeds]" (*Quanzhenji* 10:3)⁴⁸. Quanzhen temples were famous for their hospitality and generosity. They provided food not only to hungry travelers but also to starving populations during times of famine (Yao 1980:186-7).⁴⁹ Such humanitarianism made the early Quanzhen Daoists very popular. Indeed, they reached the height of their popularity during the brutal wars of conquest by which the Mongols took control of China. Under the leadership of Qiu Chuji, Quanzhen gained favor with the Mongols and was bestowed with special privileges. Qiu and his followers put these privileges to use by opening their temples and communities to those seeking refuge from hardships (e.g. forced labor). According to Yao, two groups of people benefited especially from Quanzhen humanitarian activities: prisoners rescued from Mongolian captivity by Quanzhen ransom, and Jurchen scholars given sanctuary at Daoist temples when the Jin Dynasty succumbed to the Mongols (1980:189-90). In the eyes of many, Qiu Chuji, patriarch of all Quanzhen Daoists at the time, was a great figure of history because of his humanitarian leadership during one of China's dark periods. But for Quanzhen believers, Qiu was a great Daoist adept for the great amount of credits he earned in causing so many lives to be saved. That is, he had accumulated enough merits to directly "ascend the heavens in broad daylight" (become an immortal) without using or going through "the 'cinnabar of nine cycles' [九轉丹砂] and the 'jade essence of the seven returns' [七還玉液]"⁵⁰ (*Zhengzongji* 4:13-14)⁵¹. Other exemplary deeds attributed to Quanzhen

⁴⁷ Y55/44473.

⁴⁸ Y43/34471.

⁴⁹ An important activity of the early Quanzhen Daoists was holding a food drive. For example, they would go around preaching compassion and asking people to donate rice for their winter gruel project (Eskildsen 1989:146-8)

⁵⁰ See *qifan jiuhuan* 七返九轉 in Hu 1995:1239; also *qifan jiuhuan* 七返九還. Originally an external alchemy term, internal alchemists adopted it to describe the process of return from the deuterocosmic stage

Daoists also included such unusual examples as the ending of the barbaric Khitan custom of burying people alive, and the digging of an irrigation canal (Yao 1980:188-9).

Finally, deeds were seen as acts of total charity. That is, they were to be done without discrimination as to who should benefit from them, and without expectation of return or recognition from the beneficiaries of them. The emphasis here was on cultivating the so-called hidden virtue or *yinde* 陰德. To encourage the practice of 'hidden virtue' and the cultivation of universal charity, the benefactor was told to regard the needy as if they were immortals and to be anxious that a sage might be among them (*Jinyuji*, 7:16)⁵².

Thaumaturgy

Perfected beings were believed to possess wondrous, extraordinary powers and, consequently, the ability to perform wonders/miracles was seen as a sign of perfection (Eskildsen 1989:206). The origin of all these wondrous abilities is, naturally, the Dao -- perfection itself, the origin and end of all things. In short, what the perfected beings 'possess' is the power and efficacy of the Dao itself.

There is some discussion as to whether such extraordinary powers can be characterized as 'supernatural' or 'superhuman'. The idea that there is something

[*houtian* 後天] to the protocosmic stage [*xiantian* 先天]. The point being made here is that, Qiu had gained sufficient merits to directly become an immortal and bypass the usual lengthy and elaborate process that ordinary adepts had to undergo.

⁵¹ Y5/3450-3451.

'above' or 'beyond' Nature is incorrect in the Daoist context because, in the Chinese worldview, everything is within Nature. For that matter, one can also say that nothing is outside human experience. The only question is whether a phenomenon or a feat is outside *ordinary* (i.e., usual, normal) human experience (cf. Kieschnick 1997:96-97; Poo 1998:6).

To attain – and wield -- the power of the Dao, one must understand or penetrate [通] it. As Liu Changsheng puts it in his commentary to the *Yinfujing* 陰符經:

Understand the Dao and you will understand heaven and earth. When you understand heaven and earth, then you also understand the myriad transformations. When you understand the myriad transformations, then you 'understand the spirit'⁵³. When you understand the spirit, then you can respond to the myriad changes, embrace the One without separating from it, and quietly attend to perfection and return to simplicity. (*YinfujingZ*, p. 11)⁵⁴.

xx 通道則天地通。天地通則萬化通。萬化通則神通。神通則應機萬變抱一無離而闐然顧真返朴。

⁵² Y42/34257.

⁵³ 'Understand the spirit' may be translated as 'one [attains] wondrous abilities'. In alchemical usage, *shentong* refers to the wondrous or extraordinary abilities that result from cultivating the human body's latent energies (Hu 1995:1155-1156).

⁵⁴ Y4/2594.

According to one account (*Qinghuilu*, p. 1)⁵⁵, the first human beings possessed powers and spiritual qualities which human beings today, in their current existence, no longer possess. The first humans were beings with luminous subtle bodies that enabled them to move around as if they were flying. Life, in their perfect primordial state, was one of simplicity and spontaneity – a life of complete harmony with the Dao. However, in the course of time, this perfect primordial existence was destroyed. A kind of mushroom appeared on earth, one endowed with such fragrance and taste that all people ate of it. This led to the awakening of the senses which eventually led to the development of human desires. As human desires developed and became deeply ingrained, the human body gradually became heavy and dull, losing its subtle and luminous qualities. The ‘fall’⁵⁶, however, did not necessarily mean irreversible imperfection or inevitable mortality. Humans, being ‘the most worthy and the most noble among all things/beings’, have the ability to ‘seize Nature’ [奪造化]⁵⁷ and, thereby, reverse their mortal fates. That is why, as a matter of general principle, self-cultivation -- the cultivation of perfection -- is always seen essentially as a journey of return, a process of restoration (cf. Eskildsen 1989:211). The notion of ‘seizing Nature’ – another term for it is ‘seizing the Workings [of Nature]’ [奪運], that is, harnessing the secrets/workings of the universe for purposes of self-cultivation (Hu 1995:972) -- implies manipulation of the laws and forces of Nature. However, in applying Nature, the adept “does not so much manipulate Nature as actively participate in its workings” (Kieschnick 1997:110).

⁵⁵ Y5/3591.

⁵⁶ It does remind one of the comparable Biblical story of the original fall which banished Adam and Eve from Paradise (Genesis 3).

⁵⁷ See *Yinfujing* Zhu, p. 8 (Y4/2592): [人所盜萬物之精奪天地之秀炁].

In the Chinese mind, to effect a 'miracle' is to 'stimulate resonance' [感應]. Echoing the direct relationship between perfection and extraordinary powers mentioned at the beginning of this section, Kieschnick points out that "in post-Han China, the ability to stimulate resonance, had become a requirement of any holy figure, Buddhist or otherwise" (1997:98). This is markedly different from the Judaeo-Christian model of miracle which is based on the notion of the supernatural – that is, that miracles are interventions originating from a force or forces outside Nature (Kieschnick 1997:97). In the preface to her book *Magic and Mystery in Tibet*, Alexandra David-Neel said the following about the Tibetan Buddhists: "Tibetans do not believe in *miracles*, that is to say, in *supernatural* happenings. They consider the extraordinary facts which astonish us to be the work of *natural* energies which come into action in exceptional circumstances, or through the skill of someone who *knows* how to release them, or, sometimes, through the agency of an individual who unknowingly contains within himself the elements apt to move certain material or mental mechanisms which produce extraordinary phenomena" (1997:vii). The same can be said of the Chinese.

Ritual

Quanzhen masters, besides being monks, were also priests, in the sense of being masters of Daoist ritual. Noritada Kubo suggests that Quanzhen Daoists initially tended to avoid the magico-religious aspects of earlier forms of Daoism (cf. Eskildsen 1989:314). That means, avoiding rituals in general or certain kinds of ritual, in particular,

that were deemed improper or heterodox. But, as time went by, this tendency disappeared.

By nature, rituals were acts of wonder-making (thaumaturgy). That means, their performance was designed to 'stimulate resonance'.⁵⁸ As such, they could be performed only by individuals who had been initiated into the hidden workings of the cosmos, seen ritually in terms of personified cosmic powers generally called 'gods' or 'deities', and therefore had the mastery to 'stimulate', manipulate or, to use a personal term, invoke them.

By intention, rituals were seen essentially as expressions of the ideal of compassion. That means, their performance was intended to benefit others, communally or individually. Generally, rituals were performed for the salvation of the souls of the dead, prevention of disasters (e.g., by praying for rain during drought) and helping people in distress (e.g. by curing illnesses and expelling evil spirits). For Quanzhen Daoists, the ultimate goal of ritual was to lead people to the Dao (cf. Eskildsen 1989:321-322). Insofar as the performer's self-cultivation was concerned, ritual performance was one of the means by which adepts could collect the merits required to attain perfection (Eskildsen 1989:324-325).

The kinds of rituals Quanzhen masters performed ranged from grand sacrifices such as the communal 'rite of renewal' or *jiao* 醮 to simple rituals like chanting scriptures and writing talismans. However, there were certain rituals that Quanzhen

masters refused to perform. In one case, for example, Wang Chongyang was invited by a county magistrate to pay homage, *bai* 拜, to the souls of the dead and he refused (*Quanzhenji* 2:7)⁵⁹. The reason, it appears, was that while one may pray *for* the souls of the dead, one may not pray *to* the souls of the dead. In other words, the souls of the dead were not to be treated as gods or deities to be worshipped (cf. Eskildsen 1989:325).

In theory, rituals, in order to be truly beneficial, must always be done within the general context of self-cultivation. Self-cultivation here was understood in terms of internal cultivation (the internal pursuit of the Dao through mental and other internal disciplines) and external cultivation (the external pursuit of the Dao through outward moral conduct). Also, while the quality of external execution or technical mastery of liturgical rubrics and textual formulas was important, ritual efficacy was determined ultimately by the quality of inner character on the part of the performer or of the participants. Rituals done for less lofty purposes or with less inner worthiness could bring about misfortune instead of blessing, earn karmic retributions instead of liberating merits (cf. Eskildsen 1989:327). To ensure proper participation in the conduct of rituals, early Quanzhen masters prescribed and expected participants to undergo a certain period of preparation and purification. For example, in one instance, Ma Danyang's disciples, in preparation for a Ma-led 'Pure Gathering' or *Qinghui* 清會, to pray for blessings that would eliminate karmic effects in the future, bathed and abstained from sex, meat products, spicy foods and alcoholic beverages for seven days (*DanyangYI*, p. 14)⁶⁰. Such period of ritual preparation and purification was, in effect, an emulation, even though just

⁵⁸ See the *Thaumaturgy* section above.

⁵⁹ Y43/34410.

for a brief time, of the discipline of ascetic monastic life which was seen as somehow key to the ritualist's power and efficacy.

Performing rituals may be meritorious acts of compassion, but early Quanzhen masters saw some potential problems in getting too involved in them. Commenting on his personal involvement, for example, Ma Danyang expressed the concern that those who would follow him might become so busy presiding at rituals that they would forget about cultivating the Dao and, thus, fail to attain immortality (*Jinyuji* 6:4).⁶¹ There was also a concern about the worldly rewards that came from being a specialist of Daoist ritual. Being a ritual specialist was a lucrative and prestigious occupation, and indeed, Quanzhen masters had used their earnings to support themselves or their communities. And lest people become too attached to rituals, whether for selfish or altruistic reasons, one was also reminded that

[there are things] superior to building a thousand altars for a *jiao* 醮..... In helping the poor and the suffering, one is blessed with compassion, a meritorious virtue that is limitless. (*Jinyuji* 7:16).⁶²

xx勝如修建千壇醮...資貧拔苦慈悲福，功德無邊。

Finally, what really matters, as Wang Chongyang once said, is that

⁶⁰ Y39/31565.

⁶¹ Y42/34246. Cf. Eskildsen 1989:334.

When we gather to worship the Great Dao, there is no need for paper and frankincense. What is the use of having aloe wood and sandalwood? We can take our heart's incense to summon the sages to come and observe, and reach the fulfillment of our merits and deeds. (*Quanzhenji* 11:3).⁶³

xx同攢，崇大道，不須箋乳，何用沉檀。把心香熱起，衆聖來觀。
察得功圓行滿。

In short, for the Quanzhen adept, the paramount concern was the cultivation of the Dao. Putting everything else in this perspective was vital in the attainment of perfection.

Nourishing Life

'Immortality', as expressed in the original Chinese, is a special kind of longevity (or 'long life'), one that is characterized by everlasting youth (hence the expression 'ageless longevity' [長生不老]) or everlasting life (hence the expression 'deathless longevity' [長生不死]). However, according to Kubo Noritada, the notion of immortality that quanzhen Daoists talked about was not exactly the same as the one sought by earlier Daoists and followers of the ancient immortality cult (in Eskildsen 1989:68-69). Quanzhen Daoists no longer held attainment of immortality as necessarily a physical event. In Discourse Fifteen of *Chongyang's Fifteen Discourses*, for example, it says:

⁶² Y42/34257.

⁶³ Y43/34482.

Leaving the mortal world does not mean that the body leaves the mortal world; [rather,] it means that the mind [心地] leaves [the mortal world]. The body is like the lotus root, the mind [心] like the lotus flower. The root is [down] in the mud, yet the blossom is [high up] in the void. For one who attains the Dao, the body remains in the mortal world while the mind is in the realm of the sages. People today who desire to live forever and leave the mortal world are great fools and have not attained understanding of the Dao. (*Shiwulun*, pp. 5-6).⁶⁴

xx 離凡世者非身離也，言心地也。身如藕根，心似蓮花，根在泥而花在虛空矣。得道之人，身在凡而心在聖境矣。今之人欲永不死而離凡世者大愚不達道理也。

In other words, by the time of Quanzhen Daoism, the immortality ideal had become spiritualized. The earlier idea of physical immortality was transcended and transformed. This implies a recognition of the futility of prolonging physical life indefinitely, but it did not mean a diminishing of the importance of the physical body in the overall scheme of cultivation.

Dual Cultivation

As with many concepts in Chinese thought, self-cultivation is often explained in binary terms, e.g. as the 'dual cultivation' [*shuangxiu* 雙修] of this and that. In the

Quanzhen Daoist context, which will be discussed below, cultivation involves two contrasting components, nature [*xing* 性] and life-force [*ming* 命], and is approached via two complementing fronts, the internal [*nei* 内] and the external [*wai* 外]. For this section, the research is based on primary sources in the Daozang, as well as the studies of Isabelle Robinet (1995) and Zhang Guangbao (1993).

Xing is formed by combining the heart radical *xin* 心 and the character for life *sheng* 生. It is often used as a synonym for life. But in our context, it refers to nature, something innate or inborn in us. In this sense, it is opposed to culture, those things that we learned after we were born. So, nature refers to the pure state of our original or primordial condition which is synonymous with spontaneity itself [*ziran* 自然] and often symbolized by metaphors of primitive and undetermined states such as the ‘undyed silk’ [*su* 素] or the ‘uncarved block’ [*pu* 樸] (see *Zhuangzi* 70/25/9; 24/9/10; 31/12/51; 41/16/2)⁶⁵. The suggestion here is that nature is something that is lost and needs to be recovered, a state we left behind that we must return to. This, in essence, is what cultivation aims to accomplish.

Ming, like *xing*, is a synonym for ‘life’. Actually, in modern Chinese, the two characters form a compound word, *xingming*, which means ‘life’. However, *ming* is also taken to mean ‘life’ in the sense of ‘lot in life’ or fate (e.g., rich or poor, noble or humble, and so on) assigned to each one by destiny.

⁶⁴ Y53/43159.

⁶⁵ References are to the Harvard-Yenching Index published in 1956.

In general, internal alchemy identifies *ming* with *qi* 炁 and *xing* with *shen* 神. In theory, the formation of the human body begins with the coupling of the father and the mother whereby ‘a bit of protocosmic primordial *qi*’ is generated which becomes the *ming* or life-force. In ten months⁶⁶, the life-force gestates into a mature fetus and is endowed with ‘a bit of protocosmic primordial *yang*’ which becomes the *xing*.

In internal alchemy, *xing* refers to *shen* 神 and *ming* refers to *jing* 精 and *qi* 氣. In theory, the *jing*, the *qi*, and the *shen* comprise the foundation of life and its activities. Concretely, *xing* and *ming* are identified with certain parts of the human body. The *xing* is said to be hidden in the head, which, in the tripartite division of the body, is the ‘upper elixir field’. The *ming*, on the other hand, is said to be connected to the navel, to the ‘lower elixir field’. According to Qiu Chuji, “the head is the root of *xing*; the navel is the stem of *ming*” (*Dadan* 2:10)⁶⁷. To attain longevity or immortality, the cultivator must pay attention to both. One cultivates the *xing* by cultivating the mind and one cultivates the *ming* by cultivating one’s internal *qi*. In practice, the immediate goal is to integrate the two. This is the so-called ‘dual cultivation of *xing* and *ming*’.

Nature and Life-force

The early Quanzhen disciples inherited Wang Chongyang’s basic teaching on the dual cultivation of nature and life-force.⁶⁸ They advocated the integration of nature and life-force in internal alchemy. They rejected the idea of an internal alchemy cultivation

⁶⁶ The Chinese lunar year has twelve months. Each month has thirty days.

⁶⁷ Y7/5104.

limited to the process of ‘enlightening the mind and seeing nature’ [*mingxin jianxing* 明心見性]. According to them ‘enlightening the mind and seeing nature’ is merely the accomplishment of the ‘work on nature’ [*xinggong* 性功]. If not complemented by the ‘work on life-force’ [*minggong* 命功], internal alchemy cultivation would not be complete. In the cultivation of nature and life-force, Quanzhen Daoists were attempting to combine nature and life-force with the traditional notions of the vital breath [*qi* 氣] and vital spirit [*shen* 神]. In other words, the integration of nature and life-force is also seen as the union of breath and spirit. This shows how early Quanzhen disciples combined traditional Daoist ideas on cultivation with Chan Buddhist notion of mind [*xin* 心] and nature.

The interrelation between nature and life-force is demonstrated in the relationship between *xinggong* and *minggong*. The cultivation of nature and of life-force is integrated and mediated by the mind. To cultivate the true or perfect nature, one must work on the mind where true nature is hidden. Similarly, to cultivate life-force, one must purify the mind and stop the rise of thoughts. Only when work on the mind is mastered can one regulate unbroken or continuous breathing [調息綿綿]. In Liu Changsheng’s words, “when the mind is stilled, the light of life-force stays” [心死命光住] and “when the mind is stilled, the light of nature is born” [心死性光生] (*Xianleji* 5:8,10)⁶⁸.

However, although the cultivation of nature and life-force are inseparable from the work on the mind, *xinggong* and *minggong* are two different approaches and not just

⁶⁸ For this discussion on *xing* and *ming*, see Zhang 1993:90-96.

⁶⁹ Y42/34033f.

two ways of talking about the same thing. In general, early Quanzhen followers referred to *xinggong* as ‘seeing nature’ [*jianxing*] and *minggong* as ‘nourishing life-force’ [*yangqi*] – two fundamentally different kinds of practice. According to Hao Taigu,

If the cultivator of perfection does not tame the mind, even if he had left home for many years for many years, it would be of no use for he would never see his nature. Since he is unable to see his nature, how could he nourish life-force? If nature and life-force are not fully cultivated, how can one attain perfection? (*ZhenxianYi* 1:20).⁷⁰

xx 修真之士若不降心，雖出家多年無有是處，爲不見性。既部見性，豈能鄙命。性命不備安得成真。

Ma Danyang says,

When life-force is pure, one obtains longevity; when nature is still, one can see many days (*Jinyuji* 5:6).⁷¹

xx 命清得長生，性靜能久視。

As to the relationship between *xinggong* and *minggong*, the Seven Perfected⁷² had different explanations. For example, Ma Danyang emphasized *minggong* based on

⁷⁰ Y54/43586.

⁷¹ Y42/34242.

⁷² The seven principal disciples of Wang Chongyang.

regulating the breathing and cultivating the vital breath or *qi*. For him, nature should be nurtured in life-force (*Jinyuji*). Hao Taigu, on the other hand, emphasized *xinggong*, and saw the relationship between ‘seeing nature’ and ‘nourishing life-force’ as one between substance [*ti* 體] and function [*yong* 用] – seeing nature is substance; nourishing life-force is function (*ZhenxianYi* 1:21)⁷³.

In sum, early Quanzhen Daoists, whether they emphasized *xinggong* or *minggong*, all advocated the necessary interconnection between nature and life-force. Liu Changsheng also talks about the interpenetration between the two.

Nature penetrates life-force; life-force penetrates Heaven; Heaven penetrates the Dao; the Dao penetrates ‘that which is naturally so’ (*YinfujingZ*, p. 4).⁷⁴

xx性通於命，命通於天，天通於道，道通於自然。

Life-force penetrates nature the same way water meets fire and nature penetrates life-force the same way earth (or soil) meets water.

Early Quanzhen disciples also explained the origin of nature and life-force. They held that the universe, in its primordial beginning, was solitary and darkly cold. However, reality then was clearly manifest and there was no living form of any kind that struggled in the world of rebirth. Life [*shengming* 生命] originated from two sentiments:

⁷³ Y54/43587.

⁷⁴ Y4/2590.

love [*ai* 愛] and desire [*yu* 欲]. From love and desire come nature and life-force. When nature and life-force unite, life is born. In Ma Danyang's *Recorded Sayings*, it says:

From the very beginning, men and women have behaved according to love and desire, and have been unable to leave the world of rebirth. All eggs and embryos were moistened, and all forms of nature were generated because of love and desire, which gave birth to nature and life-force. Nature was born as the result of love; life-force as the result of desire. Because of love and desire, all things were subjected to opposition and submission, thus generating jealousy. From then on, the wheel of rebirth has turned without end. (*DanyangYi*, p. 9).⁷⁵

xx 一切男女從無始已來，爲種種恩愛貪欲不出輪回世界，一切胎卵濕化，種種性相接因愛欲而生生命。性因愛而生，命因欲而有。皆因愛欲而起逆順，生嫉妒，從此輪回綿綿不斷。

In the doctrine of nature and life-force, early Quanzhen Daoists laid down their basic philosophy of life which rejected fatalism and determinism. In their view, nature and life-force are not predetermined. Insofar as one can master the right method of cultivation, he can control his nature and life-force, and escape the force of destiny. According to Ma Danyang: "Nature and life-force are not determined by Heaven; control of destiny is in my hands" (*Jinyuji*). It should be pointed out, however, that this view had been the Daoist position long before the Quanzhen Daoists. As early as the Wei-Jin Period, Ge Hong 葛洪 (284-344) already said: "My destiny is in my hands, not

⁷⁵ Y39/31562.

Heaven's" [我命由我不由天] (*Baopuzi*). This reflects Daoism's confidence in the human being's capacity to control and determine his or her own destiny. Buddhist cultivation puts emphasis on spiritual liberation. In Quanzhen language, this is work on nature without work on life-force. Christianity views perfection as a gift of God. Salvation is ultimately an act of God, a work of an 'other power' [他力救度].

Early Quanzhen Daoists taught that nature and life-force referred to the vital spirit and the vital breath respectively. This was in line with what Wang Chongyang said:

The vital spirit and the vital breath are nature and life-force. Nature and life-force are dragon and tiger. Dragon and tiger are lead and mercury. Lead and mercury are water and fire. Water and fire are the child and the maiden. The child and the maiden are the true yin and the true yang. The true yin and the true yang refer to two words: vital spirit and vital breath. (*DanyangYi*, p. 15).⁷⁶

xx 神炁是性命，性命是龍虎，龍虎是鉛汞，鉛汞是水火，水火是嬰姤，嬰姤是真陰真陽，真陰真陽是即是神炁，種種名相不付著止，是神炁二字而已。

In other formulations, nature and vital spirit are explained in terms of the Buddha nature which clearly indicates Chan influence on Quanzhen thought.

⁷⁶ Y39/31565.

Traditionally, Daoist internal alchemy cultivation is explained around the four concepts of vital essence [*jing* 精], vital breath [*qi* 氣], vital spirit [*shen* 神] and the Dao (Zhang 1993:93). Comparatively, in Daoism and Buddhism, one text points out the parallel between nature and vital spirit. In Chan, the true substance or reality [*zhenti* 真體] is expressed in the notion of nature. In traditional Daoist terms, the same reality is represented by the vital spirit. As Liu Changsheng puts it in his commentary to the *Yinfujing*:

In the Buddhist nature, when the four elements are eliminated, it is called buddhahood. In Daoist vital spirit, when the four elements are forgotten, it is called xianhood⁷⁷. (*YinfujingZ*, p. 10).⁷⁸

xx 釋門性，除四相謂之佛。道門神，忘四相謂之仙。

In nature and the vital spirit then, quanzhen Daoists had two ways of expressing essentially the same thing. However, although nature and vital spirit are similar in meaning, their descriptive functions are quite distinct. When using vital spirit, they emphasize its consciousness [靈性]; when using nature, they emphasize its primordial character [本真性].

⁷⁷ Or 'immortality'.

⁷⁸ Y4/2593.

Early Quanzhen used the vital spirit and the vital breath to explain nature and life-force. The relationship between the vital spirit and the vital breath is described as one between a mother and her child.

The vital breath is the mother of the vital spirit and the vital spirit is the child of the vital breath. Mother and child become the Perfect One, and the Perfect One escapes birth and death. (*Jinyuji* 5:6).⁷⁹

xx 氣是神之母，神是氣之子，字母成真一，真一脫生死。

This notion of the vital breath as mother and of the vital spirit as child differed from the general views of traditional Daoism. And so, when discussing the cultivation of the vital spirit and the vital breath, Ma Danyang advocated starting with the nourishment of the vital breath. The ultimate goal here is to unite the vital breath and the vital spirit: “when the vital breath and the vital spirit meet, the elixir is formed” [氣神相見靈] (*Xianleji* 2:16; 5:8)⁸⁰.

Early Quanzhen Daoists held that the ancestral breath [*zuqi* 祖氣]⁸¹ is the source of cultivating the Dao. So, cultivation of the Dao should begin by cultivating the vital breath. According to Daoist internal alchemy theory, the process of cultivation – from cultivating the vital breath to union with the Dao – involves rigorous and complex procedures. However, despite their teachings on the importance of cultivating the vital

⁷⁹ Y42/34242.

⁸⁰ Y42/34007; 34033.

breath or the work on life-force (*minggong*), early Quanzhen masters left almost nothing in writing that can be considered as practical instructions on how to cultivate the vital breath. One exception is the *Straightforward Instructions on the Great Elixir* [*Dadan Zhizhi* 大丹直指] of Qiu Chuji, an internal alchemy work which outlines nine steps.

Ma Danyang's Doctrine of 'Clarity and Stillness'

According to Yin Qinghe (Yin Zhiping)⁸², Ma Danyang⁸³ led Quanzhen under the principle of 'clarity and stillness in non-action' [*qingjing wuwei* 清靜無爲] (*Beiyoulu*). Ma Danyang advocated monastic cultivation [*qingxiu* 清修] and he considered 'clarity and stillness' to be the basic method and goal of internal alchemy cultivation. He viewed such methods as 'enlightening the mind and manifesting nature' [*mingxin jiangxing* 明心見性] and 'nourishing the vital breath and cultivating the vital spirit' as all leading to the state of clarity and stillness.

For Ma Danyang, clarity and stillness is the fundamental character of the 'body of the Dao' [*Daoti* 道體] or the Dao-itself. Liu Changsheng (Liu Chuxuan) preferred to call this fundamental character of the Dao 'void' [*xu* 虛]. But whether it is 'clarity and stillness' or 'void', it expresses the profound emptiness and stillness of the state of clarity of the Dao.

⁸¹ Refers to the protocosmic primordial breath (Hu 1995:1219).

⁸² The leader of Quanzhen who succeeded Qiu Chuji.

As clarity and stillness is the essential character of the Dao, it is also the essential quality that the mind is expected to attain. Ma Danyang viewed clarity and stillness as the fundamental principle behind the cultivation of the mind and in the nourishing of the vital breath – that is, behind *xinggong* and *minggong*. As he explains it,

One who is clear and still has his mind clear and sea of breath still. The mind is still when nothing can disturb it because emotions are stable and the gods are born. The sea of breath is still when improper desires are unable to disturb it because the essence is kept intact and the belly has borne fruit. (*DanyangYi*, p. 8).⁸⁴

xx 清靜者，清爲清其心源，淨爲淨其氣海。心源清則外物不能撓。故情定而神明生焉。氣海淨則邪欲不能干。故精全而腹實矣。

Once one has grasped the principle and practice of clarity and stillness, then the mind attains clarity, nature becomes calm, and the elixir is formed.

If one desires to nourish the vital breath and preserve/perfect the vital spirit, he must completely abandon all attachments, be clear and pure internally and externally, and for a long period of time practice concentrating the vital essence, then the vital spirit consolidates and the vital breath becomes stable. If one remains intact/undefiled for three years, the lower elixir is formed. If one remains

⁸³ Ma Danyang was the immediate successor of the Wang Chongyang, the founder of Quanzhen, and was the first of the Seven Perfected to lead Quanzhen after Wang died. He was succeeded by Tan Chuduan, Liu Chuxuan and Qiu Chuji in that order.

intact/undefiled for nine years, the upper elixir is formed. This is called the completion of the three elixirs, the conclusion of the work of the nine cycles. (*DanyangYl*, pp. 15-16).⁸⁵

xx 欲要鄙氣全神，須當摒盡萬緣，表裏清淨，久久精專，神凝，氣定。三年不漏下丹結，九年不漏上丹結，是名三丹圓備，九轉功成。

According to Ma Danyang, “Daoist have left behind countless texts on elixir cultivation. They can all be summed up in the formula ‘clarity and stillness’” (*DanyangYl*, p. 8)⁸⁶. Interestingly, Ma Danyang advised against devoting too much effort in investigating *minggong* and in practicing sitting meditation and breathing exercises [*daoyin* 導引] (Zhang 1993:97-98). In his view, these life-force or *ming* practices were really unnecessary additions on nature. At best, they can slow one down. At worst, they lead one away from the Dao. Among early Quanzhen masters, Ma was not alone in his silence on practical *ming* matters. However, this does not mean that they were ignorant of or did not practice *ming* techniques. On the contrary, there are indications that they were quite familiar with many of them. But they certainly did not want to advocate training in practical *minggong* techniques as the center of cultivation.

The view of Ma Danyang and of early Quanzhen Daoism on ‘clarity and stillness’ as the basic characteristic of the ‘body of the Dao’ or the ‘Dao itself’ and the fundamental

⁸⁴ Y39/31562.

⁸⁵ Y39/31565-31566.

⁸⁶ Y39/31562.

principle of cultivating the Dao, originated from the doctrine that “to carry out the way of Heaven is to follow the action of Heaven” [執天之道，法天之行]⁸⁷. Followers of early Quanzhen Daoism regarded clarity as the fundamental characteristic of the manifestation of Heaven [天象] while stillness is the fundamental characteristic of the manifestation of Earth [地象]. In terms of cultivation, the human body is like the cosmos, divided into Heaven and Earth. According to Ma Danyang, “above the diaphragm is Heaven; below the diaphragm is Earth” [人之隔已上爲天，隔已下爲地] (*DanyangYi*, p. 6)⁸⁸. So, to cultivate the Dao means to practice the way of Heaven and Earth, ‘clarity and stillness’, which means controlling the internal Heaven-Earth processes. This entails enabling the breath of Heaven in the upper part to descend, and making the channels of the Earth in the lower part to open. When Heaven and Earth unite in this way, in mutual penetration, the vital essence [*jing* 精] concentrates and the elixir is formed. This is how Heaven lasts and Earth endures, and if one can sustain clarity and stillness every moment of one’s life, then one can become immortal.

Quanzhen internal alchemy was built on the ancient theory of primordial breath which constitutes, creates and governs all natural or cosmic (Heaven and Earth) phenomena. It attributed the ‘eternity of Heaven and the endurance of Earth’ [天長地久] to the union of Heaven and Earth which is realized in the descent of the Heavenly breath and the ascent of the Earthly breath. Since the human body is made of the same stuff, organized the same way as the cosmos, and operates according to the same principle, it can be eternal like Heaven and endure like the Earth. The equivalent of the

⁸⁷ Originally, the opening words of the *Yinfujing* (Y2/1231).

⁸⁸ Y39/31561.

Heavenly breath in the upper body is the heart essence [*xinye* 心液]. The equivalent of the Earthly breath in the lower body is the vital breath of the kidneys [*shenqi* 腎氣]. The heart essence is of the fire element which tends to burn upward. The vital breath of the kidneys is of the water element which tends to flow downward. Under given circumstances and natural processes, there is no way that the fiery heart essence above and the watery *qi* of the kidneys below would ever come together. The only way that the two can unite is through human intervention, by reversing the positions of the heart essence and the *qi* of the kidneys. This can be done through the practice of clarity and stillness. By clearing and stilling the mind, one can make the heart essence go down and the vital breath of the kidneys go up as far as the spleen position where the two primordial *qi* unite and coagulate into the elixir that forms the embryo (*DanyangYI*, p. 4)⁸⁹. Liu Changsheng called this process ‘inverting the *yin* and the *yang*’ [*yinyang diandao* 陰陽顛倒] or ‘turning Heaven and Earth upside down’ [*tiandi fanfu* 天地反覆] (*YinfujingZ*, p. 5)⁹⁰. Later Quanzhen Daoists would use Yijing theory of lines and symbols to explain this principle of inversion in internal alchemy cultivation (see Chapter Three).

The traditional theory of creation held that when Heaven above and Earth below unite, the primordial *qi* gathers and the ‘then thousand things’ come into being. This is the natural process of creation and Quanzhen internal alchemists did not deny it. But in the notion of inversion, they were saying that this natural process – its effect on human beings, e.g., aging and dying – is reversible. Man can be ‘re-created’ [*gaizao* 改造], so

⁸⁹ Y39/31560.

⁹⁰ Y4/2591.

to speak. This way of thinking in early Quanzhen theory of internal alchemy was typical of the ‘follow-the-action-of-Heaven’ [法天而行] mode of holographic thinking [全息思維法] (Zhang 1993:100). Holography is originally a technique for making three-dimensional representations of objects. Holographic thinking was quite common in traditional Daoist thought. However, it must be used with caution. If improperly applied, it could easily lead to simplistic comparison. During the Wei-Jin Period, Ge Hong advocated that, since gold is incorruptible and lead and mercury flighty, human could ingest them in a refined drug form, which would enable them to take off and fly.

Early Quanzhen masters proposed ‘pure cultivation’ [*qingxiu* 清修], advocating that cultivation should penetrate every aspect and every moment of everyday life (whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down). On this point, they also discussed how to be ‘in-the-world’ or ‘this-worldly’ [*rushi* 入世] and practice cultivation at the same time. Ma Danyang came up with the idea of ‘internal daily function’ [*neiriyong* 內日用] and ‘external daily function’ [*wairiyong* 外日用]. Internal daily function, also known as internal practice [*neigong* 內功], refers mainly to purifying or clearing of the mind and controlling thoughts, and to cultivating the vital breath and nourishing the vital spirit. In other words, internal daily function refers to the work on the mind. External daily function, also known as external practice [*waigong* 外功], refers to ethical standards applied to outward behavior. Both are for cultivating the mind and subduing thoughts, calming the vital spirit and nourishing the vital breath. External practice cultivates the mind by disciplining external attachments [*waiyuan* 外緣]. The goal here is to get rid of the egoistic and materialistic self [人我物我]. Internal practice, on the

other hand, is aimed at cultivating the true mind in order to subdue the worldly mind [*chenxin* 塵心].

In the this-worldly cultivation of external daily function, early Quanzhen Daoists promoted a standard of action. This standard of action involved sacrificing oneself for the benefit of others [捨己利他], being poor and vulnerable [清貧柔弱], being accomodating always [常行方便], being respectful and deferential to others [恭順於人], living according to what fate brings [隨緣度日], getting rid of greed and anger [絕盡貪嗔], enduring humiliations [常行忍辱], repaying hostility with kindness [以恩報仇], giving up glory and splendor [棄榮華], moderation in food and drink [節飲食], taking food or drink with little or no flavor [薄滋味], and so on. This standard of action was neither Confucian nor Mohist, neither Chan nor Buddhist. Compared to the Confucian standard, the Daoist ethical standard was relatively severe; compared to the Chan Buddhist standard, it was relatively benign (Zhang 1993:101).

In the notion of this-worldly cultivation of external daily function, early Quanzhen Daoism incorporated elements of Confucian ethics. However, in fact, early Quanzhen masters differed as to the extent of their assimilation of Confucian values. Ma Danyang, for example, seemed indifferent to them. He advocated monastic cultivation [清修] and firmly opposed lay cultivation or 'cultivation at home' [居家修行]. That is, if one desires to pursue cultivation, he must totally detach himself from sentiments such as filial gratitude [父母恩情] and familial love [兒女戀情]. In other words, to pursue a life of cultivation, one must leave home and family [出家].

If Ma Danyang seemed indifferent or opposed to Confucian values, other early Quanzhen masters appeared enthusiastic about incorporating them. In *Xianleji*, Liu Chansheng has the following statements: “exhort all princes to first practice the way of filial piety” [普勸諸公先行孝道] (3:13)⁹¹; “harmony and filial devotion are superior to mere appearances of human feelings” [和睦孝順勝似人情] (3:14)⁹²; “rule and govern with transparency, and as an official, be loyal and filial” [治政清通，爲官忠孝] (3:21)⁹³. Tan Chuduan says similar things in *Shuiyunji*:

To be an official and governing transparently is like cultivating the Dao. Loyalty, filiality, kindness, and compassion are better than ‘leaving home’. Following this way of merits and virtues to the end would certainly enable one to walk the rosy clouds. (1:13).⁹⁴

xx 爲官清政同修道，忠孝仁慈勝出家。行盡這般功德路，定將歸去步雲霞。

In contrast to Ma Danyang, Tan taught that lay cultivation is possible. In the *Shuiyunji*, he dedicated a poem to a certain Han family gentleman who pursued cultivation without leaving home in which he said:

⁹¹ Y42/34015.

⁹² Y42/34015.

⁹³ Y42/34019.

⁹⁴ Y43/34633.

Care for parents at home and practice the way of filial piety; be truly upright in society and unite the three lights. Always be compassionate and help the needy; always be kind and aid the unfortunate. (1:2).⁹⁵

xx內待雙親行孝道，外持真正合三光。常行矜憫提貧困，每施慈恩挈下殃。

In reforming Ma Danyang's strict monasticism, Tan Chuduan was expressing an aspiration common to all the different early Quanzhen Daoist schools in the post-Ma Danyang period, and which was most evident in Qiu Chuji's Longmen school (Zhang 1993:102). This reform – the incorporation of Confucian ethics into Daoist cultivation – played an important role in the rapid and vigorous development of Quanzhen Daoism. By integrating internal daily function and external daily function, Quanzhen Daoism addressed both the other-worldly [出世] and this-worldly [入世] concerns of the people. In other words, it enabled Quanzhen Daoism to become more socially relevant, especially during the chaotic years leading to the end of the Jin Dynasty.

⁹⁵ Y43/34627.

CHAPTER THREE

Internal Alchemy in General

Introduction

As mentioned in the introduction, research on this thesis is difficult because of the coded language used in some of the primary sources. This problem is particularly true of *neidan* or internal alchemy sources, which, for Daoists, contained sensitive Daoist wisdom that needed to be protected from falling into undeserving hands. Hence the use of symbols and cryptic metaphors in writing about the *neidan* arts. So, before proceeding with the topic in this chapter, an explanation of the meaning of a few common symbolic and metaphorical terms in internal alchemy follows.

Internal alchemy is, in a very broad sense, the same project as external alchemy. As with external alchemy, internal alchemy pursues the production of the perfect substance, the elixir of perfection or immortality. In external alchemy, the process of producing the elixir is actually a simulation of the cosmic process or, as Sivin puts it, “a kind of pilot model of cosmic evolution” (1987:187). In particular, the alchemist reproduces the process through which nature transmutes minerals and metals into gold. In its own time, nature takes thousand of years to complete such a process. But in alchemy, the alchemist shrinks this immense cosmic time frame into a time scale that human beings can realistically deal with (e.g., one two-hour period in a laboratory can reproduce one year in the natural cycle).

However, internal alchemy differs radically from external alchemy in two aspects: the nature of the alchemical laboratory and the nature of the elixir. First, the nature of the laboratory has changed. For the internal alchemist, the laboratory is his own body. As the smallest version of the cosmos – hence, microcosm – the human body contains the ingredients and the implements needed for the alchemical operation. The second radical difference is in the understanding of what the elixir means. In internal alchemy, the elixir is not a refined natural substance but something cultivated to perfection from within. In external alchemy, the elixir is an ingestible drug in a form of a pill, made by refining and compounding certain natural substances. The elixir pills turned out to be toxic and actually caused the early demise of many of those who took them. Believers tend to explain this away by saying that the death that occurred was only an apparent death. The person who ‘died’ actually became an immortal. Eventually, however, this rather crude way of attaining perfection declined in public acceptance and the practice of external alchemy gradually died away.

Internal alchemy is also called ‘alchemy’ because it uses alchemical language to designate internal bodily processes and substances. For example, the vital substances known as the *jing*, the *qi*, and the *shen* are the ‘ingredients’. The places in the body where the ingredients are processed or ‘cooked’ are called the ‘cauldron and stove’. The breathing techniques and the varying degrees of mental concentration applied constitute the ‘firing schedule’.

Aside from alchemical metaphors, internal alchemy also uses diagrams from *Yijing* (*Book of Changes*) to illustrate internal alchemical processes and state. The *Yijing* diagrams include the three-lined symbols called 'trigrams', such as *Qian* (Heaven) and *Kun* (Earth), *Kan* (Water) and *Li* (Fire), and the six-lined symbols called 'hexagrams'. In all, there are sixty-four hexagrams. Among these is a group of twelve hexagrams called the *Twelve Sovereign Hexagrams* [十二辟卦], sovereign because all the rest are subject to them. These twelve hexagrams also constitute the *Chart of the Twelve Waxing and Waning Hexagrams* [十二消息卦圖]. Collectively they are called this because they illustrate, through the increase of solid (*yang*) lines and the decrease of broken (*yin*) lines in each hexagram, the waxing and waning movements of the *yang* in relation to the *yin*. Each hexagram represents a month in the year or a period in the day. Internal alchemists follow this chart to control the firing schedule and maintain synchronicity between the cultivation of the human body and the natural movements of the cosmos (Hu 1995:1136, 1198f).

Finally, mention should be made of the use of the different characters for *qi*. The two main ones are 炁 and 氣. There is a suggestion that 炁 refers to protocosmic, primordial or prenatal *qi* while 氣 refers to deuterocosmic or postnatal *qi* (cf. Hu Fuchen). However, this is not always the case in all Daoist writings. In some Daoist writings the two are interchangeable. Historically, according to Zhu Yueli, 炁 evolved from 氣 which was created by practitioners of immortality arts [神仙方術] to express a theory of *qi* ingestion (1982:57). In the new character 炁, the 'rice' [*mi* 米] part of the original *qi* character was taken out and replaced by 'fire' [*huo* 火]. Fire represents the sun, and

ingesting *qi* was all about absorbing the *qi* or essence of the sun. Fire is yang *qi*, and ingesting *qi* was all about absorbing protocosmic, perfect, primordial *qi* – that is, pure yang *qi*. 炁 inherited the nuances associated with the earlier 氣 character. This is the reason why 炁 is used only in Daoist works and not in other writings (Zhu 1982:58).

Defining 'Neidan'

The term *neidan* 内丹, commonly translated as 'inner elixir' (the 'product') or 'internal alchemy' (the 'process'), is currently understood to refer to a body of physiological and psychological (or mental) practices -- to what can be called broadly as 'Daoist yoga'⁹⁶ -- designed to prolong life or attain immortality. This understanding is generally traced back to a twelfth century southern Song Daoist alchemist and author, Wuwu 吳悞⁹⁷, who viewed *neidan* as a syncretic system of self-cultivation combining all methods and techniques of longevity, whether gymnastic, respiratory, dietary, or sexual (Baldrian-Hussein 1989-1990:187).

Historically, however, the meaning of the word *neidan* is not clear and, as yet, cannot be precisely determined, if ever such a goal is attainable. Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, in her article⁹⁸ on the origin and use of the term *neidan*, cites at least two reasons for this, namely: 1) the term had been applied by a number of schools, each promoting one or a combination of different spiritual (or self-cultivation) techniques; 2)

⁹⁶ The word *yoga*, as Chang Chung-yuan rightly points out, "is not generally used by the modern Chinese, who refer, rather, to 'quiet sitting' or meditative breathing." The term was introduced into Chinese in the transliterated form *yujia* 瑜伽 through Indian Buddhist texts (e.g., the *Yogacaryabhumi-sastra* by Asanga, in fourth century India) translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 (596-664) (Chang 1973:76, n.17).

the sources are “of dubious date and at best can be considered pseudo-historical” (1989-1990:164). The most that can be said about the origin of the term so far is that *neidan* came later than the various practices that would eventually comprise it. The techniques and exercises themselves had already been known from the time of the Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE). The term *neidan*, however, had not been used in Daoist texts of the period.

Baldrian-Hussein situates the emergence of this usage between the Tang (618-907) and the Song (960-1279) periods. Historical and regional analyses of sources show, first of all, that the term was used in certain regions of the South where it appears to have been associated with sacred mountains such as Mount Luofu or *Luofushan* 羅浮山 and Mount Heng or *Hengshan* 衡山. Data on this come primarily from the biographies of Daoist immortals. As to the various meanings of *neidan* found in alchemy texts, one often finds it defined in terms of *qi* techniques such as ‘embryonic breathing’ [*taixi* 胎息] or ‘conducting the breath’ [*xingqi* 行氣]. Other texts speak of *neidan* as just a step in the overall alchemical process. Still other texts understand it as the ‘internal ingredient’ [*neiyao* 內藥] or as a technique of ‘bedroom practice’ [*fangzhong* 房中].

Internal alchemy or *neidan*, if seen merely as a conglomeration of pre-existing methods and techniques of longevity, would be nothing new. However, *neidan* is much more than just the sum of its inherited old parts. Historically, it was a distinctive innovation. The innovation lies in the “completely original speculation” that came to

⁹⁷ Also known as Master Self-so, *Ziranzi* 自然子, and 高蓋山人 (Hu 1995:132).

⁹⁸ The complete article is in 1989-1990:163-190.

serve as the theoretical foundation for *neidan* practice (Robinet 1997:216). In general, intellectual speculation was never a priority among the pragmatically inclined Daoists. But as Buddhism, with its well-developed and sophisticated speculative system, spread and took root in China, Daoism was somehow compelled to reformulate, elaborate, or systematize itself in a similar intellectual fashion. Daoism had already assimilated elements of Buddhist thought by the time *neidan* came into the scene.⁹⁹ In *neidan*, however, the key Buddhist influence came indirectly in the form of a creative reaction: it [*neidan*], says Robinet, “constituted a completely Chinese and Daoist response to Buddhism by filling the gap left by Daoism’s great pragmatism.” The resulting speculative content became the defining element of the *neidan* tradition (Robinet 1997:216).

In terms of its textual legacy, the *neidan* tradition can be defined according to the following characteristic features or concerns (see Robinet 1989:297-302 or 1997:215-219):

1. Reconciliation between the practical and the speculative – that is, between physiological training and meditational practices, on the one hand, and intellectual speculation, on the other. This is the fundamental concern of internal alchemy and the “underlying bond that ties all its authors together” (Robinet 1989:300). Note, however, that insofar as the balance between the physical and the mental is concerned, *neidan* tends to emphasize the mental.

⁹⁹ The borrowings actually occurred on both sides. Therefore, just as we can speak of a Buddhist current that flowed into Daoism, there was also a significant “Taoist countercurrent” that flowed into and was

2. Synthesis or harmonization between Daoist praxis and basic Chinese philosophical ideals -- that is, between a) the various practices and techniques (of breathing, visualization, alchemy) already available in Daoism and b) the fundamental aspirations of Chinese philosophy as found in Daoist, Buddhist, as well as Confucian texts. This is the second major concern of internal alchemy.
3. Use of chemical metaphors (i.e., at least of terms like lead and mercury, water and fire, furnace and cauldron) in connection with *Yijing* 易經 symbolism, particularly the trigrams (already used metaphorically in laboratory alchemy and ritual), in explaining internal alchemy procedures. For Robinet, this combined use of chemical metaphors and *Yijing* trigrams constitute the distinctive feature of *neidan*, the feature that separates it from ancient breathing exercises (1997:217).¹⁰⁰

The Roots of Neidan

In other words, *neidan* or internal alchemy is a new synthesis, a new product of Daoism's evolutionary attempts throughout history to reformulate and redefine itself. As several different streams of sources were involved in its development, determining its precise origins is a rather complicated and, in certain respects, an impossible task. Internal alchemy brought together various longevity and immortality techniques which

"absorbed and digested" by Chinese Buddhism (Zuercher 1980:84).

¹⁰⁰ "It seems that a text can never fall into the range of *neidan* materials if it lacks this particular trait. Without it, the text is just concerned with breathing exercises and gymnastics, the tradition of what nowadays is known as *Qigong*" (Robinet 1989:301).

have existed since time immemorial, their origins attributed to legendary or mythological figures: techniques for moving or conducting *qi* [行氣術] attributed to Wang Ziqiao 王子喬 and Chi Songzi 赤松子; bedroom (sexual) techniques [房中術] attributed to Pengzu 彭祖, Rong Chenggong 容成公, Xuannu 玄女 and Sunu 素女; and techniques of ingestion [服食術] attributed to Xian Men'gao 羨門高 and An Qisheng 安期生 (Hu 1997:87; see also 1999:520).

Many key *neidan* concepts, both theoretical and practical, can be traced back to the classical sources of Daoist thought – the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi*.¹⁰¹ For example, fundamental categories such as the *dao* 道, *xu* 虛, and *wu* 無, and notions like *jing* 精, *qi* 氣, and *shen* 神. There are practices such as “doing one’s utmost to attain emptiness and holding firmly to stillness” [致虛極，守靜篤]: “I do my utmost to attain emptiness; I hold firmly to stillness” (*Daodejing* 16 in Lau 1982:23); ‘concentrating the breath into softness’ [專氣致柔]: “Can you, when concentrating your breath, make it soft like that of a little child?” (*Daodejing* 10 in Waley 1934:153);¹⁰² ‘returning to one’s roots and destiny’ [歸根復命]: “Returning to ones roots is known as stillness. This is what is meant by returning to one’s destiny. Returning to one’s destiny is known as the constant. Knowledge of the constant is known as discernment” (*Daodejing* 16 in Lau 1982:24-25); ‘coagulating the spirit’ [凝神]; ‘keeping the one’ [守一]; ‘sitting and forgetting’ [坐忘]; ‘fasting of the mind’ [心齋]; and so on.

¹⁰¹ Indeed, for Hu Fuchen, “the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* laid the theoretical and practical foundation of internal alchemy” (1997:87).

¹⁰² Lau (1982:15) renders it as “In concentrating your breath can you become as supple as a babe?” which does not sound right.

On 'keeping the One' or 'embracing the One', the *Daodejing*, chapter 10 says: "When carrying on your head your perplexed bodily soul can you embrace in your arms the One and not let go?" (Lau 1982:13). In the *Zhuangzi*, the chapter "The Great Ancestral Teacher" [大宗師], Confucius asked about the meaning of sitting and forgetting, and got the following reply: "I slough off my limbs and trunk," said Yen Hui, "dim my intelligence, depart from my form, leave knowledge behind, and become identical with the Transformational Thoroughfare [大通]. This is what I mean 'sit and forget'" (Mair 1994:64). In the *Zhuangzi*, the chapter "The Human World" [人間世], Hui asked: "I venture to ask what 'fasting of the mind is.'" "Maintaining the unity of your will," said Confucius, "listen not with your ears but with your mind. Listen not with your mind but with your primal breath [*qi* 氣, translated as 'spirit' by Burton Watson]. The ears are limited to listening, the mind is limited to tallying [*fu* 符, translated as 'recognition' by Watson]. The primal breath, however, awaits things emptily. It is only through the Way that one can gather emptiness, and emptiness is the fasting of the mind" (Mair 1994:32).

On the ideal or realm of perfection, such as that of being a 'sage' [*shengren* 聖人], a 'perfected' [*zhenren* 真人], or an 'immortal' [*xianren* 仙人]¹⁰³, the *Zhuangzi*, in "The Great Ancestral Teacher", section 1, the 'perfected' or 'true man' is described as one "whose knowledge can ascend the heights of the Way" and who is "compatible with all things but no one knew his limits" (Mair 1994:52). He possesses unique characteristics and extraordinary abilities: he does not desire after accomplishments and

is not concerned about value distinctions such as between right and wrong, likes and dislikes, life and death, origin and destiny; his breathing is deep and he breathes from his heels, not from his throat as ordinary people do; he can walk through water without getting wet or through fire without getting burned.

There are two approaches to self-cultivation: the solo cultivation approach [*qingxiu* 清修] and the duo cultivation approach [*shuangxiu* 雙修].¹⁰⁴ The internal practices mentioned in the *Zhuangzi* are mainly of the solo type: e.g., ‘keeping the one’, ‘fasting of the mind’, ‘sitting and forgetting’. It is in the *Laozi* that one can find allusions to the duo approach.¹⁰⁵

Theoretical Foundations of Internal Alchemy

Many internal alchemists through the ages, insofar as internal elixir cultivation is concerned, have produced quite a substantial amount of theoretical material. For an outline of the main theoretical elements that underlie the practice of internal alchemy, we turn to the work of Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛 (1945-), a scholar at the Institute of Philosophy of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences [中國社會科學院哲學研究所] in Beijing, China. In the same spirit of contemporary *qigong* promoters, Hu tries to explain internal alchemy theory in a modern way, by using scientific concepts from physics, physiology

¹⁰³ See *Zhuangzi*, “Heaven and Earth” [天地], section 6: “Tired of the world, after a thousand years he leaves it and ascends among the immortals. He mounts on the white clouds and arrives in the land of Deus. The three tribulations never affect him; His person is free from misfortune” (Mair 1994:107).

¹⁰⁴ In internal alchemy usage, they are also known as the ‘solo elixir method’ [清淨孤修丹法] and the ‘yin-yang elixir method’ [陰陽丹法] respectively.

¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., chapter 55, where it talks about “the union of male and female”.

and psychology.¹⁰⁶ The reader may find the mixture of scientific discourse and religious studies discourse inappropriate. However, considering the esoteric nature of internal alchemy sources, Hu's approach is a useful and enlightening.

1. The Theory of Protocosmos and Deuteroscosmos and of the Three Treasures off/in the Body [先天後天人體三寶說]

Internal alchemy distinguishes between two realms of reality: the protocosmos [xiantian 先天] and the deuteroscosmos [houtian 後天].¹⁰⁷ 'Protocosmos' refers to the initial, original state of the natural world and of society – that is, to the formless, the spontaneous, the natural/instinctive, the functional aspect of things that transcends time and space. 'Deuteroscosmos' refers to the actual state of the material world and of secular society – that is, to the formed, the artificial/human-generated, the substantive [實體性] things that follow the material or physical law of entropy¹⁰⁸ [熵增的物質規律].

Internal alchemy borrows from Buddhist talks of the 'three treasures' [sanbao 三寶] of the human body which constitute the three levels of the human body's vital element: the *jing* (vital essence), the *qi* (vital breath) and the *shen* (vital spirit). The three exist in both protocosmic and deuteroscosmic forms. The deuteroscosmic form of the vital essence [後天的精] refers to the seminal fluid secreted during sexual intercourse. In a

¹⁰⁶ See Hu 1997:91-95 or Hu and Lü 1999:550-559.

¹⁰⁷ We use the Greek prefix *proto-* here in the sense of 'primitive', 'original' or 'archetypical'; the prefix *deutero-* in the sense of 'subsequent' (cf. *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*, 2nd ed., unabridged, 1957).

¹⁰⁸ The *Webster's New World Dictionary* (3d college ed., 1993) defines entropy as a) "a thermodynamic measure of the amount of energy unavailable for useful work in a system undergoing change"; and b) "a

broader sense, it includes all the hormonal secretions in the body. The protocosmic form of the vital essence [先天的精] is produced spontaneously and instinctively in the state of 'non-action' or *wuwei* 無爲. This form, also called the 'primordial essence' [*yuanjing* 元精] or the 'true essence' [*zhenjing* 真精], refers mainly to the sexual function [性功能] not generated by erotic stimulus/activity. Broadly, it includes all the natural functions -- of the endocrine system, the reproductive system, the circulatory system, and other systems -- that stimulate life and life-force. The deuterocosmic vital breath [後天的氣] refers to the breath of inhalation and exhalation. The protocosmic vital breath [先天的氣], called 'primordial breath' [*yuanqi* 元氣] or 'true breath' [*zhenqi* 真氣] (resulting from the transformation of *jing* into *qi*, it is another name for the *jing* and the *qi* cultivated and congealed into one), refers to the vital activities and functions of the human body manifested in the highly ordered flow of energy [能量] and in the life-force of the body. The deuterocosmic vital spirit [後天的神] is the spirit of thought, called the 'spirit of consciousness' [*shishen* 識神]. The protocosmic vital spirit [先天的神], called the 'primordial spirit' [*yuanshen* 元神] (resulting from the transformation of *qi* 炁 into *shen*, it is the cultivation and coagulation of the *qi* 炁 and the *shen*), refers to a state of no thought [無思維] characterized by utmost clarity [極情形]. The vital essence, vital breath and vital spirit are the ingredients [藥物] of internal alchemy, for cultivating the internal elixir.

measure of the degree of disorder in a substance or a system: entropy always increases and available energy diminishes in a closed system, as the universe."

2. *The Principle of 'Going Along and Generating Humanity; Reversing and Attaining Immortality'* [順則生人逆則成仙的內丹學原理]

In Daoist cosmology and anthropology, the universe and human life originated from the Dao. From nothingness, the Dao generated the 'the primordial original protocosmic one breath' [元始先天一炁] (also called the 'true breath of the supreme one' [太一真氣]), and from the 'one breath' produced the two natures *yin* and *yang*. As a result of the union and the stirrings of the *yin* and the *yang*, matter [物質], energy [能量], and information [信息] – the three great elements – came into being. In turn, the three elements evolved into the myriad things of the world. This is precisely how the *Laozi* accounts for the origin and the evolution of the universe: "The way begets one; one begets two; two begets three; three begets the myriad creatures."¹⁰⁹

Likewise, the human being is formed according to the cosmogonic model. The cosmos's 'primordial original protocosmic true breath of the supreme one' [元始先天太一] is infused into the mother's womb during the union of the *yin* and the *yang* natures of the father and the mother, thus forming the fetus and endowing it with nature and life-force. After ten months in the mother's womb, the fetus reaches maturity and a child is born. With its first cry, the protocosmic ancestral breath [先天祖氣] is cut off and the deuterocosmic breath is generated. Afterwards, for every 32 months -- from the Return Hexagram, the Looking Down Hexagram, the Peace Hexagram, the Great Power Hexagram, the Resolution Hexagram, until the Heaven Hexagram (at 16 years old; see

¹⁰⁹ In chapter 52; translated by Lau in 1982:63.

the chart below) -- 64 *zhu* 銖¹¹⁰ of primordial breath is generated until 384 *zhu* is obtained and a body of pure *yang* is formed.

At the moment of coupling, the mother and the father form the 'one breath' [一炁]. It begins as an undeveloped body [形體未具] in which the spirit and the breath remain undifferentiated [神炁未判]. This is called the 'first becoming of humanity' [人道的第一變], when the fetus is in the undifferentiated state of primordial chaos. From the moment the heart and the kidneys are formed, the spirit and the breath begins to be distinguished from each other, until the tenth month when the fetus attains full development and the baby is born -- this is the 'second becoming of humanity' [人道的第二變]. From the moment of birth until the youthful age of sixteen, when the *yang* essence [陽精] becomes mature enough to be leaked out, when sexual desires [情欲] begin to arise -- this is the 'third becoming of humanity' [人道的第三變]. Afterwards, the knowledge spirit [識神] takes control, emotions and desires harm the body, and for every 96 months -- from the Meeting Hexagram (24 years old), the Little Pig Hexagram (32 years old), the Obstruction Hexagram (40 years old), the Observing Hexagram (48 years old), the Stripping Away Hexagram (56 years old), until the Earth Hexagram (64 years old) -- one *yin* is generated until the primordial breath is exhausted.

Chart of the Twelve Wax-Wane Movements of the *Yin* and the *Yang*¹¹¹

Hexagram [<i>Gua</i> 卦]	<i>Yin</i> and <i>Yang</i> Movements	Duration	Age
Return [<i>Fu</i> 復]	1 <i>yang</i> (waxing), 5 <i>yin</i> (waning)	32 months	2.7 years

¹¹⁰ An ancient unit of weight equal to 1/24 *liang* 兩 (1 *liang* = 50 grams).

¹¹¹ See *xiaoxi* 消息 and the *shier xiaoxi tu* 十二消息圖 in Hu 1995:1201.

SELF-CULTIVATION AND QUANZHEN DAOISM

Looking Down [<i>Lin</i> 臨]	2 yang (waxing), 4 yin (waning)	32 months	5.3 years
Peace [<i>Tai</i> 泰]	3 yang (waxing), 3 yin (waning)	32 months	8 years
Great Power [<i>Dazhuang</i> 大壯]	4 yang (waxing), 2 yin (waning)	32 months	10.7 years
Resolution [<i>Guai</i> 夬]	5 yang (waxing), 1 yin (waning)	32 months	13.3 years
Heaven [<i>Qian</i> 乾]	6 yang (waxed), 0 yin (waned)	32 months	16 years
Meeting [<i>Gou</i> 姤]	1 yin (waxing), 5 yang (waning)	96 months	24 years
Little Pig [<i>Dun</i> 遯]	2 yin (waxing), 4 yang (waning)	96 months	32 years
Obstruction [<i>Pi</i> 否]	3 yin (waxing), 3 yang (waning)	96 months	40 years
Observing [<i>Guan</i> 觀]	4 yin (waxing), 2 yang (waning)	96 months	48 years
Stripping Away [<i>Bao</i> 剝]	5 yin (waxing), 1 yang (waning)	96 months	56 years
Earth [<i>Kun</i> 坤]	6 yin (waxed), 0 yang (waned)	96 months	64 years

Internal alchemy cultivation is a work of reversing and returning [返還] – that is, the art/technique of reversing aging and returning to youth [返老還童之術], from the Earth Hexagram stage to the Heaven Hexagram stage. That the evolution of the universe and of human life can be conceived in reverse is a fundamental principle in internal alchemy. According to this principle, as cosmic evolution run its course, humanity and the myriad things come into being; when the cosmic process is reversed, one is cultivating immortality.

What internal alchemists try to do, in other words, is stop the effects of entropy on the human body. They try to accomplish this through the ‘three levels of cultivation’ [三關仙術]: the ‘first level technique of immortality’ [初關仙術]; the ‘middle level technique of immortality’ [中關仙術]; and, the ‘superior level technique of immortality’ [上關仙術]. In the first level, which consists of cultivating and transforming *jing* into

qi, the *jing* is transformed until only *qi* and *shen* are left (hence, it is also called the 'three becoming two' [三歸二]). In the middle level, the *qi* is cultivated and transformed into *shen* until only the *shen* is left (hence, it is also called the 'two becoming one' [二歸一]). Finally, in the superior level, the *shen* is cultivated and returned to the void (hence, it is also called the 'one returning to the void' [一還虛]).¹¹² Therefore, internal alchemy is accomplished only when the natural bodily process has been completely reversed, from the 'third becoming' to the 'second becoming', then from the 'second becoming' to the 'first becoming', until finally when the Dao of nothingness is attained.

3. *The Way of the Void and Nothingness and the Doctrine of the Protocosmic One*

Breath [虛無之道和先天一炁說]

Internal alchemy seeks to attain the state of deathless longevity and everlasting indestructibility. According to the laws of natural science, all generated things will ultimately be destroyed. Only the Void is not generated and indestructible. For internal alchemy, therefore, the only way to deathless longevity and everlasting indestructibility is the 'way of returning to the Void and Nothingness' [返還虛無之道]. As the *Changdao Zhenyan* 唱道真言 says:

The essence of Dao lies in the Void. The Void contains all manifestations. In the world, there is destruction; only the Void is indestructible. The scripture of the Dao says that when body and spirit possess wonders, then it is with Dao and has

¹¹² The first level technique is also known as the 'hundred-day level' [百日關]; the middle level technique, the 'ten-month level' [十月關]; the superior level technique, the 'nine-year level' [九年關]. For the 'three

united with perfection. The Dao has nothing else but the Void. The body and spirit that possess wonders is the body and spirit that possess the Void.

xx 夫道之要，不過一虛，虛含萬象。世界有毀，惟虛不毀。道經曰形神俱妙，與道合真。道無他，虛而已矣。形神俱妙者，形神俱虛也。

Before creation, everything is Void and Nothingness. Internal alchemy holds that during the creation of the universe, the way of the Void and Nothingness generated the 'primordial original protocosmic one breath' [元始先天一炁], also know as the 'true breath of the supreme one' [太一真氣]. This 'protocosmic one breath' is considered to be the generative force [生機] that moves all things and animates every living being in the universe. It is the origin of all activity and vitality in the universe. Consequently, all schools of the elixir method of cultivation see absorption [招攝] of the protocosmic one breath as a necessary goal.

As a matter of speculation, the 'protocosmic one breath' was probably the primordial information [初始信息] existing prior to the Big Bang event that is currently theorized to have created the present universe, or the origin of the universe before time and space, or the most fundamental internal rhythm that informs the natural world. The primordial universe [初始宇宙] conceals the order and contains the information source that produces the cosmic rhythm. Through techniques of harmonizing the rhythm of the body and of the universe, internal alchemists fully stimulate [激發] the *jing*, the *qi*, the

levels of immortality techniques' [三關仙術], see Hu 1995:1130.

shen and other elements in the human body, and, at the quantum level [量子層次], interact with the ultimate source of the natural world, in order to absorb into the body remnants of the primordial information that remains in the universe. Internal alchemists endeavor to harmonize the internal rhythm of the body and of nature to enable them to return to and become one with the formless primordial state of protocosmic chaos – the realm of the Dao.

4. *The Three Levels of Consciousness* [意識三層次說]

In internal alchemy, the organ for human consciousness consists not only of the cortex (the outer surface of the cerebrum) [大腦皮質] but also of the thalamus [丘腦], the reticular structure or reticulum [網狀結構], even the heart and other organs. Ancient Chinese medical notions about the heart being the ruler of the spirits [神主神明], the liver as the origin of schemes [肝出謀慮], the gallbladder as the one in charge of decisions [膽主決斷], the kidneys as the source of skills [腎出技巧], and so on, have some basis. This is to say, on the bodily level, that rational and emotional activities are based on the complex physiological system of coordination between the brain and the internal organs. The body's hormones or glandular secretions, the protocosmic and deuterocosmic *jing*, *qi*, and *shen*, are also a system that can effect mutual influence and transformation. By coincidence, the body's vital activities – the *jing*, the *qi*, and the *shen* – correspond to the physical and chemical activities of heat [熱], power [力], and light [光]. They are all forms through which vital activity exists. Among them, the most vital is the *shen*. The human psyche has also a structure, an order that undergoes a process.

Consciousness is the highest form of vital activity. It can be condensed into a highly ordered object with super-minute structure. The conscious and unconscious activities of the human psyche system are important functions endowed by nature during the course of human evolution. In this, unconscious activity is certainly not an insignificant natural phenomenon; rather it is consciousness at a deeper level. It constitutes an important potential for human development of nature and society. The physiological mechanism of conscious activity is mainly in the forebrain (located in front of the cerebrum) [大腦額葉]; for unconscious activity, it is the reticulum and the thalamus. As humanity evolved, the cerebral cortex increasingly developed. Relatively, the scope of the reticulum became smaller, but the core [核體] of the reticulum became more and more complex and differentiated. Meanwhile, deep consciousness also increasingly manifested its important regulating function. We can conclude that human consciousness consists of three interrelated levels: ordinary consciousness (day-to-day knowledge and thought activities), subconsciousness (hidden desires), and primordial consciousness (inborn instinctive consciousness).

Ordinary consciousness [常意識] refers to surface rational activities – internal alchemists call it ‘conscious spirit’ [識神] – which include thoughts and feelings [感知], judgements, reasoning, and other psychological operations. In internal alchemy practice, the activities of the ‘conscious spirit’ can be divided into ‘proper thoughts’ [正念] and ‘wayward thoughts’ [邪念] (i.e., sundry, wandering, and wild thoughts which prevent one from entering into quietness). Internal alchemists seek to get rid of wayward

thoughts and consolidate the proper thoughts (to guard the elixir field [意守丹田], the thought of 'returning to one's root and rebirth' [歸根復命之念]), concentrate the power of thought in order to penetrate deep consciousness, strengthen control of ordinary consciousness, and enable it, through thought power, to consolidate [凝煉] and advance to a higher level.

Subconsciousness [潛意識] is the non-rational level of consciousness, which includes usually hard-to-recall memories of childhood (especially of traumas experienced before reaching psychological maturity) and hidden desires, sexual urges, and scars of psychic wounds. Traumas of everyday life always manage to get through surface consciousness and leave their marks on the subconscious. From the background, these subconscious scars in turn exert tremendous influence over psychological operations on the surface level. Through dreams, fantasies, intuitions, mental illness and other psychological states, one can speculate about the true nature of the subconscious. Unhealthy mental states, vile emotions, all kinds of demonic manifestations, and illusions that appear during internal alchemy practice are all doings of the subconscious. Internal alchemy practice works to purify the subconscious, cleanse the self of all scars that have been created since infancy inside the womb. Through specific practices (memorizing texts, remembering master's instructions, chanting formulas from memory, reciting incantations silently, repetitive training, and so on), the 'program code for cultivating the elixir' [煉丹的程序編碼] is entered into the subconscious. This program code for elixir cultivation in the subconscious refers to the 'true intention' [真意], called the Yellow Woman [黃婆] whose task it is to entice the *jing*, the *qi*, the *shen*, and other vital

elements to combine with each other or transform each other. During internal elixir cultivation, the subconscious can gradually be personified as -- and consolidated into -- the 'yin spirit'. The 'yin spirit' is the personification of the subconscious, which is similar to the body-like being that comes out of the body [夢中之身般脫體而出], and which possesses remote sensing [遙感], penetrating vision [透視], foreknowledge and other supernormal human abilities.

The deepest level of the human psyche is the 'primordial consciousness' [元意識], referred to in internal alchemy as the 'primordial spirit' [元神]. When internal alchemy cultivation into the primordial consciousness manifests itself, it is a mental state of extreme clarity and total absence of thought. This means that primordial consciousness is a level deeper than that of the subconscious. It corresponds to the 'store-consciousness' [阿賴耶識]¹¹³, the eighth of the eight kinds of consciousness in Buddhist Yogacara [唯識學]¹¹⁴ doctrine, which refers to the basic consciousness and the persisting element which is the subject of successive births and deaths. Elixir adepts also called it the 'spark of numinous light' [一點靈明], an inborn instinctive consciousness. Primordial consciousness was a genetic endowment of humanity's long biological evolution stored in the undeveloped 'information bank' [信息庫] of the brain. It contains the wisdom and abilities that humanity had throughout its evolutionary history. It is the human being's true self, and for this reason elixir adepts refer to it as the 'lead actor' or 'old master' [主人公]. In terms of the body work, the primordial consciousness, through cultivation and consolidation [開發和凝煉], can gradually be

¹¹³ In Sanskrit, *alaya-vijnana*; in Chinese, also known as 阿梨耶識, 無沒識, 種子識, 藏識, and 異熟識.

¹¹⁴ Or the Consciousness Only school.

personified as the 'yang spirit' [陽神]. Almost all elixir cultivators, through their personal experience, regard the 'yang spirit' as the consolidated form [凝聚體] of the 'primordial spirit' with a mature personality – the visible form of the self. This 'body' can exist outside the body and possesses the power to break through the limitations of time and space. Elixir adepts regard the body as the 'phenomenal body' [色身] and the 'yang spirit' as the 'noumenal body' [法身]¹¹⁵, also called the 'body outside the body' [身外之身]. Letting out the 'yang spirit' is the great goal of internal alchemy work on the body. It is also the thorniest issue in internal alchemy studies. In reality, internal alchemy is a systematic work consolidating [凝煉] ordinary consciousness, purifying the subconscious, and developing primordial consciousness. Only through the capability of the natural sciences to explain fully the mystery of the human brain and nervous system, can it really achieve a breakthrough (Hu 1997:93).

5. *The Technique of Taking from Kan and Filling in Li* [取坎填離術]

Internal alchemy holds that the trigrams *Kan* 坎 and *Li* 離 of deuterocosmos are generated by the interchange of positions between the middle *yang* line of the protocosmic trigram *Qian* 乾 and the middle *yin* line of the protocosmic trigram *Kun* 坤. As the *Yuzhuang Lu* 漁莊錄 says:

In the eight trigrams of protocosmos, *Qian* is located in the south and *Kun* in the north. Because after the coupling of the male and the female, the body of *Qian*

¹¹⁵ Originally the Buddhist term *dharmakaya*, one the three bodies of the Buddha, Daoists use it to refer to the 'substance of the Dao' [道本體] or the personifications of the Dao (see Hu 1995:481).

breaks and becomes *Li*; the body of *Kun* solidifies and becomes *Kan*. Since the eight trigrams of deuterocosmos refers to *Li* in the south and *Kan* in the north, therefore *Li* replaces *Qian* and *Kan* replaces *Kun*.

xx 先天八卦，乾南坤北。因男女交媾之後，乾體破而為離，坤體實而為坎。故後天八卦，謂離南坎北，蓋以離代乾，坎代坤也。

From deuterocosmos, internal alchemy seeks to return to the protocosmos by transforming *Li* into *Qian* and transforming *Kan* into *Kun*. For this reason, practice requires that the *yang* line of the trigram *Kan* be taken back and placed once again in the position of the *yin* line of the trigram *Li*, thus returning to the pure *yang* state that is the trigram *Qian* of protocosmos. Internal alchemists called this process 'taking from *Kan* and filling in *Li*'.

In the duo elixir cultivation tradition, the trigrams *Kan* and *Li* represent the female and the male respectively, which means that through the perfect *yin* from the 'male *Li* organ' [男子離器]¹¹⁶, the perfect *yang* from the 'female *Kan* window' [女子坎戶]¹¹⁷ is obtained, thus enabling the *yin* and the *yang* to couple and form the elixir. In the solo elixir cultivation, *Kan* and *Li* stand for the kidneys and the heart respectively, or *Kan* for the 'primordial *qi*' [元炁] or 'perfect essence' [真精], and *Li* for the 'primordial *shen*' [元神].

¹¹⁶ Also called 'true mercury' [真汞], 'dragon coming out of the fire' [龍從火裡].

¹¹⁷ Also called 'true lead' [真鉛], 'metal in water' [水中金], 'tiger born in water' [虎向水中生].

The ‘technique of taking from *Kan* and filling in *Li*’ during the ‘small microcosmic circulation’ [小周天] refers to the ‘heart fluid’ [心液] descending and the ‘*qi* of the kidneys’ [腎炁] ascending, which is also called ‘returning the essence and replenishing the brain’ [還精補腦]. In the ‘great microcosmic circulation’ [大周天], it refers to ‘diminishing the *yin* and cultivating the *yang*’ [消陰煉陽], ‘stabilizing the *qi* and purifying the *shen*’ [炁定神純], also known as ‘taking out lead and adding mercury’ [抽鉛添汞]. Internal alchemists regard the technique of ‘taking from *kan* and filling in *li*’ as the fundamental practice of internal alchemy. According to the *Wuzhen Pian* 悟真篇:

Taking the solid from the center of the *Kan* [‘Water’] throne, and putting it in the place of the *yin* inside the belly of the *Li* [‘Fire’] palace. From then on, it becomes a robust body of *Qian* [‘Heaven’]..... (27:11)¹¹⁸.

xx取將坎位中心實，點化離宮腹內陰。從此變成乾健體，變化飛躍總由心。

In contemporary language, the techniques of ‘taking from *Kan* and filling in *Li*’, ‘taking out lead and adding mercury’, ‘returning the essence and replenishing the brain’, ‘coupling the heart and the kidneys’ [心神相交], and so on, all refer to the initiatory practice of self-regulating the sex hormones (and other internal secretions) in order to strengthen the sexual function. The goal here is to restore the youthful vitality of the brain. More precisely, the objective is to enhance the entire nervous system, harmonize

the sex glands and the thalamus's reverse feedback mechanism [丘腦的負反饋機制].

Harmony of the physiological system leads, it is believed, to psychic harmony and the development of the human body's potentials.

The notion of 'replenishing the kidneys' [補腎] to strengthen the brain was a traditional tenet of Daoist medicine. In internal alchemy, this relationship between the kidneys and the brain was emphasized even more.¹¹⁹ In the 'first level immortality technique' [初關仙術], *jing* is regarded as the foundation, *qi* the moving force [動力], and *shen* the master [主宰]. During high states of quietness, the secretions of the sexual [性腺], pineal [松果體], and pituitary [垂體] glands stimulate one another, and enable the entire body to attain a new level of physiological and psychic harmony. This is the result of 'taking from *Kan* and filling in *Li*'.

The *Cantongqi* 參同契 says:

The 'three', the 'five' and the 'one' are the quintessence of heaven and earth.¹²⁰

They can only be told as secret oral formulas. It is difficult to transmit them in writing. (2:10).¹²¹

xx 三五與一，天地至精，付以口訣，難以書傳。

¹¹⁸ Y7/5590.

¹¹⁹ In Chinese medicine, the 'kidneys' include the functions of the entire endocrine and reproductive systems, called the 'protocosmic root' [先天之本]. The 'brain' includes the nervous system and the psychic levels [心理層次].

¹²⁰ Elixir adepts have various interpretations as to the meaning of the expression 'three-five-one' or *sanwuyi* 三五— (Hu 1995:1141).

¹²¹ Y/34/27056.

The *Wuzhen Pian* says:

‘Three’, ‘five’, ‘one’ are merely three words. From ancient times to the present, those that have understood them are few. (26:29).¹²²

xx 三五一都三個字，古今明者實然稀。

The small preface to the *Wuzhen Pian* [方壺外史。悟真篇小序] says:

The ‘three’, the ‘five’ and the ‘one’ are the quintessence of heaven and earth. The dragon comes out of the fire; the tiger is born from the water. The two meet happily; a fetus is conceived and an infant is formed.

xx 三五與一，天地至精，龍從火出，虎向水生，二物歡會，俱歸中宮，三家相見，懷胎結嬰。

These words were considered to be secrets of the elixir adepts. Actually, the transformation of water-metal [水金] and wood-mercury [木汞] into elixir, through the ‘perfect intention’ [真意]¹²³, is also ‘taking from *Kan* and filling in *Li*. The ‘five breaths meeting the primordial’ [五氣朝元]¹²⁴ and the ‘three flowers -- *jing*, *qi*, and *shen* – gathering at the top/head [三華聚頂], are all about obtaining the ‘protocosmic one

¹²² Y7/5581.

¹²³ That is, ‘soil’ or *tu* 土.

¹²⁴ Refer to the breaths of the heart, liver, spleen, lungs and kidneys.

breath' and the cultivation and consolidation [凝煉] of the 'primordial spirit' [元神] into elixir.

6. *The Theory of the Three Dark, Red and Yellow Passes and Openings* [黑赤黃三道
關竅說]

Elixir adepts hold that the 'perfect *qi*' in the body circulate through three main vessels/channels [經脈]: one is called the 'red path' [赤道], that is, the 'functional' or 'conception vessel' [任脈]; another is called the 'dark path' [黑道], that is, the 'governor vessel' [督脈]; still another is called the 'yellow path' [黃道], that is, the 'middle channel' [中脈]. The *Xietianji* 泄天機 records Min Xiaogen 閔小艮¹²⁵ as saying:

The *qi* that adepts manage has three paths, namely, the red, the dark, and the yellow. The red is the conception channel whose path lies in front [of the body], the route that the *qi* of the heart follows. The color of the heart is red that is why it is called the 'red path'. Its nature is to scorch and rise, and the technique is to control it and make it descend in order to cool the heart and warm the kidneys. The dark is the governor channel whose path lies at the back [of the body], the route that the *qi* of the kidneys follows. The color of the kidneys is dark that is why it is called the 'dark path'. Its nature is to moisten and descend, and the technique is to control it and make it ascend in order to move the marrow and calm the spirit. Originally, these two paths are the channels of the essential *qi*. Humanity and all things rely on these for existing and for this reason this way is

called the 'path of humanity'. Elixir adepts and physicians described it this way. The yellow is the 'yellow middle'¹²⁶, the path between the red and the dark located in front of the spine and behind the heart, and controls the two *qi* as the central lord of the entire court. The realm is of utmost nothingness and stillness, and for this reason what passes through or stays contains only the protocosmic. All completion of the formation of the immortal fetus occurs in this realm. Even though we speak of three distinct fields, there is in fact only one, which is why it is called the 'path of immortality'."

xx 丹家理氣，原有三道，曰赤，曰黑，曰黃。赤乃任脈，道在前，心氣所由之路。心色赤，故曰赤道，而赤性炎上，法必制之使降，則心涼而腎暖。黑乃督脈，道在後，腎氣所由之路。腎色黑，故曰黑道，而黑性潤下，法必制之使升，則髓運而神安。原斯二道，精氣所由出，人物類以生存者，法故標曰人道，丹家，醫詳述如此。黃乃黃中，道介赤黑中縫，位在脊前心後，而德統二氣，為闔辟中主。境則極虛而寂，故所經駐，只容先天，凡夫仙胎之結之圓皆在斯境，雖有三田之別，實則一貫，法顧標曰仙道。

Elixir adepts refer to the red and the dark paths as the path of humanity and contain the movements of both protocosmic and deuterocosmic *jing* and *qi*. In the dark path are the three passes – the 'rear entrance' [尾閭] at the lower tip of the spine, the 'narrow ridge' [夾脊] at the middle of the back, and the 'jade pillow' [玉枕] at the back of the head – through which one enters into the '*Niwan Palace*' [泥丸宮]. In the red path

¹²⁵ Also known as Min Yide (1758-1836).

are the 'three openings' [三竅] – the upper, middle and lower elixir fields – and, in addition, the 'heavenly gate' [天門] (between the eyebrows [眉心]), the 'storied tower' [重樓] (the windpipe/trachea), the 'crimson palace' [降宮] (between the nipples), the yellow court, the 'gate of life' [生門] (the navel), and other key points. The yellow path, called the path of immortality, which allows only the protocosmic 'perfect essence' [真精] and primordial breath to pass through, penetrates from the 'xuwei point' [虛危穴] (one called 'yin heel' [yinqiao 陰蹻]), through the 'middle yellow' [中黃], up to the 'parietal bone' [頂骨]¹²⁷ at the crown. The yin heel point is the heavenly pass of the yellow path, and concerns human life and death. Therefore, it is also called the 'opening for life and death' [生死竅] and the 'pass for recovering life' [復命關]. For the perfect breath to be of the yellow it must be pure as protocosmos. Otherwise, the clear and the turbid would get mixed up and easily generate the illness called 'invaded yellow' [闖黃] or 'agitated yellow' [鬧黃]. The bone at top of the skull is formed by the *qi* generated by the human body to interact [上應] with the 'Zhen Star' [鎮星]¹²⁸, one of the five elemental planets¹²⁹. Elixir adepts refer to it as the 'human Zhen' [人鎮], its brilliance is called [意珠], for it can protect the infant (the immature *yang* spirit).

¹²⁶ Refers to the 'yellow court' [黃庭] (Hu 1995:1181)

¹²⁷ Also know as the 'lid over the heavenly spirit' [天靈蓋] or the 'xin door' [心門].

¹²⁸ Or the (or the 'Guardian Star'). Also known as the 'Tian Star' [填星], which is the ancient name for Saturn, the 'Soil Star' [土星] (Hu 1995:798).

¹²⁹ The other four planets: Jupiter, the 'Wood Star' [木星]; Mars, the 'Fire Star' [火星]; Venus, the 'Metal Star' [金星]; and Mercury, the 'Water Star' [水星] (Hu 1995:796).

7. *The Theory of the One Opening of the Mystic Pass* [玄關一竅說]

The one opening of the mystic pass is a secret of the adept. Also called the 'mystic opening' [玄竅], 'mysterious female' [玄牝], 'gate of the mysterious female' [玄牝之門], 'cave of nothingness' [虛無窟子], 'furnace of the crescent moon' [偃月爐], 'southwest country' [西南鄉], 'wuji gate' [無極門], 'valley spirit' [谷神], 'root of heaven and earth' [天地根], and other unusual names. Because of different transmissions, adepts have different understanding about its location. There are two schools of opinion on this issue: one is that there is a fixed location for the 'one opening of the mystic pass'; the other is that there is no such fixed location. However, according to the elixir texts, the 'one opening of the mystic pass' is neither in the body nor outside the body. It is also in the body and outside the body. There is no bodily form that one can seek out to find it; there is no location that one can point to in order to locate it:

This opening does not cling to an imaginary body, nor does it separate from an imaginary body. Not all things fail to cling to an imaginary body. What does not leave the imaginary body cannot be found outside the body.

xx此竅不著于幻身，亦不離乎幻身。不著于幻身者，非一切有行之物；不離乎幻身，非付于身外求也。

This does not cling to the body, nor can be found outside the body. What is stuck to the body shows as shape. What is outside the body shows as things.

xx 著在身上即不是，離了此身向外求亦不是。泥于身則著于形，泥于外則著于物。

In other words, this one opening is totally of nothingness and generated from nothingness. To find it, one must seek it in 'primordial chaos' [混沌]. To obtain it, one must be in absolute quietness [虛寂]. If one desires to know the mystic pass, one must vigorously seek for the source of one's primordial *qi*, find the originator of the closing of heaven and earth [乾坤闔辟之祖] and the root of the union between the *yin* and the *yang* [陰陽互抱之根].

The *Changdao Zhenyan* says:

In what is the mystic pass, everything is quiet and no thought is formed.

Suddenly, there is sensation, and there is nothing that sensation does not penetrate. Suddenly, there is awareness, and there is nothing that awareness does not illuminate. This moment is the mystic pass.

xx 玄關者，萬象咸寂，一念不成，忽而有感，感無不通，忽而有覺，覺無不照，此際是玄關也。

The one opening of the mystic pass has no substance but it has functions [無體有用]. When the mystic pass opens, the hundred openings open, the 84,000 pores and 360 bone joints of the body burst open simultaneously, the hundred channels flow smoothly,

the *shen* and the *qi* surge forth and the protocosmic elixir ingredient follows it to be transformed and generated. When this happens, internal alchemy can proceed naturally.

8. *The Three Essential Elements of Internal Alchemy* [內丹學三要件]

As briefly mentioned in the Introduction, internal alchemy has three essential components: 1) the ingredients [藥物]; 2) the cauldron and stove [鼎爐]; and 3) the firing schedule [火候]. 'Ingredients' refer to the inborn vital elements in the human body: the *jing* ('vital essence'), the *qi* ('vital breath' or 'vital energy'), and *shen* ('vital spirit'). For internal alchemy adepts, these are the 'raw materials' of elixir cultivation. There are two sets of these ingredients, as discussed earlier (see no. 1 above): the deuterocosmic *jing*, *qi* and *shen*, also known as 'external ingredients' [外藥] and the protocosmic *jing*, *qi*, and *shen*, also known as 'internal ingredients' [內藥]. Ingredients are also classified as 'small ingredient' [小藥], also known as the 'perfect seed' [真種子], or 'great ingredient' [大藥], also known as 'elixir mother' [丹母].

The ingredients are cultivated according to the following basic sequence: the *jing* is cultivated into *qi*, then the *qi* is cultivated into *shen*, and then with the *shen*, the adept can proceed to higher, more mystical levels of cultivation.¹³⁰ Adepts begin by cultivating the external, deuterocosmic *jing*, *qi*, and *shen* to facilitate the production of the internal, protocosmic ingredients. Once the external ingredients are produced and gathered, they become the internal ingredients. Specifically, the ingredients during the initial stage of moving and cultivating [運煉] *jing* into *qi* are called 'external ingredients'. Upon

completion of this initial stage, the product becomes the 'internal ingredient'. After the external has become the internal, cultivation enters the next stage where *qi* is cultivated into *shen*. At this higher stage, the ingredient is called the 'great ingredient' or 'superior ingredient' [上藥].

When the 'movable *zi* 子 hours'¹³¹ arrive, the primordial *jing* is produced and is called the small ingredient which when gathered into the stove becomes the internal ingredient. Consequently, the internal ingredient is gathered and then generated as the *jing* and *qi* of protocosmos. Through the microcosmic orbit, it is cultivated to become the 'great ingredient'. (Hu 1997:95 or 1999:558).

xx活子時到來初生緣精又稱小藥，真種子，採入爐中爲內藥，故內藥採而後生，爲先天精炁。經小周天化爲大藥，大藥又稱丹母。

During cultivation, the mind/intention [意念] is regarded as the fire and breathing as the wind. Firing refers to the degree in which the mind and breathing is applied. Rapid or forceful application [急運] is called 'martial fire' [武火]; slow application [緩運] is called 'gentle fire' [文火]; cessation of blowing is called 'bathing' [沐浴]. The wonder of the firing process lies in the application of the 'perfect intention' [真意]. When it is applied urgently [用意緊], then the fire burns; when applied slowly [用意緩], then the water becomes cold. Adepts use the hexagrams of the twelve movements of

¹³⁰ See the Introduction.

¹³¹ Refers to the time during cultivation when the *yin* completely wanes and the *yang* begins to wax. It is called 'movable' because it is not affected by the natural cycle of years, months, days, and hours (Hu 1995:1192-93). The natural *zi* period is around midnight, between 11pm and 1am.

waxing and waning [*xiaoxi* 消息]¹³² to express the twelve periods of the firing schedule, distinguishing between 'advancing the *yang* fire' and 'withdrawing the *yin* signal', using hexagram lines and the *zhu* 銖 and *liang* 兩 units of measurement to calculate the frequency of breathing.

卦象	地枝	月分	消息
<i>Fu</i> 復	<i>Zi</i> 子	十一	陽氣之始
<i>Lin</i> 臨	<i>Chou</i> 丑	十二	陽息之二陽
<i>Tai</i> 泰	<i>Yin</i> 寅	正	陽息之三陽
<i>Dazhuang</i> 大壯	<i>Mao</i> 卯	二	陽息之四陽 -- 沐浴
<i>Guai</i> 夬	<i>Chen</i> 辰	三	陽息之五陽
<i>Qian</i> 乾	<i>Si</i> 巳	四	陽息之六陽 -- 純全
<i>Gou</i> 姤	<i>Wu</i> 午	五	陽盛極生陰
<i>Dun</i> 遯	<i>Wei</i> 未	六	二陰浸長
<i>Pi</i> 否	<i>Shen</i> 申	七	三陰消乾
<i>Guan</i> 觀	<i>You</i> 酉	八	陽消成四陰 -- 沐浴
<i>Bao</i> 剝	<i>Xu</i> 戌	九	陽消成五陰
<i>Kun</i> 坤	<i>Hai</i> 亥	十	一個升降

fu, lin, tai, zhuang, mei, qian,

gou, dun, pi, guan, bo, kun.


¹³² Refers to the internal cultivation process of 'advancing the *yang* fire' (i.e., *yangxi* 陽息) and 'withdrawing the *yin* signal' [退陰符] (i.e., *yinxiao* 陰消) (Hu 1995:1201).

Calculating time in the firing schedule is based on human body's time, which actually represents the different positions and manifestations during the ingredient's movement inside the body. During the microcosmic orbit, when the small ingredient is produced and the *yang* element ¹³³is without thoughts' [陽物無念], it is the movable *zi* period. During the practice of the 'great circulation' [大周天], when the great ingredient is generated and there appears 'six shocking manifestations' [六根震動之景]¹³⁴, it is the 'proper *zi* period' [正子時]. In the duo school of elixir cultivation, the moment for gathering the ingredients [採藥] is a secret of the firing schedule that is never transmitted – the doctrine of “the sage transmitting the ingredients but not the firing technique” [聖人傳藥不傳火]. In the solo school, the *shen* is the fire and the *qi* [炁] is the ingredient. When *shen* and *qi* 'embrace each other', nature is allowed to run its course [一任天然], which includes the ingredient and the firing schedule.

The cauldron and stove is the place where adepts cultivate the ingredient. The solo school distinguishes between the 'big cauldron and stove' and the 'small cauldron and stove'. For cultivating and transforming *jing* into *qi*, the 'big cauldron and stove' is used: here, the cauldron is at the Niwan Palace (the the upper elixir field in the forehead) and the stove is at the lower elixir field. For cultivating and transforming *qi* into *shen*, the 'small cauldron and stove' is used: here, the cauldron is at the yellow court middle palace (the middle elixir field in the solar plexus) and the stove is at the lower field *qi*

¹³³ During the great circulation, cosmos and man have become synchronized that the human body and cosmic time correspond to each other (Hu 1995:1192).

¹³⁴ Wu Shouyang 伍守陽, in *Dandao Jiupian* 丹道九篇, describes the six manifestations: 1) The elixir field is blazing with fire, 2) the two kidneys are boiling hot, 3) the eyes are flashing golden light, 4) behind the ears wind forms, 5) behind the chest the vulture cries, 6) the body surges and the nose twitches. These are all manifestations of the attainment of the the ingredient [丹田火熾，兩腎湯煎，眼吐金光，耳後風生，胸後鸞鳴，身涌鼻搐之類，皆得藥之景也。]. (Hu 1995:1242).

point [下田炁穴]. In the duo school, the young woman serves as the cauldron which is distinguished into: the 'protocosmic cauldron' [先天鼎], the 'deuterocosmic cauldron' [後天鼎], the 'golden cauldron' [金鼎], the 'jade cauldron' [玉鼎] and the 'water cauldron' [水鼎]. In sum, the duo elixir method considers the young woman as the cauldron, the *tiangui* 天癸 as the ingredient, and the *geng* and *jia* [庚甲] as the firing schedule. *Tianqui* refers to the first flow of the female menstruation. Female internal alchemy [女丹] holds that before a young woman menstruates, the womb contains 'a bit of original menses' [一點初經]. This initial menses is protocosmic *qi*, which if it does not flow out becomes the 'primordial one' [元一] and if it does, it becomes menstruation (Hu 1995:1207). According to Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝, "*geng* 庚 is the metal of the west and *jia* 甲 is the wood of the east. The two are separate and they cannot be brought together. One must rely on the mediation of the yellow woman to bring them together (Hu 1995:1198).

In the 'inferior vehicle' [下乘] elixir method, the body and the heart-mind serve as cauldron and stove, *jing* and *qi* as the ingredients, the heart and the kidneys as fire and water, and the year, month, day, and hour as the firing schedule. In the 'intermediate vehicle' [中乘] elixir method, *Qian* and *Kun* constitute the cauldron, *Kan* and *Li* as water and fire, the 'black rabbit' [烏兔] as the ingredient, and the annual winter and summer as the firing schedule. In the 'superior vehicle' [上乘] elixir method, heaven and earth serve as the cauldron and stove, the sun and the moon as fire and water, nature and emotions [性情] as the dragon and the tiger, and cultivating thought through the mind [以心煉念] as the firing schedule. There is still the highest vehicle in which the 'Great

Void' [太虛] serves as the cauldron, the 'Great Ultimate' [太極] as the stove, purity and stillness as the 'elixir base' [丹基], 'non-action' [無爲] as the 'elixir mother' [丹母], 'nature and life-force' as lead and mercury, [定慧] as water and fire, purifying the heart and eliminating anxieties as 'bathing' [沐浴], the 'center' [中] as the 'mystic pass' [玄關], 'seeing nature' [見性] as consolidation [凝結], nature and life becoming one as the formation of the elixir, and breaking into nothingness [打破虛空] as 'completion' [了當]¹³⁵. The Great Void and the Great Ultimate are terms borrowed from Neo-Confucian philosophy. Often, the former refers to the sky or to the universe as full of *qi*, and the latter refers to the cosmic Absolute, full of *li* (being and goodness).¹³⁶ Presumably, what this means is the highest level of Daoist meditation, centered on the universe, which leads to a mystical affinity between the practitioner and the entire universe.

¹³⁵ Refers to the internal alchemy technique of letting go [丹家撒手功夫] (Hu 1995:1223).

¹³⁶ See Julia Ching's *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2000).

CHAPTER FOUR

Qiu Chuji and Self-Cultivation

Introduction: The Man and the Legend

Qiu Chuji was not just a man. He has become a legend. That had already happened during his time, on account of his visit to and subsequent relationship with Chinggis Khan. Because of the active role he played in behalf of the Chinese people during the traumatic conquest and rule of the Mongols, he became a national hero. Yao Congwu lists him among the three 'saviors of the people' [民族救星] during that period, the other two being Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 and Sun Wei 孫威 (1959:214-216). The three had one thing in common: they all had privileged connection with Chinggis Khan -- Yelü was Chinggis' secretary and adviser, Sun was a favorite craftsman, and Qiu was a highly respected spiritual master and religious leader -- and they all exploited this special relationship to protect the Chinese people and their way of life from the destructive impact of Mongol rule.¹³⁷

Whatever great things Qiu had done as a Chinese patriot must be seen in the wider context of his ultimate calling in life. Qiu Chuji was first and foremost a Daoist, a cultivator of the mind and the body, an apostle of Complete Perfection. As the title above indicates, this chapter focuses on the teachings of Qiu Chuji on self-cultivation. But first, a discussion of his life and times.

¹³⁷ On Yelü Chucai and the Mongols, see also Mote 1999:245-246.

The Life and Times of Qiu Chuji

Qiu Chuji was born on February 10, 1148¹³⁸ and died on August 22, 1227¹³⁹, the same year that Chinggis Khan died. By 1148, North China was no longer part of the Song empire; it had fallen to the Jurchens in 1127. During his lifetime, Qiu would likewise witness the fall of the Jin and the takeover by the Mongols. Qiu's times were generally times of instability and disorder, of changes and uncertainty -- in other words, a period of crisis. But crisis, as understood by the Chinese, has always two sides to it: danger [*wei* 危] and opportunity [*ji* 機] – danger of destruction and opportunity to build anew and flourish. It was this critical period that gave birth to the new Daoist sects, in particular Quanzhen. Yao suggests that the emergence of the new Daoist sects was fed in part by the need of the suffering masses for “physical and spiritual shelter” which they provided (Yao 1980:26).

There were, certainly, other factors that contributed to the rise of the new Daoist sects. One of them was the climate of religious openness and syncretism, particularly between and within the Three Teachings (Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism), that pervaded the period.¹⁴⁰ Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333), a neo-Confucian thinker, was so affected by the syncretism among Yuan intellectuals that he wrote: “Since Chin and T'ang times, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism have been called the Three

¹³⁸ The eighth year, the first month, the nineteenth day of the reign of Emperor Xizong of the Jin Dynasty [金熙宗皇統八年正月二十九日] (*Xiangzhuan*, p. 32).

¹³⁹ The twenty second year, the seventh month, the ninth day of the reign of Chinggis Khan [元太祖丁亥年七月九日].

Teachings. However, to venerate them on equal terms without any discrimination is the virtue of the Great Yuan” (in Liu and Berling 1982:479).

What exactly does ‘syncretism’ mean? In religious studies, it is basically defined as the process or the result of mixing or merging elements from two or more religions.¹⁴¹ The more basic question here, however, is why syncretism happens. The answer, at least according to the origin of its use, is that syncretism is a political phenomenon motivated by the human instinct for self-preservation. It is a conscious or calculated move by a group of individuals or communities to close ranks in the face of a common enemy. According to Plutarch (c.46-c.120), the Cretans who were usually fractious reconciled and united whenever a foreign foe attacked them. Cretans called this *synkretismos*, ‘syncretism’ (Moffatt 1951:155).

Under alien rule during Qiu Chuji’s time, followers of the Three Teachings perceived a common challenge, if not a common enemy. The response: “Each of the three religions had to make peace with the alien rulers, and the process of peace-making and compromise produced pragmatic forces encouraging syncretism within each of the three religions and among them” (Liu and Berling 1982:479). In the Yuan Period, for example, “Chinese religious leaders seeking the patronage and approval of the court learned early that any divisions within the ranks of Buddhism, Daoism, or Confucianism only annoyed the Mongols, who were not inclined to listen to bickering Chinese” (Liu and Berling 1982:487). So, while tensions and animosities remained among the Three

¹⁴⁰ “[T]he Yuan Dynasty in Chinese history was a great period of syncretism and assimilation” – Liu and Berling (1982:502).

Teachings in their various schools, “the need to court Mongol patronage and avert repression of native traditions stimulated openness and tolerance... the reconciliation of divergent philosophies and hostile religious factions” (Liu and Berling 1982:502).

Insofar as attracting the support of the general population, a more important motivation for syncretism, we should add, is the desire to be meaningful, relevant or useful. On this front, the Three Teachings had to address basically two audiences: the learned elite and the unsophisticated masses. To win the adherence of both, one needed to gain the respect of the former and the acceptance of the latter. However, in the politics of respectability, Daoism was at a disadvantage vis-à-vis Buddhism and Confucianism. While Laozi and Zhuangzi continued to influence some intellectuals, whether Buddhists, Confucians or Daoists, religious Daoism, which came to represent Daoism institutionally, was seen basically as a religion for the lower classes. With its preoccupation with rituals and magical practices that catered readily to the immediate mundane needs of people, it seemed disinclined to devote much time and effort to intellectual pursuits. Historically, this neglect resulted in some highly embarrassing episodes for the Daoists such as the court debates during the Tang when the Buddhists repeatedly defeated the Daoists.

This sense of inferiority became a stimulus to syncretism later (Liu and Berling 1982:492). By the birth of Quanzhen Daoism under Wang Chongyang, religious Daoism began to openly assimilate elements from Buddhist and Confucian thought. Indeed, for Wang the Three Teachings were ultimately one and he made this doctrine a corner stone of the new Quanzhen. Wang Chongyang's teachings, as compared to

¹⁴¹ See Edward Ch'ien's brief discussion of the meaning of syncretism in 1986:1-2.

traditional Daoist religion, put greater emphasis on ethical cultivation over ritual performance. When Qiu assumed leadership of the Quanzhen community, he would continue to preach essentially what Wang Chongyang had taught.

As far as the Confucian influence on Quanzhen Daoism is concerned, a word has to be said about Neo-Confucianism, a significant development in Confucianism that occurred during the Song and preceded the birth of Quanzhen Daoism. Evidence of its influence on Quanzhen Daoism can be detected more clearly in later Quanzhen literature, especially during the Ming Period, when certain Neo-Confucian terms were incorporated in Quanzhen doctrine. We can see this, for example, in the use of *Taiji*, the 'Great Ultimate', or *Wuji*, the 'Non-Ultimate', in conjunction with Quanzhen exposition on the nature of the Dao. However, with early Quanzhen writings, this is not so clear. This is not to say that early Quanzhen Daoists were not aware of Neo-Confucian thought.

Qiu became a disciple of Wang Chongyang

The official *Yuan History* had the following entry about Qiu: "when he was a child, a soothsayer predicted that someday he would become an immortal [神仙] and a leader of a lineage" (*Yuanshi*, p. 4524). As it turned out, the realization of this prediction started quite early. In a poem, *Jianzhi* [堅志], he revealed that the desire to pursue immortality started when he was young (*Panxiji* 1:2;¹⁴² Yao 1959:223). In 1166, at age nineteen, he left the world and began his pursuit of the Dao. He first went into a retreat at Mt. Kunyu 崑崙 in Ninghai Prefecture 寧海 (now: Moping County 牟平縣). A year

later, in 1167, he left Mt Kunyu and went to Ninghai to see Wang Chongyang and petitioned to be admitted as a disciple (*Nianpu* in Yao 1959:223).

Qiu would eventually become one of Wang Chongyang's seven principal disciples. But according to a hagiographic account, *The Seven Taoist Masters* (Wong 1990) [北派七真修道史傳], Qiu's road to discipleship was not an easy one. Apparently, Wang had serious doubts about Qiu's strength and perseverance and so, initially, he discouraged him and tried to reject him. In the end, it was Qiu's persistence as well as the repeated appeals of his fellow disciples that finally convinced Wang to accept him (Wong 1990:70-74).

The seven principal disciples of Wang would later be known as the 'Seven Perfected of the North' [北七真] (i.e., of Quanzhen, 'Complete Perfection' Sect). They were: Sun Buer, Sun's former husband Ma Yu, Tan Chuduan, Liu Chuxuan, Hao Datong, Wang Chuyi, and Qiu Chuji. In some lists of Wang Chongyang's principal disciples, Sun Buer is excluded. Such sources say that there were only six principal disciples, or that the 'Seven Perfected' includes these six male disciples plus the master, Wang Chongyang. According to Hawkes, this confusion is "undoubtedly due to the Chinese -- particularly Confucian -- objection to according women equal status with men" (1981:167-168). Of the seven, Qiu was the youngest, lived the longest, and the last of the group to die. Of the seven, four assumed leadership of Quanzhen after Wang Chongyang died. The first was Ma Danyang (d. 1183) followed successively by Tan Changzhen (d.

¹⁴² Y43/34575.

1185), Wang Yuyang (d. 1217), and finally Qiu Changchun (d. 1227). Qiu would be succeeded by his pupil Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (1169-1251).

<i>Name</i>	<i>Style Name</i>	<i>Religious Name</i>	<i>Dates: Birth – Death</i>
Sun Buer 孫不二		Qingjingsanren 清淨散人	1119 – 1182
Ma Yu 馬玉	Xuanbao 玄寶	Danyangzi 丹陽子	1123 – 1183
Tan Chuduan 譚處端	Tongzheng 通正	Changzhenzi 長真子	1123 – 1185
Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄	Tongmiao 通妙	Changshengzi 長生子	1147 – 1203
Hao Datong 郝大通	Taigu 太谷	Guangningzi 廣寧子	1140 – 1212
Wang Chuyi 王處一	Yuyang 玉陽	Yuyangzi 玉陽子	1142 – 1217
Qiu Chuji 丘處機	Tongmi 通密	Changchunzi 長春子	1148 – 1227

Qiu Chuji and the Court

Qiu's historical fame is due in large part to his relationship with the imperial court. His involvement with the court dates back to the time of the Jurchen (Jin Dynasty) rule. In 1188, he was summoned to the Jin capital, Zhongdu 中都 (now: Beijing), by Emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161-1189), to officiate at the sacrifice [*jiao* 醮] for the *Ten Thousand Spring Festival* [萬春節] in celebration of Shizong's birthday. Qiu went, and Shizong also took the opportunity to ask Qiu about methods to attain immortality. In 1216, another Jin Emperor, Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 1213-1223), summoned him to come. However, this time, he declined. In 1219, Qiu received two summonses: one, from Emperor Ningzong 寧宗 (r. 1195-1224) of the Southern Sung, which he likewise declined, and the other, from the Mongol ruler Chinggis Khan, which he accepted. Why did Qiu accept the summons from Emperor Shizong and Chinggis Khan and decline

those from Emperors Xuanzong and Ningzong? For Qiu, as one theory explains, to heed or not to heed the summons was essentially a matter of expediency calculated in terms of the interests of Quanzhen and, to some extent, also that of his personal interests (cf. Yao 1986:204ff). In 1188, the Jin rule was at the height of its power and Qiu possibly regarded the imperial summons as simply irrefusable. For one thing, his refusal could jeopardize the court patronage that Quanzhen had just gained (1187), when Wang Chuyi, the Quanzhen patriarch at that time, visited the court, also at the invitation of Emperor Shizong. For another, it could also harm his personal reputation and activities as a leader of Quanzhen. By 1216, however, the political situation had changed: the Jin Empire was collapsing (it would actually end in 1234) -- its capital, Zhongdu, had just fallen to the Mongols the year before (1215), forcing Xuanzong to withdraw to Bian 汴 (now: Kaifeng 開封), south of the Yellow River. In 1219, the Southern Sung was also in decline and although it would last longer than the Jin, it would eventually succumb to the Mongols in 1279. Perhaps Qiu did not see any benefit, for himself and Quanzhen, in getting involved with rulers of declining dynasties (Yao 1986:205).

With the Mongol Chinggis Khan's invitation, Qiu was again faced with a situation he could not avoid, not unlike the one he faced in 1188. Only this time, the consequences to be contemplated for not accepting it were far more serious. Chinggis Khan began his campaign against the Jurchens in 1211. Since then, North China had to live under constant threat of Mongol attacks. Part of the Mongol's military strategy was attrition: i.e., attacking and pillaging cities without occupying them. The objective was to gradually soften resistance for eventual total conquest. Even though Jin troops were

often able to regain control of those cities, the fact remained that the Jurchens, long before their fall, had already lost much effective control of their empire, as evidenced by the ease by which the Mongols fought their way through North China (Yao 1984:204). Meanwhile, the Mongols had gained quite a horrific reputation for ruthless decisiveness in dealing with their enemies: e.g., destroying whole towns and cities and slaughtering entire populations. In 1215, just after about four years of campaign, the Mongols captured the seat of Jurchen power, the Jin capital Zhongdu (which then became Yanjing 燕京), thus forcing the Jin Emperor Xuanzong to withdraw to Bian, south of the Yellow River. Therefore, by 1219, Qiu -- and, most probably, the majority of the population of what remained of the Jin Empire -- had, most likely, already become resigned to the inevitable total collapse of the Jin and the complete Mongol takeover of North China. The point, in short, was that it would not be wise, for anybody's future interest, to ignore or reject the Khan.

The reason given by the Khan for the invitation was that he wanted to learn from Qiu the 'means of preserving life'.¹⁴³ Yin Zhiping, Qiu's chief disciple and eventual successor as patriarch of Quanzhen, supported and justified the trip to the Khan with a grander reason: he saw in the invitation an opportunity for his master to preach Quanzhen teachings to the Mongols in the hope of transforming them (Yao 1986:208-209). However, it seems doubtful that the aging Qiu, who was already 72 in 1219, would readily consent to make such a long and arduous journey for the sole purpose of teaching the Khan or converting the Mongols. The overriding factor for this, it appears, was the concern for the future survival of Quanzhen. "The Mongols made it clear to the leaders

¹⁴³ See Yao 1986:205-206 for a partial translation of Chinggis Khan's letter.

of every religion,” Sechin Jagchid points out, “that unless they could win support from the Mongolian rulers, they would meet terrible destruction which might be the end of their religion” (in Yao 1986:208).

The shamanistic Mongols tolerated other religions and treated masters or leaders of other religions as they did their own shamans (Yao 1986:208, 218). Chinggis Khan was known to believe in shamanism (Yao 1986:215) and this could explain his keen personal interest in a well-known religious master like Qiu. However, it was also quite clear that, aside from what Qiu could offer in matters religious (e.g., prescriptions for longevity), the Khan had other things in mind when he invited Qiu. As De Rachewiltz and Russell point out, the Khan also knew that Qiu was an influential religious leader with a large following in North China (1984:8). By winning the allegiance of Qiu, the Khan could also gain the allegiance of large segments of the Chinese population, thereby hastening the Mongol conquest of North China (De Rachewiltz and Russell 1984:11).

The decision to go was, without doubt, made very reluctantly. Even after Qiu had made it, he vacillated over his decision. Indeed, during the journey, he tried to negotiate himself out of it. When told, upon arrival in Yanjing where he stayed for several months, that he had to travel much farther than originally planned -- to Central Asia where the Khan was campaigning, instead of Southern Mongolia -- he wrote the Khan a letter pleading to be spared from the long journey, citing his old age and lack of expertise in matters of war and government.

Unfortunately for Qiu, the Khan was not moved. Instead, he urged Qiu to undertake the journey anyway. As to Qiu giving advice on governmental and military matters, the Khan told Qiu that he was not expecting any from him, since he was only interested in learning about the Daoist Way (Yao 1986:210). Perhaps running out of excuses and apparently convinced of the Khan's sincerity, Qiu then decided to continue and finish the journey. At this time, he seemed to have had been convinced also of the potential wider beneficial implications of his trip to the welfare of the Chinese people at large (Yao 1986:211).

Qiu's party, which included nineteen disciples, began its long journey on 23 February 1220. After many stops and detours along the way, crossing deserts, mountains and rivers, the group finally reached Chinggis Khan's encampment¹⁴⁴ on 17 May 1222.¹⁴⁵ At their first meeting upon arrival, the Khan at once asked whether Qiu had brought along any medicine for prolonging his life. Qiu responded that he had the Way of protecting life, but not the medicine to prolong it (Yao 1986:211). Interestingly, despite what must have been a disappointing answer, this initial meeting was followed by three more. It appears that Qiu made a favorable impression on the Khan; indeed, the Khan seems to have had developed a genuine liking for Qiu (De Rachewiltz and Russell 1984:11). There are, unfortunately, no records of what was precisely discussed in most

¹⁴⁴There are different opinions as to where precisely the first encounter took place. According to Yao, it was either somewhere near Parwan (near present-day Kabul in Afghanistan) or Qunduz (north of Kabul) (note 34 in 1986:211).

¹⁴⁵Some records of this journey, including the meetings with the Khan, are preserved in the famous narrative, *Changchun Zhenren Xiyuji* 長春真人西遊記, written by Qiu's disciple Li Zhichang 李志常, and the *Xuanfeng Chinghuilu*. For English translations of the *Xiyuji*, see Bretschneider 1910 (rep. 1931) and Waley 1931 (rep. 1976). Bretschneider excludes all and Waley most of Qiu's poems.

of these meetings, except for the second, which survive in the *Xuanfeng Qinghuilu* 玄風慶會錄. In it, Qiu, responding to the Khan's questions about attaining longevity, laid out certain fundamental principles of Quanzhen self-cultivation such as tranquility and indifference to worldly gain, control of desires, sexual moderation, cultivation and preservation of one's essence [*jing* 精] and spirit [*shen* 神] (Yao 1986:213). Qiu also stressed the importance of 'external cultivation' such as being mindful of other people's sufferings.

The *Qinghuilu* also documents the fact that Qiu ventured to offer political advice on how to administer Mongol-occupied North China. He advised the Khan to appoint officials that could ensure effective and speedy post-war reconstruction. In particular, he recommended the setting up of a transitional puppet state in the conquered territories (similar to what the Jurchens had done earlier in Shandong), to be governed by a capable official familiar with local ways and conditions,¹⁴⁶ and that it be exempted from taxation for three years (De Rachewiltz and Russell 1984:11; Yao 1986:214).

What Qiu's Journey to the Khan Accomplished

There is no evidence that the Khan ever tried to follow Qiu's lessons on self-cultivation. Rather, there is evidence that Chinggis Khan, who took great sadistic pleasure in tortures and killings, did not become a more humane conqueror or ruler as a result of Qiu's preachings on humanity and compassion (Yao 1986:218-219). As to

¹⁴⁶Here, Qiu was in fact suggesting that a Chinese be appointed (Yao 1986:214).

Qiu's political advice, the Khan did not adopt the puppet-state scheme, nor did he grant any temporary general tax amnesty for the people in the conquered territories (Yao 1986:214-215).

So, what exactly did Qiu accomplish by meeting Chinggis Khan? Personally, and in terms of the interests of the Quanzhen community as a whole, Qiu's journey was a tremendous success. Just before Qiu's departure back to China, the Khan issued a decree exempting Qiu and his followers from taxes and forced labor. Six months later, another decree was issued putting Qiu in charge of all people in China who had opted to live a religious life [*chujia* 出家].¹⁴⁷ All these and other favors -- including the excellent relationship that Qiu and the Khan maintained afterwards (cf. De Rachewiltz and Russell 1984:12) -- contributed immensely in Qiu becoming the most famous and influential religious personality of his time. More significantly, these led to the greatest expansion of Quanzhen membership and catapulted the sect to the heights of its prestige and influence, overshadowing other religions including Buddhism (Yao 1986:219).

With regard to the wider historical consequences of Qiu's dealings with Chinggis Khan and the Mongols, historians generally agree on the important role that Qiu played during that early period of Mongol rule. However, opinions vary as to how that role was played. One view credits Qiu for his moderating influencing on the Khan. As one contemporary observer wrote:

¹⁴⁷ "The wording of the Chinese version of the decree was ambiguous (the Mongol original was lost) and opened the way to the interpretation that both Taoists and Buddhists were subject to Ch'iu's authority" (De Rachewiltz and Russell 1984:12).

[When] the crack troop of Mongols came to the south and watered their horses, the Yellow River nearly dried up; before their singing arrows, Mount Hua (in Shensi) nearly collapsed. Jade was destroyed together with stone, and the worthy were killed together with the stupid.... Luckily, our Ch'ang-Ch'un, the immortal Ch'iu, was summoned and went [to see the Khan who]....ordered that those who were obedient should not be killed and that those cities which surrendered should be exempt from punishment.... [People thus saved] numbered in the millions and tens of millions. (*Zhengzongji* 4:13).¹⁴⁸

Another view (Yao 1986, for example) would rather put the credit on how Qiu exploited his and Quanzhen's favored status to protect or save people from the harsh effects of Mongol policies. The official *Yuan History*, for example, records that

At that time, the nation's troops (i.e., Mongol troops) were marching through the Central Plateau (China), especially in the areas north and south of the [Yellow] River. People suffered from captivity and rapine and had no escape. When [Ch'iu] Ch'u-chi, returned to Yen-[ching], he ordered his disciples to [openly] carry [Taoist] certificates to seek [followers] among refugees of the wars. Therefore, those who had become slaves were able to be free again, and those who were on the verge of death regained their lives – altogether they numbered twenty to thirty thousand. (*Yuanshi*, p. 4525).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Translated by Yao Tao-chung (Yao 1986:217).

¹⁴⁹ Translated by Yao Tao-chung (Yao 1986:217).

Qiu's Teachings on Cultivation

After the death of Wang Chongyang, his seven principal disciples went their separate ways, their followings developing into separate sub-sects or lineages. Ma Yü's (Ma Danyang) disciples became the Yüxian sect [遇仙派], Tan Chuduan's the Nanwu sect [南無派], Liu Chuxuan's the Suishan sect [隨山派], Wang Chuyi's the Yüshan sect [喻山派], Hao Datong's the Huashan sect [華山派], and Sun Buer's the Qingjing sect [清靜派].¹⁵⁰

Qiu Chuji went to Shanxi 陝西 and withdrew to the caves of Panxi 磻溪 and Mt. Longmen. There he spent thirteen years (six years at Oanxi and seven years at Mt. Longmen) to cultivate himself (Hu 1995:146). His line of followers would become known as the Longmen or 'Dragon Gate' sect 龍門派. Historically, the Longmen sect is one of the most significant Daoist sects that have come into existence. Unlike the other Quanzhens that eventually faded away or died out, the Longmen line continues to this day. Today, we find many of its disciples at Beijing's famous White Cloud Monastery [白雲觀].

¹⁵⁰ These seven sub-sects were called the 'sects of the Seven Perfected' [七真派]. There was another group of Quanzhen sub-sects called the 'sects of the Five Ancestors' [五祖派]. The Five Ancestors of Quanzhen Daoism were: Wang Xuanfu 王玄甫 later venerated as Donghu Dijün 東華帝君, Zhongli Quan 鍾離權, Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, Liu Haichan 劉海蟬 and Wang Chongyang. And the five sects founded in their honor were, respectively: the Shaoyang sect [少陽派], the Zhengyang sect [正陽派], the Chunyang sect [純陽派], the Liuzu sect [劉祖派] and the Chongyang sect [重陽派]. See Hu 1995:66.

The first recorded exposition of Qiu Chuji's teachings can be found in a sermon he delivered to Chinggis Khan on November 19, 1222.¹⁵¹ Published as the *Xuanfeng Qinghuilu*, it was written by *Yelü Chucai* 耶律處材 or *Yila Chucai* 移剌楚材 in 1232. It contains religious and moral teachings as well as political advice. He begins with a brief discourse on the Dao as the creator and sustainer of the universe, including human beings. He points out that despite this fact, most people do not understand the greatness of the Dao. And so, he has committed his entire life, by renouncing the world, to pursue the understanding of it. What followed was a mythical account of the human fall, which, according to Arthur Waley, is essentially similar to the myth of the primordial fall of Adam and Eve in the Bible (1931:22).

The Dao is the generator and nurturer of heaven and earth. The sun and the moon, the stars and the planets, the demons and the spirits, all proceeded from the Dao. Most humans know only of the greatness of heaven/universe; they do not understand the greatness of the Dao. My life, as a monastic who renounced home and family life, is devoted solely to the attainment of this understanding.

After the Dao generated heaven and earth, they in turn opened up and gave birth to human beings. When human beings were first born, they, on their own, each radiated a divine light and walked with steps so light that they appeared to be flying. The earth grew mushrooms that were moist and tasty. Without cooking, human beings ate them all raw. At this time, cooking had not yet become a human custom. The mushrooms were all appetizing. With their noses, human

¹⁵¹ For a summary of its contents, see Waley 1931:21-25

beings smelled their fragrance, and with their mouths, they tasted their flavor. Gradually, this led to their bodies becoming heavy and to their divine lights growing dim. This was because their desire and craving grew so strong.

(*Qinghuilu*, p. 1).¹⁵²

xx 夫道生天育地。日月星辰鬼神皆從道生。人止知天大不知道之大也。余生平棄親出家唯學此耳。道生天地開闢而生人焉。人之始生也神光自照行步如飛。地生菌自有滋味。不假炊爨人皆食之。此時尚未火食。其菌皆香。且鼻嗅其香口嗜其味。漸致身重神光尋滅。以愛欲之深故也。

And so

Those who seek to understand the Dao must learn not to desire what worldly people desire, and not to live where worldly people live. They must get rid of sensory attractions and instead find pleasure in purity and stillness. They must reject tastes and instead find satisfaction in indifference. If there is any attachment to things, one will never understand the Dao and its virtue. If the eyes enjoy sights or the ears enjoy sounds, if the mouth enjoys tastes or the *xing* is perturbed by emotions, then the [primordial] *qi* is scattered. (*Qinghuilu*, p. 1).

xx 學道之人以此之故世人愛處不愛，世人住處不住。去聲色以清靜爲娛。屏滋味以恬淡爲美。但有執著不明道德也。眼見乎色耳聽乎

¹⁵² Y5/3491.

聲口嗜乎味性逐乎情則散其氣。譬如氣鞠氣實則健。氣散則否人以氣爲主。逐物動念則元氣散。

Determination

Cultivation is based on the notion of accumulating merits and deeds [積行累功], which basically means two things for the cultivator: a) painstaking determination [苦志] and b) sincerity of mind and heart [虔心]. More concretely, this implies a) abandonment of worldly matters and concerns, and b) self-discipline expressed in the single-minded dedication to the pursuit of the Dao.

Qiu was asked whether cultivation lies both in personal determination [志] and external assistance [提挈] from the sage masters. His answer was:

Everything depends on determination. If you do not have determination, how can the sage masters be of assistance to you? (*Xizhoushu* in *ZhenxianYi* 1:15).¹⁵³

xx全在志。若無志，聖賢如何提挈。

What exactly is determination? In brief, determination means not allowing thoughts to arise [勿令念起乃志].

¹⁵³ Y54/43584.

Karma

Awakening to (or realization of) the Dao [悟道] – that is, transcendence of mortal/mundane existence and entry into sagehood [超凡入聖] – depends on merits and deeds. The role of merits and deeds here is understood in the context of the law of karma. For this reason, Qiu suggests in the *Xizhoushu*, that awakening to the Dao (enlightenment) may involve more than a single lifetime or existence:

Awakening to the Dao in this life is possible because of merits gained in previous existence. If one is not aware of causes originating from previous existence and sees only long years in this lifetime of seemingly fruitless hard work, one would think that all efforts in this world are in vain, thus leading one to become lax or give up. That would be most regrettable. (*ZhenxianYi* 1:12).¹⁵⁴

xx 今世之悟道，宿世之有功也，而不知宿世之因，只見年深，苦志不見成功，以為塵勞虛誕，即生退怠，甚付惜也。

Therefore, those with no ‘roots in previous existence’ [宿根] would not go very far on their own. To succeed, they would need the assistance of sage-masters [聖賢]. However, only those who persevere in painstaking determination would receive this assistance in this lifetime or in the next if necessary. The sage masters are unable to or would not help the slackers and the quitters. Qiu compares this merit situation to a case of one who desires to possess a great precious bright pearl that is worth millions. He

does not have the money to buy it, but he resolves to work hard to earn what is needed to obtain in. In the end, he fell short of the required amount and so he did not get the pearl. Now, the accumulated money does not go to waste; it gets deposited into one's 'merit account', so to speak. Even though they did not attain the Dao, those who did not have roots in previous existence but accumulated merits in the current one have planted deeply and strongly the 'root of goodness' [善根]. For this, they are assured of assistance from the sage masters in the current life or from those in the next.

Qiu admits of his own lack of roots in previous existence and attributes to this the many difficulties he encountered in the pursuit of the Dao:

I have no 'bone from previous existence'. [Therefore] I had a hard time meeting enlightened masters, and I continue to encounter countless difficulties to this day.
(*Xizhoushu* in *ZhenxianYi* 1:13).¹⁵⁵

xx我無宿骨難遇明師，萬苦千辛，至今未了。

Other fellow Quanzhen disciples, such as Ma Danyang and Tan Changzhen, attained immortality faster precisely because they had 'inheritance from previous existence' [宿緣].

¹⁵⁴ Y54/43582.

¹⁵⁵ Y54/43583.

Three Paths/Vehicles

Another application of the doctrine of karma to the Quanzhen Daoist teaching on cultivation is the doctrine of the three vehicles [三乘] or three paths to the Dao: the superior, the middle and the inferior. According to this doctrine, each person is predestined in this life by the quality of his or her foundation [根基] – that is, merits gained in previous existence -- to belong to one of the three paths. The problem is, one would not know with certainty to which vehicle or path one belongs. The only indication given comes by way of the strength or weakness of one's foundation, which can be seen in a person's mental ability, physical condition, and fortune (Wong 1990:23). Those with weak foundations may be born with poor health, lacking in intelligence, or into poor families. Those with strong foundations may be born with good health, high intelligence, or into wealth and comfort. For the cultivator, Qiu's advice was:

You must seek the Dao naturally. Do not force yourself. Do what you can do. Do not attempt what is beyond you at the moment. Some are destined to walk the highest path, others the middle, and yet others the lower path. Accept your path and walk it diligently. Those who walk the lower paths should not envy the ones who walk the higher path. For if you attempt to obtain what is not yours, they you will lose that fruits that were meant for you. Not everybody will become an immortal in his or her lifetime. Even if you do not attain immortality, you will have been a good person. (Wong 1990:162).

Since people in each of the three paths vary qualitatively in their innate capacities, they are also assigned to do practices of cultivation that are most suited for them.

Those of the highest path contemplate the mysterious and do sitting meditation, those of the middle path chant scriptures and perform rituals, those of the inferior path endure hardships and perform menial tasks (*Yaodao* 10; cf. Wong 1990:162).¹⁵⁶

xx 上者參玄打坐，中者誦經禮誥，下者忍者做工。

Still, while all paths lead to immortality, to perfection in the Dao, immortality does not seem to lead to the final dissolution of the effects of karma. Just as there are three paths to immortality, there are also, at least, three ranks of immortals. Even in the realm of perfection some immortals will be more perfect than others.

Gradualness

Awakening to the Dao is a sudden experience but the way that leads to it is a gradual process of cultivation. Again in the *Xizhoushu*, Qiu says:

¹⁵⁶ Also, see Wang Chongyang discourse on it in *Yaodao* 10 or in Wong 1990:55.

The way to sudden awakening requires a long and arduous training. To suddenly awaken to the oneness of the mind, one has to complete a multitude of practices.

(*ZhenxianYi* 1:12).¹⁵⁷

xx所以道，剎那悟道，須憑長劫煉。頓悟一心，必假圓修萬行。

Renunciation

Cultivation – the pursuit of the Dao – is a life of renunciation: a) renunciation of family by joining a monastic community and b) renunciation of self by abandoning selfish worldly concerns (*Xizhoushu* in *ZhenxianYi* 1:12)¹⁵⁸.

Those who renounce mundane affairs or leave worldly existence behind are called monastics [出家者]. To renounce the world is not to escape from it but to see through its essential emptiness. Monastic life that is seen merely as a refuge from worldly troubles is not authentic monastic vocation. The pursuit of the Dao is not about running away from mundane responsibilities and hardships.

When you leave the world, you must leave it with the right attitude. You must become unattached to the world because this is correct and natural to you. Some people become monks because they do not want to deal with the difficulty of everyday life. This is escapism; it is not cultivating the Tao. Again, some

¹⁵⁷ Y54/43582.

¹⁵⁸ Y54/43582.

become monks because they are poor and becoming a monk gives them security of not having to worry about where their next meal comes from. This is laziness; it is not cultivating the Tao. Then there are those who come to the monastery because they have lost their families and they seek a place where they can be taken care of. If you enter the monastery with these attitudes, then you will only see the Taoist community as a means of achieving some short-term goals. The goals of attaining the Tao will never be realized. (Wong 1990:160).

To be called a genuine monastic, one must first have the intention to see through mundane existence and to retire from mundane life¹⁵⁹ in order to pursue the Dao. (Qiu in *Yaodao* 10).

xx必先有一番看破塵俗之念之意，隱居求道之心，方。謂之真心出家也。

Sex

It is said that there are four main obstacles to cultivation: craving for liquor, sexual desire, greed for riches and bad temper [酒色財氣] Wong 1990:42). Regarding sex, Quanzhen monastic practice required total abstinence and a celibate or chaste lifestyle. As Qiu explains to Chinggis Khan:

The male is *yang* and is of the fire element. The female is *yin* and of the water element. Only the *yin* can quench *yang* and only water can overcome fire.

Therefore, those who pursue the Dao must first of all abstain from lust...

Indulging in lust wastes one's essence and spirit and leads to loss of a great amount of one's *qi*. (*Qinghuilu*, p. 2).¹⁶⁰

xx 夫男陽也屬火，女陰也屬水。唯陰能消陽，水能克火。故學道之人首戒乎色。。。貪婪色欲則耗乎精神亦散其氣而散之多。

Qiu continues to explain that

Those who pursue the Dao must know about the art of cultivation for getting rid of excess and craving in order to strengthen the essence/*jing* and keep the spirit/*shen*. Only by cultivating the *yang* will the *yin* be quenched and the *yang* be fully realized and ascend to heaven as an immortal, like a flame that goes upward. Fools take wine as broth and consider recklessness as normal. Indulging their passions and following their desires, they waste their *jing* and harm their *shen*, which lead to the decline of *yang* and the rise of *yin*, and their descent into the earth as devils/ghosts, like water that flows downward. (*Qinghuilu*, p. 2).

xx 故學道之人知修鍊之術去奢屏欲固精守神。唯鍊乎陽是致陰消而陽全，則昇乎天而爲仙如火之炎上也。其愚迷之徒以酒爲漿以妄爲常。恣其情逐其欲耗其精損其神，是致陽衰而陰盛，則沉於地爲鬼如水之流下也。

¹⁵⁹ Or, retire from society.

¹⁶⁰ Y5/3491.

That the path to immortality is upward -- or the path to worldliness and mortality is downward -- follows the general cosmological belief about the natural tendency of the *yin* to descend and of the *yang* to ascend. As Qiu puts it:

The Dao gave birth to two forms. The one, which is light and clear, became heaven. Heaven is *yang* and is of the fire element. The other, which is heavy and turbid, became earth. Earth is *yin* and is of the water element. The human being lives in between, bearing *yin* and embracing *yang*. (*Qinghuilu*, p. 2).

xx道產二儀，輕清者爲天，天陽屬火，重濁者爲地，地陰也屬水，人居其中負陰而抱陽。

Total abstinence and celibacy is, of course, not for everybody. For those that do not have the calling to monastic life, the prescription is restraint and discipline in sexual matters. Along this line, the notion of the sexual act as a kind of 'snatching contest technique' [採戰之術] for obtaining the sexual essence of each other for the purpose of attaining immortality is a heterodox abomination.

Sexual passion need to be restrained for, according to Qiu, it exhausts and disturbs the *jing* and the *shen*, and it leads to moral degeneration and delusion (*Xizhoushu* in *ZhenxianYi* 1:16)¹⁶¹. In general, however, "It is not a question of repressing sexuality, but rather of being wary of its outer appearance, of eroticism and seduction or, as the Chinese say, of its 'color'" or *se* 色 (Schipper 1993:149-150). Sexuality, or at least the

idea and principle of it, occupies a central place in Daoist thought and practice.¹⁶² It is understood, above all, as a mystical event. True coupling does not occur in the genital regions. The true union of the male and the female occurs in another dimension of experience, at a certain point in the realm of undifferentiated existence – at the *Taiji* 太極 point in the *wuji* 無極 circle¹⁶³ (Wong 1990:41).

Dual Cultivation of the Internal and the External

In Quanzhen practice, cultivation is fully understood as the ‘dual cultivation of nature or *xing* and life-force or *ming*’. In Qiu’s teaching, this duality is formulated in terms of the external and the internal aspects of cultivation. As Qiu explains,

In our teaching, the first three steps are about action [*yowei*] practices – that is, work on life-force [*minggong*]. The last six steps are about the wondrous way of nonaction [*wuwei*] – that is, mastery of nature [*xingxue*]. [In other words, cultivation is] three parts on life-force and six parts on nature. Eventually, [the whole thing] would only be referred to as mastery of nature and should not be called as work on life-force. It is called ‘work’ [*gong* 功] because it falls under action. What is work is labor [*gong* 工], which means that there are steps [*jie* 階] and levels [*ji* 級]. So, how can [mastering] nature be work? (*Qiu zu Yi* in *Quanshu* 7b).

¹⁶¹ Y54/43584.

¹⁶² “Eros worshipped, Eros repressed”-- this is how Schipper characterizes Daoist attitude to sexuality (1993:144).

¹⁶³ In short, the Dao (cf. Robinet 1990:389-90).

xx吾宗前三節皆有爲功夫，命功也。後六節乃無爲妙道，性學也。三分命功，七分性學也。已後只稱性學，不得稱命功。方稱功有爲之事也，功者工也，有階有級，性何功哉。

It is not clear what Qiu meant by the nine steps (three *yowei* and six *wuwei*). What is clear is that early Quanzhen Daoists emphasized *xing* and *xinggong* over *ming* and *minggong*. In the 'duo cultivation of *xing* and *ming*' context, this was the 'first *xing* and then *ming*' [先性後命] approach associated with the northern lineage of internal alchemy (Quanzhen). The southern lineage, founded by Zhang Boduan (987-1082), advocated the 'first *ming* and then *xing*' [先命後性] approach. We should clarify that this order of priority is not temporal but ontological. As mentioned earlier, the two are integrated and mediated by the mind.

Qiu Chuji was succeeded by his disciple Yin Zhiping [尹志平], also known as Yin Qinghe [尹清和], who followed Qiu's thought and built on the basic Longmen principle of dual cultivation of the internal and the external [內外雙修]. Cultivation is ultimately about the cultivation of the Dao, and in Longmen terms, it has two aspects: *youwei* or action and *wuwei* or nonaction. *Youwei* is also called external practice, external daily function, and merits and deeds. In other words, it refers to something that is 'brought in from outside' [自外而入]. *Wuwei*, on the other hand, is also called internal practice or internal daily function. In other words, it refers to the work on the mind, to something that is from the inside. In Longmen teaching, *youwei* and *wuwei* methods of cultivating the Dao were designed to take into account differences in human natural qualities and foundations [根性]. *Youwei* through the accumulation of merits

and deeds is for ordinary people. Direct work on the mind [見性明道] or the method of sudden realization [頓悟修行法] is for those with superior foundations and qualities.

Youwei and *wuwei* may be two distinct method of cultivating the Dao, but since they both originate from the Dao and end in the Dao, the two are not really separate but one. Indeed, *wuwei* includes *youwei* and only through the mediation of *yowei* is one able to attain *wuwei*. In other words, *youwei* ultimately leads to *wuwei*. In *Beiyoulu*, Yin Zhiping quotes his master Qiu Chuji to explain the relationship between *youwei* and *wuwei* – that is, between the accumulation of merits and deeds and the cultivation of the mind.

The master says: *Youwei* and *wuwei* are one and same in the Dao. Practicing cultivation by completely abandoning worldly things to work on the mind – this is *wuwei*. To receive good fate and seek the accumulation of merits and deeds – this is *youwei*. Working on the mind is superior to the accumulation of merits and deeds. But the two originate from the same Dao. If one does not grasp this, then he won't be able to penetrate through the Great Harmony. (1:3)¹⁶⁴.

xx師父曰有爲無爲一而已，於道同也。如修行人全拋世事，心地下功，無爲也。接待興緣，求積功行，有爲也。心地下功上也。其次莫如積功累行二者，共出一道。人不能明此，則不能通乎大同。

This passage deals with the problem of mind cultivation.

In explaining the mind [心地], the Longmen sect often used the concept of 'calm and constant mind' [平常心]. The earliest mention of this concept of 'calm and constant mind' was in Chan Buddhism. In *Beiyoulu*, Yin Zhiping used it and gave it extra nuances. He advocated returning to our Heavenly nature, and ultimately realize Dao-itself [道體] through the calm and constant mind. A couple of passages below from *Beiyoulu* illustrate what 'calm and constant mind' means.

What the world desires, I do not much desire. What the world hates, I do not much hate. Even though emotions of joy, anger, grief, happiness exist, I can, when [they are] aroused, withstand their encumbrances without harming the breath or *qi* of my harmony. This is because the mind has attained calm and constancy, and calm and constancy is the realization of the mind. (2:18)¹⁶⁵.

xx 凡世之所愛，吾不爲甚愛。世之所惡，吾不爲甚惡。雖有喜怒哀樂之情，發而能中其節而不傷吾中和之氣。故心得其平常，平常則了心矣。

The Dao, originally, is nonaction. It simply means the realization of the mind. Control the mind and calm and constancy would be attained. Then the Dao would be born. (2:18)¹⁶⁶.

¹⁶⁴ Y55/44452.

¹⁶⁵ Y55/44463.

¹⁶⁶ Y55/44463.

xx道本無爲，惟其了心而已。治其心得至於平常，則其道自生。

These passages advocate the cultivation of the mind until it attains the level of calm and constancy. Calm and constancy refers to the state wherein even though one has emotions, one is not controlled by them. It requires, in other words, that one not be affected by fortune, disaster, long life, short life, life and death. It is a kind of psychological state characterized by being non-attached to things and unaffected by emotions. Although 'calm and constant mind' actually describes what the 'perfect or true mind' [真心] or the 'original mind' [本心] is like (e.g. immovable and uncontrolled by things, and so on), Yin Zhiping seldom uses perfect mind or original mind to talk about the nature of the mind. He preferred to define the mind in terms of 'calm and constancy'. In doing so, he wanted to emphasize that it is in common emotions [常情] that the true mind is manifested; it is in ordinary circumstances that one realizes his efforts [平凡中見工夫]. Moreover, he emphasized as well that aspect of the mind that copes with all things [心應萬物] instead of being lead by them. Therefore, he advocated 'constant coping and constant stillness' [常應常靜], gradual entry into the true Dao, cultivating the mind within the world, seeing true reality in ordinary/mundane reality. For this reason, the Longmen concept of 'calm and constant mind' had, from the beginning, a pronounced this-worldly character, revealing thus a strong difference from the other sects.

Yin Zhiping's use of the concept 'calm and constant mind' shows assimilation of Chan Buddhist ideas on mind and nature. When he explained that 'the calm and

constant is the Dao' [平常即道], he was reformulating Chan teaching such as the following passage he incorporated in *Beiyoulu*:

Before, the Buddha nature did not have to be realized. Originally, all living beings were not deluded. Calm and constancy ruled the mind. This is what bodhi¹⁶⁷ is all about. (1:4)¹⁶⁸.

xx 佛性原無悟，衆生本不迷，平常用心處，即此是菩提。

In reference to Confucianism, Yin held that the Middle Way of Confucius refers to 'the calm and constant' (Zhang 1993:106).

Since 'calm and constancy' is the Dao, as advocated by the Longmen Daoists, the goal to pursue, therefore, is precisely the state of calm and constancy. However, what the Longmen Daoists called the 'calm and constant mind' is essentially just a state of emptiness and stillness [虛寂]. Yin Zhiping also referred to it as the level of 'stillness beyond all stillness' [寂無所寂]. He maintained that it is only after emptying the mind and subduing all improper thoughts that a cultivator attains the state of true emptiness [真空]. Complement this with merits and deeds, add to it exercises for breathing and regulating *qi*, then the two naturally become one – the fruit of the Dao [道果] is formed.

¹⁶⁷ Refers to perfect wisdom or enlightenment.

¹⁶⁸ Y55/44448. Chan source unknown.

The Longmen sect advocated that cultivation must begin with the mind [必須心地下功]. “If the cultivator does not talk about the mind, then what does he talk about” [修行人不論心地卻論什麼]. Even though it advocated cultivating the mind into absolute stillness [至寂無所寂] of the state of true emptiness, it did not hold that mind cultivation constituted everything about cultivation. Aside from mind cultivation, there were exercises for regulating breathing and managing *qi*. In Qiu Chuji’s *Panxiji*, it says:

One who cultivates *qi* and clears the mind.... His mind is like a mountain that cannot be moved; his *qi* is like an ocean that is constantly wet. (4:13)¹⁶⁹.

xx鍊氣清心士，干雲拔俗標，心如山不動，氣似海常潮。

What they were promoting was the dual cultivation of clearing the mind and transmuting *qi*. The Longmen Daoists were heirs to Wang Chongyang’s Quanzhen tradition and were not seeking to practice a kind of elixir field moving method [丹田搬運] of cultivating *qi*. They placed the emphasis on the matter of controlling the mind [治心]. When discussing the methods of controlling the mind, they advocated starting with the accumulation of merits and deeds. On this point, a detailed discussion follows.

In the view of the Longmen Daoists, when the original mind is calm, the vital spirit naturally stabilizes and the vital essence coagulates, the vital breath harmonizes and the elixir forms. This way, Longmen Daoists viewed bodily practices [身功] as the natural consequence of the work on the mind [心功]. While Longmen Daoists unified

the cultivation of the mind and the regulation of *qi*, emphasis is clearly on the practices of mind cultivation. This characteristic was common in early Quanzhen Daoism and an important mark of its difference with the neidan or internal alchemy communities of the Northern Song. The neidan Daoism that rose during the Five Dynasties (907-960) and Northern Song (960-1127) generally emphasized the cultivation of *qi* [煉氣], the regulation of *qi* [調息], and other practices for cultivating the body.

In the process of cultivating the vital essence and the vital breath, through the three-step practice of transmuting the vital essence into vital breath, transmuting the vital breath into vital spirit, returning the vital spirit to emptiness, and finally, the manifestation of the original nature and primordial spirit.

To repeat, the Longmen Daoists stressed the cultivation of the mind. They regarded the manifestation of the true mind, the constancy of the mind, as the foundation of all cultivation. The state of the mind or consciousness that they sought was the 'true mind that is constantly bright' [真心常明] and to which nothing ever attaches [物物不住].

There are several ways of cultivating the mind and controlling thoughts. *Beiyoulu* records that in Panxi, Qiu Chuji used his gunny shoes [麻鞋] to cultivate his mind. He did this by tying and untying his shoes repeatedly and incessantly. In the evening, he would walk back and forth, not going to bed to sleep, for 17, 18 rounds per night, until the mind became like cold ash [心如寒灰], the true mind revealing itself like a crystal

¹⁶⁹ Y43/34605.

pagoda. It also mentions Tan Chuduan's method of introspection [省心法]. Everyday, at night, he would examine and reflect on the thoughts that arose during the day; during daytime, he would examine and reflect on the thoughts that arose at night. He would do this day after day without fail.

In discussing the cultivation of the mind, Longmen Daoists also talked about nourishing the mind. In Longmen discussions, mind and nature are often paired. But from the way they were used, there are differences. Nature is often connected with Dao. The ultimate end of cultivation is to return nature to the Dao. Therefore, sometimes, the two are interchanged. Usually, Longmen Daoists understand nature in two levels: first, in terms of the Five Elements (metal, wood, water, fire, earth). In this context, Longmen Daoists held that human nature can be divided into five characteristics, which follows the traditional Chinese correspondence of the Five Elements with the Five Constants [五常]¹⁷⁰. As *Beiyoulu* puts it:

The human being is endowed with the *qi* of the Five Elements; that is why it follows its nature. For example, the nature of wood means an abundance of benevolence, the nature of fire means an abundance of propriety, and so on. (1:9)¹⁷¹.

xx 人稟五行之氣，以生故亦隨其性，如木性多仁火性多禮之類是也。

¹⁷⁰ That is, benevolence [仁], righteousness [義], propriety [禮], knowledge [智], and faith [信].

¹⁷¹ Y55/44450.

Aside from his endowment of the nature of *qi* in the *qi* of the Five Elements, Longmen Daoists also talked about nature in another level. And that is, true nature, constant nature, and original nature. The Longmen school held that true nature or constant nature refers to the state of existence before the birth of the father and the mother. This is the world of reality that transcends the nature of *qi* of the Five Elements. But even though such is the case, in terms of the actual human nature, there exists the true nature which is not separate from the nature of the *qi* of the Five Elements. True nature or constant nature exists within the nature of the *qi* of the Five Elements. But because of the pollution caused by passion, the true passion cannot manifest its original face. As the *Beiyoulu* puts it:

What habits [*xi* 習] are there in the original nature? Without habits, how can there be stimuli [*gan* 感]? Without habits and without stimuli – this is where the Five Elements does not hold sway; the moment before birth of the father and the mother. Those who have studied know that the desires of this life give birth to the habits of many lifetimes, and they must be eliminated – they must be completely eliminated gradually until all habits are purged out, the mind and the body are forgotten, and one enters the realm of immortality. (2:23)¹⁷².

xx本來之性有何習，無習有何感，無感無習是五行不到之處，父母未生之時也。學人既知今之所愛是多生所習便當盡除去當從最深重處除取去漸至諸習淨盡心形兩忘恍然入於仙界。

What the Longmen Daoists called true nature or constant nature, although it is said to transcend the Five Elements, is the same as the true mind in terms of substance which is not outside the realm of emptiness.

Since the original state of all human nature is true emptiness, Longmen Daoists held that knowing the mind and seeing nature is a bridge to the realization of the Dao – a practice of cultivation. The goal of ‘illuminating the mind and seeing nature’ [明心見性] is to experience the emptiness of the void.

Sometimes, Longmen Daoists define true nature in terms of light. They thought that human beings received from the body of the Dao their true nature which is ‘a bit of light’ [一點光明]. Cultivation in this context involves the expansion and strengthening of this bit of light – to gather it as it becomes bigger or to gather it to become a great light. Longmen Daoists thought that if the light is big, then nature is also big. If it reaches the point where light penetrates the whole body, then nature and the Dao have thoroughly become one. *Beiyoulu* records Yin Zhiping as saying:

When the human light is big, it can get scattered and lost. When the light is big, then nature is big. When the light is small, then nature is small. By this light, one investigates others and things, the true and the false without exception. One can gather the light and let it illuminate oneself. Thus, the light stays with oneself.

¹⁷² Y55/44465.

Only those with determination can hold on to it and not let it scatter away. (4:8-9).¹⁷³

xx 人之光明不付散失。光明大則性大，光明小則性小。以此光明照察他人。真偽無遺，還能回光自照，則光明都在於己。惟有志之士，能把握不至散失。

Also,

One can, by means of determination, manage *qi* – not allowing it to be depleted and transforming it into light. The light is gathered until it becomes a great light. (*Beiyoulu* 1:3).¹⁷⁴

xx 人能以志帥氣，不令耗散則化成光明。

These two passages combine nourishing nature and cultivating *qi* in the notion of light. In this context, nourishing nature means, on the one hand, gathering, strengthening and expanding the light so as to use it for the examination of things and of self [照察物我]. On the other hand, it refers to the management of *qi* – not letting *qi* dissipate so that it can become light. This demonstrates the close connection between cultivating *qi* and nourishing nature – that is, one can nourish nature by cultivating *qi*.

¹⁷³ Y55/44477-78.

¹⁷⁴ Y55/44447.

When talking about true nature or constant nature, Longmen Daoists thought of its profound relationship with the Dao. Concretely, the two are related in several ways. First, nature originated from the Dao. When Yin Zhiping said that “human nature originates from the Dao” [人性根源於道], he was reinterpreting Confucius’ teaching which says that “human beings are close to each other in their nature, but they drift apart in their habits” [性相近也，習相遠也]¹⁷⁵ – to mean that in terms of true nature, all human beings are similar and close to the Dao, but because of the influence of accumulated habits, human nature gradually drifted away from the Dao.

Even though human nature originated from the Dao, once it gets immersed in forms [投入形質], it becomes imprisoned in the body of forms [形體]. Where there is form, the seven emotions and six desires¹⁷⁶, wayward thoughts and wayward desires, are generated and lead to the pollution of the bit of human true nature received from the Dao. Moreover, the human bodily form is formed by the mixture of the yin *qi* and the yang *qi*. According to Quanzhen belief, yin is evil and turbid; yang is good and clear. For this reason, cultivation involves the elimination of passions and desires and ridding oneself of thoughts and concerns. From another aspect, it entails the elimination of yin so that only pure yang remains [盡陰純陽]. That is, getting rid of yin evil until the true nature becomes clearly manifest and the form of *qi* is transformed [氣行俱化].

Therefore, the process of Quanzhen cultivation consists of recovering the constant nature or returning to the original Dao.

¹⁷⁵ In Book 17.2 of the *Analects of Confucius* or the *Lunyu* [論語].

Another way Longmen Daoists spoke about constant nature was that it was in union with the original Dao. Cultivation then does not aim to ascend to heaven in broad daylight, but to realize this union of nature and Dao. According to *Beiyoulu*:

Man is born of the Dao and can return to the Dao. This means, he won't lose his constant nature. Sages have countless stories of how to fly into the clouds and leap into transformation, ascend to heaven in broad daylight, desiring only that all people not lose their constant nature. Life and death comes and goes, and only you can tell the difference. If you ... you would lose it. (2:6).¹⁷⁷

xx人生於道而能復於道。是不失其常性矣。聖賢有千經萬論何嘗云飛騰變化，白日昇天，止欲人人不失其常性。生死去來分明由己。若不能處身應物，則失之矣。

When Longmen Daoists talk about nature or *xing*, they also touch upon the problem of *ming*. Again, the *Beiyoulu*:

The master says: In the scriptures and teachings, is there anything that is not clear? Only *xing* and *ming* are difficult to understand... Does nature come from

¹⁷⁶ In Buddhism, the seven emotions are happiness, anger, sorrow, joy, love, hate and desire; the six desires refer to the six sensory pleasures derived from the six senses (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind).

¹⁷⁷ Y55/44457.

the father or the mother? Does it enter when before the fetus is formed or after the fetus is formed? (4:3,4).¹⁷⁸

xx師曰經教中無有不明之理。惟性命爲難明。〇〇〇人之性果得於父邪，果得於母邪。胎未成而入邪，胎已成而入邪。

The Longmen sect inherited Wang Chongyang's emphasis on *xing* over *ming* [重性輕命]. In the *Recorded Sayings of Qiu*, it says:

Our lineage put great emphasis on 'seeing nature'; the union of water and fire is secondary. The important thing is to regard consolidation of the spirit through breathing and the mind as the foundation, the vision of emptiness through clear nature as the substance, the forgetting of knowledge... as the function. (*Qiu zu YI*, p. 12a).

xx吾宗惟貴見金，而水火配合其次也。大要以息心凝神爲初基，以性明見空爲實地，以忘識化障爲作用，回視龍虎鉛汞皆法相而不付拘執。不如此便爲外道非吾徒也。

This tendency to emphasize nature over life-force developed till the time of Yin Zhiping when it was advocated that nature and life-force are not two separate things. Nature and life-force are united. Nature is life-force and life-force is nature. Yin Zhiping advocated this unity between the two, but for him what is essential to this unity

¹⁷⁸ Y55/44475.

is that *xing* governs *ming*. It is in this sense that *Beiyoulu* redefined the meaning of *ming*. In traditional Quanzhen teaching, it is *qi*:

The master says, beginners don't know about the *xing* and the *ming* even though they think that they recognize that what speaks and acts everyday is *xing*, and the *qi* that goes in and out of the mouth and nostrils is *ming*. It is not so. *Xing* and *ming* are two indications [of the same thing]. First, one must recognize the true *xing* and then recognize the *ming* endowed by Heaven. (*Beiyoulu* 1:9).¹⁷⁹

xx師曰初學之人不知性命，只認每日語言動作者是性，口鼻出入之氣爲命，非也。性命豈爲二端，先須盡心認得父母未生前真性，則識天之所賦之命。

The man called Old Li¹⁸⁰ did not talk about the art of *ming* and Pingshu¹⁸¹ did not speak about the school of *xing*. *Xing* and *ming* are not two. This teaching is very clear but hard to explain in words. It can be transmitted only by those who are enlightened. (*Beiyoulu* 1:10).¹⁸²

xx人謂李老不言命術，平叔不言性宗，性命并非二，此理甚明，但難以言形容，必得明達之人則付傳。

¹⁷⁹ Y55/44450.

¹⁸⁰ Refers probably to Laozi or Lord Lao Li 李老君.

¹⁸¹ The style name of Zhang Boduan.

¹⁸² Y55/44451.

While holding that nature and life-force are one, Yin Zhiping did not go as far as the later Quanzhen Daoists who conflated the work on nature (*xinggong*) and the work on life-force (*minggong*). Compared to Qiu's thought on internal cultivation, the idea of conflating *xinggong* and *minggong* can be regarded as a heretical departure from the traditional teaching. As far as *xinggong* and *minggong* are concerned, Qiu Chuji, even though he emphasized *xinggong*, did not avoid discussion of *minggong* and did not intend to put the two on an equal footing (Zhang 1993:120).

In his letter to the Quanzhen faithful of Xizhou, Qiu discussed several times issues related to *minggong* – e.g., regulation of breath, techniques of *qi* management, and various manifestations of a normal internal cultivation.

Somebody asked about how to regulate slow and prolonged breathing. Qiu replied: To make your breathing like that of a turtle – this is the way of live for the person of the Dao, which cannot be forced. (*Xizhoushu* in *ZhenxianYi* 1:16).¹⁸³

xx 有人問調息綿綿如何，丘曰但令如龜喘息，乃是道人活計，不付著他。

Liu Daojian asked what to do during internal practice when the kidneys warm up, the heart cools down, and the whole body heats up. Qiu replied, “The sages had

¹⁸³ Y54/43584.

emphasized that, after these manifestations, one cannot be attached to what the eyes see and what the ears hear.” (1:14).¹⁸⁴

xx 劉道堅問修行內腎熱而心涼，滿身發熱如何。丘曰聖賢提挈也，後來眼裏見者，耳裏聞者，不得執著。

The *Dadan Zhizhi* also talked about *minggong* issues of internal cultivation.

In the early period of Qiu's self-cultivation, when he was at Longmen and Panxi, he followed the teaching of his master, the Quanzhen founder Wang Chongyang. He cultivated the Dao through purity and stillness. But even though the emphasis was on the cultivation of nature and the mind, he also paid attention to the cultivation of life-force (*ming*). In other words, for Qiu, cultivation was the dual cultivation of nature and life-force. However, to say that cultivation is necessarily dual, an effort in two fronts, does not mean that the two components of it are paid the same amount of attention. Indeed, Qiu, as did Wang, regarded nature as the primary component of cultivation and life-force the secondary one. He once explained:

In our lineage, the first three stages are all about *youwei* practices – work on life-force or *minggong*. The last six stages are all about the wondrous way of *wuwei* – mastery of nature [性學]. [In other words], it is three parts about working on life-force and seven parts about mastering nature. (*Qiu zu YI*, p. 7b).

¹⁸⁴ Y54/43583.

xx 吾宗前三節皆有爲工夫，命功也。後六節乃無爲妙道，性學也。
三分命工，七分性學。

This teaching is also reflected in the *Panxiji* and in Qiu's letter to the faithful of Xizhou.

After Qiu's famous journey to the West to meet Chinggis Khan, there was a noticeable change in the way Quanzhen Daoists formulated the nature of self-cultivation. The change came about within the general context of the social situation during the early years of the Yuan Dynasty, and in particular context of the rapid growth, in numbers and in influence, of the Quanzhen community around the same time. During this period, the emphasis turned to 'cultivation of external action' [外行修煉], to 'action/activity' [有爲] as the fundamental teaching. With regard to its corresponding *minggong* issues, there was very little discussion. As to *xinggong*, the earlier notion of 'seeing nature in the mind' [心中見性] as the fundamental method of cultivating the Dao was rejected in favor of accumulating merits and deeds [積累功行].

Qiu's Internal Alchemy

As far as we know, Qiu Chuji left behind only one work dedicated to internal alchemy, the *Dadan Zhizhi* 大丹直指, or the *Straightforward Directions on the Great Elixir*. There are indications that this work was not written personally by him. Scholars agree, based on the Qiu's title in the text, *Changchun: Preacher of the Dao, Master of the Teaching, and Perfected* [長春演道主教真人], which was bestowed only in 1269, that

it was written after his death in 1227. Still, because of its importance, a translation is included as an appendix as the text is quite long. A short summary explanation of its message follows.

In the preface, the author gives general remarks on cosmology and the origin of human beings. Following ancient, traditional Chinese cosmology, the text does not give a detailed account of the origin and workings of the universe. However, it briefly discusses the very basic cosmological notions upon which internal alchemy is based. The ideas are not really new: according to the text, there was, originally, just one *qi* in the Great Void. Then it split into two: the light and clear, which rose up and became *yang* or heaven, and the heavy and turbid, which sank down and became *yin* or earth. Despite their separation, the two have been in constant motion. Other things -- the myriad things -- came into being as a result of union and constant, ceaseless motion -- the union of the *yang*, heavenly *qi* and the *yin*, earthly *qi* as they rise and sink together.

We hear nothing about how the first human being came about or was created. It says only that human beings originated from the contact and union of the *qi* of the father and the *qi* of the mother. The same can be said, at first thought, of the ultimate origins of the universe. The pre-existence of the one, primordial *qi* is assumed. And if one is looking for some first cause, such as God, who created the myriad things out of primordial *qi*, one would be left dissatisfied and feel that the picture is incomplete in the ultimate sense. But, of course, Chinese cosmology does not exactly work in the same manner as other cosmologies such as Judaeo-Christian cosmology. In Chinese

cosmology, the primordial *qi* or primordial chaos is not just the material out of which the myriad things were created. Although it can be logically distinguished from the Dao (the approximate equivalent of God as first cause), it is ontologically the same thing.

So, every human being born into the world has life because of the primordial or protocosmic *qi* it inherited from its parents and is stored inside the navel¹⁸⁵. This life is sustained by the deuterocosmic *qi* that is gathered by breathing and eating/drinking. But before birth, during the ten-month gestation period in the mother's womb, the fetus is sustained completely by the *qi*, which is protocosmic, conveyed to it by the mother through the umbilical cord. Birth cuts off this umbilical connection, and once it occurs, the human being loses the primordial state or is alienated from primordial existence. Alienated from primordial existence, life comes under the control of the 'six emotions and six desires'. As a result, one 'gets lost and forgets' [*miwang* 迷忘] the original goal. Such a life diminishes and gradually exhausts one's reservoir of inherited protocosmic *qi*, which in turn leads to physical deterioration, illness and eventually death. However, internal alchemy can reverse this process of mortality. By cultivating one's protocosmic *qi*, one can return to the original goal and recover the lost primordial life. For Hu Fuchen, here lies the fundamental difference between internal alchemy or *neidan* and the more common and popularized forms of *qigong* being promoted today for health purposes (sometimes claimed by their advocates to be internal alchemy). Internal alchemy, he says, cultivates protocosmic, prenatal *qi* and is intended for truly mystical

¹⁸⁵ The text lists at least fourteen names for it: 1) Middle Palace [*Zhonggong*]; 2) Seat of Life [*Mingfu*]; 3) Primordial Chaos [*Hundun*]; 4) Chamber of the Spirit [*Shenshi*]; 5) Yellow Court [*Huangting*]; 6) Elixir Field [*Dantian*]; 7) Point of the Spirit and *Qi* [*Shenqixue*]; 8) Aperture of the Root of Return [*Guigenqiao*]; 9) Pass of Rebirth [*Fumingguan*]; 10) Aperture of Great Enlightenment [*Hongmengqiao*]; 11) Point of

goals; *qigong*, on the other hand, cultivates deuterocosmic, postnatal *qi* and is limited to health or physical longevity goals. Strictly speaking, however, since both involve ‘work on *qi*’, both can be referred to as ‘*qigong*’. In Chinese, the two can be distinguished by writing them differently: 炁功 for internal alchemy and 氣功 for modern *qigong*.

As described in the text, internal alchemy is accomplished by performing nine formulas for internal cultivation: 1) Coupling the Dragon and the Tiger [龍虎交媾]; 2) Firing Time During the Microcosmic Orbit [周天火候]; 3) Flying the Golden Essence Behind the Elbow [肘後飛金精]; 4) Cycling the Golden Fluid through the Elixir Fields [金液還丹]; 5) The Great Yang Cultivation of the Body [太陽鍊形]; 6) Consummation in the Three Fields [三田既濟]; 7) Cultivating the Spirit and Sending it to the Top [煉神入頂]; 8) Cultivating the Spirit and Uniting with the Dao [煉神合道]; 9) Abandoning the Shell to Ascend to Immortality and Transcending the Mortal World to enter Sagehood [棄殼昇仙，超凡入聖]. These nine formulas are divided into three groups based on the kind or level of attainment to which they lead. The ‘method of small attainment’ [小成法], which includes formula 1, the Coupling the Dragon and the Tiger, leads to longevity. The ‘method of intermediate attainment’ [中成法], which includes formulas 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, leads to earthbound immortality [地仙]. The ‘method of great attainment’ [大成法], which includes formulas 7, 8 and 9, leads to divine immortality [神仙].

Hundred Meetings [*Baihuixue*]; 12) Gate of Birth [*Shengmen*]; 13) Divine Stove of the Great One [*Taiyi Shenlu*]; 14) Original Countenance [*Benlai Mianmu*].

Formula 1: Coupling the Dragon and the Tiger [龍虎交媾]

The mouth and eyes are closed while the Middle Palace (navel area) is visualized. The mind is in deep concentration cut off from all concerns and rid of all wayward thoughts. The mouth is full of saliva, which is not to be spit out or swallowed. The body is seated upright, not necessarily in a lotus (cross-legged) position. The left hand is cupping the 'external kidneys' (testicles) and the right hand is covering the navel. Inhaling slowly through the nose, *qi* is gently sent, guided by the mind [意], into the Middle Palace to meet with the primordial *yang* and true *qi*, and down to the Rear Gate (sacrum or tailbone). After inhaling enough *qi*, guide the *qi* once again from the Rear Gate passing through the Narrow Ridge and Jade Pillow passes, back up to the nose in order to be slowly and gently exhaled.

According to traditional Daoist theory, the *qi* of the five viscera moves in the direction of the deuterocosmos, like fire that flames upward, and water that flows downward. This is called 'direct motion' [*shunxing* 順行]. During cultivation, one moves the *qi* of the five viscera toward the direction of the protocosmos. This is called 'reverse motion' [*nixing* 逆行]. "Direct motion is the human way; reverse motion is the immortal way." That is why it is called 'reversing the five phases'. Therefore, when cultivating, one must first learn how to empty the mind and stop all thoughts. Otherwise, if the mind is like an untamed monkey or horse, a raging fire would burn; the kidney water would flow down in torrents, like a piece of lead sinking, difficult to control and stop. Qiu repeatedly told people that they should collect their minds and cultivate nature.

This is the key point. Secondly, during cultivation, one must focus one's intention [意定]. Intention is the vital spirit in the active mode. The spirit is nature. Intention does not leave the Middle Palace, and the spirit can lead the *qi*. Only when the mind is still and the intention is focused, can the breathed *qi* meet with the primordial yang *qi*, allowing water and fire to meet, thus enticing the perfect *qi* in the kidneys and the water fluid in the heart to mix in the Middle Palace. Since the kidneys correspond to the tiger and the heart to the dragon, the mixing of the essences of the two is called the *Coupling of the Dragon and the Tiger*.

Formula 2: Firing Time During the Microcosmit Orbit [周天火候]

“When the dragon and tiger copulate, a pill shaped like a millet grain is formed” (*Dadan* 1:6)¹⁸⁶. This is the elixir ingredient. Like the cooking process in external alchemy, the internal elixir ingredient must undergo the firing process in order to become the ‘internal elixir’. Driven by the spirit, the *qi* of the heart is sent from the Rear Gate point (sacrum), through the passes along the dorsal governor channel, to the Nirvana Palace behind the brain. Then, from the abdominal functional channel, the *qi* is returned to the elixir field. Thus, the perfect *qi* inside the body circulates around the torso in an unceasing orbit. Three hundred days after *Coupling the Dragon and the Tiger*, the ingredients congeal and become the internal elixir. This elixir is in the shape of a millet grain, the size of a shooting pellet, and bright red or vermilion in color. Chinese

¹⁸⁶ Y7/5090.

Buddhists call it *sheli* 舍利 [*sarira* in Sanskrit]; Daoists call it the ‘mystic pearl’ [玄珠] (*Dadan* 1:8)¹⁸⁷.

Formula 3: Flying the Golden Essence Behind the Elbow [肘後飛金精]

When the *qi* of the liver and the kidneys mix it is called the ‘golden essence’. ‘Flying’ refers to the technique of sending the golden essence from the base of the spine, through the three dorsal passes, to the brain. This technique is for replenishing the brain and the marrow, which makes the face rosy, strengthens the bones, whitens the skin, and makes the body light. “This is called the method for ‘reversing aging and regaining youth’ and ‘long life without death’. When the young practice this method, they will not age. When the old practice this method, they will regain their youth.” (*Dadan* 1:12)¹⁸⁸.

Formula 4: Cycling the Golden Fluid through the Elixir Fields [金液還丹]

As the cultivator feels the perfect *qi* enter the brain during the *Flying the Golden Essence Behind the Elbow*, he should immediately (while in an upright sitting position) seal his ears tightly with his palms, and the perfect *qi* will create the golden fluid. The cultivator then put his tongue at the roof of his mouth and allows the ‘cool sweet fluid’ (saliva) to flow down and gather in the mouth. The fluid is not for rinsing but for swallowing (*Dadan* 1:15). “As the brain and the marrow are being replenished, keep them under control. Let the ‘spirit water’ [saliva] flow down from the upper palate, to cool and refresh. Do the same from the lung area down to the Yellow Court, and it is called *Cycling the Golden Fluid through the Elixir [Field]*” (*Dadan* 1:17)¹⁸⁹. If the

¹⁸⁷ Y7/5091.

¹⁸⁸ Y7/5093.

¹⁸⁹ Y7/5096.

perfect *qi* is cycled from the kidneys to the liver, from the liver to the spleen, from the spleen to the lungs, and from the lungs to the heart, it is called the ‘small elixir cycle’. If it is cycled through the three elixir fields (upper, middle and lower), it is called the ‘great elixir cycle’ [大還丹]. *Cycling the Golden Fluid* must be performed on the basis of the three previous formulas. Without the three basic formulas, no fluid would flow down.

Formula 5: Great Yang Cultivation of the Body [太陽煉形]

‘Great yang’ refers to the *qi* in the elixir field which is pure yang. Assuming the same sitting position, the cultivator breathes imperceptibly through the nose, and quietly moves the fire of the heart. He lets the five *qi* in the elixir field gather and mix in the upper elixir field. Once mixed, they stay mixed. He then transmits the *qi* to the five viscera and to the four limbs. “The perfect *qi* of the kidneys cultivates the bones, making the body light as a feather, able to mount the wind and ride the fog. The perfect *qi* of the liver cultivates the muscles/tendons, making them full like jade, enabling one to walk alongside a galloping horse. The perfect *qi* of the heart cultivates the blood, making it white as fat, enabling one to permanently withstand cold and heat. The perfect *qi* of the lungs cultivates the skin, making it as clean and bright as snow, enabling one to ‘replace bones and change bodies’ [換骨易形]. The perfect *qi* of the spleen cultivates the flesh, making it as hard as stone, enabling one to transform *qi* like gold” (*Dadan* 1:19)¹⁹⁰. The goal is to transform the body into a form that would never age and decay, called the ‘wondrous body and spirit’ [形神俱妙] which will last forever.

¹⁹⁰ Y7/5097.

Formula 6: Consummation of the Water and Fire [水火既濟]

‘Consummation’ refers to the moment when water ascends and fire descends to meet under the ‘storied tower’ [重樓] or the throat. This occurs before the cycling of the elixir, while there is ‘cool and sweet fluid’ flowing from the palate, just before the beginning of the cultivation of the body, before the perfect *qi* of the elixir field reaches the four limbs. Each time a grain of something that looks like a millet grain is formed, it is swallowed into the Middle Palace and achieves the work of *Cycling the Golden Fluid*. This practice is auxiliary but indispensable to the success of *Cycling the Golden Fluid* and *Cultivating the Body* (Dadan 1:21)¹⁹¹.

Formula 7: Cultivating the Spirit and Sending it to the Top [煉神入頂]

Following the Chinese traditional medical theory on the Five Elements or Five Phases, Qiu Chuji taught that practice, if it is to obtain assistance from Heaven, should correspond to the rhythm of the cosmos. For this reason, he instructed that “this method is practiced during the hours of *zi* 子,¹⁹² *wu* 午,¹⁹³ *mao* 卯,¹⁹⁴ and *you* 酉.¹⁹⁵ On the *jia* 甲 and *yi* 乙 days, cultivate the liver. On the *bing* 丙 and *ding* 丁 days, cultivate the heart. On the *geng* 庚 and *xin* 辛 days, cultivate the lungs. On *ren* 壬 and *gui* 癸 days, cultivate the kidneys and the spleen. Do not store the cultivated *qi* in the four viscera. On *wu* 戊 and *ji* 己 days, do not practice. These are the days for cultivating the five viscera. On *jia* and *yi* days, practice at the *mao* hours. On *bing* and *ding* days, practice at the *wu* hours.

¹⁹¹ Y/75098

¹⁹² The period between 11pm and 1am.

¹⁹³ The period between 11am and 1pm.

¹⁹⁴ The period between 5am and 7am.

¹⁹⁵ The period between 5pm and 7pm.

On the *geng* and *xin* days, practice at the *you* hours. On *ren* and *gui* days, practice at the *zi* hours. These are the hours for cultivating the five viscera” (*Dadan* 2:1)¹⁹⁶.

Days	Times	Viscera	Color
<i>Jia</i> 甲 and <i>Yi</i> 乙	<i>Mao</i> 卯	Liver	Green
<i>Bing</i> 丙 and <i>Ding</i> 丁	<i>Wu</i> 午	Heart	Red
<i>Wu</i> 戊 and <i>Ji</i> 己			
<i>Geng</i> and <i>Xin</i>	<i>You</i> 酉	Lungs	White
<i>Ren</i> 壬 and <i>Gui</i> 癸	<i>Zi</i> 子	Kidneys and Spleen	Black

This practice is performed in a quiet room. Burning a joss stick, the cultivator knocks his teeth together twenty four times. Sitting upright, he visualizes the viscera under cultivation. At the utmost point of stillness, the *qi* is generated. At the utmost point of *qi*, the spirit is manifested. Upon mastery of the practice,

the *qi* materializes and the spirit appears on their own, the perfect *qi* of the five directions manifest their original color, the five *qi* and the *yang* spirit each manifest their perfect form, ascending and entering the inner court of the

¹⁹⁶ Y7/5099.

Heavenly Palace. This is the moment for the spirit to unite with the Dao (*Dadan* 2:2; see also 2:4)¹⁹⁷.

xx自然氣現神出，五方真氣合出本色，五氣陽神各出真形，升而上入天宮內院，是爲合神入道之時也。

It is also possible to bypass *Cycling the Golden Fluid, Cultivating the Body*, and the *Consummation of Water and Fire*, and directly perform this practice, by using the pure yang *qi* in the elixir field in cultivating the five viscera. This is called the 'method of seizing and combining' [奪功并法].

Formula 8: Cultivating the Spirit and Uniting with the Dao [煉神合道]

This formula can be practiced anytime and is not subject to temporal restrictions. When practicing, the cultivator sits quietly in an upright position. He moves the pure yang *qi* of the elixir field, visualizes the five viscera, and discerns the true manifestations from the false ones. He lets the perfect *qi* to follow the spirit, by clinging to it, in ascending, from the middle elixir field to the upper elixir field. At the same time, the four limbs are also cultivated. Soon after, the *qi* combines with the golden light, the yang spirit appears, and the spirit unites with the Dao.

When mastered, the above formulas, combined with the 'hidden virtue' [陰德] of external (ethical) cultivation, accumulated merits and deeds [功行], lead to the

¹⁹⁷ Y7/5100; 5101.

completion of cultivation as the yang spirit leaves the body through the top of the head. When this happens, the cultivator ‘abandons his shell and becomes an immortal’ [棄殼成仙].

The Significance of Qiu Chuji’s Thought

Qiu Chuji was the last of the seven principal disciples of Wang Chongyang to die and he was also the last from that group to lead Quanzhen. After his death, his following came to be known as the Dragon Gate Sect [龍門派]. Its first patriarch was Qiu’s disciple, Yin Zhiping 尹志平. It is in Yin’s writings that we find a more complete presentation of Qiu’s teaching on the mind and nature [心性]. To the Daoist faithful Qiu emphasized two things: 1) determination [志] and 2) accumulation of merits and deeds. Qiu taught that determination is crucial to the success of self-cultivation. By determination, he referred basically to efforts to still the mind. Yin elaborated on this teaching and developed the doctrine that through determination, one can control desires and lead the spirit and *qi*. For him, determination is the first requirement in the attainment of immortality. According to Tang, this doctrine played an important stabilizing role during the rapid expansion of Quanzhen (2000:269).

Yin Zhiping also believed that the popularity and growth of the Quanzhen community was the fruit of the accumulated merits and deeds of earlier Quanzhen masters. As he put it, “all merits and deeds and hard work are capital for those who seek to learn” [一切功行塵勞實爲求學之資] (*Beiyoulu* 3:3)¹⁹⁸. Only through the accumulation of merits and deeds can one get to know the mystic wonders of the Dao.

¹⁹⁸ Y55/44467.

Hard work alone is not enough. Followers should not count the cost and try their best in accumulating merits and deeds.

Qiu was, without question, responsible for the rapid growth of Quanzhen Daoism, in number of members and in its influence in society at large. However, he was also somehow responsible for its decline. As with other charismatic movements that became institutionalized and part of the system, he allowed Quanzhen to lose some of the original spirit that made it attractive in the first place. Perhaps it was a price he was willing to pay for the privileged position he and the entire Quanzhen community had attained at the Mongol court. Among other things, the privileges enabled Qiu and the Quanzhen community under his leadership to help their Chinese compatriots deal with the harsh realities of Mongol domination.

One important aspect of Quanzhen way of life that changed dramatically as a result of the privileges was the ideal of ascetic determination [苦志]. A concrete example of this change was in the area of building temples or monasteries. In Discourse Five of his *Fifteen Discourses Establishing the Teaching*, Wang Chongyang, says:

Reed-thatched huts and grass-thatched cottages are needed to cover one's body. To lodge and sleep in the open is offensive to the sun and the moon. [On the other hand] to live under carved beams and lofty eaves is not something that a superior man would do either. How can life in grand palaces and great halls be for the man of the Dao? To cut down trees is to cut off the precious fluid [flowing] in the veins of the earth, [just like] to beg for goods and money is to deprive people of their life-blood. To only cultivate external merits and not cultivate inner deeds

is like allaying one's hunger by painting a cake or collecting snow for food – vain efforts that result in nothing. Those who are determined should seek for the 'precious palace' [寶殿] within their bodies. [Those who] persist in constructing 'red palaces' outside the body will see their efforts collapse and crumble. (*Shiwulun* 2-3).¹⁹⁹

This teaching was totally abandoned and Quanzhen Daoists returned to the traditional principle of building temples and monasteries for the salvation of people. But as it turned out in practice, saving people was merely a secondary goal. The main objective was expansion of Quanzhen real estate (Tang 2000:275). This was one reason for the conflict between Daoists and Buddhists that developed. Buddhists accused the Daoists of taking over their temples.

¹⁹⁹ Y53/.

CHAPTER FIVE

Epilogue

The Quanzhen Daoism discussed in this thesis is the Quanzhen of the early period, of the 12th and 13th centuries, during the Jin and Yuan Dynasties. It was during this period that Quanzhen rapidly reached what can be called the ‘golden age’ of its history. During the Ming Period (1368-1644) and the Qing Period (1644-1911), Quanzhen and Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity or Celestial Masters) were the two officially recognized schools of Daoism. By this time, however, Quanzhen, particularly the Longmen branch which claims lineage to Qiu Chuji, had absorbed so many aspects of Zhengyi Daoism that it became difficult to tell them apart (Esposito 2000:625), except perhaps for the fact that Quanzhen was monastic and Zhengyi was not. Today, Quanzhen remains one of the two schools of Daoism sanctioned by the current Chinese government. It has its headquarters at the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing.

This thesis presented a description of Daoist self-cultivation with a focus on practice, as well as the ideological foundations of this practice. We conclude two things: first, for the Quanzhen Daoist, the paramount concern in life is the pursuit of the Dao. For the Quanzhen Daoist, this is the essence of religion – the mystical quest for union with the Dao. Second, the pursuit of the Dao is primarily a matter of self-cultivation. This flows from the belief that the Dao resides in everything, above all, in the self. So, the logical starting point for pursuing the Dao is the self, which is understood by the Quanzhen Daoist to include the mental, physical, ethical and cosmic aspects of the self.

In other words, for the Quanzhen Daoist, self-cultivation is the essence of religious practice.

At the end of this study, we return to the beginning – to the introductory remarks. Daoist self-cultivation has never been only a pursuit of the religious, the spiritual or the mystical but always also a pursuit of bodily and mental health. That is why the earlier discussion began with comments on the modern therapeutic mentality. A few additional words on: 1) the therapeutic mentality and Chinese thought today, and 2) the therapeutic mind and religion today.

The Therapeutic Mind and Chinese Thought Today

A scholar once said, “Chinese philosophy has a future, not in its purely metaphysical potentiality, but rather in this dimension of praxis, either in Confucian sense or as Life-praxis in Taoist sense” (Shen 1996a:14). It can be said that the genius of Chinese thought lies not in its abstract systematizations (which, Shen suggests, are inferior anyway compared to those of Western philosophy) but in its fundamental praxis orientation. Chinese praxis thought is generally predicated on the supreme notion or ideal of harmony. In the Confucian framework, harmony is basically ethical harmony -- ‘harmony with fellowmen’ or social harmony. From the Daoist point of view, at least in the classical tradition of the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi*, harmony refers to natural and cosmic harmony – ‘harmony with Nature’ or ‘harmony with the Dao’. The central guiding insight of Chinese praxis thought – which, we should mention, is not unique to the Chinese because it can also be found in other religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism

and aboriginal religions – consists of the notion that all things in the universe are dynamically interconnected. This interconnection, in short, is the ultimate basis of harmony. In terms of Daoist therapeutic principles, disruption of this interconnection is the root of all illness and disorder. Healing, therefore, is always about the restoration of interconnection and harmony – that is, interconnecting and harmonizing the *qi* (or the many different functional modes of *qi*) – within and outside the body. Health and disorder are holistic concepts and processes. That is, health and disorder concern the totality of human physical, emotional, mental and spiritual well-being. On another level, they involve the totality of human interconnectedness internally, socially and cosmically.

Today, holisms such as this have become one of the main frameworks for dealing intellectually and practically with problems of human (personal, environmental, planetary) survival and quality of life. It is certainly a major inspiration underlying the mainstreaming, especially in the West, of alternative healing systems founded on holistic worldviews. In particular, it has something to do with the growing Western popular and scientific interest in traditional Chinese medicine, and such arts or techniques of self-cultivation as *qigong* and *taijiquan* promoted by Daoist therapeutic groups such as the International Healing Tao of Mantak Chia.

The Therapeutic Mind and Religion Today

The modern, contemporary world is generally a secular or, more precisely, a secularizing world. The term ‘secularization’ means different things to different people. But, in general, it refers to the process of decline of religion and religiosity, both in the individual and at the social level. Traditionally, this process was understood to lead to

the eventual demise and disappearance of religious institutions (groups, beliefs and practices) and religious consciousness in modern society. However, the continued persistence – or, as others would say in certain cases, the ‘resurgence’ – of religion and religiosity, despite their diminished and relativized importance in society, or even their disappearance in the lives of completely secularized individuals, has led scholars to redefine the notion of secularization. For instance, in an excellent summary of contemporary scholarly thinking on the subject, Bryan Wilson clarifies that ‘secularization’ is not predicated on the disappearance of religion and religiosity (1985:14); it even considers periodic upsurges of religious activity (1985:17).²⁰⁰ And in his book *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life*, Robert Fuller remarked that “the process of secularization has not so much eradicated as relocated humanity’s attestations to the causal presence of extramundane reality in our lives” (1989:119). Indeed the issue is no longer whether religion has a place in the secular world, but what sort of place it has or what sort of adaptations and transformations religion assumes in the secular world.

One such adaptation or transformation of religion may be found in the form of alternative healing systems such as *qigong*. As McGuire puts it, in her study “Religion and Healing” (1985): “A strong case could be made that these alternative therapies are, in effect, new religions... They do appear to function as religions to many adherents – providing cosmologies, rituals, a language for the interpretation of believers’ worlds, a

²⁰⁰ For Wilson, the ‘inherited model of secularization’ is concerned with the operation of the social system (1985:19): “It merely indicates the decline in the significance of religion in the operation of the social system, its diminished significance in social consciousness, and its reduced command over the resources... of mankind” (1985:14).

social context of belief and practice, and a group of fellow believers” (1985:275). Along this line, it can be suggested too that nonconventional alternative therapies (and the groups or movements that promote them), particularly those that are based on metaphysical or ‘supernaturalistic’ beliefs, can be viewed as new or alternative forms of religion. For such nonconventional therapeutic systems do not only provide healing; they also transmit the alternative metaphysical/religious ideologies underlying such systems. For those dissatisfied with or seeking a way out of traditional forms of religious expressions but who are unwilling to accept a totally secular worldview, such therapeutic systems provide alternative contexts in which to ‘relocate’ the religious extra-secular grounding of their meaning systems. Some individual adherents of nonconventional therapies find alternative explanations of reality as complementary to what they mainly subscribe to. For example, there are practicing Christians who see no conflict in being at the same time a Healing Tao practitioner. But, objectively (if this is any concern to the individual practitioner at all), initiation into alternative healing systems could radically transform one’s life in ways that may not be sanctioned by conventional theology (cf. Fuller 1989:121).

To what extent such religious ‘relocation’ takes place is an interesting question. The traditional form of Quanzhen as presented and practiced by Wang Chongyang and Qiu Chuji may no longer be attractive and plausible to people today. But its therapeutic wisdom, embodied originally in its internal alchemy tradition and now diffused in Daoist *qigong* systems taught by contemporary practitioners some of whom (e.g., Wang Liping and Mantak Chia) claim to be disciples of masters descended from Qiu Chuji’s lineage,

still makes Daoism an attractive ground and a plausible alternative for one's ultimate meaning system.

APPENDICES

Selected Translations

A. Biography of Qiu Chuji in the *Yuan Histories*

Qiu Chuji 丘處機, who called himself Master Changchun 長春子, was a native of Qixia in Dengzhou [登州棲霞]. When he was child, a soothsayer predicted that someday he would become an immortal and the founder of a lineage. At age nineteen, to pursue the study of complete perfection, he went to Mt. Kunyu 崑崙 in Ninghai 寧海 to join Mayü, Tan Chuduan, Liu Chuxuan, Wang Chuyi, Hao Datong, and Sun Buer in studying under Wang Chongyang the Perfected. The moment Chongyang met Chuji, he thought highly of him. During the Jin and Song periods, he was summoned to work for the court, but he declined to go.

In 1219 [己卯], Emperor Taizu 太祖²⁰¹ in Naiman 乃蠻 ordered [two of his] trusted ministers, Zhabaer 札八兒 and Liu Zhonglu 劉仲祿, to carry an imperial summons to seek him. One day, Chuji suddenly told his disciples to quickly prepare for a trip saying: "The Son of Heaven summons me. I must go." The next day, the two emissaries from the court arrived and Chuji went to meet them with eighteen of his disciples.

The following year, staying at Shanbei 山北, they first went to express their gratitude [to the emperor] and earnestly advised him to put a stop to the massacres [of populations]. Still the following year, Taizu again sent emissaries [to Qiu]. Departing from Fuzhou 撫州, [Qiu] traveled through many states and traversed a distance of over ten thousand *li* 里. Along the way were bloody battle fields, bandits and rebels to be avoided, and barren deserts to cross. From Mount Kunyu to Xueshan ('Snow Mountain'), the entire journey lasted four years.

The horses had to wade through deep snow. Atop the horse, [the rider] used his whip to measure the depth of the snow....

When Taizu met [Qiu], he was greatly pleased and gave [Qiu and his party] food and, with great attention, arranged for their accommodation.

As Taizu launched his western campaign and became occupied daily with battles and war matters, Chuji repeatedly told [Taizu] that if he wants to unify and rule the world, he would have to stop enjoying killing people. Asked about ways of governing, [Qiu] replied that they must be based on honoring heaven and caring for the people. When asked about the way of [attaining] immortality, [Qiu] told [Taizu] about the crucial importance of 'purifying the mind and reducing desires'²⁰². Taizu deeply agreed with these words, saying: "Heaven sent me an old immortal to awaken my resolution [寤志]." Thereby, he ordered those around him to record [the words] so that they may be taught to his children.

²⁰¹ The first Yuan emperor, Chinggis Khan.

²⁰² Cf. *Laozi* 19: "Exhibit the unadorned and embrace the uncarved block. Have little thought of self and as few desires as possible [見素抱樸少私寡欲]" (Lau 1982:26-28).

Thereupon, [Taizu] gave [Qiu] a tiger tally [虎符] and a sealed document which did not mention his given name but only referred to him as Divine Immortal. One day, there was a sound of thunder and Taizu asked [Qiu] about it. Chuji replied: "Thunder represents heaven's power. There can be no greater sin for man than to be unfilial, which means not obeying heaven. That is why heaven's power 'thunders' – to serve as warning to all. It appears that there are many people who are unfilial in the realm. Your Majesty should understand the power of heaven in order to guide the people." Taizu heeded.

In 1223 [癸未], Taizu was in Dongshan ('Eastern Mountain'), engaged in a great hunt when his horse stumbled and threw him off the saddle. Chuji pleaded with him, saying: "Heaven desires life and Your Majesty is already advanced in age²⁰³. Too much hunting is not good." Consequently, Taizu abandoned hunting for a long time.

At the time, Yuan troops were trampling on the Central Plain, especially in the south and north of the river [河南北]. It was a calamity for the people [caught in their advance] who were either massacred or taken into captivity. There was no escape. Chuji returned to Yan [燕]²⁰⁴ and arming his disciples with a document [牒], authorized and sent them out to seek and gather those who survived the war. [The act] resulted in freedom for many of those who had been enslaved and new life for many who had been led to the brink of death. Those who were saved numbered about twenty to thirty thousand.²⁰⁵ Until today, the people of Zhongzhou praise him for it.

In 1225 [乙酉], the fire constellation [熒惑] 'hit the tail' [犯尾] and the sign [占] was at Yan (Beijing). Chuji offered prayers for it and it moved. In 1227 [丁亥], he offered prayers again, because of the drought, hoping for three days of rain. Sure enough, his prayers were fulfilled.

[The emperor] decreed that the temple's name be changed to Changchun 長春, 'Eternal Spring'. He also sent emissaries to convey his greetings and solicitude [to Qiu], saying: "We always think of you, Divine Immortal. Do not forget Us, Divine Immortal." On the sixth month, [Qiu] bathed at Dongxi, the 'East Stream'. After two days, there was a great thunderstorm and the waters of the Taiye 太液 Pond flowed from its northern bank into the Donghu, the 'East Lake'. The sound could be heard for several *li*. All the fish and turtles were lost. The pond dried up as the northern mouth and the high bank collapsed. Chuji sighed: "The mountain has crumbled and the pond has dried up. I will [soon] join them!" With this, he died. He was eighty years old. His disciples Yin Zhiping 尹志平和 others inherited his seal and assumed leadership of his sect. During the Zhida 至大²⁰⁶ reign, [the sect] was granted the golden seal²⁰⁷.

²⁰³ About sixty-one years old. Chinggis Khan was born around 1162 and died in 1227.

²⁰⁴ That is, Yanjing, later renamed Beijing by the Mongols.

²⁰⁵ This figure is probably an understatement. The stele from the Changchun Temple [長春宮碑銘], written by Yao Sui 姚燧, put the number at 'twenty or thirty enormous thousands' [二三巨萬] (Chen 1988:720). Yao translates the latter figure as 'two or three million' (Yao 1986:217).

²⁰⁶ Refers to the reign title of Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (1308-11).

²⁰⁷ A sign of very high favor and rank.

B. Things to Understand When Learning the Dao [學道須知] (the part by Qiu Changchun in *Yaodao*, p. 10)

One who 'leaves home' [出家]²⁰⁸ leaves the mortal world behind [出塵離俗]²⁰⁹. One must first have the intention to see through the mortal world and to live in seclusion from public life in order to learn the Dao, before one can be called to be genuinely 'leaving home'. If on impulse one aspires to become immortal, or because of resentment or the desire to live a peaceful and carefree life, one 'leaves home', then he is, in fact, using the Dao as an excuse for finding a place to settle down. Therefore, an impulsive and bold mind is easy to stir up; a long-lasting mind [長遠心] is difficult to attain. Taking the Dao as something that can or cannot be possessed is the reason why, in the end, it lost its mystery. There are those who, since childhood, had nobody to depend on, and so, in their aloneness as they get older, they 'leave home'. However, they only use monastic life [道門] to find a place to stay. So, how can such a thing be considered as 'seeing through' [看破]. To sum up, since we are already here, let us settle down. It does not matter whether one can or cannot see through things. Those who come to the Place of the Three Treasures are all predestined. Those who enter our monastery will not be poor. Those who leave our monastery are not rich. Those who have already entered our monastery should learn our spirit. Superior members contemplate the mysterious and do sitting meditation. Intermediate members chant scriptures and perform rituals. Inferior members endure hardships and perform menial tasks. These can also accomplish the objectives of those who 'leave home'. What others cannot do, I strive to do. What others cannot bear, I must bear. Those who can are able to cut off passions. Those who can bear can withstand hunger and cold. This is how one transcends mortal humanity. If one is to empty the mind, do not allow in any obstacles and do not stir up any partialities. Not only should one not be thinking of others; he should not even be thinking of his self. Since I do not exist, where can demons come from? If, in this state of Emptiness and Nothingness [虛無], one seeks the Dao, his efforts would bear fruit. If there is only token effort, one would lose the perfect Dao. Everything should be done according to one's capability. There is nothing that is not surmountable; there is nothing that is not attainable. Those who know its [the Dao's] greatness will attain its greatness; those who know [only] of its smallness will accomplish [only] small things. If one proceeds according to the rules, one will at least become a good person, even if one does not become an immortal or a Buddha, and will not have cultivated the Dao in vain. If being a Daoist is only about knowing how to make a top knot [挽髻], or being a Buddhist is merely about shaving one's hair off, then the Five Receptacles [五蘊] are not empty, the Four Figures [四相] are not forgotten. Externally, one may look neat and dignified as a set of vestments; but, internally, it is no different from a bunch of wild animals. The desire for honor and gain has not diminished. The sense of right and wrong remains. One aspires for luxury and extravagance and anxious only that what one wears, eats and drinks are not at par with those of others. Fortunately, the intention remains that everything is done according to one's aspiration. A person like this, even though he says he has 'left home' has not yet, in reality, left home. It may be called cultivation of the Dao, but in fact, [the mind] is not in the Dao at all. From this, it seems it would be better

²⁰⁸ Becomes a monk or lives a monastic way of life.

²⁰⁹ That is, renounces the world.

that one should return to the world and be content in living with suffering. There is no need to cling to the mystic way [玄門] and depend on the Dao to gain [immortal] life if one is guilty of immeasurable sin which, since one cannot transcend in this life, it leads one to fall into 'bitter sea' in the next life. It means not gaining the blessing of this life and planting the seed of retribution in the next life. One should reflect on this.

C. The Letter of Changchun, Qiu the Perfected, to the Daoist Faithful of Xizhou
長春丘真人寄西州道友書

Those who cultivate perfection and aspire for the Dao must depend on accumulating merits and deeds. If one is not determined and sincere, it would be difficult to transcend the mortal world and enter the realm of immortality. Some people exert effort within a religious community with great strength and determination; some people focus their effort on the mind and abandon all mundane matters. Still, disciplining the self and keeping the mind in the Dao are foundations that bring about blessings. However, the Dao embraces both heaven and earth. Its greatness is difficult to measure. Small goodness and small merit are hardly efficacious. Therefore, the way to sudden awakening requires a long and arduous training. To suddenly awaken to the oneness of the mind, one has to complete a multitude of practices. Awakening to the Dao in this life is possible because of merits gained in previous existence. If one is not aware of causes originating from previous existence and sees only long years in this lifetime of seemingly fruitless hard work, one would think that all efforts in this world are in vain, thus leading one to become lax or give up. That would be most regrettable.

People hardly realize that in sitting, lying down, standing and walking, they can keep the mind in the Dao. Even though the mind [心地] has not yet opened, at every moment of time 'hidden merits' [陰德] are being accumulated. Insufficiency of merit means that the Dao would not be completely [realized]. Like if somebody has a great precious bright pearl worth millions, I would desire to buy it [from him] even if I do not have enough money. I must earn day and night, be thrifty, and save. Whether [I save] 3000 or 5000, or 30,000 or 50,000, the amount would still not be enough and I would not get the pearl. The money saved should be kept for emergencies. With poor people, I am as far apart as cloud and mud. It is the same with those who collect and pile up merits. Even though the Dao has not yet been attained, the 'root of their goodness' [善根] is deep and strong. Sages of today and tomorrow will help them. Those who have no 'roots in past existences' [宿根] would not go far. The only worry is that people, afterwards, would become lazy and give up. [Then] the sages would not be able to save and liberate them. If they do not become lazy and give up, they would receive assistance in this world, the next world, and the succeeding worlds thereafter, until they attain the goal. I have no 'bone from previous existence' [宿骨]. [Therefore] I had a hard time meeting enlightened masters, and I continue to encounter countless difficulties to this day. Both [Ma] Danyang and [Tan] Changzhen had inheritance from previous existence. Hence, in five to ten years, they were flying freely [in and] out of heaven and earth. Even though I have not yet attained my goal, the hardships that I endure are different from those of ordinary people.

The Founder-Master [Wang Chongyang] says: "The way of nonaction means first giving up of one's family and then giving up of oneself. When there is illness, let him be ill. When there is death, let him die. Adhere to and embrace the Dao until death. Let Heaven decide. This is the profound truth. Students, examine this carefully!

He also said: "You who don't work hard on self-cultivation and don't work up a sweat, how can you consume the benefits of food and drink? If you are blessed to become a

monk, then you cannot go back left or right or back. If you are not blessed to become a monk, then you would go [aimlessly] here and there. [In this case,] you must be told to leave since you would not be able to accomplish anything.

Yu Qingfeng 于清蜂 asked: “How does one maintain single-mindedness within one’s heart [方寸]?” The master replied, “This is about ‘true emptiness’ [真空]. It is difficult to explain, but as you banish one *fen* 分 of thought from your mind, you gain one *fen* of merit. Banish ten *fen* and you earn ten *fen* of merits. [However, even if you] banish nine thousand nine hundred ninety-nine *fen* and leave only one *fen*, you still cannot be considered to be pure and empty [清淨]. [To be truly empty] everything must be banished. Sage masters will effect reform in your mind and a perfected master will come to deliver you.

He also said: “Exalted Man Heavenly Truth [天真皇人]²¹⁰ says: ‘When the three elements – the spirit, the *qi* and the body [形] -- have been cultivated, it is the *yang* of the ‘fire organ’ [火官]. The breath [息] is the wind and the wind is used to fan the fire. After some time, the wondrous body and spirit [形神俱妙] is cultivated. This is the truth. The ancients said: first, stabilize the mind [念住]; second, stabilize the breath [息住]; third, stabilize the pulse [脈住]; fourth, extinguish and enter into the great samadhi [滅盡入乎大定]²¹¹ and cut [the mind] off from things [of the world]. The seven hundred year old ancient awl [七百年老古錐也]. Wonderful! Wonderful! Cast aside the travails of this world [塵勞見後]. If you do something of small merit, it is just an external deed. Do not seek it. Do not avoid it. Although [you have to] respond to things, do not cling to them.

Again he said, “One who awakens to the Dao is like a farmer who stores up grain, from a *he* 合²¹² to thousands of *dan* 石²¹³. Or, like a person of the world who accumulates money, from a *wen* 文²¹⁴ to thousands of *guan* 貫²¹⁵. One who values [the Dao] that highly will not lose his *qi*, and the accumulated *qi* will become spirit.”

He also said, “When the ‘substance of nature’ [性體]²¹⁶ is empty, only then there is ‘right thought’ [正念]”²¹⁷. Qingfeng said, “If one has not attained ‘true emptiness’ [真空], the *yang* spirit would have difficulty coming out.” To which the master added, “If one has not attained true emptiness, the *yin* spirit would not come out either. If you did it in a difficult place, it is meritorious deed. Qingfeng said, “If you practice in a quiet place, it is good.” Qiu replied, “If you practice in a noisy place, it is even better. You of the younger generation take your time with your practice and in subduing your worldly mind

²¹⁰ A mythical figure (see his biography in Zhao 1993:129-30; also Hu 1995:1484).

²¹¹ *Ruding* 入定, ‘enter samadhi’, refers to sitting meditation wherein one concentrates on something in order to calm/still the mind and rid it of distracting thoughts (cf. Hu 1995:964).

²¹² A unit of dry measure for grain equal to 1/10 of a liter.

²¹³ A unit of dry measure for grain equal to 10 *dou* 斗 or 100 liters (1 *dou* = 10 liters).

²¹⁴ In ancient times, it refers to a coin of the smallest value.

²¹⁵ In ancient times, a *guan* is a string of 1,000 holed copper coins.

²¹⁶ A later Quanzhen innovation on Wang Chongyang’s view that “spirit is nature and *qi* is vitality” [神是性兮氣是命]. It refers to the substance of nature cultivation (Hu 1995:463).

²¹⁷ According to the *Guizhong Zhinan* 規中指南: “The thought that has no thoughts is called the ‘right thought’ [蓋無念之念，謂之正念] (in Hu 1995:1151).

[降色心]. The seven years that I devoted in painstaking determination is comparable to seven generations of practice that others did.

Yao the Perfected [姚真人] asked about the outflow/defilement [漏]²¹⁸. Qiu replied, "When the body attains true purity and stillness, outflow/defilement will, by itself, cease to occur."

Liu Daojian 劉道堅 asked what to do during internal practice when the kidneys warm up, the heart cools down, and the whole body heats up. Qiu replied, "The sages had emphasized that, after these manifestations, one cannot be attached to what the eyes see and what the ears hear." He also said, "When you see a human head falling down in the air, then the golden elixir has been accomplished."

Another question was asked: How long has Hu Chengwang 胡城王 been a monk²¹⁹? The answer was: three years. You [who] are illiterate, do not pursue learning, [otherwise] it will disturb your mind cultivation and require from you three to five years of painstaking determination. Do not talk about right and wrong; only reflect on your own mistakes. Do not think of stupid things. Do not desire [external] magnificence [華麗]. Avoid avarice and anger [貪嗔]. Eliminate sexual desires. And, naturally, you will become a person of the Dao.

He also said, "The constancy of the spirit and the harmony of *qi* [神定氣和] represent the manifestation of nature, which is but bright purity [瑩淨] no different from the brightness of the moon. If somebody asks whether it has form [有象], say it has no form [無相]. If somebody asks whether it has no form, say it has form."

He also said, "If merits and deeds are wanting²²⁰, one would go to the Isle of Peng 蓬島²²¹ and after five hundred years, return to the world in order to accumulate merits. In heaven, merits and deeds are difficult to collect. In this world, merits and deeds are easy to collect. When, superior human beings attain the Dao, they 'transcend the three worlds'²²² and do not dwell in the Isle of Peng.

Another question was asked whether cultivation depends on determination and guidance and assistance on the sage masters. The master replied, "Everything depends on determination. If you do not have determination, how can the sages be of help to you?"

²¹⁸ In Buddhism, it refers to attachment or being within the stream of passion.

²¹⁹ Literally, 'family renouncer'. Can also be translated as 'world renouncer' or 'monastic'. There are two kinds of Daoist renunciation: one is called [出恩愛之家]; the other is called [出諸有之家] (Hu 1995:495).

²²⁰ Or: "If merits are lacking and accomplishments are little".

²²¹ That is, Mount Penglai 蓬萊山 or Pengqiu 蓬丘, one of the 'Three Isles' of immortality in the Daoist religion. The other two were Kunlun 崑崙 and Fangzhang 方丈 (Hu 1995:1644).

²²² Also 超出三界. Originally a Buddhist term which Daoists (e.g., in *Xingming Quizhi* 性命圭旨) used to describe the highest attainment of self-cultivation – the immortal world of emptiness and union with the Dao (Hu 1995:1263). In Buddhism, the 'three worlds' [三界] refer to the three different realms of existence (in Sanskrit, the *triloka*) – the 'world or realm of desire' (*kamaloka*); the 'world or realm of forms or corporeality' without desire (*rupaloka*); and, the 'world or realm of formlessness or non-corporeality' (*arupaloka*).

Question: “So, what is determination?” The master said, “Not allowing worldly thoughts to arise is determination.” Also: “When you begin your life as a person of the Dao, devote seven to eight years – no turning back -- in determined and diligent effort. As distractions cease to arise, do not relax your efforts. Rather, increase your determination. When you encounter demons [魔]²²³, do not be alarmed. The sages will secretly protect you, for they cannot allow the destruction of those who undergo self-cultivation.

Another question – about the ‘internal and external daily functions’ [內外日用]²²⁴. Qiu replied, “Giving up oneself to follow others and overcoming oneself to restore propriety are external daily functions. To be forgiving of others and enduring of humiliations, to sever all concerns and be detached from worldly things – these constitute internal daily functions.

The next day, another question was asked about the internal and external daily functions. Qiu replied, “Putting others before oneself and treating others the same way one treats oneself are external daily functions. Cultivating oneself in stillness is an internal daily function.” He also said, “Keeping the mind constantly still during the twelve periods of the day, being aware at all times, not allowing nature to become turbid, keeping the mind steadfast and the *qi* harmonious, all these constitute true internal daily functions. Cultivating benevolence to accumulate virtue, suffering hardships to benefit others – [these are] true external daily functions.”

He also said, “You must not cling to what your ears hear and what your eyes see. Be mindful when you cultivate [在意修行]. The sages are secretly coming to your aid. If, every time one attains steadfastness of spirit and harmony of *qi* [神定氣和], there is sensation of the kidneys heating and warming the ‘four greats’ [四大]²²⁵, they would diffuse in one or two hours and there would appear images of mountains and waters, of the sun and the moon.” He also said, “I and others have thrice penetrated the gate of heaven, leaving behind the sun and the moon, and looked straight down to see the multifarious phenomena [森羅萬象].” After he finished, [the master] regretted having mentioned it, saying that it cannot be seen.

He also said, “There are superior men of the Dao who moves around their elixir fields. There are also those of inferior backgrounds. They are called men of elementary foundation and small capacity. If nature reaches [the state of] nothingness and...., it is the great Dao.²²⁶ Here is a good place to start and one must do the practices in the proper way.

Somebody asked about how to regulate slow and prolonged breathing. Qiu replied, “To make your breathing like that of a turtle -- this is the way to live for the person of the Dao, which cannot be forced. According to the ancients, the spirit water does not leave

²²³ Refers to all kinds of distractions or deviations that one may experience during internal cultivation (Hu 1995:984).

²²⁴ Also known as ‘internal and external practices’ [內外功] (cf. Hu 1995:468).

²²⁵ According to Wang Chongyang, “Heaven has four seasons; man has the four greats. Heaven has the earth, water, fire, and wind; man has *xin*, essence, *qi*, and spirit” (授丹陽真人二十四訣).

²²⁶ [若性到虛空豁達靈明乃是大道]

the body. The Luxuriant Pool [華池]²²⁷ is renewed daily. If one can always drink of it, he would become a greatly enlightened person [大羅人]²²⁸.

He also cited [the story of] Master Ma, when he was still alive, when somebody [asked him] about the ginseng [人參]²²⁹ of longevity, a voice from nowhere was heard saying, "You people of small capacity, the Chan School speak of two words – purity and stillness, which are like two carts of dung and dirt. The 'body of senses' [色身]²³⁰ is essentially limited.

[The world of] desire is vast and limitless. [In it], one can be obsessed like bees craving for honey, or be mad like butterflies attracted to the flowers. Danyang the Perfected²³¹ said: If the karma root [業根] is deep and not completely eliminated, how can you expect [ji 冀] to attain the Dao. Also, there is the matter of the sexual 'snatching contest technique' [房中採戰之術]: it exhausts and creates disorder in the essence and spirit [精神]; it undermines morality and misleads people; it lists one into the register of evil beings; and, it leads one to Fengdu 酆都²³². According to scriptures, if one wishes to attain longevity, one must beware of bedroom²³³ matters. Being reckless and extreme brings sorrow. Those mortals who give free rein to their passions and crave to satisfy their desires, even though they have not died yet, their spirits are already in sorrow.

In the town of Zhongmoubai 中牟白, a certain Zhao Sangong 趙三公 asked about the way of nourishing life. The master replied, "The truth is, where you were born would be where you would die. The scripture says that if human beings can be constantly pure and still, heaven and earth would totally converge. Pure stillness results in harmony of *qi*. [When there is] harmony of *qi*, then the spirit reigns. When the spirit reigns, then that is the foundation of the cultivation of immortality. When this foundation is established, the Dao is born. This is inner practice. It also makes use of the external in order to be born. The way of immortality values the real [貴實]; the way of mortal humanity values appearances [貴華]. In the way of immortality, the true nature of human feelings is recovered. All that is evil can be rejected. All that is good can be cultivated. All actions are harmonized into one. When the body is pure, one [can be] dedicated for life without giving up or becoming slack. One would die embracing the Dao and without compromising one's ideal and integrity. Externally, cultivate acts that are beneficial. Internally, consolidate the essence and spirit. Intensify both internal and external practice, and you will be able to enter the realm of the immortals and roam the 'cavernous heaven' [洞天]²³⁴. In ancient times as well as today, all those who attained the Dao possessed both beneficence [福] and wisdom [慧] as mutually dependent

²²⁷ Refers to the mouth. Also known as the Jade Pool [玉池].

²²⁸ An *arhat* [luohan 羅漢]?

²²⁹ Refers to a family of perennial herbs known for their curative properties, or to their human-shaped root (hence, *ren* 人) as well as the preparation made from it.

²³⁰ A Buddhist term for the physical body as opposed to the mind [心].

²³¹ Ma Danyang.

²³² An old Chinese traditional name for hell.

²³³ Sexual.

²³⁴ Or, more completely, the 'cavernous heaven and blessed land' [洞天福地], referring to a mythical mountain paradise in Daoist tradition believed to be the dwelling place of deities and immortals (Hu 1995:1644).

qualities. Wisdom was the lamp's light; beneficence was the oil lamp. Without oil, there would not be any light. Without beneficence, wisdom would not reign. For this reason, Dashining 達士寧 lost his body [but] did not lose his beneficence. Mortals, even though naturally endowed with intelligence or have accumulated vast knowledge, will never be able to find out the wonder of their primordial Dao unless they intensify their beneficial acts [福行]. In ancient times as well as today, those who attained the Dao were sages. The Dao penetrates everything as one [道通爲一]²³⁵. When there is beneficence, then there are wonders. Those who did great external deeds are ranked high in the realm of immortals. Those who did small external deeds are placed below them. In ancient times, the sages in heaven, because their good deeds did not benefit widely, descended to the mortal realm in order to compensate for the past. [However,] the chaos and badness of the mortal world makes self-cultivation difficult and it undermines the attainment of merits. Heaven is above [wordly concerns] and more conducive. However, it slows down the attainment of merits. Xuanyuan 軒轅²³⁶ stayed in heaven for a long time. Because of the talk about great deeds, he descended into the world. The first time, he appeared as an ordinary man. The second time, he became a minister. The third time, he was a ruler. He assisted in the creation of all things. After this task was completed, he left the world and went to the realm of immortals. As to hell, it belongs to mortals. Whether the domain is small or big, they all have administrators. Those who are masters all have accomplished something in their lifetimes. During the first year of the Dading 大定 reign²³⁷, a government official (or eunuch) in Longzhou -- Li Yuantong -- was living a simple and virtuous life when, one day, he declared himself to be local deity of the Wushan County. There was also Li Dehe of Jiezhou in Pinglu County who, together with the people, organized a Numinous Treasure Meeting [靈寶會], offering sacrifice to the souls of the dead -- a good act that earns merit. One night, he dreamt of a green-clad being descending from the sky, giving him an edict from heaven and saying: Instruct Ligong, the local deity of Mount Zhongtiao 中條山: Your life-long eagerness for the Dao have prevented you from coming down the mountain. Consequently, you are only being bestowed this office/responsibility. The immortal child replied: In three years, as this tour of duty is completed, I will leave [the office] for a promotion as an immortal official in the blessed land. In Longzhou's Qianyang County, the third son of the Zhangs died and came back to life as a son of the Zhai family in Wushan county. When [the boy] was slightly able to talk, he mentioned about the Zhang family. The Zhangs, [when they heard about it], asked for him to be returned home for a short while. When [the boy] saw the members of the family, both old and young, he was able to tell them apart from each other without fail. The Zhangs had money hidden in a vault which nobody knew about. Without hesitation, [the boy] identified its location. He also said that in a previous life-time, he was a sparrow that died because it hit a net. In the next life-time, he became a dog that got hacked to death by a woman because it took a bite of bread. In the third life-

²³⁵ Refers to the Daoist ontological principle about the essential unity of all things into one *qi* 氣 or one *li* 理 (Hu 1995: 448). According to the *Zhuangzi* ("Discussion on Making Things Equal" [齊物論]): "whether you point to a little stalk or a great pillar, a leper or the beautiful His-shih, things ribald and shady or things grotesque and strange, the Way makes them all into one" (Watson 1964:36).

²³⁶ Also known as Huangdi 黃帝 or the 'Yellow Emperor'.

²³⁷ Probably referring to the reign of Shizong 世宗 (1161-1189) of the Jin 金 Dynasty. There are two other dynastic reigns titled Dading: 1) the reign of Xuandi 宣帝 (555-562) of the Southern Dynasties/Later Liang 南朝後梁; 2) the reign of Jingdi 靜帝 (581) of the Northern Zhou 北周.

time, he was a sheep that was killed as a sacrificial offering to a deity. In the fourth lifetime, he was born as a son of the Zhai family. The Zhais were poor while the Zhangs were rich. The Zhais owed the Zhangs nine *liang*²³⁸ of silk. Even though the debt had already been paid, it was never stricken off from the account books. [So,] the Zhangs demanded that payment be made again in order to settle the old debt.

Also, there was a man of the Dao from Cizhou, Li Daoming, who abandoned his family and lived in a retreat in the village of Yishui county. When he began monastic life, he was in dire straits, living an unrestrained life, and indulged in excessive drinking. Suddenly, one night, he dreamt he was imprisoned by the local authorities. [He was brought into] a hall where several steel cangues with seamless holes had been placed. In front was a man kneeling and an official [*jushi*] shouting orders at the jailers to put the cangue on the prisoner. On both sides, [jailers] then tried to press the prisoner's head, to make it [somehow] longer and slimmer, in an attempt to squeeze it through the cangue's hole. Then again, []. Kneeling and kowtowing, Li [Daoming] piteously appealed for his innocence. The official said: Since you pursue a life of cultivation, do you still indulge in drinking? He then [ordered] him to be released. Upon leaving the gate, [Li Daoming] became a kite²³⁹. Hovering in the sky above the ocean, he looked back with sadness, saying: Recklessness has made me what I am at this moment. The sky was limitless and the ocean vast. His strength eventually gave up and he fell into the waters. With a rustling sound, he woke up, terrified and sweating all over his body. So, humans become non-humans and non-humans become humans. The scripture says: To be born human is hard to attain; to be born into the Middle Land [中土]²⁴⁰ is difficult. Supposing you were born [human], finding the right dharma would [still] be difficult. Now that you have already become human, born into the Middle Country [中國], and encountered the right way, still, there is not one or two, among millions upon millions of people, who would convert to Dao, not to mention the southern and eastern foreigners who do not follow the principles of the Dao.

²³⁸ Here, a *liang* 兩 refers to a *pi* 匹 – that is, a bolt (of cloth).

²³⁹ *Yuan* 鵝, a kind of bird.

²⁴⁰ Refers to China, Cathay or the Central Plains 中原.

D. Straightforward Directions on the Great Elixir 大丹直指

Preface

The *Xianjing* 仙經 [*Scripture of the Immortals*] says: "The way of observing heaven, the understanding of the order of heaven must be accurate! [To act] according to the rule of heaven is the right thing to do. Heaven and earth are originally one *qi* in the Great Void [太空]. It moves at the stillest moment and splits into two: the light and clear rises up to become *yang* 陽 and heaven; the heavy and turbid sinks down to become *yin* 陰 and earth. Even though they are apart, they cannot be still. Because the heavenly *qi* moves first to unite with the earthly *qi*, it rises up again once it reaches the lowest point. Originally, the earthly *qi* does not rise up, [but] because of its union with the heavenly *qi*, it rises up along [with it] until it reaches the utmost point and then it sinks down. [The *qi*] above and [the *qi* below] need each other to give birth to the myriad things. Heaven forms the sun, the moon and the stars; earth forms the rivers, the seas and the mountains. One after another, the myriad things came into existence. Therefore, the myriad things come into being by obtaining the *yin* and *yang qi* or the rising and sinking *qi*, and obtaining the essence of the sun and the moon to 'refine and consolidate' [煉煮方實] them. The sun and the moon move in orbit according to each own path. Without attaining the 'middle *qi*' [中氣] they would 'not turn in their orbits' [斡旋不轉]. Because the middle *qi* comes from the location of the 'Northern Dipper' [北斗]²⁴¹, the direction of the 'handle of the [Northern] Dipper'²⁴² (called the Great Sage of Middle Heaven, not the North) shifts according to time. The sun, the moon, and the stars follow its direction as they move around their orbits. The *Doujing* 斗經 [*Scripture of the Constellations*] says: "The handle of the dipper indicates the turn of day and night." The rise and fall of heaven and earth, and the movement of the sun and the moon do not deviate from their time. The myriad things come into being and transform endlessly.

Ah, human beings are one with heaven and earth in origin and endowment. In the beginning, because of the contact between the *qi* of the father and the *qi* of the mother, [the two] merged and became the 'pearl' [珠]. Within [it] is 'a bit' [一點] of the 'primordial *yang* and perfect *qi*' [元陽真氣]²⁴³ wrapped in semen and blood, and is connected to the 'life-force stem' [命蒂]²⁴⁴ of the mother. After conceiving the fetus, [the mother] becomes aware [within her] of something that breathes, and is totally in harmony with the primordial *qi* of the fetus being conceived. First, the two kidneys are formed, and then the other internal organs are also formed, until the tenth month when the fetus reaches maturity. Before birth, in the mother's womb, [the fetus] covers its face with its two hands and the 'nine apertures' [九竅] remain sealed. Nourished by the mother's *qi*, [the fetus feeds on] the formless and the pure, called 'protocosmic *qi*' [先天之氣]. Not until the *qi* [氣], the 'spirit' [神], and the 'essence' [精] attain their fullness, the navel ceases to store the mother's *qi* [or], the blood [of the fetus] and the 'life-force stem' of the mother becomes disconnected, will the spirit and *qi* rise up, and the head

²⁴¹ Also known as the 'Big Dipper'.

²⁴² Refers originally to the fifth, sixth and seventh stars of the 'Northern Dipper'. Used as a metaphor for the action of the 'cosmic circulation' [choutian 周天] (Hu 1995:1164).

²⁴³ Also known as the 'protocosmic *qi*' [xiantian zhiqi 先天之氣] (see Hu 1995: 445).

²⁴⁴ Refers to the umbilical cord.

moves downward for birth. Once out of the mother's womb, the two hands open, *qi* spreads to all the 'nine apertures', and breathing takes place through the nose and the mouth. This is the 'deutercosmic'²⁴⁵ [後天之氣]. In addition, about one *cun* and three *fen* [一寸三分]²⁴⁶ inside the navel, the stored 'primordial *yang* and perfect *qi*' is disconnected, alienated from its 'original state' [本來面目], and will gradually be exhausted, [thus] leading to sickness [病], early death [夭], sorrow [憂], anxiety [愁], longing [思], worry [慮], joy [喜], anger [怒], sorrow [哀] and happiness [樂]. However, the navel at the center of the human body is called many different names: the 'Middle Palace' [中宮], the 'seat of life-force' [命府], 'primordial chaos' [混沌], the 'chamber of the spirit' [神室], the Yellow Court [黃庭], the 'elixir field' [丹田], the 'point of *shen* and *qi*' [神氣穴], the 'aperture of the root of return' [歸根竅], the 'pass of rebirth' [復命關], the 'aperture of great enlightenment' [鴻蒙竅], the 'point of hundred meetings' [百會穴], the 'gate of birth' [生門], the 'divine stove of the Great One' [太乙神爐], the 'original state'. This area contains and stores the 'essence and marrow' [精髓], links up 'all sorts of channels' [百脈], [and] nourishes the entire body. Utterly naked and bare, there is nothing in/of it that can be grasped [淨裸裸赤洒洒無付把]. Therefore, ordinary people are unable to get close to it because they are held back by the 'seven emotions and six desires' [七情六欲] and have lost and forgotten the original goal. The *qi* of breathing goes only as far as the 'sea of breath' [氣海], (the sea of breath is 'located at the thoracic cavity' [在上隔肺府]). Since it cannot reach the 'Middle Palace and the seat of life-force' and be united with the 'primordial *qi*' [元氣]²⁴⁷ or 'perfect *qi*' [真氣]²⁴⁸, metal and wood remain separate, so how can the dragon and the tiger 'achieve union'²⁴⁹ to beget the 'pure essence' [純粹]? Also, without knowledge of the source/workings of action, (the *Yinfu[jing]* says, "It is heaven that originates the action of destruction" [天發殺機]²⁵⁰), how can the '*qi* fluid' [氣液]²⁵¹ be circulated in order to cultivate 'the spirit and the body'²⁵² [神形]? Since the heart is of the fire element, it has within it the 'essence of proper *yang*' [正陽之精] and is called 'mercury', 'wood', and 'dragon'; [since] the kidneys are of the water element, they have within them the 'primordial *yang* and perfect *qi*' and referred to as 'lead', 'gold', and 'tiger'. First, let the water *qi* and the fire *qi* meet and unite as they rise and descend respectively, and use your mind to entice the 'perfect essence' [真精]²⁵³ and the perfect *qi* out, mixing them in the 'Middle Palace'. Use the 'spirit fire' [神火] for cooking and refining, enabling the *qi* to circulate around the body, 'filling [it] with *qi* and strengthening [it] with the spirit' [氣滿神壯], forming the great elixir. [This is] not only beneficial to the prolongation of

²⁴⁵ Or simply, 'cosmic'.

²⁴⁶ About 4.3 cm (1 *cun* = 1/3 decimeter; 1 *fen* = 1/3 centimeter).

²⁴⁷ Also known as the 'mysterious primordial original *qi*' [*xuanyuan shiqi* 玄元始氣], the 'primordial original ancestral *qi*' [*yuanshi zuqi* 元始祖炁], the 'protocosmic *qi*' [*xiantianqi* 先天炁]. Internal cultivation regards it as the 'elixir mother' [*danmu* 丹母] (Hu 1995:1208-9; 1205).

²⁴⁸ That is, 'protocosmic ingredient' [*xiantianzhiyao* 先天之藥] (Hu 1995:219).

²⁴⁹ *Jiaogou* 交媾 (i.e., to couple or copulate).

²⁵⁰ Y2/1231. For the term *shaji* 殺機, see Hu 1995:485.

²⁵¹ The 西山群仙會真記 quotes the 太上玄鏡 as saying: "when the pure *yang* ascends, it is called *qi* 炁; when the pure *yang* descends, it is called *ye* 液. When *qi* and *ye* couple and 'pour between the bone channels' [注于骨絡之間者], it is called 'marrow' [*sui* 髓]. When *qi* and *ye* couple and 'come out from outside the bladder' [出于膀胱之外者], it is called *jing* 精" (cited in Hu 1995:1206).

²⁵² Or, 'spirit body'?

²⁵³ Refers to the gold/metal within water (Hu 1995:1219).

life. If [one] cultivates both merits and deeds, he can [even] ascend to the place of the sages. More detailed discussions follow.

VOLUME ONE

1. The Chart for ‘Reversing the Five Phases’ and ‘Coupling the Dragon and the Tiger’ [五行顛倒龍虎交媾圖]

[Chart 1]

2. The Chart for ‘Reversing the Five Phases’ and ‘Firing During the Microcosmic Orbit’ [五行顛倒周天火候圖]

[Chart 2]

3. The Chart for ‘Returning to the Three Fields’ and ‘Flying the Golden Essence Behind the Elbow’ [三田返復肘後飛金精圖]

[Chart 3]

4. The Chart for ‘Returning to the Three Fields’ and ‘Cycling the Golden Fluid’ [三田返復金液還丹圖]

[Chart 4]

5. The Chart for the ‘Five Qi Meeting the Primordial’ and the ‘Great Yang Cultivation of the Body’ [五氣朝元太陽鍊形圖]

[Chart 5]

6. The Chart for ‘Uniting the Spirit and Water’ and ‘Consummation in the Three Fields’ [神水交合三田既濟圖]

[Chart 6]

7. The Chart for ‘Internal Visualization of the Starting of the Fire’ and ‘Cultivating the Spirit to Unite with the Dao’ [內觀起火鍊神合道圖]

[Chart 7]

8. The Chart for ‘Abandoning the Shell and Coming Out to Become an Immortal’ and ‘Transcending the Mortal World to Enter the Realm of the Sages’ [棄殼外仙超凡入聖圖]

[Chart 8]

Chart 1

The Chart for 'Reversing the Five Phases' and 'Coupling the Dragon and the Tiger' [五行顛倒龍虎交媾圖]

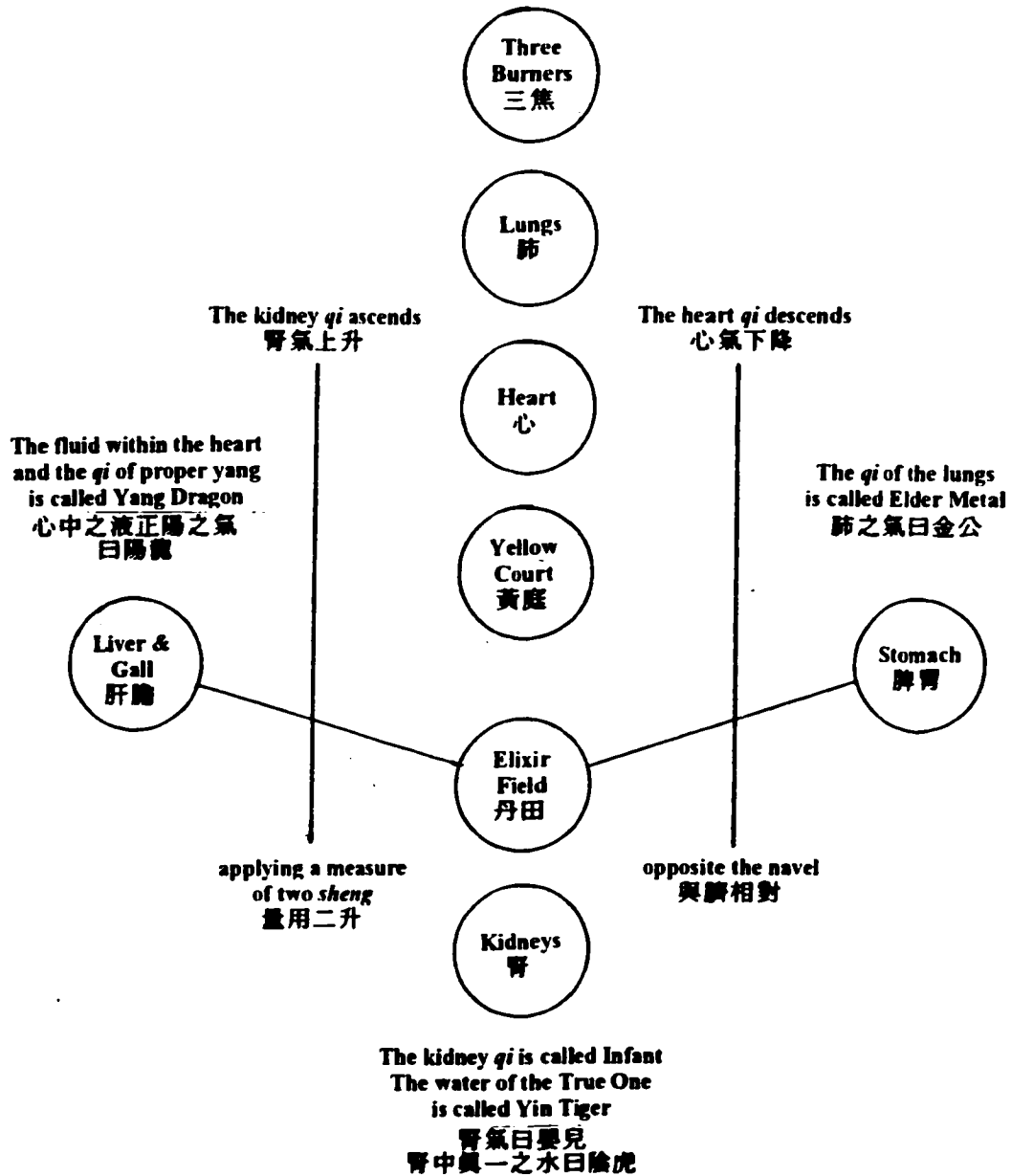


Chart 2

The Chart for 'Reversing the Five Phases' and 'Firing During the Microcosmic Circulation' [五行顛倒周天火候圖]

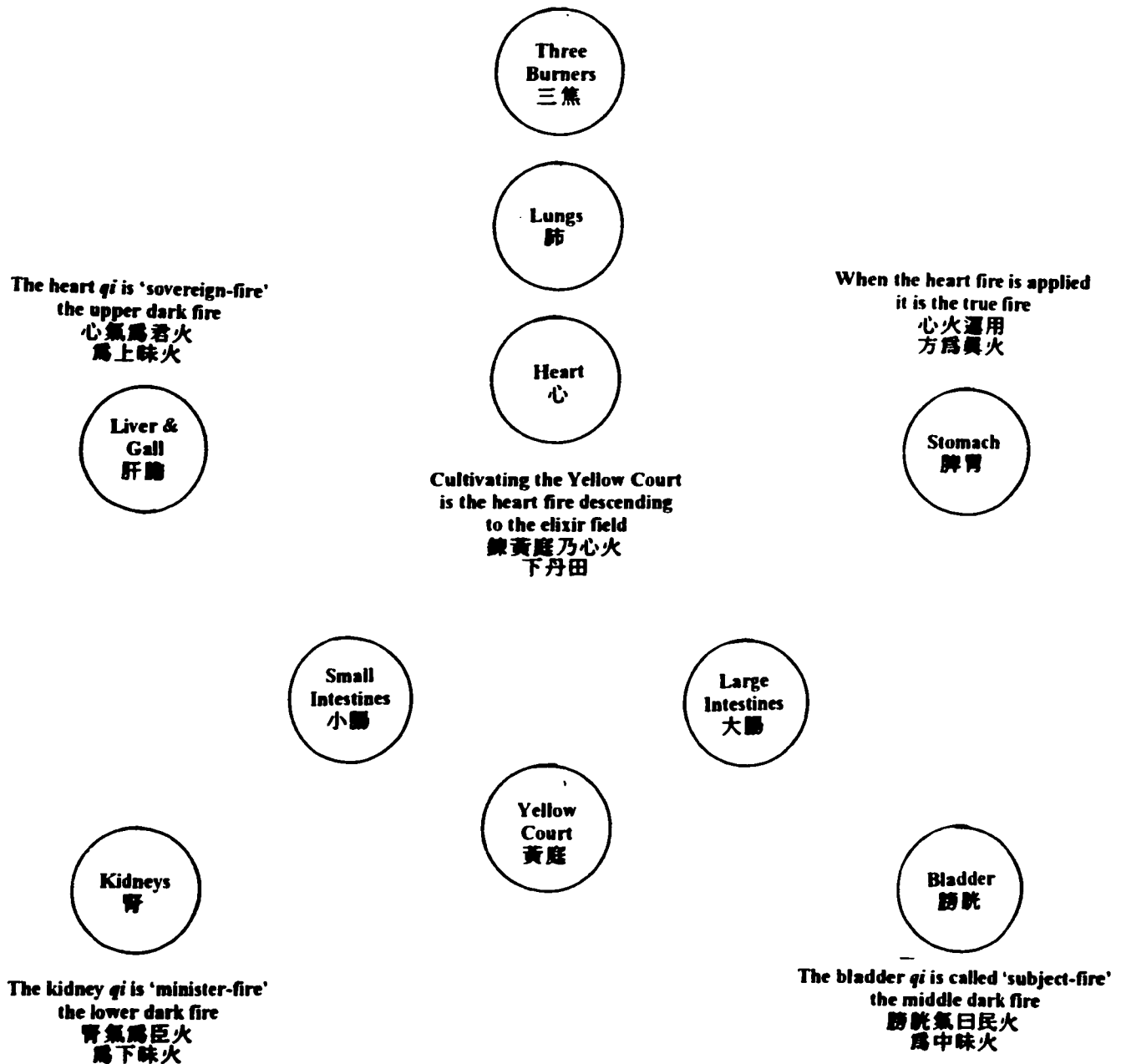


Chart 3

The Chart for 'Returning to the Three Fields' and 'Flying the Golden Essence Behind the Elbow' [三田返復肘後飛金精圖]

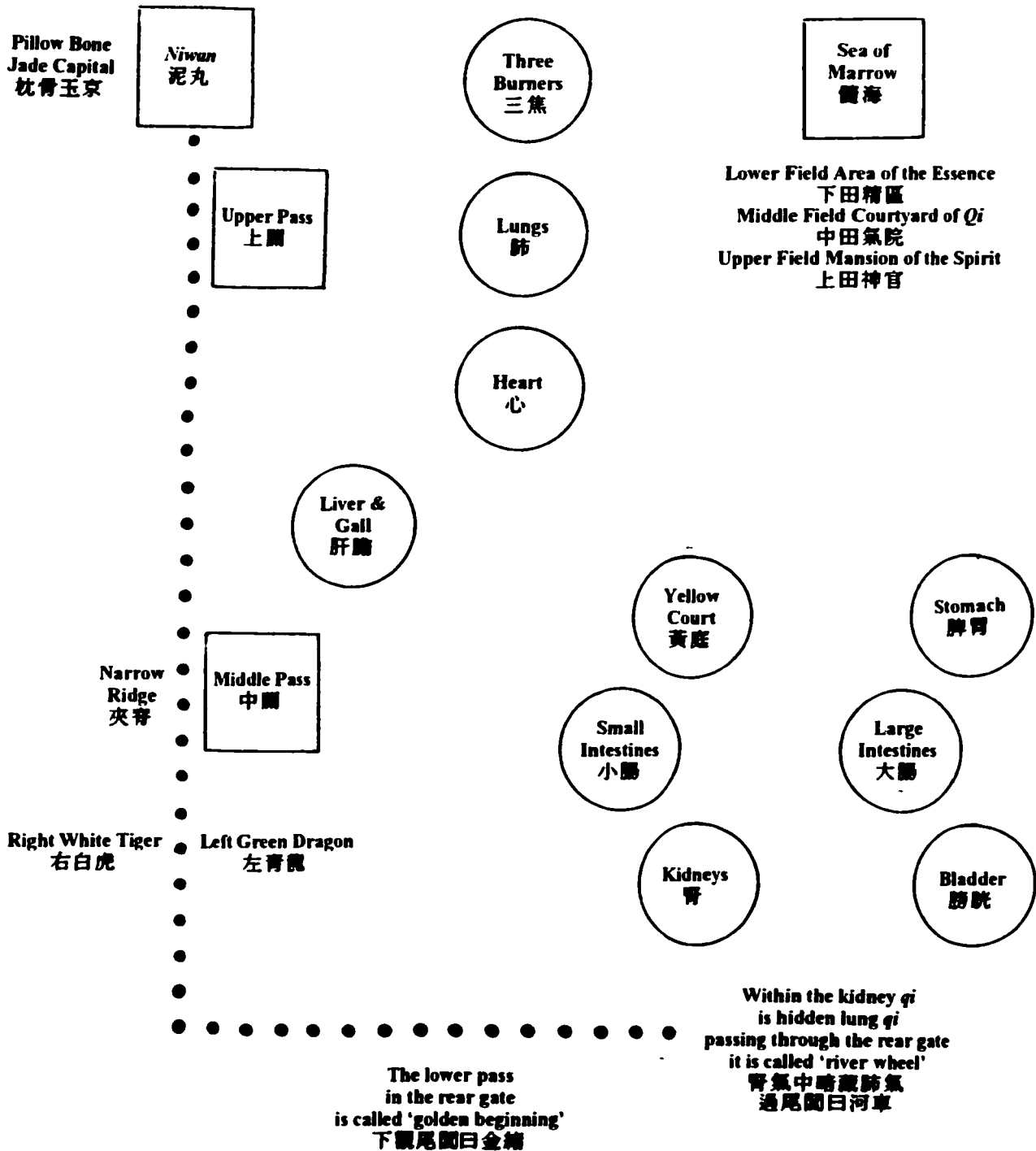


Chart 4

**The Chart for 'Returning to the Three Fields'
and 'Cycling the Golden Fluid'**

[三田返復金液還丹圖]

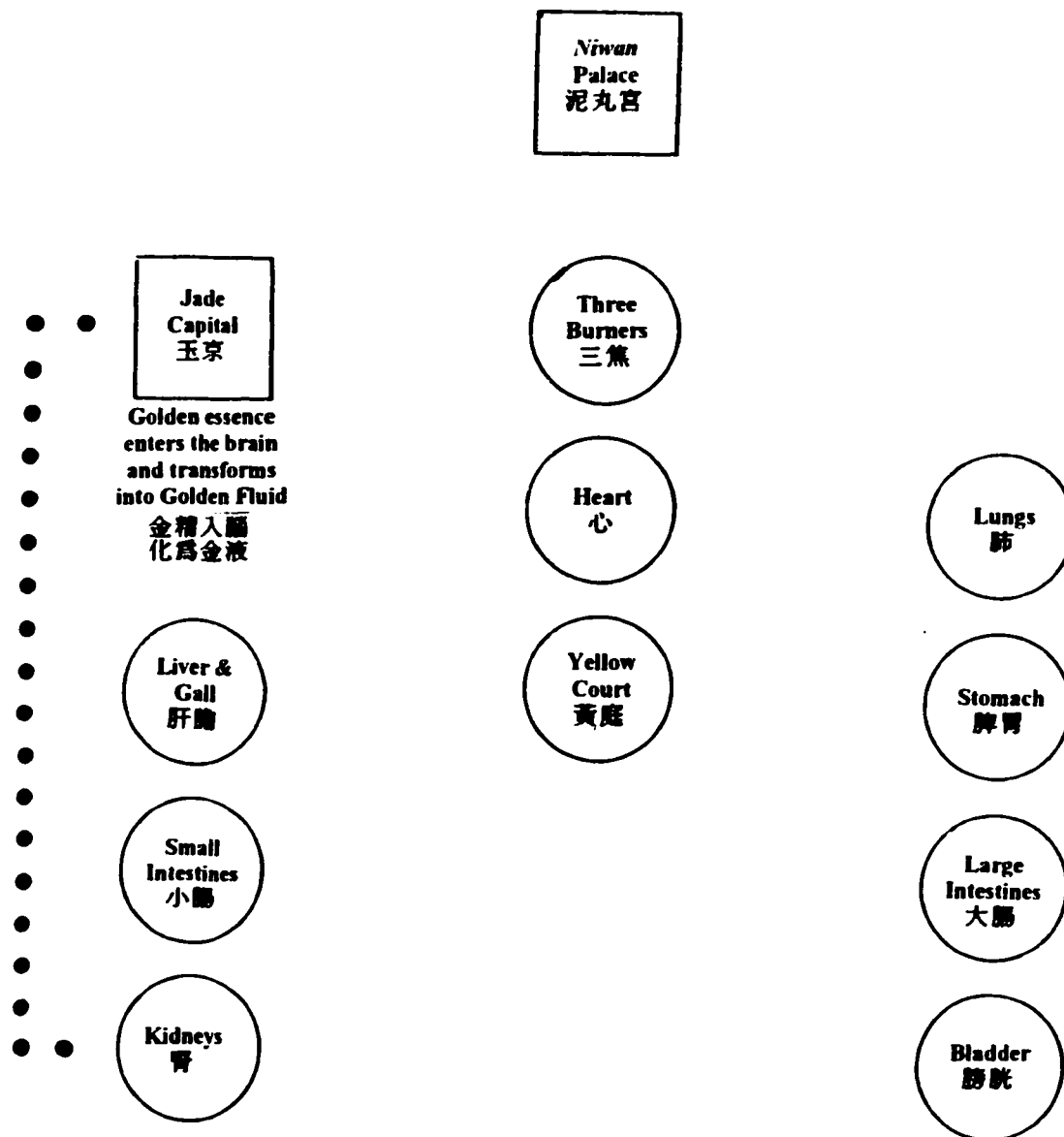


Chart 5

The Chart for the 'Five Qi Meeting the Primordial and
the 'Great Yang Cultivation of the Body'

[五氣朝元太陽鍊形圖]

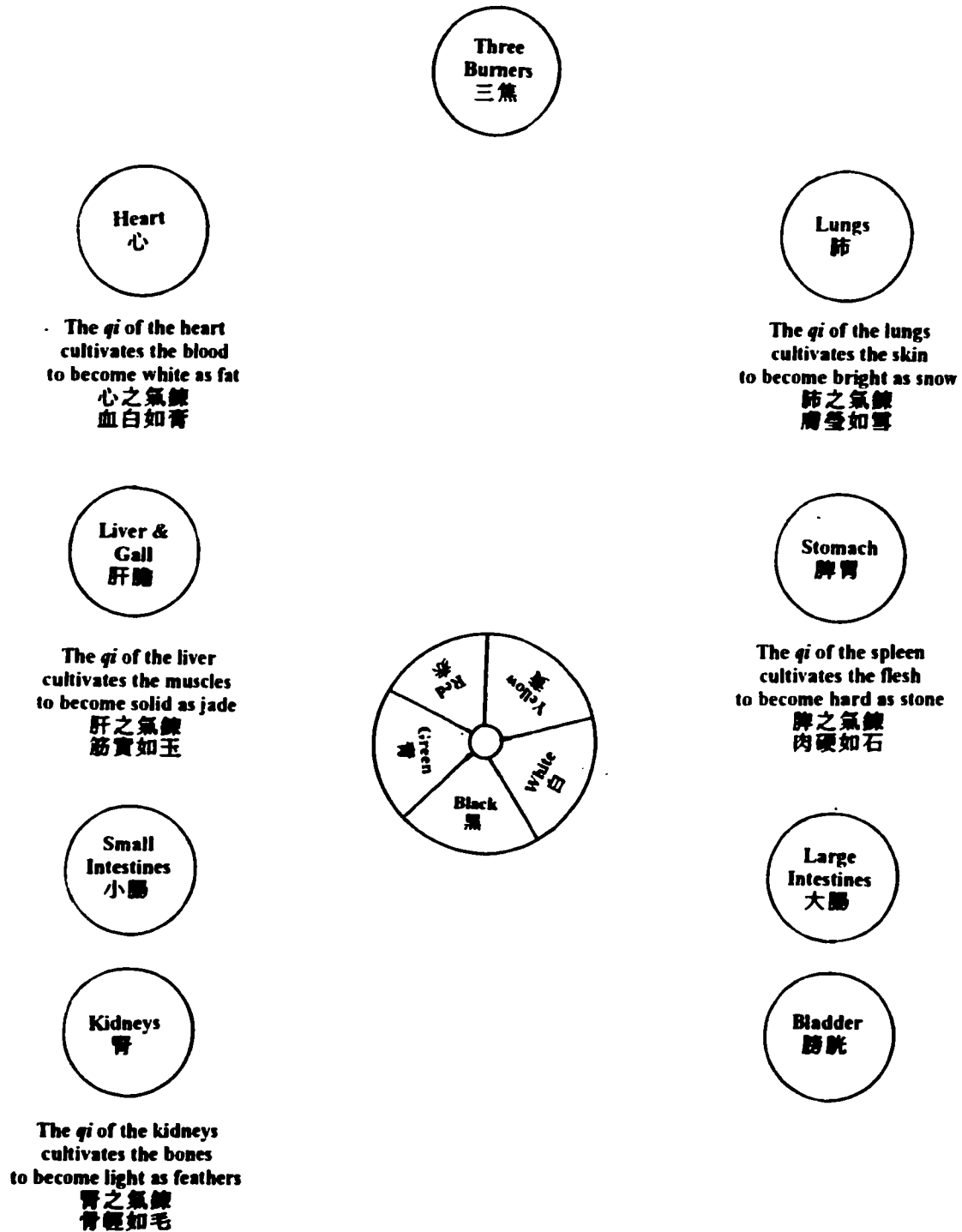


Chart 6

The Chart for 'Uniting the Spirit and Water' and 'Consummation in the Three Fields' [神水交合三田既濟圖]

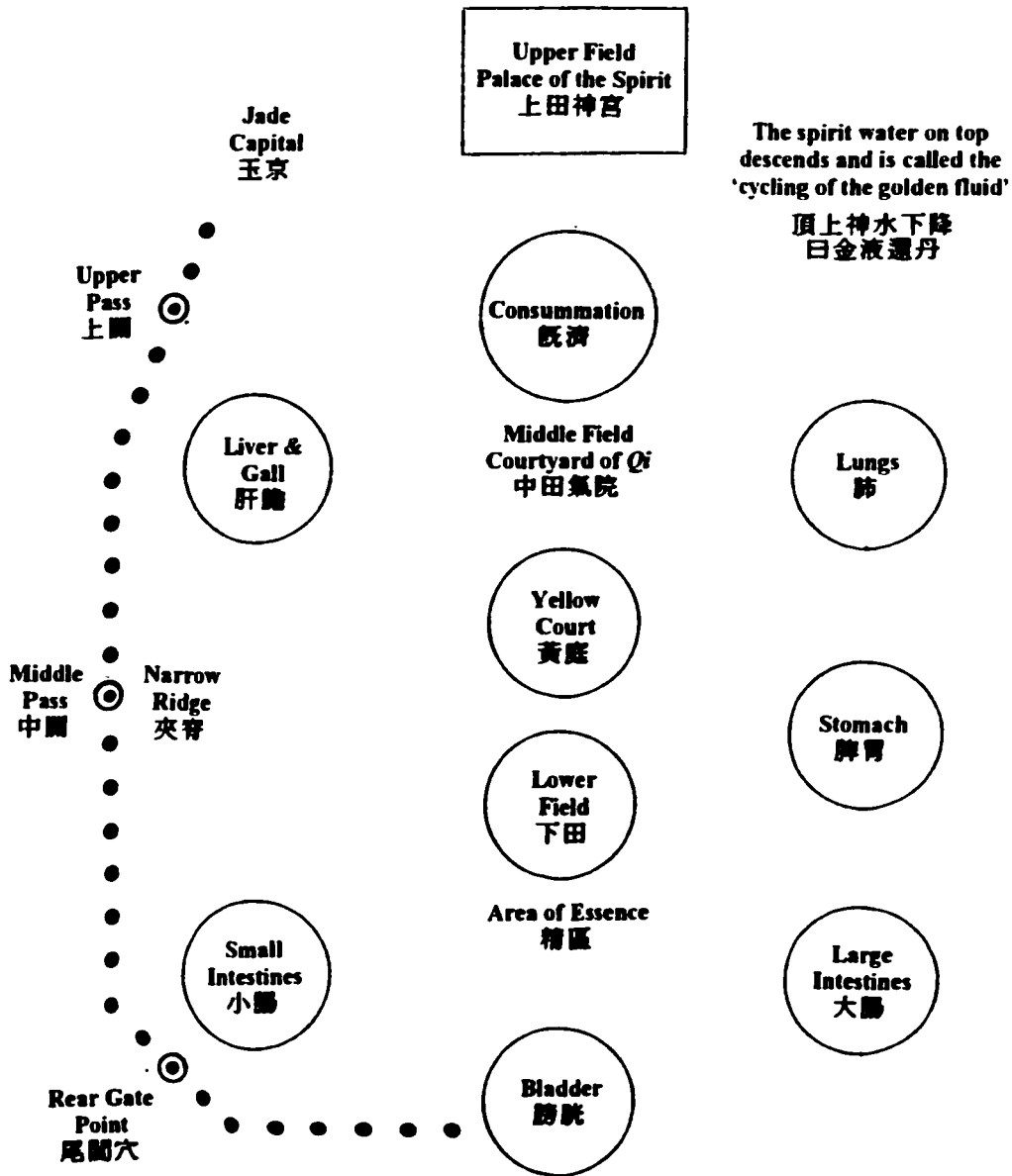
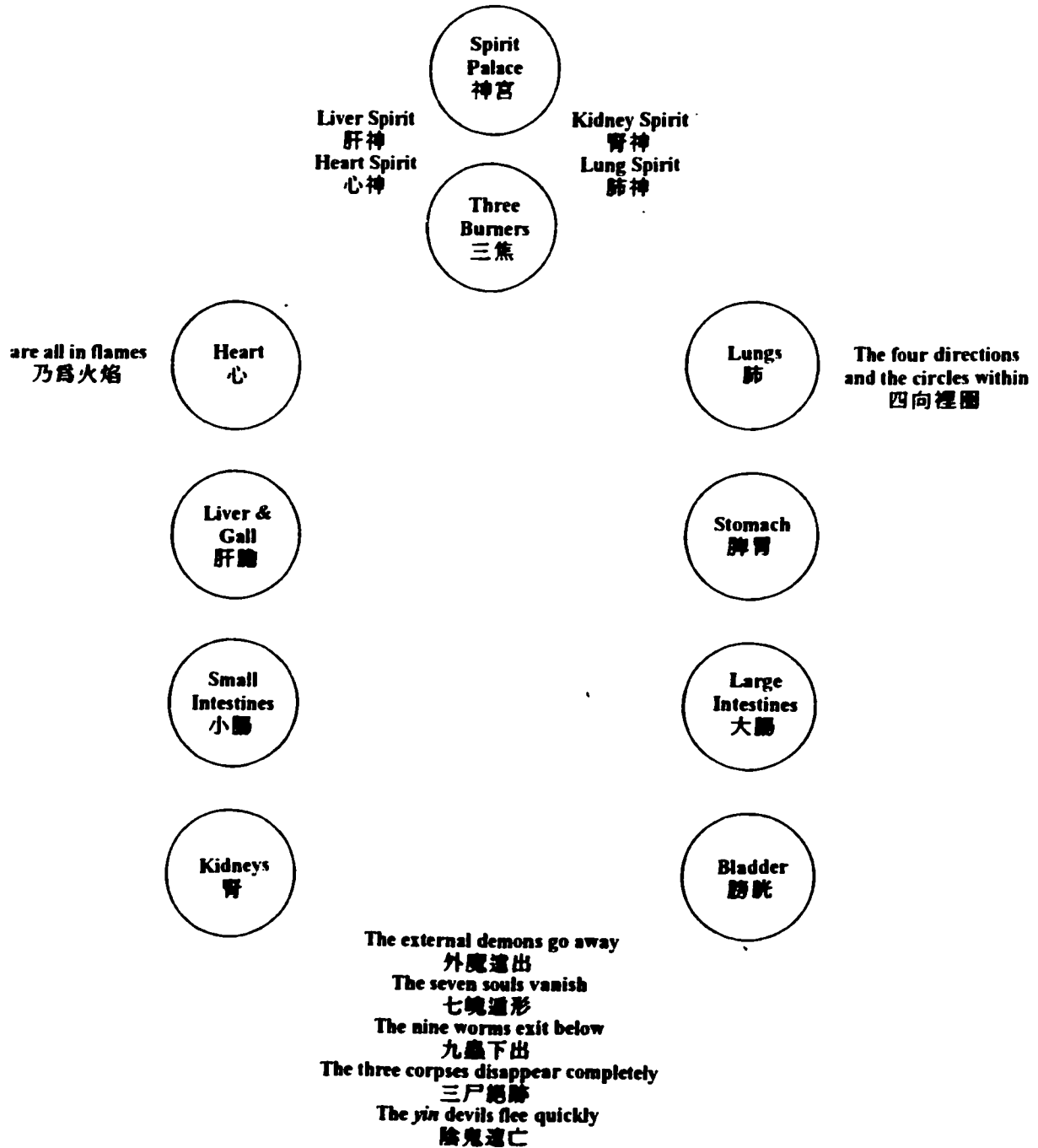


Chart 7

The Chart for 'Internal Visualization of the Starting of the Fire' and
'Cultivating the Spirit to Unite with the Dao'
[內觀起火鍊神合道圖]



I. The Formulas for 'Reversing the Five Phases'²⁵⁴ and 'Coupling the Dragon and the Tiger' [五行顛倒龍虎交媾訣]

[Chart 9]

The formula says: The dragon is the 'proper yang qi' [正陽氣] of the 'heart fluid' [心液]. Control it so that it would not rise out; if it meets the qi of the kidneys, they would naturally mix. The tiger is the 'water of the perfect one' [真一之水] in the kidney qi. Control it so that it would not descend; if it encounters the heart fluid, they would be united. [When] the dragon and the tiger copulate, a pill shaped like a 'millet grain' [黍米] is formed.²⁵⁵ This method is called *Coupling the Dragon and the Tiger* [龍虎交媾]²⁵⁶. In this, one encounters the 'elixir ingredient' [藥物]²⁵⁷.

The method for 'gathering the elixir ingredient' [採藥] consists in generating the kidney qi many times during the zi 子 hours²⁵⁸. The wu 午 hours²⁵⁹ is the time when the heart fluid descends to do its work. If there is nothing to impede [the process], it would succeed. If something [impedes it], then it would fail. [People] hardly know how to imitate the wonders of the universe [乾坤之妙]. When the kidney qi rises, it is the zi period; when the heart fluid descends, it is the wu period. Not to follow the timing is also allowed. The way to begin is to close both eyes and 'internally visualize' [內觀]²⁶⁰ the 'Middle Palace'. Stop anxieties, forget thoughts and calm the mind-heart. Fill the mouth with saliva and do not spit it out nor swallow it down. When the right moment comes, drink it in.

Regarding the *daogui* 刀圭²⁶¹ matter, there exists a different formula and [I] do not dare to write about it. Slightly contract your body and do not rise. Cross your knees and sit upright with legs crossed (sit cross-legged [跏趺]²⁶², do not sit in the usual way). With the left hand, hold the 'external kidneys' [外腎]. With the right hand, cover the 'gate of life' [生門] (the navel). Close the 'cavern door' [兌戶] (the mouth), open the 'gate of heaven' [天門] (the nose, the 'gate of the mysterious female' [玄牝之門]). Everything must be cut off. Afterwards, let the qi enter through the nose (what is drawn in is called 'inhaled' [吸], 'breath' [息], yin, water, as long as it is drawn in softly and without sound). Using the mind [意], guide [the qi] to the Middle Palace until the Rear Gate [尾

²⁵⁴ Refers to the reverse movement of the 'five phases' in the human body. Also called [wuxing cuowang 五行錯王] (Hu 1995:1245).

²⁵⁵ In internal alchemy, the 'dragon' [long 龍] represents 'mercury' [gong 汞], 'spirit' [shen 神] and 'nature' [xing 性]; the 'tiger' [hu 虎] represents 'lead' [qian 鉛], qi 炁 and 'emotions' [qing 情] (Hu 1995:1210-11).

²⁵⁶ (Hu 1995:1247).

²⁵⁷ Yao 藥 refers to the protocosmic vital element(s) of the human body. For internal alchemists, this element, called yaowu 藥物, constitutes the raw material or ingredient of elixir cultivation (Hu 1995:1202).

²⁵⁸ The period from 11pm to 1am.

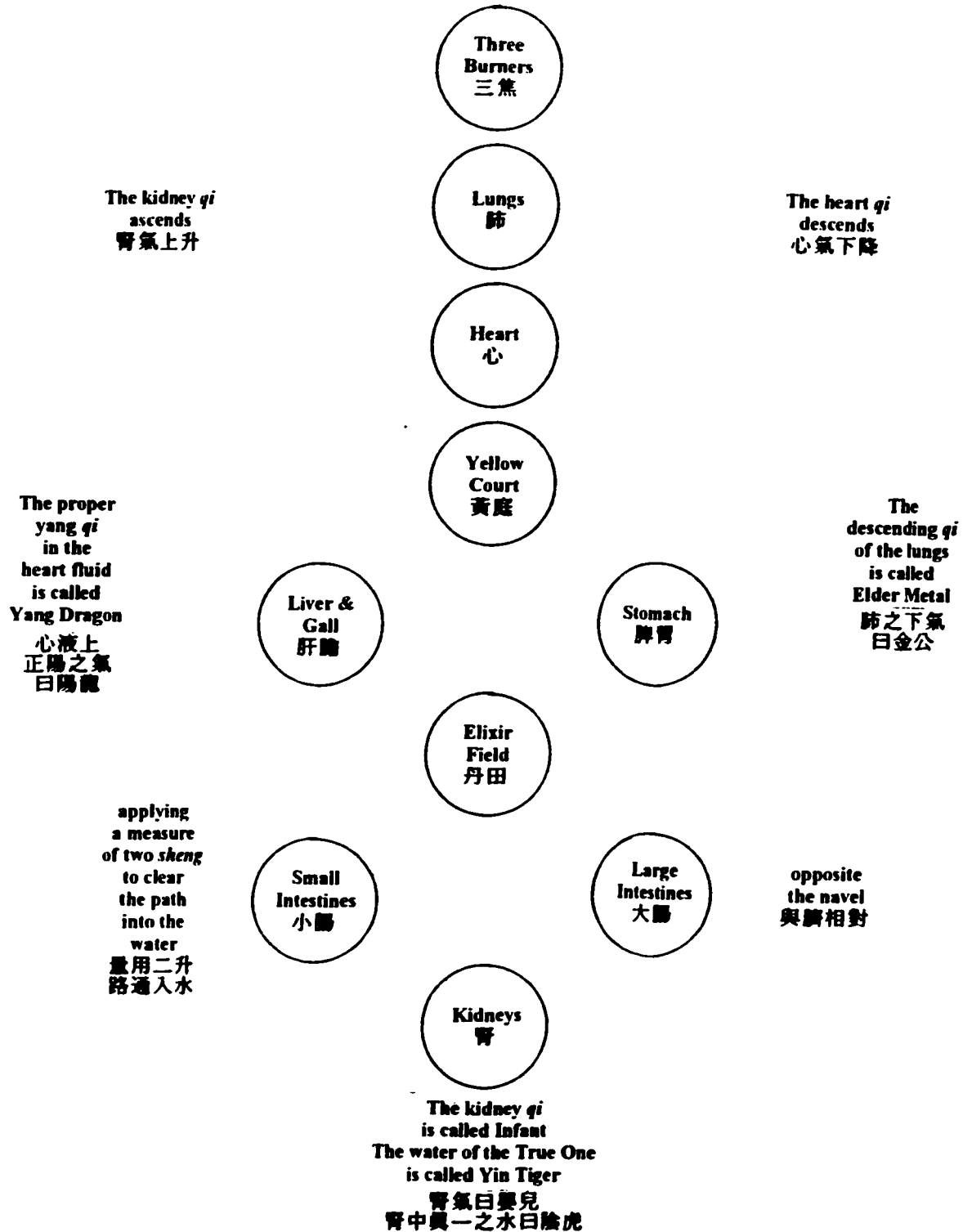
²⁵⁹ The period from 11am to 1pm.

²⁶⁰ Refers to the use of the mind or thought [yinian 意念] and insight [huiguang 慧光] to 'visualize' or 'focus on' [觀照] the 'scenes' [景象] inside the body (Hu 1995:1224).

²⁶¹ See the text's discussion below in Last Part, no. 6.

²⁶² Short for jiejia fuzuo 結跏趺坐. Originally, 跏趺 or 跏趺坐. Commonly referred to as panzuo 盤坐, it is a Buddhist meditation sitting posture whereby the two legs are crossed with the feet (one or both) placed above the thighs -- the right foot above the left thigh, the left foot above the right thigh.

Chart 9



閭] (the so-called infusing the Pond of Primordial Chaos [混沌池]²⁶³, tearing open the Opening of Great Enlightenment [鴻濛竅]). Once inhalation has reached its utmost point, let the *qi* out from the Three Passes Along the Narrow Ridge [夾脊三關]²⁶⁴ to the nose (what is let out is called 'exhaled' [呼], 'dispersed' [消], *yang* 陽, fire, done softly and without any sound). Hearing [the sound] of *qi* coming out, the mind is unable to leave the Middle Palace (the mind [意] is 'nature' [性], 'spirit' [神], 'true clod' [真土], and 'yellow woman' [黃婆]). However, the *qi* drawn in enters the Middle Palace to meet and unite with the 'primordial *yang* and perfect *qi*'. (The *Scripture* says, "receive the limitless *qi* of heaven and earth and [you would be able to] extend the limited life [given] by [your] parents. This is heaven and earth uniting their power!" Making the water *qi* and the fire *qi* move up and down toward each other (similar to the rising and the setting of heaven and earth), enticing the perfect *qi* in the kidneys ('lead', 'tiger') and the 'water fluid' [水液]²⁶⁵ in the heart ('mercury', 'dragon') to meet and copulate in the 'Middle Palace' (called the 'completion of the Five Phases' and 'union into one' [五行俱全，和會一家]), letting [the process] proceed spontaneously and smoothly. (The *Scripture* says: "*Qi* enters the navel and becomes breath [息]; the spirit penetrates *qi* and becomes an embryo. When the embryo and the breath unite, it is called the Great One Containing Perfection [太乙含真]"²⁶⁶). This is called the 'copulation of the tiger and the dragon', which is the elixir ingredient. Once the ingredient is gathered, [it is] like a woman conceiving, feeling there is something in the Middle Palace (something round and full of life). To keep the elixir ingredient from scattering, one must use the 'fire-talisman' [火符]²⁶⁷ [technique] to cook and refine it.

The practice of the above method begins with a dry sensation in the mouth/throat, which results in a feeling of a strong palpitation of the heart. Then there is the sensation of tastelessness, like a mute who is taking soup but has difficulty describing its taste. This union of *qi* is called 'copulation' [交媾]. Copulate once each day [and] gain a substance shaped like a millet grain, and send/return it to the 'Yellow Court.' Then life can naturally be prolonged. If one is to apply the 'firing process' [火候]²⁶⁸ in cultivating it, in three hundred days it will congeal and become something like a 'shooting pellet' [彈丸], bright red in color, and called the 'internal elixir' [內丹]. It is like a dragon with the pearl: when the dragon has the pearl, it can fly. When one has the 'internal elixir', he/she will be immortal!

The oral formula says:

Yin has *yang*, *yang* has *yin*,

Within *yin* and *yang*...

Learners who do not understand the mysterious [and] the profound truth,

²⁶³ = *hundun shenshi* 混沌神室?

²⁶⁴ That is, the Jade Pillow [*yuzhen* 玉枕] or the lower back of the head, the Narrow Ridge [*jiaji* 夾脊] or the spine, and the Rear Gate [*weilu* 尾閭] or the sacrum (Hu 1995:1172).

²⁶⁵ Or, 'wood fluid' [*muye* 木液]?

²⁶⁶ For *taiyi hanzhen*, see Hu 1995:1207.

²⁶⁷ That is, *yanghuoyinfu* 陽火陰符 (Hu 1995:1193; 1197-8).

²⁶⁸ *Huohou* 火候 originally refers to the degree and duration by which heat or fire is applied in smelting or operating a kiln (for drying, burning or baking something) – in other words, heating control. In internal alchemy, this process refers to breathing technique or control (for more details, see Hu 1995: 1188-1202)

Are wasting time and deceiving themselves.

II. The Meaning of the Formulae on the ‘Firing Process’ when ‘Reversing the Five Phases’ and ‘Coupling the Dragon and the Tiger’ [五行顛倒龍虎交媾火候訣義]

Huayang Shi the Perfected [華陽施真人]²⁶⁹ says: “The kidneys are of the water element. The *qi* generated from it is called the ‘perfect fire’ [真火]. Within the fire is hidden the ‘water of the perfect one’ [真一之水] which is called the ‘yin tiger’ [陰虎]. The heart is of the fire element. Within the fire is the ‘life fluid’ [生液], called the ‘perfect water’ [真水]. Hidden on the water is the proper *yang qi* [正陽之氣] which is called the ‘yang dragon’ [陽龍]. Therefore, the dragon and the tiger do not symbolize the liver and the lungs. Instead, they [represent] the ‘perfect yin’ and the ‘perfect yang’ of the heart and the kidneys. The two entities come together and become one. When practice is performed at the *zi* hours, they will naturally congeal. (It must be noted [however] that during the winter solstice, [the practice] is not done on the *zi* hours). The shape and size of a millet grain, a pill [of the elixir] can result from each day of practice. Buddhists call it *sheli* 舍利.²⁷⁰ Daoists call it the ‘mystic pearl’ [玄珠].²⁷¹ Everyday that the perfect *qi* increases by a certain length, lifespan is prolonged countless times over. In three hundred days, the *qi* congeals and the ‘elixir’ [丹] coagulates. Formed like a shooting pellet and bright red in color, it enables one to attain longevity and immortality.”

The formula says:

The technique of reversing the Five Phases,
Consists in drawing the dragon out of the fire,
When the Five Phases reverse their natural course,
The tiger is born from the water,
The *yang* dragon emerges from the *Li* 離 palace,
And the *yin* tiger being born of the *Kan* 坎 position.
When the two meet, they become the root of *Dao* ,
And every effort is being done to obtain the ‘elixir.’

The Firing Chart

When the *qi* of the heart is in motion, there is perfect fire.

[Chart 10]

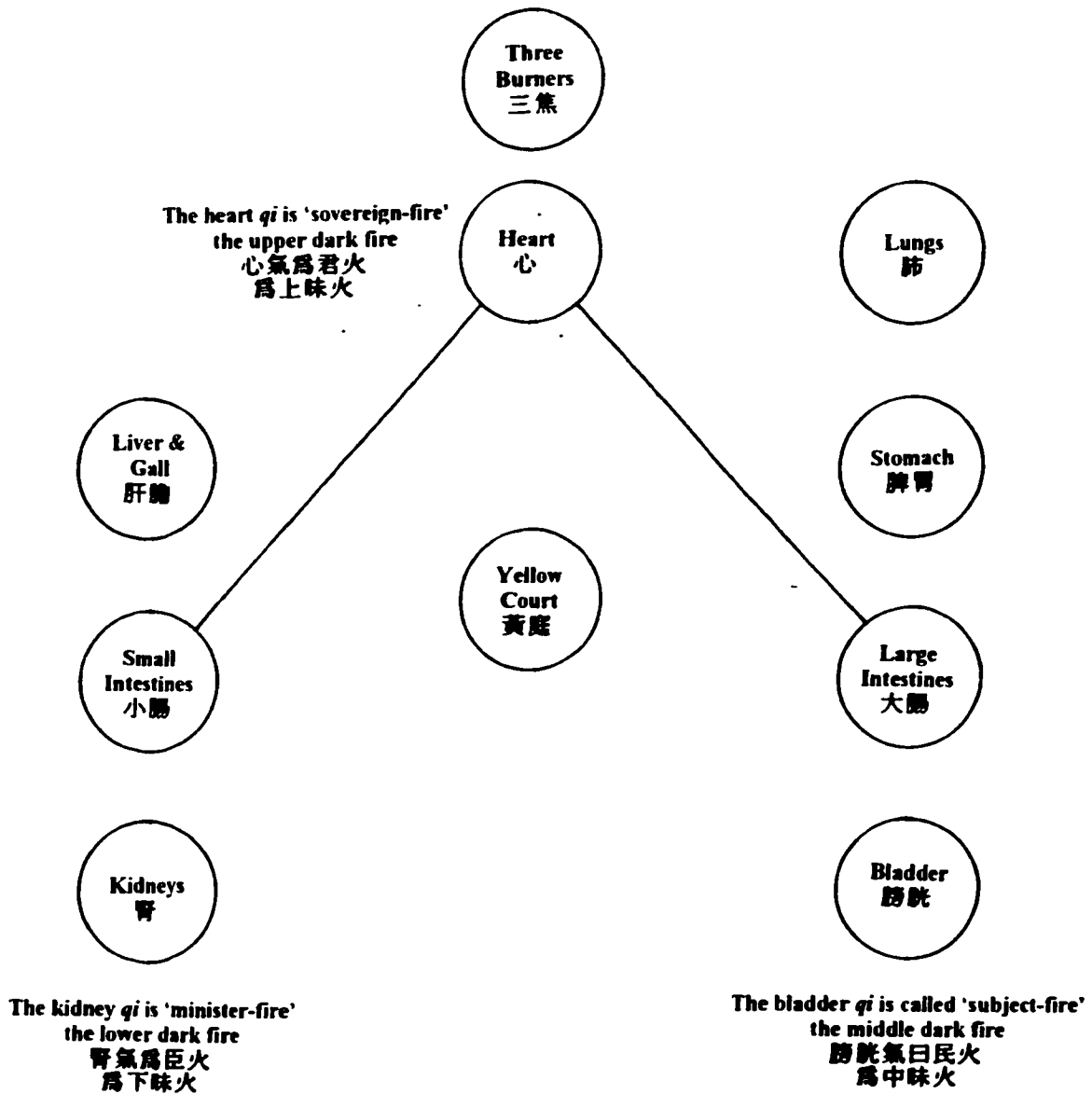
Activating the firing process: that which sets the fire is the heart, the spirit, ‘nature’ [性], the *Li* 離, the sun, and the ‘mind’ [意]. Before ‘gathering the elixir ingredient’ [採藥]

²⁶⁹ Refers to *Shi Jianwu* 施肩吾, a Daoist master from the late Tang period. Also known as Master Qizhen [Qizhenzi 栖真子] or, more popularly, Huayang the Perfected [Huayang Zhenren 華陽真人] (Hu 1995:104).

²⁷⁰ In Sanskrit, *sarira*, which refers to Buddhist relics or to post-cremation remains.

²⁷¹ The elixir that evolved from the formless *shenqi* 神氣 and congealed into something with shape and color (see Hu 1995:1151).

Chart 10



and when the two *qi* are brought up and down, how can one obtain and secure the 'elixir ingredient' [藥物] if one does not 'apply the mind to keep the Middle Palace'? The sage is hidden in the dark and, through the sun (the 'greatest *yang*' [太陽] is fire), returns to the 'tiny clod' [寸土] (Middle Palace). The *xu* 戌 hours²⁷² and the *zi* hours²⁷³ are the best times. As to the so-called 'going and coming' of spirit and nature, there is no set time, and their tendency is unknown. As soon as the two *qi* rise and descend, that is the time to intensify the work in gathering the elixir and applying the fire at the Middle Palace. (According to the *Firing Chart* [火候圖]: 'Externally, accumulate years, months, days, hours in a dwelling/the middle'. The *Scripture* says: "The handle of the dipper sets the Microcosmic Orbit [周天]²⁷⁴ in motion, and gathers when people gather." It also says: "The firing process, if applied for three thousand days, would work its wonder in one undetermined moment." That is what it means). The Middle Palace lies opposite the womb. In one sense, this refers to the birth of *yang* [here]. (The *Scripture* says: "The rounding of the moon is kept in the oral formula, the wonder of the *zi* hours lie in the transmission of the heart." The two *qi* are like the two halves of the moon. When two half moons come together, they become one full moon. When the mind [意] reaches the Middle Palace, it is the *zi* hours. When the Return Hexagram [復卦]²⁷⁵ rises up to the 'three *yang*' [三陽], the metal and the water remain at the bladder and as they reach the navel area, they become warm. This is in conformity with the Peace Hexagram [泰卦]²⁷⁶ of earth and heaven. So long as one does not cling to worldly affairs (without cares), then the dragon and the tiger will copulate, and the *yang qi* will rise, until the whole body becomes warm, thus conforming to the Heaven Hexagram [乾卦]²⁷⁷. The elixir ingredient penetrating the whole body is like the wind, rain, and waves sweeping and rolling. The elixir ingredient is cooked and transformed into the 'golden fluid' [金液], flowing down like a cold spring, and thus conforming to the Meeting Hexagram [姤卦]²⁷⁸. This is one 'microcosmic circulation' and this method is called the 'microcosmic orbit firing' [周天火候]. When practicing it: slightly contract the body, gently draw the stomach in holding the breath for several counts. Subtly and quietly move the *qi*, leading the heart *qi* down until the 'elixir field' [丹田], breathing continuously [lightly and slowly] through the nose. If it is stored and not used, only the mind is made to remain in the Middle Palace. The mind is the offspring of the spirit; the spirit is the mother of *qi*. The spirit controls *qi*. The *qi* moves from the Rear Gate Point through the Three Passes Along the Narrow Ridge, until the Windlass Point [轆轤穴],²⁷⁹ the Heaven Pass [天關] (behind the brain), entering [Mt.] Kunlun, and going down again to the 'elixir field', [thus] circulating continuously. The 'proper *qi* of the north' [北方正氣]²⁸⁰ (the kidney *qi*) is the 'river wheel' [河車], the so-called river wheel that cannot/dare not tarry, and

²⁷² The period between 5pm and 7pm.

²⁷³ The period between 11pm and 1am.

²⁷⁴ Refers to the hours, degrees, levels by which the internal elixir is cultivated, and to the paths through which the *jing*, the *qi* and the *shen* move or circulate around the body (see Hu 1995:1199).

²⁷⁵ *Yijing* Hexagram 24.

²⁷⁶ *Yijing* Hexagram 11.

²⁷⁷ *Yijing* Hexagram 1.

²⁷⁸ *Yijing* Hexagram 44.

²⁷⁹ The 'windlass pass' [luluguan 轆轤關] is also known as the 'narrow ridge pass' [jiajiguan 夾脊關] (see Hu 1995:1172).

²⁸⁰ Also known as the 'original *yang* and true *qi*' [元陽真氣].

moves into the summit of Mt. Kunlun.' The [Middle] Palace is the *ji* 機²⁸¹ (the mind [意]). When the *ji* is set off, the Heaven Pass responds. It is the so-called 'secret action of the spirit *ji*' [神機密運].

The formula says:

**When the spirit penetrates *qi*, it becomes a fetus,
When *qi* enters the navel area, it becomes breath.**

When the above is practiced according to schedule, the *qi* will gather at the navel-abdomen area and produce heat. If it is to be used to replenish *qi*, apply four *liang* 兩 of fire during the three months of spring, six *liang* during the three months of summer, eight *liang* during the three months of autumn, and two *liang* during the three months of winter. If it is to be used to refine and copulate the dragon and the tiger: apply five *liang* of fire during the first one hundred days, from the *you* 酉 hours²⁸² to the *hai* 亥 hours²⁸³; ten *liang* during the second one hundred days, from the *shen* 申 hours²⁸⁴ to the *hai* hours; fifteen *liang* during the third one hundred days, from the *wu* hours to the *hai* hours. Three hundred days of firing is sufficient to form the elixir and to generate the pure *yang qi*. In holding the breath, count prayer beads. One hundred [beads] count for one *zhu* 銖²⁸⁵, twenty-four *zhu* count for one tael [*liang*]. Count beads to measure the increase and decrease of the amount of time used [controlling the breath].

The oral formula:

**Drawing the stomach in when moving *qi* into the heart is fire,
Gather saliva while inhaling *qi*, only then will the elixir be formed.
Students who do not [seek to] succeed in attaining the 'mysterious, profound truth',
Are wasting time, spending many years in vain.**

(At the beginning, do not count. When the fire reaches the crucial point, it will be after half a year. On the first day of the first month, upon reaching the fire area, count while applying fire).

III. The Meaning of the Formulae for 'Reversing the Five Phases' and the 'Firing Process during the Microcosmic Circulation'²⁸⁶ [五行顛倒周天火候訣義]

²⁸¹ In Daoist philosophy, the term refers to the state of nothingness or nonbeing which is the primordial origin and ultimate destiny of all things that exist. For example, the *Zhuangzi*, in the chapter called "Ultimate Joy" [至樂], has the following passage: "The myriad things all come from *ji*, all return to *ji*" [萬物皆出於機]. For this and the alternative interpretation which says that *ji* 機 is really a miswriting of 幾, the *ji* found in the phrase 種有幾 at the beginning of the paragraph, see Chen 1990:463). If the term must be translated, I would prefer to use the word 'source' for it. Mair translates *ji* as 'wellsprings' (1994:173); Watson renders *ji* as 'mysterious workings' (1968:196).

²⁸² The period from 5pm to 7pm.

²⁸³ The period from 9pm to 11pm.

²⁸⁴ The period from 3pm to 5pm.

²⁸⁵ An ancient unit of weight equal to 1/48th or, according to another interpretation, 1/24th of a tael.

²⁸⁶ Also known as the 'firing process during the great microcosmic circulation' [大周天火候] (Hu 1995:1200).

Huayangshi the Perfected says: "The heart is the lord of the five *yang* and the kidneys are the lord of the five *yin*. The five *yin* rise and become water; the five *yang* descend and become fire. When using the heaven in moving the heart *qi* down to the elixir field, it is called 'applying the fire'²⁸⁷. If effecting to replenish and augment the *qi*, it must constantly be applied. In a year, one can get ten years of *qi* to make up for ten years of emptiness. If using the 'earthly window' [地戶],²⁸⁸ apply the method of copulating the dragon and the tiger. The perfect *yin* and perfect *yang* of the heart and the kidneys congeal into something the size of a 'millet grain' [黍米] and returns down to the Yellow Court. In measured degrees and amounts, firing is applied. Three hundred days is sufficient, and is called *yin*. Refining the *yang* fire internally requires a whole day."

The previous [method] does not use the dragon-tiger coupling [technique] in increasing or decreasing [the intensity] of the firing process. This is the usual easy method. If done together with the dragon-tiger coupling [technique], it is cultivating the elixir. As to the 'draw-out-and-add [technique]' [抽添]²⁸⁹, it requires five *liang* of fire. Cultivating the essence [精] into mercury requires ten *liang* and cultivating mercury into cinnabar [砂] requires fifteen *liang*. Cultivating cinnabar into elixir needs three hundred days to accomplish. If the firing is applied perfectly, the elixir will be formed and the pure *yang qi* generated. Internal cultivation of the five viscera is called 'refining *qi* into spirit' [鍊氣成神]. External cultivation of the four limbs is called 'cultivating the body in order to ingest *qi*' [鍊形服氣]. If one does not cultivate the five viscera nor cultivate the four limbs, yet is able to form the internal elixir, longevity is [still] possible. If cultivating the body, one calls it 'earthly immortality' [地仙], in which case both 'the body and the spirit attain wondrous qualities' [形神俱妙]. If cultivating *qi*, one calls it 'spiritual immortality' [神仙] and 'abandoning the bodily shell to transcend the mortal world' [棄殼超凡].

The Perfected says: When cultivating the stuff, avoid the powerful *yin* devils. When cooking the elixir, do not let the 'fire dragon'²⁹⁰ fly away. The 'beautiful woman and the talented man' [佳人才子]²⁹¹ are at the prime of their lives. When flowers fall and dusk sets, coming together becomes difficult. There is no way to avoid the master's 'bowels breaking'. When the time arrives, the '*yang* pass' must close.

(If firing is not applied or the internal organs not cultivated, it is the 'method for small attainment' [小成法], and one can happily attain long life. When the three passes at the back are open, it is called 'returning to the three fields' [三田返復]²⁹² until the Middle Palace. When

²⁸⁷ Also know as 'applying the *yang* fire' or 'adding fire' [加火] (Hu 1995:1195; 1227).

²⁸⁸ Refers to the mouth or the nose or the 'life gate' [命門] or the 'lower elixir field'? (see Hu 1995:1171).

²⁸⁹ Also known as 'drawing out lead and adding mercury' [抽鉛添汞] (Hu 1995:1229).

²⁹⁰ Refers to 'red mercury' in contrast to 'water tiger' which refers to 'black lead'. According to Yin the Perfected [Yinchenren], the 'fire dragon' or 'red mercury' is the 'perfect mercury' [真汞], which is the root [根] of the generation [發生] of all things; the 'water tiger' or 'black lead' is the 'perfect lead' [真鉛], which is the origin [本] of the generation of all things. Also, Yin says that the red or perfect mercury 'has *qi* but no substance' [有氣無質] while the black or perfect lead 'has substance but no *qi*' [有質無氣]. Lead and mercury [鉛汞之體] produce each other in an endless cycle and are considered to be the foreparents [祖宗] of all generation (see *huolong shuihu* [火龍水虎] in Hu 1995:1205).

²⁹¹ The ideal couple.

²⁹² This passage does not seem right. 'Returning to the three fields' is about the 'three fields' in front of the body, not the 'three passes' at the back (see *sanyuan yongshi* 三元用事 in Hu 1995:1241).

manipulating the Five Phases, it is called 'reversing the Five Phases.' Gradually, enter the 'intermediate attainment' [中成] and the 'way of immortality', and it is called 'earthbound immortality' [陸地神仙]. If [these techniques are] transmitted to unworthy people, the offense would affect nine degrees of the transgressor's relations. Careful! Careful!)

IV. The Chart for 'Returning to the Three Fields'²⁹³ and the 'Flying the Golden Essence Behind the Elbow'²⁹⁴ [三田返復肘後飛金精圖]

[Chart 11]

This method is called *Flying the Golden Essence Behind the Elbow*. This method is applied after the *zi* hours and before the *wu* hours. When the *qi* is generated, put on a cloak and sit upright, 'clench fists firmly' [握固]²⁹⁵ and collect the spirit. Collect [the spirit] and then move up [the *qi*]. Move [the *qi*] up and then lie on your back. Throwing out your chest and lying on your back – this is to open the 'middle pass' [中關]. Sitting upright with head raised – this is to open the 'upper pass' [上關]. Move [the *qi*] up first and then store it, bend the body and then gradually straighten up, throw your chest out and lie on your back – this is to open the 'lower pass' [下關]. Afterwards, warm *qi* gathers below the upper pass, only then can one straighten up. Once seated upright, the three passes open, replenishing the brain, turning the face rosy, strengthening the bones, whitening the skin, and lightening the body. This is called the method for 'reversing aging and regaining youth' [返老還童] and 'long life without death' [長生不死]. When the young practice this method, they will not age. When the old practice this method, they will regain their youth.

The oral formula:

The 'golden essence behind the elbow' is ordered like [bamboo] joints,
To maintain the body, one must assume a supine position to penetrate the three passes.
[For] students who understand the 'mysterious and profound truth',
Reversing aging and regaining youth would not be difficult.

V. The Meaning of the Formulae for 'Returning to the Three Fields' and 'Flying the Golden Essence Behind the Elbow' [三田返復肘後飛金精訣義]

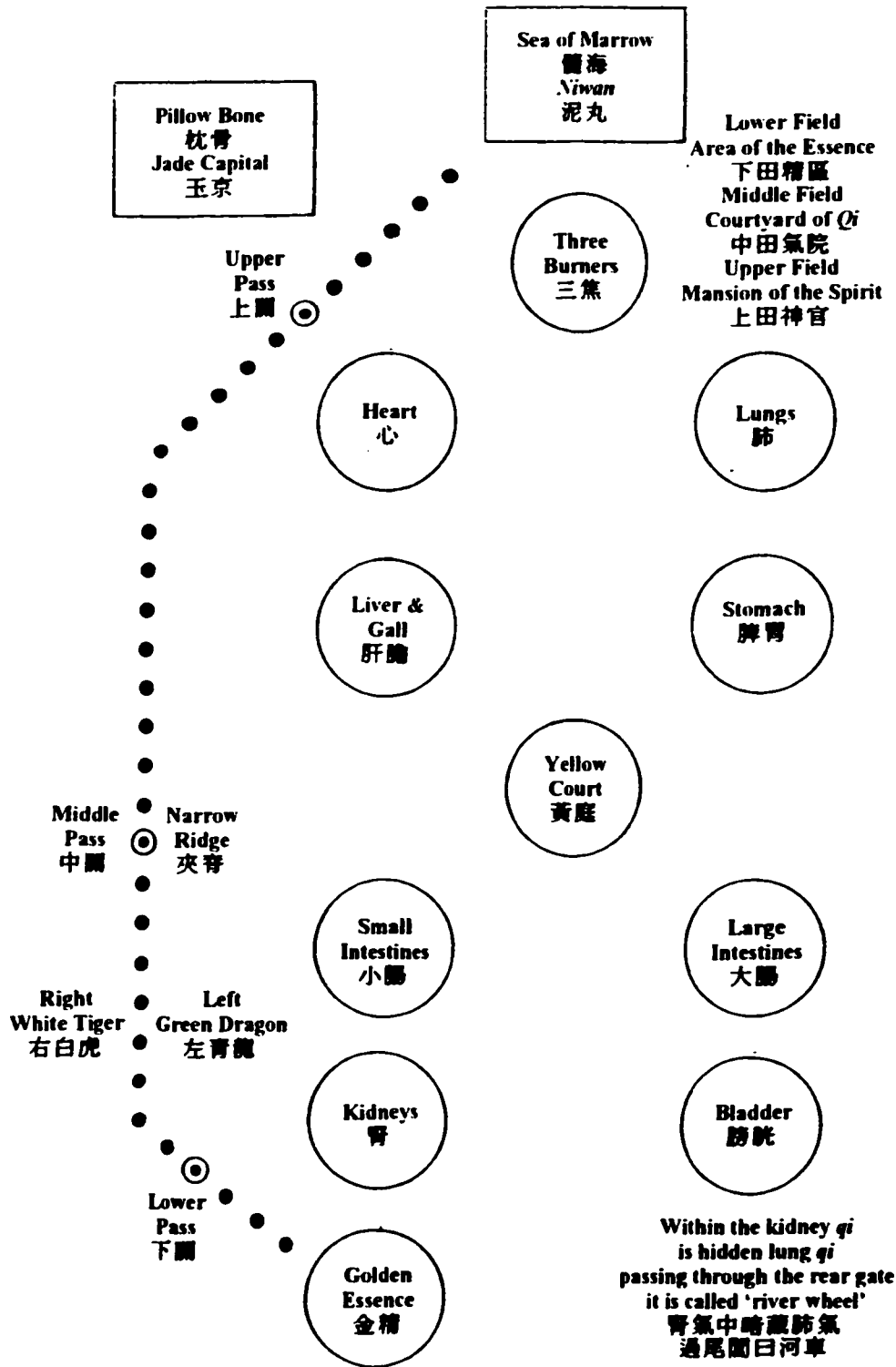
Huayangshi the Perfected says: "At the *zi* hour let the *qi* of the lung essence mix in the kidneys, called the 'golden essence.' The golden essence consists of the unseparated *qi* of the lungs and kidneys mixed together as one. As it was applied then, it begins from the Rear Gate Point Lower Pass [尾閭穴下關], moving up through the Narrow Ridge

²⁹³ Also known as the 'method of applying the three primordials' [*sanyuan yongfa* 三元用法] or the 'application of the three primordials' [*sanyuan yongshi* 三元用事]. It refers to the route of elixir cultivation involving the three elixir fields – upper, middle, and lower – in front of the body. Another elixir cultivation route involves the 'three passes' [三關] at the back of the body (Hu 1995:1240-41).

²⁹⁴ Refers to the method of gathering the '*qi* of the original *yang*' in the kidneys and 'flying' or raising it up to the head [*niwan* 泥丸].

²⁹⁵ The expression originated from the *Laozi* (chapter 55) which means to 'hold firm'. Later, the term referred to a specific hand posture adopted during practice: holding the thumb under the four fingers, or digging the thumb into the middle joint of the middle finger (see Hu 1995:983).

Chart 11



Middle Pass [夾脊中關]. From the middle pass, it proceeds to the Jade Capital Upper Pass [玉京上關]. The passes are opened in order, one at a time. Then it rushes through the three passes and enters straight to the head [泥丸]. It not only replenishes the deficiency in the brain, extends the life span, reverse aging and regain youth, but draws out the kidney *qi* and not cause harm to the Yellow Court. However, one must apply fire for refining, only then can the 'pure yang *qi*' be generated. As one gets old, the body weakens. If before, one has already applied some methods and done self-cultivation, one cannot apply this method alone to be able to reverse aging and regain youth, make the face rosy in less than one hundred days, strengthen the bones, energize the *qi*, and lighten the body. If the three procedures – copulating the dragon and the tiger, microcosmic circulation, and firing – are performed at the same time, it is called 'drawing out and adding lead and mercury' [抽添鉛汞]²⁹⁶, which is a gradual way of prolonging life.

"The draw-out-and-add method is similar to the 'firing process during the gathering of the elixir ingredient'. If disturbed by the 'yin demons' [陰魔]²⁹⁷, wayward thoughts would come, and one can lose control [of the practice]. If the kidney *qi* is allowed to flow unimpeded, downward to dissipation, it is dangerous [危險]²⁹⁸ and [one] should immediately 'draw out lead' (drawing out *qi* is called 'lead', the *qi* in the kidneys) and 'add mercury' (drawing in *qi* is called 'mercury', the *qi* in the heart). Like drawing in *qi* to the Middle Palace, keep the *qi* from getting out. Using the mind, guide it to pass through the Rear Gate Point. Stand up or lie on your back and draw out the kidney [*qi*]. From the Rear Gate let it move up through the Narrow Ridge Double Pass [夾脊雙關]²⁹⁹, all the way to the Heaven's Pass [天關] and into [Mount] Kunlun,³⁰⁰ preventing the dragon from rushing up and the tiger from going down, thus stopping wayward thoughts. If you feel that the *qi* has not passed through, lie down and draw out the *qi* again until it goes through all the way. This is called 'flying the golden essence behind the elbow'. The end. In the beginning of practice, you need lots of effort. [But] after a long time, practice becomes very easy.

The Perfected says:

The head wears a flower from the Toad Palace [蟾宮]³⁰¹,
In the morning, set out to the Peng Isles; in the evening, return home
Able to ride the 'celestial horse' [乾馬]³⁰² and the dragon in flight,

²⁹⁶ Also called 'drawing out lead and adding mercury' [抽鉛添汞], or simply 'drawing out and adding' [抽添]. See Hu 1995:1229.

²⁹⁷ Refers to strange or hallucinatory visions or experiences that appear during practice (see Hu 1995:1152).

²⁹⁸ Refers to all kinds of deviations or unexpected outcomes committed or experienced during practice (Hu 1995:1227).

²⁹⁹ Another name for Narrow Ridge Pass [夾脊關] (see Hu 1995:1165).

³⁰⁰ The head or the upper elixir field or the brain (see Hu 1995:1176).

³⁰¹ Usually refers to the moon. But in internal alchemy, it is also called [kanbei ziwei 坎北子位], the abode of the 'gold in water' [水中金] (Hu 1995:1183) or the 'silver in water' [水中銀] (Hu 1995:1207). In the human body, since water is *yin* and *qi* is *yang*, the 'gold in water' or the 'silver in water' refers to the 'true yang within the trigram Kan' [坎中真陽]. The trigram Kan is composed of one yang line and two yin lines, one above and one below the yang line.

³⁰² Refers to [xinyuan 心源] or [xiangguan 降關]; also refers to [xinshen 心神], [xinyi 心意] (Hu 1995:1181). Xinyuan, also known as xindi [心地] is said to be the abode of xinshen (Hu 1995:1166). As

Freeing the 'terrestrial ox' [坤牛] and riding the 'tiger cart' [虎車].

Again:

Below Mount Jade Capital [玉京山]³⁰³, the goat plays,
 Along the Golden Water River a sleeping stone tiger lies.
 From the lilies stirred out a pair of butterflies,
 Going around in circles, they flew to the palace of the king of Chu.

Generally, the tall is based on the short, the deep begins with the shallow. If one practices just the 'copulation of the dragon and the tiger,' he would only be replenishing the deficient and increasing *qi*, enabling the blood to circulate well and maintain a youthful face. If one practices just the firing, only the skin as well as the tendons and the bones would benefit and be strengthened. If one practices the method of 'flying the golden essence', he could reverse aging and return to youth as well as toughen the bones and lighten the body. If one can apply these three formulae, that would be most beneficial. Since after the dragon and the tiger copulate, a thing like a millet grain is produced in the Yellow Court, if one does not practice firing, it would not be formed. Its firing during the microcosmic circulation only gathers empty *qi* at the elixir field, and is unable to couple the dragon and the tiger or keep the 'mystic pearl'³⁰⁴. The two methods support each other. The second uses the 'back elbow [technique]' [肘後] to draw out the kidney *qi* and send it into the brain without completing the *yang* within the *yin*. The former harms [犯] the pure *yang* elixir. Mystery of mysteries, wonder of wonders.

In one hundred days, the mouth generates 'sweet saliva', the body radiates brightness, the bones become strong, the complexion turns reddish and the skin white, the belly becomes warm. In two hundred days, one gradually avoids meat, always smells unusual fragrances, walks as if flying, and dreams decrease. In three hundred days, one stops eating and drinking, withstands cold and heat. Saliva, sweat, snivels and tears disappear. Sickness and suffering cease. In time of stillness, one hears the sound of music from afar. While meditating in the room, one sees red lights. If you see these visions, do not be anxious. This is a 'small accomplishment' [小驗]. Practice with utmost sincerity and countless wonders would come.

VI. The Chart of the Formulae for 'Returning to the Three Fields' and 'Cycling the Golden Fluid'³⁰⁵ [三田返復金液還丹訣圖]

The lungs are called Canopies [華蓋], the throat Storied Tower [重樓], the mouth Jade Pool [玉池] or Transfer Door' [兌戶], the nose Heaven's Gate [天門] or Heaven's Column' [天柱], the area between eyebrows Jade Hall [玉堂], the forehead Heaven's

to *xinshen* or 'mind-spirit', the 'mind' is said to be the stillness of the 'spirit' and the 'spirit' is said to be the action of the 'mind' [心之動謂神，神之靜謂心] (Hu 1995:1208).

³⁰³ Refers to Mount Kunlun [崑崙], the Mud Ball Palace [泥丸宮] or the Heavenly Palace (Hu 1995:1171).

³⁰⁴ The millet-grain-like thing.

³⁰⁵ Refers to the return of the 'lung fluid' [肺液] to the elixir field in order to become internal elixir (see Hu 1995:1131).

Court [玉庭], the head Heaven's Palace', and the ears Two City Gates [雙市門]. The kidney *qi* leads to the liver *qi*, the liver *qi* to the spleen *qi*, the spleen *qi* to the lung *qi*, and the lung *qi* to the heart *qi*. This is the cycle of the Five Phases which is called the 'small return of the elixir' [小還丹]. [When from] the 'upper field' [上田] [the elixir] goes into the 'middle field' [中田], [from] the middle field into the 'lower field' [下田], then [the elixir] has 'returned to the three fields' and is called the 'great return of the elixir' [大還丹].

[Chart 12]

This method of 'Cycling the Golden Fluid' needs [to be done] in an 'upright sitting position' with both ears closed and not letting out anything through. The tongue rests against the palate, and the clear and cool saliva [in the mouth] is not to be used for rinsing the mouth but to be swallowed.

The above *Flying of the Golden Essence Behind the Elbow* consists in following the order of the opening of the passes until the three passes are penetrated and the golden essence reaches the brain, thus 'replenishing the marrow and increasing/benefiting the *qi*'. Then the complexion turns reddish, the bones strengthened, the skin tender, and the body light. When [practice proceeds] according to the hours and [right] moments, one only has to sit up straight, without having to rise up or lie down, and the 'perfect *qi*' will enter the brain. Quickly use both palms to tightly close the ears, and then the *qi* will naturally enter the brain and create the 'golden fluid'. It comes down like rain and dust. Everyday, apply one *liang* of fire. Beware of applying too much or too little fire. When there is too much fire *qi*, headache results. [Conversely], when there is too little fire, the golden essence will not [be cultivated] properly³⁰⁶. [In both cases, respectively,] one must diminish or intensify [the firing process]. If firing is done too vigorously, the whole body would heat up, [in which case,] one should not apply any more fire. Beware of the fire that could scorch and damage the head. When the temples hurt and the mouth and the tongue feel scorched, the '[elixir] ingredient' certainly has been harmed. One must decrease breathing and let the mind [意] out of the Middle Palace, allowing the fire to burn by itself, hoping that no harm was done. Do not let your mind wander out thinking of wayward thoughts. One must perform 'bathing' [沐浴]³⁰⁷, applying fire until the 'golden water' [金水]³⁰⁸ 'stops twice' [兩停]³⁰⁹. Whether it is time to fly or not to fly, to proceed or not to proceed, the most important thing is to concentrate and maintain control, not allowing any [wayward] thoughts to arise. If such thoughts arise, they are 'dust and dirt'³¹⁰. Dusty [thoughts] are *yin* [thoughts] and *yin* [thoughts] are 'demons' [魔]³¹¹. When one is entangled with demons, the three passes closes and become impassable. [These obstacles] must be removed: first, one must concentrate the mind; then, the *qi* will come together to form the 'great

³⁰⁶ Or be impure or unstable [不正].

³⁰⁷ A cooling-off practice involving purification of the heart by getting rid of anxieties and worries. Refers to the 'river cart' [河車] in motion stopping or lingering at certain places along the way during certain times in order to cool-off (for a more detailed discussion, see Hu 1995:1227-28).

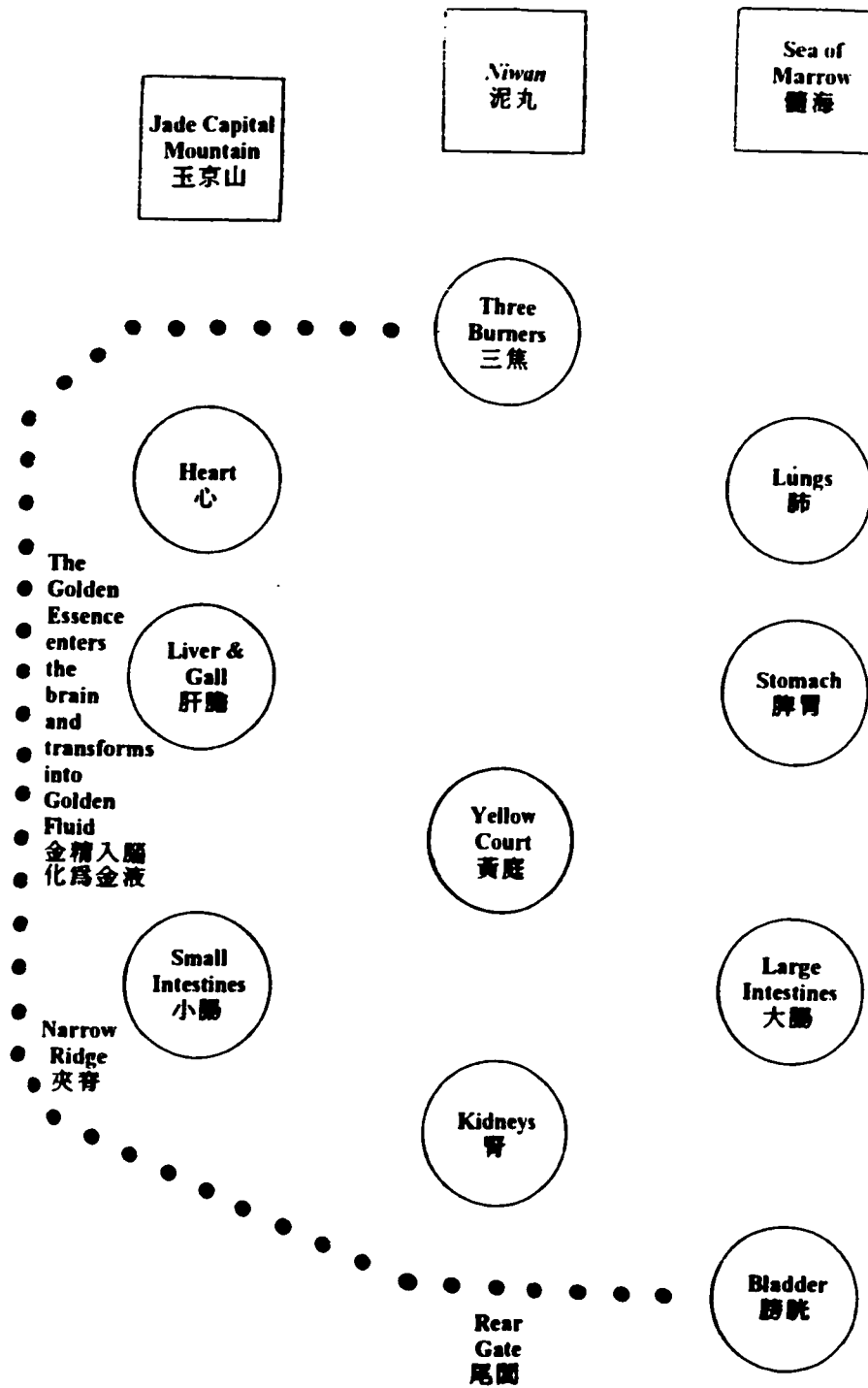
³⁰⁸ Also called 'golden crystal' [金晶] or 'golden fluid' [金液], it refers to 'lung fluid' [肺液] (Hu 1995:1217).

³⁰⁹ The meaning of 兩停 in the sentence is not clear.

³¹⁰ Dust [塵垢] is a metaphor for utter insignificance. See Zhuangzi, "Carefree Wandering" [逍遙遊], in Mair 1994:7 or Watson 1968:34

³¹¹ Refers to deviations committed or experienced during internal practice (Hu 1995:984).

Chart 12



elixir'. The Teacher says: "Wash away the dust and the dirt" [洗滌塵垢]. The Dao says: "Bathe the golden elixir" [沐浴金丹].

The *Wuzhenpian* 悟真篇 says: "At the onset of *xingde* [刑德]³¹², [use] the ingredient for assistance. This is the appropriate time to 'bathe' the golden elixir." In the second month, when the three *yin* and the three *yang* warm up, the flowers and the trees bloom [but] suddenly destroyed [later] by the cold wind and rain and thus unable to bear fruit. This is to say that 'within *de*, there is *xing*', which is like being obstructed by the '*yin* demons' during practice. In the eighth month, when the three *yin* and the three *yang* cool down, it is the time for everything to be destroyed [殺]. Then, the weather [天氣] warms up, the flowers and the trees come back to life to bloom once more. This is to say that 'within *xing*, there is *de*'; or, [in the context of internal practice], 'keeping the proper way and to stopping [deviant] thoughts,' yet achieving harmony of *yang*. 'Bathing for the purpose of preventing danger is best performed during the 'draw-out-and-add' [抽添] [phase]."

The oral formula:

As the river wheel reaches [Mount] Kunlun,
The 'two city gates'³¹³ must be firmly closed.
Sounding the drums of thunderclaps,
Quickly gather the sweet rains that shower sprinkle 'heaven and earth' [乾坤].

VII. The Meaning of the Formulae for 'Returning to the Three Fields' and 'Cycling the Golden Fluid' [三田返復金液還丹訣義]

Master Huayang [華陽子] says: "*Coupling the Dragon and the Tiger, Firing During the Microcosmic Circulation, and Flying the Golden Essence Behind the Elbow* when practiced individually are [ways] to a happy long life of three, two hundred years. This is all accomplished within the cycle of *Reversing the Five Phases* and 'produces the result of delivery' [生成傳送之功]. For a practice to be perfect, only one *qi* is gathered in and cultivated. This *Cycling of the Golden Fluid* not only replenishes the brain and the marrow, but also 'draws out lead and adds mercury', which gradually results in the regaining of youth. When the brain and the marrow become full, do something to keep them under control. Let the Spirit Water [神水] flow down from the upper palate, to cool and refresh. Do the same from the lung area down to the Yellow Court. This is called *Cycling the Golden Fluid*. It is similar to keeping the two weak *yang qi* of the elixir under control, in order to transform the cinnabar [丹砂] into gold, called the 'golden elixir'. A grain of the golden elixir is enough for one to attain longevity and live as long as heaven and earth exist. Therefore, as it is said: 'Those who are in the middle of practice should not give up on what they are doing until the golden fluid has returned to the elixir [field].' Do not use any method to obtain it; the Spirit Water will not descend [this way]. Even if one succeeds in forcing the 'water from the head' [頂水] down, it

³¹² Using the Spring and Autumn seasons as metaphors for life (birth, generation) and death (destruction), it refers to the right time for 'applying' and 'withdrawing' fire during the firing process (see Hu 1995:1197).

³¹³ The ears.

would not be sweet and refreshing. [Instead], it would weaken the brain and cause a lot of sickness, which is of no benefit to anyone.”

Manifestations During Practice [行功應驗]

At the beginning, there is the gradual feeling of something in the elixir field or the Yellow Court. Warm perfect *qi* rises up. The ears hear the sound of wind and rain. The head gradually fills with music of ‘gold-jade’ [instruments] clanging. Inside the mouth, called the ‘heavenly pool’ [天池], the golden fluid bubbles and flows like a cold spring falling, or streaming down the face, or going up the brain, or shaped like a pearly dew, or [flowing] from the roof of the mouth into the mouth, its taste sweet and refreshing. After a long time, the head is filled with the music of reed, stringed, and woodwind instruments, and with the sounds of cranes crying, apes wailing, cicadas, chime stones, and many other kinds of indescribable natural melodies. However, at the beginning, the sound of thunderclaps heard when dreaming is actually the ‘perfect *qi*’ breaking through the *yang* bone of the head in order to penetrate the ‘nine palaces’ [九宮]³¹⁴. When the spirit enters the chamber (Middle Palace) and suddenly goes up, you should be alarmed and terrified. Sometimes, during a sitting with eyes closed, a monster may appear and scare you. [However,] if you open your eyes, you will see that there is nothing. It is [only] the ‘premature *yang* spirit’ [陽神未壯], so do not be afraid. When one is attached to thoughts for a long time, the ‘powerful spirit’ [神壯] comes to naught. What one cannot see, one cannot predict. It undergoes endless transformations, but eventually, it will become known. What one sees and hears does not manifest [the true nature of things]. Let things be. If they [appear to] manifest [the true nature of things,] then they are illusions.

The Perfected says:

Good wine [瓊漿] comes down from heaven,
And wonder drugs are everlasting³¹⁵
When drinking wine, one must take a hundred cups,
Wandering east or drifting west, one follows one’s own course.
From the beginning, the Spirit Water has originated from a higher source,
And in an instant rushes out to/from the Yellow Court.

VIII. The Chart for the Formulae for the ‘Five *Qi* Meeting the Primordial’³¹⁶ and the ‘Great Yang Cultivation of the Body’ [五氣朝元太陽鍊形訣圖]

(This is about a ‘method for intermediate attainment’ [中成法] in the pursuit of immortality. This method is not to be transmitted to very close relatives [such as] father or son. If one is so rash as to leak it and let [even] foster relatives look at it, he would certainly meet terrible misfortunes. Be careful about it!).

³¹⁴ That is, the ‘nine palaces’ in the head (see Hu 1995:1159)

³¹⁵ That is, the seas would dry up first before they lose their efficacy [靈藥生成任海枯].

³¹⁶ Refers basically to the technique for transforming the *qi* in the five organs into *yang* spirit and sending it for an ‘audience’ at the Inner Courtyard, also known as Heavenly Palace or *Niwan* Palace (Hu 1995:1244; for *neiyuan* or Inner Courtyard see 1164).

[Chart 13]

This method is called the *Great Yang Cultivation of the Body*.³¹⁷ This method is applied during the 'winter solstice',³¹⁸ when the *yang qi* is generated. One can practice it during all the 'four seasons' [四時]³¹⁹. Sit up straight and be still, close your eyes and forget³²⁰ your thoughts, quietly move the *qi*, and the 'mother's *qi*' [母氣]³²¹ will follow. As your four limbs become filled with *qi*, awareness of your body disappears, and your breathing becomes soft and long, 'like having something and not making use of it fully.

The four seasons above include spare time [to practice] according to one's convenience. Raise your waist and do not move, and the 'five *qi* in the elixir' [丹中五氣] will issue forth unceasingly from within. Sit upright without leaning, and the five *qi* in the elixir will pour forth unceasingly to all directions. The true *qi* of the kidneys cultivates the bones, making the body light as a feather, able to mount the wind and ride the fog. The perfect *qi* of the liver cultivates the muscles/tendons, making them full like jade, enabling one to walk alongside a galloping horse. The perfect *qi* of the heart cultivates the blood, making it white as fat, enabling one to permanently withstand cold and heat. The perfect *qi* of the lungs cultivates the skin, making it as clean and bright like snow, enabling one to 'replace bones and change bodies' [換骨易形]. The perfect *qi* of the spleen cultivates the flesh, making it as hard as stone, enabling one to transform *qi* like gold. From the moment the elixir is formed, the five *qi* meet the 'perfect *qi*' [真氣]³²² and they gather together never to be dispersed. Then, use the former method to move the *qi* internally into the five organs and outwardly to the four limbs, [until] the 'five *qi* cultivates the body' [五氣鍊形] [into] a form that would never age and decay, called the 'wondrous body and spirit' [形神俱妙],³²³ which will last as long as heaven.

The oral formula:

When the elixir naturally meets the five *qi*,
Only then can the *qi* truly manifest the primordial spirit.
One who cultivates the body and changes bones is no ordinary man,
He is an immortal who has gone beyond the worldly realm.

IX. The Meaning of the Formulae for the 'Five *Qi* Meeting the Primordial' and the 'Great Yang Cultivation of the Body' [五氣朝元太陽鍊訣義]

³¹⁷ 'Cultivating the body' [鍊形] means cultivating the five organs and the four limbs.

³¹⁸ That is, the 'winter solstice' of the body which refers to the *wu* 午 hours (Hu 1995: 1191). Also, see the next note below.

³¹⁹ Refers to the four seasons (spring, autumn, winter, summer) of the body -- that is, the four proper hours of internal cultivation: the *zi* 子, *wu* 午, *mao* 卯 and *you* 酉 hours (see Hu 1995: 1196).

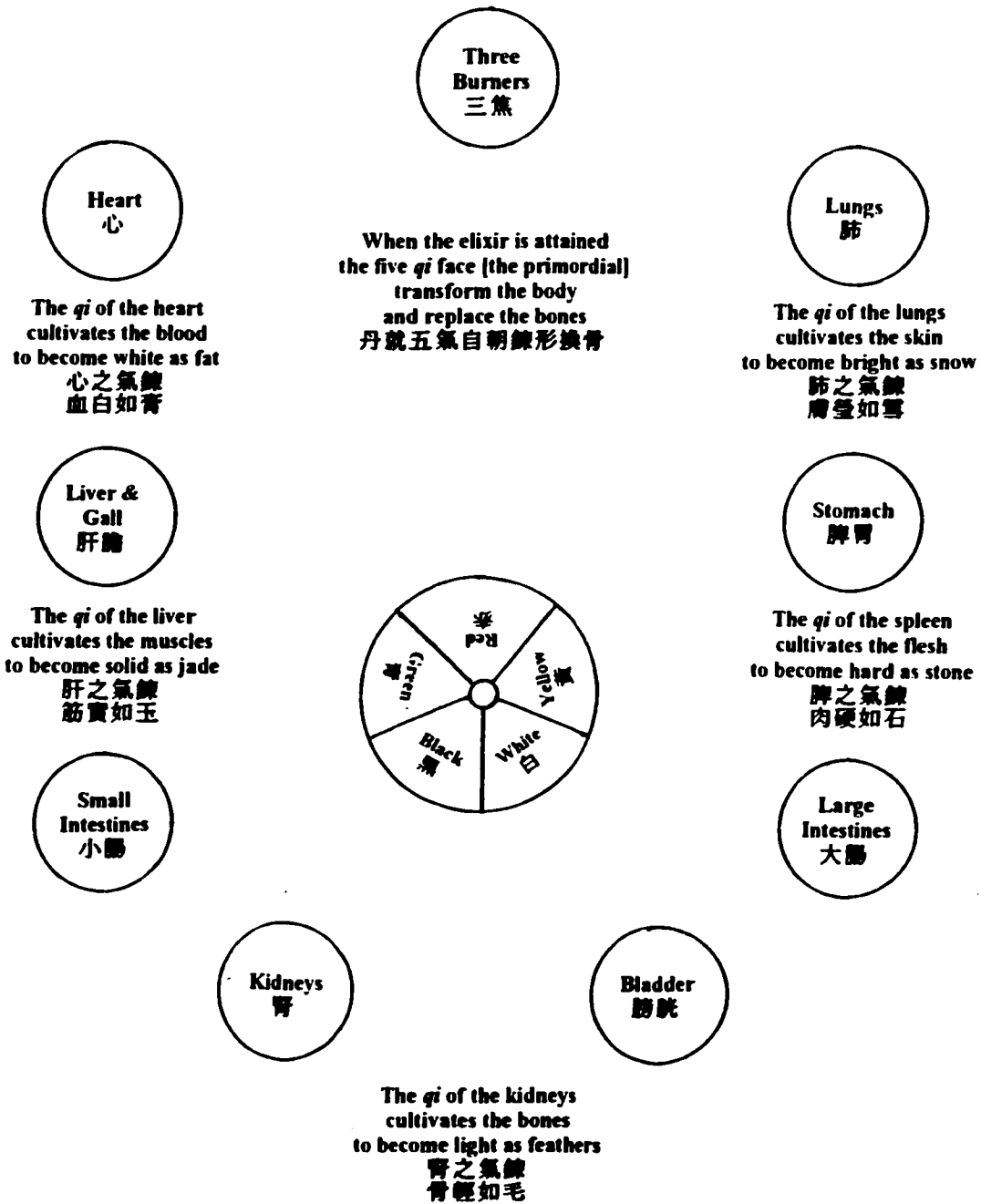
³²⁰ That is, 'to sit and forget' [坐忘], an expression first found in *Zhuangzi*, in the chapter "The Great Ancestral Teacher" [大宗師] (Chen 1990: 205; Mair 1994: 64; for a concise discussion of 'sitting and forgetting' or *zuowang*, see Robinet's preface in Kohn 1987: 11-18).

³²¹ Protocosmic *qi* (?)

³²² That is, the 'primordial *qi*'.

³²³ Refers to the completion of self-cultivation and the attainment of realization or mystic union with the Dao (Hu 1995: 1129).

Chart 13



The Perfected says: “The golden fluid returns to the elixir [field] and becomes gold. Within this, the pure *yang qi* is generated. This is to say ‘within *qi*, there is *qi*’, [indicating] attainment of ‘earthbound immortality’ [陸地神仙] which enables one to live as long as heaven and earth. Since ancient times, those who ‘ascend [the realm of] perfection’ have to re-elevate the *qi* of pure *yang* in the elixir [field] and send it into the four limbs. This is called transforming *qi* through the sun/fire cultivation of the body. The ‘wondrous body and spirit’ [come into being] by itself. By following the Five Phases, one is able to ‘change bones and appearance’ [換骨易形]³²⁴ and withstand cold and heat. What in the past was a posture of decline and decay is cultivated into one that is upright and straight. What was before a body desiccating and withering is cultivated into one that is moist and rosy fresh. How can it be just about reversing aging and regaining youth. The body becomes light and the bones strong, one is carried by the wind and is lifted up [the heavens] or rides the fog and travels [the world]. This is called ‘going south to the palace and flying to the immortal realm’ [南宮飛仙] or ‘being a flying traveler in the world’ [塵中羽客]³²⁵. Although one has not yet abandoned the body-shell and ascended the immortal realm, one can still mount [the skies] and wander freely. Among earthly immortals, he is high in rank, but among ‘spirit immortals’ [神仙], he is low in rank.³²⁶ All because of the five *qi* in the elixir field, the body is cultivated, as well as the four limbs. This work of cultivating the body is no mean feat!”

The Perfected says:

When the five horses are not disturbed, the golden water settles down,
A dragon drives the fire and flies the clouds.
One can roam the world in half a day of work,
Without straddling the wind and riding the dragon.
When the five *qi* do not stir, the elixir is attained,
Outside the one *yang* a fire lightly flies.

X. The Chart of the ‘Union of the Spirit and the *Qi*’ and the ‘Consummation [of Water and Fire] in the Three Fields’ [神氣交合三田既濟圖]

(This is [a ‘method] for intermediate attainment’ in the quest for immortality. It is about the process of the Spirit Water in the head descending and the perfect *qi* in the elixir field ascending. It is called the ‘consummation’.)³²⁷

³²⁴ See *huangu xiaorou* 換骨消肉 in Hu 1995:1257.

³²⁵ Literally, *yu* 羽 means feather or wing. Here, *yuke* 羽客, ‘winged or flying guest’, refers to immortals. Also called *yuren* 羽人 or ‘flying being’ (see Hu 1995:498).

³²⁶ In the inner chapters of the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (“On Immortals”), Gehong speaks of three ranks of immortals: the ‘heaven immortals’ [天仙] who roam and reside in the heavens; the ‘earth immortals’ [地仙] who roam and reside on earth; and the ‘liberated-from-the-corpse immortals’ [尸解仙] who left behind their bodies upon attaining immortality. For more on different kinds or ranking schemes of immortals, see Hu 1995:1434-37.

³²⁷ *Jiji* 既濟 refers to the meeting of water and fire during the alchemical process. The term was borrowed from the Book of Changes [*Yijing* 易經], in particular the sixty third hexagram which depicts the ‘water-above-the-fire’ [水在火上] position indicating the ‘fire [*li* 離] descending, water [*kan* 坎] ascending’ process (see Hu 1995:1231).

[Chart 14]

This method is called the *Consummation of Water and Fire*. This method is practiced during the 'yang hours and the middle quarters'. Sit flat and upright, break through the three passes, shut your ears, and the Spirit Water will descend. Straighten your back and draw in your stomach, breathe long, and quietly the 'heart fire' will ascend.

During the *zhengen* period [震艮之時], break through the three passes and let the 'golden essence' [金精] enter the brain and replenish it. The face becomes rosy and the skin white as fat. [Once] the back of the body [feels] light, one break through the three passes. As the golden essence enters the head, seal both ears tightly so as to prevent the kidney *qi* from flowing out, thus enabling it to enter the heavenly palace to form the golden essence. Then let it descend like dust being poured. From the upper palate, with its cool, sweet and refreshing taste, fill the mouth with the Spirit Water. If you swallow it down back to the Yellow Court, it is called 'Cycling the Golden Fluid'. When there is 'sweet and refreshing water' coming down from the palate, swallow it down with your back straight and stomach drawn in. Quietly move the heart fire and subtly guide the perfect *qi* of the elixir field to ascend. Also, exhale through the nose while at the same time 'elevating [the amount of] the perfect *qi* and distributing it fully to the four limbs. When the water above and the fire below meet under the Storied Tower³²⁸, it is called consummation.

The oral formula:

When the Spirit Water in the head reaches the 'central origin' [中源],
The perfect *qi* in the elixir ascends to the upper elixir field.
Water and fire coming together is consummation,
[The one in the yellow] court ascends to the great *luo* heaven [羅天]³²⁹.

XI. The Meaning of the Formula for the Union of Spirit and *Qi* and the 'Consummation in the Three Fields' [神氣交合三田既濟訣義]

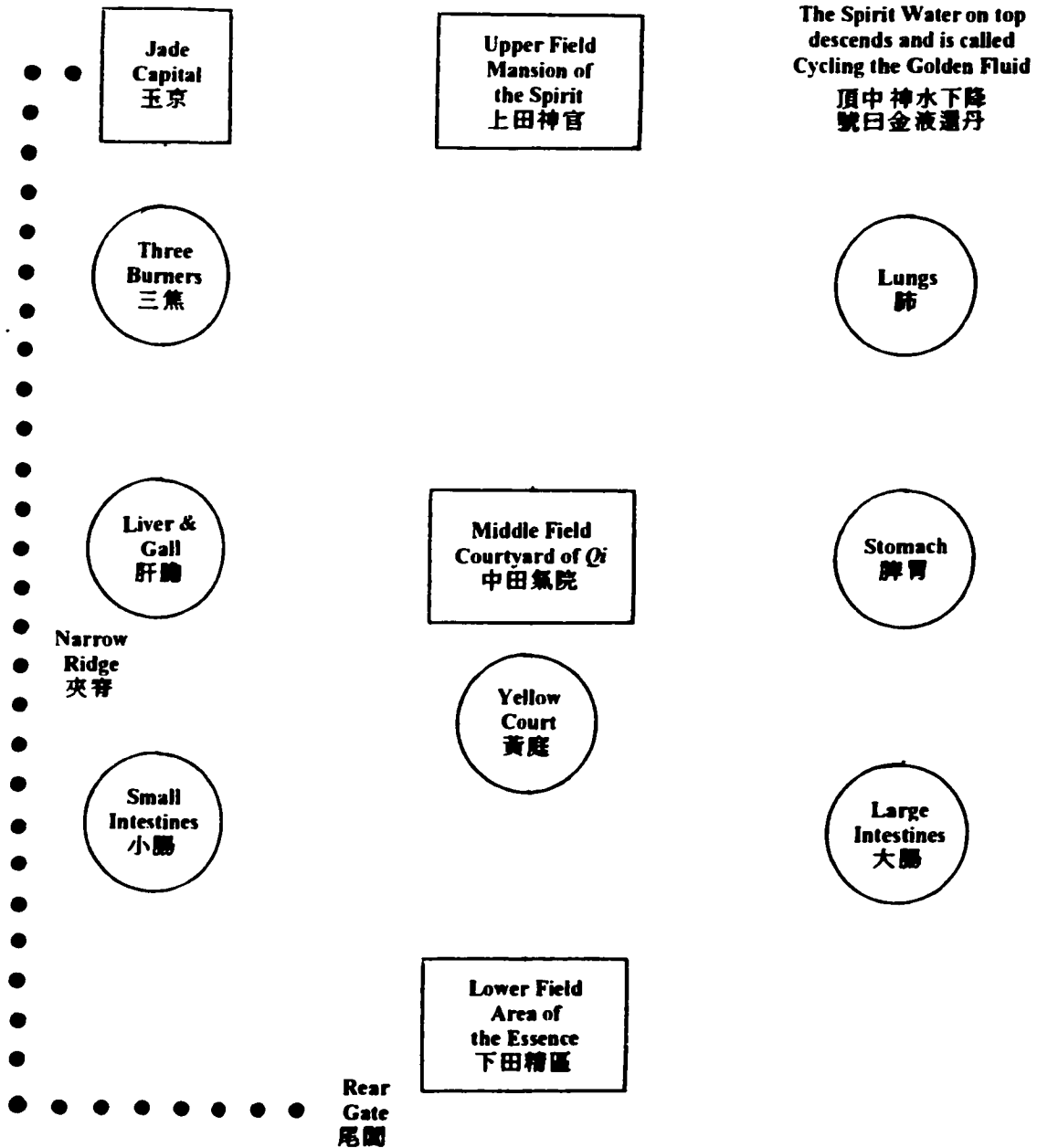
The Perfected says: "The 'consummation' of earth [土] is pottery [瓦]; pottery³³⁰ can be obtained in a thousand years. The consummation of wood is charcoal [炭]; charcoal can be obtained in a hundred years. Those who desire immortality cannot ignore the method of consummation. This is a method applied in conjunction with *Returning to the Elixir [Field] and Cultivating the Body*. *Cycling the Golden Fluid* is for turning the elixir into gold. *Great Yang Cultivation of the Body* is for transforming [the body] to become like jade. The moment when the returning elixir is not yet returned and the body longs to begin its cultivation, let the water ascend and the fire descend. The two meet under the

³²⁸ The throat.

³²⁹ According to *Wushang Miyao* 無上秘要, "above the three realms, there indistinct is the great *luo*" [三界之上，渺渺大羅] (in Hu 1995:520). In short, '*luo* heaven' refers to the highest realm in the Daoist heaven. The Daoist paradise (i.e., the realm where immortals reside) is said to be composed of twenty-eight heavens, divided into three realms [三界二十八天] (Hu 1995:490): the 'realm of desire' [*yujie* 欲界] with six heavens; the 'realm of the senses' [*sejie* 色界] with eighteen heavens; and the 'realm without senses' [*wusejie* 無色界] with four heavens (Hu 1995:491).

³³⁰ Pottery???

Chart 14



Storied Tower and is called 'the moment of consummation'. You must use the Peace Hexagram [泰卦]³³¹ of earth and heaven after the *zi* 子 hours. Each time a grain shaped like a golden millet is obtained, return it to the Yellow Court. Every grain radiates a ray of golden light. If taken out of the body, its golden light would fill a room. How can it be only about long life without death? It is about the moment to desire abandoning the shell and ascending to the immortal realm.

The Perfected says:

The 'two luminaries' [兩曜]³³² cast seven precious palaces,
 A channel wanders about and enters where the 'good wine' [瓊漿] is.
 Water and fire come to merge with each other,
 Afterwards, the hexagram changes into the 'Peace [Hexagram] of earth and heaven'.
Yin and *yang* ascends and descends, the two complementing each other,
 Water and fire 'join together' and brought down to the lower elixir field.
 When consummation proceeds perfectly, perfect *qi* abounds,
 A grain of golden elixir [is cultivated which can make one live for] thousands of years.

The methods mentioned above -- *Cycling the Golden Fluid*, *Great Yang Cultivation of the Body* and *Consummation in the Three Elixir Fields* -- are all methods for attaining deathless longevity. That is why they are called 'methods for intermediate attainment' [中成法]. One must demonstrate results with the 'methods for small attainment' [小成法] before one can proceed with these methods. Practice them without fail/mistakes and you would get quick results. If one does not practice the small attainment methods and proceeds directly to the intermediate attainment [methods] in pursuit of deathless longevity, not only would results be slow in coming, time and effort would also be wasted. One may practice *Returning the Elixir* [還丹], but the Spirit Water would not descend. One may practice *Cultivating the Body*, but the 'elixir fire' would not ascend. One may practice *Consummation*, but water and fire would not meet. Those who contradict and slander the spirit immortals by saying falsely that [the idea of] not dying is an absurdity, hardly realize that they have gone too far.

If one couples the dragon and the tiger and produces the 'essence' [精], applies sufficient firing and obtains the elixir, uses the golden essence to replenish his brain and makes it return to the elixir [field] to become golden elixir, harnesses the elixir fire to cultivate his 'perfect body' [真身], and also, at the same time, practices the method of consummation, the benefits would be enormous. If not practicing the six methods together, one should quickly 'cook the pure *yang qi* of the elixir' [煉丹純陽之氣]³³³ to cultivate *qi* into spirit; one should quickly cultivate the 'perfect potency of *qi*' to cultivate the spirit in order to achieve union with the *Dao*. This is [the time when] the *Cycling the Golden Fluid*, the *Great Yang Cultivation of the Body*, the *Consummation in the Three Fields* should not be practiced. These three formulae, from the time of the ancient perfected beings to the present, have been, through countless generations, secretly transmitted.

³³¹ *Yijing* Hexagram 11.

³³² Probably refers to the water and fire luminaries. There are altogether seven luminaries: the sun, the moon, and the five big stars/planets: metal, wood, water, fire and earth.

³³³ Alternative translation: "cooking the elixir and the *qi* of pure *yang*."

The methods for intermediate attainment consists of *Returning to the Elixir [Field]*, *Cultivating the Body*, and *Consummation*. That is because, to 'reside in this world by keeping the body' [留行住世], one cannot live a long life without the golden elixir, one cannot 'change bones' without cultivating the body, one cannot avoid death without consummation. Also, [by the fact] that there are no ugly perfected beings and there are few weak immortals; and that one can 'changes bodies' while remaining in the world; and that one's form/shape, without undergoing consummation, retains the 'mortal bones' -- the future abandonment of the shell in order to depart [from this world] and become immortal would likewise be delayed! If after *Returning to the Elixir [Field]*, *Cultivating the Body*, *Consummation*, and one hundred days of quietness, the 'four images' [四象] manifest everywhere and one can internally view the chaotic state of the five *qi*. After two hundred days, one can see the 'golden flower' [金花], the body is surrounded by a circle of light, green/blue *qi* emanates from the head, and the room is filled with purple mist. After three hundred days, the 'spirit' [神靈] knows about the past and the future, the perfect *qi* can replenish the 'external mercury' [外汞], the body becomes so light that one can walk on air and mist, and the bones become as strong and lasting as heaven and earth. If you observe these phenomena, do not be alarmed. This is [actually] a 'small achievement' [小驗]. Be resolute and sincere in practicing [these methods], and wonders one can hardly describe will come your way!

VOLUME TWO

XII. The Chart for the 'Five *Qi* Meeting the Primordial' and 'Cultivating the Spirit and Sending it to the Top' [五氣朝元鍊神入頂圖]

(A 'method of great attainment' [大成法]. If divulged to persons of low cultivation, there would be sure disaster. The best thing is to be cautious when talking.)

[Chart 15]

This method is called the 'cultivating the spirit and sending it to the top'.³³⁴ This method is practiced during the hours of *zi* 子,³³⁵ *wu* 午,³³⁶ *mao* 卯,³³⁷ and *you* 酉.³³⁸ On the *jia* 甲 and *yi* 乙 days, cultivate the liver. On the *bing* 丙 and *ding* 丁 days, cultivate the heart. On the *geng* 庚 and *xin* 辛 days, cultivate the lungs. On *ren* 壬 and *gui* 癸 days, cultivate the kidneys and the spleen. Do not store the cultivated *qi* in the four viscera. On *wu* 戊 and *ji* 己 days, do not practice. These are the days for cultivating the five viscera. On *jia* and *yi* days, practice at the *mao* hours. On *bing* and *ding* days, practice at the *wu* hours. On the *geng* and *xin* days, practice at the *you* hours. On *ren* and *gui* days, practice at the *zi* hours. These are the hours for cultivating the five viscera.

The above, following the timing and procedures previously [mentioned], must be done 'sitting quietly' [靜坐] in a quiet room. Burn a joss stick and knock your [upper and lower] teeth together twenty four times. Sit upright and 'internally view' [內觀] the viscera under cultivation. Breath [through the nose] in a 'soft, prolonged and holding-like' manner. At the utmost point of stillness, the *qi* is generated. At the utmost point of *qi*, the spirit is manifested. Like being in between dream and reality, the spirit and the *qi* secretly ascend. Do not be mistaken about the days and the hours, for the spirit follows those days. To make the perfect *qi* move and circulate according to the proper times, one must 'know the days and watch the hours' when cultivating it. In a hundred days, the *qi* attains its fullness and the spirit appears, [indicating] the imminent ascension to immortality, not merely deathless longevity.

The formula:

Follow the days and the hours without error,
At the meeting place of the 'five spirits' [五神]³³⁹ the river wheel begins.
In stillness, after the 'perfect appearance' meets the primordial,
Still one is anxious about the '*yin* demons' [陰魔] creating obstructions.

XIII. The Meaning of the Formula for the 'Five *Qi* Meeting the Primordial' and 'Cultivating the Spirit and Sending it to the Top' [五氣朝元鍊神入頂訣義]

³³⁴ Top [頂] = Heavenly Palace [天宮].

³³⁵ The period between 11pm and 1am.

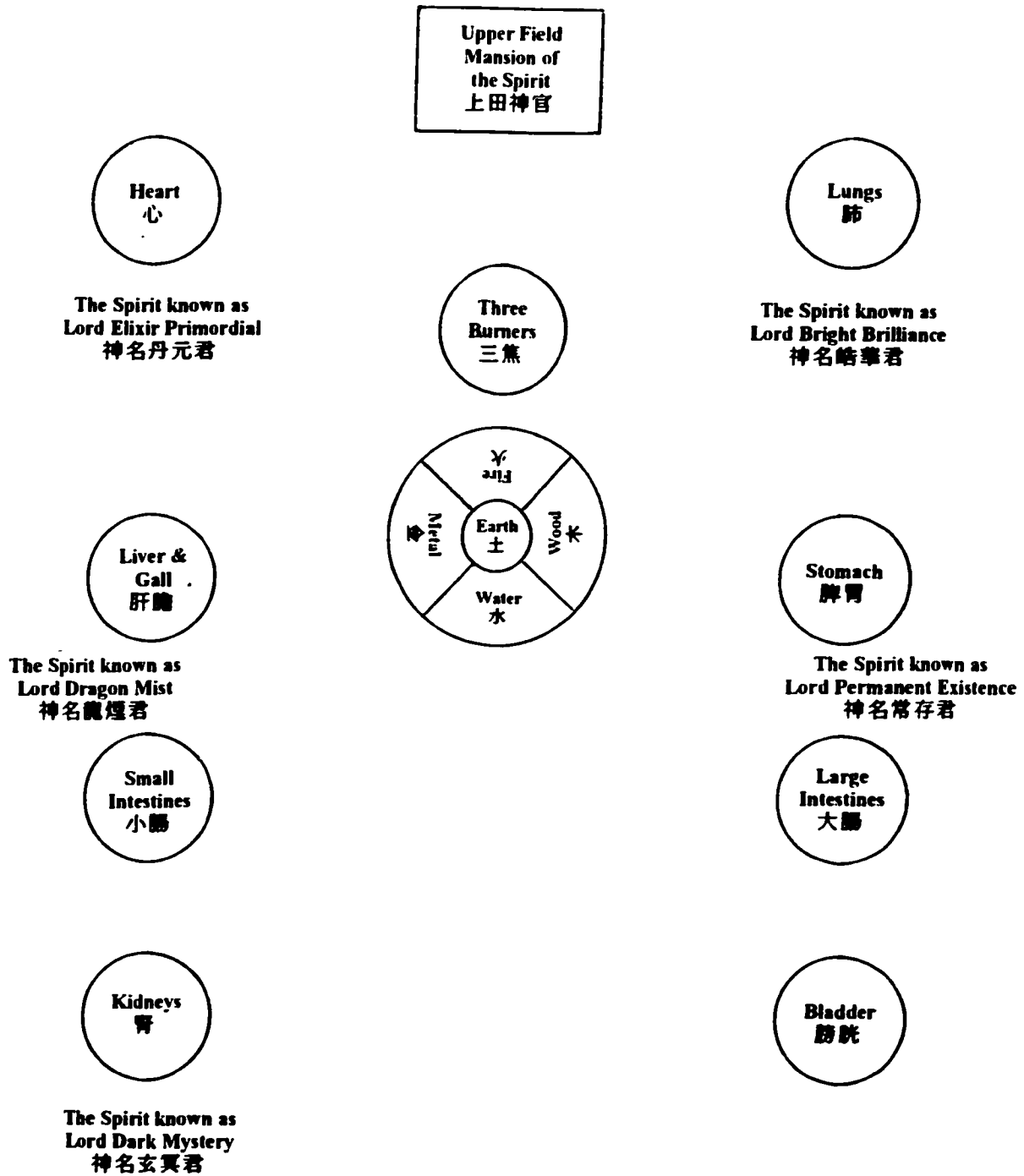
³³⁶ The period between 11am and 1pm.

³³⁷ The period between 5am and 7am.

³³⁸ The period between 5pm and 7pm.

³³⁹ Refers to the five spirits hidden one in each of the five viscera (Hu 1995:1146).

Chart 15



Huayang the Perfected says: “Using the pure *yang qi* in the elixir [field], cultivate the liver according to the prescribed days and hours. In twenty four days, green [青] *qi* appears; in twenty days the *yang* spirit manifests itself. *Qi* is the ‘body’³⁴⁰ of the spirit’ [神體] and the spirit is the ‘master of *qi*’ [氣主]. Cultivate the heart, kidneys, liver and lungs in this way. The spirit of the spleen and the *qi* of the spleen, as well as the ‘proper *qi*’ [正氣], ascend together according to the ‘four periods’ [四時]³⁴¹. In stillness, visualize the ‘inside of the pot’ [壺中], do not let images of mountains, rivers and things form, [...] ³⁴², to prevent the ‘yin devils’ [陰魔], the ‘external demons’ [外魔], the ‘seven ghosts’ [七魄],³⁴³ the ‘three corpses’ [三尸]³⁴⁴ from muddling the ‘heavenly perfection’ [天真] by confusing the *yang* spirit and thus preventing it from ascending into the heavenly palace. Originally, there is the ‘method for the internal visualization of the starting of the fire’³⁴⁵ for cultivating *qi*, enabling *qi* to gather and become spirit. Do not commit error in its timing. On their own, the *qi* materializes and the spirit appears, the perfect *qi* of the five directions each manifest their original color, the five *qi* and the *yang* spirit each manifest their true form, ascending and entering the inner court of the heavenly palace. This is the moment for the spirit to unite with the *Dao*.

If in three hundred days one applied ample fire [but] did not practice *Returning to the Elixir [Field]*, *Cultivation of the Body* and *Consummation*, and went directly to this method by letting the pure *yang qi* in the elixir [field], at the proper day/time, meet the primordial *qi* that is being conveyed around and cultivate the five viscera. This is a shortcut which is also called the ‘method of seizing and combining’ [奪功并法]. If one desires to reside in this world and live forever, one should practice *Cycling the Golden Fluid*, *Great Yang Cultivation of the Body* and *Consummation in the Three Fields*.”

The Perfected says:

The purple mist of the Three Islands [三島]³⁴⁶ envelops the phoenix colors,
The red sun in the ‘ninth heaven’ [九天]³⁴⁷ tempers the ‘dragon essence’ [龍精].

The *Middle Yellow Scripture* [中黃經]³⁴⁸ says: “The liver is generated in the east and its color is green; cultivate it and green *qi* will emanate from the body. The kidney water is

³⁴⁰ Or, substance.

³⁴¹ Refers to the ‘four seasons’ or ‘four proper periods’ [四正時] of internal cultivation: *zi* 子, *wu* 午, *mao* 卯 and *you* 酉 (Hu 1995:1196).

³⁴² The meaning of the passage here -- 兩味分胎 -- is not clear. *Fentai* 分胎, also known as *chutai* 出胎, usually refers to the birth or coming out of the ‘true infant’ [真胎] through the crown of the head after ten months of gestation (see Hu 1995:1223-24).

³⁴³ Refers to the seven ‘devils of confusion’ [濁鬼] inside the body (see Hu 1995:966).

³⁴⁴ Also known as the ‘three worms’ [三尸] or the ‘three *peng*’ [三彭]. Refers to the three bad spirits causing trouble inside the body (see Hu 1995:965-6).

³⁴⁵ See the next section (3) below.

³⁴⁶ Originally, it refers to the three islands where immortals live. Internal alchemists borrowed the term to indicate the ‘three islands’ in the body – the ‘upper island’, i.e., the nape [項] or, as another version has it, the ‘head’ [頂]; the ‘middle island’, i.e., the ‘heart’ [心]; and the ‘lower island’, i.e., the ‘kidneys’ [腎]. The *Chuandaoji*, in the discussion on ‘Water and Fire’, says that the body, in terms of the water aspect, consists of ‘four oceans’, ‘five lakes’, ‘nine rivers’, ‘three islands’, and so on (Hu 1995:1138).

³⁴⁷ That is, the highest heaven. Or, the ‘nine fields of heaven’ [天之九野] (Hu 1995:488).

³⁴⁸ Also known as *Taiqing Zhonghuang Zhenjing* 太清中黃真經 (see *Tiyao* 811; *Jieti* 1253).

from the north and its color is black; cultivate it at the proper time and black *qi* will come out. When the body is straight and full of pure *yang qi*, the spirit in the five viscera, in their original colors, ascends the heavenly palace.

XIV. The Chart for 'Internally Visualizing the Starting of the Fire' and 'Cultivating the Spirit to Unite it with the Dao'³⁴⁹ [內觀起火鍊神合道圖]

(This is a 'method for great attainment' [大成法], which is about 'transcending the mortal world to join the ranks of the sages' [超凡]. When sending the pure *yang qi* up and into the four limbs, it is called 'burning the body' [焚身]. When sent into the five viscera, it is called 'cultivating the spirit'. When sent out of the body, it is called 'taming the demons' [降魔]. When sent into the top/head, it is called 'abandoning the shell' [棄殼].)

[Chart 16]

This formula is called 'internally visualizing the starting of the fire'. [For this], there is no fixed time schedule and, everyday, there would be idle times. When thoughts arise, control them somehow. 'Sit still' [靜坐] the whole day. Know the spirit and maintain the interior. Concentrate the mind and do not let it scatter. Always sit upright and quietly visualize the five viscera. As long as one can discern the real from the unreal, do not let the *yin* demons confuse the real.

The above method of visualization consists only of sitting still in an upright position, elevating the pure *yang qi* in/from the elixir field, internally cultivating the five viscera, making the *qi* attach to the spirit, and ascending to 'enter the top'. Externally, cultivate the four limbs, 'the *qi* will burst into a golden light' emanating from the 'body of the spirit' [神體]. Not long afterwards, the spirit unites with the *Dao*, abandons the body-shell and ascend to the immortal realm. Beware of the *yin* devils, the external demons, the three corpses, the seven souls assuming unreal forms in order to muddle the 'heavenly perfection' [天真] and confuse the *yang* spirit thus preventing it from uniting with the *Dao*. Therefore, do not differentiate between day and night. Always follow the movement of *qi*. During the *mao* hours³⁵⁰, visualize the liver; the *qi* of the liver appears in green. During the *wu* hours³⁵¹, visualize the heart; the *qi* of the heart appears in red. During the *you* hours³⁵², visualize the lungs; the *qi* of the lungs appears in white. During the *zi* hours³⁵³, visualize the kidneys; the *qi* of the kidneys appear in black. The appearance of the five colors of *qi* manifests the perfect state 'inside the pot' [壺中]³⁵⁴, which is different from that of the mortal world. The impressive and dignified bearing of the horse and carriage surpasses that of the king. Do not suppress 'raising the body and starting the fire' [升身起火], and the real and the unreal will be differentiated [真假自然兩向也].³⁵⁵

The oral formula:

³⁴⁹ This practice is also mentioned in the [西山群仙會真記] and [鍾呂傳道集] (Hu 1995:1258).

³⁵⁰ The period between 5am and 7am.

³⁵¹ The period between 11am and 1pm.

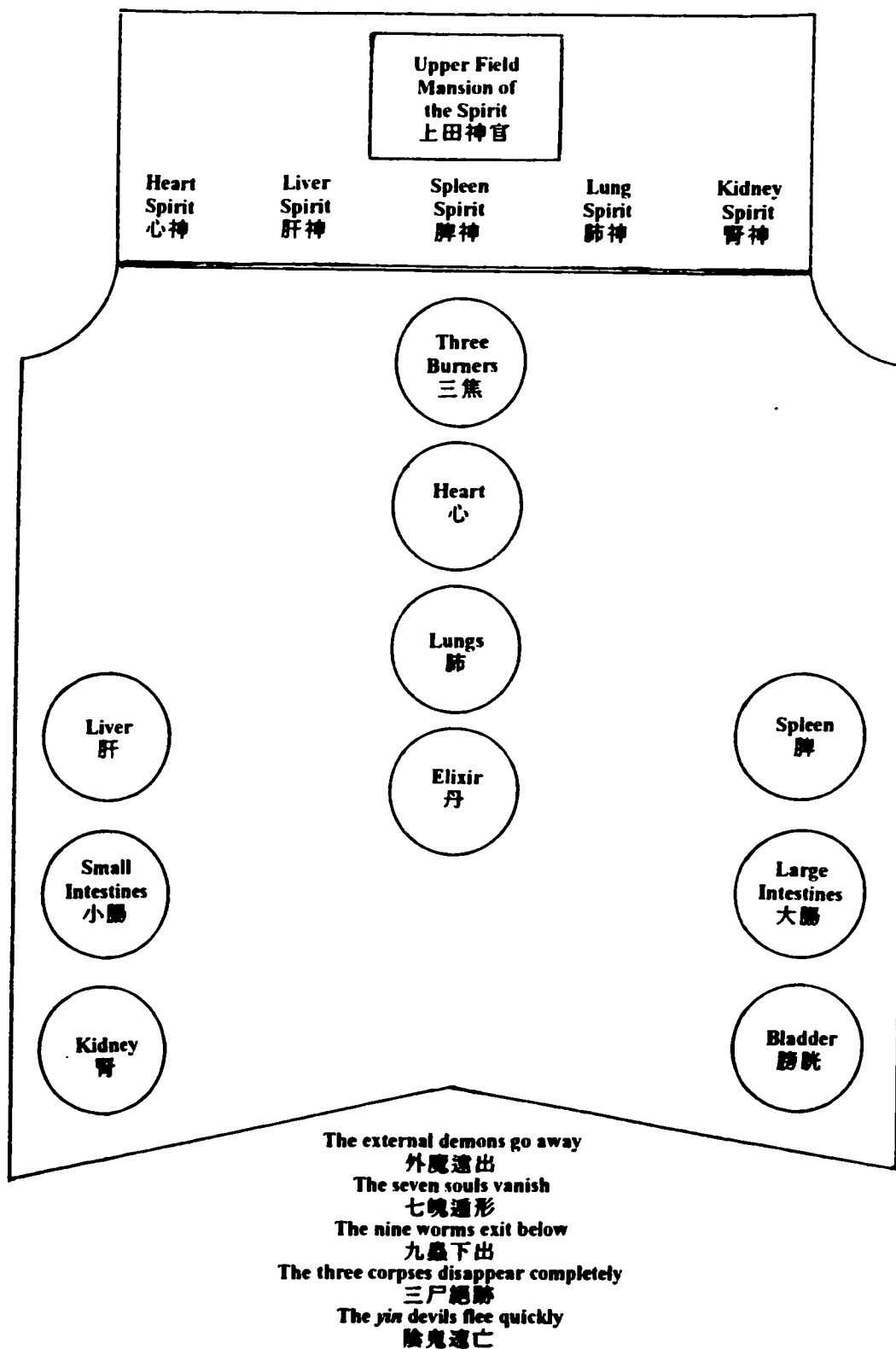
³⁵² The period between 5pm and 7pm.

³⁵³ The period between 11pm and 1am.

³⁵⁴ The trunk?.

³⁵⁵ *Liangxiang* 兩向 = literally, to go their separate ways.

Chart 16



Banners and ornaments are the same everywhere,
Internally visualize the forms and appearances that fill 'the pot inside'.
Repeatedly a glimmer of light ignites the fire that burns the body,
And the resounding music of reed instruments reaches into the upper palace.

XV. The Meaning of the Formulas for 'Internally Visualizing the Starting of the Fire' and 'Cultivating the Spirit to Unite it with the *Dao*' [內觀起火鍊神合道訣義]

The Perfected says: "Cultivating *qi* is easy, starting the fire is difficult. Quietly move the pure *yang qi* in the elixir, during the proper days and hours, in order to cultivate the five viscera. The '*qi* perfected' [氣真] will manifest itself and the 'spirit perfected' [神真] will manifest itself [as well], illuminating each other as they ascend and enter into the heavenly palace. Beware of the *yin* devils and the external demons confusing the real with the unreal. At this time, 'the *qi* follows the spirit in ascending, the spirit attaches to the *qi* as they rise', from the middle [elixir] field to the upper [elixir field]. The *yin* devils want people to age quickly and the external demons do not like people to be calm and quiet. [They] falsely generate troops and give rise to flowers afloat. They also defy the *yang* spirit and mix with it, thus resulting in confusion about what is real and what is unreal. In this muddle, it is hard to tell. With [the sound] of reed music all around, the horse and the carriage proceed. If you want to differentiate [the real from the unreal], better start the perfect fire in the elixir [field] at once. The first [step] is called 'burning the body' [焚身]. The second is called 'taming the demons' [降魔]. The third is called 'getting rid of the three corpses' [去三尸]. The fourth is called 'expelling the seven ghosts' [逐七魄]. And the fifth is called 'gathering the *yang* spirit' [集陽神]. In stillness, visualize internally and [things] will naturally become clear. Amidst the blazing fire, one sees nothing but humans and things mixed-up together. In a while, the one singing, playing music and on the rise is your own *yang* spirit; the ones weeping, wailing and departing are the *yin* devils within the body. In a moment, the fire stops and 'inside the pot' [things] quiet down – an 'indescribable achievement'. Be sure to guard against the return of the 'ten demons' [十魔],³⁵⁶ the '*yin* devils' and the 'external demons' which would create all sorts of mischief in order to confuse the true spirit. During visualization, one should be able to recognize them.

The Ten Demon Lords [十魔君]

Whether it is hearing music from reed instruments or seeing fragrant flowers, tasting sweet tastes or smelling unusual scents, thoughts and feelings are at ease or happy and in good spirits. If you encounter them, you must not entertain them [如見不得認]. They are the 'demon of the six desires' [六欲魔]. This is the first.

Whether it is a ripple caused by a gentle breeze or the comfort brought by the warm sunlight, a sudden peal of thunder and heavy rains or a thunderbolt and a flash of

³⁵⁶ Refers to certain deviant [*rumo* 入魔] illusory experiences resulting from improper execution or insufficient mastery of internal cultivation techniques. Different scriptures give different names to these 'ten demons' (Hu 1995:1135-6).

lightning, resonant sounds of music and singing or of weeping and sorrow. If you encounter them, you must not entertain them. They are the 'demon of the seven emotions' [七情魔]. This is the second.

Whether it is a magnificent jade palace or an orchid tent, curtains of pearls or screens of jade, tall houses with sculptured walls, jeweled treasures found everywhere or gold and jade on everything. If you encounter them, you must not entertain them. They are the 'demon of wealth' [富魔]. This is the third.

Whether it is being sent out as general or appointed as minister, exercising authority that can be felt everywhere, impressive chariots or striking vestments, embassy banners and pennants, the whole family being of the 'green and purple'³⁵⁷ rank, their audience boots and tablets would fill a bed. If you encounter them, you must not entertain them. They are the 'demon of nobility' [貴魔]. This is the fourth.

Whether it is children being afflicted by illness, parents passing away, brothers separating from each other, being apart from wife and children, kindred facing adversities, the clan suffering from calamities. If you encounter them, you must not entertain them. They are the 'demon of gratitude and love' [恩愛魔]. This is the fifth.

Whether it is losing one's life in a burning/boiling cauldron³⁵⁸ or from falling off a high mountain, being punished and killed or getting poisoned to death, facing evils that are difficult to avoid or being chased and wounded by violent beasts. If you encounter them, you must not entertain them. They are the 'demon of personal adversity' [災難魔]. This is the sixth.

Whether it is a legion of troops and horses massing, with arms and swords gleaming like frost, axes and spears raised, bows and crossbows drawn, itching to maim and destroy, their courage and swiftness difficult to match. If you encounter them, you must not entertain them. They are the 'demon of violence/war' [刀兵魔]. This is the seventh.

Whether it is the 'Three Pure Ones' [三清]³⁵⁹ or the 'Jade Emperor' [玉皇]³⁶⁰, the [十地當陽]³⁶¹, the 'four sages' [四聖] and the 'nine luminaries' [九曜]³⁶², the 'five

³⁵⁷ That is, *qingzi* 青紫, the colors associated with the highest noble and official ranks in ancient China. The colors refer to those of the ribbons attached to the official seals (purple for dukes and marquises; green for the nine ranks of ministers).

³⁵⁸ That is, *huohuo* which most probably refers to *huopeng*, an ancient form of capital punishment involving the cooking of the condemned person to death in a cauldron.

³⁵⁹ The three Heavenly Worthies [天尊]: the Primordial Original Heavenly Worthy [元始天尊], the Numinous Treasure Heavenly Worthy [靈寶天尊] and the Way and its Power Heavenly Worthy [道德天尊] (see Hu 1995:1446-7; Schipper 1993:118f).

³⁶⁰ Also known as the Great Jade Emperor [玉皇大帝] (see Hu 1995:1464-5).

³⁶¹ 十地當陽 = the ten kings of hell?

³⁶² Also known as the 'nine stars' [九星] which is derived from the nine stars of the Northern Dipper (cf. Hu 1995:866-8).

emperors' [五帝]³⁶³ and the 'three officials' [三官]³⁶⁴, with banners and emblems majestically arrayed, flying back and forth [in the air]. If you encounter them, you must not entertain them. They are the 'demon of sagacity and virtue' [聖賢魔]. This is the eighth.

Whether it is fair maidens or handsome women arrayed in rows, with music and songs filling the air, dancing face to face in their colorful costumes, pairs and pairs of red sleeved [hands] competing to offer gold and wine. If you encounter them, you must not entertain them. They are the 'demon of tavern pleasure' [妓樂魔]. This is the ninth.

Whether it is a bevy of beauties with charming looks and rich adornments, entertaining in a porch through the night with their bodies scantily clad, leaning close to you and trembling seductively, vying to couple with you. If you encounter them, you must not entertain them. They are the 'demon of female charm' [女色魔]. This is the tenth.

Generally, those who strive to purify and empty themselves into stillness, after enjoying a long time of solitude and simplicity, and suddenly encountering bustling activity and extravagance, are prone to think that the 'state of perfection' [真境]³⁶⁵ follows the same pattern: not leaving the mortal body. This means being trapped in the 'dark thoroughfare' [昏衢] and becoming only an earthbound immortal, unable to 'transcend the mortal world and ascend to the realm of the sages' [超凡入聖]. Such beings can be seen today. If you do not give in to the 'external realm' [外境], you would be able to get into the Dao and achieve success. To students doing internal visualization, do not use the 'pure yang qi' in the elixir [field] to cultivate the five viscera. The 'the true spirit of the five qi' [五氣真神] manifest as 'the five colors and the ten [...]' [五色十中]. Reed instruments play and arrays of banners are hoisted together. At that moment, the 'yin devils' and 'external demons' assume the form of the heart to create distractions and penetrate the 'heavenly palace'. Quickly 'raise the body and start the fire' and the troops will disperse, weeping sounds everywhere as they scatter away. Songs and music begin to fill the air, sometimes faint, sometimes loud. After a little while, the fire stops, and amidst a cool quietness and the beauty of mountains and rivers, one internally visualizes

³⁶³ Also known originally as the 'five emperors of the five directions' [五方五帝]: the 'Green Emperor of the East' [東方青帝]; the 'Black Emperor of the North' [北方黑帝]; the 'White Emperor of the West' [西方白帝]; the 'Red Emperor of the South' [南方赤帝]; and the 'Yellow Emperor of the Center' [中央黃帝] (Hu 1995:1458-9). In internal cultivation, they refer to the 'five elements' or 'five phases' [五行] of the human body: the 'Green Emperor' which corresponds to the wood element and the liver organ; the 'Black Emperor' which corresponds to the water element and the kidneys; the 'White Emperor' which corresponds to the metal element and the lungs; the 'Red Emperor' which corresponds to the fire element and the heart; and the 'Yellow Emperor' which corresponds to the earth element and the spleen (Hu 1995:1145).

³⁶⁴ That is, the 'heaven official' [天官], 'earth official' [地官] and 'water official' [水官], the three earliest deities worshipped in Daoism (Hu 1995:1450-1).

³⁶⁵ Or, the 'realm of the state of perfection' [真境界] which refers to a point in internal alchemy cultivation when the the spirit and the qi come together and mix [神氣交融] which is an intoxicating peak experience (Hu 1995:1157).

the clarity of heaven and earth. This is what the 'realm of perfection' 'inside the pot' [appears like]. [However], one must not assume that the problems are therefore over.

Shortly, the 'ten demons' will come, one after another. At this time, one appears to be dreaming but is not, or feels like drunk but is not. The 'the true numen of the five spirits' [五神真靈]³⁶⁶ having entered the Heavenly Palace, the 'middle region' [中區] and the 'four greats' [四大]³⁶⁷, take charge of the heart, setting it right and bringing calm to it. When in a trance/confused state, do not mistake the wicked for the virtuous and take the crooked as the upright. [If you commit this mistake], not only, for this reason, would you not be able to leave your mortal body, but also be lead astray. Either the 'demon of madness' [風魔] or the 'devil of insanity' [狂邪] would render [efforts to] form the spirit *qi* futile and the 'spirit wisdom' [神慧] wanting. Alas, how sad!

Therefore, the 'realm of demons' [魔境] is discussed in detail up to this point. Sit upright and start the fire. Persevere and visualize the internal [body] frequently, day and night, until the fire has ignited [everything] between heaven and earth 'without exception'. Look above and you see only heaven; look below and you see only earth; look to the four [directions] and all is void. During quietness, you will hear sounds of music and suddenly smell unusual scents. At this point, you will experience something that is incomparable to what was before. Limbs and trunk become invariably like those of a dragon soaring in flight. This is the moment when the 'spirit immortal abandons the shell' [神仙棄殼]. All around, in front of where one is sitting, is a red ray of light shaped like a lotus flower.³⁶⁸ The whole body is enveloped/permeated with 'perfect *qi*' whose color appears like a golden light. The 'perfect *qi* of the five elements' [五行真氣] combine to become essence, *qi* and spirit. The 'three gifts' [三才],³⁶⁹ the extraordinary treasures, combine to become 'that which is so by itself' [自然],³⁷⁰ the Dao. Gathering the spirit, re-enter into the Yellow Court, and attain long life without death. Wherever you go, the yin spirit will manifest itself. Ride the wind, walk on the clouds and return to the mortal world without having to suffer hunger and thirst or be protected from the heat and the cold. If again by raising up the spirit, you enter the heavenly palace, get the spirit out of the shell. This is called 'the perfected abandoning the shell' [真人棄殼]. A hundred days in the mountains, and the jade [body] is born while the shell [body] is abandoned. A hundred days in the water, and the jade [body] is born while the shell [body] is abandoned. Finally, the true or perfected body comes out.

³⁶⁶ *Wushen* 五神 refers to the 'five spirits' residing in the five viscera (Hu 1995:1146).

³⁶⁷ According to Wang Chongyang, in *The Twenty Four Formulas of Transmission to Danyang the Perfected* [授丹陽真人二十四訣]: "Heaven has four seasons; humans have the four greats. Heaven has the earth, water, fire and wind; humans have the heart, essence [精], *qi* and spirit ... heart as fire, essence as water, *qi* as wind, and body as earth" (see Hu 1995:453).

³⁶⁸ Lotus is originally a central Buddhist symbol for the purity of enlightenment appearing in an impure world (Smith 1995:667).

³⁶⁹ Refers to heaven, earth and humanity [天地人], the three essential elements of the universe. Can also be translated as the 'three givers' when taken in contrast with the 'three takers' or the 'three thieves' [三盜], which in turn refer to the controlling or destructive aspect of the mutual relationship between heaven, earth and humanity (see Hu 1995:453).

³⁷⁰ Waley translates *ziran* 自然 as 'Self-so' or 'what-is-so-of-itself' (1934:174); for Lau, it is 'that which is naturally so' (1982:39).

This is called spirit immortal returning to the Three Islands and no longer in the 'world of suffering' [風塵].

On the so-called *Abandoning the Shell and Ascending to the Immortal Realm* [棄殼升仙], there are five formulas to be discussed below.

XVI. The Chart for the Formula for 'Abandoning the Shell and Ascending to the Immortal Realm' in order to 'Transcend the Mortal World and Enter the Realm of the Sages' [棄殼升仙超凡入聖訣圖]

[Chart 17]

This method is called 'cultivating the body and uniting with the Dao' and 'abandoning the shell to ascend the immortal realm'. This method does not involve a time element, but there are clearly five methods involved. Master Haichan [海蟾子]³⁷¹ rode a crane³⁷² to break through [out of] the 'gate of heaven'.³⁷³ In stillness, use the 'perfect nature' [真性]³⁷⁴ like a crane to break through out of the 'gate of heaven' and be a 'body outside the body' [身外有身]. 'Founder-Master Wang, the Twelfth Perfected of the Western Mountain' [西山十二真人王祖師] says: "If you come out of quietness through a blooming tree, you can go back through a blooming tree without losing your 'original nature'.³⁷⁵" Once out, the body outside naturally separates from the [mortal] body [分形]³⁷⁶. The Yellow Emperor came out of quietness riding the fire dragon, called the 'perfect body of clarity and purity' [清淨法身].³⁷⁷ The two perfected, Zhong and Lü,³⁷⁸ both used the 'red tower' [紅樓] in coming out during quietness. They climbed up to the third level of the red tower [until], stages by stages, they reached the end, leaped and abandoned their shells.

The above: 'cultivating the spirit to unite with the Dao' and 'abandoning the shell to ascend to the realm of immortals' are achieved through constant practice. To this goal, the Buddhist

³⁷¹ Also known as Liu Haichan 劉海蟾. The northern lineage of internal alchemy Daoism (i.e., the Quanzhen school) regard him as the fourth among their five founding ancestors (Hu 1995:48-49).

³⁷² Chinese *yin* symbol of longevity, vehicle of the 'Queen Mother of the West' [西王母], the Eight Immortals [八仙], and the soul on its way to the western paradise (Smith 1995:295).

³⁷³ The point between the eyebrows, also known as the Heavenly Court [*tiāntīng* 天庭]. According to the *Huangting Neijing Jing* 黃庭內景經, it is the way to the Hall of Light [明堂], one of the 'nine palaces' within the upper elixir field (cited in Hu 1995:484; for *mingtang*, see p. 1177).

³⁷⁴ According to Zhao Bichen 趙避塵, in *Xingming Fajue Mingzhi* 性命法訣明指, "'nature' is the 'numinous *qi*' [靈氣] in the heart which issues from [between] the two eyes; 'life' is the primordial *qi* in the kidneys which issues from the [淫根]" (cited in Hu 1995:1220; for other meanings, see 463-64).

³⁷⁵ Another name for 'true or perfect nature' or 'lasting nature' [常性] (see Hu 1995: 463-64).

³⁷⁶ That is, separation of the immortal body from the mortal body. See the entry *chaotuo fenxing* 超脫分形 in Hu 1995:1263. Another meaning of *fenxing* 分形: a technique for making oneself appear as several individuals at the same time (Hu 1995:609-10).

³⁷⁷ According to the *Chongyang Zhenren Jinguan Yusuojue* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣, one of the 'three bodies' that comprises [心性意顯], the other two being [圓滿報身] and [三昧化身] (see *sanshen* 三身 in Hu 1995: 481).

³⁷⁸ That is, Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 (also known as 'Master Zhengyang' [正陽子]) and Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 or Lu Yan 呂巖 (also known as 'Master Chunyang' [Chunyangzi 純陽子]), the second and third founding ancestors of the northern (Quanzhen) lineage (*Zhengzongji*; *Xiangchuan*).

monk would 'enter into concentration' [入定]³⁷⁹ in order to undergo 'transformation while sitting' [坐化]³⁸⁰; the Daoist adept would 'enter into quietness' [入靜]³⁸¹ in order to let out the *yin* spirit. Both are the 'devil of clarity and emptiness' [清虛之鬼], not the 'immortal pure *yang*' [純陽之仙]. Mysteriously and without manifestation, it leads to nothing in the end. How can students commit such error? It is hardly known that after cultivating the essence into elixir, the 'pure *yang qi*' is generated, and after cultivating *qi* into spirit, the 'perfect and numinous spirit immortal' [真靈神仙] transcends the mortal world and join the ranks of the sages, or abandon his shell and ascend into the immortal realm. That is to say, 'transcendence and separation' [超脫]³⁸² for countless generations, which is the way spirit immortals remain unchanged.

The oral formula:

To complete the work, one must come out of the Spirit Capital [神京],
And not be attached to 'worldly cares' [繁華] in the Inner Courtyard [內院]³⁸³.
Obtain the secrets of 'transcendence and separation' from the Five Immortals³⁸⁴,
Cultivate the immortal form and get out of this mortal world.

XVII. The Meaning of the Formula for 'Abandoning the Shell to Ascend the Immortal Realm and Transcending the Mortal World to Join Enter Sagehood' [棄殼升仙超凡入聖訣義]

The Perfected says: "Those who 'cultivate perfection' and have practiced to the point when the cultivation of *qi* succeeds in transforming the body, all have no desire to live a long life in this world, and should quickly do internal visualization to cultivate the spirit and unite with the Dao. Tame the demons and the demons would scatter away. Cultivate the spirit and the spirit would gather itself. Being anxious and unwilling to cut oneself off [from the world] is the reason for the inability to abandon the mortal shell. This is because one is trapped in the 'dark thoroughfare' [昏衢] and able merely to become an earthbound immortal. Generally speaking, where there is body, there is anxiety and where there is no home, there are no encumbrances. From ancient times to the present, it has been a common saying that [those who pursue self-cultivation] must work hard and endure hardships until they reach [the stage of] non-action. So, how can people say that they cannot bear to let go of the body? Therefore, 'abandoning the shell to ascend the realm of immortals' is to 'leave [the body] through the top' [出訂] while cultivating the spirit and transcending the mortal world to become an immortal. Worldly people are not suitable for self-cultivation. They prefer the direct way of abandoning the shell to

³⁷⁹ Refers to the practice of sitting (cross-legged) quietly [靜坐] in order to collect the mind-heart and get rid of distracting thoughts (Hu 1995:964).

³⁸⁰ A Buddhist expression referring to the ultimate stage of cultivation when the 'quiet-sitter' leaves his body (i.e., die) (Hu 1995:496).

³⁸¹ Refers to that stage in mind concentration when the practitioner achieves a high level of bodily and mental quietness, relaxation or calmness, characterized by clarity and detachment from worldly affairs (Hu 1995:964-65).

³⁸² (Hu 1995:1236; 1263).

³⁸³ Same as the *Niwan* Palace [泥丸宮] or the Heavenly Palace [天宮] (Hu 1995:1164).

³⁸⁴ That is, the five northern founder-ancestors: Donghua Dijun 東華帝君, Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin, Liu Haichan and Wang Chongyang?

become immortals. What a harm to the body! Sit still in a dark room, sever [all] cares and forget [all] thoughts. Do not let the external realm in and the internal realm out. With a body like dead wood and a mind like cold ashes, know the spirit, keep the internal and concentrate the mind. During concentration, the one that brings out the 'yin numinous spirit' [陰靈之神], mysteriously and without manifestations, is not a pure *yang* immortal. Even though it has managed to come out of the shell, [still,] how difficult it is!

"From ancient times to the present, 'those who have attained perfection' have all transmitted the method for 'abandoning the shell', which was not difficult. Constant practice results in the attainment of the internal elixir, the generation of pure *yang qi*, and the appearance of the 'original numinous spirit' [本靈神]. Mastery of internal visualization, abandoning the shell to transcend the world and separate the bodies, when done in an orderly manner, will result in the transformation of the fire dragon and the exit from the center of the top. The body outside the body does not have an unusual appearance at all. Begin with one or two steps, then do three or five *li* [里]³⁸⁵ enter and exit without error, come and go without fear, and then deposit the shell within the mountains and rivers [thus] making it a permanent companion of Peng Lai [蓬萊]³⁸⁶. In abandoning the shell, everything depends on prior effort [棄殼全在前功]. When performed in sequence, it will result in the spirit immortal ascending as the spirit emerges from the top [of the head].

However, those who have attained perfection left behind these methods for 'letting out that which has entered' [調出入者]³⁸⁷ perhaps because students had long received training and practiced hard for days and nights. While practicing internal visualization and the gathering of the spirit, they might encounter the 'demon realm' and fall astray. That would render any further work, as well as all efforts done in the past, useless. Therefore, no effort is being spared to talk about these demons in detail. Another concern is that, as students go into internal visualization to disperse the demons, gather the spirit and enter the heavenly palace, '[scenes of] manifold splendor' might appear and be mistaken for the realm of the immortals. In which case, one would have to go through the formula for abandoning the shell again. Abandoning the shell is not difficult. It will come about naturally once work is done. Therefore, in the formula, there is [mention of] a 'blooming tree' [花樹] and/or 'black canopy' [皂蓋] to signify the 'original body' [本體] and beckon the spirit into the shell. There is [also mention of] a 'crane breaking through' [鶴沖] and a 'dragon leaping' [龍躍] to lead the *yang* spirit up and out of the body, [thus] abandoning the shell in order to ascend the realm of the immortals. Among those who have attained perfection, from ancient times to the present, there were some that carelessly transmitted the formula to others and thus failed to keep it secret. [Consequently], 'nine generations' [九祖] of their kindred would suffer in hell forever. In order for cultivators of perfection to bring their practice to completion – their ascension [to the immortal realm], they cannot but proceed this way. Students, from ancient times to the present, should be vigilant and careful!

³⁸⁵ 1 *li* = ½ kilometer or about 1/3 of a mile.

³⁸⁶ The land of the immortals.

³⁸⁷ Refers to the spirit.

“The secret of the golden elixir lies in ‘nature’ [性] and ‘life-force’ [命] alone [金丹之秘在於一性一命而已]. Nature is of heaven and is permanently hidden in the ‘head’ [頂]; life-force is of the earth and is permanently hidden in the navel. The head is the ‘root’ [根] of nature; the navel is the ‘stem’ [蒂]. Root and stem – these are the origins, the ancestors, of heaven and earth. Below the navel is the yellow court. The [yellow] court maintains the head and the navel and is called ‘the stacking of the three’ [三疊]. According to the *Yellow Court [Scripture]*³⁸⁸: “the heart attains harmony, the three are stacked, and the immortal fetus dances”.³⁸⁹ When the *qin* achieves its harmony, a human being is born. The fetus is formed in our navel and then attaches to the ‘central palace’ [心宮]³⁹⁰ of the mother. Cut off from the navel, [what remains] is the so-called ‘stem’. The stem is the ‘stem of life-force’ [命蒂]; the root is the ‘root of nature’ [性根]. However, there is a concern about them being revealed. That is why there are countless names, forms and ways by which they are spoken of. The nature in the head is [also known as] lead, tiger, water, metal, sun, ‘mind’ [意], *kan* 坎,³⁹¹ *kun* 坤,³⁹² *wu* 戊,³⁹³ ‘young woman’ [姤女] and ‘jade pass’ [玉關]. The life-force in the navel is [also known as] mercury, dragon, fire, root, moon, *po* 魄,³⁹⁴ *li* 離,³⁹⁵ *qian* 乾,³⁹⁶ *ji* 己,³⁹⁷ ‘infant’ [嬰兒] and ‘golden platform’ [金臺]. The head is the *wu* clod [戊土] while the navel is the *ji* clod [己土].³⁹⁷ Put together, the two make up the *gui* 圭 character. What Lü the Old Immortal called *daogui* 刀圭³⁹⁸ refers precisely to the two – nature and life-force. Many scriptures and treatises say so.”

Directions [用法]:

Everyday, from dawn till dusk, it is daytime; from dusk till the end of the fifth watch, it is nighttime, during which walking, standing, sitting and lying down are not restricted. In daytime, practice ‘the way of the life-force stem in the navel’ [命蒂臍中之道]. At nighttime, practice the ‘way of the root of nature at the top gate’ [性根頂門之道]. Do not distinguish between morning or evening, and whether you are hungry or full, one must constantly practice. In one hundred days, the elixir congeals. In three hundred days the elixir ingredient is finished. In three years, the immortal fetus is formed. Then, the *yang* spirit exits and enters through the top gate, comes and goes without obstacle. This is called the ‘wonder of the perfect elixir’.

³⁸⁸ That is, the *Scripture of the Inner Scene of the Yellow Court* [黃庭內景經].

³⁸⁹ The expression *qinxin sandie* 琴心三疊 refers to the harmony between heart and spirit. In the *Scripture of the Inner Scene of the Yellow Court*, *qin* 琴 means ‘harmony’ or ‘peace’ [和] and *sandie* 三疊 refers to the three elixir fields [三丹田] -- that is, to the situation when the three elixir fields appear to be arrayed or ‘stacked’ as one. When the heart is peaceful (or in harmony) and the spirit is happy, the immortal fetus dances (in Hu 1995:1263).

³⁹⁰ The womb (?).

³⁹¹ Trigram Water

³⁹² Trigram Earth

³⁹³ The fifth of the ten Heavenly Stems [天干].

³⁹⁴ Trigram Fire

³⁹⁵ Trigram Heaven

³⁹⁶ The sixth of the ten Heavenly Stems

³⁹⁷ For *wuji* 戊己, see Hu 1995: 1211-2; see also *ertu* 二土 in Hu 1995:1203.

³⁹⁸ For other interpretations of the term *daogui* 刀圭 in other texts, see Hu 1995:1202-3.

Procedures [行持]:

To practice '[the way of the] life-force stem' during daytime, just rub both hands together to warm them, place them palms down firmly on the 'navel circle' [*qilun* 臍輪]³⁹⁹ and concentrate on it with your mind. Simply keep watch on the navel circle. Without [distracting] thoughts, make it calm and stable. You will feel the Spirit Water coming down the navel, the 'perfect water' [真水] rising and, from the elixir field below the navel, leaping straight up near the 'top gate' [頂門]. Let things take their course and practice for countless times, only concentrating the mind on the navel circle. If you want to rest or stop, do as you see fit and do not feel bound. After a while, the elixir field will feel like it is on fire, you will feel good and relaxed, and experience wonders that are hard to describe.

To practice '[the way of] the root of nature' at night, press the tongue against the palate. Gradually close the two openings of the throat, concentrating on it with your mind. Just keep watch at the top gate. Without [distracting] thoughts, make [it] calm and stable. You will feel the perfect fire from below surging and leaping straight up to the top gate. If you want to rest or stop, do as you see fit and do not feel bound. After a while, you will gradually hear in your head what seem to be distant sounds of immortals' music, have perfect scents issuing from your nose, and experience wonders that are hard to describe. The secret formula for the golden elixir ends here!

The Formula for the Sitting Practice [坐功訣]

Inhale once and the 'primordial essence' [元精] will come up,
Exhale twice and the 'mysterious female' [玄牝] will open the gate on top.
Sometimes, people do not recognize the true dragon and tiger,
But surmise that they are from the elixir field.

The Profound Decree [奧旨]

From the year, pick the month. From the month, pick the day. From the day, pick the hours. Beware of the 'danger constellation' [*weixiu* 危宿]⁴⁰⁰ and start the fire on the 'last day of the lunar month' [*hui* 晦]; of the 'dipper constellation' [*douxu* 斗宿]⁴⁰¹ and apply the fire on the 'first day of the lunar month' [*shuo* 朔].

[Chart 18]

[Chart 19]

³⁹⁹ Also known as *qizhong* 臍中 or simply *qi* 臍, the navel, one of the major area of concentration (Hu 1995:1180).

⁴⁰⁰ One of the 'twenty eight constellations' [二十八宿] (Hu 1995:790, 794).

⁴⁰¹ One of the twenty eight constellations. Also know as the 'southern dipper' [*nandou* 南斗] (?) (Hu 1995:794). According to Zhu Junxing 朱駿星, in *Shuowen Tongxun Dingsheng* 說文通訓定聲, there are three group of stars that are all referred to as 'dipper' because of their dipper-like formations: the Northern Dipper which has seven stars, the southern dipper which has six stars, and the 'heavenly wall small dipper' [天市垣小斗] which has five stars (cited in Hu 1995:796).

Chart 18

Chart of Protocosmos

先天圖

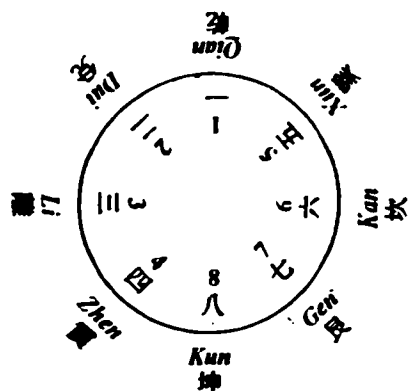


Chart 19

Chart of Deutercosmos

後天圖

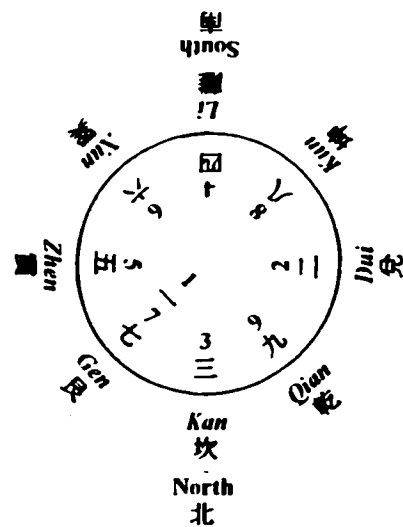
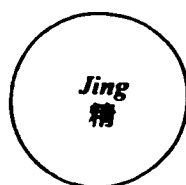
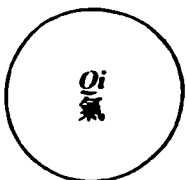


Chart 20



The essence stored
is the *qi* within
the essence
積精中氣



The primordial *qi*
is the spirit
within *qi*
元氣氣中氣



[Chart 20]

When *yang* begins to move, it is the *zi* 子 period⁴⁰². Only during this time does the 'dipper handle' [斗柄] turn. It is the perfect *zi* period. Another way: the ninth month, in terms of the *zi* period, considering a number of *zi* periods that have gone by [九月從子時上起例數過子者]⁴⁰³ -- the ninth month, as a *zi* period, is the proper *zi* period. At this time, the two holes of the nose openings contain *qi*. Those of the 'Elder Metal' [金公]⁴⁰⁴ and 'the young woman' [姤女]⁴⁰⁵ are 'corridors for rectifying/saving' [匡廊] *kan* 坎 and *li* 離. That is, when 'frost falls' [霜降]⁴⁰⁶ in the ninth month, 'winter solstice' [冬至]⁴⁰⁷ will be on the eleventh month.

The Wondrous Decree [妙旨]

Every month, constantly increase during the *xu* 戌 hours⁴⁰⁸,
 Every hour, see the 'broken army' [破軍].
 The 'gang of heaven' [*tiangang* 天罡]⁴⁰⁹ gains another member,
 A moving luminary that does not impart to others.

[Chart 21]

[]

[Chart 22]

[Chart 23]

Qi not coming through the throat' [氣不出喉]

The 'mysterious pass' [玄關]⁴¹⁰ is 'one *cun* 寸 and three *fen* 分'⁴¹¹ inside the navel. The primordial *qi* of the father and the mother is the cooking vessel; the two kidneys are the

⁴⁰² The period between 11pm and 1am.

⁴⁰³ Just as there are *zi* and *wu* hours in a day (i.e., the hours around midnight and noon, respectively), there are also *zi* and *wu* periods in each month and year. In the month, the *zi* period falls on the first day and the last day (i.e., the *hui* 晦 and the *shuo* 朔 days of the month, respectively); the *wu* period falls on the fifteenth day (i.e., the *yuewang* 月望 days of each month). In the year, the *zi* period falls on the winter solstice while the *wu* period falls on the summer solstice. See *ziwushi* 子午時 and other related entries in Hu 1995:1192.

⁴⁰⁴ Lead [鉛]. It is said that "the *yang* of *qian* ['Heaven'] enters *kun* ['Earth'] to become *kan* 坎. Now, *kan* is water and metal is the father of water. That is why it is called 'Elder Metal' (in Hu 1995:1216).

⁴⁰⁵ In the *Zhongheji* 中和集, Li Daochun 李道純 says that "*li* 離 was originally the body of *qian* 乾. Since taking in the *yin* of *kun* and becoming *li*, it is called 'young *yin*' [少陰]. This is the reason why it is compared to a 'young woman' -- the so-called 'the male embracing in the female' [雄裡懷雌] (in Hu 1995:1217).

⁴⁰⁶ The eighteenth 'solar term' [節氣] or division of the solar year in the traditional Chinese calendar.

⁴⁰⁷ The twenty second solar term.

⁴⁰⁸ The period between 7pm to 9pm.

⁴⁰⁹ Originally refers to the seventh star of the Northern Dipper. Internal alchemists used it as an analogue for the heart (see Hu 1995:1165). Also called 'dipper handle' [斗柄], but the two are not exactly the same thing. *Doubing* refers to the whole handle of the dipper, which also includes, together with the seventh, the fifth and the sixth stars (Hu 1995:1164).

Chart 21

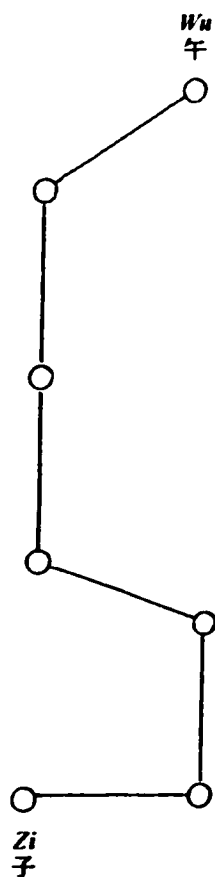


Chart 22

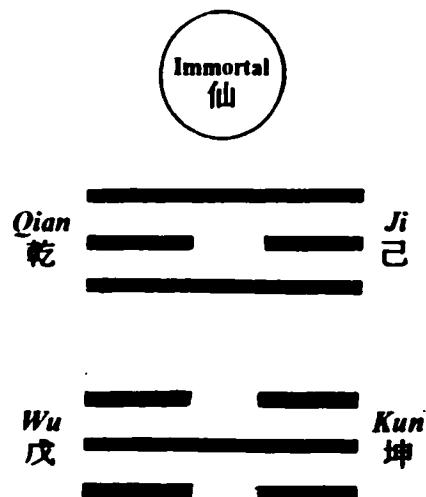
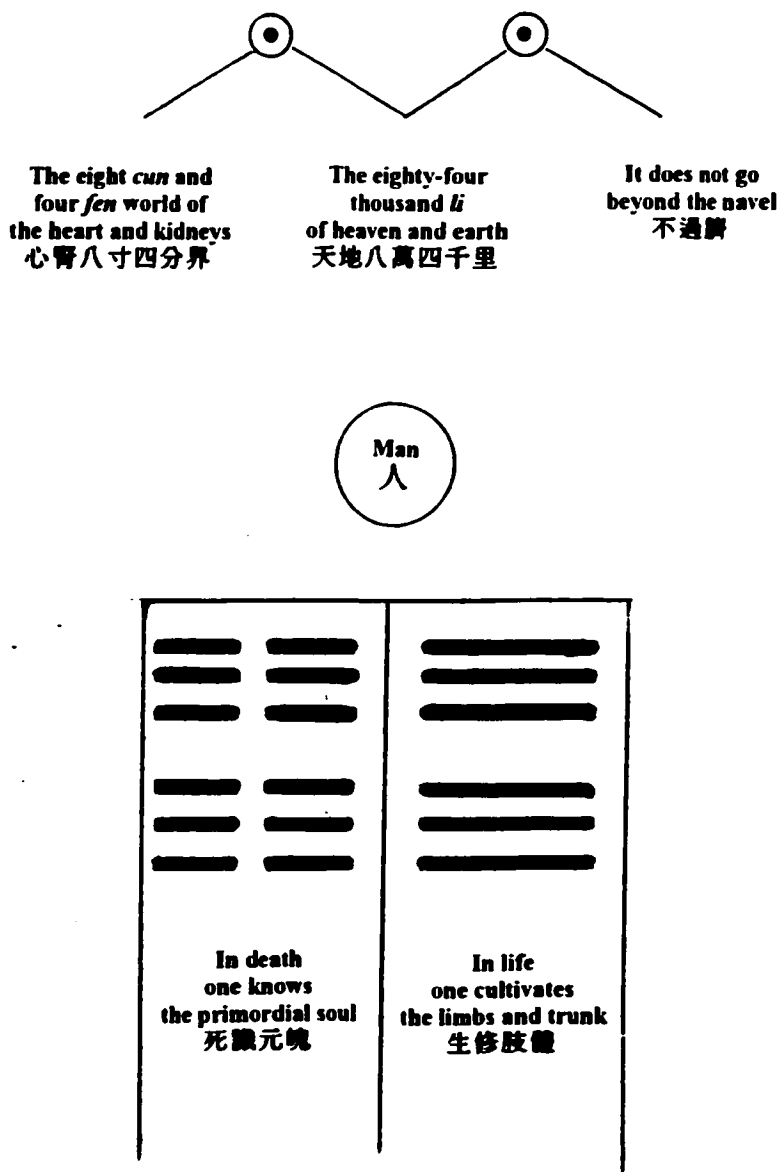


Chart 23



legs of the cooking vessel. As the firing process proceeds, the heart does its work, which is to 'start the fire' [起火]. The dragon and the tiger copulate, the ingredient consists of the *daogui* [刀圭]. The 'xun wind' [巽風]⁴¹² 'blows up and down' [tuoyue 橐籥]⁴¹³ and excites the 'magnificent house' [華房]⁴¹⁴. This is 'applying fire' and 'drawing out [lead] and applying [mercury]' [抽添]. Beware of the danger of [worldly] cares during the *mao* 卯 hours⁴¹⁵ and the *you* 酉 hours⁴¹⁶. The protocosmic is of the *chou* 丑 hours⁴¹⁷; the deuterocosmic is of the 'hours in this life' [本生時] and of the 'hours in long life' [長生時]. The coming out of the fetus and becoming an immortal is about using one's own body and life, calculating the four seasons and living a life of longevity. In this method, whether it is a year of microcosmic circulation or a day of microcosmic circulation, a day includes daytime as well as nighttime calculated in terms of the *zi* hours and the *wu* hours. The 'hours in this life' is called 'hours of long life' in order to protect oneself from danger. There are altogether seven time periods [時辰]⁴¹⁸ [to watch for]. It takes five hundred sixty time periods to make one *hou* 候. Sometime during 'mild nourishing and bathing' [溫鄱沐浴]⁴¹⁹ and 'generating and destroying [生殺]⁴²⁰ during 'battle in the open' [野戰]⁴²¹, the birth of the fetus takes place. Be careful about this secret. Do not divulge it.

The Twelfth Perfected Man of the Western Mountain [西山十二真人曰] says:

**When common folks speak about the secret of Heaven [天機],
It can only be wild talk, for they cannot know [about it].**

⁴¹⁰ Also known as the 'cave of nothingness' [虛無窟子] (see Hu 1995:1168-9).

⁴¹¹ = about 3.66 cm. (1 *cun* = 1/3 decimeter; 1 *fen* = 1/3 centimeter).

⁴¹² That is, nasal breathing (Hu 1995:1201)

⁴¹³ In ancient usage, it refers to bellows. Internal alchemy borrowed this imagery to describe the correspondence between cosmic 'breathing' (*qi* activity) and human breathing. As the theory goes, everything is generated by cosmic 'breathing' activity. Therefore, human breathing corresponds to the breathing of heaven and earth. Heaven's openings 'open' [開] during the *zi* 子 hours when clear heavenly *qi* descends, and the earth's openings 'close' [合] during the *wu* 午 hours when turbid earthly *qi* rises. *Tuo* 橐 and *yue* 籥 refer to these two sets of motions: the former, to the opening of heaven during *zi*, and the latter, to the closing of the earth during *wu* (Hu 1995:1201-2).

⁴¹⁴ 'Magnificent house' [華房] = 'magnificent canopy' [華蓋] (i.e., the lungs?)

⁴¹⁵ The period from 5am to 7am.

⁴¹⁶ The period from 5pm to 7pm.

⁴¹⁷ The period from 1am to 3am.

⁴¹⁸ A two-hour period.

⁴¹⁹ Or, the 'fire of bathing and mild nourishing' [*muyu wenyang zhihuo*], the 'gentle fire' [文火] (Hu 1995:1194). Gentle firing refers to maintaining a mild or natural breathing phase without mind direction. For *wenyang*, see Hu 1995:1236-7; *muyu* 沐浴, Hu 1995:1227-8.

⁴²⁰ Refers to the cosmic or natural cycle of life and death/destruction. Internal alchemists adopted this idea to explain the notion of transformation (Hu 1995:1149).

⁴²¹ Refers to the aggressive action of the 'martial fire' [武火] being applied in order to obtain, at the right moment, the elixir ingredient. The counterpart of 'battle in the open' or 'going out into battle' [野戰] is 'defending the city' [守城]. As Weng Baoguang 翁葆光 explains: "'defending the city' means 'bathing' or stopping practice; 'going out into battle' refers to the battle between the dragon and the tiger. According to another interpretation (Ye Shibiao 葉士表): "'Defending the city' is about 'withdrawing fire and guarding the ingredient' [退火守藥]; 'going out into battle' is about 'applying fire and gathering the ingredient' [近火採藥] (in *yezhan* 野戰, see Hu 1995:1236). Martial or aggressive firing refers to stronger or faster breathing techniques, including mind [意念] direction (see Hu 1995:1194).

SELF-CULTIVATION AND QUANZHEN DAOISM

**All beings in the world are unable to distinguish [the real from the unreal],
Unless they meet perfected beings who would tell them what is of the Dao and what is not.**

(End of Text)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Sources from the *Daozang*.

The *Daozang* we have today is believed to be a reproduction of the Ming edition completed in 1444-1445 and supplemented in 1607 (Boltz 1987:6-7). The various 'editions' we have today are therefore actually reproductions of a reproduction. However, locating texts can be time consuming since texts do not appear on exactly the same pages or volumes in all the editions. To make things easier for the reader, I have decided to list here the locations of the text in all the reprint editions. In this, I am adopting the system devised by Zhu Yueli in his work *Daozang Fenlei Jieti* (see Zhu 1996 below). For each edition of the *Daozang*, Zhu assigned a letter code which stands for the first Pinyin letter of the name of the publisher:

- W** – for the 1988 photocopy edition jointly published by Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, Shanghai Shudian 上海書店, and Tianjin Guji Chubanshe 天津古籍出版社
- X** – for the 1977 photocopy edition published by the Xinwenfeng Chuban Gongsi 新文豐出版公司 in Taiwan
- Y** – for the 1977 photocopy edition published by the Yiwen Yinshuguan 藝文印書館 in Taiwan
- Z** – for the 1986 photocopy edition published by the 株式會社中文出版社 in Japan
- M** – for the Ming 明 edition
- H** – for the Hanfenlou 涵芬樓 edition

In the **W**, **X**, **Y**, and **Z** editions, text location is indicated by two sets of numbers divided by a slash: the number of the volume where the text can be found and the number of the first page of the text. For example, the code W4/391 indicates that the text is in volume 4 and begins on page 391 of the **w** edition. In the **M** edition, text location is indicated by two sets of information, again divided by a slash. The first set, left of the slash, indicates the *Daozang* division [*bu* 部], and classification [*lei* 類], if applicable, to which the text belongs; the second set, right of the slash, indicates the case or cases [*han* 涵] where the text is contained. Finally, in the **H** edition, text location is indicated simply by the number(s) of the volume(s) where the text is found. As additional help, I have also included the reference numbers of the texts as they appear in the catalogues *Daozang Fenlei Jieti* (Zhu 1996), *Daozang Ti Yao* (Ren 1995) and *Daozang Zimu Yinde* (Weng 1988). The three catalogues are cited simply as *Jieti*, *Ti Yao*, and *Yinde* respectively.

Changchun Qiu Zhenren Ji Xizhou Daoyou Shu 長春丘真人寄西洲道友書. Pp 12-19 of *Zhenxian Zhizhi Yulu* 真仙直指語一, edited by Xuanquan Zi 玄全子. In W32/432; X54/672; Y54/43577; Z27/23558; M 正一部/鼓; H998. (*Jieti* 1346; *Ti Yao* 1244; *Yinde* 1246). Qiu Chuji 丘處機.

- Changchun Zhenren Xiyouji* 長春真人西遊記. In W34/480; X57/803; Y57/46193; Z28/24973, M 正一部/群; H1056. (*Jieti* 897; *Tiyao* 1417; *Yinde* 1418). Li Zhichang 李志常.
- Chongyang Quanzhenji* 重陽全真集. In W25/689; X43/411; Y43/34393; Z22/18595; M 太平部/枝交; H793~795. (*Jieti* 635; *Tiyao* 1144; *Yinde* 1145). Wang Zhe 王喆. Compiled circa 1188.
- Chongyang Jiaohuaji* 重陽教化集. In W25/768; X43/543; Y43/34511; Z22/18660; M 太平部/交; H795~796. (*Jieti* 636; *Tiyao* 1145; *Yinde* 1146). Wang Zhe 王喆. Compiled 1183.
- Chongyang Lijiao Shiwulun* 重陽立教十五論. In W32/153; X54/237; Y53/43157; Z27/23332; M 正一部/檻; H989. (*Jieti* 1193; *Tiyao* 1221; *Yinde* 1223). Wang Zhe . Circa 1165.
- Chongyang Zhenren Jinguan Yüsojue* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣. In W25/798; X43/580; Y43/34556; Z22/18683; M 太平部/交; H796. (*Jieti* 1341; *Tiyao* 1147; *Yinde* 1148). Wang Zhe . Circa 1170.
- Dadan Zhizhi* 大丹直指. In W4/391; X7/47; Y7/5088; Z4/2748; M 洞真部方法類/稱; H115. (*Jieti* 1345; *Tiyao* 243; *Yinde* 244). Qiu Chuji 丘處機.
- Danyang Zhenren Yülu* 丹陽真人語錄. In W23/701; X40/9; Y39/31558; Z20/17066; M 太玄部/卑; H728. (*Jieti* 198; *Tiyao* 1047; *Yinde* 1050). Ma Yu 馬玉. 1183.
- Dongxuan Jinyüji* 洞玄金玉集. In W25/559; X43/209; Y42/34197; Z21/18490; M 太平部/氣; H789~790. (*Jieti* 639; *Tiyao* 1140; *Yinde* 1141). Ma Yu 馬玉.
- Ganshui Xianyuanlu* 甘水仙源錄. In W19/722, X33/117; Y33/26280; Z17/14212, M 洞神部記傳類/息; H611~613. (*Jieti* 927; *Tiyao* 967; *Yinde* 971). Li Daoqian 李道謙. 1288.
- Huangdi Yinfujing* 黃帝陰符經. In W1/821; X2/418; Y2/1231; Z2/669; M 洞真部本文類/晨; H27. (*Jieti* 99; *Tiyao* 31; *Yinde* 31). Also known as *Tianjijing* 天機經. Anonymous.
- Huangdi Yinfujing Zhu* 黃帝陰符經註. In W2/817; X11/128; Y4/2588; Z3/1399, M 洞真部玉訣類/餘; H57. (*Jieti* 1344; *Tiyao* 122; *Yinde* 122). Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄.
- Huangting Neijing Yüjingzhu* 黃庭內景玉經註. In W6/499; X11/168; Y11/8241; Z6/4457; M 洞玄部玉訣類/推; H189. (*Jieti* 1343; *Tiyao* 400; *Yinde* 401). Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄. Circa 1200.
- Jin Zhenren Yülu* 金真人語錄. In W4/359; X6/902; Y7/5040; Z4/2722, M 洞真部方法類/殊; H113. (*Jieti* 200; *Tiyao* 1046; *Yinde* 1049). Jin Zhenren.

Jinlian Zhengzongji 金蓮正宗記. In W3/343; X5/127; Y5/3424; Z3/1848; M 洞真部譜錄類/致; H75~76. (*Jieti* 922; *Tiyao* 172; *Yinde* 173). Qin Zhian 秦志安, ed. 1241. Qin Zhian was also known as Shuli Zhenren 樗櫟真人.

Jinlian Zhengzong Xianyuan Xiangzhuan 金蓮正宗仙源像傳. In W3/365; X5/160; Y5/3457; Z3/1866; M 洞真部譜錄類/致; H76. (*Jieti* 885; *Tiyao* 173; *Yinde* 174). Liu Tiansu 劉天素 and Xie Xichan 謝西蟬. 1326.

Lishi Zhenxian Tidao Tongjian Xupian 歷世真仙體道通鑒續編. In W5/414; X8/789; Y9/6637; Z5/3586; M 洞真部記傳類/羽; H149. (*Jieti* 913; *Tiyao* 296; *Yinde* 297). For Qiu Chuji's biography, see vol. 2, pp. 9b-21b. Zhao Daoyi 趙道一, ed.

Panxiji 磻西集. In W25/808; X43/597; Y43/34571; Z22/18691; M 太平部/友; H797. (*Jieti* 643; *Tiyao* 1150; *Yinde* 1151). Qiu Chuji 丘處機. 1208.

Qinghe Zhenren Beiyu Yulu 清和真人北遊語錄. In W33/153; X55/723; Y55/44444, Z27/24025, M 正一部/弁; H1017. (*Jieti* 1205; *Tiyao* 1298; *Yinde* 1299). Duan Zhijian 段志堅, ed. 1237.

Qingtian Ge Zhushi 清天歌註釋. In W2/890; X4/243; Y4/2698; Z3/1457; M 洞真部玉訣類/成; H60. (*Jieti* 1366; *Tiyao* 137; *Yinde* 137). Hunran Zi was also known as Wang Daoyuan 王道淵. Hunran Zi 混然子.

Qizhen Nianpu 七真年譜. In W3/380; X5/183; Y5/3479; Z3/1878; M 洞真部譜錄類/致; H76. (*Jieti* 925; *Tiyao* 174; *Yinde* 175). Li Daoqian 李道謙. 1271.

Quanzhen Qinggui 全真清規. In W32/156; X54/243; Y53/43161; Z27/23335; M 正一部/檻; H989. (*Jieti* 584; *Tiyao* 1223; *Yinde* 1225). Lu Daohe 陸道和, ed.

Shuiyunji 水雲集. In W25/845; X43/655; Y43/34626; Z22/18720; M 太平部/友; H798. (*Jieti* 619; *Tiyao* 1151; *Yinde* 1152). Tan Chuduan 譚處端.

Taiguji 太古集. In W25/865; X43/687; Y43/34657; Z22/18739; M 太平部/友; H798. (*Jieti* 1342; *Tiyao* 1152; *Yinde* 1153). Hao Datong 郝大通.

Tixuan Zhenren Xianyilu 體玄真人顯異錄. In W11/7; X18/390; Y18/14211; Z10/7680, M 洞玄部記傳類/惟; H329. (*Jieti* 920; *Tiyao* 589; *Yinde* 594). Anonymous.

Wuwei Qingjing Changsheng Zhenren Zhizhen Yulu 無為清淨長生真人至真語錄. In W23/706; X40/17; Y39/31566; Z20/17070; M 太玄部/卑; H28. (*Jieti* 199; *Tiyao* 1048; *Yinde* 1051). Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄. 1202.

Xianleji 仙樂集. In W25/423; X43/1; Y42/33993; Z21/18379; M 太平部/弟; H785. (*Jieti* 641; *Tiyao* 1132; *Yinde* 1133). Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄.

Xuanfeng Qinghuilu 玄風慶會錄. In W3/387; X5/194; Y5/3490; Z3/1884, M 洞真部譜錄類/致, H76. (*Jieti* 1197; *Tiyao* 175; *Yinde* 176). Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材, ed. 1232.

Zhenxian Zhizhi Yulu 真仙直指語錄. In W32/432; X54/672; Y54/43577; Z27/23558; M 正一部/致; H998. (*Jieti* 1346; *Tiyao* 1244; *Yinde* 1246). Xuanquan Zi 玄全子, ed.

Zhonglü Chuandaoji 鍾呂傳道集. In W4/605; X7/381; Y7/5409; Z5/2923; M 洞真部方法類/珍李柰菜重; H122~131. (*Jieti* 1460; *Tiyao* 262; *Yinde* 263). The third book in the *Xiuzhen Shishu* 修真十書. Shi Jianwu 施肩吾 (傳).

II. Materials from the *Daozang Jinghua* 道藏精華 and other sources.

Beipai Qizhen Xiudao Shizhuan 北派七真修道史傳. Huang, Yongliang. 1893. Pp. in *Daozang Jinghua*, vol. 8, no.5.

Liezhen Yulu Jiyao 列真語錄輯要. Pp. 1-56 in *Daozang Jinghua*, vol. 3, no. 8.

Qiuzu Changchun Zhenren Ji Xizhou Daoyou Shu 丘祖長春真人寄西一{道友書. Page 19 in the *Liezhen Yulu Jiyao*.

Qiuzu Quanshu Jieji 邱祖全書節輯. *Daozang Jinghua*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 95ff.

Qiuzu Yulu 邱祖語錄. Pp. 5b-17b in *Quanshu*.

Quanzhen Yaodao 全真要道. Pp in *Daozang Jinghua*, vol. 2, no. 9.

Song Lian 宋濂. 1979. *Shi-Lao* 釋老. Pp. 4517-4533 in *Yuanshi* 元史, vol. 8 (juan 202, biography series no. 89). Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju. For Qiu Chuji, see pp. 4524-4526.

III. Secondary sources.

Andersen, Poul. 1980. *The Method of Holding the Three Ones, A Taoist Manual of the Fourth Century A.D.* London: Curzon Press.

Baldrian-Hussein, Farzeen. 1984. *Procédés secrets du Joyau magique: Traité d'Alchimie Taoiste du XI siècle.* Paris: Les Deux Océans.

Baldrian-Hussein, Farzeen. 1989-1990. "Inner Alchemy: Notes on the Origin and Use of the term *Neidan*." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5:163-190.

Barrett, T. H. 1996. *Taoism Under the T'ang: Religion and Empire During the Golden Age of Chinese History.* London: Wellsweep.

- Belamide, Paulino. 2000. "Taoism and Healing in North America: The Healing Tao of Mantak Chia." *International Review of Chinese Religion and Philosophy* 5:245-289.
- Bertschinger, Richard. 1994. *The Secret of Everlasting Life, The First Translation of the Ancient Chinese Text on Immortality*. Shaftesbury/Rockport/Brisbane: Element.
- Boehmer, Thomas. 1977. "Taoist Alchemy: A Sympathetic Approach Through Symbols." Pp. 55-78 in *Buddhist and Taoist Studies I*, edited by Michael Saso and David W. Chappell. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- Bokenkamp, Stephen R. 1997. *Early Daoist Scriptures*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Boltz, Judith. 1987. *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*. Berkeley: Institute for East Asian Studies.
- Chan, Hok-lam and W. Theodore de Bary. 1982. *Yuan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chan, Wing-tsit. 1963. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Chang, Chung-yuan. 1973. "An Introduction to Taoist Yoga." Pp. 63-76 in *The Chinese Way in Religion*, edited by Laurence G. Thompson. See Thompson 1973 below. Originally published in the *Review of Religion* (1956) 20:131-148.
- Chen, Bing 陳兵. 1984. "Luelun Quanzhendao de Sanjiao Heyishuo 略論全真道的三教合一說." *Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 31,1:7-21.
- Chen, Bing 陳兵. 1988. "Qingdai Quanzhendao Longmenpai de Zhongxing 清代全真道龍門派的中興." *Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 35,2:84-96.
- Chen, Guying 陳鼓應. 1990. *Zhuangzi Jinzhujinyi* 莊子今注今譯. Hong Kong: Zhonghua Shuju.
- Chen, Guofu 陳國符. 1975. *Daozang Yuanliukao* 道藏源流考. Taipei: Guoting Shuwu.
- Chen, Kaiguo and Shunchao Zheng. 1996. *Opening the Dragon Gate: The Making of a Modern Taoist Wizard*. Translated by Thomas Cleary. Rutland, Vermont/Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle.
- Chen, Yaoting 陳耀庭 et al., eds. 1992. *Daojia Yangshengshu* 道家養生術. Shanghai: Fudan Daxue Chubanshe.

- Chen, Yingning 陳櫻寧. 1989. *Daojiao yu Yangsheng* 道教與養生. Beijing: Huawen Chubanshe .
- Chen, Yuan 陳垣, ed. 1988. *Daojia Jinshilue* 道家金石略. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.
- Chi'en, Edward T. 1986. *Chiao Hung and the Restructuring of Neo-Confucianism in the Late Ming*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ching, Julia. 1976. *To Acquire Wisdom: The Way of Wang Yang-ming*. New York and London: Columbia University Press.
- Ching, Julia. 2000. *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Ching, Julia. 2001. "The Ambiguous Character of Chinese Religion(s)." Centre for the Study of Religion, University of Toronto. Unpublished manuscript.
- Cohen, Kenneth S. 1999. *The Way of Qigong: The Art and Science of Chinese Energy Healing*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- David-Neel, Alexandra. 1997. *Magic and Mystery in Tibet*. London: Thorsons.
- De Bary, Wm. Theodore, Wing-tsit Chan and Burton Watson. 1963. *Sources of Chinese Tradition, vol. 1*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- De Bruyn, Pierre-Henry. 2000. "Daoism in the Ming (1368-1644)." Pp. 595-622 in *Taoism Handbook*, edited by Livia Kohn. Leiden/Boston/Koln: Brill.
- Demiéville, Paul. 1957. "La situation religieuse en Chine au temps de Marco Polo." Pp.193-236 in *Oriente Poliano, Studi e conferenze tenute all'ISMEO in occasione de VII centenario della nascita di Marco Polo (1254-1954)*. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente. (French).
- De Rachewiltz, Igor. 1962. "The Hsi-yu Lu by Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai." *Monumenta Serica* 21,1:1-128.
- De Rachewiltz, Igor. 1973. "Some Remarks on the Ideological Foundations of Chingis Khan's Empire." *Papers on Far Eastern History* 7:21-36.
- De Rachewiltz, I. and T. Russell. 1984. "Ch'iu Ch'u-chi (1148-1227)." *Papers on Far Eastern History* 29:1-26.
- Eisenberg, David with Thomas Lee Wright. 1985. *Encounters with Qi: Exploring Chinese Medicine*. New York, NY: Norton.

- Eliade, Mircea. 1969. *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*. Translated from the French by William R. Trask. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Eskildsen, Stephen E. 1989. *The Beliefs and Practices of Early Ch'uan-chen Taoism*. M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia.
- Eskildsen, Stephen. 1998. *Asceticism in Early Taoist Religion*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Esposito, Monica. 2000. "Daoism in the Qing (1644-1911)." Pp. 623-658 in *Taoism Handbook*, edited by Livia Kohn. Leiden/Boston/Koln: Brill.
- Feuerstein, George. 1998. *The Yoga Tradition: Its History, Literature, Philosophy and Practice*. Prescott, AZ: Hohm Press.
- Feuerstein, George. 1990. *Holy Madness: The Shock Tactics and Radical Teachings of Crazy-Wise Adepts, Holy Fools, and Rascal Gurus*. New York, NY: Arkana.
- Gedalecia, David. 1982. "Wu Ch'eng's Approach to Internal Self-cultivation and External Knowledge-seeking." Pp. 279-326 in *Yuan Thought*, edited by Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gernet, Jacques. 1970. *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion 1250-1267*. Translated from the French by H. M. Wright. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Goossaert, Vincent. 1997. *La création du taoïsme moderne: l'ordre Quanzhen*. Ph.D. thesis, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris. An English abstract of this work is available in the *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 28 (1998), pp. 303-309.
- Goossaert, Vincent. 1998. "Ph.D. Dissertation Abstract: 'The Creation of Modern Taoism: The Quanzhen Order'". *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 28:303-309.
- Hachiya, Kunio 蜂屋邦夫. 1992. *Kindai Dôkyô no kenkyû – O Chôyô to Ba Tanyô* 金代道教の研究 -- 王重陽與馬丹陽. Kyûko shoin.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. 1998. *New Age Religion and Western Culture*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Hawkes, David. 1981. "Quanzhen Plays and Quanzhen Masters." *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francais d'Extreme-Orient* 69:153-170.
- Hu, Fuchen 胡浮琛. 1989. "Daojiao Shishang de Neidanxue 道教史上的內丹學". *Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 36,2:1-22.

- Hu, Fuchen 胡浮琛. 1993. "Daojiao Yixue he Neidanxue de Rentiguan Tansuo 道教醫學和內丹學的人體探索". *Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 40,4:25-30.
- Hu, Fuchen 胡浮琛. 1997. "Daojiao Neidanxue Jiemi 道教內丹學揭秘". *Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 44,4:87-99. For a more complete discussion of internal alchemy, see Hu and Lü 1999:499-607.
- Hu, Fuchen 胡浮琛 and Lü, Xichen 呂西琛. 1999. *Daoxue Tonglun: Daojia, Daojiao, Xianxue* 道學通論：道家，道教，仙學. Beijing : Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe.
- Huang, Jane, tr. 1987. *Primordial Breath, An Ancient Way of Prolonging Life Through Breath Control*, vol. 1. Torrance, CA: Original Books.
- Huang, Jane, tr. 1990. *Primordial Breath, An Ancient Way of Prolonging Life Through Breath Control*, vol. 2. Torrance, CA: Original Books.
- Huang, Yongliang. 1893. *Beipai Qizhen Xiudao Shizhuan* 北派七真修道史傳. Series 8, no. 5 of the *Daozang Jinghua*, 1980 edition (series 8, no. 10 in the 1965 edition). See Xiao below. For an English translation, see Wong 1990 below.
- Jagchid, Sechin. 1980. "Chinese Buddhism and Taoism during the Mongolian Rule of China." *Mongolian Studies* 6:61-98.
- James, William. 1902. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. New York: The Modern Library.
- Kaelber, Walter O. 1987. "Asceticism." *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 1:441-445.
- Kirkland, Russell. 1992. "Person and Culture in the Taoist Tradition." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20:77-90.
- Kieschnick, John. 1997. *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Kobayashi, Masayoshi. 1995. "The Establishment of Taoism (*Tao-chiao*) and Its Structure." *Acta Asiatica* 68:19-36.
- Kohn, Livia. 1987. *Seven Steps to the Tao: Sima Chengzhen's Zuowanglun*. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag.
- Kohn, Livia, ed. 1989. *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan.
- Kohn, Livia, ed. 1993. *The Taoist Experience: An Anthology*. New York: State University of New York Press.

- Kubo, Noritada . 1967. *Chûguko no shûkyô kaikaku – Zenshin kyô no seiritsu* 中國的宗教改革--全真教的創立. Tokyo: Hôzôkan.
- Lagerway, John. 1987. *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History*. New York: Macmillan.
- Lauwaert, Françoise. 1994. "Semence de vie, germe d'immortalité." *L'Homme* 129:31-57.
- Langlois, John D., ed. 1981. *China Under Mongol Rule*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lau, D. C., tr. 1982. *Tao Te Ching*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press
- Lewis, James R. and J. Gordon Melton, eds. 1992. *Perspective on the New Age*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Li, Dahua 李大華. 1996. *Daojiao Sixiang* 道教思想. Shaoguan: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe.
- Li, Hongzhi 李洪志. 1996. *Zhuan Falun* 轉法輪. Hong Kong: Falun Fofa Chubanshe. For the English version, see Li 2001 below.
- Li, Hongzhi. 2001. *Zhuan Falun: The Complete Teachings of Falun Gong*. Gloucester, MA: Fair Winds Press. Translation of Li 1996 above.
- Liu, Ts'un-yan. 1984. *New Excursions from the Hall of Harmonious Wind*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Liu, Ts'un-yan 柳存人. 1997. *Hefengtang Xinwenji* 和風堂新文集. Taipei: Xinwenfeng Chubanshe. Two volumes.
- Liu, Ts'un-yan 柳存人. 1997a. *Du Hachiya Kunio <<Kindai Dôkyô no kenkyû>>* 讀蜂屋邦夫. Pp. 509-569 in *Hefengtang Xinwenji* 和蜂堂新文, vol. 2. See Liu 1997.
- Liu, Ts'un-yan and Judith Berling. 1982. "The 'Three Teachings' in the Mongol-Yuan Period." Pp. 479-512 in *Yuan Thought*, edited by Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lu, K'uan Yu (Charles Luk). 1969. *The Secrets of Chinese Meditation*. York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser.
- Lu, K'uan Yu (Charles Luk). 1973. *Taoist Yoga*. York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser.

- Mair, Victor H, tr. 1994. *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu*. Bantam Books.
- Ma, Jiren 馬濟人. 1991. "Daojiao Neidanxue 道教內丹學". Pp. 622-686 in *Daojiao Tonglun -- Jian Lun Daojia Xueshuo 道教通論--兼論道家學說*, edited by Mou, Hu and Wang. Qilu Shushe .
- Maspero, Henri. 1981. *Taoism and Chinese Religion*. Translated from French by Frank A. Kierman, Jr. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts.
- Miura, Kunio. 1989. "The Revival of Qi: Qigong in Contemporary China." Pp. 331-358 in *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, edited by Livia Kohn. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan.
- Moffatt, James. 1951. "Syncretism." *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 12:155-157.
- Mote, F. W. 1999. *Imperial China 900-1800*. Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press.
- Mou, Zhongjian 牟鍾鑒; Hu, Fuchen 胡浮琛 and Wang, Baoxuan 王葆玄, eds. 1991. *Daojiao Tonglun -- Jian Lun Daojia Xueshuo 道教通論--兼論道家學說*. Jinan: Qilu Shushe.
- Needham, Joseph. 1983. *Science and Civilization in China*. Vol. 5, part 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ozaki, Masaharu. 1984. "The Taoist Priesthood: From Tsai-chia to Ch'u-chia." *Senri Ethnological Studies* 11:97-109.
- Penny, Benjamin. 1993. "Qigong, Daoism and Science: Some Contexts of the Qigong Boom." Pp. 166-179 in *Modernization of the Chinese Past*, edited by Mabel Lee and A. D. Syrokomla-Stefanowska. Broadway, NSW: Wild Peony.
- Poo, Mu-chou. 1995. "The Images of Immortals and Eminent Monks: Religious Mentality in Early Medieval China (4-6 c. A.D.)." *Numen* 42:172-196.
- Poo, Mu-chou. 1998. *In Search of Personal Welfare: A View of Ancient Chinese Religion*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Pregadio, Fabrizio. 2000. "Elixirs and Alchemy." Pp. 165-195 in *Taoism Handbook*, edited by Livia Kohn. Leiden/Boston/Koln: Brill.
- Pregadio, Fabrizio and Lowell Skar. 2000. "Inner Alchemy (Neidan)." Pp. 464-497 in *Taoism Handbook*, edited by Livia Kohn. Leiden/Boston/Koln: Brill.

- Reiter, Florian C. 1981. "The Soothsayer Hao Ta-t'ung (1140-1212) and his Encounter with Ch'uan-chen Taoism." *Oriens Extremus* 28,2:198-205.
- Reiter, Florian C. 1984-85. "Ch'ung-yang Sets Forth His Teachings in Fifteen Discourses." *Monumenta Serica* 36:33-54.
- Reiter, Florian C. 1990. "A Chinese Patriot's Concern with Taoism: The Case of Wang O (1190-1273)." *Oriens Extremus* 33,2:95-131.
- Robinet, Isabelle. 1989. "Original Contributions of *Neidan* to Taoism and Chinese Thought." Pp. 297-330 in *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, edited by Livia Kohn. See Kohn 1989 above.
- Robinet, Isabelle. 1993. *Taoist Meditation, The Mao-shan Tradition of Great Purity*. Translated from the French by Julian F. Pas and Norman J. Girardot. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Robinet, Isabelle. 1995. *Introduction à l'alchimie intérieure taoïste De l'unité et de la multiplicité*. Paris: Cerf.
- Robinet, Isabelle. 1997. *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*. Translated and adapted from the French by Phyllis Brooks. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Roth, Harold D. 1991. "Psychology and Self-Cultivation in Early Taoistic Thought." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51:599-650.
- Sailey, Jay. 1978. *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity: A Study of the Philosopher Ko Hung, A.D. 283-343*. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center.
- Saso, Michael. 1989. *Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal*. 2d ed. Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press.
- Saso, Michael and David W. Chappell, eds. 1977. *Buddhist and Taoist Studies I*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Schipper, Kristofer. 1993. *The Taoist Body*. Translated from French by Karen C. Duval. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Seidel, Anna. 1987. "Post-Mortem Immortality or: The Taoist Resurrection of the Body." Pp. 223-237 in *Gilgul, Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions*, edited by S. Shaked, D. Shulman, and G. G. Stroumsa. New York/Kopenhagen/Koln: Leiden.
- Seidel, Anna. 1989-1990. "Chronicle of Taoist Studies in the West 1950-1990." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5:223-347.

- Sivin, Nathan. 1976. "Chinese Alchemy and the Manipulation of Time." *Isis* 67:513-526.
- Sivin, Nathan. 1987. "Chinese Alchemy." *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 1:186-190. Also in Sullivan 1989.
- Sivin, Nathan. 1990. "Research on the History of Chinese Alchemy." Pp. 3-20 in *Alchemy Revisited: Proceedings of the International Conference on the History of Alchemy at the University of Groningen 17-19 April 1989*, edited by Z.R.W.M. von Martels. New York: E. J. Brill.
- Spretnak, Charlene. 1993. *States of Grace: The Recovery of Meaning in the Postmodern Age*. 1st Paperback ed. HarperSanFrancisco.
- Stein, Rolf A. 1990. *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Sullivan, Lawrence E., ed. 1989. *Hidden Truths: Magic, Alchemy, and the Occult*. New York: MacMillan. Selections from *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (M. Eliade, editor-in-chief).
- Sun K'o-k'uan. 1981. "Yu Chi and Southern Taoism during the Yuan Period." Pp. 212-253 in *China Under Mongol Rule*, edited by John D. Langlois, Jr. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tang Daijian 唐代釗. 2000. *Wang Zhe Qiu Chuji Pingzhuan* 王嘉丘處機評傳 [A Critical Biography of Wang Zhe and Qiu Chuji]. Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue Chubanshe.
- Ter Haar, Barend. No date. *Falun Gong: Evaluation and further references*. Retrieved February 29, 2000 (<http://sun.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/staff/bth/falun.htm>).
- Thompson, Laurence G., ed. 1973. *The Chinese Way in Religion*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Tsui, Bartholomew. 1991. *Taoist Tradition and Change, The Story of the Complete Perfection Sect in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture.
- Wallace, Anthony. 1956. "Revitalization Movements." *American Anthropologist* 58:264-281.
- Waley, Arthur, tr. 1931. *The Travels of An Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-ch'un From China to the Hindukush at the summons of Chingiz Khan, recorded by his disciple Li Chih-ch'ang*. London: George Routledge.

- Waley, Arthur. 1934. *The Way and Its Power: The Tao Te Ching and its place in Chinese thought*. London/Sydney: Unwin Paperbacks.
- Wang, David The-yu. 1991/92. "Nei Jing Tu, a Daoist Diagram of the Internal Circulation of Man." *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 49/50:141-157.
- Wang, Deshen 王德深, ed. 1988. *Manual of International Standardization of Acupuncture (Zhenjiu) Point Names* 針灸穴名國際標準化手冊. Beijing: Renmin Weisheng Chubanshe.
- Wang, Mingxin 王民信. 1978. "Qiu Chuji 丘處機." Pp. 1-69 (3387-3455) in *Zhongguo Lidai Sixiangjia* 中國歷代思想家, vol. 6, edited by Wang Shounan 王壽南. Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Chubanshe..
- Wang, Xiping 王西平 and Yang, Tingwa 楊亭娃, eds. 1991. *Quanzhenjiao Qingxiu Gongfa* 全真教清修功法. Huhehaote: Neimenggu Renmin Chubanshe.
- Watson, Burton, tr. 1968. *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Welch, Holmes and Anna Seidel, eds. 1979. *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
- White, David Gordon. 1996. *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wong, Eva, tr. 1990. *Seven Taoist Masters*. Boston and London: Shambhala. Translation of *Beipai Qizhen Xiudao Shizhuan* 北派七真修道史傳. For the original Chinese version, see Huang 1893 above.
- Wong, Eva, tr. 1997. *Harmonizing Yin and Yang: The Dragon-Tiger Classic*. Boston and London: Shambhala.
- Wong, Shiu-hon 黃兆漢. 1988. "Qiu Chuji de Panxiji 丘處機的磻西集." Pp. 211-236 in *Daojiao Yanjiu Lunwen Ji* 道教研究論文集, edited by Wong Shiu-hon. Hongkong: The Chinese University Press.
- Wong, Shiu-hon 黃兆漢. 1988a. "Quanzhen Qizi Ci Pingshu 全真七子詞評述." *Xianggang Zhongwen Daxue Zhongguo Wenhua Yanjiusuo Xuebao* 19:135-162.
- Wu, Sing Chou. 1973. *A Study of the Taoist Internal Elixir -- Its Theory and Development*. Ph.D. dissertation, St. John's University, NY.
- Wu, Yao-yu. 1991. *The Taoist Tradition In Chinese Thought*. Translated by Laurence G. Thompson and edited by Gary Seaman. Los Angeles, CA: Ethnographics Press.

- Xiao, Tianshi 蕭天石, ed. *Daozang Jinghua* 道藏精華. Taipei: Ziyou Chubanshe.
- Xu, Zhaoren 徐兆仁, ed. 1988. *Quanzhen Miyao* 全真秘要. Beijing: Zhongguo Renminjiaoxue Chubanshe.
- Yang, Jwing-ming. 1997. *The Roots of Chinese Qigong: Secrets of Health, Longevity, & Enlightenment*. 2d ed. Roslindale, MA: YMAA Publication Center.
- Yang, Xinshi 楊信實. 1997. *Daojiao yu Jiduzongjiao Lingxiu: Cong Jidutu Lichang Tantaoyuan Quanzhen Daojiao de Xingming Shuangxiu Chengquanguan* 道教與基督宗教靈修：從基督立場探討金元全真道教的性命雙修全觀. Taipei: Guangqi Chubanshe.
- Yao, Congwu 姚從吾. 1959. "Yuan Qiuchuji Nianpu 元丘處機年譜." Pp. 214-276 in *Dongbei Shiluncong*, vol. 2 東北史論叢(下冊). Taipei: Zhengzhong Shuju.
- Yao, Tao-chung. 1977. "The Historical Value of the Ch'üan-ch'en Sources in the Tao-tsang." *Sung Studies Newsletter* 13:67-76.
- Yao, Tao-chung. 1980. *Ch'uan-ch'en: A New Taoist Sect in Northern China During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona.
- Yao, Tao-chung. 1986. "Ch'iu Ch'u-chi and Chinggis Khan". *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46,1:201-219.
- Yao, Tao-chung. 1995. "Taoism and Buddhism under the Chin." Pp. 145-180 in *China Under Jurchen Rule: Essays in Chin Cultural History*, edited by Stephen West and Hoyt Tillman. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Yao, Tao-chung. 2000. "Quanzhen – Complete Perfection." Pp. 567-593 in *Taoism Handbook*, edited by Livia Kohn. Leiden/Boston/Koln: Brill.
- Yoshioka, Yoshitoyo. 1979. "Taoist Monastic Life." Pp. 220-252 in *Facets of Taoism*, edited by H. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Yudelove, Eric Steven. 1997. *100 Days to Better Health, Good Sex and Long Life: A Guide of Taoist Yoga and Chi Kung*. St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications.
- Zhang, Guangbao. 1993. *Jin-Yuan Quanzhendao Neidan Xinxinglun Yanjiu* 金元全真道內丹心性論研究. Taipei: Wenjin Chubanshe.
- Zhao, Daoyi 趙道一. 1993. *Xianjian* 仙鑒 (*Lishi Zhenxian Tidaotongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑒). Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe.

- Zheng, Suchun 鄭素春. 1987. *Quanzhendao yu Damengguguo Dishi* 全真道與大蒙古帝室. Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju.
- Zhou, Shaoxian 周紹賢. 1982. *Daojiao Quanzhen Dashi Qiu Changchun* 道教全真大師丘長春. Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan.
- Zhu, Yueli 朱越利. 1982. "Qiqi Erzi Yitongbian 炁氣二字異同辨." *Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 1:50-58.
- Ziesler, J. A. 1974. *Christian Asceticism*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmanns Publishing Company.
- IV. References.**
- Hu, Fuchen 胡浮琛, ed. 1995. *Zhonghua Daojiao Dacidian* 中華道教大詞典. Beijing: Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan.
- Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, ed. 1986-1994. *Hanyu Dacidian* 漢語大詞典. Shanghai: Hanyu Chubanshe.
- Ren, Jiyu 任繼愈, ed. 1995. *Daozang Ti Yao* 道藏提要. Beijing: Zhongguo Shehuikexue Chubanshe. 2 版(修訂版).
- Smith, Jonathan Z., ed. 1995. *The HarperCollins Dictionary of Religion*. San Francisco, CA: HarperCollins.
- Soothill, William E. and Lewis Hodous, comps. 1962. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. Taipei: Buddhist Culture Service.
- Takakusu, Junjiro and Kaikyoku Watanabe, eds. 1961-1978. *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*. Tokyo: Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo Kankokai. Reprint. Originally published: 1924-1927
- Weng, Dujian 翁獨健. 1988. *Daozang Zimu Yinde* 道藏子目引得. Taipei: Xinwenfeng Chuban Gongsi.
- Zhu, Yueli 朱越利. 1996. *Daozang Fenlei Jieti* 道藏分類解題. Beijing: Huaxia Chubanshe.