SEVERE ASCETICISM IN EARLY DAOIST RELIGION

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a survey and analysis of the ideal of severe asceticism conveyed in early religious Daoist texts. "Severe asceticism" in this study refers to religious practices that entail hardship, suffering and the rejection of basic human needs, along with the beliefs and attitudes that serve as justification and motivation for such practices. The period dealt with in the study is roughly the first six centuries of the common era.

The study addresses three basic questions: 1) What specific severe ascetic training methods and ways of behavior were being carried out by Daoists? 2) What attitudes and beliefs served as motivation for such practices? 3) How and to what degree did the severe ascetic practices and the beliefs and attitudes dictating them evolve during the period in question?

The study finds that throughout the period discussed, severe asceticism was always an important ideal for Daoists, especially for advanced adepts. The prominent severe ascetic practices included fasting, celibacy, sleep-avoidance, wilderness seclusion and self-imposed poverty. Highly uncommon and generally disapproved of were austeries which harmed and weakened the body with no purpose of ultimately strengthening it. In general, the motives for severe asceticism were (1) the strengthening and transformation of the body, (2) contact and participation in what is sacred and transcendent and (3) disdain and fear of the world and society. However, it is also discussed how during the latter part of the period examined, the emergence of new, partly Buddhist-influenced, soteriological and cosmological beliefs intensified the inherent tension between the two primary soteriological objectives, longevity and transcendence, and may have given justification to austerities which harmed the body and contradicted the archaic ideal of bodily immortality.

In order to be able to analyze the phenomenon of severe asceticism in its full integrity, an approach has been taken that emphasizes comprehensiveness. This is because the phenomenon was much too widespread and diverse to be accurately assessed on the basis

of one authoritative text. Thus a wide variety of sources have been utilized so that severe asceticism in early Daoist religion can be viewed to its fullest and understood properly based on a broad base of information.

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INTRODUCTION

What follows is a survey and analysis of the ideal of severe asceticism conveyed in early religious Daoist texts. It is first necessary to clarify what I mean by "severe asceticism." "Severe asceticism" in this study refers to religious practices that entail hardship, suffering and the rejection of basic human needs, along with the beliefs and attitudes that serve as justification and motivation for such practices. More specifically, the types of practices which I would regard as "severe asceticism" include fasting, sleep-avoidance, celibacy, self-imposed poverty, wilderness seclusion and self-inflicted pain. I have chosen the term "severe asceticism" rather than just simply "asceticism" to describe the subject matter of this study due to the fact that the word "asceticism" by itself is frequently used to cover a broader range of beliefs and practices than what this study is concerned with. In his article, "Asceticism" in the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Walter O. Kaelber states that although the word "asceticism" has no universally accepted definition, it may be defined as follows when used in a religious context:

> ...a voluntary, sustained, and at least partially systematic program of self discipline and self-denial in which immediate, sensual or profane gratifications are renounced in order to attain a higher spiritual state or a more thorough absorption in the sacred.[1]

Such is the definition that has been accepted by some scholars of religion. *Webster's Dictionary*, which presumably conveys the sense of the word as it is used and accepted among people in general, gives the following three entries as definitions:

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[1]See p. 441 of Walter O. Kaelber, "Asceticism" in Mircea Eliade ed. *The Encyclopedia of Religion*(New York: Macmillan, 1987), vol. I pp. 441-445.

1) The condition, practice or mode of life of ascetics.

2) The doctrine that through self torture or self-denial, one can discipline himself to reach a higher state, spiritually or intellectually.

3) A disciplinary code of conduct pursued as a means to a higher ideal.

Based on the definitions in the *Encyclopedia of Religion* and *Webster's Dictionary* (especially entry 3), the word "asceticism" by itself can certainly refer to doctrines and practices requiring hardship, suffering and deprivation from basic needs, but can also refer to a self-discipline of a less severe kind which calls merely for restraint and moderation. A classic example of such a usage of the word would be Max Weber's concept of "inner-worldly asceticism" which refers to a disciplined, methodical and controlled pusuit of one's worldly vocation that is carried out as a service to God and through which one seeks confirmation of one's own salvation.[2] Because "asceticism" quite frequently refers to modes of self-discipline of a lesser severity, I employ the adjective "severe" to describe the types of asceticism that entail real hardship, suffering and the rejection of basic needs. The following passages describe examples of practices I would describe as "severe asceticism." These passages are found in hagiography depicting the disciples of Wang Chongyang (1112-1170), founder of the Northern Quanzhen School of the Daoist religion:

> After mourning [the death of his master Wang Chongyang] in a graveside hut for two years, [Qiu Changchun] entered the Panxi Gorge in the fall of the *jiawu* year (1174). He lived in a cave and begged for one meal per day, going about wearing a grass mantle. People called him 'Mr. Grass Mantle'. For six years he went day and night without sleeping. After this he hid

[2]See ibid. p. 444.

himself in Mt. Longmen in Longzhou (in present day Gansu Province) and performed acts of suffering as he did in Panxi.[3]

After this, [Wang Yuyang] went back and forth between Deng[zhou] and Ninghai (both located in present day Shandong peninsula). At night he would return to the Cloud Radiance Grotto (a grotto on Mt. Cha where he trained), where he stood at the entrance on one foot facing the great sea on the east for nine years, not once falling asleep. People called him 'Mr. Iron Leg'. Perfected Man Qiu [Changchun] praised him saying, 'In the summer he stood facing the sun. In the winter he slept embracing the snow.' He trained his body like this for nine years and entered into the great marvels (attained Immortal-hood).[4]

The teacher (Hao Guangning) roamed about Hebei. In the *yiwei* year (1175) he was begging in Wozhou when he suddenly understood the secret words of [Wang] Chongyang. [His insight] widely opened up. Consequently he went to a bridge and sat silently upon it without moving. When he got hungry or thirsty he did not seek [food or drink]. Amidst coldness or heat he did not change his attire. If people gave him food he ate. If they did not give him food, he would not [eat]. Even when there were people who insulted and ridiculed him, he did not get angry. His will was [concentrated] on forgetting his body. He was like this for three years. People called him "Mr. Speechless."

One evening when the sky was dark, a drunkard accidentally kicked the teacher while crossing the bridge, knocking him down under the bridge. [Hao] said nothing and did not come out from under the bridge for seven

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1*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* (HY174/TT76) 32a. See Plate 1.

4*Jinlian zhengzong ji* (HY173/TT75-76) 5/2a. See Plate 2.

> days. People did not know what had happened and thus wondered where the teacher was. It suddenly happened that when a traveling official was trying to cross the bridge on horseback, the horse became startled and started to buck and would not advance even when whipped. The traveler got off his horse and asked [people] left and right, "There must be something strange under the bridge. If not, why is my horse frightened?" He ordered [people] right and left to go and look [under the bridge]. [They found] a Daoist (Hao Guangning) sitting properly (upright in a meditative position) in a relaxed manner. When they questioned him he silently wrote on the ground with his hand, "I have not eaten for seven days." The commoners of the district heard of this and hurried forth to offer him food, burn incense and beg him to come out [from under the bridge]. But he only waved his hand and refused. He just sat under the bridge for three more years. Water and fire overturned, yin and yang came together and the Merit of Nine Cycles[5] was completed.[6]

The austerities that are described above are indeed severe. There is no doubt that the early Quanzhen masters carried out ascetic practices, but of course these accounts are legendary in form, written by later believers to glorify their religious heroes. The sources for this study are scripture texts, which here, as in every other religious tradition, are valuable as expressions of beliefs and ideals, but are not necessarily reliable as historical evidence of actual events and practices. What we can say is that for the Quanzhen and some other Daoist traditions the capacity to carry out strict austerities was regarded as a definitive trait of a holy man. This dissertation assumes throughout this understanding of its sources. It deals with religious ideals mediated through scriptures.

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[5]An alchemical metaphor meaning that he had successfully undergone the physiological processes for the attainment of immortality as a Perfected Man.

[6]*Jinlian zhengzong ji* 5/6b-7a. See Plate 3.

It was during my research for my M.A. thesis on the doctrines and practices of Wang Chongyang and his disciples (entitled "The Beliefs and Practices of Early Ch'üan-chen Taoism") that I first became interested in the topic of severe asceticism. In my thesis I discussed how the Quanzhen masters deemed it necessary for an adept to experience suffering, hardship and even danger in order to become a Perfected Man, and how their reputation for their ascetic feats was partly responsible for their establishing widespread credibility for themselves as holy men and religious leaders. At the same time, a question which inevitably came to mind was whether or not their endorsement of severe asceticism was an innovation and departure that made them unique within the history of Daoism. Such a question came to mind particularly because the Quanzhen sect has frequently been described as a movement of "New Daoism", a reform movement which sought to refute the various irrational elements which characterized "Old Daoism" such as the practice of ritual worship and healing employing talismans and incantations, and the pursuit of longevity and immortality through methods such as laboratory alchemy and sexual yoga. In place of such elements, it has been said that the Quanzhen sect created a radically new religious system by drawing upon elements of the Buddhist and Confucian traditions, emphasizing the attainment of enlightenment upon one's innate nature through meditation, as well as the energetic performance of moralistic evangelism and charitable deeds. In my M.A. thesis, I refuted this notion of the Quanzhen sect being a reformist sect of "New Daoism" by arguing that the core of their doctrine was grounded in previously existing Daoist theories of internal alchemy as well as the cult of the Perfected Man Lü Chunyang. While the doctrines of the Quanzhen sect indeed included numerous Buddhist elements, these elements were already firmly established within previously existing schools of Daoism. The soteriology of the Quanzhen sect, adopted from predecessors in the internal alchemical tradition, differed from that of archaic forms of religious Daoism in that it did not claim that one was to seek the immortality of the human flesh. However, it also differed greatly from that of Buddhism in that according to it, when the adept is enlightened to his innate nature,

an immortal body is created within the body which exits and proceeds to an eternal and godly existence at the time of physical death. Because the body of flesh acts as the apparatus in which this immortal entity is concocted, the maintaining and strengthening of it by means of traditional Daoist techniques (particularly techniques of meditation, breath control and light gymnastics) were still very much emphasized. Also, I argued that the Quanzhen masters themselves participated in worship and healing employing talismans and charms, and clearly approved of such activities provided that they were carried out with proper motives and in good faith.

However, at the end of this research and speculation, I remained intrigued by the severe asceticism endorsed within the early Quanzhen school, and wondered how prevalent such an ascetic ideal had been among Daoists over the course of history. My logical next step then was to search extensively for material describing and endorsing severe asceticism in Daoist sources from various periods prior to the Quanzhen masters. My search has brought to light a great abundance of evidence which indicates that from very early on, and throughout its history, severe asceticism was an important ideal within the Daoist religion, and was prescribed especially for those spiritual elite who resolved to attain the highest level of salvation that the religion had to offer. In this study I will present and analyze the evidence that I have found regarding severe asceticism in the Daoist religion during roughly the first six centuries[7] of the common era. Throughout my dissertation, I purport to address three basic questions: 1) What specific severe ascetic training methods and ways of behavior were being carried out by Daoists? 2) What attitudes and beliefs served as

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[7]The text dealt with in Chapter Eight, the *Taishang dadao yuqing jing*, is a text which I tentatively estimate as being a sixth century text (see the discussion in the introductory portion of Chapter Eight). Strictly speaking, the latest possible date by which this text must have been in existence is 753 A.D. The text, in one of its numerous allegorical tales, contains a reference to a certain "World of Great Vastness" (*datang shijie* 大唐世界), which is understandable either as an allusion to the reign period of the mythical sage Emperor Yao, or to the Tang Dynasty. If the latter possibility is correct, it should be taken as evidence towards a later dating of the text. If one is to thus date the text more conservatively, it is to be considered a seventh century text, in which case the scope of this study becomes the first seven centuries of the common era. Because I still feel that the arguments for this more conservative dating are inconclusive, and the arguments in favor of an earlier date are substantial, I am adhering to my estimate of "sixth century." This estimate is tentative, pending further evidence to the contrary which may arise in the future.

motivation for such practices? 3) How and to what degree did the severe ascetic practices and the beliefs and attitudes dictating them evolve during the period in question? This third question is of great importance and interest because the period studied was a time when Daoist beliefs, practices and institutions in general were being shaped and molded largely as a result of interaction with and borrowing from Buddhism, as well as the impact of new Daoist movements (i.e. the Shangqing and Lingbao movements) which promoted scriptures which were claimed to be revelations of higher divine truth than what had been known to humankind previously. It was a time when Daoism was forming itself into an organized religion in the fullest sense, complete with a system of doctrines and a canon of scriptures, as well as institutions and hierarchies for clergy and laity.

I have tried to locate as much information as possible that is relevant to the topic, and have selected for concentrated study the texts which are outstanding in the quantity or the variety of information provided, or which deal extensively with a specific theme that holds particular interest. The earlier materials prior to the Shangqing and Lingbao movements are of great interest particularly because they provide clues for identifying the elements of asceticism that are indigenous. Daoism became an organized religion partly in response to the arrival and spread of Buddhism. In other words, while Daoists were trying to better organize themselves to be able to compete on par with Buddhism, they were borrowing (while modifying and adapting to a certain degree) Buddhist doctrines and modes of institution which, as we will see, were to have considerable impact upon the way in which Daoist asceticism was to evolve. Probably most important was the borrowing of elements of Buddhist ethics and soteriology which emphasized the elimination of desires for the purpose of becoming liberated from *samsara*, or the cycle of reincarnation. Equally significant was the widespread adoption of the Buddhist model of organized ascetic discipline which demanded of members living in a group setting the observance of various rules of conduct called *jie* or precepts, which required among other things the faithful practice of vegetarianism and celibacy. Buddhist elements such as these served to add

renewed justification and vigor to the ascetic life while re-enforcing indigenous and prior existing motives for severe asceticism.

For various reasons, modern scholarship has been slow to acknowledge asceticism as a significant phenomenon in the Daoist religion. Quite to the contrary, there has existed the perception among some that asceticism, which in Western culture particularly is known to be frequently characterized by a disdain for life in the world and a stark dualism that contrasts spirit versus matter, soul versus body and God versus creature, is fundamentally incompatible with the outlook of Daoists, as well as the Chinese in general. The most famous early proponent of this opinion was Max Weber, who wrote before Daoism was adequately understood. Weber observed that an asceticist ethic contrasting God versus creature was precluded among the educated Chinese who were unable to consummate ideas regarding a supra mundane, personal, omnipotent god before whom all creatures were unsanctified.[8] Regarding the philosophy of Laozi, Weber observed that while Laozi de-valued inner-worldly culture to a point, he proposed as his solution the minimization of action rather than a resolute rejection of the world. Weber viewed organized Daoist religion essentially as "an organization of magicians" and stated that Daoism emphasized magic, not conduct, as decisive for man's fate. According to Weber, the central goal of Daoism was health, wealth and happiness in both this life and the afterlife, and Daoist attempts of linking ethics with other-worldly fate were of little consequence. Weber even went as far as to say, "Buddhism imported about all that Chinese folk life knew of the religious sermon and individual search for salvation, belief in compensation and a beyond, religious ethics and inner devotion."[9] Weber viewed the macrobiotics of Daoist mystics as a radical "this-worldliness." It has been over seventy years since Weber published his studies on Chinese religion, during which great strides in the academic study of Daoism were made by

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[8]See Max Weber, *The Religions of China*, trans. by Hans Gerth (New York: Macmillan, 1951) pp.185-186. The original German version was first published as a series of articles in *Jaffeschen Archiv für Sozialwirtschaft Bd.* nos. 41-46 (1915-1919).
[9]See *The Religions of China*, p.225.

scholars who, unlike Weber, could read primary Daoist sources. Yet views similar to those of Weber, particularly those viewing Daoism and the pursuit of longevity as this-worldly and geared towards "health wealth and happiness", continued to be expressed, especially in Japan (where Weber's work on Chinese religion has been widely read and admired).

Murakami Yoshimi, in his article entitled "Affirmation of Desire in Taoism"[10], argued that the affirmation and gratification of desire is the essence of Daoism. Drawing the distinction between a philosophical Daoism for the intellectuals and a religious or popular Daoism for the masses, Murakami wrote that the former sought "the endless perfection (spiritualization) of desire"[11] and the latter is aimed exclusively at gaining the worldly blessings of health, wealth and happiness, and was generally free of the consciousness of sin which would inhibit desire.

This view of the Daoist religion as being essentially worldly in its orientation was further perpetuated in Japan by Kubo Noritada who, in formulating a tentative definition for *dookyoo* (i.e. *daojiao*, Daoist religion) in his general history of Daoist religion (*Dookyoo shi*, 1977), included this supposed "worldliness" as a definitive trait of the religion:

> The Daoist religion is a natural religion geared towards this-worldly benefits which has ageless longevity as its main goal and has strong magico-religious tendencies, which has ancient folk beliefs as its foundation, and the immortality cult as its core, and to these adds the theories of Daoist philosophy, the Book of Changes, *yin* and *yang* , the five phases, the Wei

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[10]See Murakami Yoshimi, "Affirmation of Desire in Taoism" in *Acta Asiatica* vol. 27 (1974) pp. 57-74.
[11]Murakami does not clarify sufficiently what he means by this. According to him, this perfection or spiritualization of desire was realized through mysticism, and served to mollify the harmful consequences of endlessly and excessively seeking the gratification of desires in the worldly realm.

> apocrypha, medicine, astrology and the beliefs of spirit-medium cults, and which was organized in emulation of Buddhist institutions and models.[12]

As we will see frequently throughout this study, eremitism was common among Daoist ascetics. Wolfgang Bauer and Aat Vervoorn have argued that Chinese hermits, Confucian and Daoist, were comparatively worldly in their orientation. Bauer, in his 1981 article comparing third and fourth century Chinese hermits with their Christian counterparts in the West[13], observed that asceticism had a much less decisive impact in Chinese eremitism due to the fact that their outlook was immanent rather than transcendent, seeing no other world beyond the present one and not seeing this world as a place of temptation detached from the kingdom of God. Furthermore, Bauer argued that the dualism in Chinese thought (i.e. theories concerning *yin* and *yang*) showed no strong preference towards either side of the duality, and thus the ethics aimed at balanced attitudes rather than extreme ones. According to Bauer, the worldliness of Chinese eremitism generally mollified the ascetic elements, and Chinese asceticism sought the purification of life rather than renunciation and mortification.

Vervoorn has similarly stated that early Chinese hermits, as opposed to those of Christianity who lived alone to solidify a personal relationship with God, pursued earthly ideals of social implication. According to Vervoorn, they did not reject human contact and mortify the flesh, nor did they show any antipathy toward satisfying basic needs such as food, shelter and familial affection.[14]

Cited by Murakami and Bauer among others as an example of how Daoism "affirms desire" or is "worldly", i.e. not ascetic, is the fact that Daoist longevity and immortality techniques included sexual yoga (*fangzhong shu*, 房中術 sometimes practiced in the context of

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[12]Kubo Noritada, *Dookyoo shi* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1977), p.42. For original Japanese text see Plate 4.

[13]See Wolfgang Bauer, "The Hermit's Temptation: Aspects of Eremitism in China" in *Guoji hanxue huiyi lunwen ji* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1981) pp. 73-116.

[14]See Aat Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the end of the Han Dynasty* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990).

group rituals of sexual union called *heqi* 合氣) as well as the supposed absence of any ideal of celibacy prior to the influence of Buddhism. This supposed absence of celibacy (a practice widely recognized as so fundamental to asceticism that the words "celibacy" and "asceticism" are at times used virtually synonymously) has also been linked to fundamental Chinese views on cosmology and physiology. Noteworthy are the following remarks by Joseph Needham and Kristofer Schipper:

> It was quite natural, in view of the general acceptance of the Yin-Yang theories, to think of human sexual relations against a common background, and indeed as having intimate connections with the mechanism of the whole universe. The Taoists considered that sex, far from being an obstacle to the attainment of *hsien*-ship [i.e. immortality], could be made to aid it in important ways.[15]

> Continence was considered not only impossible, but improper, as contrary to the great rhythm of nature, since everything in nature had male or female properties. Celibacy (advocated by later Buddhist heretics) would produce only neuroses.[16]

> On the basis of historical and contemporary observations, we can state that Taoism never was a monastic religion, for celibacy is, in fact, inconsistent with its fundamental conception of the body.[17]

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[15]Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 146.
[16]Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 2, p. 149.
[17]Kristopher Schipper, *The Taoist Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), translated from French by Karen Duval, p. 56.

Thus both Needham and Schipper claimed that celibacy was a practice alien to Daoism due to views on cosmology and physiology, and the emphasis put upon balance. Unfortunately, Schipper's book is vague as to how exactly celibacy contradicts the fundamental conception of the body. In the last passage quoted above, Schipper deals with

It is apparently due to the influence of the types of observations enumerated above that a full-length concentrated study of Daoist asceticism has yet to be published in spite of the remarkable growth of the field of religious Daoist studies over the past few decades. The feeling has perhaps been that asceticism, if and when it did occur in Daoism, was too idiosyncratic and isolated a phenomenon to merit an in-depth study.

In this study, however, it will be demonstrated that there was always a strong ascetic current in the Daoist religion, and that the attitude that emphasized this-worldly benefits was not at all the dominant one among practicing Daoists. While Daoists held as a common goal the attainment of some sort of immortality, their attitudes regarding whether one was to enjoy or renounce worldly things varied considerably. In many cases, the Immortal (*xianren*) or Perfected Man (*zhenren*) which adepts sought to become was conceived of as a divine being of superhuman capacities whose marvelously transformed mind and body no longer required for their gratification and sustenance the things of the mundane world. In such cases, since the pursuit of immortality was actually an attempt to become divine and superhuman, rather than an attempt to prolong the pleasures of humanly and worldly existence, the goal called for a very thoroughgoing rejection of worldly things and perseverance in extremely austere training methods (especially fasting) in order so that one could eventually become entirely detached from them and achieve the decisive transformation. In this type of case, the pursuit of immortality was by no means "worldly" as Weber would suggest. It is better understood as the most earnest attempt at realizing a transcendent existence to develop out of a world view which provided no logical prospects for the soul on its own to survive eternally in a heavenly kingdom. As we will also see, another factor which made many feel the necessity to wean themselves from worldly things

was the widespread eschatological beliefs which maintained that the world was nearing the end of a cosmic cycle, was being overrun by demonic forces and was doomed to imminent destruction. This type of belief caused many Daoists to disdain the world as corrupt and decrepit and to engage in austere training in order to ensure participation in a realm of existence that would outlast and transcend the profane world.

We will also see that, while there were Daoists who included techniques of sexual intercourse within their religious regimen, there were also those who practiced celibacy. While Buddhist influences did provide some of the justifications (based on theories of *karma*) for celibacy and may well have served to increase the number of celibates within the Daoist fold, celibacy already existed in Daoism prior to Buddhism, and was based on very fundamental indigenous physiological theories which saw the emission of sperm as having the deadly effect of depleting the body's vitality and shortening the life span. We will also see that another important aim of celibacy, also sought through other types of asceticism, was the attaining of mystical encounters with divine beings.

The discrepancy between the observations of scholars such as Weber, Murakami, Kubo, Bauer, Vervoorn, Needham or Schipper, and what we will be examining in this study is attributable more than anything else to the diversity of individual temperaments that co-exist within any group, ethnic or religious. Whether one affirms or rejects the world, whether one does or does not yearn to participate in the transcendent, or whether one seeks to gratify or suppress one's desires, is most often determined by the individual's psychological make-up. In this sense, severe asceticism is the consummate expression within the Daoist tradition of the profoundly religious temperament that strives for redemption, salvation and participation in the sacred at all costs. It deserves thorough examination and appreciation if only to dispel once and for all the unfair prejudice (which fortunately recent scholarship has in many ways made great strides towards dispelling) that degrades organized Daoist religion as "an organization of magicians" and denies its integrity and richness as a salvation religion.

Another reason why scholars have under-emphasized the importance of asceticism in Daoism is probably because mainland China had been completely closed to non-Chinese scholars for roughly thirty years, which happened to coincide with the arising of a growing scholarly interest in the Daoist religion, particularly in Japan, France and the United States. Non-Chinese scholars of Daoism during this time who wished to benefit from contact with the living tradition had to do so by going to Taiwan. Consequently they had no personal contact with the monastic Daoists of the mainland who emphasize ascetic discipline, while having ample contact with the priests of the non-monastic, ritually oriented Zhengyi Sect (also known as the *tianshidao* or Heavenly Master's Sect) which predominates in Taiwan. The result was a lack of appreciation for the strength, richness and integrity of the ascetic current in the Daoist religion. Interesting then is the view expressed in the general history of Daoist religion recently published in the People's Republic (edited by Ren Jiyu) which says, "Confucianism is [a doctrine which advocates] active participation in the world. Daoist philosophy [is a doctrine which advocates] viewing the [world] from the side with indifference. Daoist religion [is a doctrine for] rising high above and exiting the world."[18] Thus in the mainland itself, where older scholars likely have memories of Daoist monasteries as they existed prior to Communist suppression and younger scholars have easy access to active monasteries today, the perception of Daoism being a "worldly religion" is apparently not widely advocated.

During the Cultural Revolution, a concerted effort was made by the government to eliminate Daoism from the People's Republic for good, which would have meant the virtual extinction of Daoist asceticism. Fortunately, since the early 1980's the government has adopted a policy of tolerance towards organized religions, and monastic Daoism is being allowed to gradually restore itself. At the same time, the nation's doors have been opened to foreign visitors, making it possible for non-Chinese scholars to personally encounter

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[18]See Ren Jiyu ed. *Zhongguo daojiao shi* (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehuikexue Chubanshe, 1990) p. 13. English translation my own.

monastic Daoism. In my own visits to China, I have generally been very impressed by how the Daoist monks and nuns today are sincerely and diligently upholding strict standards of austerity and discipline. I have also met an adept named Lingdanzi ("the Master of the Miraculous Elixir"), living at the foot of Mt. Wudang in western Hubei Province, who claims to go on complete fasts of up to 100 days. From monks at the Southern Peak Mt. Heng (Hunan Province) I heard a rumor about a nun on Mt. Wudang (whom I was not able to meet) who had allegedly not eaten for three years. Thus my personal contact with the living tradition has in part been what has caused me to regard asceticism seriously as an important component of the Daoist religion, and I anticipate that others will come back from China with similar impressions. Of course, the grandeur of the monasteries and the wealth of interesting personalities and practices within them is probably nothing compared to what had existed prior to the atrocities of the Cultural Revolution.[19]

Now, as is reflected in the aforementioned observations of Weber, Bauer, Needham and Schipper, asceticism in its severe forms has been frequently known to be linked to a dualism that sees the two sides of the duality as alien and antagonistic to each other, while showing a strong preference for one of the two. The prevalent view among Christian ascetics was one which saw the soul that sought salvation and eternal life as being involved in constant conflict with the body which is nothing but the source of desires and impulses that cause one to sin. The object of Jain asceticism (perhaps the most severe asceticism to be found in any religious tradition) was to purify and liberate the soul from *samsara* by "burning away" (through the fervor of one's *tapas* or austerities) the karmic "matter" that adheres to it and defiles it.[20] Manichaean asceticism was aimed at liberating the soul

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[19]For a study and description of Daoist monastic life prior to Communism see Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, "Taoist Monastic Life" in Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel ed. *Facets of Taoism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) pp. 229-252. Also of interest are the books (albeit not works of scholarship) by John Blofeld (*Taoist Mysteries and Magic*) and Deng Mingdao (*The Wandering Taoist* , *Seven Bamboo Slips of the Cloudy Satchel*)which provide vivid (albeit not necessarily entirely factual) descriptions of Daoist monastery life shortly before Communism.

[20]See M.G. Bhagat, *Ancient Indian Asceticism* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1976), p.199.

(conceived of as light which originally issued from the good, divine realm) from the flesh (the dark, evil component of humans) which entraps it.[21] On the other hand, the Daoists and the Chinese in general did not conceive of the same stark mind/body split.

Ishida Hidemi has demonstrated that the most fundamental view of mind and body held in ancient China was one which perceived the mind as a fluid and a form of energy which had its primary locus in the five orbs[22] but which pervaded the entire body in order to regulate its energy. The energies of body and mind were closely interrelated, together constituting the blood, energy and mind that circulated the body. The body and mind were thus ultimately one entity which functioned as a single unit. The notion also existed that the flowing mind, when drawn to external objects, would leave the body. Ishida points out that the Daoists later personified this concept in the form of numerous gods residing in the body which one was to try to keep inside oneself by keeping the mind free of attachments and desires.[23]

Henri Maspero explained as follows why Daoists sought eternal life through bodily immortality rather than an immortality of the soul:

> Taoism is a salvation religion which aims to lead the faithful to Life Eternal. And if the Taoists, in the search for Long Life, conceived this not as a spiritual immortality but as a material immortality of the body itself, this is not a deliberate choice between the various possible solutions of the problem of immortality in the other world; it was because for them this was the only possible solution. In the Greco-Roman world, the habit of opposing Spirit to Matter was accepted early; and in religious beliefs this

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[21]See Kurt Rudolph, *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1984) pp. 326-342.

[22]This term is used in Ishida's article to refer to the *wuzang* or five viscera (liver, heart, lungs, kidneys and spleen). Ishida contends that *zang* is better translated as "orbs" than as "viscera" since it often actually refers not only to the specific organ, but also all energy and functions in the body that are linked to it.

[23]See Ishida Hidemi, "Body and Mind: The Chinese Pespective", in Livia Kohn ed. *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989), pp. 41-71.

was translated into an opposition between a unique spiritual soul and a material body. For the Chinese, who have never made any distinction between Spirit and Matter, but for whom the world is a continuum which passes without interruption from void to material things, the soul did not take on this role as invisible and spiritual counterpart to the visible and material body. There were, moreover, too many souls in every man for any of them to be able to counterbalance the body. Every man has two groups of souls, three superior souls (*hun*) and seven inferior ones (*po*); and if there existed various beliefs as to what became of these two groups in the other world, all were agreed that they separated at death. In life as in death, these multiple souls were quite imprecise, quite vague, and quite weak. After death, when this little grouping of pale spirits was scattered, how could they be reassembled and made into a unity? By contrast, the body is unique; it serves them, as well as other spirits, as a habitat. Thus it is only in the body that the possibility was conceived of obtaining an immortality, continuing the personality of the living man and not divided into several personalities each of which, a fragment of the living self, lives a separate existence. This necessary body, the Daoists could believe, would be a newly created body in the other world. They accepted this idea for the deliverance of the dead, imagining in the other world a smelting of souls through which the dead person received an immortal body if the living interceded for him through appropriate prayers and ceremonies; but they did not generalize it. It was the conservation of the living body which remained always the normal way of acquiring immortality. It was that mortal body which had to be prolonged, or rather to be replaced in the course of life with an immortal body by bringing about the birth and development within one's own living body of immortal organs (skin, bones, and so on) which were

> substituted little by little for the mortal organs. The Adept, reaching this point, does not die but "goes up to heaven in the full light of day."[24]

This indigenous Daoist mind/body concept was indeed incompatible with certain forms of severe asceticism. Because the body had to be kept intact for the ultimate salvation to be realized, mortifications such as self-flagellation which intentionally damaged and weakened the body without any conceivable bodily benefit to be eventually realized, appear to have been extremely uncommon, and came under the vigorous criticism of Daoists when they did occur. In this sense, asceticism was indeed mollified by the indigenous views of mind and body. On the other hand, because the goal was to make the body immortal and superhuman[25], Daoist adepts needed to see tangible proof in the here and now that they were training and transforming it properly. The mental fortitude and physical ruggedness to persevere in increasingly great austerities were in themselves deemed as such proof, as were the mystical trance experiences which were induced through painstaking measures. Thus practices such as sleep-avoidance and especially fasting were carried out at an intensity comparable to, if not surpassing that identifiable among ascetics of other religions. In this sense, the Chinese mind/body concept encouraged and intensified ascetic behavior.

This study will thus serve to show that there is no specific view of mind and body that is essential for severe asceticism to occur. It also seems relevant to point out that even among early Christians, the attitudes towards the body which dictated severe asceticism varied. For example, an interesting comparison can be made between the attitudes

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[24]See Henri Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, trans. by Frank Kiermann (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981) pp. 266-267. Original French version, *Le Taoisme*, was compiled posthumously in 1950.

[25]As is mentioned above by Needham and as we will see in Chapters Seven and Eight (on this matter also see Anna Seidel, "*Post-mortem* Immortality--or: the Taoist Resurrection of the Body" in S. Shaked, D. Shulman and G.G. Stroumsa ed. *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), theories existed which said that immortality could be attained after physical death by means of a tempering of the body by the purifying flames of special otherworldly realms. However, immortality through such a process was generally regarded as conferring a lower level of immortal-hood which serious adepts of an ascetic orientation did not desire to attain.

expressed in accounts written about two famous ascetics, Ethiopian Moses and Simeon the Stylite. Ethiopian Moses (ca. 320-407 A.D.) was a monk active in Egypt. He was a black man (hence the description "Ethiopian") of great physical size and strength who, prior to his conversion to Christianity and entry into the monk-hood, had been a slave and later a robber, and had committed every sort of sin imaginable. Throughout his life as a monk he became obsessed with overcoming his predisposition towards sinful acts and thoughts, which he and one of his biographers (Sozomen, lawyer of Constantinople ca.443-448) clearly attributed to his physical size and strength:

> Still, because he boiled with bodily vigor from his former way of life and was excited by pleasureful fantasies, he wasted his body with countless ascetic exercises. On the one hand, he abstained from meat and ate only a little bread, accomplishing a great deal of work and praying fifty times a day. On the other hand, for six years he prayed the whole night standing, never lying down or closing his eyes in sleep. At other times, he would go to the dwellings of the monks at night and secretly would fill the pitcher of each one with water. This was very hard work, for the place where some drew water was ten stades away, some twenty, some even thirty or more. For a long time he continued to have his former bodily strength, although he made every effort to conquer it with many ascetic exercises and oppressed his body with severe labors.[26]

Here we find a good example of a case where severe austerities are practiced for the precise purpose of weakening the body. Moses' bodily strength and vigor are described as things that must be conquered because they are what cause him to have his "pleasureful

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[26]From Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History.* translated by Kathleen O'Brien Wicker in Vincent Wimbush ed. *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), p.338.

fantasies." The body is thus seen as an adversary in the quest towards salvation of the soul.

However, in the *Homily on Simeon the Stylite* by Jacob of Serug (449-521 A.D.) a very different attitude towards the body is conveyed. Simeon (386-459) was a Syrian monk renowned throughout his career for his lengthy fasts and other acts of self mortification who spent his last 40 years exposed to the elements atop a small platform perched upon a pillar approximately 60 feet high, engaging in constant prayer. Jacob's homily describes vividly the occasion during Simeon's stay on the pillar when a gangrenous and putrescent ulcer developed on his foot which produced an incredible amount of pain. The appearance of the ulcer is attributed to the work of the Devil who sought to hinder Simeon's efforts. In spite of the pain, Simeon continued his prayer, standing the entire time on his one good foot. The text tells us that while doing so, Simeon sang out the following words:

> My foot stands straight and does not bend.[27] For its Lord will sustain it that it may stand and support the burden of the two. For lo, it bears the palace of the body like a pillar of the master-builder who fastens and supports it so that it will not be shaken. O Evil One, the hurt that you are causing does not hurt me since it is sweet for me; you will tire yourself out as I am not going to leave my labor.....[28]

Eventually, when the condition of the bad foot had worsened to the point where it had rotted to tendons and bones, Simeon cut it off and said to it, "Go in peace until the resurrection. And do not grieve, for your hope will be kept in the kingdom." He also sang to it the following words:

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[27]This is a quote from Psalms 26:2.

[28]From Jacob of Serug, Homily on Simeon the Stylite . translated by Susan Ashbrook Harvey in Vincent Wimbush ed. *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook* , p.21.

> Why are you shaken and grieved since your hope is kept?[29] For again onto that tree form which you have been cut off you will be grafted. Go, wait for me until I come and do not grieve. For without you I will not rise up on the last day. Whether to the bridal chamber or to Gehenna I will walk on you. And whether to heaven or to the abyss, our way is one. We will be one when we are resurrected just as we have been, for death or life, for judgement or fire, or for the kingdom. I will not rise up from the dead and leave you. For with you I will be raised and I with you at the same moment. He for whom you have worked from your youth will not cheat you, but in return for your labor He will give you your wages and make you glad. Pray that I may see you and rejoice with you when we are raised. But together let us give thanks that He will give us strength to stand before Him.[30]

The text then tells us that Simeon said the following prayer:

> O Lord, grant strength to the foot that remains without its companion. Keep the one alive and strengthen the one until it comes to rest. It is bearing the weight of two, and it wants strength. See how the burden of the whole body is borne by the one alone. And if Your command does not come to it, it will be weakened. Its strength is diminishing, its labor is harsh, and its opponent is evil. And if Your grace does not help it, it will be defeated. It is alone and the weight of the body is too heavy for it. Support the weary one, for the burden of the two is placed on its neck. Let not the temple of the body in which You dwell be shaken. For only one pillar is bearing it: make its base firm. Behold I work with one cow instead of a yoked team.

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[29]This is a quotation from Psalms 42:5.
[30]See ibid. p.22.

> Bestow strength that it may labor successfully with You. O Lord, may I not be shamed by the Evil One who thirsts for my ruin, he who would rejoice to see my feet failing at Your work.[31]

In the case of Simeon the Stylite the adversary is the Devil. The body, rather than being an adversary, is Simeon's ally in the struggle. While Simeon's austerities tax the body severely, the weakening of the body in itself is not the purpose of the struggle. Simeon prays to God for the strengthening and sustenance of the body so that it can endure the difficulties put upon it by the Devil. To his amputated foot he promises that when he has prevailed over the Devil and attained salvation, it will be re-united with him at the resurrection of his body on the day of the final judgment. Because of this belief in a resurrection of the body on the final day, the body is seen as bearing an equal stake with the soul in the attainment of salvation and thus works together with it. Also conveying a high esteem for the body is the way in which it is described, based on the teachings of Paul in 1Corinthians 6:12-20, as a temple in which the Lord himself dwells.

Thus in the early Christian tradition we can see how severe asceticism can be based upon diverse perceptions of the role of the body, some negative and some positive. It is also worth noting that the Greek word "*askesis*" from which "asceticism" is derived refers to the training of an athlete, in which the body is strengthened, not weakened, through disciplined effort. It can be said that asceticism in the Daoist tradition manifests itself most frequently in a form that comes closest to the concept of *askesis* . Daoism, due to the fact that it sets forth bodily immortality as its goal, generally affirms the worth of the human body and the importance of maintaining it. In this sense there is a similarity to the attitude of Simeon the Stylite who prays to God for the sustenance of the body so that the battle with the Devil can be won and the body can be resurrected on the final day to join the soul in Heaven. We will see however (especially in Chapters Two, Four and Eight), that

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[31]See ibid. pp.22-23.

Daoism went a step further by asserting that severe austerities such as fasting and sleep avoidance, while they may initially emaciate and weaken the body, ultimately strengthen it and imbue it with powers previously unknown, which include the ability to proceed to eternal life without undergoing death and resurrection. Thus in the sense that the austerities themselves are designed to strengthen the body, Daoist asceticism comes closer to the concept of *askesis* than that of any other religion.

This is not to say that an affirmative attitude towards the body was unanimously held by Daoists. As we will see in this study, there existed a uniquely Chinese dualistic tension at both the physiological and cosmological levels which in some cases engendered attitudes of contempt towards the body (in its untrained, imperfect form), and apparently caused people to abuse the body through ascetic excesses. On the good side of this duality at the physiological level is the pure, primal *qi* [32]of the body as well as the multitude of gods that reside in it (that personify the pure *qi*) which the adept seeks to activate through his austerities. These austerities at the same time serve to renounce and subjugate the bad side of the duality which includes the grosser *qi* (contained in all foods) that infiltrates the body, as well as the demons that reside in the body and seek to hinder the adept's progress. At the cosmological level, the dualism expresses itself in the endeavor to attain contact and union with a transcendent realm that is sacred and eternal, and to escape the influences of this evil and doomed world. Within the scheme of this duality, the enlightened mind and heightened spirituality (i.e. the capacity for mystical experience) of the adept are identified with *qi* in its refined, subtle forms that belong to the good side and which possess a divine quality, while the ordinary untrained flesh is seen as being full of gross, profane *qi* which hinders spiritual progress by obscuring the divine *qi* that is latent in the body. The uniqueness of this dualism lies in the way in which the dualities are not irreconcilably alienated, but are ultimately in their original generation the same thing, i.e. *qi* that has

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[32]*Qi* most often refers to air or other gaseous ethers, or to non-corporeal forces and currents of energy. In its broadest sense it refers to all of the material that makes up the universe including gaseous, liquid and solid matter.

emerged from the original non-being. Their distinction lies not in their basic nature but in their degree of purity and refinement, meaning that the bad side of the duality (the untrained flesh) always holds in it the potential for refinement and transformation. Austerities then act as the agent for bringing about this transformation.

Nevertheless, as we will see, in certain instances the dualistic disdain for the flesh seems to have caused adepts to abuse the body to the point of injury or premature death. This is indicated by evidence in hagiography and in writings of Daoists who are critical of such adepts. Because of the lack of evidence in the form of direct testimony by such individuals themselves, it is impossible to determine whether they abused their bodies intentionally, or whether they did so inadvertently out of their mistakes and excesses, in spite of fully intending that their way of training would strengthen their bodies and extend their life spans. As we will see in Chapter One and Chapter Three, certain methods practiced among seekers of immortality were tantamount to religious suicide. Theoretically, however, such methods were not designed to destroy the body but to simply create the illusion of bodily death. The idea, particularly in the instances where deadly quantities of poison were ingested, was that the corpse of the adept was but an optical illusion created by the adept for people to see, while in the mean time the adept concealed himself from society to live somewhere else as an Immortal. Yet, while such was the belief in theory, one must also wonder whether in actual cases where such methods were carried out (how common this was is very hard to say); the real motivating factor was the desire to flee the agonies of worldly, bodily existence at all costs.

Now, as has been mentioned, a major development that was occurring during time span that this study covers was the massive incorporation of Buddhist elements into what was to become the organized Daoist religion. As a result of Buddhist influence, Daoists came to identify the attainment of immortality in its highest form with a transcending of the cycle of rebirths and the endless suffering that it entails. Also, the need to avoid creating *karma* that causes reincarnation accentuated more than ever the objective of suppressing and

eliminating one's desires. The eagerness of Daoists to adopt Buddhist beliefs is probably best understood as being due to the fact that Buddhist beliefs accommodated in a new, fascinating and convincing way the ever-present longing among many Daoists to transcend the ordinary world. In cases where these Buddhistic attitudes overshadowed the archaic and indigenous objective of refining and transforming the body, there may have been a tendency to devalue and abuse the body out of the zeal to expedite one's liberation from *samsara* . Apparently out of an awareness of such a problem, the *Taishang dadao yuqing jing* (HY 1301/TT 1022-1024[33]) , an anonymous Daoist scripture of the late Six Dynasties period, attacks such types of asceticism as being heretical, as will be discussed at length in Chapter Eight. While doing so, this same scripture affirms as orthodox and definitively Daoist the doctrine that Perfection must be realized within "this body", and insists that one must seek to perpetuate the life of the body because the body is "the basis of the Dao". Now at the same time, the scripture does equate Perfection with liberation from *samsara* . It also describes the final attainment of Perfection as an ascension to and union with a formless non-being. In other words, while asserting so vehemently that the body must be kept intact, the scripture also describes the ultimate ideal as a state of non-corporeality, presenting thus an apparent contradiction and forcing one to wonder what is supposed to happen to the flesh when the adept merges with formless non-being. No clear solution is provided for this problem, although in Chapters Seven and Eight I do attempt to speculate about it. The solution to this conflict between the ideals of bodily immortality and of the liberation from *samsara* into a non-corporeal transcendence is later resolved more clearly within the internal al chemical literature of later periods beyond the scope of this present study, in which the concept is developed that the adept creates an divine and immortal body within his body (referred to by terms such as the "golden elixir" or "single miraculous and Perfect nature"). This ethereal body proceeds to a godly and eternal existence once the

[33]The HY number refers to the number assigned to the individual Daoist Canon text within the Harvard-Yenching index to the Daoist Canon. The TT number refers to the number assigned to the bound volume in which the text is found.

body of flesh has perished after fully living out its destiny and serving its purpose, which is to create an internal immortal body. In regard to Daoism during the period discussed in this study, I argue that in spite of divergent attitudes engendered by the ever-existing dualist tension as well as by Buddhist influence, the predominant attitude of the Daoist religion was to assert the value of the human body, and that the most definitive trait of Daoist asceticism in contrast to that of other religions is the way it was concerned with the perpetuation of corporeal human life.

The structure of my discussion is as follows: Part One includes chapters One to Four, which discuss material pertaining to severe asceticism prior to the authorship and proliferation of the Shangqing (ca. 364-370 A.D.) and Lingbao scriptures (ca. 420-470 A.D.), two groups of scriptures produced in the south which were to have a decisive, pervasive and lasting impact upon Daoism in general. Part Two includes chapters Five to Eight which discuss material pertaining to severe asceticism found within the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures, as well as in other late Six Dynasty period material that deals with practices and beliefs contemporary with or later than the writing of the two scriptural corpuses. The rationale of this two-part division is that the material prior to the Shangqing and Lingbao corpuses conveys the beliefs and practices of a time when ascetics went about their diverse ways more or less free of the influence of any pervasive system of doctrines and institutions. Although there did exist the Way of the Great Peace (*taipingdao*) and the Way of the Heavenly Master (*tianshidao*), these were movements which primarily accommodated the religiosity of common believers through methods of ritual piety, confession and healing. Most ascetic seekers of immortality probably functioned independently from these movements. About the only thing that all such ascetics had in common was the desire for immortality. Their concepts of immortality and its attainment were numerous and varied. Also important, as mentioned before, is the fact that the influence of Buddhism at this early time was still slight, and thus ample evidence can be

gleaned as to how severe asceticism could come about in a Chinese setting more or less free of foreign impact.

Throughout Part One I thus try to examine the variety of severe ascetic beliefs and practices (primarily fasting techniques) in this early period in their full diversity, and try to determine what the most predominant motives for severe asceticism were. Unfortunately, the texts that truly represent the religiosity of this early period have survived in limited quantity and are difficult to identify. The texts ascribed to an early author or which contain authentically early material have generally undergone numerous revisions and redactions after their original writing, and thus mix newer material with older material. Also, a significant portion of the material we will rely upon survives as fragments of lost texts preserved in early encyclopedic compilations. The advantage of this is that we can at least confidently date such material as being older than the work that preserves it. On the other hand, interpretation becomes difficult since we have to read it out of context. (These same problems exist for the texts examined in Part Two.) Amidst this set of circumstances, I have selected specific texts for concentrated study for particular reasons. The *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* were selected (Chapter One) because they contain the great bulk of the all of the surviving hagiographic information pertaining to Daoist asceticism prior to the mid-fourth century. While complicated methodological problems are involved in dealing with such material, it is still of indispensable value for the clues it provides concerning what ideals were held for great seekers of immortality and what types of training methods were deemed effective. The *Zhonghuang jing* was selected (Chapter Two) because it describes in great detail, surpassing any other text I know of, techniques of fasting that are of the most strenuous nature. Admittedly, as will be discussed at the beginning of Chapter Two, this text is of uncertain date and likely underwent revisions and redactions. However, I believe that parts of it could have been written before the early fourth century, and the basic methods of the text are of indigenous inspiration and early origin. The *Lingbao wufu xu* was selected (Chapter Three) because it is the most abundant

source for descriptions of early techniques and recipes to be employed by fasting adepts. In this text we are given a picture of the truly wide variety of ways by which fasting was practiced. While the above mentioned texts will thus be given the most attention, information in them will be supplemented by pertinent information from other texts which can be reasonably deemed as early, or which at least convey beliefs or describe practices of an early and indigenous inspiration and origin.

The period under question in Part Two is noteworthy as a time when the role and content of severe asceticism were being redefined within the context of comprehensive doctrinal systems such as those set forth respectively in the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures, and as a result of the new doctrines and institutions that were coming about to a large degree as a result of Buddhist influence. I thus examine in detail the severe ascetic beliefs and practices of the later period, and discuss how severe asceticism changed and evolved as a result of such trends, as well as how and in what respects it maintained its original integrity, which largely had to do with the issue of valuing or disdaining the human body. In dealing with this later period, I have again selected particular texts for concentrated study. I have selected the *Daoxue zhuan* (Chapter Five) because it presents much hagiographic information on adepts of the Northern-Southern Dynasties period (i.e. the latter part of the Six Dynasties period) which is to be found in no other extant source, much of which is pertinent to the topic of severe asceticism; it is thus an extremely useful source for observing how Daoists continued to regard various types of severe asceticism as ideal and exemplary conduct for adepts, as well as for glimpsing at some of the new trends pertaining to how and why severe asceticism was being prescribed and put to practice. In chapters Six and Seven I focus on the texts of the all important Shangqing and Lingbao corpuses. These texts merit attention first of all due to the pervasive and lasting impact they had; i.e. the views that these texts expounded in regard to severe asceticism undoubtedly dictated the views and actions of a large portion of Daoist adepts during the period in question. Secondly, these texts represent a large portion of the limited quantity of extant

material that can be relatively safely considered as belonging to the Northern-Southern dynasties period. Modern scholars in recent decades (especially Ofuchi Ninji and Isabelle Robinet) have put much effort into ascertaining precisely which extant texts contain the authentic material produced by these two important movements; and in this study, thanks to the efforts of my predecessors, I am able to select these texts and analyze their contents in regard to their views concerning severe asceticism. As has already been briefly mentioned, I have also selected for close examination the *Taishang dadao yuqing jing*, a scripture written prior to the mid-eight century, probably during the sixth century (see discussion in the introduction to Chapter Eight). This is a very long text, influenced greatly by the doctrines of the Lingbao movement, that preserves a large quantity of information pertinent to our discussion. It is of interest particularly for how it sets forth in a clear-cut manner what forms of asceticism were recommended and what forms were wrong, and propounds what purports to be the orthodox view of the role and significance of the human body within the soteriological scheme.

While the texts examined throughout the study represent the views of diverse schools existing in different times and places, we will be able to see considerable continuity among these. For example, much interrelation is to be found between the *Zhonghuang jing*, *Wufu xu*, Shangqing texts, Lingbao texts and *Yuqing jing* concerning the fasting methods endorsed and the visual imagery that they employ. A good specific example of this would be the practice of nourishing oneself on what were called the "Five Sprouts" which is endorsed strongly in the *Zhonghuang jing*, *Wufu xu*, Shangqing texts and Lingbao texts, which each describe somewhat differently how one is to go about practicing it. While the later texts convey doctrinal developments that represent significant departures from the earlier texts, the impact of the earlier beliefs always remained strong, and many of the very early indigenous training methods (in many cases elaborated and adapted to a certain degree) continued to be given their place within the newer religious systems. Again, I cannot claim to have found and presented all of the material pertinent to our discussion. It

is also difficult to determine precisely how much more information is available, due to the fact that it is always a tricky endeavor to try to determine what material actually belongs to the period prior to 600 A.D. Hopefully in the future more useful early sources will be found that will add fresh insights to what is learned in this study.

The following is a brief preview of the discussion that will be carried out in each of the eight chapters.

Chapter One examines a wide variety of very early severe ascetic practices and beliefs described and conveyed in the *Liexian zhuan* (HY294/TT138) and *Shenxian zhuan*, compilations of immortality lore attributed to Liu Xiang and Ge Hong respectively. As will be further mentioned, both of these texts present certain methodological problems. They have both undergone considerable textual alteration over the centuries and cannot be considered in their entirety to be the authentic writings of their putative authors. Also, the events described in them are legendary and are based to only a very slight degree on historical fact. While one must for these reasons be careful when using these two sources, I still feel that for the purpose of my study they are very useful, if not indispensable. While much of their contents were not written by their putative authors, it is still reasonable to believe that the tales to be found in them were in circulation, whether in the form of writing or oral transmission, during the lifetimes of the putative authors or not too long afterward. While the tales contain a very small degree of factuality, they are still of great value to my study in that they almost all mention the methods allegedly used by the Immortals for attaining their immortality. While it may be credulous to literally believe that the methods actually conferred immortality, the tales can be used as a means for understanding what kinds of methods were thought to be effective. The descriptions of the incredible powers and feats of the Immortals also are valuable pieces of information because they convey ideals that real life adepts aspired to. The fact that Daoists who lived during the time when the tales first circulated as well as in much later times drew inspiration from the tales can be clearly attested to by the fact that the seventh century Daoist encyclopedia, Wang Xuanhe's

Sandong Zhunang (HY1131/TT780-782), quotes both the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* for didactic purposes. It thus seemed worthwhile and even necessary to devote a chapter to an examination of the evidence in these two hagiographies because they are by far the most informative biographical narrative sources on severe asceticism prior to the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures. In thus examining these two works, it is found that while severe asceticism was by no means the approach favored by all seekers of immortality, it was indeed favored by a significant portion of them. Various types of ascetic lifestyles were being carried out and promoted, including self-subjection to complete poverty, vagrancy and begging, as well as wilderness seclusion, all of which sometimes entailed the observance of complete celibacy. (Very interesting, however, is the fact that in some cases adepts who practiced great austerities were also well versed in techniques of sexual yoga.) Severe ascetic training methods being put into practice included various methods of fasting that employed plant and/or mineral substances as well as methods of meditation, visualization, breath control, air swallowing, saliva swallowing and talisman swallowing which served the purpose of allowing the adept to survive for long periods on little or no food. Also interesting in the *Shenxian zhuan* in particular is the recurring theme of adepts having to be subjected to painstaking or temptational "trials" or *shi* 試 (administered by their masters or by Immortals) which they had to pass before they could proceed to learn and practice the loftiest methods that could confer immortality of the highest degrees. In other words, we can identify the beginnings of a concept of a hierarchy of methods and of grades of Immortal-hood; a concept which, as will be discussed particularly in chapters six and seven, gave justification to heightened degrees of asceticism.

Chapters Two and Three deal entirely with techniques of fasting. Modern scholarship has long been aware that Daoists practiced a unique type of dietary regimen referred to as *bigu* 辟穀, which translated literally means "the avoidance of grains". *Bigu* is explained as follows by Kubo Noritada in his general history of Daoist religion:

> In Daoism [it is believed that] a person's spirit is bound to the body, and that the flesh is maintained by foods. However, in order to live a long time, the spirit must be pure, and therefore [Daoism] preaches that one must decrease the quantity of food eaten, and avoid cooked dishes. It is thus also said that one should not accumulate wastes in the intestines. What they thus thought up was the [practice of] avoiding grains, which is also called "the cutting off of grains". Presumably because they call it the "avoidance of grains" (translator's note: the word *gu* for "grains" can also refer to food in general) it came to be said that Immortals ate mist, but it was not the case that [Daoists] would eat nothing, but simply that they would not eat the five grains, and would eat things such as medicines that included ingredients taken from grasses, trees and other things.[34]

In explaining in very general terms the inter linkage of spirit and body and how it dictates that one should seek purification through a restricted diet, Kubo gives a very insightful description of the purpose of ***bigu*** . However, in describing what the practice actually entailed, Kubo, while conscious that ***gu*** can refer to foods in general (a broader definition that stems from the fact that grains are the staple of the Chinese diet) and that "eating mist" is a behavior frequently associated with Immortals in immortality lore, disregards the possibility that a complete abstention from food was intended, and says that the practice called merely for not eating the "five grains" (rice, glutinous millet, panicled millet, grain and beans) and other foods prepared by cooking over a fire. It is on this point that I strongly beg to differ. Throughout my study I argue and demonstrate that the object was to indeed become able to eat no foods at all. Because this was impossible in actual practice, small quantities of special substances were ingested to stave off hunger while the adept attempted to eat as little as possible for as long as possible. An interesting fact is that

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[34]*Dookyoo shi* pp.30-31.

some of the medicinal recipes thus employed actually included rice or millet among their ingredients, indicating that the central concern was the combating of hunger, not some sort of taboo against the five grains. Also put to use for this purpose were non-ingestion methods of meditation, visualization, breath control, talisman swallowing, air swallowing and saliva swallowing, which were sometimes referred to, among other things, as the "eating of mist." Thus the notion that Immortals ate mist was inspired largely because such non-ingestion methods were used by real-life adepts, and is not a mere product of the literary fancy of the narrators of immortality lore as Kubo seems to imply. I therefore maintain and emphasize that *bigu* was a practice of a severely ascetic nature that required tremendous endurance and perseverance.

Henri Maspero, like Kubo, understood *bigu* as an injunction against eating the five grains and linked it to the belief that a set of three demons living in the body called the Three Corpses (or Three Worms), whose purpose for existence is to cause the person to die, live on the five grains, and hence one must starve the Three Corpses to death by not eating grains. However, Maspero also pointed out that in many cases Daoist dietetics did call for near total fasting and were extremely arduous. Maspero explains that these severe dietetic practices were required to prepare the adept for practicing the various respiration techniques.[35] While I strongly agree with Maspero's observations on Daoist dietetics and their severity, I differ from him in that I believe that the word *bigu* itself generally refers to the total or near total shunning of food. While Maspero's observations regarding the killing of the Three Corpses and the preparation of the adept for respiration techniques are also largely accurate, they do not convey the full picture. In some cases adepts avoided "grains" (i.e. foods in general) not merely to kill the Three Corpses, but to purify the body thoroughly and help bring about its decisive transformation into the immortal state. In Chapter Six we will see an example where adepts are told to exterminate the Three Corpses with special pills (containing toxic substances) before they can begin to "avoid grains",

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[35]See *Taoism and Chinese Religion* pp. 333-339.

since the Three Corpses posed a hindrance towards "avoiding grains." In other words, contrary to Maspero's view, *bigu* was not exclusively a means for killing the Three Corpses and preparing one for the respiration techniques, but was a painstaking and lofty practice, sometimes regarded as a virtual end in itself to which the Three Corpses posed a hindrance. Respiration techniques themselves were carried out in part as a means of enabling the adept to "avoid grains." We will also see that Daoists also fasted for other purposes such as winning the sympathy of divine beings, enhancing the efficacy of specially prepared medicines that they took, and qualifying them for the transmission of holy scriptures.

Jean Levi and Kristofer Schipper have both followed Maspero in understanding *bigu* as a taboo against grains for the killing of the Three Corpses, and have advanced their own theories concerning why the supposed taboo developed. Levi, while acknowledging in a passing manner the fact that *bigu* was a practice quite arduous in nature and that some *bigu* recipes included rice or millet among their ingredients, still understands *bigu* primarily as having to do with a taboo against eating grains, and goes on to analyze at a symbolic level the negative connotations of grains and the fire in which they are cooked. Levi essentially argues that Daoists abstained from eating the five grains out of their desire to retreat from civilization and return to a state of primitive bliss that is more in tune with the realm of the eternal and the divine than is the state of civilized agrarianism represented by grains and by fire.[36] Schipper makes similar speculations, and also proposes a linkage with an "ancient empiricism" in matters of diet which made them aware of the harmful effects of carbohydrates. He also suggests that there may have been archaic beliefs which identified Immortals with natural spirits who helped grains grow, hence creating the notion that it is inappropriate for one who aspired to Immortal-hood to eat grains.[37] I can agree that the Daoist diet probably did have something to do with such a desire (conscious or

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[36]See Jean Levi, "L'abstinence des cereales chez les Taoistes" in *Etudes Chinoises* no. 1 (1983) pp. 3-47.
[37]See *The Taoist Body* pp. 167-170.

subconscious) for a return to primitive state, insofar that the diet frequently called for the adept to gather his food amidst the wilderness much as people did prior to the proliferation of agriculture. However, my own essential argument, again, is that the concrete objective of Daoist dietary practices was to eat as little of anything as possible, and ideally nothing at all, therefore requiring a truly arduous struggle. I seriously doubt that grains in themselves held any intrinsic significance which caused them to be considered more harmful than any other foods. All solid foods were regarded as ultimately defiling and *yin* in nature. The foods considered most harmful and hence to be avoided most carefully were meats and the "five spicy vegetables" (onion, garlic, leeks, shallots, ginger). The significance of grains was that they were the staple of the ordinary Chinese diet and thus constituted the bulk of what was eaten in daily life. Since the real objective was to cut down drastically on the volume of one's dietary intake, this inevitably entailed decreasing the consumption of grains. Levi also makes the erroneous observation that by the fourth century when works such as the *Baopuzi* and *Shenxian zhuan* were written, ***bigu*** was already declining in its importance as a training method among Daoists who were increasingly emphasizing alchemy.[38] That such was not at all the case will be made clear when we examine the numerous fasting methods that are promoted in texts of the Northern-Southern Dynasties period.

Chapter Two thus focuses on the *Taiqing zhonghuang zhenjing* (HY816/TT568), an annotated scripture of uncertain authorship which nonetheless seems more likely than not to convey beliefs and practices from the earlier period under question in Part I. This particular scripture was selected for focused study because it describes in great detail a process of fasting that is of the most arduous nature. In Chapter Two I provide a full translation of the main text of the scripture, and analyze it based largely upon the lengthy commentary that accompanies the main text. As we will see, the *Zhonghuang jing* calls for the adept to stop eating completely, and to even stop drinking fluids. The entire time, the adept "nourishes"

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[38]See Levi, p. 9.

himself by swallowing air and holding his breath. Perhaps most interesting is the text's claim that even though the body will become weak and emaciated initially, it will eventually revive and regain its full strength and proceed towards becoming immortal. The fast serves the function of purging the body of all impure *qi* so that the pure, primal *qi* can be activated and made to permeate the body. The claim is even made that hunger itself is caused not by the lack of food in the body, but by the presence of it, which clogs and blocks the passageways of the body so that the pure *qi* cannot permeate it. To this discussion of the *Zhonghuang jing* I have also appended translations of text fragments from the *Daoji tuna jing* and *Tuna jing* (surviving in the *Sandong zhunang*) which describe processes similar to that of the *Zhonghuang jing* in which the fasting adept suffers severe weakening and emaciation but eventually revives more than completely.

Chapter Three focuses on the fasting methods in the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* (HY388/TT183). This particular text was selected for study because it is the most abundant source of information available on early fasting methods in their vast variety. I will quote and analyze the various passages in the text that describe how to carry out methods of visualization, saliva swallowing and talisman swallowing (these types of methods are referred to as "non-ingestion methods"), as well as a multitude of medicinal recipes employing various ingredients among which sesame seeds, poke root and deer bamboo appear most prominently (referred to as "ingestion methods"). Overall it will be seen that the methods of the *Wufu xu* represent approaches to fasting that are more gradual and less arduous than those discussed in Chapter Two. We will also see that the *Wufu xu* puts less emphasis upon the details of physiology, while instead emphasizing the necessity to become able to do without food due to the belief (bearing apparent eschatological undertones) that one must come to possess the power to survive the famines that will inevitably afflict the world.

In Chapter Four I discuss, based upon observations from the first three chapters, as well as on evidence from other early texts such as the *Huangting neijing jing*

(HY331/TT167), *Huangting waijing jing* (HY332/TT167), *Laozi zhongjing* (HY1026/TT681, in the *Yunji qiqian*), *Xiandao jing* (HY861/TT578), *Sanhuang wen* (HY1130/TT769, in the *Wushang biyao*) and *Taiping jing* (HY1093/TT746-755), what I consider to be the three most prominent motives for severe asceticism in the early period of diversity and non-institutionalization, namely 1) The purification, strengthening and transformation of the body, 2) contacting and participating in what is sacred and transcendent and 3) a disdain and fear towards the world and society.

As is the case with Part I, Part II starts out with a chapter (Five) that examines hagiographic information, namely that which is gleaned from surviving fragments (mostly preserved in the *Sandong zhunang*) of the *Daoxue zhuan*, a collection of biographies of exemplary Daoists compiled by Ma Shu who flourished during the Chen Dynasty (557-588 A.D.). The evidence that is examined shows that the severely ascetic lifestyle continued to be regarded as worthy and exemplary throughout the Six Dynasties period. As is the case in the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* , we find accounts of adepts subjecting themselves to utter poverty or to wilderness seclusion. Fasting techniques such as those examined in Part I continued to be put into practice. However, we will see that evidence of new developments and trends in the ascetic Daoist life is also to be found. Some of the earliest evidence suggesting Daoism's adoption of Buddhist-style monasticism is to be found in the *Daoxue zhuan* . Also apparent from the accounts of the *Daoxue zhuan* is the fact that Daoist asceticism came to be under girded with altruistic ideals, dictating that an adept must toil and suffer for the sake of helping others, and not just for his own immortality. Thus in the *Daoxue zhuan* we find extolled personages who underwent great personal sacrifice in order to rescue those living beings in physical need, or who taxed their bodies through extended prayer and worship designed to alleviate the plight of the world and the souls of the dead.

Chapters Six and Seven examine respectively the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptural corpuses whose doctrines had a pervasive and lasting impact upon Daoism as a whole (For

details on the authorship of these corpuses, see the introductions to Chapters Six and Seven). Set forth in both corpuses are eclectic and yet coherently and hierarchically arranged systems of cosmology, soteriology and praxis which answered to the religious needs of believers of various levels of spirituality and training. In my study I demonstrate that severe asceticism held a vital place in both systems, particularly in their aspects that addressed the religiosity of those who sought immortality or Perfection of the highest level. Noteworthy also in both corpuses (especially the Lingbao) is the impact of Buddhist doctrines as motivation and justification for severe asceticism. Also, both scriptural corpuses strongly affirm the importance and efficacy of ingestion and especially non-ingestion fasting methods (especially those for "eating" solar, lunar or stellar essences). Both corpuses have their own preferred methods which they describe and promote, which I examine and analyze in depth.

In Chapter Six we will see how in the Shangqing scriptures, "suffering" (*ku* 苦) was perceived as a necessary part of an adept's training which served the purpose of enabling him or her to eliminate desires and thus become worthy of being transmitted the most sacred scriptures (the holiest of which is the *Dadong zhenjing*), the utilization (recitation as well as the putting to practice of the visualizational meditations described in them) of which was thought to bring about the loftiest status of Perfected Man. Required as a prerequisite for this highest privilege was the ability to "avoid grains", and for this reason certain recipes ("blue essence rice", "the five rocks") and non-ingestion techniques ("eating the cloud sprouts", "eating the essence of the sun and the moon") are promoted as a means of becoming able to do so. Understandably, owing to the fact that the texts came from the hand of a mystic visionary (Yang Xi), an emphasis is put upon gaining mystical encounters with divine and immortal beings. Within this endeavor, severe asceticism serves the function of winning the sympathy and approval of divine beings so that they will come into the adept's presence. Due also to this concern with gaining divine sympathy, the aforementioned (regarding the *Shenxian zhuan*) theme of trials appears prominently within

various anecdotes narrated in visions by divine beings and recorded by Yang Xi. Also prominent in the Shangqing scriptures is a vehement, perhaps even pathological disdain for the mundane world and the people that inhabit it as being corrupt and contaminating. Buddhist influence on Shangqing asceticism is evident in how the elimination of desires is given greater emphasis as a central objective of the ascetic practices. Also noteworthy as a possible result of Buddhist influence is that sexual desire gets singled out as being the most harmful type of desire. The Buddhist insight that life in its essence is suffering is drawn upon to enhance the general disdain for worldly life mentioned above. Also, the Indian world view of *karma* and reincarnation is also acknowledged in the Shangqing texts, even though it is not utilized to its full potential as a basis for ethics and soteriology.

In Chapter Seven, however, we will see that the Lingbao scriptures utilized the beliefs in *karma* and reincarnation fully as a basis for soteriology and ethics, which in turn had considerable bearing upon the role and shape that severe asceticism was to take. The doctrine of *karma* and reincarnation is used to admonish against all bad thoughts, words and deeds through warnings of damnation or rebirth in subhuman form, and to encourage good thoughts, words and deeds as being conducive to rebirth as a human being of privileged status. The ultimate ideal, however, is to become a Perfected Man who has broken free from the chain of rebirths, and this requires much more than simple moral goodness. It entails "toiling and suffering" (*qinku* 勤苦) sustained over numerous lifetimes until the final goal is accomplished. Because existence as a human and as a Daoist practitioner is in itself an elusive and hard-earned privilege attained through the "toiling and suffering" of previous lives, adepts are urged to strive relentlessly so as to not waste their privileged existence and end up regressing to an inferior rebirth. Now, also highly significant as an element of Buddhist influence is the way in which, due most likely to the influence of the Mahayanist Bodhisattva ideal, the Perfected Man is conceived of as a deeply altruistic being whose toiling and suffering largely serves the purpose of benefiting others. Indeed, it is stated succinctly in *Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing yinyuan jing*

(HY 1107/TT758) that this altruism is what distinguishes a true Perfected Man from mere "earthly Immortals" or *dixian* 地仙. More specifically, this altruism involves self-sacrifice, in theory even that of one's life, for the purpose of helping others who suffer physically. It equally involves rigorous and self-denying participation in the grand effort to indoctrinate and save all living beings. In its entirety, the Lingbao corpus is meant to represent the absolute and true doctrine of salvation that issues from the creator and personification of the Dao himself, the Primordial Heavenly Worthy. Because universal salvation is the utmost concern of the scriptural corpus, the severe ascetic is called upon not merely to bring about his own immortality, but also to affiliate himself fully with the religious movement and to participate diligently in its endeavors of evangelism, charity and group ritual. The rituals, carried on and adapted from the older Five Pecks of Rice Sect tradition are called "retreats" or *zhai* and are of an altruistic nature in that they serve the purpose of alleviating, through imploring the power of the Dao, the plight of all beings living and dead, and require of their participants the observance of strict rules (*jie* 戒 or "precepts") that for the most devoted participants called for abstention from food and sleep over a multiple number of days, during which lengthy worship of twelve hours a day was performed. In some cases, the liturgy called for participants to carry out hundreds of prostrations accompanied by slaps to the face, or to smear their faces and bodies with mud and soot. While these retreats in such a way became times of concentrated asceticism, the best of adepts were expected to observe a lengthy list of ordinances and perform the austerities constantly on all occasions. In this sense, the ascetic life came to be seen as an application of the principles of the ritual to one's daily life, which was described as a *changzhai* 長齋 or "perpetual retreat". Also discussed is how the large scale incorporation of Buddhist concepts of *samsara*, *karma* and transience caused new soteriological theories to be formulated, which were ambiguous as to the significance and role of the body. Finally, I examine and discuss in detail the fasting methods described and promoted in the Lingbao scriptures, which consist primarily of the non-ingestion methods described as the "eating" of astral essences, as well as those

employing the Lingbao Five Talismans adopted from the *Lingbao wufu xu* and embellished upon.

Finally, as I have already mentioned, Chapter Eight focuses on the *Taishang dadao yuqing jing* , the significance of which lies in the way that it attacks certain forms of severe asceticism as heretical, while promoting others as worthy and conducive to Perfection. The scripture consists of various narratives of events taking place in other worlds in times prior to the creation of the world as we know it, which also include long discourses uttered by various divine beings bearing titles such as [so and so] Heavenly Worthy or Perfect Youth. Descriptions and criticisms of heretical asceticism occur within narratives describing the doings of "infidels" (*waidao* 外道, or people outside of the Way) who run rampant throughout the world as the apocalypse approaches. Good asceticism is described within discourses delivered by the divine beings. In sum, according to the *Yuqing jing*, heretical asceticism is asceticism which injures or kills the body, and which is based upon the false doctrine which says that the ascension of the soul requires an escape from the body of flesh, which can be expedited by killing it. Orthodox asceticism, on the other hand (which in the case of the *Yuqing jing* involves primarily the proper carrying out of non-ingestion fasting methods while dwelling in wilderness seclusion, as well as the diligent observance of ordinances and retreats), strengthens and improves the health of the body so that Perfection can be realized "immediately within this body". Now, this text is permeated by a strongly anti-Buddhist and xenophobic attitude which is especially prominent in the descriptions of "heathens", who are described as "barbarians" and the description of whom is likely based upon images of Buddhists in the author's midst. For this reason, it would at first appear that the author is writing largely for the polemical purpose of discrediting Buddhism. I argue, however, that the predominant purpose is didactic, and that the author is primarily concerned with preaching to fellow Daoists what he regarded as orthodoxy, and for this purpose provides harrowing images of abuses that can occur as a consequence of beliefs that contradict this orthodoxy. It is also speculated that the author likely saw the necessity

of arguing for the orthodoxy because heresy had infiltrated the Daoist religion. The *Yuqing jing* thus serves as an enlightening and appropriate point at which to end my discussion, as it represents a late Six Dynasty Daoist's attempt to resolve the latent tensions and contradictions regarding the role of the body within the quest for immortality which had long existed and which had been escalating over the course of the centuries, due in good part to the incorporation of Buddhist doctrines. In face of the considerable transformation of Daoist doctrines and the ascetic practices that they dictated, the *Yuqing jing* upholds the most definitive feature of Daoist asceticism, namely the high esteem for human life.

In order to be able to analyze the phenomenon of severe asceticism in its full integrity, I have taken an approach that emphasizes comprehensiveness. The phenomenon as it existed was much too widespread and diverse to be accurately assessed on the basis of one authoritative text. My study thus employs a wide variety of sources so that the phenomenon can be viewed to its fullest and understood properly based on a broad base of information.

CHAPTER ONE: SEVERE ASCETICISM IN THE *LIEXIAN ZHUAN* AND *SHENXIAN ZHUAN*

Two hagiographic compilations which allow us an overview of the types of ascetic practices that existed during very early times are the *Liexian zhuan* (*Biographies of the Immortals*) and *Shenxian zhuan* (*Biographies of Divine Immortals*), the authorship of which are attributed to Liu Xiang (77 B.C.- 6 A.D.) and Ge Hong (283-364 A.D.) respectively. Both of these works consist of accounts describing the lives and amazing feats of various legendary or semi-legendary personages who putatively attained immortality in some form through some particular means. While neither work is at all reliable as a record of the actual deeds of actual people, both works are of great interest to our study because most of their entries mention the methods by which their protagonists putatively achieved immortality, and thus provide us with indications regarding the methods which actual seekers of immortality deemed as effective, and hence probably attempted to carry out themselves. The fantastic and often outrageous tales of the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan*, while they may have been read by some merely for entertainment, served as a source of inspiration for practicing Daoists to whom they were much more than just entertaining stories. The stories assert that Immortals do indeed exist and that they attain their superhuman status by successfully practicing the various arts of immortality. Daoists over the centuries have embraced this message, making the Immortals their role models and inspiration as they themselves practiced the arts. For this reason, descriptions of how the Immortals lived and behaved, as well as the references to the methods they employed, reflect ideals to which actual adepts attempted to adhere. In this chapter we will see that the methods and lifestyles ascribed to the immortals are in many cases those of a severely ascetic nature. It is first necessary to take note of some of the

complicated problems that have been brought to light by scholars regarding the authorship and dating of each text.

The authorship of the *Liexuan zhuan* by Liu Xiang is attested to by Ge Hong, who in the second chapter of his *Baopuzi* writes that Liu Xiang, inspired by what had been written down by a certain Grand Master Ruan Cang of the Qin Dynasty concerning several hundred immortals, wrote accounts concerning over seventy immortals (this testimony is also found in the preface of the *Shenxian zhuan*), which is consistent with the number of entries found in the text today. According to the bibliographical section (*jingjizhi*) of the *Sui shu*, what had been produced by Ruan Cang and had inspired Liu Xiang was not a written text but rather pictures of immortals called *liexian tu*. Liu Xiang was a relative of the Han imperial family who served four different emperors as a Grand Master. The account of his life given in the 36th *juan* of the *Han shu* indicates that he was a person with a keen interest in longevity techniques and alchemy. However, Liu Xiang's authorship of the *Liexian zhuan* has been deemed as questionable for several reasons. First of all the book is not listed in the bibliography (*Yiwenzhi*) of the *Han shu*, despite the fact that the bibliography lists the titles of other books (*Lienü zhuan*, *Xinxu* and *Shuoyuan*) written by Liu Xiang. Also, certain anachronisms are to be found in certain details in the text. The entry on Shangqiu Zixu states that he was man of Gaoyi; however, Gaoyi was known as Hao County during the Former Han, and was renamed Gaoyi during the reign of Latter Han Emperor Guangwudi (r. 25-65 A.D.). Similarly, the entry on Wen Bin says that he hailed from Taiqiu; however, Taiqiu was known as Jingqiu County during the former Han, and was not renamed Taiqiu until the reign of Latter Han Emperor Mingdi (r. 58-75 A.D.). The entry on Muyu says that he came from Nanhe in the commandery of Julu; however, Nanhe did not become a part of Julu until the Latter Han. The entry on Madame Gouyi tells us that after she had passed beyond and Emperor Zhaodi (her son) had taken the

throne, the palace where she had lived was named "Gouyi" in her honor, and that later the character *yi* 翼 in the name was changed to 弋 in compliance with the taboo placed upon the character 翼 . Scholars have found that such a taboo never existed during the Han Dynasty until the natural father of Latter Han Emperor Huandi (r. 146-167 A.D.), whose personal name was Yi 翼 was posthumously given the honorary title Xiaochonghuang when his son assumed the throne. While the attribution of the authorship of the entire text to Liu Xiang is thus clearly spurious, it is still possible that parts of the book could have written by Liu Xiang or a contemporary of his. The entry on Maonü, which we will be examining shortly, was apparently written somewhere around the year 35 B.C., since it says that its protagonist was a palace attendant under the Qin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.) who fled into Mt. Hua when the dynasty was overthrown, and has been there for over 170 years. Yet, other entries such as those mentioned above could not have been written before the Latter Han, meaning probably that the text as it exists today underwent multiple redactions. That there indeed existed a book named *Liexian zhuan* during the second century A.D. is apparent from the fact that quotations from a *Liexian zhuan* are found in Wang Yi's (89-158 A.D.) commentary to the *Chuci* as well as in Ying Shao's (ca. 168-219) commentary to the *Han shu.* However, the specific passages that they quote are not found in the *Liexian zhuan* that we have today, meaning that they were referring to an entirely different book, or that the passages in question were omitted in later years. Apparently, however, a *Liexian zhuan* attributed to Liu Xiang and bearing more or less its present format of seventy entries existed by the time of Ge Hong. Further redactions and revisions could well have occurred after the time of Ge Hong, but it appears that it had more or less been established in its present form by the early eleventh century, since the excerpts from the *Liexian zhuan* found in the 108th *juan* of the *Yunji qiqian*

(HY 1026/TT677-702, compiled by Zhang Junfang in 1028) match well with the present full-length editions of the text.[1]

That Ge Hong, the great early fourth century alchemist, did indeed write a book entitled *Shenxian zhuan* can be known from the fact that he himself states, in the 50th *juan* of his *Baopuzi waipian*, that he had written the *Shenxian zhuan* which has ten *juan* (matching the number of *juan* comprising the text today). The authorship of the *Shenxian zhuan* by Ge Hong is also attested to by Pei Songzhi (372-451) in his commentary to the *Sanguo zhi*. However, serious doubts have been raised by modern scholars about the authenticity of the *Shenxian zhuan* that exists today. Kominami Ichiro is skeptical primarily on the grounds that much of what is found in the *Shenxian zhuan* today is assorted stories about Immortals and marvelous events involving them which appear to merely entertain rather than serve any kind of a didactic purpose. Kominami speculates that the original *Shenxian zhuan* must have been a book that discussed and expounded more coherently what it took to become an Immortal through hagiographic illustrations. Certain portions of the *Shenxian zhuan* do possess this didactic quality (as we will be seeing in this chapter), and Kominami speculates that it is such passages which probably represent most faithfully the original writing of Ge Hong.[2] Also, certain passages have been pointed out as being anachronistic or absurd if one is to consider the *Shenxian zhuan* as authored by Ge Hong. Sawada Mizuho points out that the biography of Laozi ends with some comments about Laozi which start off with the words, "Ge Zhiquan (Ge Hong's style name) says,

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[1]See pp. 1-5 of Max Kaltenmark's introduction to his well annotated French translation of the *Liexian zhuan* (*Le Lie-sien tchouan*, Beijing: University of Paris, 1953). Also, pp. 561-564 of Sawada Mizuho, "Ressenden, Shinsenden kaisetsu" in *Chuugoku koten bungaku taikei 8: Hoobokushi, Ressenden, Shinsenden, Sengaikyoo* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1969) pp. 559-570, Fukui Kojun, "Ressenden koo" in *Tooyoo shisooshi kenkyuu*, (Tokyo: Shoseki-Bunbutsu Ryutsukai) pp. 113-144.

[2]See Kominami Ichiro, "Jin-yaku kara zonshi e" pp.4-19) in Yoshikawa Tadao ed. *Chuugoku Kodookyooshi Kenkyuu* (Kyoto: Dohosha, 1992).

'[I], Hong think that Laozi.....'". This cannot logically be understood as Ge quoting and referring to himself, especially since it was considered improper to refer to oneself by one's style name. Sawada also points out that an entry is included on Guo Pu (276-324) who was a contemporary and a personal acquaintance of Ge Hong, making it unlikely that Ge Hong would have made him into an object of immortality lore.[3] Fukui Kojun has demonstrated convincingly that the *Shenxian zhuan* that exists today has been altered considerably from that which existed during the Tang, based on the quotations from the *Shenxian zhuan* found in Tang texts such as the seventh century Daoist encyclopedia *Sandong zhunang* and Li Xian's commentary (written in 677) to the *Houhan shu.* He also argues that the version that existed in the Tang was not the same as Ge Hong's original version, based on the existence of the aforementioned entry on Guo Pu, as well as the entries on Pengzu and Zhang Daoling. Fukui argues that Ge Hong would not have included Pengzu since Pengzu also has an entry in the *Liexian zhuan*, and part of Ge Hong's purpose for writing the *Shenxian zhuan*, as is stated in the preface attributed to him, was to provide information which the *Liexian zhuan* does not provide. He also observes that the attitude towards the Way of the Heavenly Masters conveyed in the *Baopuzi* is not favorable, and that the highly laudatory depiction of the first Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling found in the *Shenxian zhuan* could not have been written by Ge Hong.[4] Much of the mystery remains unsolved as to what happened to the text between the lifetime of Ge Hong and up to the Tang. However, the discrepancy between the present text and that conveyed in Tang sources is explainable largely by the apparent fact that at one point, the *Shenxian zhuan* had become a lost text. This is most evident from the

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[3]See Sawada Mizuho, "Ressenden, Shinsenden Kaisetsu" pp. 564-569 in *Chuugoku Koten Bungaku Taikei 8: Hoobokushi, Ressenden, Shinsenden, Sengaikyoo.*

[4]See Fukui Kojun, "Shinsenden koo" in *Tooyoo shisoo no kenkyuu* (Tokyo: Risosha, 1955) pp. 30-66.

absence of the *Shenxian zhuan* from the Daoist Canon (compiled in 1444 with a supplement added in 1607), along with its presence among the titles listed in the *Daozang quejing mulu* (*Daoist Canon Catalog of Missing Scriptures*, HY 1419/TT 1056, compiled in 1275). The two extant editions (the widely available *Guang han-wei congshu* edition and the not widely available *Maojin kan* edition) were probably compiled during the 17th century or later by collecting and piecing together surviving fragments of the *Shenxian zhuan* found in various books, particularly in encyclopedic works such as the *Taiping guangji* .[5]

Thus the processes through which *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* came to exist as they do today are extremely complex, and it would be faulty to understand each of these texts as conveying the beliefs and views of a single author in a specific time and place. Still, the texts are useful in that they largely do convey the diverse beliefs concerning the pursuit of immortality that were current in the days up until the early fourth century, a time prior to when Buddhism as well as the Shangqing and Lingbao schools asserted their influence upon Daoists as a whole. I thus treat the material I discuss as such, as long as it does not contain glaring evidence of later ways of thinking, such as Buddhist ideas or ideas unique to the Shangqing and Lingbao movements. We must still keep in mind the possibility that some of the material from the *Shenxian zhuan* in particular, may represent the beliefs of someone who lived after Ge Hong's time. While the material I present is virtually free of Buddhist influence, it is not unlikely that some of the narratives may represent idealizations based on the agenda of later Daoists. Unfortunately such elements remain difficult to single out since we still have much to learn about Six Dynasties Daoism.

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[5]See Sawada Mizuho, "Ressenden, Shinsenden Kaisetsu" pp. 564-569 in *Chuugoku Koten Bungaku Taikei 8: Hoobokushi, Ressenden, Shinsenden, Sengaikyoo.*

The *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* give us a picture (admittedly fanciful and exaggerated) of the forms of training that existed in the days when the quest for immortality as a whole was still only loosely defined and structured. Depicted in these works are men and women of diverse regions and periods possessing truly diverse and often conflicting theories, methods and ideals. The *Liexian zhuan* presents these personalities to its reader with little apparent preference for one method over another. In some entries of the *Shenxian zhuan* a degree of preference can be seen in how different methods of training are compared to each other; apparently conceived of was a hierarchy of methods in which certain practices and processes needed to be undergone successfully before one could move on to perfecting the ultimate art (laboratory alchemy).

As we will be seeing in the ensuing pages, in very many cases the methods employed by the immortals in the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* entailed a very high degree of asceticism. Many of the immortals are depicted as having subjected themselves to lives of seclusion or extreme poverty while engaging in methods which required fasting and in some cases, celibacy.

However, by no means can it be said that severe asceticism is propagated by either the *Liexian zhuan* or *Shenxian zhuan* as a superior approach towards immortality. While a large number of the Immortals described certainly fit the description of "severe ascetic", views and ways of a quite contrary nature are also evident. Perhaps most noticeably, the ideal of celibacy is undermined in various places, especially in the *Liexian zhuan*, where sexual yoga or *fangzhongshu* is credited as being the method (or one of the methods) employed for attaining immortality. Most noteworthy is the fact that in the *Liexian zhuan*, none other than Laozi is described as a master of sexual yoga:

> [Laozi] was fond of nurturing his *jing*[6] and *qi* [7]. He valued the importance of copulating without ejaculating.[8]
>
> 好養精氣. 貴接而不施.

The *Liexian zhuan* entry on Rongchenggong also bears testimony to this view of the saint:

> [Rongchenggong] was able to adeptly practice the methods of supplementing and guiding, taking the *jing* from the Dark Female..... His methods were the same as those of Laozi. It has also been said that he was Laozi's teacher.[9] 能善補導之事. 取精於玄牝.
> 事與老子同. 亦云老子師也.

Perhaps even more striking in this regard is the *Liexian zhuan* account of a female Immortal named Nü Ji.[10] According to the story, Nü Ji was a brewer and seller of liquor that was of exquisite quality. One day she was visited by an Immortal who drank at her shop and left her five silk scrolls as collateral for his bill, which he was unable to pay at the time. The scrolls turned out to be manuals on "nurturing the vital principle through copulation". Thereupon:

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[6]This word varies in meaning according to context. In passages such as this one it refers to semen. But the word can also bear more general meanings such as "essence" or "vitality", and can refer to the body's fluids in general or to nutrients that are in the body or in foods.

[7]This word can often refer to breath or air. It can also bear the very general meaning of the material (gaseous, liquid or solid) from which things are made of.

[8]*Liexian zhuan*, Daoist Canon edition HY294(this refers to the number under which its title is listed in the Harvard-Yenching index to the Daoist Canon)/TT138(this refers to the number of the bound volume of the Canon in which it is included) 1/4b (page 4b of the first *juan*)

[9]1/3b-4a

[10]Most extant editions of *Liexian zhuan*, including that in the Daoist Canon, refer to her as Nü Wan, which seems to be an error, as she is referred to as Nü Ji in *Yongcheng jixian lu* (6/9b), *Taiping yulan* (828/4b), *Taiping guangji* (59/6b) and *Zhenxian tongjian houji* (2/13b).

> [Nü] Ji secretly copied down the vital points in the texts and then set up a bedroom. She would bring in young men and have them drink her delicious liquor. Then she would have them stay overnight and practice with her the methods described in the texts.[11]

Nü Ji is rewarded for her acts by regaining her youth. Later on, the Immortal returns and takes her away with him to instruct her further.

A distinctly non-ascetic attitude is expounded at great length from the mouth of Pengzu[12] in the *Shenxian zhuan* in his instructions towards his female disciple Cainü. Pengzu, 767 years old, had outlived 49 wives and 54 children and was a master of a wide range of life-nurturing techniques including the ingestion of herbs and medicines, fasting, respiratory techniques, light gymnastics, saliva swallowing, air swallowing and sexual yoga. Pengzu tells Cainü that he is different from the so-called Immortals or *xianren* who can fly and can transform into birds and beasts, who live on a diet of "primal breath" and *zhi* fungi[13], take on strange facial appearances, grow fur on their bodies and who do not mingle with society. As far as Pengzu is concerned, even though these beings have managed to bypass death, by shunning the things which a normal human desires such as worldly pleasure and recognition, and by transforming themselves into beings of an utterly

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[11] 2/14a

[12] Pengzu, aside from Laozi, is perhaps the most famous personnage to have an entry in the *Shenxian zhuan*. Regarded within ancient popular folklore as the personification of the ideal of longevity, references to him are found in various ancient books including the *Shiji*, *Zhuangzi*, *Xunzi* and *Huainanzi*. According to tradition, his family name was Jian and his personal name was Keng, and he was the grandson of the legendary Emperor Zhuanxu. He served as a high official starting from the reign of Emperor Yao, throughout the Xia Dynasty and up until the end of the Shang Dynasty, allegedly living for over 700 years.

[13] This refers to certain forms of fungi, some of them mythical, which possess great efficacy for bestowing long life.

unhumanlike nature, they have at the same time lost their original integrity as human beings and are merely nurturing and sustaining a *qi* or (material, life-force, energy) that is not truly theirs.[14] Pengzu maintains that once one knows the proper methods of prolonging life (which include the austerity of fasting, which is however carried out temporarily as macrobiotic measure), one ought to enjoy the benefits of good clothing and good food, be sexually active and participate in society as a good government official. According to him, none of life's pleasures are harmful as long as one does not over-indulge. Pengzu specifically denounces the proponents of celibacy as "confused" and asserts that people need to engage in the correct techniques of sexual intercourse in a way that emulates Heaven and Earth which are everlasting because of the way in which they intermingle during the night time when the sun submerges itself below the horizon.[15]

However, as we shall see in the ensuing pages, Pengzu's view by no means predominated. The views expressed from the mouth of Pengzu in the *Shenxian zhuan* are best understood as apologetics for a faction of immortality seekers whose approach affirmed a worldly lifestyle and stressed moderation rather than strenuous effort. The very fact that the figure of Pengzu is utilized as a spokesperson to denounce the Immortals who are world-denying and beast-like as well as those who advocated celibacy indicates strongly that there indeed were a significant number of practitioners whose world-denying attitude appeared absurd to those who chose moderation. Adepts of the ascetic orientation regarded it as a worthy thing to spend one's lifetime shunning worldly connections, comforts and pleasures and to submit themselves to suffering and danger, if such was

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[14]*Shenxian zhuan* (*Guang Han-Wei Congshu* version included in *Daozang Jinghua Lu* compiled by Ding Fubao in 1922. Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji Chuban She, 1989) 1/4a 失其本真，更守異氣

[15]Murakami Yoshimi, on p. 59 of his aforementioned article "Affirmation of Desire in Taoism" cites a similar proclamation from the mouth of Pengzu found in the *Baopuzi neipian* as conveying "the essence of Daoism."

indeed necessary for attaining the ultimate goal. That adepts of such an orientation existed even from times well prior to the writing of the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan*, is strongly indicated in the following criticism by the Former Han politician Lu Jia, in his *Xinyu* written in 196 B.C.:

> [If a man] strains and belabors his body, going deep into the mountains and seeking [to become a] Divine Immortal[16], [if he] abandons his parents, does away with his blood relatives (lit. "bones and flesh"), abstains from the five grains, and gives up the *Shi*[*jing*] and the *Shu*[*jing*] (i.e. classical learning), [thus] turning his back to what is treasured by Heaven and Earth in his seeking for the Dao of deathlessness; then he can no more communicate with [the people of] the world, or prevent what is not [right from happening].[17]

In this chapter we will see that legends of Immortals who must have served as role models and objects of reverence for such adepts are found in great abundance in the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan.*

The *Shenxian zhuan* entries on Jiao Xian and Sun Deng provide a picture of a lifestyle that Pengzu certainly would not have recommended:

> Jiao Xian, whose style name was Xiaoran, was a man of Hedong (the western part of Shanxi province). He was 170 years old. He always ate

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[16]This portion could also be rendered as ".....seeking [to encounter a] Divine Immortal..."

[17]This passage is found in *Xinyu*, sixth chapter p. 15b, p. 10 top in edition in *Sibu congkan chubian* vol. 18. The translation is my own, but I have consulted that of Yu Yingshi borrowed by Joseph Needham in *Science and Civilization in China* vol. 5:2 (1974) p. 111.

white rocks and would share them with people. When boiled, [the rocks] became like taros. Every day he went into the mountains to chop firewood which he would then give to people. Starting from a house on one end of the village, he would make his rounds through [the entire village] and then start over again. He would carry the firewood on his back and would place it at the gateways of people's homes. When people saw him they would set up a mat so that he could sit with them and be fed a meal. Xian would then take his seat but would not talk to anybody. Whenever he came bearing firewood, he would look around to make sure nobody saw him, and then would secretly place [the firewood] at the doorway [of each home] and leave. He did this year after year.

When the Wei [Dynasty] inherited [the empire abdicated by the Han Dynasty][18], [Jiao Xian] started to live on the banks of the [Yellow] River, building himself a hut out of grass in which he lived alone. He did not furnish it with a bed. He sat on a grass mat. His body was as grimy and dirty as a mud puddle. At times he would eat only one meal over a stretch of several days. In going about, he did not use roads. He had no contact with women. When his clothing wore out, he would sell firewood and use the money to buy used clothing for himself to wear. In winter and in summer he wore but a single-layered garment. Even when the Governor Dong Jing went to visit him, he would not speak. [Because of this], Jing regarded him to be a wise man more than ever before.

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[18]In 220 A.D. the Han Dynasty officially came to an end when the throne was usurped by the Cao clan which then established the Wei Kingdom in northern China.

[One time] he met with the misfortune of a brush fire which burned down his hut. People went to see [what had happened], and found Xian seated in a straight posture, motionless under [the roof of] his hut. When the fire had burned out and the hut had been completely reduced to ashes, Xian slowly stood up. His clothing was not in the least burnt. Again he built a hut. Heaven suddenly let forth a great snowfall which crushed the houses of many people. Xian's hut collapsed. People went there but could not find him. Fearing that he might have already frozen to death, they opened up the [collapsed] hut to search for him. [There] they found Xian sleeping soundly beneath the snow. His complexion was ruddy and his breathing was relaxed, as though he was lying in a drunken stupor in mid-summer. People thus knew that he was extraordinary, and many of them wanted to study the Dao under him. [But] Xian would say, "I do not have the Dao." Sometimes he would suddenly become old in appearance or young in appearance. He went on like this for over 200 years. Later, he left, separating himself from humans. Nobody knows where he went. [Throughout his days amidst society], those who visited him never got him to utter a single word [regarding how he attained his longevity and supernormal powers].[19]

Where Sun Deng came from is unknown. He always lived amidst the mountains where he would dig a pit in the ground and sit there playing the lute and reading the Book of Changes. [Whether it was] winter or summer he wore a single-layered garment. On severely cold days he was seen with

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[19]*Shenxian zhuan* 6/24b-25a. See Plate 5

> his hair let down so that it covered his [entire] body. His hair was over one *zhang* (225 centimeters) long. His elegant appearance was extraordinary. [People of] many generations saw him, and his appearance was always the same. He begged in the market places and acquired money and goods, all of which he would give to the poor, keeping nothing [for himself]. Moreover, [nobody] ever saw him eat.....[20]

Jiao Xian and Sun Deng, as depicted in the above passages possess a large number of severely ascetic traits. Both subjected themselves to lives of nearly total poverty. Both men had little contact with society, and whatever contact they did make with it was solely for the purpose of helping other people. Both had the ability to be completely impervious to hunger, coldness and heat. What is perhaps most interesting about Jiao Xian's story is that his austere lifestyle, his speechlessness and more than anything else, his capacity to withstand fires and blizzards give him credibility as a holy man and inspire people to seek his instruction. The fact that the Jiao Xian depicted here was indeed a role model for Daoists of later times is attested to by the fact that a very abbreviated form of Jiao Xian's *Shenxian zhuan* entry is found in Wang Xuanhe's *Sandong zhunang* (HY1131/TT780-782), a seventh century encyclopedic compilation concerning various aspects of the Daoist religion.[21] Jiao Xian's story is included in a section entitled "Section on Poverty and Frugality" (*Pinjianpin*) which quotes from various sources stories about people who lived the exemplary austere lifestyle.[22] Interestingly, further information on Jiao Xian is to be

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[20]*Shenxian zhuan* 6/25a. See Plate 6

[21]See *Sandong zhunang* 2/4a

[22]Quoted along with Jiao Xian's story are the *Liexian zhuan* biography of Youbozi and *Shenxian zhuan* biography of Kong Yuanfang (the text of *Sandong Zhunang* is missing is missing the character "*fang* 方 " in his name). Youbozi "always wore a single-layered garment in the winter and wore a jacket and trousers

found in Pei Songzhi's commentary to the *Sanguo zhi* as a quote from the *Wei lüe* (a lost text written in the fourth century).[23] There we are told that he had taken on the austere lifestyle at the end of the Han Dynasty after his wife and children had been killed in the political unrest. The *Wei lüe*, like the *Shenxian zhuan*, tells us that he limited himself to the most meager of food, clothing and other possessions, avoided any contact with women and rarely spoke. Unlike the *Shenxian zhuan*, it attributes to him no supernormal physical attributes nor extraordinary longevity, stating that he died of an illness at the age of eighty-nine. It also makes no mention of his "boiling white rocks", which may refer to a specific dietetic technique which came to be strongly endorsed by the Shangqing movement (this technique will be discussed in Chapter Six). Also, it tells us that in order to avoid political involvement and to qualify for a daily grain allowance of five *sheng* (about one liter) he enlisted the help of an influential friend to get himself registered as an insane person. Perhaps most interestingly, it tells us that he was derided, particularly by the children in his community who would regularly insult and haze him, until one day in 253 he made a correct prediction concerning a battle between the kingdoms of Wei and Wu (won by Wu), after which he was widely acknowledged as wise hermit. The account of the *Wei lüe* in no way identifies Jiao Xian as an adept seeker of immortality, and provides us with a hint that the author of his entry in the *Shenxian zhuan* (who may very well be someone who lived after Ge Hong, judging from the statement, "he went on like this for over 200 years") may have by his own fancy embellished the life story of a well known ascetic-hermit to portray

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during the peak of summer". Kong Yuanfang "always ate the *fuling* (*Pachymo cocos*) plant and pine seeds. He wore bad clothes and ate coarse food."(2/3b)

[23]See *Sanguo zhi* (Zhonghua Shuju edition) pp. 363-364. See also Aat Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves*, pp. 11-12.

him as a successful Daoist adept and a paragon of an ascetic ideal held by seekers of immortality.

That Sun Deng frequently read the *Book of Changes* is quite interesting because great emphasis was to be put upon the ideas of this book (and even more so upon the alchemical classic *Zhouyi cantongqi* which draws much of its inspiration from the *Book of Changes*) among Daoists of later times (especially the internal alchemists from the Song Dynasty and onward) as guidelines towards understanding the cycles of the universe and the human body which dictate the way in which a practitioner ought to train and live. What particular significance the book had for Sun Deng, we cannot know. Probably more important for our present purposes is the fact that Sun Deng's story portrays him as engaging in begging. The *Liexian zhuan* includes the following story which also portrays an Immortal as engaging in begging:

> Yin Sheng was a beggar [who lived] under the Wei Bridge in Chang'an. He always stayed in the marketplace and begged. A person in the marketplace was annoyed by him and thus doused him with manure. [But later on, Yin Sheng] returned to the neighborhood, and his clothing was not soiled, but was like it was before [he was doused]. The Senior Subalterns heard about this and had [Yin Sheng] arrested and bound with handcuffs and chains. But he continued to beg in the marketplace. They arrested him again and were about to execute him [but he] thereupon disappeared. [One day], the house of the person who had doused him collapsed on its own, killing more than ten people. For this reason there is a ballad sung in

> Chang'an which goes, 'If you encounter a beggar give him good liquor, so as to avoid the calamity that will destroy your family.[24]

The qualities of this beggar which indicate his status as a superhuman are his ability to repel impurities, to disappear and to bring ruin upon the family of the one who abused him. Lacking is the ethical element of the beggar-holy man altruistically giving to the poor, which can be found in the *Shenxian zhuan* entry on Sun Deng as well as those on Li A[25] and Li Yiqi [26]. In later hagiography the notion that holy men show themselves in the guises of beggars continues to be important (this is especially the case with the legends about Lü Chunyang, a figure who became extremely popular from the Song Dynasty and onward), although more emphasis gets to be put on the benefits gained by those who are kind to the beggar than on the punishments towards those who mistreat him. In my aforementioned M.A. thesis, "The Beliefs and Practices of Early Ch'üan-chen Taoism", I discussed how Northern Quanzhen School founder Wang Chongyang (1112-1170) required his disciples to rely upon begging for their sustenance and as a means of fostering humility. So far, I have not found substantial earlier evidence of begging being engaged in by Daoist monks as a mandatory practice. However, the occurrence of the holy man-beggar theme in the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* suggests that begging may have been a means of sustenance and self-denial opted for by certain individual seekers of immortality from very early times.

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[24] *Liexian zhuan* 2/7a-b. See Plate 7.

[25] *Shenxian zhuan* 2/8b: "[Li A] always begged in the marketplace of Chengdu. What he obtained he would then distribute to the poor." 常乞於成都市.所得復散賜與貧窮者.

[26] *Shenxian zhuan* 3/12a: "[Li Yiqi] hereupon begged for food. When he obtained something he would immediately hand it over to a poor person." 於是乞食得物.即度與貧人.

Although the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* tell us about ascetic Immortals like Jiao Xian and Yin Sheng who lived in towns and villages, Sun Deng represents a type of ascetic practitioner more commonly found in these books, the adept who lives and trains in the mountains in complete seclusion or with some disciples.[27] The typical mountain-dwelling ascetic who appears in the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* shuns civilized, agrarian society in favor of a life in the wilderness that is primitive and even beast-like. He eats little or nothing at all, living on herbs and minerals which his mountain environment provides him with:

> Wo Quan was an old herb-picker of Mt. Huai[28] . He liked to eat pine seeds. On his body grew hair which was several *cun* (2.25 cm) long and his eyes had become square shaped.....[29]
>
> Qiong Shu was a Boundary Marker for the Zhou Dynasty. He was able to guide his *qi* and refine his body. He boiled stone marrow (stalactite) and ate it. He called it "congealed rock milk"[30].....

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[27]The *Shenxian zhuan* tells us that Li A, like Sun Deng begged in the towns in the daytime and lived alone in the mountains in the night time. One day, a young man named Gu Qiang, who had sensed that Li must be an extraordinary being, followed him all the way from the streets of Chengdu to the place where he lived, which turned out to be in Mt. Qingcheng. On a later occasion Gu, who had decided that he wanted to become Li's disciple, followed him into Mt. Qingcheng again. But because he "not yet knew the Dao", he secretly took a sword with him to protect himself from tigers and leopards. Li rebuked him saying, "If you are following me, why do you need a sword?" Thus we see that this Immortal, when not begging, is a mountain dweller, who due to his virtuosity in the arts of the Dao is above the fear of the hazards which lie in the wilderness. From his disciple he demands enough faith in him to enter the mountains unarmed. See *Shenxian zhuan* 2/8b-9a.

[28]This mountain is located in Xingpingxian, Shaanxi Province.

[29]*Liexian zhuan* 1/3a-b

[30]This is only a tentative translation of the word *shizhongru*. *Zhongrushi* is the most common word used to refer to stalactite. This passage seems to be claiming that Qiong Shu invented the word due to the fact that to him, stalactite served as a food substance.

When he reached the age of several hundred years he wandered about and [eventually] entered Mt. Taishi[31] His stone bed and pillow exist there today.[32]

Xiuyanggong was a man of Wei.[33] He lived in a stone grotto on Mt. Huayin[34] In there is an overhanging stone bed which he used to sleep on. The stone is dented from erosion (because Xiuyanggong slept on it every day). He practically never ate, but would occasionally gather and eat the deer bamboo (*huangjing, poligonatum sibiricum*) plant.....[35]

Maonü's (Hairy Woman) style name was Yujiang. In Mt. Huayin, various hunters over many generations have sighted her. She has hair (or fur) growing all over her body. She says that she was a palace attendant for the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty. When the Qin Dynasty was overthrown, she fled and took refuge in the mountains. [There] she met the Daoist adept Gu Chun[36] who taught her to eat pine needles. Eventually she overcame all sensation of hunger and cold. Her body felt light as though it was flying. For over 170 years, the grotto where she lives has issued forth the sounds of drums and harps.[37]

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[31]One of the two mountains, along with Mt. Shaoshi located in Dengfengxian, Henan Province which together are refered to as Mt. Song and revered as the Central Peaks among China's sacred Five Peaks. Located at the foot of Mt. Taishi today is a large active Daoist monastery called Zhongyuemiao.

[32]*Liexian zhuan* 1/9a

[33]This is a region that was located in the southwestern portion of Shanxi Province and northern portion of Henan province.

[34]Another name for the Western Peak Mt. Hua.

[35]*Liexian zhuan* 1/18b

[36]An entry on Gu Chun is found in *Liexian zhuan* 2/6b-7a.

[37]*Liexian zhuan* 3/7b-8a

By living in the wilderness amidst beasts and eating like beasts, it was thought that a practitioner would take on the appearance of a beast by growing a coat of fur that would keep him or her warm. The notion that Wo Quan had square shaped eyes is an early example of the notion, found primarily in Six Dynasties-early Tang Daoist sources, which maintains that Immortals possess various extraordinary physical traits. The *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* provide us with several other such examples of Immortals who possess unusual physical traits which are often more non-human than human. The *Liexian zhuan* tells us that Ningfengzi who lived on a certain Mt. Longmei[38] "had a body covered with hair and had wide ears."[39] It also tells us that Huang Yuanqiu "wore a fur coat and kept his hair let down. His ears were seven *cun* long and he had no teeth."[40] The *Shenxian zhuan* tells us that Liu Gen, who lived in a stone grotto on the steep cliffs of Mt. Songgao[41], "went naked in winter and summer, and the hair on his body grew to a length of 1 to 2 *chi* (one *chi* was about 22-24 cm)."[42] It also tells us that Hua Ziqi, after being transmitted the "Numinous Treasure (Lingbao) Method of the Immortal Recluses" and imbibing the prescribed concoction, "shed his skin ten times in one year, just as a cicada sheds its shell."[43]

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[38]The location of this mountain is unclear. However, it may have been a name for Mt. Qingcheng since, as we will see in Chapter 3, there was a belief that Ningfengzi inhabited Mt. Qingcheng.

[39]*Liexian zhuan* 2/10b 毛身廣耳

[40]*Liexian zhuan* 2/13b 衣裘視髮. 耳長七寸. 口中無齒

[41]This is another name for the Central Peak Mt. Song.

[42]*Shenxian zhuan* 3/10a 冬夏不衣. 身毛長一二尺.

[43]*Shenxian zhuan* 1/5a 一歲十易皮如蟬蛻

The *Liexian zhuan* entries on Qiong Shu and Xiuyanggong indicate how from very early on, Mt. Song and Mt. Hua were well established as reputable sites for reclusive training and perhaps also as pilgrimage sites for non-practitioners who would come to worship the Immortals. Today, both of these mountains have large monasteries occupied by Daoist monks. It is very common for these kinds of Daoist Mountains to have sites and relics associated with certain famous Immortals[44]. To this day, one of the peaks (where there was once a nunnery, but now only a rest stop) along the way to the summit of Mt. Hua bears the name, "Maonü's Peak." Apparently for many centuries Maonü continued to be an inspirational figure for aspiring adepts. In a text on methods of Perfection Cultivation (primarily internal alchemy) dating as late as the twelfth century[45], a certain Fan Dezhao (who probably lived in the late tenth century or early eleventh century), in a criticism of practitioners who relied excessively on fasting and other dietary methods of training says, "Some people, longing to become like Maonü ingest [various substances]. It is not that there are no more pine or arbor vitae trees. But after the northern woman (Maonü?), no one has been able to ascend the skies [by ingesting pine and/or arbor vitae tree leaves]."

What were the motives for the dietary practices ascribed to the adepts mentioned above? Most obviously, seekers of immortality ingested the substances that they did because of their supposed medicinal capacity to cure diseases and extend lifespans

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[44]A few examples of this are "grave of Laozi" at Mt. Zhongnan, "Ge Hong's alchemical furnace" at Mt. Luofu , "Zhang Daoling's hatchet" at Mt. Qingcheng, and "Hao Guangning's Cave" on the summit of Mt. Hua.

[45]The "Qishenpian" chapter in *juan* #18 of Zeng Zao's twelfth century internal alchemical anthology *Daoshu* (HY1011/TT641-648).

或慕毛女而服餌.世非無松柏也.而北女之後.未有能飛空而行者也.

limitlessly. A good example is the *Shenxian zhuan* story[46] about Zhao Ju, a leper who was abandoned by his own request in the mountains by his family. There, on the verge of death he encountered three holy men who gave him a supply of pine seeds and pine and cypress resin. By eating these daily, Zhao Ju was not only cured of his leprosy, but became immortal. At a symbolic, perhaps subconscious level, as has been discussed by Jean Levi and Kristofer Schipper[47], dietary practices such as these may have represented a return to the food-gathering lifestyle of primitive times when, according to a belief widely held among Daoists (as we will discuss later in Chapters 3 and 4), people had not yet been corrupted by the evils of civilization (greed, wealth, status, recognition, superficial distinctions between good/bad, right/wrong etc.) and thus lived longer and happier lives. But for our purposes, the most important fact to note is that very often the ideal for ascetic adepts was to stop eating entirely. Plant and mineral substances were often mere aids, which by ingesting regularly, could enable one to survive on little or no food. It is relevant to here turn our attention to a passage which may have at one time been part of Ge Hong's original *Shenxian zhuan*. This passage, which does not exist in present editions of *Shenxian zhuan*, is found in the *Bowuzhi* and reads as follows:

> The *Shenxian zhuan* says, "It is a fact that food is where the 100 diseases and wicked demons gather. The less you eat, the more your mind will open up, and the longer your life span will be. The more you eat, the more your mind will be closed, and the shorter your life span will be.[48]

[46] *Shenxian zhuan* 3/12a-b

[47] See Jean Levi, "L'abstinence des cereales chez les Taoistes" in *Etudes Chinoises* no. 1 (1983) pp. 3-47 and Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist Body* pp. 167-170.

[48] *Bowuzhi* , seventh *juan* . *Congshu jicheng chupian* vol.1342 (1939) p.40. Although the *Bowuzhi* is attributed to Zhang Hua (232-300 A.D.), the original text has been lost, and the present version is a collection of writings originating out of various sources, only one of which is Zhang's actual work.

The conclusion that would naturally follow from the above notion would be that one could become immortal if one stopped eating entirely. As we will be seeing in ensuing chapters, this attempt to completely stop eating is what was usually meant by the term "*bigu*" or "avoidance of grains"; the term did not refer some sort of a taboo against grains in particular.

Methods of fasting which employed the ingestion of plant and mineral substances will be discussed in considerable detail in Chapter 3. For now I will simply list the substances employed by the Immortals of *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan*. They include pine seeds, pine sap, pine needles, mica, sesame seeds, peach and plum blossoms, stalactite, lychee fruit, deer bamboo (*huangjing*), *tianmendong* (*asparagus cochinchinensis*), chrysanthemum flowers, "stone fat" (a type of clay), mercury, deerhorn, chestnusts, cypress resin, sulphur, lead, the *zhu* plant (*atractylodes macrocephala*), rush and scallion roots, rape-turnip seeds, mallow (*malva verticillata*), turtle brains, limonite ("Yu's leftover food"), cinnabar, bramble roots (*rubus tephrodes*), cantalope, autumn root (*aconitum carmichaeli*), seeds of the *zhi* plant (*iris florentina*), the *changpu* plant (*acorus gramineus*), cinnamon, broom plant (*kochia scoparia*), "pine seeds that grow as parasites on mulberry trees", niter, onions and scallions, the *badou* plant (*croton tiglium*), realgar, sap of the arbor vitae tree (biota orientalis), flowers of the *shigui* tree (*rhaphiolus indica*) and "red flower pills" (unidentified). Finally to be added to the list is water. One of the Immortals depicted in the eighth *juan* of the *Shenxian zhuan*, a house servant named Chen Anshi, allegedly after being given two pills by two Immortals who ordered him to never eat again, "never ate again, only drinking water."[49]

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[49] *Shenxian zhuan* 8/34a. 但飲水不食

In later times (perhaps the fifth century), vegetarianism came to be required among Daoist monks, due greatly to Buddhist influence. This was primarily based upon the belief that the killing and eating of any living creature is a sin that produces extremely bad karma. In days prior to this, as has been pointed out by Henri Maspero[50], meat was avoided by many Daoists not because of any belief in bad karma, but because it was deemed as useless or even detrimental to the process of training and transforming the body towards immortality. The *Shenxian zhuan* tells us that Jie Xiang, who at the time was already an accomplished adept, was roaming the mountains when he met a beautiful girl who looked to be about 15-16 years old. Realizing that she was an Immortal, Jie Xiang asked her to instruct him, only to get the reply, "Your *qi* [accumulated from] your meat eating diet has not yet been eliminated. [You must] abstain from grains (fast) for three years and then return [for instruction]." The girl's reply provides a good example of how the notion of abstaining from "grains" really refers to an abstinence from eating food in general, since a mere avoidance of grains alone would not have served the purpose of purging the body of *qi* accumulated from the eating of meat.[51] We can see that the reason here for avoiding meat is strictly physiological. It was thought that the eating of meat created a bodily chemistry not conducive to the pursuit of immortality. Generally speaking, as we will see in ensuing chapters, *qi* from any kind of food other than certain prescribed substances was thought to be harmful to the body. The central concern that usually dictated the diet of practitioners was physiology. (Oddly, while Maspero made this same observation and cited the story of Jie Xiang to support his point, he did not take note of the usage of the term "abstain from grains", which contradicts his basic interpretation of the word.) This dominant concern can indeed be considered a definitive trait of Daoist asceticism.

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[50]See *Taoism and Chinese Religion* pp. 333-339.

[51]*Shenxian zhuan* 9/36a 汝血食之氣未盡. 斷穀三年更來.

Although certain practitioners may have laid particular stress upon avoiding meat, many others were apparently not particularly concerned with what they ate as long as they ate as little of it as possible. In fact, some fasting methods prescribed the eating of modest quantities of dried meat. The *Shenxian zhuan* tells us that the aforementioned beggar-Immortal Li Yiqi, who was active during the reign of Han Emperor Wendi (r.180-157 B.C.), lived in an earthen cave, drank small amounts of liquor and ate dried meat, jujubes and chestnuts. All three of these things that he ate are frequently prescribed in texts describing methods of fasting.[52] It is understandable that dried meat would be useful for the purpose of sustaining a fast, since the high content of protein in it would enable the adept to subdue his hunger by eating only a small amount.

Aside from the ingesting of small amounts of certain substances, there were also methods for sustaining the fast which involved techniques of meditation, visualization and respiration, which from here on will be referred to as "non-ingestion methods". (These methods frequently do call for the ingestion of air, saliva or paper talismans, but in this study I will regard as "ingestion methods" only those methods which call for the ingestion of external substances other than air, saliva or talismans, and which as a general rule are of comparatively lesser severity as they allow for some actual nourishment.) These methods were often practiced in tandem with the ingestion methods. Some adepts tried as much as possible to sustain their fasts through non-ingestion methods alone. References to these non-ingestion methods are sparse in the *Liexian zhuan* but are numerous in the *Shenxian zhuan*.

The *Liexian zhuan* has in it the following two passages which are possibly allusions to methods which are known to be non-ingestion methods for sustaining fasts:

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[52]*Shenxian zhuan* 3/12a

The Guardian of the Pass Yin Xi was a Grand Master of the Zhou [Dynasty]. He was well versed in the internal (esoteric?) studies and always imbibed the essences and efflorescences.[53] 關令尹喜者.周大夫也.善內學.常服精華.

.....[Zhixuzi] imbibed the mists and did away with [grains?][54]...[55] 服霞絕[穀]

The "essences and efflorescences" imbibed by Yin Xi most likely refer to the "essences and efflorenscences of the sun and the moon" which the adept, at sunrise and at night, visualizes descending and entering into his mouth so that he can swallow them and be nourished by them. "Imbibing the mists" refers to a similar method. This method also had the purpose of nourishing the body with solar essences, as there existed the idea that mist was the essence of the sun.[56] The character "*gu* "穀, or perhaps "*li* "粒 for "grains" does not exist in the extant texts of the *Liexian zhuan*, but there seems to be a character missing here, and *gu*穀 (or perhaps *li*粒) is the logical character that would fit into here.[57] Assuming that this is correct, it becomes apparent that the "imbibing of mists" serves the function of sustaining a fast. *Liexian zhuan* also tells us that Zhixuzi ate pine seeds, the *tianmendong* (*asparagus cochinchinensis*) plant and a type of clay called "stone grease". It also tells us that Yin Xi accompanied his teacher Laozi老子 to "the

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[53]*Liexian zhuan* 1/5a

[54]There is a lacuna here, which would be most logically filled by the character "*gu* "穀 or perhaps "*li* "粒 for "grains".

[55]*Liexian zhuan* 2/1a

[56]The *Sandong zhunang* has in it a passage which reads, "The sun is the fruit from which the mist issues. The mist is the essence of the sun." 日者霞之實也.霞者日之精也."*Fushipin*服食品" 3/3b-4a. Quoted from a scripture entitled *Jiuhua Jing*).

[57]Certain more recent editions of *Liexian zhuan* (Wang Zhaoyuan's corrected edition included in *Daozang jinghua lu* and the corrected edition of Qian Xizuo included in the *Zhihai* make this same speculation and have re-inserted the character gu穀 into the text.

lands of the flowing sands (foreign nations in the west)" in order to "convert the barbarians".[58] There, Yinxi ate sesame seeds. Thus both men appear to be depicted as fasting while employing ingestion and non-ingestion methods in tandem.

The following are some examples from the *Shenxian zhuan* of how non-ingestion methods were used to enable the adept to go without eating:

> Kong Anguo was a man of Lu. He always guided his *qi* and ingested pills of lead (or perhaps, lead and cinnabar). At the age of 200 his complexion was like that of a young boy. He hid in Mt. Qian[59] with several hundred disciples. Every time he entered his chamber to abstain from grains (fast), he would emerge a year and a half later more youthful than before. When he was not in his chamber, he would eat normally, in the same way as ordinary people of the world.[60]
>
> Gan Shi was a man of Taiyuan[61]. He was adept at guiding his *qi* and not drinking and eating. Also, he ingested *tianmendong* (*asparagus cochinchinensis*) and practiced the affairs of the bedroom....[62]

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[58]At various times, especially during the late Six Dynasties and Tang periods, Daoists promoted the controversial legend that Laozi and Yin Xi went to India and instructed the Buddha who went on to found a variant form of Daoism suitable for barbarians called Buddhism. It is very hard to believe that Liu Xiang himself could have made such an allusion to this legend which is generally thought to have originated during the Western Jin Dynasty (265-316 A.D.) when a Daoist priest named Wang Fu forged the *Laozi huahu jing*. The text has probably been embellished, although it is difficult to say when this could have been.

[59]Located in Qianshanxian, Anhui Province.

[60]*Shenxian zhuan* 9/35b.

[61]Located in Shanxi Province

[62]*Shenxian zhuan* 10/42b

Huang Jing, whose style name was Boyan, was a man of Wuling[63]. During his youth he read and recited the classics and served his region as a regional retainer. Later he abandoned the world and studied the Dao at Mt. Huo[64] for 80 years. He then went to the Central Peak (Mt. Song). [There] he concentrated on imbibing *qi* and doing away with grains (fasting). He engaged in the methods of swallowing and expelling. He [practiced] womb breathing and internal vision. He summoned the Six *Jia* Jade Girls by swallowing the *yin* and *yang* talismans. Also, he would visualize a red star in front of his *dongfang* (one of the special compartments or "palaces" that were thought to exist inside the head) which would grow larger and larger and become like a fire which enveloped the body. By the time he had reached the age of 200, he had been restored to his youth.[65]

Yuzi's surname was Zhang and his personal name was Zhen.....Thereby, he made Changsangzi his master and was given various techniques. Independently he created his own school of methods and authored over one hundred books on the Dao. His methods centered around "toiling for the Big Dipper"(meditation involving the visualization of the Ursa Major constellation?), and he understood the intentions of the Five Phases very well. He performed the sublime wonders in order to nurture the vital principle and cure diseases, as well as eliminate disasters and get rid of misfortunes. He was able to arouse whirlwinds which could tear

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[63]Located in Zhuxixian, Hubei Province.

[64]Location unsure. This could either refer to the Mt. Huo in Shanxi Province or the one in Anhui Province.

[65]*Shenxian zhuan* 10/42b See Plate 8

> roofs off houses and topple trees. He could produce thunder, rain, clouds and fog. He could instantly create the six types of livestock as well as dragons and tigers out of grass, dust, tiles and stones. He could make appear hundreds or even thousands of duplicates of his own body. He could walk across rivers and seas. When he put water in his mouth and blew it out, it all became pearls and jade which did not change [back into water]. Sometimes he would hold his breath. When one tried to make him get up, he would not get up. When pushed, he would not budge. When one tried to bend him, he would not bend. When one tried to stretch him out, he would not stretch out. He would stay like this for 100 days or for several tens of days before finally rising.[66]

Some of the methods ascribed to Huang Jing were similar to those of "imbibing essences and efflorescences" or "imbibing the mists" ascribed to Yin Xi and Zhixuzi in the *Liexian zhuan.* Such methods are designed to fill the digestive system with air and saliva so that the adept feels full and does not go hungry. "Swallowing the *yin* and *yang* talismans" probably refers to the practice of swallowing paper talismans. Conceivably, the adept's faith in the divine efficacy of the talismans would have the psychosomatic effect of alleviating or preventing hunger. The word, "womb breathing" was given various different meanings over the years. It is hard to say what exactly it refers to in the *Shenxian zhuan.* In one sense, it means to hold one's breath or to slow down one's breathing as much as possible and thus be like a fetus, who lives and grows in his mother's womb without breathing through the nose and mouth. In another sense, it means to send air or *qi* into a special spot in the lower abdomen (referred to by various terms such as "elixir field" or

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[66]*Shenxian zhuan* 8/33a. See Plate 9

"Yellow Court") which becomes a "womb" in which the adept creates an internal immortal body. Through meditation and controlled breathing, a practitioner could perhaps enter into a trance state in which the body's involuntary functions such as respiration, pulse and metabolism were slowed down to near stoppage. Perhaps, by achieving and maintaining such a trance state for extended periods, an adept could enter a state similar to that of hibernation during which he or she would not eat anything. In the *Shenxian zhuan*, Yuzi seems to be depicted as doing this, and perhaps so are Kong Anguo and Gan Shi, if one can assume that "guiding the breath" refers to a process where one breaths as softly and slowly as possible while concentrating and visualizing internally. It is quite likely, based upon the information given, that Yuzi carried out visualizations of the stars of the constellation Ursa Major as well as the Five Phases of wood, fire, metal, water and soil which are represented in the human body by the liver, heart, lungs, kidneys and spleen respectively. Also highly instructive here is the following speculation by Joseph Needham in regard to the exercises of breath-holding:

> ....there can be no doubt that this technique produced considerable anoxaemia with all its strange effects-- buzzing in the ears, vertigo, perspiration, sensations of heat and formication in the extremities, fainting and headache. One cannot help wondering whether there was some connection here with the ancient use of hallucinogens from plants and fungi, the respiratory exercises reproducing some of their effects in a simpler way. And a further possibility presents itself, that sometimes the exercises had intensified effects when carried out in temples on high mountains, where a veritable induction of partial "mountain sickness" may have occurred. This involves further asphyxic symptoms, cyanosis of the lips and face, nausea

> and vomiting, intestinal disturbances, great hypernoea on exertion, difficulty in mental effort, and psychical aberrations like those of alcoholic excess, finally torpor with exhilaration, and loss of consciousness which (as the early balloonists found) may be irreversible. If the Taoist breath-holding was performed under altitude conditions of low barometric pressure, some of these further effects may have entered in. At all events there was quite an array of rather spectacular phenomena to be encountered in induced anoxaemia, though it may seem strange at first that they should ever have been thought to conduce to longevity and immortality. However, prolonged anoxaemia, as on high mountains, brings with it loss of appetite, an effect which would have made the restricted diet of the recluses easier to bear, contributing as it did in its turn to the reduction of cardiac strain and heightened awareness and well-being consequent on loss of all excess body-weight.[67]

In Chapter Two we will examine a text which prescribes fasting of a most strenuous variety, and also prescribes an intensive method of breath-holding.

The *Shenxian zhuan* entry on Gan Shi is quite strange in view of what one might generally associate with asceticism. Gan Shi allegedly "never ate", and was in this sense severely ascetic. Yet he is also described as a practitioner of sexual yoga. What this appears to indicate is that in this early period, practitioners who fasted and engaged in other kinds of behavior which we may regard as "ascetic", were not bound by moral scruples that made them look upon the sexual act as inherently sinful and corrupting. Such adepts would have then engaged in sexual yoga provided that they believed in the salubrious

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[67] *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5:5 (1983) pp. 144-145.

effects ascribed to it. Also, a good number of the Immortals in the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* are described as householders who lived comfortably amidst ordinary society or in wilderness seclusion together with their wives and children. It is certainly correct to say that prior to receiving heavy influence from Buddhism (a phenomenon which started full-scale in the fifth century), celibate monasticism did not exist as an institution within Daoism and that most Daoists did not yet have certain attitudes and beliefs that would have caused them to disdain sexual intercourse as evil.

However, this is not to say that celibacy was not observed among Daoists before Buddhist ways and ideas were adopted. Although some of the rationale for promoting celibacy was to eventually be provided by Buddhism, Daoists always had their own reasons for celibacy. Thus, prior to the adoption of Buddhist monasticism, there were Daoists who practiced celibacy. As the reader may recall, the *Shenxian zhuan* tells us that Jiao Xian "had no contact with women". The text probably mentions this because Jiao Xian's celibacy was considered to be a trait becoming of a holy man as well as a reason for his longevity and indestructibility. (However, in the version of Jiao Xian's life depicted in the *Weilüe*, he is not clearly described as a Daoist adept, and the impression is that he may have avoided women due to a feeling of loyalty and an expression of mourning for his wife whom he lost to the military strife at the end of the Han.)

The *Liexian zhuan* biography of Shangqiu Zixu is also quite interesting in this regard:

> Shangqiu Zixu was a man of Gaoyi[68]. He enjoyed herding his pigs and playing his *yu* flute. At the age of 70, he had never married and had not aged. Many people of the village regarded him as extraordinary and followed him in hope of being transmitted the Dao. When asked what was

[68]A district in Hebei Province.

> essential he would answer, "If you eat the roots of the *zhu* (*atractylodes macrocephala*) and *changpu* (*acorus gramineus*) plants and drink water, you will never get hungry and you will not age." He lived like this as generations came and went, and was seen [by people] for over 300 years. People of noble and wealthy families heard of this, picked [the roots of the *shu* and *changpu* plants] and ate them, but were unable to sustain the practice for [even] a full year. They would always quit because of laziness. They would then say, "He must possess some other secret method."[69]

As is the case with the *Shenxian zhuan* entry on Jiao Xian, a connection between celibacy and longevity seems to be implied. The primary method of longevity cited here is the austere lifelong diet of herbs and water.

In *Shenxian zhuan* we can find the following passage that clearly depicts a Daoist master who advocated celibacy:

> She Zheng's style name was Xuanzhen. He was a man of Badong[70]. He spoke of events that took place during the reign (221-210 B.C.) of the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty as though he had personally witnessed them. At the end of the Han Dynasty (ca. 220 A.D.) he took his 20 disciples with him to [the kingdom of] Wu [71]. Nobody had ever seen him open his eyes. [One time], there was a disciple who earnestly begged him to open his eyes. Zheng thereupon opened his eyes for him, and there was instantly a noise

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[69]*Liexian zhuan* 2/9b-10a. See Plate 10.

[70]Located in Fengjiexian, Sichuan Province.

[71]The kingdom which extended over southeastern China during the Three Kingdoms period that followed the Han Dynasty.

like thunder and a radiance like lightning that illuminated the room.[72] All the disciples immediately fell to the ground [in terror]. When they were finally able to get up, Zheng had already closed his eyes again. [Although] Zheng had accomplished the Dao, nobody ever saw what he ingested or what [methods] he practiced. It is said that what he told his disciples to do was to guide their *qi*, completely refrain from [the activities of] the bedroom and to ingest small pills of "stone brain" (stalactites).[73]

Thus here we have described a circle of practitioners allegedly existing in the early third century among whom celibacy was observed as a method of cultivation. As we will see in the ensuing chapters, various training methods described in ancient scriptures required complete celibacy in order to be carried out successfully and safely. As will be discussed in more detail later on, the most important reason why celibacy was often deemed desirable was because the retention of seminal fluid, referred to as the *jing* or "essence", was considered to be highly conducive to good health and long life. Excessive loss of seminal fluid was thought to shorten the life span. Thus *Shenxian zhuan* tells us that Guangchengzi, an Immortal recluse who lived in a cave on Mt. Kongdong[74] gave the following words of advice to the legendary Emperor Huangdi (Yellow Emperor) :

> The essence of the ultimate Dao is dark and obscure. Without seeing and without hearing, embrace your spirit in stillness. Your body will naturally

至道之精杳杳冥冥 無視無聽抱神以靜 形將自正

[72]The notion that She Zheng could emit thunder and lightning from his eyes, and the implication that this power is generated from his sustained practice of "internal vision" is reminiscent of the Qingwei Thunder Magic of the Song Dynasty in which internal visualization is utilized to enable the adept to have the forces of thunder and lightning at his command.

[73]*Shenxian zhuan* 10/40a. See Plate 11.

[74]Located in Pingliangxian, Gansu Province.

> be proper. You must be still and you must be pure. If you do not belabor your body and do not let your *jing* (seminal fluid) waver, you can thereby live long.[75]

The *Shenxian zhuan* also tells us that Feng Heng "cherished and retained his *jing* so that his *qi* (vital energy) would not be exhausted." When questioned by Emperor Wu of the Wei Dynasty (posthumous title of the famous general and dynastic usurper Cao Cao who lived from 155 to 220 A.D.) on the "general basics of nurturing the vital principle", he replied as follows:

> Your body should always be at work and your eating should always be in small quantities. But your labor should not be too strenuous and you should not starve yourself excessively. Avoid greasy and rich foods and limit your intake of sour and salty foods. Decrease your thoughts and concerns and decrease your emotional fluctuations. Stop competing [with others] and restrain yourself in the bedroom. Thereby you will be close to the Dao.[76]

From very early times, seekers of immortality saw it as necessary to not only be moderate in one's sexual activity, but to somehow completely avoid ejaculating. Indeed, sexual yoga is itself designed to fit this purpose as it requires the practitioner to resist ejaculation at the moment of climax and to send the *jing* up into the brain through the spine. Those who saw sexual yoga as truly efficacious did so because they thought that through

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[75] *Shenxian zhuan* 1/1a

[76] *Shenxian zhuan* 10/44a

their methods they not only retained their *jing*, but actually increased it through sexual stimulus.[77] But apparently a less positive justification for sexual yoga was that it was a method for practitioners not yet ready to practice the most superior methods, which themselves often required celibacy. Because most people for various reasons were unable to observe celibacy, it was thought that they at least ought to practice sexual intercourse in a way that was beneficial to the health, i.e. sexual yoga. The aforementioned biography of Kong Anguo in the *Shenxian zhuan* indicates that for the highest attainment in the art of alchemy to be accomplished, sexual yoga was to be regarded as a hindrance rather than a help. There it is mentioned that various people managed to live hundreds of years because they practiced Kong Anguo's medicinal ingestion method (perhaps the "lead elixir") but that "there were those who were unable to transcend the world because they practiced sexual yoga."[78]

Also interesting in this regard is the *Shenxian zhuan* entry on Zhang Daoling, the founder of the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice (which later came to be referred to as the Way of the Heavenly Masters or the School of Orthodox Unity) who lived in the second century A.D. The *Shenxian zhuan* tells us that Zhang had mastered an alchemical method called the "Yellow Emperor's Elixir Method of the Nine Crucibles" but would not transmit it to his followers. His reasoning was:

> You still behave in many secular ways and are unable to abandon the world. 爾輩多俗態未除不能棄世
> You can only be taught my methods of *qi* guiding, light gymnastics and 正可得吾行氣導引房中之事

[77] A good and concise discussion on sexual yoga is found in Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. II (1956) pp. 146-152. A good recent book on the subject is Douglas Wile, *Art of the Bedchamber: The Chinese Sexual Yoga Classics including Women's Solo Meditation Texts* (1992).

[78] *Shenxian zhuan* 9/35b 亦有不度世者.由於房中之術也.

sexual yoga, or perhaps the methods for living several hundred years by eating of herbs and trees.[79] 或可得服食草木數百歲之方耳

The implication here is that sexual yoga is merely one of the inferior methods meant to be practiced by those who were not yet spiritually ready to practice the supreme art of alchemy. In order to be worthy, their minds needed to be free of attachment to worldly things, which likely would include sexual desires. What is hard to discern here is whether the above statement was truly the perspective of Zhang Daoling or whether this actually represents the hagiographer's agenda put into the mouth of Zhang Daoling. A clear assessment of the value of sexual yoga by Ge Hong who may or may not have written the entry on Zhang Daoling is found in Chapter 6 of the *Baopuzi neipian.* There he states that sexual yoga is useful merely for curing minor diseases and preventing the exhaustion of one's essence. In another sense Ge Hong seems to have had a high regard for sexual yoga in that he states that sexual inactivity as well as excessive sexual activity can cause disease and that one must practice sexual yoga for the medicines that one takes to be effective. Thus we know that Ge Hong, unlike someone like the Jiao Xian or She Zheng depicted in the *Shenxian zhuan*, was not a believer in complete celibacy. Yet he saw sexual yoga as being much less efficacious than laboratory alchemy.

What is clearly demonstrated in the *Shenxian zhuan* is that when one seeks to successfully concoct the "golden elixir", one must in mind and body elevate oneself to a higher level. Thus the various methods other than alchemy are no more than means by which one acquires the proper physical and mental makeup for ingesting the divine elixir. In the *Shenxian zhuan*, even the aforementioned Huang Jing, a master of diverse and marvelous arts such as womb breathing, internal vision and the imbibing of the *yin* and

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[79]*Shenxian zhuan* 4/16b

yang talismans is made to admit, "I do not practice the way of ingesting the [alchemical] medicine but simply maintain my self-so-ness. Therefore I am but an earthly Immortal. How could I be worth seeking advice from? Sir Yin of Xinye's[80] method of ascending to Heaven [by means of] the divine elixir, is truly the ultimate [art] of the Great Dao."[81] Liu Gen, in his *Shenxian zhuan* entry reminisces as follows about the time when he encountered a Divine Man named Han Zhong, and pleaded urgently for instruction:

> The Divine Man said, "Sit down. I shall tell you. You have the bones of immortality [82], and thus were able to encounter me. But right now your bone marrow is not abundant, your blood is not warm, your *qi* is dwindling, your brains are decreasing, your tendons are wearing down and your flesh is declining. Therefore, even if you take the medicine and guide your *qi* , it will not be effective. If you definitely wish to live long, first [you must] spend twelve years on curing your health problems and then you can take the medicine of immortality."[83]

The Divine Man then goes on to discuss the categories of medicines[84] as well as the importance of practicing sexual yoga.

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[80]Located in Henan Province.

[81]*Shenxian zhuan* 10/42b

[82]This means that one is predestined to be an Immortal, due primarily to virtue accumulated by one's ancestors.

[83]*Shenxian zhuan* 3/11a

[84]According to him, superior medicines are those produced through alchemy which enable one to instantly ascend into the heavens as an Immortal. Intermediate medicines are mineral substances such as mica which bestow upon the adept supernormal powers as well as everlasting life on earth. Inferior medicines are plants

However, to have the right bodily makeup was not in itself enough. Also required for success in the ultimate art was an impeccable inner character. Thus in the *Shenxian zhuan*, Zhang Daoling puts his disciples through various trials before transmitting the greatest secrets to them. Zhang announces to his followers that his "Nine Crucibles" recipe will only be transmitted to a certain Wang Chang as well as "a man who will come from the east". When this man, named Zhao Sheng arrives, he is immediately put through seven trials:

> When Sheng arrived at the gate [of Zhang Daoling's house], he was not allowed to go through. [Zhang] had some people scold and insult [Sheng] for over forty days during which [Sheng] slept outside without leaving. Finally, [Zhang] let him in.
>
> [Zhang Daoling] made Sheng stay in the fields and guard the millet crop from wild animals. At sundown he sent over a woman of extraordinary beauty who, saying that she was passing through on a journey, asked Sheng to let her stay with him over night. She slept next to Sheng. The next day she complained that her legs ached and she could not walk. She ended up staying for several days and repeatedly tried to seduce him. But to the very end, Sheng did not do what was improper.
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> When Sheng was walking down the road, he saw thirty pots of gold left sitting on the ground but just walked by without taking any of it.

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and herbs which can heal diseases, replenish the body's vitality or enable one to fast. They can only help to prolong life and cannot bring about immortality.

[Zhang Daoling] made Sheng enter the mountains and gather firewood. Three tigers came before him and started to devour his garments, but did not harm his body. Sheng was not scared, and did not change his facial expression. He said to the tigers, "I am but a Daoist adept. From my youth I have done no wrong. Therefore I came, not regarding 1000 *li* (about 415 km) as far to serve a divine master and seek the way of long life. Why are you doing this to me? Did the demons of the mountains not send you here to test me?" Soon after, the tigers left him.

Sheng bought 14 *pi* 's (140 m) of silk in the market. Even though the money had already been paid, the silk merchant lied and claimed that he had still not received the payment. Sheng thereupon took off his own clothes and used them as payment for the silk without showing any signs of regret.

Sheng was guarding the grain in the fields when a man came to him, kowtowing and begging for food. His clothing was worn and tattered, his face was covered with dirt and grime, and his body was loathsomely smelly and filthy from the pus from his welts. Sheng was moved out of pity for him. He shed his garments for [the beggar] to wear and fed him a meal. He then sent him off with a supply of his own rice.

[Zhang Dao]ling, with his disciples climbed to the top of a distant cliff amidst the terraces of the clouds. Below them was a peach tree shaped like a human elbow growing out of the face of the cliff, overhanging the abyss below. The peach tree had much fruit on it. Ling said to his disciples, "If any one of you can fetch one of those peaches, I shall reveal to you the essentials of the Dao." At this time, those who knelt and gazed down [at the

peach tree] numbered more than 200. [But] with trembling legs and flowing sweat, none could bear to even look for long. All who looked retreated, and left without getting [a peach]. Sheng alone said, "If one has the protection of the gods, how could there be any danger? A holy master is present here. Certainly he will not allow me to die in this valley. If the master has something to teach us, then there certainly must be some way in which [the peaches] can be gotten." Thereupon, [Sheng] hurled himself from the top [of the cliff] onto the tree. Without stumbling, he picked enough peaches to fill the breast [of his garment]. [However,] the face of the cliff was steep and had no handholds nor footholds, and thus he was unable to return. He thus threw the peaches upwards one by one. He had picked 202 of them. Ling took them and gave one to each of the disciples. Ling ate one and saved one for Sheng. Ling then pulled Sheng up with his hand. The crowd who witnessed this saw Ling's arm, stretched out to a length of 2 or 3 *zhang* (one *zhang* is 2.304 m), pulling up Sheng.[85]

After pulling up Zhao Sheng, Zhang Daoling tests the faith and resolve of his disciples once more by jumping from the top of the cliff. Zhao Sheng and the aforementioned Wang Chang then do the same, and land on a ledge upon which Zhang Daoling transmits to them the recipe for the divine elixir. Thus in this narrative we can see that Zhao Sheng is transmitted the greatest secrets only after passing all of the trials and proving that he is a man of humility, generosity and compassion who is completely immune from the corruptive influences of pride, anger, greed, lust and fear. He is even made to show that he does not fear death itself.

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[85] *Shenxian zhuan* 4/16b-17a. See Plate 12.

This theme of the practitioner undergoing a series of trials administered by his teacher can also be found in the *Shenxian zhuan* entrys on Li Babai, Hugong and Wei Boyang which I shall now introduce the reader to.

Li Babai, an Immortal of the Shu region (present day Sichuan), in order to test the character of a certain Tang Gongfang, disguised himself and began working for him as a servant. Because he was so much more hard-working than the other servants, he soon won Tang's affection. Suddenly one day, Li fell ill. Although Tang spent exorbitant sums of money on doctors and medicines, Li's condition only grew worse, as huge festering welts developed all over his body. When told by Li that the welts would heal only if somebody licked them, Tang had three of his maidservants lick the welts. When Li requested that Tang himself lick the welts, he complied. He also asked that Tang's wife do it, so she complied as well. Li then had Tang bring him a tub of liquor for him to bathe in. After Li emerged from the tub with his wounds fully healed, he revealed his true identity and told Tang, his wife and his three maidservants to bathe in the liquor. When they each came out of the tub, they had been restored to their youth. Li then transmitted an alchemical scripture to Tang who went into Mt. Yuntai, concocted the elixir, and became an Immortal.[86]

The Immortal Hugong is also depicted as subjecting his disciple, Fei Changfang, to a series of trials. Fei, a wealthy government official, first had to stage his death in order to abandon his familial and occupational responsibilities.[87] Having successfully escaped his worldly attachments, he went to look for Hugong but got lost, and suddenly found himself surrounded by a horde of growling, snarling tigers. Fei was undaunted. After he had

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[86]*Shenxian zhuan* 4/16b-17a

[87]This he did by means of the well documented Daoist technique of "leaving the corpse" or *shijie* , leaving a bamboo cane in his bed which somehow transformed into an exact likeness of his body.

finally found Hugong, Hugong locked him up inside a stone cave. Above Fei's head was an enormous boulder suspended from the ceiling by a grass rope. As he sat under the boulder, snakes chewed on the rope. After Fei had withstood this hazard without showing the least bit of fear, Hugong commended him as being "teachable" and then, as his final trial, told Fei to eat a pile of hideously malodorous manure which had in it maggots over an inch in length. Fei hesitated, and as a result Hugong declared that he was unfit to acquire the Way of the Immortals and could only become a "master on earth" with a life span of several hundred years. Fei was thus sent back to society with a "talisman of enfeofment" which enabled him to have a wide range of miraculous powers, particularly as a healer and exorcist.[88]

The alchemist Wei Boyang, putative author of the alchemical classic *Zhouyi cantongqi* we are told, had three disciples with whom he entered the mountains to concoct a "divine elixir". When the elixir was ready, Wei fed the elixir to a dog, which then died on the spot. Wei then took the elixir himself and also died. One of the disciples then also took the elixir, refusing to think that his teacher could have concocted a bad elixir, but also died. The other two disciples, preferring to live out what was left of their life spans, left the mountain without taking the elixir. As soon as they had left, Wei got up, revived the faithful disciple and the dog, and together with them left the world as Immortals.[89]

The notion clearly conveyed throughout the *Shenxian zhuan*, particularly in these stories involving "trials", is that the highest form of immortality is so marvelous and so elusive that it can only be attained through an extraordinary effort. Before one can try to perform the ultimate art, one needs to make oneself perfect physically and spiritually. Indeed, this mentality was probably in many cases a primary factor which motivated some

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[88]*Shenxian zhuan* 5/20b-21b

[89]*Shenxian zhuan* 1/5a

adepts towards ascetic extremes. In other words, such adepts would go through long fasts or subject themselves to arduous and dangerous living conditions to prove to themselves and their masters, as well as gods and immortals that they were of extraordinary strength and virtue, and thus worthy of practicing the ultimate art. In the *Shenxian zhuan*, the ultimate art is laboratory alchemy. But for different adepts, the ultimate art could be perceived to be certain other things, based on the preference of the adept or his school. As we will see, the ultimate accomplishment was often sought through sustained yogic practices intensified by certain austerities such as fasting or sleep avoidance. In fact, by the the eleventh century or earlier, it became the common to describe such yogic methods by means of alchemical terminology. The claim of many of these "internal alchemists" was (and is) that internal alchemy was always the ultimate art for the greatest of Daoists and that men such as Wei Boyang and Ge Hong were practitioners of yoga who used alchemical language as metaphors.

Often, as we shall see later on, the diseases or any other kinds of misfortunes that afflicted the Daoist adept were regarded as "trials" administered by Immortals, gods or demons (under the command of an Immortal or god). The adept would thus withstand and overcome these trials under the faith that the Immortals and gods were ultimately on his side and would thus not allow his demise.

It can also be said that the Daoist arts required one to be fearless because they were often, in themselves, dangerous. As we will be seeing in later chapters, health problems and even deaths caused by ascetic excesses involved in practicing the techniques were seen as a problem among practicing Daoists. Possibly the earliest extant text to address this problem is the *Zhouyi cantongqi*, as we will see in Chapter Four. For a Daoist adept, disease or death represented failure. This failure was understood to be brought about by the techniques being performed erroneously or prematurely. In theory, even the harshest

austerities that would initially cause weakness or emaciation of the body, would eventually bring about revival and strengthening of the body, provided that the method was performed correctly. Even the most severe Daoist ascetics did not seek to destroy the body. Yet, in certain cases, this may have been exactly what some of them were doing. In other words, some of the methods regarded as capable of instantly bringing about immortality were in fact aptly describable as ritual suicides. The adept would kill himself by means of poisoning, drowning or self-cremation under the sincere belief that he would undergo resurrection or that his actual body would ascend into Heaven while a semblance of his corpse would remain. Although the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* do not tell us that anybody ever killed himself out of faith (or credulity if you may), they do include examples of Immortals carrying out methods of such a nature in order to attain their immortality. The story of Wei Boyang mentioned above would be one such example. The following are passages from the *Liexian zhuan* which describe methods involving cremation and drowning:

> Ningfengzi was a man who lived during the reign of Huangdi. It is said that he was Huangdi's Supervisor of Pottery. There was a man who came by [Ningfengzi's place] and operated his fire (furnace?) for him, because he could produce five-colored smoke through his manipulation of fire. After a while he taught it (the method) to [Ning]fengzi. Fengzi built a fire and burned himself. He ascended and descended together with the smoke. When [people] looked at the ashes after the fire had burned out, there was

his skeleton. People then buried it insjde a hill north of Ning[90]. This is why he is called "the master enfeofed at Ning" (Ningfengzi).[91]

Xiaofu was a man of Jizhou[92]. When young he repaired sandals in the marketplace of Xizhou[93]. For several tens of years, people did not notice him. But later, [people] came to marvel over how he had not aged. Thus those who fond of matters [of immortality] went to inquire of his methods, but could not obtain them. Only a certain Liangmu was transmitted his fire techniques. As he was about to ascend to above the 'three brightnesses'[94], he took leave of Liangmu. He built fires, several tens in number, and ascended. Many people in Xiyi[95] worshipped him.[96]

Qin Gao was a man of Zhao[97]. He lived as a guest at the home of King Kang of the Song[98] kingdom because he could play the drum and lute. He

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[90]Ning was a village located in present day Huojiaxian, Henan Province.

[91]*Liexian zhuan* 1/1b

[92]One of the ancient Nine Regions. It spanned over present day Hebei and Shanxi Provinces as well as the portion of Henan Province north of the Yellow River.

[93]This seems to be a textual corruption, since Xizhou is the name of a dynasty (Western Zhou) and not a place name. Max Kaltenmark points out that the text here ought to read "Quzhou"(located in southern Hebei Province, since such is how the passage is rendered in the commentary to the *Wenxuan* (6/33a), the *Chuxue ji* (26/13a) and the *Taiping yulan* (697/5b). See Max Kaltenmark trans. *Le Lie-sien Tchouan* , p.74 note a).

[94]The meaning of the 'three brightnesses' is unknown, but perhaps it refers to three bright celestial realms or to the sun, moon and pole star.

[95]This is probably also a textual corruption. It should probably read "Quyi", which refers again to Quzhou.

[96]*Shenxian zhuan* 1/6b

[97]This is the name of a Warring States Period kingdom which existed in present day eastern Shanxi Province and northern Henan Province.

[98]This was another Warring States Period kingdom which spanned parts of present day Henan Province and Jiangsu Province.

practiced the methods of Juan[zi] and Peng[zi]. He wandered about between Jizhou and Zhuo[99]jun[100] for over 200 years. Later, he took leave so that he could enter the Zhuo River[101], taking with him a seahorse. He told his disciples to undergo ritual purifications and wait for him, and to build a shrine by the river. Sure enough, he emerged [from the water] mounted on a red carp and then assumed his seat in his shrine. In the morning, ten thousand people [came to] see him. He stayed there for over a month and then left, entering the river again.[102]

The passage about Ningfengzi clearly describes a method of self-cremation. That he was indeed believed to have burned himself can also be clearly attested to by statements in Tao Hongjing's *Zhengao*, as we will see in Chapter Six. Presumably, the implication in the above story is that Ningfengzi had risen with the smoke into the heavens to become an Immortal while leaving his skeleton behind. The passage on Xiaofu seems to imply (although it does not clearly say) that he achieved ascension through self-cremation (which is what is perhaps referred to by "fire method") in the same way as Ningfengzi did. The story of Qin Gao may attest to the existence of a method of ritual self-drowning through which immortality was thought to be attained. Of note here as possible results of such a belief that immortality could be attained through voluntary drowning are the events that

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[99]The *Daozang* edition of *Liexian zhuan* has a note here which says that a certain version of the text reads *tang* 碭 instead of *zhuo* 涿. Tangjun spanned over parts of present day Henan, Shandong, Jiangsu and Anhui Provinces.

[100]Located between Xi'an and Huaxian in Shaanxi province.

[101]This is a river located west of Zhuoxian, Shaanxi Province.

[102]*Liexian zhuan* 1/13a

transpired during the religiously inspired revolts[103] led by Sun En, a Daoist of the Heavenly Masters School. In the official dynastic history, the *Jin shu* we are told that in 402 A.D. after a devastating defeat in battle, Sun En drowned himself, and that his followers proclaimed that he had become a Water Immortal (*shuixian*), after which over a hundred of them proceeded to drown themselves as well. We are also told that on one occasion, when Sun En's faithful were forced to flee their homes for survival, the women within the fold drowned their babies in a river and proclaimed to them, "We rejoice that you are ascending to the halls of the Immortals before [us]. Later we shall follow you [there]."[104] It is hard to judge how common suicidal methods were within Daoism during various periods of time. Such practices were to come under much criticism from Daoists themselves, since terminating the life of the body intentionally and prematurely was a practice naturally regarded as inconsistent with the quest for immortality.

In the preceeding pages we have seen how the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* describe practices and convey attitudes of a severely ascetic nature. Although in the years that were to ensue, asceticism was to take on various new forms and meanings, many of the most essential traits of Daoist asceticism are conveyed in the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan.*

The *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* describe adepts who trained themselves in seclusion away from society and civilization. While avoiding contact with ordinary people,

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[103]The revolts took place during the waning years of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-419) over a vast territory spanning over areas south of the Yangzi River and along the southern sea coast.

[104] 賀汝先登仙堂.我尋後就汝.

See *Jin shu*, pp. 2631-2634 (All page references from official histories are from the Zhonghua Shuju editions). See also p. 44 of Akizuki Kan-ei, "Dookyooshi" in *Dookyoo 1: Dookyoo to wa nani ka* pp. 33-71. A lengthy, in depth discussion of Sun En's revolts is found in Miyakawa Hisayuki, *Chuugoku shuukyooshi kenkyuu* Vol. I (Kyoto: Dohosha, 1983) pp. 193-270.

it was thought that in the mountains adepts could come in contact with divine beings or immortal recluses who could confer on them the most profound secrets. Others, although living amidst civilization, are said to have shunned material luxuries and comforts in favor of a life of poverty, in some cases resorting to begging as their means of livelihood. To eat no food was an ideal to aspire to, and various techniques (ingestion and non-ingestion) existed which were designed to stave off nagging hunger. A few of the Immortals (She Zheng, Shangqiu Zixu and Jiao Xian) depicted in the *Shenxian zhuan* are described as never marrying, as practicing celibacy or as avoiding all contact with women; and their doing so is described as a conscious means towards immortality, or it is implied that it was a cause for it.

Conveyed in the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* is the attitude that seekers of immortality, even though they treasured their bodies and sought to prolong their lives, were not supposed to be concerned with this-worldly benefits. To be an Immortal meant to have a body that was indestructible and had no necessity for food or other basic human needs for its sustenance. Simply put, the eternal life to be sought was a life as a superhuman being, and therefore a great adept was supposed to disdain all that had to do with ordinary human life.

Lacking among Daoist ascetics in the early years was any kind of organization and regulation on a large scale. Adepts of different lineages of transmission appear to have had their own types of austerities that they each performed for their own reasons. There was no commonly held cosmology or ethical system that would have necessitated the ascetic practices. What existed was a vast variety of methods for immortality which were thought to require things such as isolation, fasting and celibacy in order to be effective.

Finally, it was discussed how the *Shenxian zhuan* strongly conveys and stresses the notion that the highest form of immortality and the ultimate art by which it can be realized

are extremely elusive, and that only a person of perfect body and mind attained through extraordinary effort, can hope to "concoct the divine elixir" and "ascend to heaven in broad daylight". My suggestion is that this very type of mentality constantly existed in the minds of Daoists and subsequently caused them to subject themselves or their disciples to a life of "trials".

CHAPTER TWO: THE FASTING METHODS OF THE *ZHONGHUANG JING*

Introduction

As we saw in Chapter One, fasting was a practice often engaged in by seekers of immortality during the earliest centuries of the common era. For various reasons, abstention from eating was regarded as conducive to or even mandatory for success in the quest. Different schools undoubtedly had different ideas about what exactly was to be achieved through fasting and how it was to be carried out and sustained. Obviously we cannot attempt to get to know all of the fasting methods that were being put into practice. Nor can we get to know all the various beliefs and attitudes that motivated adepts to fast. In this chapter and the next, I will introduce the reader to the fasting methods and beliefs found in the *Taiqing zhonghuang zhenjing* (*The Perfect Scripture of the Central Yellow of the Great Purity,* from here to be referred to as *Zhonghuang jing*) and the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* (HY388/TT183, from here on to be referred to as the *Wufu xu*) respectively. The *Zhonghuang jing*, the main text of which will be presented here in full translation, describes a truly intense process of fasting during which the adept carries out various methods of silent meditation, visualization, air-swallowing and breath-holding. The *Wufu xu* contains a diverse selection of fasting methods, some of which resemble those of the *Zhonghuang jing*, but also those which employ the ingestion of specific plant and/or mineral substances. By discussing these two books in detail, it is hoped that a satisfactory overview of archaic Daoist fasting methods will be provided. Supplementary material from other scriptures will also be introduced where deemed useful or helpful.

Two versions of the *Zhonghuang jing* exist in the Daoist Canon today. One version is found independently as HY816/TT568 in the "Methods" section of the *Dongshenbu* (from here on this version will be referred to as ZH1). The other version (ZH2) is included in the *Yunji qiqian* (HY1026/TT677-702). This voluminous anthology was compiled around 1028 or 1029 A.D. ZH2 comprises its entire 13th *juan* .). Although ZH1 and ZH2 are essentially the same work, a considerable number of discrepancies exist between the

two texts as a result of omissions and revisions which took place over the centuries. On the whole, ZH1 is more complete and coherent than ZH2, but it is difficult to tell whether this is because less of it has been lost or because more of it has been revised. The *Zhonghuang jing* consists of a relatively concise main text accompanied by a rather wordy commentary which elaborates in detail the methods described or at times merely alluded to in the main text. The title of the text is strongly suggestive of the fact that it deals primarily with fasting. "*Zhonghuang* " means, "the yellow which is in the center". In the correlative five phases cosmology employed in Daoist texts in general, the internal organ or "viscus" that corresponds to the center among the five directions, yellow among the five colors and earth among the five phases is the spleen, which due probably to its location, was thought to be a digestive organ.[1] "Zhonghuang" is also given as the name of the text's commentator ("the Perfected Man Zhonghuang"). In ZH2's commentary (ZH2 lacks this commentary) to the scripture's introduction entitled "Interpretation of the Title", Perfected Man Zhonghuang introduces himself as follows:

> [I,] Zhonghuang am a Venerable of the Nine Heavens. I started from amidst humans and ascended the path of the sacred. Preserve and nurture your harmonious *qi* and deeply conceal your *jing* . If you are worried that your deeds are insufficient, [you should] strive to be energetic and earnest. Thereupon practice compassion and eliminate your foolishness and anger. If you abandon the myriad affairs, a hundred spirits will secretly protect you. If you forever get rid of your lust and desires, the invisible gods will discreetly

[1]This fact can be seen from a passage found in the 15th chapter of the *Huangting neijing jing* (HY331/TT167, p. 5a) which reads, "The spleen is one *chi* (about 24 cm) long and covers the Great Storehouse (the stomach). The Venerable Lord of the Center governs in the Hall of Light. His style name is Lingyuan and his personal name is Kunkang. [The spleen] heals a person's hundred illnesses and digests grains and foods."

help you. Thereby you can imbibe the miraculous *qi* , solidify your True One, and understand that immortality can be attained through study.[2]

Thus Perfected Man Zhonghuang is depicted as a celestial deity who, starting from the status of a mere mortal human, achieved his exalted status through diligent and proper training. The implication is that the practitioner of the methods of the *Zhonghuang jing* can aspire to achieve the same results. However, information in another scripture of ancient origins[3], *Laozi zhongjing* (*Laozi's Central Scripture*, *Yunji qiqian* 18-19) indicates that this Perfected Man Zhonghuang resides in the human body as well as in the celestial realms. The eleventh and twelfth sections of the scripture tell us that Zhongji Huanglao (the Yellow Venerable of the Central Apex), the ruler of the constellation of the Central Dipper[4], also resides in the spleen with his wife, Xuanguang Yunü (Jade Girl of Dark

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[2]*Yunji qiqian* 13/2a

[3]Kristofer Schipper, who carries out a fine discussion of *Laozi zhongjing*, in Chapter Six of his *The Taoist Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), estimates that the scripture was written during the third century at latest. Schipper's estimate is supported by the fact that Ge Hong, in *Baopuzi* (19/4b), cites a *Yuli jing* and a *Laozi yuli zhenjing* which may well refer to *Laozi zhongjing* , since *Laozi zhongjing* itself says that its alternate title is *Zhugong yuli* . Another important clue pointed to by Schipper is found at the very end of the *Laozi zhongjing's* in the 55th section, where the text's narrator (presumably Laozi) pronounces that he did not come out into the world for the benefit of the Han Dynasty, but that he will come out and bring about auspiciousness during the Era of the Yellow. This indicates that the text's author anticipated or had seen the fall of the Han Dynasty, and saw hope in the dynasty directly after it, i.e. one of the Three Kingdom's or Wei, Wu or Shu, depending on where the author lived. See Schipper, "Le Calendrier de Jade: Note sur le *Laozi zhongjing*." *Nachrichten der deutchen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens*, No. 125 (1979), pp. 75-80. Maeda Shigeki acknowledges that Schipper's estimate is very likely correct as far as the text's origins are concerned, but prefers to date the text's redaction into its present format of two parts and fifty-five sections as taking place in the early fifth century or earlier (a clear allusion to the scripture in its two part format is found in the Santian neijie jing of the early fifth century). Maeda demonstrates that numerous passages in *Laozi zhongjing* dealing with methods of "eating solar and lunar essences" and "fetching and imbibing the *qi* of the heavens of the five directions", are closely similar to those in the *Wufu xu*, the topic of our discussion in Ch. 3. This indicates that *Laozi zhongjing* and the *Wufu xu*(the origins and redaction of which will be discussed at the beginning of Chapter Three) were based on certain common source materials. However, Maeda is inclined to think that the *Wufu xu* is the earlier of the two texts, due in part to the fact that the Mister Jiaoli, who is credited in the *Wufu xu* with transmitting the methods for eating the solar and lunar essences to the adept Hua Ziqi, is deified as the god of the kidneys; Maeda feels that this reflects a newer development in the mythology surrounding the figure of Mister Jiaoli. ("Rooshi Chuukyoo Oboegaki" in Sakade Yoshinobu ed. *Chuugoku kodai yoosei shisoo no soogooteki kenkyuu* Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1988, pp.491-497)

[4]To go along as a set with the Northern Dipper (Ursa Major), the Daoists conceive of there being constellations called the Southern Dipper, Eastern Dipper, Western Dipper and Central Dipper.

Radiance). The two of them are the Perfected Beings of the Yellow Court and the "father and mother of the Dao". Their respective roles are to instruct and nurture the baby named Yuanyang Zidan who resides in the stomach. The text tells us, "Perfected Man Zhonghuang [has] the style name Huangchangzi and is in charge of the avoidance of grains."[5] Although the text is very vague, it apparently equates Perfected Man Zhonghuang with Zhongji Huanglao, the father and instructor of the "baby". Perhaps the living entity called Perfected Man Zhonghuang combines the personalities of both Zhongji Huanglao and Xuanguang Yunü, and thus acts as a nurturer as well as an instructor. As we will see later on, all of these gods are visualized during the process of certain fasting methods. The text states that the baby in the stomach is "my own body", in other words the divine internal self that the adept cultivates. It makes sense that the baby, along with his instructor and nurturer all reside in the digestive system, since the sustained practice of fasting is the means by which the adept tries to create his internal divine self.

The authorship of the main text of the *Zhonghuang jing* is attributed to "the Nine Immortal Lords". Thus, even though the *Zhonghuang jing* identifies the names of its authors and its commentator, these provide no clue whatsoever as to the date when the text was written. Like so many other Daoist scriptures, its origins are supposed to be primordial. The only certain thing which can be said in regard to the date of authorship of the *Zhonghuang jing* in its present form is that it has to pre-date the compilation of the *Yunji qiqian* (1028 or 1029 A.D.). It is also worth noting that Liangqiuzi's (sobriquet of Bai Lizhong, erudite scholar and reluctant official fl. ca. 710-730)[6] commentary to the *Huangting neijing jing* (in *Yunji qiqian* 11-12) quotes three passages from a *Zhonghuang jing*. Two of the passages[7] are not to be found in either extant edition of the *Zhonghuang*

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[5] See *Yunji qiqian* 18/7a-9a 中黃真人字黃裳子主辟穀

[6] A biographical entry on Bai Lizhong or Liangqiuzi is found in the *Jiu tang shu* (p. 5124) and *Xin Tang shu* (p. 5603).

[7] *Yunji qiqian* 11/34b, 12/21b: "[The god of the] stomach is the Lord of the Great Storehouse.". 12/6a: "[The god of the] left kidney is the Lord of Dark Wonders, [the god of the] right kidney is the Lord of the Dark origin" 胃爲太倉君 左腎爲玄妙君.右腎爲玄元君 .

jing. This would indicate that either the *Zhonghuang jing* that Liangqiuzi quoted from was a different scripture bearing the same name or that these passages have been lost or deleted from our present *Zhonghuang jing*. However, one of the passages does match quite closely with a phrase in the commentary of today's *Zhonghuang jing*.[8] The phrase occurs in the portion of the commentary explaining the 17th chapter, and as will be mentioned again later on, it is evident from the disjointed appearance of the main text and commentary of this chapter especially, that much of the text, particularly portions giving intricate descriptions of internal anatomy, have been lost. Possibly the other phrases quoted by Liangqiuzi existed in what once existed in the commentary of this 17th chapter. Therefore it appears that a more complete version of the *Zhonghuang jing* (main text and commentary) that we have today was in circulation already during the early eighth century.

There is considerable reason to think that the *Zhonghuang jing* originated as early as the third or fourth century. This is because Ge Hong (283-364), in his *Baopuzi neipian* (HY 1177/TT868-870) lists the title *Zhonghuang jing* among the scriptures possessed by his teacher Zheng Yin which he had personally studied.[9] Since only the title is given, there is no way of knowing the contents of this *Zhonghuang jing* Ge Hong was familiar with. However, it is not entirely unreasonable to think that the main text of today's *Zhonghuang jing* is the same scripture that Ge Hong knew, or preserves much of it, since none of its contents are blatantly anachronistic to such a conjecture. Joseph Needham, who was

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[8]The passage, 肺主爲三焦 (11/24b, 12/19b) which is very hard to comprehend, translates into something like, "The head of the lungs is the Three Burners" or perhaps, "The lungs act as the chief of the Three Burners", closely resembles a phrase in ZH2 (肺爲諸三焦之主也). In regard to what these Three Burners are, Liangqiuzi says, "Many have spoken of the Three Burners, yet nobody has clearly stated their location. It seems that the insides of the connecting tubes above the heart, lungs and liver are the Three Burners"訓焦者多矣而未的指其所在蓋心肺肝三臟之上係管之中爲三焦.. He then quotes the passage in question from the *Zhonghuang jing* in order to illustrate his point. Although, as Liangqiuzi indicates, the term "Three Burners" tends to be utilized in Daoist and medical texts in a very vaguely defined manner, it essentially refers to three different locations in the digestive system. *Nan jing* (an ancient medical text attributed to a physician named Qin Yueren who lived during the 5th century) tells us that the Three Burners are "the road for water and grains"水穀之道路 and that the upper, middle and lower "burners" are located respectively at the entrance to the stomach, the inside of the stomach and the entrance above the bladder. See *Nan jing jizhu* pp.53-54 (Taipei: Tailian Guofeng Chubanshe, 1978).

[9]See "Xialan pian" chapter

apparently unaware of the existence of ZH2 in the *Yunji qiqian*, estimates erroneously that the *Zhonghuang jing* was written during the 12th or 13th century. He briefly summarizes the text as "Taoist anatomy with Buddhist influence."[10] Likely, this perceived Buddhist influence is the reason for his dating the text so late. Perhaps what he had in mind was the occurrence of the Buddhist terms *taizang* and *ding* .

The introductory section of the *Zhonghuang jing* states that the alternate name of the scripture is *Taizang lun* or *The Treatise on the Storing in the Womb.* In Tantric Buddhism, the concept of "storing in the womb (*garbha*)" is used as a metaphor for how the innate ultimate principle of living beings is guarded and nurtured by the "myriad deeds of great compassion" which one practices when one follows the path of Zhenyan (Tantric Buddhism), much in the same way as seeds of cognition are planted into the mother's womb where they are guarded and nurtured to the point where they develop into the six senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch and thinking.[11] This notion of *taizang* is an elaboration upon the ancient Indian Buddhist notion of the *tathagata garbha* (*rulaizang*) which refers to the dharma body of the *tathagata* (the Buddha) that exists within all living beings which is obscured by their various confusions. This notion had been introduced to China by the 3rd century or early 4th century at latest since the first translation of the *Rulaizang jing* (Sutra on the Tathagata Garbha) was made by Zhu Fahu of the Western Jin period (265-316).[12] The usage of the term *taizang* in the introduction of the *Zhonghuang jing* is likely inspired by contact with Buddhism. However, the meaning of *taizang* in its Buddhist context does not appear to be retained or perhaps even comprehended by whoever wrote the introduction to the *Zhonghuang jing*. There, neither in the main text nor the commentary, is it explained very clearly why the *Zhonghuang jing* is also referred to as *Taizang lun*. The commentary does, however, say the following:

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[10]*Science and Civilization in China* vol. 5:5 p.354.

[11]See Mochizuki Shinko, *Bukkyoo Daijiten* v.4 (Kyoto: Sekai Seiten Kanko Kyokai) p.3303. Mochizuki bases this definition on Yixing's 683-727) *Dari jing shu* chapter three.

[12]See ibid. pp. 4143-4144.

> As for [this scripture's also being known as] *The Treatise on the Storing in the Womb* , it is probably because humans receive their physical shapes upon the sacred path and are maintained in harmony by Mother *Qi* . *Yin* and *yang* mingle and are distributed and completed in accordance with one's deeds. Bones and flesh have *jing* and blood as their basis. Numinous cognition has primal *qi* as its basis. Therefore there exist among people differences in shallowness and profoundness [of insight], foolishness and wisdom, misfortune and good fortune. This scripture explains about the bodies of human beings and enlightens us concerning the cultivation inside the belly.[13]

Thus the *Zhonghuang jing* was regarded as a discourse on "the storing in the womb" because its methods focus on the belly, where in a woman's body, a womb would exist. Actually, this type of a borrowing of a Buddhist term in which the term is borrowed to convey Daoist ideas without retaining much or any of its Buddhist meaning, could probably be more logically understood as evidence of authorship at an early date, when a sophisticated understanding Buddhism was not widespread in China. The theme of creating an immortal baby (internal divine self) within the adept's body, which we just glimpsed at a short while ago, re-emerges constantly within Daoist scriptures of virtually all periods. Perhaps it is even conceivable that the specific word *taizang* was coined by the Daoists and then borrowed and changed in its meaning by the Tantric Buddhists in China during the Tang.[14]

Chapter 1 of the main text of the *Zhonghuang jing* instructs its reader to practice *jingding* . "*Jing* " means "motionless" or "silent" and "*ding* " in its basic meaning means "stability". But *ding* is also one of the standard terms used in Chinese Buddhist texts to translate the Sanskrit word *samadhi*, which refers to the state of complete mental

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[13] *Yunji qiqian* 13/2a-b.

[14] Although the concept of a "matrix" such as the *Tathagata Garbha* is certainly of Indian origin, the fact that the more explicitly physiological expression of *taizang* appears in China seems indicative of a degree of indigenous, Daoist influence.

concentration and non-distraction achieved through meditation. This is certainly what is being referred to by the *Zhonghuang jing*, which has emulated the Buddhists in its usage of the word. However, this is a borrowing which could have occurred at a very early period, since the term *ding* appears in some of the very early Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures which date back to the third century.[15]

Another possible argument against identifying today's *Zhonghuang jing* with that known to Ge Hong is the fact that citations of the *Zhonghuang jing* do not exist in the *Wushang biyao* of the late sixth century, nor the *Sandong zhunang* of the seventh century; both encyclopedic compilations which cite many of the most widely renowned scriptures of the Six Dynasties period. This could be because the *Zhonghuang jing* and its proponents held only an obscure status during the late Six Dynasties and early Tang, and thus the scripture was ignored by the two encyclopedias. But it could also very well be that the old *Zhonghuang jing* had been lost, and that some time in the Tang, after the compilation of the *Sandong zhunang* (seventh century) and before the writing of Liangqiuzi's *Huangting neijing jing* commentary (early eighth century), a new and extensively annotated *Zhonghuang jing* was written (of which again major portions were lost before the compilation of the *Yunji qiqian.*). The question then, if such was the case, is whether or not and to what degree the new *Zhonghuang jing* incorporated what may have been left of the old *Zhonghuang jing*. Whatever the case may have been, it appears that the *Zhonghuang jing* did enjoy a place of prominence from the Tang and onwards as can be seen from how it is cited in Liangqiuzi's *Huangting neijing jing* commentary, incorporated in full form into the *Yunji qiqian*, and was studied by internal alchemists of the Southern Song Dynasty.[16]

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[15]One example (perhaps the earliest extant one) would be the *Yizu jing* translated by Zhi Qian between the years 223-253 A.D.

[16]Zeng Zao (fl. 1131-1155), in his voluminous anthology of Daoist (primarily internal alchemical) writings, *Daoshu* (HY1011/TT641-648) includes an essay entitled "Zhonghuangpian" (16/5a-14b) which is a summary of the *Zhonghuang jing*'s main text and commentary. It contents indicate that the text that was available at the time was more or less identical to what we have today. References to the *Zhonghuang jing*

Another significant fact is that the commentary portion (especially that of the ZH2) of the *Zhonghuang jing* quotes a wide range of scriptures, virtually all of which are no longer extant and allusions to which are yet to be found in any other extant Daoist scripture. Certain scriptures (*Taiguang jing* and *Sanzhen jing*) are singled out as being supreme in importance. Yet, even these scriptures get no mention in other extant scriptures, as far as can be presently determined. This is perhaps because the *Zhonghuang jing* (main text and commentary) represents the views of an obscure school or lineage that existed independently of dominant scriptural traditions such as Shangqing and Lingbao which left a pervasive and profound impact on Daoist doctrines and practices from the early fifth century and onwards. However, some of the titles cited, e.g. *Dongshen xuanjue*, *Dadong jing*, *Dadong xuanjing* do suggest that the commentary must have been written some time well after Lu Xiujing (406-477) established the tripartite division of the Sandong (Dongzhen, Dongxuan, and Dongshen) as the standard for categorizing Daoist scriptures. While these titles and the passages quoted from them do not match with any text that I am familiar with from elsewhere, the titles do convey an awareness on the part of their authors, of the tripartite division.

Lacking in the content of the main text (and also in the commentary for the most part) are references to concepts initiated and proliferated by the Shangqing and Lingbao movements. Completely lacking are references to Buddhistic theories on karma and transmigration. Prominent in the text are two themes of great prominence within Six Dynasties Daoism in general, namely the Three Worms and the Five Sprouts. As will be seen in Chapters Three, Six and Seven, methods for nourishing oneself on a special form of *qi* called the Five Sprouts are expounded in the *Wufu xu*, the Shangqing texts and the Lingbao texts. Among the various theories on employing the Five Sprouts that will be examined in this dissertation, that which is found in the *Zhonghuang jing* is the most

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are to be found in the poetry of Shi Tai (fl. 1150) and Bai Yuchan (fl. 1205-1226), patriarchs of the Quanzhen Southern Sect.

unique, as it describes the "sprouts" as the divine *qi* of the five viscera that is activated only after the body has been thoroughly cleansed of all impurities through fasting. Also, the *Zhonghuang jing* lacks the elaborate visualizations and chants that accompany the methods for eating the "sprouts" found in the other sources. What all of this implies as far as how one ought to date the text, I am not sure. It seems to suggest that the *Zhonghuang jing* comes out of an autonomous and obscure school which nonetheless did share some common background source of inspiration with the Shangqing and Lingbao movements. At the same time, the uniqueness of its theory on the "sprouts" may have come about because it is actually a later text, and thus reflects newer developments in the concept of the "sprouts."

Perhaps most noteworthy is the fact that in its discussion of how an adept is supposed to achieve ascension into the high heavens, the text speaks of rising up to the realm of the Great Ultimate (*taiji*) and then to the realm of the Great Sublimity (*taiwei*), and does not speak in terms of a progress through the Three Pure Realms of the Taiqing, Shangqing and Yuqing, a concept which had become the standard Daoist way of describing the highest divine realms by the latter part of the Six Dynasties. This seems strongly indicative of an early date for the main text.

In sum, although the precise date of authorship of the *Zhonghuang jing* we have today is very hard to determine, the bulk and the main message of the main text could date back to the fourth century or earlier. The authorship of the commentary is probably best estimated as ca. 700, although a considerable portion of it, as well as the main text, appears to be missing. The two basic methods that the *Zhonghuang jing* (main text and commentary) teaches are the swallowing of air (*fuqi*) and the holding of breath (described as *taixi* or "womb-breathing"), techniques practiced by some of the earliest of immortality seekers as they attempted to fast, as has been mentioned in Chapter One. The *Zhonghuang jing* is of interest particularly for how it asserts, probably more forcefully than any other source available, the efficacy of these methods to on their own merit nourish the adept to

the point where he no longer needs to eat food nor drink fluids, and to effect the decisive transformation that confers immortality, and explains in unsurpassed detail why this is supposed to be possible. In other words, while the text is not safely attributable to the period prior to the Shangqing movement, I am discussing it in Part One because it explains in detail the rationale behind the most strenuous among the ancient fasting techniques when carried out to their extremes.

I will now present a full translation of the main text of the *Zhonghuang jing* (excluding the introduction), along with a summary of the noteworthy points of the commentary.

Translation and Analysis of the *Zhonghuang jing* [17]

[1] a- [In order to] internally nurture your body (form) and spirit [you must] eliminate your cravings and desires.

b- [If you] devote yourself to practicing motionless concentration, your body will be like jade.

c- [If you] imbibe only the primal *qi* [18] and eliminate the five grains [from your diet],

d- You will definitely get to acquire a Register of Perfection in the vast heavens.

e- [If you] remain dedicated and devoted for a hundred days, your eating of *qi* will be sufficient.[19]

The first question that arises in regard to [1]a (*Zhonghuang jing* chapter 1 portion a) is whether the "body" or "form" referred to is the physical body or is a divine internal "body". C-[1]a (the commentary to [1]a), as it is found in the text of ZH2 does not provide

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[17]The translation is based on ZH1. Variations found in the text of ZH2 will be pointed out in the footnotes.

[18]ZH2 (*Yunji qiqian* 13/8a) reads, "Imbibe only the [*qi* of] primal harmony and eliminate the five grains." 但服元和.除五穀

[19]For the original Chinese text of ZH1, see the attached photocopy.

an answer to this question. ZH1's comment to [1]a starts off with an additional six lines not found in ZH2. There it is stated that the adept is to nourish his "true body (form) that is without appearance". Apparently quoting the Daoist mystical philosophical classic, *Xishengjing* [20], it says, "the true Way is to nurture the spirit and the false way is to nurture the [physical] body." It then states that one is to nurture ones "primal spirit of the numinous valley" within one's own "heavenly valley" which is one of the body's "39 passages". Thus the "body" to be nurtured is a formless entity actually equivalent to the "spirit". However, it is likely that this part of the commentary found only in ZH1 was a later addition that postdates the main text as well as the bulk of the commentary, and does not necessarily reflect the intentions of the original author of the *Zhonghuang jing*. The portion of C-[1]a that exists in both ZH1 and ZH2 quotes a certain *Dongyuan jing* to explain that by eliminating one's cravings and desires, one "internally merges with the five spirits (presumably referring to the gods of the five viscera)", which judging from what follows in the *Zhonghuang jing*, seems to mean that the adept becomes able to discern and utilize the subtle forces that are generated from his viscera. C-[1]a then states that after he has eliminated his cravings and desires, the adept must "abstain from grains (fast) with an unwavering mind", which will cause him to internally see inside his "six bowels", clearly as if they were illuminated by candle light.

C-[1]c explains at great length how to carry out the fast. At spring time, during the third month of the lunar calendar, the adept sets up a meditation chamber equipped with a desk, a bed and an incense burner, in which incense is to be burnt constantly. At midnight, "when the single *qi* 一炁初生 is first born"[21], he begins his meditations. He lies on his back, closes his eyes and relaxes his mind. He first knocks his teeth together 36 times and then simply

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[20]A detailed and highly informative study of this scripture is Livia Kohn, *Taoist Mystical Philosophy: The Scripture of the Western Ascension* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991). Two annotated versions of the *Xisheng jing* exist today in the Daoist canon (HY726/TT449-450, HY666/TT346-347).

[21]This refers to how at the inception of a new calendar day, the *yang* principle, which during the previous day had waxed and then waned completely, becomes regenerated so that it can once again pursue the process of coming to its climax at high noon, followed by dissipation and regeneration again at the next midnight.

remains in this reclining position with both fists clenched tightly around the thumbs.[22] He then engages in the swallowing of air. During the process of respiration, the adept does not allow the air that he would normally be about to exhale to exit his body. Rather, he holds the air in his mouth and then swallows it, sending it through his esophagus and into his stomach. This is continued until the stomach feels full. The swallowing of air is to be repeated whenever the adept feels hungry. As the adept engages in this, the mouth and throat will inevitably begin to feel dry. The adept is thus allowed to drink certain types of fluids in order to quench his thirst. A recipe is given for a special soup which has sesame seeds, powdered *fuling* plant (the *pachyma cocos* plant) and small amounts of milk and honey as ingredients. This soup, of which the adept may drink one or two cups when thirsty, "nurtures the *qi* and moistens the belly". Drinking this soup is also supposed to help keep the adept from thinking about food. The adept can also opt for a soup made by using the matrimony vine (*gouqi* , *lycium chinense*) which he may drink four times per day. But eventually, he is supposed to become able to sustain his fast without drinking such fluids. As the adept continues his fast, his intestines gradually become purged of solid wastes. The adept is warned that his urine may begin to take on a yellowish-orange color (a sign of dehydration) and he may begin to constantly feel agitated or depressed. He is however not to worry, because if he perseveres, he will definitely "naturally get to understand the marvelous principles". The text states that although one can eliminate impurities from the body while drinking the above mentioned soups, the higher level of insight is unattainable unless one abstains from fluids as well as solid foods. As the fast is thus sustained over the course of many days, the three "elixir fields" in the body begin to be "filled up". After 30 days, the lower elixir field (located in the belly in a spot behind the navel) becomes full, and the adept no longer feels hunger. After 60 days, the middle elixir field (located in the heart) becomes full, and the *qi* permeates the entire body so that the

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[22]This is called *wogu* ("gripping firmly") and seems to have been inspired ch. 55 of the *Daode jing* which compares a sage who embodies the inner power of Dao to a baby, who despite having a soft and weak body, has a firm grip.

adept no longer feels fatigue and always feels light on his feet. After 90 days the upper elixir field (in the brain) becomes full, and the adept begins to take on a visibly healthy and radiant appearance while his mind becomes completely and eternally free of superfluous, deluded thoughts. At this point, he attains insight on "right and wrong". Spiritually, the adept now resides in the sacred realm and is able to "initiate the respiration of his womb's Immortal". After 100 days, he becomes able to "see" his five viscera. After 300 days he becomes able to see any evil spirits that may exist in his environment, and is as a result not susceptible to their deception. C-[1]c then ends by stating that after 1000 days, the adept's name is recorded in the "[divine] Emperor's registers", and his "body enters into Supreme Sublimity " 形入太微 .

[2] a- The profound subtleties of eating *qi* involve five matters.

b- No one understands the essentials of the Great Passage.

c- First, when you begin to imbibe [*qi*], you will still be weak.[23]

d- You simply must persevere and sustain [the fast] for one period.[24]

e- You must carry it out and sustain it with your heart.

f- Second, if the grains still remain[25], how can you discern [the *qi* of your five viscera (?)]?

The *qi* will be difficult to stabilize and will easily leak.[26]

g- Sometimes your body will feel weak and your heart will feel empty.

Sometimes your viscera will be empty and you will lack strength.

h- Third, the Upper Worm resides in the Palace of the Brain.[27]

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[23]ZH2 (13/10b) reads, "When you begin to imbibe the primal *qi* , you will still be weak." 元氣初服力尚微.

[24]This portion is not found in ZH2.

[25]ZH2 (11b) reads, "If the *qi* of grains is not yet eliminated....." 穀氣未除 .

[26]This perhaps refers to flatulence.

[27]ZH2 (12b) reads, "The first, the Upper Worm resides in the Palace of the Brain". 一者上蟲居腦宮 .

i- It resorts to 10,000 different ways to disturb your mind.

[Causing you to] always think of the flavors of beverages and foods without relent.

Thoughts arise and thoughts are produced and your appearance becomes sickly.

j- Fourth, the Middle Worm lives in the Palace of the Heart.[28]

k- It causes your *hun*魂 soul to dream and your spirit to fly about.

Sometimes there will be fragrances and sometimes delicious flavors which will make you unable to concentrate.

At times you will progress and at times you will regress, and you will have difficulty staying consistent.

Your mind will become dazed like that of an insane person,

Causing you to abruptly fail and think of food [29].

If you understand this, [your practice of] the Dao will naturally be successful.

l- Fifth, the Lower Worm resides in the belly.[30]

m- Make yourself bland, always with no flavors.

n- When quiet, your heart will feel lonely and have many feelings and thoughts.

When agitated, the mind will become distracted and frequently aroused to anger.

o- [The Three Worms] cause people to be wicked and disorderly so that they lose the subtle principles.

If you can maintain this (the fast), you will be rid of the Three Worms.

p- You will be able to see the Five Sprouts [which are the] *qi* of the Nine Perfect.

The topic of this second chapter is the various problems and hindrances that can cause the fast to fail. The first problem addressed is the weakening of the body that takes place during the early stages of the fast. C-[2]c says that after the first week or two of the fast when the body is finally free of solid wastes, the body begins to feel exhausted and

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[28]ZH2 (13a) reads, "The second, the Middle Worm lives in the Hall of Light"二者中蟲住明堂.

[29]ZH2 (13a-b) reads, "Causing you to abruptly fail and eat grains". 令子坐敗食穀糧

[30]ZH2 (13b) reads, "The third, the Lower Corpse resides in the belly" 三者下尸居腹胃.

utterly weak. However, the adept is told not to fear or doubt whether or not the fast can succeed. The body feels weak because "the primal *qi* has not yet reached the stomach". If the adept continues to eat air, the *qi* will progressively day by day penetrate and flow deeper into the body. Eventually, when the lower elixir field is full, the adept will no longer feel hunger. At this point, because the *qi* has yet to permeate throughout the adept's flesh and skin, he may still feel weak and may still look thin and have a sickly, "yellowish" complexion. However, the adept is still not to be afraid, since his physique and complexion will eventually become healthy. The adept is told, "those who are scared by their weakness, thinness and yellow-ness cannot cultivate".

The next problem addressed is that some adepts succumb to the temptation of hunger and will at times eat something and then try to resume the fast. C-[2]f states that even if one eats a small amount of food, it becomes hard to rid the body of "grain *qi* ". It then describes a visualization method to be carried out while maintaining the fast. While lying down, the adept closes his eyes and visualizes the *qi* in his spleen rising up to the heart and dispersing throughout the body. He then chants the following words:

> "The *wuji* in the center,
> Has stored within it the primal *qi* .
> It is yellow in color and has firm strength.
> If you circulate it you can be in control.
> The bright red *yang* is wordless,
> As the vermilion clouds gather to confer.
> Pervading throughout the four extremities,
> The yellow clouds greatly arise."(See photocopy 1/6a lines 9-10)

This method must be carried out every day at the "fifth watch" (5 a.m.) "when the rooster first cries". After 27 days, the adept becomes able to actually see these yellow clouds. He can then use them to extinguish fires in remote locations or to arouse powerful

winds. He can also make himself invisible to others by concealing himself in the yellow clouds.

The next three problems addressed are the malevolent beings residing in the body that are referred to as the "Three Worms" or the "Three Corpses". The main text is quite unbalanced and disjointed in this discussion of the Three Worms. It seems very likely that a line between [2]l and [2]m has been lost, which presumably would have given a description of the misdeeds of the Lower Worm. C-[2]h tells us that the Upper Worm which is named Peng Ju and is white and blue in color, causes the adept to long for delicious foods and become influenced by various other physical desires. C-[2]j says that the Middle Worm which is named Peng Zhi and is white and yellow in color, causes the adept to be greedy for wealth and easily moved towards joy or anger. C-[2]l says that the Lower Worm which is named Peng Jiao and is white and black in color, causes the adept to be fond of fancy clothing, liquor and sex. C-[2]n explains that when the adept first begins to fast, the air that he swallows does not permeate sufficiently, and he is constantly subjected to the mischief of the Three Worms, which causes him to experience frequent mood swings with depression and anxiety particularly prevalent, or to give in to his desires by indulging in sensual or culinary pleasures. The adept must therefore be relentless in resisting and overcoming these woes and temptations. Thus C-[2]o, quoting a certain *Taishang shengxuan jing* , explains that the fast is a process during which the Three Worms are successively exterminated; the Upper Worm dies after 30 days, the Middle Worm after 60 days and the Lower Worm after 90 days. After 100 days, the adept's body becomes healthy and strong and his mind becomes "pure". He will then no longer be in danger of falling prey to his desires. When this stage is reached, the adept can see the "Five Sprouts", or the *qi* of his five viscera which is the "proper qi of the five phases". C-[2]p explains that the Five Sprouts are the "*qi* of the Nine Perfect" because they "return and respond to the Nine Heavens".

[3] a- The Five Sprouts all dislike acrid and sour flavors.

b- Being that the Three Worms are encamped within you,

And the corpse-demons sit and wait for you to die,

How can you feel safe and not be horrified?

c- I urge you to rid your mind of ordinary affairs[31].

d- Transcending [the world], you naturally achieve your aspirations towards the fogs and mists.

C-[3]a explains that foods of the five flavors (acrid, sour, salty, sweet and bitter) must be avoided completely if one is to produce "miraculous *qi* " from the five viscera and simultaneously do away with all thoughts and desires. When the five viscera become full with air or "primal *qi* ", the *qi* of each respective viscus will turn into an internal deity and the adept will reach a higher level of spirituality and insight where he is free of worries and "understands the good and bad of the human world". C-[3]b describes the well known belief (which became widespread even in Japan where organized religious Daoism never established itself[32]) about how, on the 57th (*gengshen*) day of the sexegenary cycle, the Three Worms travel up to the heavens to report the sins of the people whose bodies they inhabit to the Deity in Charge of Life Destiny so that their demerits can be recorded and their allotted life spans shortened accordingly as their punishment. The adept is warned to be aware of the fatal consequences of a worldly, sinful and undisciplined lifestyle. C-[3]c thus says that the way to undermine the treachery of the Three Worms is to stabilize one's mind and to detach oneself from all matters that can distract or become stimuli for sinful thoughts or behavior. The "divine *qi* " can thereby move about within the body and the five gods of the viscera can be kept secure. The adept is then able to attain a new state of enlightenment and mystical experience in which, according to C-[3]d, the adept,

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[31]ZH2 (15a) reads, "....bothersome affairs" 煩事 .

[32]A fine study on the origins and development of this belief, as well as its proliferation in Japan, is Kubo Noritada, *Kooshin shinkoo no kenkyuu* (Tokyo: Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, 1961).

"penetrates and understands in a manner that transcends [the world], and sees the images of the fogs and mists before his eyes"超然洞悟.有煙霞之景在目前.

[4] a- Stabilize[33] your will amidst the fogs and mists and penetrate the divine profundities.

b- Make yourself naturally understand the [respective] paths towards life and death.

c-Steam your sinews and sun bake your bones, penetrating the various passages.

Grip firmly and discretely penetrate within your 100 apertures.

胎息至理經

C-[4] quotes a certain *Taixi zhili jing*[34] (Scripture of the Ultimate Principles of Womb Breathing) to describe the method that is supposedly being alluded to in [4]c. It is a method which the adept may resort to if the body is not yet purged of the *qi* of foods ("water and grains"). On a sunny day at high noon, the adept enters his meditation chamber, undoes his hair and lies down on his bed. With his hands at his sides with the fists firmly clenched around the thumbs, he first knocks his teeth together seven times and stabilizes his mind with his eyes closed. He then holds his breath while continuing to clench his fists firmly. This will cause his sinews and blood vessels to "open up", allowing the miraculous *qi* to permeate throughout his body, and causing him to perspire all over. This method thus enhances and accelerates the process in which the salubrious *qi* which the adept feeds on during the fast permeates the body and restores his strength and ruddy complexion.

[5] a- The 100 apertures are interconnected and all have gods.

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[33]ZH2 (15b) reads, "Purify your will amidst the fogs and mists....煙霞淨志."

[34]ZH2 cites this scripture by the title, 胎息志理經.

b- Because of your exterminating [of the body's corruptive forces] they return to my[35] body.

c- Joyfully you will penetrate and naturally clarify the truth.

d- If on your own you clarify the true Dao, you will forever exist.

The authors and commentators of the *Zhonghuang jing* perceived the body as containing an elaborate network of apertures or compartments interconnected by various passages.[36] C-[5]a quotes a certain *Dongshen mingzang jing* which says:

> Therefore if a single aperture is closed, a hundred diseases will arise. If a single vessel is blocked, the 100 passages will be in disorder. Thus if you imbibe *qi* you will have no diseases and the various vessels will naturally interpenetrate. A man of the Dao is immortal because no substances are kept in his belly. (1/11b 5th line 5th character to 7th line 9th character)

From this we can see that foods of all kinds were thought to be harmful because they caused clogging to occur in the body's apertures and passageways, and this was the essential cause of diseases. This theory made complete fasting imperative. C-[5]b explains that what the adept must expurgate is the "wicked *qi* " that is the "*qi* of grains". The body is supposed to be a residing place for innumerable gods. However, these gods refuse to live in the midst of impure *qi* . Only when the body is cleansed of its impurities can the gods once again return to it to take up their residence. When the body is restored to this pure, holy state, scars and moles will disappear from the body's surface.

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[35]There may be a textual corruption here as it seems that the text here logically ought to read "...your body".

[36]As examples of this, C-[5]a states that the eyes have apertures on them which are connected to the liver, which is connected to the heart which is connected with the nose. Thus when a person has a sad feeling in his heart, tears well up in the eyes and a "sour sensation" becomes present in the nose. Also, because the nose is connected to the brain, a "fever in the brain" causes the nose to dry up.

[6] a- The way to perpetual existence is [to be sought] through your single-minded determination.

b- Carry back your three *hun* souls[37] and understand immortality.

c- What can harm you during the seven sevens?

d- Firmly guard against salty and sour flavors.

According to C-[6]c, the "seven sevens" refers to a period of 49 days during the fast right after the bowels have been completely emptied of impurities. During these 49 days, "the 100 vessels will be permeated and illuminated back upon as if [illuminated] with a candle. Vulgar thoughts will suddenly be abandoned, and the five viscera will become joyful." 百脉洞達.返照如燭.俗心頓捨.五藏怡然. However, if the adept backslides and succumbs to his urges for food during this vital period, all of his efforts up to that point will have been in vain.

[7] a- [If you eat] salty delicacies or spicy and sour foods, your five viscera will become ill.
Their juices and flavors enter the teeth and confuse your state of mind.

b- This causes the divine *qi* in the six bowels to decline,
And the 100 bones and nine orifices to become neither miraculous nor sacred.

c- If you can carefully maintain [the fast] for ten *xun* s (100 days),
Your various vessels will be appear clearly, as though they were seen reflected in a clear mirror.

d- The radiant gods of the six bowels will no longer conceal themselves.
They will speak with you and discuss your state of mind.

e- If you hinder the power of your spirit, the path that you go upon will be arduous.
All grains and fruits (foods) do nothing but cause diseases.

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[37]返荷三魂 The meaning of this is uncertain. It could be an allusion to the method described in great detail in C-[11]a in which the adept propels his internal divine self along with his three *hun* souls into the high heavens.

Again, the discussion here is about how foods defile and harm the human body and prevent the mind from being able to attain a higher level of insight and experience. The commentary elaborates by explaining that the "five flavors" of foods enter into the teeth, penetrate into the apertures of the two eyes, and then descend and disperse throughout the entire body with its "100 vessels". As long as this is taking place, "divine *qi* cannot congeal inside the elixir fields, and miraculous light cannot illuminate the viscera and bowels" according to C-[7]b. If, on the other hand, the adept refrains from eating, his internal gods will appear before him and speak to him.[38]

[8] a- The essences of the grains are separate from what is miraculous.

They intertwine around the six bowels and confuse the various vessels.

b- If the primal *qi* does not return, what is there to rely on?[39]

If your mind has not yet penetrated, how can you be able to fathom [what is profound]?

c- How regrettable it is about the Twelve Stories of the Profound Palace!

How was one to know that it would have been turned into the abode of the Three Worms?

An interesting notion conveyed by the commentary here is that the sensation of hunger itself is caused by the food itself, rather than by the lack of it. C-[8]a explains that even after the body has completely stopped excreting solid wastes (this happens after 50 to 60 days) and seems to have been purged of impurities, the adept will still experience urges to eat food because the "refined essences of grains" form a slimy membrane that covers the

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[38]For some reason, C-[7]d states that "the gods of the five viscera will naturally appear" when the main text clearly says that it is the gods of the six bowels which appear.

[39]ZH2 (20a) reads, "If the primal spirit does not return, what are you going to do?"

five viscera, six bowels, as well as the joints, muscles and vessels of the body. The adept is thus told that if he just perseveres for another 20 to 30 days, this troublesome membrane will eventually leave the body. As this is taking place, the adept will begin to excrete blood, puss, fat deposits, and finally, the slimy membrane. He finally becomes free of impurities. The air that he eats becomes able to permeate the entire inside of the body, which the adept is also able to "see". Once this happens, the adept will become free of any desires for food. Furthermore, the mind will become free of all thoughts and worries. The adept is again told that although he may feel the rigors of loneliness, emaciation and weakness, he need not fear nor doubt that the fast will not achieve the desired results. Indeed, fear and doubt themselves are what cause the fast to fail.

C-[8]b states that the swallowed air cannot descend to the elixir field (presumably the lower one) if the "*qi* of grains" is not eliminated. C-[8]c goes on to warn that if the mind and body are not trained, the Three Worms take control of the entire body and claim all of the body's "palaces" as their own.

[9] a- The Three Worms make their abode in the three sections.

b- If you can transport and utilize [the *qi* that you swallow], why worry about dying?

c- Swiftly and vigorously [the *qi*] will get to always reside there (in the Three Elixir Fields),

d- You will naturally discern the primal harmony which is the *qi* of the Nine Immortals.

C-[9]c states that by making the air that he swallows permeate throughout the body, the adept can reclaim the Three Elixir Fields from the evil Three Worms. C-[9]d says that when the *qi* of grains is eliminated, the "*qi* of primal harmony" (the subtle, divine *qi* within the body) becomes discernible.

[10] a- The Perfect *Qi* of the Nine Immortals is always naturally miraculous.

Once the Three Worms have perished you will once again be peaceful and secure.

b- From your exercises, respiration is produced,

c- Which exists illustriously within the elixir fields.

d- The sinews and bones become healthy and strong; the body, harmonious and peaceful.

e- Joyfully in miraculous knowledge, your feelings will be relaxed.[40]

Your thoughts will be distant [from mundane matters], your spirit will be elevated and the colors of your heart will be bright.

f- When you smell the [foods of] five flavors, their aroma will [seem] putrid and rancid [to you], unlike before.

g- Your flesh and skin will be firm and white, your sinews and bones pure.

h- The Underground Offices will erase your record and Heaven will record your name.

While sitting (idly with no particular effort) you will see the *Yin* Officials and command the spirits.

When you internally concoct (as in concocting a medicine) the Womb Immortal, the Dao will naturally be accomplished.

The commentary here seems to identify the Perfect *Qi* of the Nine Immortals with the primal *qi* of the five viscera which the adept can "see" and utilize once the Three Worms have been exterminated. The "respiration" alluded to in [10]b seems to refer to an internal form of respiration involving refined and subtle *qi* which takes place primarily within the elixir fields and which allows the adept to have certain supernormal powers. C-[10]b says, "If the divine *qi* is sufficient, the exhalation and the transporting and moving can arouse the clouds and mists and naturally you will be able to hide and transform without obstacles

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[40]ZH2 (21b) reads, "The mind will be joyful and your feelings will be relaxed."

心識怡然. 自暢情.

nor hindrances." [41] C-[10]c says that the adept becomes able to "ascend upwards and wander downwards". The divine *qi* then "congeals in the three elixir fields in the approximate size of a chicken egg and has a radiance like that of a candle which can pervasively illuminate everything within a distance of several *li* [42]."[43] C-[10]d elaborates upon [10]d by quoting a certain *Sanguang jing* to say that after 1000 days of "imbibing it (presumably air)", the bone marrow becomes "like frost" and the bones "like steel", and the adept becomes able to travel 1000 *li* on foot per day.

Thus after undergoing the lengthy fast sustained by the imbibing of air, the adept obtains a stronger body and a spiritual virtue that is detached from and disdainful of worldly concerns and needs. Having thoroughly mastered the method of "imbibing *qi* ", the adept can now advance to the next major stage which is that of "womb-breathing". Womb breathing enables the adept to realize even greater powers and to experience even more marvelous and mysterious things. C-[10]h states:

> Those who enter the stage of womb-breathing and reach 100 breaths (hold their breath for the span of time it would take to make 100 respirations), will enter into a different realm and will have their names erased from the underground registers. If their subduing [of the their respiration] reaches 1000 breaths, will have their rank designated in the Three Heavens and their ***hun*** souls will wander in the upper realms."(1/17a line 9 character 15 to 17b line 1 character 14)

In other words, "womb breathing", as it is described in the *Zhonghuang jing*, is a method of breath-holding. The specifics of it are discussed in considerable detail in the commentary to [11].

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41 神炁若足. 吸呼興雲起霧. 自然得隱化. 無滯無碍也.

42 One *li* would have been about 434.16 meters.

43 三丹田中. 凝納若鷄子. 炳煥如燭光. 照數里.

[11] a- Once the womb-breathing Perfect Immortal has been able to eat air [sufficiently],

He can then hold in the perfect *qi* and accomplish womb-breathing.

b- Feathered garments of the colors of the mists, how can they be acquired?

It is all done through producing the cloudy wings in the five viscera.

C-[11]a describes at length a method of womb-breathing, quoting a certain *Jiutian shenjing* . This method is to be performed in a reclining position on a bed inside a specially designated meditation chamber. This method, due to its dangerous nature is not to be practiced in complete solitude. The adept needs to have a fellow practitioner present in order to monitor him, presumably to make sure that he does not die from self-asphyxiation.

The adept thus lies with his fists firmly clenched with the thumbs inside the palms and empties his mind of all thoughts. the text then says, "the miraculous *qi* 靈炁漸閉 will gradually be shut in", which perhaps means that the adept gradually slows down his breathing until he reaches the point where he is neither inhaling nor exhaling. The adept then holds his breath for as long as he can, whether this be for the span of ten, fifteen, twenty or a hundred "breaths". The text states:

> "You simply must make you mind motionless. Approximately, over the twelve *shi* 時 (two hour periods) of a single day and night, [a person takes] 13,500 breaths." (2/1a line 10 to 1b line 1 character 7)

This passage is hard to understand. Perhaps it means that the adept is supposed to continue the meditation and breath-holding for a full 24 hours (thus not sleeping) in order to try to hold his breath as long as possible during that time span. Although I am not sure that such is what is meant here, it seems highly possible, since it otherwise seems rather abrupt and irrelevant here to state the number of respirations that take place in one day.

When the adept becomes able to hold his breath for 100 "breaths" (and is perhaps delirious from sleep deprivation as well as hunger), he begins to have visions of his own three *hun* souls, and later his seven *po* souls. He is now able to embark on a mystical

flight into the heavens, accompanied by the three *hun* souls. While this is taking place, the seven *po* souls are left behind in the body in order to keep it intact for the adept until he returns to it with the three *hun* souls. The *hun* souls belong to the *yang* principle and are good. The *po* souls belong the the *yin* principle and are evil. Much like the Three Worms, the *po* souls long for the body to die, and therefore perform mischief to try to hasten the demise of the adept. They are clad in black and carry in their hands black seals. Strangely, the seven *po* souls are also referred to as "the Dark Mother". A passage from a *Dongshen jing* is then quoted in which the seven *po* souls are identified as the Dark Mother who is "the master of the *yin* corpse(s)". It is hard to determine whether "corpse(s)" is a disdainful reference to the ordinary physical body, or whether it refers to the various malevolent bodily spirits such as the Three Corpses. The text then presents a chant which the adept is to recite when he sees these spirits:

> Dark Mother, Dark Mother, master of my corpse(s). Make my bones grow and nurture my sinews. Do not go and leave behind my corpse. Together with my *hun* - father, I will go and wander in heaven. (2/1b lines 8-9)

Having thus commanded the Dark Mother or the seven *po* souls to behave properly during his ensuing absence, the adept focuses on his three *hun* souls which are his "father". Each of them is clad in red, carries a red seal and is one *shi* and five *cun* in height. Their names are respectively Shuangling, Taiguang and Youjing. The text, in the description of what ensues, is very vague and confusing. Also, various discrepancies exist between ZH1 and ZH2. However, it seems that the process goes essentially as follows, based on ZH2's rendition (23a-b) which, in this case, seems to be more coherent:

The adept (perhaps together with the three *hun* souls, but it is hard to tell), exits from his own body together with the "more than one hundred brain gods of the Palace of the Upper Plane". Looking back down at the body that he has exited, the adept sees the

primal *qi* in the three elixir fields which look like white clouds and emit a pervading radiance. The adept then calls out the names of the three *hun* souls. Then the entourage of brain gods, commanded by the three *hun* souls pulls the adept's primal spirit (the internal divine self of the adept which has exited the body) high up into the heavens.

As the adept exits his body, he "feels his [divine internal] body exiting from a dark room.". He then encounters demons and spirits of various sizes and appearances.[44] However, the adept is told to not be frightened. If frightened, primal *qi* will leak from his nose, and this will make him unable to leave his body. This, explains the text, is "because the primal *qi* corresponds above with the *hun* spirits." The implication of this is perhaps that the adept's ability to retain his breath directly affects the ability of the *hun* souls to propel the primal spirit upwards.

Throughout the evening, the colleague who is monitoring the adept is to keep track of the number of respirations that the adept [45]makes. Presumably, this is so that the adept can gauge his progress.

[11]b alludes to the method discussed in [12] which involves activating the *qi* of the five viscera in order to refine and transform the body to the point where ascent towards an eternal existence in paradise is possible. In this final state, the body of the adept adorns a five-colored garment of feathers equipped with wings. Whether the "body" here refers to the ordinary physical body or to an internal spiritual body, and whether the notion of the winged feather-garment is to be taken literally or metaphorically cannot be determined from the main text. C-[11]b quotes a certain *Zhongtian yujing* which says that the wings will resemble those of a cicada. The text illustrates as follows how the cicada indeed provides nature's example of how the fast leads to immortality:

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[44]The large ones are several *zhang* 丈 (one *zhang* is 241 cm), the small ones are the size of swallows and sparrows. Some have wildly disheveled hair and others emit lightning from their eyes.

[45]Later on, towards the end of C-[11]a is a passage that reads, "When your respiration stops, you will wander in the upper realms with the Three Primal Spirits." The "Three Primal Spirits" more than likely refers to the three *hun* souls, which would seem to mean that these *hun* souls with which the internal divine self or primal spirit of the adept travel upwards with, are indeed similar if not equivalent entities to it.

> The cicada grows wings because it drinks dew and eats *qi* (air). Thus it can be known that people imbibe the primal *qi* and the heavenly garment congeals upon the body. (2/3a line 3 character 11to line 5 character 4)

The cicada larva, when it attains metamorphosis into its mature, winged form, casts off the shell of its previous form and flies off. Thus, if one carries the metaphor further, one could say that the adept with his new internal "winged" body, casts off his ordinary physical body and ascends to heavenly immortality. Such is most probably what the commentator means to imply.

Before moving on, it should be pointed out that the elaborate method described in C-[11]a does not seem particularly coherent with the main text, although [6]b may be an allusion to it. The impression one gets is that the commentator simply chose to describe the breath-holding or "womb-breathing" method (of which there were countless varieties) with which he was most familiar.

[12] a- The perfect *qi* 's of the five viscera are the flowers of the magic fungi.

b- The liver is in charge of the east, and its color is blue.

c- If you simply firmly hold [your breath] for 1000 breaths, blue *qi* will circulate throughout [your body] and its color will be natural.[46]

d- The heart is in charge of the south, and its color is red.

[If you] subdue[47] it for 1000 breaths, the red color will emerge.

e- The lungs are in charge of the west, and their color is white.

[If you] subdue it for 1000 breaths, its color will climax.

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[46]ZH2 (25a) reads, ".....its color will spontaneously be brought about." 色自成

[47]Here, because the topic of the chapter seems to be the holding in of inhaled air, rather than the swallowing of air, I have chosen to translate the character *fu* 服 as "subdue" rather than "imbibe". A hint indicating that it is correct to render the character in this definition is found in the text of ZH2 which employs the character 伏 (*fu*) rather than the character 服 in [12]d.

f- The spleen is in charge of the center, and its color is yellow.

[If you] subdue it for 1000 breaths, its color will flourish.[48]

g- The kidneys are in charge of the north, and their color is black.

[If you] subdue it for 1000 breaths, its color will be acquired.

h- The commanding and controlling of the 10,000 spirits has its own regulations.

i- Ride and imbibe the colored mists and return to the Great Ultimate.

The theme of this chapter is how by holding one's breath for as many as 1000 breaths, the miraculous colored *qi* of the five viscera can be activated and utilized to produce a body which can rise to the ultimate state of salvation, which is described by the word, Great Ultimate 太極

In the commentary, the *qi* that is retained and activated in the adept's body is equated to the capacities of cognition and sense perception. C-[12]a quotes a certain *Taihua shoushi jing* which says, "The primal *qi* envelops the transformations. When it spreads about [the body], it becomes the six senses (sight, smell, hearing, taste, touch, cognition)."[49] It also says, "The internal *qi* is knowledge and the womb *qi*[50] is the spirit. If you are able to practice womb-breathing, you will return to infancy and become resurrected ("make your *hun* soul return")[51]." [52] It therefore follows that the physical transformation of the adept also coincides with the attainment of a newer and higher level of insight and perception. The five viscera are correlated with their respective directions and colors in the scheme of traditional five phases correlative cosmology.

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[48] ZH2 (26a) reads, ".....the yellow color will flourish." 黃色昌

[49] 元炁含化布成六根

[50] What exactly is being referred to here as "womb *qi*" 胎炁 is hard to say. Perhaps it refers to the *qi* that gathers and congeals in the belly. Perhaps it refers to the *qi* that is held in during the practice of womb-breathing.

[51] This probably means that the adept can transform his old, doomed body into a new body that is immortal. A popularly held notion in China was that when one dies, and the *hun* souls leave the body to return to Heaven, the mourners of the deceased can try to revive their loved one by coaxing the *hun* soul into returning to the body. There is even a type of incense called "*hun* returning incense" 返魂香, the aroma of which is supposed to be helpful for coaxing back the *hun* soul.

[52] 內炁為識.胎炁為神.子能胎息.還嬰返魂也.

C[12]b-g quotes at length a certain *Taiming wuwei jing* which elaborates somewhat upon the method described the the main text. It tells us that the air that is inhaled and held inside the adept's body comes from the direction which corresponds to the organ the *qi* of which he wants to activate. When the visceral *qi* is activated after the holding of 1000 breaths, it emerges from its viscus with a brilliant radiance. The lengthy quotations from the *Taiming wuweijing* actually go into much more detail in describing yet another method which is different from what is described in the main text. This particular method is one by which the visceral *qi* can be activated by an adept who is still in the process of swallowing air and has not reached the lofty stage of womb-breathing. One wonders whether the author of the main text would have approved of this method which seems to somewhat contradict the order of progression described in the main text. In this method, the adept single-mindedly visualizes the *qi* of each viscus at a designated time of the day for a certain number of days.[53]

Also, the visceral *qi* gives the adept certain special powers. The *qi* of the liver and the heart can both be used to cure the diseases of other people. This is done by visualizing the *qi* and then "attacking" the patient's disease with it.[54] The radiant *qi* of the lungs can be used to illuminate and see into the ground in order to find any buried treasures. It can also be used to "perceive the good and bad of people", meaning perhaps that he can see inside the minds of people or perhaps foresee good or bad fortune. By utilizing the *qi* of the spleen, the adept can go through solid surfaces.

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[53]Liver: Visualize twelve hours per day, every other hour beginning from the *zi* 子 hour (11 p.m. to 1 a.m.). Continue for 50 days.

Heart: Visualize during the *wu* 午 hour (11 a.m. to 1 p.m.). Continue for 5 days.

Lungs: Visualize during the *chou* 丑 hour (1 a.m. to 3 a.m.). Continue for 49 days.
Spleen: Visualize once a day whenever convenient. Continue for 49 days.
Kidneys: Visualize constantly.
Whether or not the periods during which the respective viscera are visualized take place simultaneously is hard to say. The visualizations of the heart and the lungs are accompanied by chants that are to be recited.

[54]The *qi* of the liver cures "feverish diseases", boils and rashes as well as emaciation. The heart's *qi* cures "chilly diseases" 冷病 .

Yet another method which seems to have no direct connection with the main text is described at length in C-[12]i, which quotes a *Taiwei lingyin shu* . This method is one for "escaping the corpse", by means of which one can stage his death in order to evade the hazards and hindrances that exist within human society. I will discuss this method no further here, since methods such as this one will be discussed in some detail in my next chapter.

[13] a- The Perfect Palace of the Great Ultimate is in the azure sky.

The crimson palace gates and lofty terraces are 100,000,000 stories tall.[55]

The jade towers stand beside each other, lined up atop steep cliffs.

b- The gem-like radiance of the Jade Pavilions is of a lush green color.

Red clouds and purple *qi* always envelop them.

The jade walls and golden pillars[56] within it are resplendent.

c- *Feng* phoenixes dance and *luan* phoenixes sing, as you wander amidst the singing.

d- Jade delicacies and golden nectar come to you at will.

e- As a Perfect Immortal of the Nine *Qi* 's, you will be of exalted rank.

The reward for the days, months and years of fasting sustained by air-swallowing and breath-holding is the acquisition of rank and residence in realms of splendor where divine food and drink come to the adept at will. The commentary elaborates upon and enhances this theme of heavenly splendor by contrasting the divine realm with the ordinary world.

C-[13]a tells us that "the palaces and mansions of the upper realm are produced from the obscure darkness" and that "they are all formed from *qi* of five colors." This five-colored *qi* , we may note, is the same material that the adept produces from his five viscera through his austerities. On the other hand, "the

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[55]ZH2 (28b) reads, ".....10,000 stories tall."

[56]ZH2 (29a) reads, ".....beams....."

land of the lower realm all came to exist due to the arbitrary congealing of watery *qi* ." 下界土地皆是水炁. 橫凝而获住 The "upper realm" is further described as a place where there is an "unmoving force that is self-so"自然不動之力 and where "nobody gives rise to the labor of moving and functioning"無人興動用之功. Unlike the moon and sun of the "lower realm" which are the "pure *qi* of *yin* and *yang*" 陰陽純炁 , those of the upper realm are "the subtle *qi* of the seven rare treasures"七珍精炁. Time moves more slowly in the upper realm where one day lasts as long as a full year down in the lower realm.

Because the adept does not partake of the food of the lower realm, he can become a part of the upper realm. A passage from a certain scripture[57] is quoted that reads, "If you do not eat the essences of the soil, you will live and reside in the City of the Great One".不食土地精.生居太一城 The commentary then explains, "this means that both the body and the mind get to go" 此為形神俱得去也 . However, all this splendor described in [13] is to itself be risen above as well.

[14] a- The Perfect Immortals of the Nine *Qi* 's wear garments of silk brocade.

From the cloud garment of thin silk a cicada belt hangs.

b-Their heavenly crowns jingle and resound with intermingling musical notes

c- The nine-patterned flower slippers are made from brocade of stellar beauty.

d- On your legs[58] you wear rainbow trousers, as you go to have an audience with the [Perfect Lord] of the Great Cosmic Source.

e- The Colorful Girls of the Ten Directions carry the banners.

A hundred spirits pull the carriage after which follow the Jade Youths.

In the front are the dragon banners and in the back are the tiger flags.

f- [Your] feathered garment waves about, blown by the eight breaths,

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[57]The two versions of the *Zhonghuang jing* give different titles for the scripture. ZH1 refers to it by the title, *Taiwei xuanjing* . ZH2 calls it *Taihuang jing* .

[58]The character去卩 here seems to be a mistranscription of the character胫卩.

g- As you ascend higher into the spacious skies and enter [the realm of] Great Sublimity.

[15] a- [In] the vast heavenly realm of Great Sublimity that is straight above,

b- The motion and stillness of the wind play the *yu* 竽 and *lai* 籟 flutes.

b- How distant and steep are the halls and pavilions that loom up high!

c- Life spans are everlasting, clothes are light and human bodies are gigantic.

In each of the Nine Heavens this is twice more so than in the preceding heaven.

d- This is called "obtaining freedom of will through your mind".[59]

e- Cultivate Perfection in motionless [self] control and become a Sagely Being.

[The teachings of] the Gate of Emptiness of the Nine Deeds have been written down by successive Perfected [Beings][60].

[14] and [15] continue the theme of the splendor of the upper realm. The higher one gets into the upper realm, the more majestic, big, colorful, melodious, ethereal and long-lasting everything and everyone becomes. [15] ends by returning to the theme of how the adept must cultivate himself in order to get to experience this splendor, and there an allusion is made to "the Gates of Emptiness of the Nine Deeds". C-[15]e tells us that this refers to a set of nine basic moral virtues which the adept must embody at all moments throughout his life of Perfection Cultivation. It states that "the Nine Deeds are [like] the cave in which the man of the Dao lives" meaning essentially that the observance of them is as essential to the livelihood of the Daoist adept as

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[59]ZH2 (31a) reads, "This is to obtain freedom of will through your mind." The word, *zizai* 自在, which I translated as "freedom of will" is the standard term used in Buddhist scriptures to translate the Sanskrit word "*is'vara*" which refers to a state of mind and being attained by Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who are free of superfluous thoughts and are thus able to do everything they wish according to their will. The word *zizai* is perhaps being used here with this Buddhist meaning in mind, but not necessarily so, as the word also occurs in pre-Buddhist texts with the basic meaning of being able to do as one wants with no hindrances.

[60]ZH2 (31b) reads, ".....have been written down in the successive chapters."

the cave which lives in. Each of these Nine Deeds is then enumerated and compared to a certain daily necessity:

> First make compassion your clothing. Second, make the quitting and abandoning [of worldly activities and desires (?)] your food. Third, make your correct thoughts your carriage. Fourth, make your dedicated will your wealth. Fifth, make your modesty your bed. Sixth, make your obedience to what is righteous your eating utensils. Seventh, make your diligent wisdom your cave. Eighth, make the cultivation of emptiness your dwelling. Ninth, make giving alms in secret your duty. (2/11a line 5 character 2 to line 9 character 2)

The appearance here of the notion of "cultivating emptiness" (which is discussed further in [16]) as well as this concern with a set code of moral guidelines is certainly, to a degree, a result of Buddhist influence. It is a code that is ascetic in spirit, as the implication of it is that the adept should do away with all worldly commodities and substitute for them with the sheer satisfaction and fulfillment of living in accordance with the Nine Deeds.

[16] a- The Gates of Emptiness of the Nine Deeds is the road of utmost truth.
The Great Dao does not compete angrily with others.
If you can maintain it unceasingly in all activities,
The invisible gods will shine back upon you and the gods will always help you.
b- To be of no mind (free of thoughts) during all activities is the true mind.
If you can carry it out in accordance with the mind, you can go back to Heaven.
c- To eliminate impurities[61] and to be of no mind; this is referred to as Perfection.
d- Naturally you shall proceed to womb-breathing and enter the gates of Heaven.
e- The orthodox principle of the Profound Plane is to store the body within.

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[61]ZH2 (32a) reads, "[If you] eliminate [thoughts] and if you are of no mind....." 除而無心

[If you] conceal the body and have no crookedness [of mind], the body will merge with the Perfect.[62]

f- If your three sections are pure and vacuous, the primal *qi* will be firm.

The six bowels will transform into a million gods.

[16] reinforces the importance of the Nine Deeds and then expounds upon how the adept must cleanse his mind and then orchestrate his cultivation by means of this mind which is "no mind", which refers essentially to a mind which bears no deliberate intentions. Only if he practices the Nine Deeds and has this mindless mind, can he proceed to the stage of womb-breathing. [16]f re-introduces the theme of purifying the elixir fields and filling them with primal *qi* , activating the gods of the internal organs. While both [15] and [16] mention the notion of "emptiness", there is no indication in the main text and the commentary that the concept is understood in its authentic Buddhist sense. The Buddhist meaning of "empty" is that the existence of something is not entirely self-sufficient, but rather relies on something else that causes it to exist. In the *Zhonghuang jing*, "emptiness" refers more literally to a state where there is nothing; in other words the state which the adept wants to create in his mind.

[17] a- The 10,000 gods of the Six Bowels are always eternal.

b- The inside[63] of the large intestine is in charge of the Hall of the Lungs.

c- The primal harmony purifies and controls, and the grains are eliminated.[64]

d- Inside, there are miraculous spirits that will naturally be stored in there.[65]

e- [Within] the kidneys you will clearly see the girl of the inner palace.

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[62] C-[16]e states, quoting a *Dongxuan Jing*, "If the mind has no crookedness, your myriad spirits will be sufficient."

[63] ZH2 (32b) reads, "The bureau of the large intestine....."

[64] [17]b and c appear in reverse order in ZH2.

[65] ZH2 (33a) reads, "Inside is the primal spirit that is stored within."

[The kidneys] correspond outside to the ear-dwellings (the ears) which are the gateway.

f- The bladder is the gate where the fluids from the two organs (kidneys) are combined. The circulation in the Sea of *Qi* is the essential route.

g- When you get to see the internal gods clearly[66],

The gods will always be at your help if you do not leak [the secrets] for the rest of your life.

[17] deals primarily with the theme of how the internal gods are activated when the body has been purged of food substances and the primal *qi* has permeated throughout the body. C-[17]a says that through daily practice that is "pure and immaculate", the one million gods of the five viscera, 100 passages and nine joints,[67] as well as those of the six bowels mentioned in the main text, will manifest themselves. C-[17]c assures the adept that the "grain *qi* " will leave if one "attacks and transports" with the primal *qi* . However, much of the content of [17] is very hard to make sense out of. This is probably because omissions and mistranscriptions of the text have taken place. [17]c, e and f seem to appear here out of context, and it is difficult to determine their significance and relationship to the process that is described in [1] through [16]. Perhaps the relationship between the large intestine and the lungs alluded to here has to do with the way in which respiratory methods are used for cleansing and satiating the digestive system. Thus a certain correspondence is seen to exist between the lungs and the large intestine which are vital organs respectively within the respiratory and digestive systems. Zh2's version of C-[17]c (which is the passage that roughly matches with the phrase quoted in Liangqiuzi's commentary to the *Huangting neijing jing*) says, "The lungs are the chief; [they are] the master of the Three Burners[68]". This statement, while incoherent with the main text, describes a connection

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[66]ZH2 (34a) reads, "When you get to see the *Chapters of the Internal Gods* ....."

[67]Which joints this refers to is unclear.

[68]See footnote number 8.

between the respiratory and digestive system, although here the lungs are described as being in charge, rather than being under control as they seem to be described in the main text..[69]

C-[17]e, after elaborating upon the relationship between the kidneys and the ears and the gods that reside in each of them, warns the adept to never get angry, since anger is harmful to the kidneys. C-[17]f elaborates upon [17]f by saying that the kidneys and bladder "respond above" to the tongue. For this reason, an adept in his early stages of imbibing *qi* is advised to talk as little as possible, since talking dries out the mouth and slowly depletes the body fluids which the adept is supposed to retain and make circulate back and forth between his tongue and his kidneys and bladder. This passage is the first mention of the theme of retention of saliva and body fluids in general in this text which otherwise dealt only with the swallowing and holding in of air. It seems that the *Zhonghuang jing* must have at one time included long passages dealing in detail with physiological theories other than those which predominate in the extant versions of the *Zhonghuang jing*.

[18] a- Do not leak the secrets of Heaven[70] [as you] maintain your aspirations.

All the heavenly chapters must not be carelessly revealed.

b- The 33 chapters are beyond the understanding of the world, and even more so is the *Zhonghuang [jing]* which is the secret among secrets.

c- First pay your respects to the Three Perfected Ones[71], the Jade Immortal Envoys.

Only then can you [proceed to] look at its written words.

d- If you disobey the teachings, your body will suffer misfortunes that are unexpected,

[And] your descendants will suffer misfortunes; thus you must not [reveal the secrets].

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[69]ZH1's version of this passage, which is even more confusing, reads, "The bowel (or organ) is the chief, [it is] the master of the Three Burners.

[70]ZH2 (34a) reads, "Do not leak the gods of Heaven....." , although it does not seem to make sense.

[71]To whom this refers is unclear.

The *Zhonghuang jing* ends in typical fashion for a Daoist scripture, with a warning against revealing the contents of the scripture to the wrong person. The *Zhonghuang jing* describes itself here as an extremely esoteric text that is not intended to be seen or understood by ordinary people. It is even more secret than the "33 chapters" which according to C-[18]b refers to a certain *Taiguang jing*, a scripture which is no longer extant, but which was perhaps another important text on womb-breathing produced and transmitted by the proponents of the *Zhonghuang jing*. C-[18]c quotes a passage from a certain *Jiaoling ke* (Curriculum of Teachings and Rules) which says, "If you want to open and reveal scriptures such as the *Sanzhen* (Three Perfected Ones), you must select a *jiazi* day (first day of the sexegenary cycle). Burn incense in a purified room, and in your mind visualize the Perfected Man Nanhua (this refers to the ancient Daoist philosopher Zhuangzi) and think about the Perfect Sacred Ones of the Nine Heavens and the Perfect Lords of the Three Heavens...."[72]. We can thus see that the *Zhonghuang jing*, or at least its commentary, was produced by a certain organized Daoist school that had its own set of deities, scriptures and rituals which cannot be clearly identified as having any association with the well known Six Dynasties period Daoist movements such as the Heavenly Masters, Shangqing or Lingbao.

As a whole, the *Zhonghuang jing* provides an example of a form of training towards immortality that centered around fasting and self-denial of the most intense kind. The adept is told to stop eating entirely and to keep doing so even when his body begins to show obvious signs of weakening and emaciation. He is also told to hold his breath for long spans of time at the risk of death through self-asphyxiation. The *Zhonghuang jing* assures that the adept will recover from his physical woes and attain a degree of health and strength previously unknown. The holding of breath or "womb-breathing" is supposed to activate

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72 欲開示三真等經.先須擇甲子日.淨室焚香.心存南華真人.念九天真聖.三天真君.

the subtle five-colored visceral *qi* that create a body that never dies. Naturally we must wonder whether such incredible assertions are to be trusted and whether or not there actually were people who ended up killing themselves by trying to practice the methods of the *Zhonghuang jing*. As we shall see later, early deaths of practitioners through self-starvation was indeed a problem within the Daoist religion.

If practitioners of the *Zhonghuang jing* actually willingly hastened their deaths through their austerities, it was perhaps because of the kind of preoccupation and infatuation with the mystical experiences (perhaps induced largely through the state of delirium caused by hunger, fatigue and self-asphyxiation) and the dualistic longing for the upper realm that are conveyed in [12]-[15]. Belief in the upper realm and disdain for the lower realm motivated the adept towards the most extreme measures in order to cleanse the body of its worldly impurities and make it divine and worthy of existence in the upper realm. Only with this faith in a glorified otherworldly existence, could the adept persevere rigidly in practices that brought about such obvious harm to the body. As is characteristic of most Daoist texts, the salvation described is a salvation not just of the soul, but of the body as well, which has been cleansed and restored as a dwelling place of the throngs of deities; indeed a miniature heaven in itself. Again, it is not possible to definitely determine whether or not the author(s) conceived of an ascension of the actual human body. Interpretation of ZH's teachings in this regard may have varied from practitioner to practitioner. Conceivably, a good number of practitioners of ZH's methods may have, due to their cosmological (upper realm/lower realm) and physiological (pure *qi* /evil *qi*) dualism, come to see the body of glory as something internal which when mature could abandon the body of flesh at its death. This type of mentality, while certainly not explicitly propounded in the *Zhonghuang jing*, may have caused some adepts to welcome the demise of their bodies.

Before proceeding to Chapter Three, I will now supplement the above translation and analysis of the *Zhonghuang jing* by introducing to the reader two passages, one from the

Daoji tunajing and one from the *Tunajing*, which describe the effects of fasting methods similar to those of the *Zhonghuang jing* in that they involve a process of emaciation, recovery and an acquisition of supernormal capacities.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER TWO: RIGOROUS FASTING METHODS IN THE *DAOJI TUNA JING* AND THE *TUNA JING*

Daoji tunajing

The *Daoji tuna jing* (*The Scripture of the Foundation of the Dao on Expelling and Taking In*) no longer exists as a complete text. The following passage is a quotation from this now lost scripture which is found in the *Sandong zhunang* (3/23a-b). Obviously, the *Daoji tunajing* existed during the seventh century when *Sandong zhunang* was written, and may have been written much earlier, although no evidence is yet to be found as to how much earlier this could have been. The title of the scripture indicates that it is a manual of respiratory practices. *Tu* (to expel from the mouth, to spit, to exhale) probably refers to how the adept expels from his mouth the old, impure *qi* accumulated in his body through the food that he has eaten. *Na* (to hold in, to retain) probably refers to the bringing in (through inhalation and/or swallowing) of fresh, clean air in order to cleanse and nourish the body. This explanation of the scripture's title is mere guesswork since fragments of the text which describe the actual breathing exercises do not, to my knowledge, exist. However, the passage translated below makes it clear that the breathing exercises were designed to facilitate a rigorous fast similar to that described in the *Zhonghuang jing*.

> When a Daoist adept has cultivated his body and fasted by means of expelling and retaining for 10 days (one *xun*), his *jingqi* [73] will feel slightly feverish,

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[73]This compound *jingqi* 精氣 is very difficult to know how to translate, especially since the details of the methods and theories of *Daoji tunajing* and *Tunajing* cannot be known. *Jing* could be translated as a noun with the vague meaning of "essence", which essentially refers to the body's vitality and nutrition

and his complexion will become haggard and yellowish. After 20 days he will feel dizzy and be clumsy in his movements, and his joints will ache. His large bowel movements will become somewhat difficult and his urine will take on a reddish-yellowish color. Sometimes, he will have bowel movements that are muddy at first and firm afterwards.[74] After 30 days, his body will be emaciated and thin and [he will feel] heavy and weary when he walks.

After 40 days, his facial complexion will become cheerful (ruddy, healthy) and his mind will be at ease. After 50 days, the five viscera will be harmoniously regulated and the *jingqi* will be nurtured within. After 60 days, the body will have been restored to its former strength (that it had prior to the fast), and its functions will be well regulated. After 70 days, his heart will dislike boisterousness, and his [only] aspiration will be to fly up on high. After 80 days he will be peacefully content, and will be in serene solitude. He will believe and understand the techniques and methods. After 90 days, [his skin] will have the smooth luster of glory and elegance, and sounds will be clearly heard. After 100 days, the *jingqi* will all arrive (or perhaps, "the *jing* and *qi* will arrive together"), and the efficacy will increase day by day.

If he practices this without ceasing, his life span will naturally be extended. After three years, his burns and scars will disappear, and his facial complexion will have a radiance. After practicing for six years, his bone marrow will be abundant and his brain will be filled. He will have clairvoyant knowledge regarding matters of existing and perishing. After nine years have elapsed, he will [be able to] employ and command demons and spirits and will take on the

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manifested in its various fluids. *Jing* often refers specifically to semen. Thus if *jing* is translated as a noun, *jingqi* could be understood as meaning the fluids and air that are inside the body. *Jing* could also be understood as an adjective meaning "refined", and in such a case *jingqi* would translate into "refined *qi*", which could refer to the air that one inhales or swallows, or to some kind of pure and divine *qi* that the adept generates in his body which is similar to the colored *qi* that the practitioner of the *Zhonghuang jing* produces in the five viscera.

[74]The two characters *qian* 前 ("before") and *zhi* 至 ("reach") do not seem to fit into the sentence that precedes them or the one that succeeds them. There is perhaps a textual corruption here.

> title of Perfected Man. Above he will assist the Supreme August One. His life span will equal that of Heaven and his radiance will merge with the sun. If you transmit [this lesson] to an unworthy person, you will suffer from a calamity.

Tunajing

Tuna jing (*The Scripture on Expelling and Taking In*) is also a lost scripture whose contents can be known solely through quotations of it found in the *Sandong zhunang* and the Song Dynasty encyclopedia, *Taiping yulan* (compiled in 983). The passage translated below is found in the *Sandong zhunang* (4/1a-b). Despite their very similar titles, *Tuna jing* and *Daoji tuna jing* seem to have been separate works. This can be ascertained from the passage below, which describes a process of weakening, recovery and attainment of supernormal power, which takes place much more rapidly than that in *Daoji tuna jing* . It seems highly unlikely that two such conflicting versions of similar processes would be described in the same scripture. As for the dating of *Tuna jing* , nothing more can be said aside from the same thing that has been said about *Daoji tuna jing* ; it was written some time before the *Sandong zhunang* was compiled. The following is a description of a much shorter version of the fast which, due to its more feasible length, is perhaps more representative of the type of fasting that was carried out by actual living Daoists:

> To do away with grains and to not eat is the Way of the Primal Spirit . After the first one or two days, the grain *qi* will not yet have been subdued, and your facial appearance will be morose and yellowish. After three days, the grain *qi* will leave, and the *jingqi* will arrive. After four or five days, the *yin* and *yang* of your *jingqi* will be harmoniously regulated. After six days your subtle spirit will be stable and you will have clear vision and hearing. Walking about will become easier as you become stronger by the day. After seven days, you will constantly be on the verge of levitation. Thanks to the Ultimate Dao, you will be in communication up above with the gods when you are dreaming

and when you are awake. After eight days, your spirit will travel about in the eight limits[75]. You will be able to do so silently. Always [when you do this] your mouth will naturally taste sweet. Your will and your bones (mind and body) will naturally become strong. After nine days, the subtle spirit will be in order. If your body is weak, it will become strong. Your spirit and *qi* (or perhaps, "divine *qi* ") will be solidified day by day. Without going, you will naturally be far away. Without coming, you will naturally be near. Your facial appearance will daily become more joyful. After ten days, the various gods will arrive at your gates which are all closed. Jade Girls will attend you on your right and left. You will rise up lightly like a swallow that flutters amidst the clouds. The Dao will thus be acquired.

The above passages from *Daoji tuna jing* and *Tuna jing* indicate that the extreme kind of fasting promoted by the *Zhonghuang jing* in which the body is allowed to suffer emaciation so that a recovery and strengthening can take place, was common among Daoists of different schools who had their own specific ideas as to details concerning how the fast was to be sustained, what symptoms would appear when, and what exactly would be taking place within the body. Unfortunately, nothing more beyond what is written in the above passages can be known about the methods and theories of *Daoji tuna jing* and *Tuna jing* .

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[75]"Eight limits"/八極refers to infinitely remote regions situated in the north, south, east, west, northeast, northwest, southeast or southwest.

CHAPTER THREE: THE FASTING METHODS OF THE *WUFU XU*

Probably the richest assortment of archaic fasting methods available today is found in the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* (HY388/TT183, *The Most High Holy Treasure Five Talismans and Preface*; this scripture will from here on be called the *Wufu xu*). The *Wufu xu* is a part of the original canon of the influential Lingbao movement. In other words, it is included in Lu Xiujing's (406-477) catalog of Lingbao scriptures. There we are told the following about the scripture's origins:

> Once upon a time, [King] Yu of the Xia [Dynasty] assembled together the writings of the Lingbao scriptures to compile this volume. He did it at the north of Mt. Laocheng. Yue Zichang acquired it from the place of the Immortal of Huolin, and thus [the scripture] has come to be current among men.[1] 昔夏禹例出靈寶經中衆文.爲此卷. 藏勞盛山陰.樂子長於霍林仙人邊得. 遂行人間.

As will be discussed in the introduction to Chapter Seven, the scriptures of the Lingbao corpus were written roughly between 420 to 471 A.D. However, the *Wufu xu* is an exception. While it would certainly be far-fetched to believe that it was actually compiled by the legendary Yu, it is plausible to think that Yue Zichang, who most likely lived during the Han Dynasty[2], was actually involved in the authorship and transmission of

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[1]Lu Xiujing's catalog was once lost, but was re-discovered from among the manuscripts recovered from the Dunhuang caves (Pelliot no.2256). See Ofuchi Ninji, *Tonkoo Dookyoo Zurokuhen* (Tokyo: Fukutake Shoten, 1979) p.727.

[2]Yamada Toshiaki points out that the oldest extant reference to Yue Zichang is a quotation of a passage that was once part of Ying Shao's (fl. 189-194) *Fengsu Tongyi* found in *juan* 66 of the *Taiping yulan* which tells us that Yue Zichang was a man of Ji (present day Shandong) who went to Mt. Huo where he attained immortality by ingesting sesame seeds and medicine concocted by means of "Chisongzi's recipe". Yamada further speculates that Yue Zichang was associated with tradition of *fangshi* or court magicians indigenous to the Ji region, pointing out that a passage in the *Wufu xu* (3/3a) reads, "[I], Zichang received the oral lesson from the Immortal of Huolin, and took after Han Zhong" 子長受霍林仙人口訣似韓衆也 , and that this Han Zhong must refer to a *fangshi* who went to search for the islands of the Immortals in the eastern sea, in accordance to the orders of Qin Shihuangdi. See Yamada Toshiaki, "Longevity and the Lingbao Wufu xu" pp.103-106, in Livia Kohn ed. *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques* (1989) pp. 99-123.

parts of the text. Also, portions of what constitutes today's *Wufu xu* were apparently known of by Ge Hong (283-343). Chen Guofu has pointed out that quotations from a certain "*Lingbao jing* " found in the seventeenth *juan* of Ge Hong's *Baopuzi* correspond to passages in the third *juan* of the *Wufu xu*.[3] In the eleventh *juan* of the *Baopuzi*, Ge Hong mentions a *Laozi rushan lingbao wufu* (Laozi's Holy Treasure Five Talismans for Entering the Mountains), which is described as a set of talismans which, if worn when one enters the mountains, enables one to find and gather the efficacious herbs and fungi. Also, Ge Hong describes his *Lingbao jing* as being made up of three sections entitled "Zhengji", "Pingheng" and "Feigui". In the *Wufu xu* there is a reference to a *Xianyin lingbao fang* (Lingbao Methods of the Immortal Recluses) consisting of three formulas entitled *Hetu yincun fu* (the River Chart Talismans for Hiding and Surviving), *Yiluo feigui* (Flying Turtle of the Yi and Luo Rivers) and *Pingheng an* (Level Platform), titles reminiscent of those of the three sections of Ge Hong's *Lingbao jing*. The *Wufu xu* tells us that this *Xianyin lingbao fang* was transmitted to the Han Dynasty Immortal Hua Ziqi by a certain Mister Jiaoli.[4] At least one of the sections in the *Wufu xu* ("The Immortal's Scripture for Fetching and Imbibing the Breaths of the Various Heavens of the Five Directions" 仙人挹服五方諸天氣經) and perhaps quite a few more, probably constituted part of this *Xianyin lingbao fang* .

All of this suggests that most of the methods of the *Wufu xu* date back to the Han Dynasty, and issue from the written and oral traditions of the magicians or *fangshi* of the Latter Han period who propagated the apocryphal *wei* or "weft texts"[5]. Yamada Toshiaki points out that the above-mentioned *Zhengqi* , *Pingheng* and *Hetu yincun fu* , judging from the sound of their titles, were probably texts somehow associated with the weft texts and

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[3]Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1963). pp. 64-66.

[4]See p. 450 of Stephen Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures." In *Tantric and Taoist Studies* Vol. 2. Ed. Michel Strickmann (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1983), pp. 434-486.

[5]These texts, which began to appear around the dawning of the common era, claimed to be commentaries or supplements to the Confucian classics written by the Confucian sages (such as Confucius himself) which dealt with various matters of prognostication, cosmology, numerology and life-nurturing.

that in the *Wufu xu* (2/1b) there is to be found a passage quoted from the mouth of Yue Zichang which quotes the weft text *Xiaojing yuanshen qi*. He also points out that the "Chisongzi Method" in the *Wufu xu* (2/14a) and methods like it which involve the expulsion of the Three Worms come out of the weft tradition, as can be seen from how in the *Baopuzi*, Ge Hong draws upon the weft texts *Yi neijie*, *Chisongzi jing* and *Hetu jiming fu* to explain what the Three Worms are.[6] Hua Ziqi along with Yue Zichang, to whom many of the methods of the *Wufu xu* are attributed, both appear to have been men of the Han Dynasty who where involved in this weft text tradition. Yamada states that the contents of the *Wufu xu*, much as is the case with other ancient Daoist texts, were expanded, altered and revised in years after it first came to exist[7], but that by the lifetime of Lu Xiujing, it had more or less taken on its present form, since Liu's catalog of the Lingbao scriptures[8] says, "The book that the Immortal Sir (Ge Xuan) acquired when he was in the world had 2 *juan* , but some people today make it out into 3 *juan* ." Today's *Wufu xu* has 3 *juan.*

The complicated process of the text's redaction has be speculated upon and traced by Kobayashi Masayoshi.[9] Kobayashi divides the redaction of the text into three stages. According to his theory, the first edition of the text was compiled roughly between 317 and 350, and combined portions of the *Lingbao jing* mentioned by Ge Hong with the *Laozi rushan lingbao wufu* talismans as well other elements[10] from weft texts, especially the *Hetu.*(*River Chart*). In this earliest edition, the preface (narration of the legend concerning how the text appeared in the world) and main text existed as separate books. The portions of today's text which correspond to the contents of the first edition are speculated to include

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[6]See Yamada Toshiaki, "Longevity and the *Lingbao Wufu xu*" pp.110-112

[7]The most suggestive indicator of this fact is that the *Wufu xu* has in it some passages which are identical to some passages in *Baopuzi* , (as we will see briefly in Chapter Four), which were likely taken from *Baopuzi* , a text which was written later than most of the *Wufu xu*'s contents.

[8]See Ofuchi, *Tonkoo Dookyoo Zurokuhen* , p.727:
仙公在世時所傳本.是又爲二卷.今人或作三卷.

[9]See Kobayashi Masayoshi, "*Taijoo reihoo gofu jo* no seisho katei no bunseki", part 1 and part 2 in *Toho shukyo* no. 71 (April, 1988) pp. 20-43 and 72 (October, 1988) pp. 20-44.

[10]As a specific example, Kobayashi mentions the theme of the Five Monarchs of the Five Directions.

most of the legend narrative material (excluding the portion concerning Hua Ziqi) in the first *juan* (1/1a-11a line 8), the portions bearing the headings "Titles of the Lingbao Five Monarchs and their Officials and Generals" (1/14b-15a), "The Lingbao Talisman of *Yin* Life of the Great Obscurity" (2/25a-b), "the Holy Book of the Nine Heavens, the Perfect Treasure of the Three Heavens" (3/8b-9a), along with the Lingbao Five Talismans (3/9b-11a) and other talismans with their accompanying texts found on 3/11a-14a. Also, some of the drug recipes in the second *juan* may have been included in this first redaction.

The second redaction is speculated to have taken place around 350 to 400. At this time, the preface and main text were combined into a single book with two *juan*, and additional material was added which included the biography of Hua Ziqi (found in 1/11a-b of present text) and the techniques connected with his legacy, primarily those described in this study as "non-ingestion fasting techniques." These methods are found in the present edition in the sections entitled, "The Immortal's Scripture for Fetching and Imbibing the Qi of the Various Heavens of the Five Directions" (1/11b-14b), "The Way of Eating the Essences of the Sun and Moon" (1/18b-26a), "The Taiqing Method of the Five Beginnings" (1/16b-18b), "The Name of the Various Heavens from the August Man's Most High Scripture of the Perfect One" (3/14a-16b), and "The Scripture of the Perfect One of the Most High Great One" (3/16b-23b).

The third redaction, i.e. the present three *juan* edition, is estimated by Kobayashi to have been compiled around the year 410. At this time, the material connected with the figure of Yue Zichang was incorporated, which includes most of the drug recipes of the second *juan*, along with the material found on 3/1a-8b and 1/15b-16a (in the section entitled "The Essential Lesson of the Lingbao").

Kobayashi has also taken note of the fact that the theme of eating the *Qi* (or "sprouts") of the Five Heavens is not to be found in the *Baopuzi*. Also, the descriptions of methods for eating solar and lunar essences includes concepts (such as the ideal of the existence in the brain of a palace called the Niwan) not found in the *Baopuzi*. Kobayashi

takes the view that the *Baopuzi* is a text which comprehensively covers most of the major immortality beliefs that existed up to its time, and hence takes the view that any belief or method not alluded to in the *Baopuzi* probably originates after it. He thus feels that the *Wufu xu*'s method of eating the *Qi* of the Five Heavens postdates Ge Hong and that the method for eating solar and lunar essences, while probably related to methods of a certain *Shi riyue jing jing* 食日月精經 cited in the *Baopuzi*, incorporates newer elements. While this speculation may be right and should be kept in mind, I believe that Kobayashi over-rates the comprehensiveness of the *Baopuzi*.and its authoritativeness for determining whether a Daoist scripture, method or concept existed at all during or prior to Ge Hong's time.

The *Wufu xu* assembles together methods put into practice by early immortality seekers of several different traditions, among which we can vaguely identify a faction promoting the legends surrounding the Great Yu and the Lingbao talismans, a faction promoting the legacy of Hua Ziqi and the non-ingestion fasting techniques, and a faction that revered Yue Zichang and emphasized the various drug recipes. Who exactly these people were is difficult to determine. What is also of great significance is the fact that the *Wufu xu* was included among the catalog of Lingbao scriptures, which indicates that the text and its method were studied and put to practice by the adherents of the greatly influential Lingbao movement of the fifth century and onward. As will be mentioned again in Chapter Seven, the other scriptures listed in the Lingbao catalog frequently promote fasting, and yet do not include drug recipes for facilitating fasts. It is highly possible that this was because the *Wufu xu* contained all such methods that Lingbao adherents needed to know. Also noteworthy is the fact that the Wufu xu's method for eating the *qi* (or sprouts) of the Five Heavens was adopted and elaborated upon in the Shangqing and Lingbao texts. Thus while we know very little about the first practitioners of the *Wufu xu*'s methods, the methods continued to be esteemed and put to practice by Daoists throughout the Six Dynasties period.

In the following pages I will introduce the reader to the various fasting methods of the *Wufu xu*. But first I must familiarize the reader with the legends narrated in the *Wufu xu* concerning its origins and its appearance within the human world. These legends can help us to understand the world view of those who practiced the methods of the *Wufu xu*..

(a) The Legends of the *Wufu xu*

The opening lines of the *Wufu xu* reminisce upon a utopian, primitive age of antiquity referred to as the "innocent harmony of murky antiquity" 玄古淳和. This was a time when:

> The common masses went about their ways, putting their trust in the Dao. [They] looked up face to face with the heart of heaven, and Heaven and man combined their energies. [11]
> 蒼生任道而行.上對天心.天人合氣.

Because of this there were no tragedies and misfortunes in this world, and acts of killing were non-existent. People did not need to be told what was right or wrong, and thus there was no need for rulers and government. Everybody lived for 90,000 years, after which they would embark upon their studies of the way towards immortality which then enabled them to ascend into Heaven. However, by the time of the "Three Emperors", this primitive innocence was beginning to become corrupted. People began to be conscious of gains and losses, and began to frequently get emotional. Government then became necessary, and gods and spirits had to start to come to the protection of living things, since the world was becoming a dangerous place. The arts of war had to be perfected by virtuous rulers like the Yellow Emperor in order to subdue evil warlords like Chiyou.

Naturally the divine forces were to come to bestow their favor upon such human leaders of superior virtue. Thus divine beings who called themselves the "True Kings of

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[11] 1/1a

the Nine Heavens" 九天真王 and the "True Emperors of the Three Heavens" 三天真帝 came down to earth and revealed to the Emperor Ku (who was third in the succession of the empire from the Yellow Emperor) divine scriptures entitled *Jiutian zhenling jing*, *Santian zhenbao fu*, and *Jiutian zhenjin wen* . Virtuous as he was, Emperor Ku lacked the insight to fully comprehend and put to practice the utterly profound teachings of these heavenly books. Realizing this and fearing that the books could fall into the hands of immoral men who could do great injury to the world by possessing them, he put the books into a blue jade box which he buried in the ground of one of the peaks of the sacred Mt. Zhong, in the hope that a fully virtuous and competent "Sage of Latter Times" would some day find them and put them to their best use. The *Wufu xu* tells us the following about Mt. Zhong:

> Mt. Zhong is located 19,000 *li* north of the Ruo River[12] and is 12,000 *li*
> 鍾山弱水之北一萬九千里 山高萬二千里
> high. Its surface area is 7000 *li* square at the summit and 30,000 *li* square at
> 其上方七千里 周迴三萬里
> the base. [On the mountain,] 100 varieties of fungi and 1040 varieties of divine
> 自生千芝神草 千四十種人
> herbs grow. If a person walks three steps on its soil, he will become
> 但脚履其上三步 乃仙矣.
> immortal.[13]

The man who eventually acquired the books was the heroic subdue of the great flood, Yu. After achieving his epic feat through years of strenuous, altruistic effort, Yu climbed the majestic Mt. Zhong where he "suddenly acquired the books" 忽得此書 (1/6a). Wishing to be revealed even more wisdom, he went into secluded contemplation in the mountain. One day, a Perfected Man proclaimed to Yu, "Your meritorious virtue has moved the spirits. You have helped both Heaven and mankind, but your life span is in danger of coming to an end."[14] The Perfected Man thus transmitted to Yu various "ways

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[12]This is a river which flows through the provinces of Gansu and Ningxia.

[13]1/4a

[14]1/6a 汝功德感靈、天人並助、而年命向彫嶮

of immortality" and "methods of subduing and controlling by means of the True Treasures". Yu, from then on, devoted himself to practicing the methods and compiling the *Lingbao wufu tianwen* (The Heavenly Texts of the Lingbao Five Talismans), which he then buried and hid in Mt. Miao (location unknown). This book, the *Wufu xu* tells us, is revealed to the eyes of humans once every 10,000 years at the end of each Great Kalpa (also known as the *Yang* -Nine 陽九)[15]. Yu also made one copy of the book which he entrusted to the Lord of the Cavern of the Shen River in order that it could be given to a certain Water Master Fu Bochang at "the meeting of the 3000"[16] which occurs at the end of the Small Kalpa, also known as the Hundred-Six.[17] Yu then ingested a miraculous drug and concealed himself from the world, staging his own death and burial at Mt. Zi (location unknown). The *Wufu xu* states, "Immortals understand that he thus cut off [his connections with the mundane world][18], but foolish people say that he perished."[19]

The narrative then jumps from mythical, pre-historic antiquity to the Warring States Period. According to it, King Helü of the Wu Kingdom, in the fourteenth year of his reign

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[15]This refers to a long period of time during which the universe comes into being, flourishes, declines and is destroyed, so that it can come into being once again.

[16]This probably refers to a day that occurs once every 3000 years.

[17]Within the Shangqing tradition, the *Yang* -Nine refers to the end of a cosmic cycle brought about by the exhaustion of the *yang* principle in the universe, and the Hundred-Six refers to the end of a cosmic cycle brought about by the exhaustion of the *yin* principle in the universe. (Isabelle Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du Taoisme*, Vol. 1 pp. 138-141.) Here, it seems that *Yang* -Nine and Hundred-Six refer respectively to the end of the Great *Kalpa* (every 10,000 years and the Small *Kalpa* (every 3000 years), since on 1/7a the text reads, "At the *Yang* -Nine the book of the upper heavens is seen. At the Hundred-Six, the merit of Mr. Fu is proclaimed.' 陽九見上天之書.百六告傅氏之功. The Han and the early Six Dynasties periods was a time when much speculation was being made concerning cycles of the world's creation, flourishing, decline and destruction. The earliest known usage of the the terms *Yang* -Nine and Hundred-Six is found in the 21st chapter of the *Hanshu* (compiled by Ban Gu who live from 32 to 92 A.D.). There, time is divided into periods (called *yuan*) of 4617 years, and during the first 106 years (Hundred-Six) of each period there are to be nine years (these are the *Yang* -Nine) that will be plagued with disasters. Obviously, the specifics of the theories of cosmic cycles and the definitions of the terminology employed, changed and varied greatly as newer speculations came to be made over the years.

[18]The understanding seems to be that Yu had actually attained immortality, but staged his death in order to cut off his ties to the world and to remind worldly people of the fleeting quality of mundane life and thus incite them to strive in the quest for immortality. This notion is articulated in Tao Hongjing's *Zhengao* (HY1010/TT647-640), where Yu is mentioned along with other great men and immortals who had staged their deaths, and states that such men did so in order to "cut off [people's] emotions of life and death (transmigration) and demonstrate to the people the limits of beginning and ending." See TT639 14/17b: 斷以生死之情.示民有始終之限. According to the *Zhengao* , Yu's grave was located in Kuaiji (present day Shaoxing in Zhejiang Province).

[19]1/7a

(504 B.C.), employed the services of a certain Hermit of Baoshan to successfully acquire a copy of the holy book which was hidden in a cavern in Baoshan, an island in Lake Taihu. Unable to understand the book, King Helü sent it to Confucius who identified it as the "Most High Lingbao True Scripture of the Three Heavens"三天太上靈寶真經. Confucius then stated that only Immortals could employ the book and that princes and kings could not. Disappointed, King Helü had the book put in a box, locked up and stored away. But later when he opened up the box to look at it, it had disappeared. King Helü's son and successor, King Fucha later rediscovered the book at Mt. Lao[20]. However, he too was unable to benefit from it, and ended up losing his kingdom and being killed[21], the implication being that this was divine punishment for his presumption and vanity.

This long narrative on the origins of the holy Lingbao scriptures of the great Yu is followed by a short biography of Hua Ziqi, which is nearly identical to that found in the *Shenxian zhuan*. According to it, Hua Ziqi was a man of Jiujiang[22] who from his youth had been fond of the quest of immortality. He thus entered the mountains to pursue a life of seclusion, gathering and eating herbs and medicines. After twenty years of this lifestyle he suddenly met a certain Mr. Jiaoli who transmitted to him the aforementioned *Lingbao Methods of the Immortal Recluses* . When Hua had concocted the recipes transmitted to him and had ingested them, he was restored to a complexion as youthful as that of a maiden, and acquired the energy to travel 500 *li* in one day and the strength to lift 1000 *jin* (roughly 250 kilograms). He then molted his skin ten times in a single year, entered Mt. Qian[23] and ascended into Heaven in broad daylight.

From the above stories, certain ideas that were vital components in an early ascetic mentality can be identified. First of all is the notion of a golden age that existed in primitive

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[20]Located near the city of Qingdao in Shandong Province, this scenic mountain has a couple of active Daoist monasteries that were restored after the end of the Cultural Revolution.

[21]King Fucha's Wu Kingdom was conquered by the Yue Kingdom ruled by King Gouqian in 473 B.C. King Fucha died of suicide.

[22]Located in present day Anhui Province.

[23]Located near Xianning County, Hubei Province.

times, before men had fallen as victims to their own worldly, self-centered desires. Secondly there is a longing for a paradise (represented by Mt. Zhong); an ideal realm available only to those worthy souls willing to engage in the long, hard quest. Access to the wisdom through which one can reach the paradise is available only to such individuals. The sacred scriptures bearing this wisdom are concealed in secret places in the mountains which are the training grounds of the ascetics. Their teachings are incomprehensible and their efficacy is inaccessible to vainglorious men of the world such as King Helü and King Fucha. Also vital is the belief in eschatology; the notion that this world is subject to inevitable and total destruction followed by restoration at regular intervals. This was to provide a reason for the Daoist to reject the fleeting pleasures of this doomed world and to strive to transform himself into a being that can survive the cosmic devastation.

1. Non-ingestion Fasting Methods

We shall now proceed to examine one by one in detail the various methods in the *Wufu xu* which are designed to enable the adept to carry on for extended periods eating little or no food. We will first examine those methods which do not involve preparing and ingesting substances.

(a)Imbibing the Breaths of the Various Heavens of the Five Directions

On pp. 11b-14b of the first *juan* of the *Wufu xu* is found an "Immortal's Scripture for Fetching and Imbibing the *Qi* of the Various Heavens of the Five Directions" 仙人挹服五方諸天氣經. The annotation (author of which is anonymous) provided below the title reads, "Hua Ziqi was transmitted Mr. Jiaoli's lesson, [and] Yue Zichang wrote down the names of the gods." The "scripture" itself does not describe a method, but rather offers a set of descriptions of the Heavens of the Five

Directions (east, south, center, west and north) which supply the adept with *qi* that he is to imbibe. A description of how to actually go about imbibing the *qi* is found on[24] pp.21a-22a of the third *juan*.

The "scripture" tells us that in the east there is the "Heaven of the Nine *Qi*'s of the Green Sprouts" 青牙九天之氣, the *qi* of which is the color of the "first sprouts of spring grass" 春草之始萌. The eastern heaven has a radiance that is bright as the sun. Residing in the palaces there are the Jade Girl of the Blue Hips 青腰玉女 and the Most High True King 太上真王 who each ride about on their divine beasts[25], nourishing the world's two principles (*yin* and *yang*) with the "*qi* of the Nine Heavens" and the "flowing fragrance of the Nine Springs". Similar descriptions follow concerning the heavens of the other four directions. For the sake of brevity, details of the descriptions are presented in the list below:

(East)- Name: Heaven of the Nine *Qi*' of the Green Sprouts.

Qi: Green, "like the first sprouts of spring grass".

Deities: Jade Girl of the Blue Hips, Most High True King.

(South)- Name: Heaven of the Three *Qi* of Vermilion Cinnabar. 朱丹三氣之天

Qi: Vermilion, "like the crimson(?) clouds that cover the sun". 絳雲之苞白日

Deities: Jade Girl of Great Cinnabar 太丹玉女, Elder of the Primal *Qi* 元氣丈人.

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[24]This final portion of the *Wufu xu* (3/17 to the end) exists independently in the Daoist Canon as *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyi wuqi zhenjing* (HY983/TT618). Isabelle Robinet speculates that this portion originated as part of a now lost scripture called the *Huangren jing* or the *Huangren sanyi jing* which dealt with method of "guarding the Three Ones". Through the meticulous research that is characteristic of her work, she has found passages in this portion of the *Wufu xu* which match with quotations from *Huangren jing*, *Huangren sanyi jing*, *Sanyi jing* and *Zhenyi wuya jing* found respectively in the *Wushang biyao* (HY1130/TT768-778), *Shangqing daolei shixiang* (HY1124/TT765) *Taiping Yulan* and *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* (HY87/TT38-39). See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* (Paris: L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient), pp.28-29.

[25]The Jade Girl rides the "beast of the nine mountains" 九天之獸犬 and the King rides the *kun* dragon 坤龍.

(Center)- Name: The Mountain of the Grand Emperor of the Primal Cavern.

Qi: Yellow

Deities: Grand Emperor[26]

(West)- Name: Heaven of the Seven *Qi* of the Bright Stones.

Qi: White, "like the moon that drops down amidst the radiant clouds."

Deities: Plain Girl of the Most High, Grand Master of the Primal *Qi*.

(North)- Name: Heaven of the Five *Qi* of the Black Delicacies.

Qi: "Like when gale winds blow over a burning forest"[27]

Deity: Jade Girl of Night Radiance

As is the case with the eastern heaven, the *qi* and the gods of the other four heavens are described as traveling about and permeating the universe for the sake of nourishing living things. The salubrious heavenly *qi* manifests itself as liquid in the mouth of the adept, and the drinking of it brings about the most desirable of results. For example, the description of the northern heaven tells us:

> The Perfected Man nurtures his Three Bureaus (elixir fields) through his teeth[28]. Therefore, those who do this exist for a long time. Those who

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[26]This deity seems to embody three personalities, as he is also called "Perfected Man Zidan", as well as "Jade Girl of the Heavenly Storehouse of the wuji of the Yellow Court."

[27]This probably means that the *qi* of the northern heaven is black like the smoke that comes out of a burning forest blowed upon by gale winds.

[28]This, judging from what follows, seems to mean that he drinks the saliva that comes down amidst his teeth.

> employ it (the method) live for many years. They gargle the divine fluid in their heads. They merge with the *qi* of innocence and do away with elegance. Hereby, they reroute backwards the radiance of the sun which was heading for the west. They make the sun of Wu[29] return to Dongling (the Eastern Mound)[30].[31] They turn back the waning smoke of decrepitude. They return to childhood and then ascend. Thus they flap their wings like wild geese over the cloudy ponds. They rapidly rise up like dragons. They befriend and converse with the Perfected Men. They rise up high with the Miraculous Immortals. Their virtue is vast. How could there be anything better than this? Great are the black delicacies of the Lingbao. Long life comes from the arising of the five *qi*. (1/14b) See Plate 13

Similar efficacy is attributed to the *qi* of the other heavens as well. Noteworthy is the phrase describing the efficacy of the *qi* of the eastern heaven which reads, "[those who practice the method] evade the [destruction of] the myriad *kalpas* and begin anew." Recurring here is the theme of eschatology, which as we will see, is a concern which appears in descriptions of other methods in the *Wufu xu*. The adept lives on the nourishment that comes from the heavens, thanks to the excursions of the deities. He thus becomes rejuvenated in an immortal body that can survive the cosmic disasters that occur at regular intervals.

The method for feeding off the *qi* of the Five Heavens is found in a lengthy section (*Wufu xu* 3/13b-23b) concerning a certain *Most High Scripture of the True One*

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[29]吳日 The sun seen looming over the Wu region (roughly, present day Jiangsu Province). *Wu* can also have the meaning of large or great, which might actually be the correct way to translate it here.

[30]The location of this place is uncertain. The "Yugong" chapter of the *Shujing* mentions a Dongling which is believed to have been located either at the vicinity of Gushi County in Henan Province, or at Yueyang County, Hunan Province. Dongling is also the name of a mountain south of Zhangqiu County, Shandong Province. There is also a star by the name of Dongling. My guess is that here, *dong* (east) is the operative word, as Dongling may refers to a location somewhere in the east, rather that the west, where the sun can return to.

[31]This seems to mean that the adept is able to turn time backward so that sun, rather that setting in the west, moves back to the east where it rose from.

太上真一之經. The section starts off with "the names of the various heavens in the August One's Most High Scripture of the True One" 皇人太上真一經諸天名 which are written in a sacred seal script which I cannot decipher. This is followed on p. 16a by a very brief description of how to feed off the Five Heavens:

> The method for picking the green sprouts [is to be practiced] when the rooster cries. After reciting the chant, use your tongue to rub the surface of your upper teeth, lick your lips, rinse your mouth [with saliva] and swallow it three times. After reciting the Vermilion Cinnabar chant, use your tongue to rub the surface of your lower teeth, lick your lips, rinse your mouth [with saliva] and swallow it three times. After reciting the chant of the *wuji* in the center, stick your tongue upwards and use it to stab the *xuanying*[32], lick your lips and swallow it (the saliva) three times. After reciting the Bright Stones chant, use your tongue to rub the surface of your teeth, lick your lips, rinse your mouth [with saliva] and swallow it three times. [After] each swallowing, knock your teeth together 2x7 (fourteen) times. After reciting the Black Delicacies chant, use your tongue to rub beneath the tongue. While holding your breath inside with your nose, swallow it (the saliva) three times. This is called, 'drinking and eating in a self-so manner' [and] 'the Way of Womb-breathing'. For each swallowing, make the Jade Water (saliva) fill the mouth. (See Plate 14)

Thus essentially, the method consists of the recitations of chants which followed by the drinking of saliva, the secretion of which is stimulated by rubbing or stabbing at

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[32]This apparently refers to a spot on the roof of the mouth from which the adept can draw saliva. This term is also found in the *Huangting neijing jing* where it refers to a spot under the tongue (see *Yunji qiqian* 11/20b) as well as in *Huangting waijing jing* where it refers to a place in the middle of the throat (see *Yunji qiqian*12/31b). Neither of these definitions seem applicable here.

different parts of the mouth with the tongue. As can be seen, the names of each of the chants mentioned above (with the exception to that pertaining to the center) correspond to the names given to the *qi* of the heavens of the east, south west and north in the "Immortal's Scripture for Fetching and Imbibing the *Qi* of the Various Heavens of the Five Directions". The method is referred to as "drinking and eating in a self-so manner" perhaps because it is supposed to allow the adept to become completely self-sufficient in his own nourishment. The method is perhaps called the "Way of Womb-breathing" because it involves the holding of breath. While the above passage seems to indicate that the holding of breath takes place only during the swallowing of the northern *qi*, we will be seeing shortly later on that the holding of breath was actually supposed to be carried out throughout the entire process of chanting and swallowing. Perhaps the metaphor of the womb also applies here because the adept is like a baby in the womb who requires no food and drink, but feeds completely of bodily substances. The saliva that the adept drinks is understood to be nourishment endowed from the heavens of the five directions. It is also understood as a divine spring which flows out of the Three Ones of the body (located in the Three Elixir Fields) which together constitute the True One, which can be understood as the Dao which exists within the adept's body. On p. 17a, the text states as follows regarding this spring:

> Always drink from the spring, knocking [together] the jade [pieces] (the teeth?) and doing away with food. [If you do so] you will revert to [having] a youthful visage. The 100 evils will distantly avoid you and you will command and control the throngs of spirits. You will have long life and perpetual vision; your life span extending to hundreds of thousands of thousands of years. Your eyes will become square-shaped with penetrating vision, and your intestines will transform into sinews. (See Plate 15)

Thus we can see that the constant ritual swallowing of the saliva is supposed to transform the adept into an immortal, superhuman being who has no digestive system, since he does not eat food.

Further details of the method are found within a somewhat lengthy narrative about how the Yellow Emperor came to have the method transmitted to him. According to this narrative, the Yellow Emperor "had seen the *Heavenly August One's Scripture of the True One* 天皇真一之經, but did not understand the essential of the perfect *qi* of the Three Ones."[33] Thus he journeyed throughout the empire in search of these secrets, visiting various teachers and acquiring various scriptures. Eventually, at the recommendation of Mister Ning (probably the same person as the Ning Fengzi of LXZ) who lived on Mt. Qingcheng, he went to Mt. Emei [34] to see the August Man 皇人, the only man capable of teaching the most profound of secrets. After arriving there, the Yellow Emperor first had to observe a three month retreat of purification (*qingzhai*)[35] before gaining an audience with the August Man. The August Man is described as being nine *shi* (about 2.16 meters) tall with long black hair growing on his entire body.[36] His dwelling place is a jade palace perched on a tall cliff on the northern side of the mountain where he is attended by throngs of Immortals and Jade Girls.

When the August Man first saw the Yellow Emperor, he refused to transmit the secrets (namely, the "True One Heavenly Text on the Eating of the Five Sprouts" 真一食五芽天文) and told him to leave immediately. But when the Yellow Emperor pleaded earnestly, sobbing and hitting his forehead to the ground, the Three Immortal Kings of Great Purity intervened on his behalf, and reminded the August Man

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[33] 3/17a-b 嘗省天皇真一之經，而不解三一真氣之要

[34] Located in Sichuan Province, this famous mountain is no longer home to any Daoist establishments, but has numerous Buddhist monasteries.

[35] What exactly this would have involved is hard to say, although typically this would refer to a period of time when the adept devotes himself to reverent thoughts and acts of worship while abstaining from things such as sexual activity or the eating of fancy foods, especially those with meat.

[36] The hair on his head, which was two *cun* (about 5 cm) in length, was much shorter than that on the rest of his body, which was over a *shi* (about 24 cm) in length.

about the outstanding virtue of the Yellow Emperor and his ancestors, who at times of famine always shared their resources with people and animals who were in need, even to the extent of going hungry themselves. The August Man was thus finally persuaded to transmit the secrets. First, the August Man explained, "It is simply that the *qi* of the heavens up above come to this one body. If [in] your single body you discern and make clear [this *qi*], you will live a long time."[37] He then went on to say that those who understand this basic principle and can "guard their spirit in order to subdue the various evils" 守神以御衆悪 can become completely self-reliant and can survive and flourish without seeking the help of the gods.

The August Man then drew an analogy between the human body and a nation state, and said that the spirit (one's mind) must be like a sage ruler who loves his subjects (his body's *qi*) and keeps the nation peaceful since, if the people desert him, there is no longer any nation to be ruled. Essentially, the blood and *qi* of the body is to be stabilized and retained by ridding oneself of cravings and desires. If this is done, then the Three Ones can be maintained in the Three Elixir Fields.

The August Man then stated that "those who gargle [in] the flower pond (the mouth) and eat the Five Sprouts unceasingly will become Immortals".[38] He then described the actual method. As we have already seen, at dawn the adept silently recites five short chants directed to each of the five directions. After each chant he stimulates the salivary glands by rubbing various parts of the mouth with his tongue, and then swallows the saliva three times. The five chants go as follows:

> In the east are the green sprouts.
> I eat the green sprouts, 東方青芽服食青芽.飲以朝華.
> And drink from the morning flowers.

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[37] 3/20a 蓋上天之氣歸此一身耳.一身分明.便可長生也.
[38] 3/21a 漱華池食五芽而不休者便成仙.

In the south is the vermilion cinnabar.
I eat the vermilion cinnabar,
And drink from the cinnabar pond.

In the center *wuji*,
Is the magnificent Mt. Tai.
I eat its subtle *qi* ,
And drink from its sweet springs.

In the west are the bright rocks.
I eat the bright rocks,
And drink the miraculous fluid.

In the north are the black delicacies.
I eat the black delicacies,
And drink the jade syrup.[39]

The text then goes on to say, "When finished [with the chanting and swallowing], then since the breath held in with your nose will have come to a limit, gradually release it. If you make [the holding of breaths] surpass five or more [chantings and swallowings (?)] the true way will be completed." Provided that my translation of this statement is accurate, it seems that the adept is supposed to try to hold his breath throughout the entire ritual. The three Immortal Kings then told the Yellow Emperor that they themselves had attained immortality through this method. They then taught him one more chant[40] which is

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[39]3/21a-b.

[40]The chant goes as follows: "Along the steep white rocks I go. The source of the spring gushes from the cavern and brings forth the juice. If you drink it you will live long. Your life span will be extended."

supposed to be recited before swallowing the saliva from the "sweet spring in the center of the mouth" 口中央醴泉 When this chant and swallowing is supposed to be practiced is difficult to tell, but it is perhaps meant to be carried out at any time of the day when the adept feels hungry or as a part of the morning ritual right after the other five chants.[41] They then told the Yellow Emperor:

> Those who eat the Perfect One unceasingly and swallow [the water of] the Flower Pond relentlessly and hold in their breath tirelessly for a long time can acquire the Dao and do away with grains. Before long, it will be accomplished. People of obscure antiquity lived long because while conducting their daily activities they did not eat grains. The *Dayouyin* says[42], 'The five grains are the chisel that gouge the body. They spoil and rot the five viscera and diminish the life span. If this food enters your mouth, there is no hope for long life. If you want to become immortal, you must have no impurities in your intestines. If you want to live long, you must make the *qi* in your viscera immaculate and pure. If you fetch the flowery beverages of the body you will be welcomed into Heaven. If the jade water is in your mouth, you will be of a life span equal to that of the people of Heaven. (3/22a) See Plate 16

(3/21b-22a) 白石巖巖以次行. 源泉涌洞以至漿. 飲之長生壽命益長

[41]The text says that the Immortal Kings told the Yellow Emperor, "You may practice this *jing* 經 (to pass through, to elapse) *mu* 目 (eye). The characters *jing* and *mu* are difficult to interpret, but perhaps *mu* is a mistranscription of *ri* 日 (day). If such is the case, *jing-ri* is perhaps interpretable as "throughout the day". In chapter seven we will see that a later, embellished version of this same method states clearly that this additional chant is to be performed at the end of the regular morning ritual, which could also likely be the case with the earlier version described here.

[42]The exact same passage can be found in the *Sandong zhunang* 3/1b-2a as a quotation from a certain *Dayou jing*.

This concluding speech by the Three Immortal Kings of Great Purity indicates beyond doubt that this saliva swallowing method is intended to serve the purpose of satisfying hunger and substituting for actual food, which is typified by the staple of the earthly diet, grains. Through the method the body can be made pure and worthy of being in the company of the gods and Immortals of Heaven. Nowhere does it state whether the adept is supposed to abruptly stop eating altogether or whether a more gradual approach is to be taken where the adept daily decreases his dietary intake little by little. But as is the case with the *Zhonghuang jing*, the body is seen as imbued with divine substances and forces which can be activated through the control of all desires (especially hunger) and through the purification of the viscera and the bowels through intense fasting.

(b) Eating the Essences of the Sun, Moon and Pole Star

On pp. 18b-26a of the first *juan* in a section entitled "The Way of Eating the Essences of the Sun and the Moon" 食日月精之道, are found three similar methods which involve nourishing oneself with the essences of heavenly bodies. Descriptions of these methods are intermixed among descriptions of various other methods involving visualization and invocation of the gods of the adepts body and of the universe. Among the three methods of "eating the essences", the third one (1/25a-26a) is the most detailed and complete. This method is introduced by a sentence which reads, "To [King] Yu of the Xia 夏 [Dynasty][43] was transmitted 'The Perfected Man of Mt. Zhong's Method of Eating the Sun, Moon and [Pole]star'. He hid it in a mound at [Lake] Dongting[44]." According to the method, the essence of the sun is to be eaten on the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth and

[43]The great Yu, controller of floods and putative compiler of the *Lingbao wufu tianwen*, was also said to have become the first ruler of the Xia Dynasty.

[44]Although this would usually refer to the large lake located in northern Hunan Province, here it seems to refer to the lake Taihu. As will be recalled, the narrative at the beginning of the *Wufu xu* tells us about how King Helu acquired the scripture from Baoshan, an island in Taihu lake.

fifteenth days of each month during the hours between sunrise and high noon. The adept first visualizes the sun inside his heart. Inside the sun is a black canopy 玄蓋, and under the canopy is a small child whose body is red. Red vapor then permeates and encircles the inside and outsides of the adept's body and rises up from his head, ascending up to the sky and wrapping itself around the sun. The adept then addresses the sun with the words, "Lord Sun, the Primal *Yang* , return to my Crimson Palace (heart) and combine your virtue with me. Together [we shall] nurture the small child."[45] He then visualizes the essence of the sun descending down into his nostrils and mouth, and swallows it 27 times. The solar essence fills up his heart where there now reside three people; the Father of the Great One 太一父 on the left, the Mother of Black Radiance 玄光母 on the right and the Baby Child 赤子小童 in the middle. Seated on a couch made of gold and jade, they (or perhaps only the baby) dine on "divine liquor of jade efflorescences and heavenly fungi and herbs" 玉芝神酒并天芝草 . By visualizing this, the adept can enable himself to "never hunger nor thirst, and to have long life" 不飢渴而長生.

The essence of the moon is to be eaten at midnight on the fifteenth (night of the full moon) of each month. The adept faces the moon[46] and chants, "Lord Moon, the Primal *Yin* , return to the Elixir Field and combine your virtue with me. Together [we shall] nurture the small child."[47] He then visualizes the "white vapor and yellow essence of the moon" 月白氣黃精 coming down and entering his nose and mouth, which he swallows 21 times. Thus, "the essence of the moon lodges itself in the kidneys and [the adept] obtains long life."[48]

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[45] 1/25b 曰君元陽.還歸絳宮.與我合德.俱養小童

[46] It would seem logical here, judging from the processes involved in eating the solar essence, for the adept, prior to reciting the chant, to first visualize the *qi* of the kidneys permeating and emanating from his body. An omission may have occurred in the text here. The version of the method of eating lunar essence found on 1/19a-b includes a visualization of white *qi* emerging from the kidneys and permeating the entire body.

[47] 1/25b 月君元陰.還歸丹田.與我合德.俱養小童

[48] 1/26a 月精託腎根長生

The essence of the north pole star is to be eaten at sunrise, noon, sunset and midnight. Whether this is to be done every day or only on certain designated days, it does not say. The adept visualizes the "Great August Star of the Northern Extreme" and chants the words, "Supreme Emperor of August Heaven, Most High Lord of the Dao; [I], your descendant, the insignificant common man so-and-so (adept says his name here) am fond of the Dao and wish to obtain long life." He then visualizes the stellar essence coming down to the space between his eyebrows and then flowing into his nostrils and mouth. He swallows the essence fifteen times. He then visualizes it filling up his heart, gall bladder and spleen. In the spleen he sees the "Mother of the Dao" who is "in charge of feeding and nurturing the baby". Again, the text states that if the adept practices this method, he will never be thirsty or hungry, and will obtain long life.

As was the case with the method of "imbibing the *qi* of the five heavens", there is no specification as to how rapidly the adept is supposed to go about decreasing his dietary intake. But it seems more than likely that these visualizations were conducted during the process of a fast, since it clearly says that they serve the function of eliminating hunger and thirst. Very likely, on the other hand, there were adepts who practiced these visualizations without engaging in rigorous fasting, understanding the notion of "not thirsting or hungering" as a kind of distant ideal to be realized in a future existence in a Daoist heaven, or perhaps understanding it metaphorically as a perpetual satiation of the spirit.

What is most noteworthy about the methods for "eating" solar, lunar and stellar essences is that they present archaic versions of imagery and physiological theories that are found in abundance within the internal alchemy of later times. The *qi* of the heart and kidneys, correlated with sun and the moon, act as the primary agents for nurturing the internal immortal self, which has the image of a baby that is nurtured and raised by its mother and father. In internal alchemy, the visualization and ingestion of the solar and lunar essences along with the incantations are for the most part omitted, but the *qi* of the sun and moon within the body (the heart and kidneys) are frequently conceived and

visualized as joining together at the Lower Elixir Field in a divine marriage to produce the "immortal womb" or "Golden Elixir" .

Finally, it should be pointed out that the entire section (1/18b-26a) of "The Way of Eating the Essences of the Sun and the Moon" expounds the basic religious Daoist concept that the body is a microcosm which has within it everything that is to be found in the macrocosm. Thus on p. 19b, a Lord of the Dao of the Central Yellow is quoted as saying:

> Heaven created the myriad things among which humans are the most noble. The human body holds within it Heaven, Earth, the sun, the moon, the pole star, the *ursa major* constellation, the Five Peaks, the Four Great Rivers[49], mountains, streams, rivers, seas, the God of Wind, the God of Rain, numinous stars, the gods of the land and the crops, unicorns, phoenixes, dragons, tigers, the Black Warrior[50], the five grains, mulberry trees, hemp plants, the six types of livestock, cattle, horses, birds, beasts, fish, tortoises, turtles, crocodiles, bamboo trees, the hundred varieties of grasses; there is nothing to which it does not have its correlate. Also there reigns a Son of Heaven with his three dukes, nine ministers, 27 grand masters and 81 senior servicemen. Also there are established nine regions, 120 commanderies, 1200 districts, 18,000 townships, 36,000 neighborhoods and 180,000 fire signal mounds. Also there are palaces, houses, gateways, wells, hearths, kettles and steamers with rice and millet which the various gods can dine on. If you are a human and can understand this, you can live long. (See Plate 17)

An ascetic's interpretation of this would likely have been that the human body, being a microcosm, ought to be an independent and self reliant entity. The implication would be

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[49]This refers to the Yangzi River, Yellow River, Huai River and Ji River.

[50]The divine beast of the north which is represented by a snake copulating with a tortoise.

that by understanding this and properly utilizing the body's resources, the body could nourish itself without taking in external nourishment.

Appendix to (c): Method for Eating the Essences of the Sun and Moon Found in *Laozi zhongjing*

An alternate method for eating the solar and lunar essences is found in another very early and important Daoist scripture, *Laozi zhongjing* . As was mentioned previously, the eleventh chapter of *Laozi zhongjing* tells us how the Yellow Venerable of the Central Extreme also exists in the spleen as the father and mother of the baby who lives in the passage that goes through the stomach. The text then goes on to describe how to feed the baby the solar and lunar essences:

> Always visualize the sun and moon below your nipples. Inside the sun and moon are yellow essence and red *qi* which enter into the Crimson Palace (heart), and then enter into the Purple Chamber of the Yellow Court. The yellow essence and red *qi* fill up the Great Storehouse (stomach). The baby, seated in the passageway of the stomach and facing directly towards the south, drinks and eats the yellow essence and red *qi* . Thereby he is satiated. The 100 diseases will be eliminated and the 10,000 calamities will not afflict you. If you always visualize this, you will ascend and become a Perfected Man. (*Yunji qiqian* 18/7a-b) See Plate 18

The baby in the stomach, the text tells us, is indeed the adept himself, or what is to be his new, eternal self. In the twelfth chapter the adept is clearly told, "visualize your own body in the passage of the stomach."[51] This internal body is to then be fed with the solar

[51] *Yunji qiqian* 18/7b 常自念己身在胃管中.

and lunar essences and nurtured by its internal father and mother until it grows to the full size of an adult body. The "father and mother" are in the spleen and also bear the identity of the Perfected Man Zhonghuang, Huangchangzi ("the master with the yellow trousers"), the tutor of the baby who is "in charge of the avoidance of grains" 主辟穀 . At the end of the eleventh chapter, the adept is told to recite the following chant:

> Huangchangzi, Huangchangzi, the Perfected Man of the Yellow court is within me. 黃裳子 黃裳子 黃庭真人在於己
> For me, he brings forth the medicine, liquor, pine[seeds], dried meats, rice, millet and meat broths. He instantly brings to me the various things to eat and drink. (*Yunji qiqian* 18/7b) 為我致藥酒松脯粳糧羹臛.諸可飲食者 令立至

After reciting these words, the adept "swallows it" ("it" refers to the "food" brought forth by Huangchangzi, which in reality is saliva and/or air) 14 times, and is satiated."

The essential belief which enables the adept to sustain his fast is the belief that the body needs no foods because it has all its necessary nutrients within it. Apparently, through visualizations such as those of the *Zhonghuang jing*, *Wufu xu* and *Laozi zhongjing* , the adept takes his mind off his excruciating hunger and continuously reminds and convinces himself that amidst the miserable struggle, his internal body of immortality is slowly but surely being brought to maturity by the divine nutrients within his body which is a microcosm, and that he will ultimately some day prevail and savor the delicacies of the divine realm.

(c) Talisman Swallowing

On p. 13a of the third *juan* is found a description of a method in which a talisman called the "*Yang* Talisman of Life of the Great Obscurity of the Nine Heavens" 九天太玄陽生符 is used:

> Lord Lao received this [talisman] from the Elder of the Most High. Write it 老君受之於太上丈人
> in red ink on a piece of white silk five *cun* square. Engage in ritual 丹書白素方五寸 清齋百日
> purifications for 100 days. Then enter the [meditation] chamber and 入室而吞之
> swallow it (the talisman). This will allow you to not die and to live long. If 使人無死延年長在
> defiling *qi* contacts your mouth, the talisman will come out, and you will 濁氣於口即符出而死矣
> die. [The talisman] is also referred to as "The True Token" and "The Writ of the Eight Dragons." 一名真券一名八龍書

The above passage is followed by an empty space of five lines bearing only the words, "original [contents] missing" 原缺, where there undoubtedly would have been an illustration of the talisman. For our own purposes, the important questions concerning the above passage is what austerities are involved in the 100 days of ritual purification, and what "defiling *qi* " refers to. It is likely that this *qi* that absolutely must be avoided is the *qi* of food in general and that the talisman is supposed to serve as a substitute for food. Even if such is not the case, the practicing of this method undoubtedly involved certain dietary restrictions.

The reader may recall from Chapter One that the *Shenxian zhuan* tells us the following about Huang Jing:

> [Huang Jing] concentrated on swallowing air and doing away with grains. He engaged in matters of expelling and retaining. He [practiced] womb

breathing and internal vision. He could summon the six Jade Girls and swallow the *yin* and *yang* talismans. (*Shenxian zhuan* 10/42b)
專行服氣斷穀.爲吐納之事.胎息內視.
召六甲玉女.吞陰陽符.

From this we can see that very early on there existed talisman swallowing methods which were engaged in by fasting adepts.

A detailed description (the date of authorship of which is not known) of what could indeed be the very method employed by Huang Jing is to be found in the *Shenxian shiqi jingui miaolu* (*The Marvelous Record in the Golden Box on the Imbibing of* Qi *of the Divine Immortals*, HY835/TT571, attributed to a certain Mr. Jinghei) in a section entitled, "The Method of Imbibing the *Yin* and *Yang* Talismans and Summoning the Six *Jia* Jade Girls" 服陰陽符召六甲玉女法 . There it is clearly stated that the method is to be performed during the process of "avoiding grains" in the event that the adept has become "worried that his five [visceral?] spirits may wander out of the body and that evil delusions might afflict and agitate him" 慮.五神搖蕩.邪妄忤凌 .(1a) At sunrise, the adept stands facing the east, holding a paper talisman in his left hand and a cup of water in his right hand and recites the words, "[I], so and so am fond of the true Dao and eat the *qi* of Central Harmony. Chengyi, Jade Girl of Great Obscurity of the *jiazi* day[52], serve me and attend me with a lunch box so that wherever I may be, my methods will be [successfully] accomplished, and I will acquire whatever it is I seek. Do not allow me to thirst nor hunger. [Bring enough food so that] an army of any size, or [a crowd of] people of any number can have their hunger satisfied".[53] After reciting these words, the adept swallows the talisman and washes it down with the water. The ritual is continued for sixty days, and every ten days the adept addresses a different Jade Girl. On

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[52]The first day of the sexegenary cycle.

[53]1a-b: 某甲好樂真道.服食中和之炁.甲子太玄王女承翼.給侍某甲.行廚所在.法成.所求當得.無令飢渴.軍無大小.人無多少.皆當得飽.

odd numbered days of the sexegenary cycle[54], the *yang* talisman is eaten. On even numbered days, the *yin* talisman is to be eaten.

Another example of talisman swallowing as a fasting method is to be found in surviving fragments of the *Sanhuang wen* (*Writs of the Three Emperors*)[55]found in the*Wushang biyao* (HY1130/TT768-779).[56] The passage describes how to use a certain "Talisman of the Blue Womb of the Vermilion Official"朱官青胎之符:

> This [talisman] was received by the Father and Mother of the Nine Heavens 是九天父母所受於西王母
> from the Queen Mother of the West. On mornings of long months, 大月旦
> swallow [one of these talismans] written in red. On mornings of short 吞赤書者 小月旦
> months, swallow one written in black. Always burn incense and pay your 吞黑書者
> respects [to the gods] overnight for one night before swallowing it. This 皆宿昔燃香禮然後服之
> allows a person to not hunger. It also replenishes his *jing* and supplements 既令人不飢 又益精補腦
> his brain. It makes the body light and give it a beautiful complexion. It 使人身輕美色
> extends the life span limitlessly. If a Daoist adept does not see this text, his 延年无窮 道士不見此文
> swallowing of *qi* and practice of the Dao will be but futile hardships. 服炁行道徒自苦耳
> (25/7b-8a)

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[54]In other words, days of the "stems" *jia* , *bing* , *wu* , *geng* and *ren* , and the "branches" *zi* , *yin* , *shen* , *wu* , *shen* and *xu* .

[55]According to tradition, the *Sanhuang Wen* was discovered by Bao Jing in the second year of the Yuankang reign era of the Western Jin Dynasty (292 A.D.) engraved onto a wall of a cave on Mt. Song. Bao Jing later transmitted the scripture to Ge Hong. (See *Yunji qiqian* 6/12a) That it was regarded as an important scripture can be seen from a passage in *Baopuzi* which reads, "I have heard Sir Zheng say, 'Among the important Daoist books, none surpass the *Sanhuang wen* and the *Wuyue zhenxing tu* .'" (19/8a) The prominence that the *Sanhuang Wen* once had can also be seen from the fact that the "Dongshenbu", one of the "Three Caverns" into which the Daoist Canon is traditionally organized (ever since the 5th century or even earlier), originally featured the *Sanhuang Wen* and the texts associated with it. (An alternate name for the *Sanhuang Wen* was *Dongshen jing*). What survives today of the *Sanhuang Wen* is to be found mostly in *Wushang biyao* 25 and the *Dongshen badi miaojing jing* (HY640/TT342). See Robinet, pp.12, 26-29. Also Fukui Kojun, *Dookyoo no Kisoteki Kenkyuu* (Tokyo: Shoseki-Bunbutsu Ryutsukai, 1964), pp.170-178 and Ofuchi Ninji, *Dookyooshi no Kenkyuu* (Okayama: Okayama Daigaku Kyoseikai Shosekibu, 1964), pp.277-344.

[56]This encyclopedia was compiled under the orders of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou Dynasty (r.561-578).

Evidently, the talisman was to be used by a practitioner who engaged in fasting sustained by the swallowing of air. The talisman probably helped to stave off hunger partly because it was a solid object that would lodge in the stomach and ease the pangs of hunger. But probably more instrumental was the psychosomatic effect attained when the adept truly believed in the power of the talisman. In effect, the talismans served as placebos which induced the psyche of the adept to subdue his hunger.

Based on this evidence from the *Sanhuang wen* , as well as that from *Shenxian shiqi jingui miaolu* , it seems reasonable to think that the *Wufu xu*'s "*Yang* Talisman of Life of the Great Obscurity of the Nine Heavens" was also utilized for this same effect.

2. Ingestion Fasting Methods

The second *juan* of the *Wufu xu* is devoted to various recipes, a significant number of which are intended to provide substitutes for ordinary food so that the adept can gradually decrease his intake of food. It can be said that methods such as those of the *Zhonghuang jing*, *Tuna jing* and *Daoji tuna jing* represent the most abrupt and intense approach to the "avoidance of grains", while the recipes of the *Wufu xu* represent a more gradual and moderate approach to the endeavor. The adept, while trying to eat as little as possible, regularly ingests small quantities of substances deemed as beneficial or relatively harmless in order to alleviate his hunger and sustain the fast.

(a) "The Lingbao Method of the Three Heavens" 靈寶三天方 (2/2b-4a)

The authorship of this recipe is attributed to Yue Zichang. Included in the recipe are:

Five parts *jusheng* (sesame seed)

Four parts *weixi* (the *pachyma cocos* false tuber, better known as *fuling*)

One part *shujiao* (the variety of pepper native to Sichuan)

Three parts dried ginger

Three parts *changpu* (the *acorus gramineus* plant)

These same five ingredients are described in another section (2/1b-2a) as the "Five Miraculous Plants (*zhi*) of the Lingbao", and seem to represent a pharmaceutical correlate to other sets of five emphasized in the *Wufu xu* such as the Five Heavens or the Five Talismans. There the efficacy of each of the substances is described, in the form of quotes out of the mouth of Laojun. Each one of these substances on its own is supposed to have the ability to replenish the vitality of the body and extend the life span. This efficacy is essentially ascribed to the qualities of durability and longevity as well as ancientness that the plants are traditionally attributed with. For example, the *fuling* plant is said to be formed from the sap of pine trees which seeps into the ground and then solidifies and transforms in there. Pine trees are a well known symbol for durability and longevity due to the fact that their leaves remain green throughout the entire year. The text also tells us that *shujiao* "was created together with Heaven and Earth" and that ginger "is firm and unwavering amidst the obscurity of the mountains" and has "existed perpetually, together with the world".

To return to the recipe of the "Lingbao Method of the Three Heavens", the five ingredients are to be pounded 10,000 strokes each into a very fine grains. For some reason, perhaps so that the ingredients will become charged with youthful energy, the pounding must be done by a young boy. The ingredients are then each placed in red cups and set on top of a red table outdoors overnight. Perhaps we can surmise that by doing this, the ingredients were thought to absorb astral essences. In the morning the ingredients are to be mixed together along with some honey, pounded 30,000 more times and then made into pills the size of dryandra seeds (seeds of the *sterculia platanifolia* tree).

Twice a day, at sunrise and sunset, the adept is to take three of the pills while facing the sun and then proclaim his wish for obtaining long life. During the period when he is

daily taking the pills, he is forbidden to eat pork, raw fish and leeks, and must not let himself see dead bodies, dogs, pigs and "the impurities from childbirth"產污. From this we can see that this is not a total fast, since the adept is presumably allowed to eat the things which are not prohibited. However, the text then goes into great detail concerning the good effects that gradually manifest themselves over the span of six years at junctures of sixty days, and some of these effects seem to suggest that the adept is indeed limiting his dietary intake and is ideally supposed to become completely independent of food as well as other mundane necessities and comforts. For example, during the first year the adept's body becomes light, his belly becomes peaceful and controlled, and his five viscera become "full".(2/3b) During the fourteenth year, the adept gets to the point where he "does not know of thirst and hunger" 不知飢渴 , his "five viscera are inexhaustible" 五藏不竭 , and he "can [withstand] coldness and [withstand] heat"能寒能熱. Also interesting is that during the third year, he gets to have the gods of the Six *Jia* [57] "under his command" and at the end of six years he becomes an Immortal who has the "lunchboxes by his side"行廚在邊 . The implication seems to be that the adept, while taking the pills, is perhaps practicing a method of summoning the Six *Jia* Jade Girls by swallowing the "*Yin* and *Yang* Talismans" such as that practiced by Huang Jing and described in ***Shenxian shiqi jingui miaolu*** .

It seems plausible to take the allusions to the "gods of the Six *Jia* " and the "lunchboxes" found in the ***Wufu xu*** to be evidence that practitioners of the "Lingbao Method of the Three Heavens" were simultaneously fasting and practicing such a method of swallowing talismans and summoning Jade Girls while taking the pills. Undoubtedly, during a long fast, the adept would have many long and hungry hours upon his hands, during which he would feel the need to resort to various means to upkeep his morale and

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[57] *Jia* is the first of the ten *gan* or "stems". The "six *jia* " refers to the days of the sexegenary cycle which bear the name of the stem *jia* , which come at intervals of ten days.

take his mind off his misery. It indeed seems natural that during their fasts, ascetic Daoists would regularly practice a wide variety of methods and rituals.

It is relevant to mention that the theme of Jade Girls appearing before the fasting adept can also be found in the *Huangting neijing jing* (*The Scripture on the Inner Scenery of the Yellow Court*, HY331/TT167) and the *Huangting waijing jing* (*The Scripture on the Outer Scenery of the Yellow Court*, HY332/TT167)[58], although the Jade Girls are those of the Six *Ding* rather than the Six *Jia* :

> At times concentrate on the Great Storehouse (stomach), and you will neither hunger nor thirst.
> Control and command the Six *Ding* Jade Girls who will come to your service. (*Huangting waijing jing*)[59]

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[58]The two *Huangting* scriptures, the *Neijing jing* and the *Waijing jing*, are two texts closely interrelated which are two of the earliest and most influential among extant Daoist texts. A scripture called the *Huangting jing*, which more than likely is either the *Neijing jing* or the *Waijing jing*, or an earlier version upon which both are based upon, is listed in the inventory of Ge Hong's library in the nineteenth chapter of the *Baopuzi neipian*. The *Waijing jing* definitely existed by the year 356 or 357, since this is when the famous calligrapher Wang Xizhi made a handwritten copy of the text. The much contested issue is whether the lengthier *Neijing jing* predates or postdates the *Waijing jing*. The *Neijing jing* may be a later version which elaborates upon the *Waijing jing*. On the other hand, the *Waijing jing* may be the later text, and a summary of the *Neijing jing*. Isabelle Robinet has speculated that, whichever the case may have been, both the *Neijing jing* and *Waijing jing* were in circulation prior to writing of the Shangqing texts, and came to be adopted and utilized by proponents of the Shangqing movement, who also added certain elements to the texts. She has noted that in certain details pertaining to descriptions of particularly bodily deities, the *Huangting* scriptures contradict descriptions in Shangqing scriptures, indicating that they are of an origin outside of the Shangqing movement. See Isabelle Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme*, vol. 2 (1984) pp.253-257 and *Taoist Meditation* (trans. by Julian Pas and Norman Girardot 1993. French original, *La meditation taoiste* published in 1979). Mugitani Kunio argues strongly in favor of the view that the *Neijing jing* is a later elaboration upon the *Waijing jing*, and speculates that it was written in its complete form during the late fourth century or early fifth century by early proponents of the Shangqing movements. His main argument is that the *Waijing jing*, while matching with the *Neijing jing* in its wording and the themes it presents, lacks portions that correspond to certain parts of the *Waijing jing*. Most importantly, there is no portion corresponding to the *Neijing jing*'s detailed descriptions of the resident gods of the head, five viscera and gall bladder (their names, palaces, functions) found in its seventh through fifteenth sections. If the *Waijing jing* is a summary of the *Neijing jing*, it is odd, according to Mugitani, that it would fail to summarize such a vital portion of the text. While this is a formidable argument, I believe that one should still consider the possibility that the *Waijing jing* excludes the detailed descriptions of the bodily deities because of its "outer" (*wai*), i.e. exoteric nature, due to which it deletes some of the vital details of the esoteric "inner" (*nei*) scripture geared towards more advanced adepts. See Mugitani Kunio "*Kootei naikei kyoo* shiron" in *Toyo Bunka* no. 62 (1982) pp. 29-59.

[59]1/2a: 時思太倉不飢渴.役使六丁玉女侍

> If you visualize and rinse [your mouth] with the five sprouts, you will neither hunger nor thirst.
>
> The Divine Flower will hold your turban and the Six *Ding* will be at your service.[60] (*Huangting neijing jing*)[61]

In these above cases, the Jade Girls come to the assistance of the adept who sustains a fast by means of internal visualization and saliva swallowing, rather than pills or talismans. The "five sprouts" more than likely refer to the *qi* of the five viscera and the heavens of the five directions as it does in the *Zhonghuang jing*. It is also relevant to point out here that the "Immortal's Scripture for Fetching and Imbibing the Breaths of the Various Heavens of the Five Directions" (*Wufu xu* 1/11b-14b) mentions five Jade Girls who reside in each of the five heavens and that the names of two of them are the same as or similar to those mentioned in the *Shenxian shiqi jingui miaolu*.[62] Aside from suppressing hunger, methods which enlist the service of Jade Girls also seem to have served to sublimate sexual desires. Sexual activity was quite often if not usually forbidden for those who carried out the fasts. The overcoming of desires in general was regarded as a prerequisite for being able to attempt intense fasting, and sexual desire was indeed foremost among the desires that had to be subdued. This fact is well summed up in a phrase from the introduction of the *Zhonghuang jing* which reads, "First get rid of your desires in order to nurture your *jing* , and then forbid yourself from eating in order to preserve your life." (1a) 先除慾以養精.後禁食以存命

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[60]Commentator Liangqiuzi utilizes quotes from chapter eleven of *Laozi Zhongjing* (referring to the scripture by its alternate title, *Yuli jing*) to say that the "Divine Flower" 神華 refers to the Great *Yin* Jade Girl of Black Radiance, the Mother of the Dao" 太陰玄光玉女道之母 who lives in the spleen. He also says that the "Six *Ding* are the Jade Girls who are the yin gods of the Six *Ding* ." (*Yunji qiqian* 11/53a)

[61]8a: 存漱五牙不饑渴.神華執巾六丁謁

[62]Both scriptures include a "Jade Girl of the Blue Hips" 青腰玉女 . The *Wufu xu* mentions a Most High Plain Girl 太上素女 living in the western heaven, while *Shenxian Shiqi Jingui Miaolu* mentions a Great Plain Jade Girl 太素玉女 .

Jing in this case probably refers to the seminal fluid that is retained when one overcomes one's desires which in this case seem to refer to those pertaining to sex. A surviving passage from *Sanhuang wen* (Writ of the Three Emperors) includes the following extremely significant passage:

> If you want to ascend as an Immortal, you must abstain completely from the
> 欲求昇仙 皆當絶陰陽
> *yin* and *yang* (sexual intercourse). You will thereby be able to see Jade
> 乃可求見玉女
> Girls. Those unable to seek ascension as an Immortal and are unable to
> 不能求昇仙不絶陰陽者
> abstain from the *yin* and *yang* can only beckon Plain Girls.[63]
> 但可召致素女

In other words, these "Jade Girls" who come to the fasting ascetic so that he will no longer hunger nor thirst, are also the elegant attendants of the those who have risen above vulgar sexual passion. Much in the same way that the lunch boxes that they bring console the hungry adept, the feminine and divine beauty of the Jade Girls themselves are a consolation for the sexual satisfaction that the adept has sacrificed in his quest for higher goals.

(b) Recipes with Sesame Seeds

On pp. 4a-6b in the*Wufu xu*'s second *juan* are found seven different recipes in which the main ingredient is sesame seeds. The text states that these recipes were transmitted to Yue Zichang by the Immortal of Huolin at the northern face of Mt. Lao. Among these recipes, three are specifically described as methods of "avoidance of grains". Each of these three is discussed below.

*"The Perfected Man's Method for Abstaining Completely from Grains"

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[63] *Wushang biyao* 25/1b

> Take two *dou* (about 4 liters) of sesame seeds and five *sheng* (about 1 liter) of fagara (Chinese pepper, *zanthoxylum planispinum*). First remove the black skins (of the sesame seeds?) and then pound the two ingredients together and sift. At first eat five *ge* (about 100 grams) [of the mixture] three times a day. If you have no water (to drink with it), you can use honey to [mix into the powder to] make pills. Take one pill the size of a chicken egg four times per day. Naturally, you will not hunger. During years of famine you can eat this medicine by itself and thereby abstain completely from grains. If thirsty, drink only water. Do not eat anything else. If you eat anything else you will become hungry. [This medicine] gives you 100 times your normal energy. Coldness and heat will no longer afflict you. [The medicine] can cure the 100 diseases. Divine Immortal-hood will naturally be brought about.[64][65]

This passage is very interesting for a couple of reasons. First, it provides evidence as to the true meaning of "avoiding grains", which is to eat little or no food at all, rather than to merely not eat grains. This method for "avoiding grains" is designed to enable the adept to survive while eating nothing else but the prescribed recipe and drinking only water. Also, this passage shows us another motive for trying to become unreliant on food, namely the harsh reality of famines and poverty which deprive everybody of all kinds of food, among which the most basic in Chinese agrarian society is grains. The Perfected Man alluded to in the title of the recipe is somebody who is immortal because his body can survive at times of crisis in the world when adequate nourishment is nowhere to be had. This concern seems to reflect a populist and eschatological attitude of the author. Famine

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[64]The final sentence here could perhaps be translated as, "Divine Immortals will naturally be made to come [before your presence]".

[65]2/5b-6a See Plate 19

and starvation were undoubtedly vivid realities and concerns, the awareness of which was heightened by the belief that the world regularly and inevitably undergoes periods of widespread strife and universal calamity at the expiration of each cosmic era or *kalpa* .

*"The Perfected Man's Method of Abstaining Completely from Grains and Ingesting Sesame"

> Take one *hu* (about 20 liters) of sesame seeds and steam it, allowing the heat to permeate thoroughly. Then dry it in the sun for a whole day. Steam nine times and dry nine times over a span of nine days. When this has been done, pound, sift and mix with honey. Ingest one piece the size of a chicken egg three times a day. After a long while you will begin to eat less [food]. Ingest it for 100 days and and the 100 diseases will be cured naturally. Washing water will no longer adhere to your body (your body becomes water-repellent?). Ingest this for one year, and the Jade Girls will attend and protect you. If you are in a hurry to employ the method, you can steam and dry the sesame seeds three times per day for three days. If you have steamed and dried [the seeds] nine times, you can use them. If the sky is overcast, you must [wait for] the sun to come out. When using one *hu* (of sesame seeds), if you add three *jin* (about 670 grams) of *fuling*, and pound it and mix it with honey and ingest it in the same way as above, the effects will be brought about sooner. The medicine can supplement your *jing* and bone marrow. Gradually you will get to not hunger. If thirsty, drink water.[66]

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[66] 2/6a-b See Plate 20

Noteworthy here is the appearance of the theme of Jade Girls coming to the assistance of the adept after he has sustained his practice for a sufficient duration of time. The implication seems to be that after one year of taking the medicine, the adept is able to eat the divine food brought by the Jade Girls.[67] Also, a connection seems to be drawn here between hunger and the amount of *jing* (which probably refers specifically to semen) and bone marrow that one has. Typically, in Daoist theories of physiology, it was thought that *jing* , if abundant, would strengthen the bones of the entire body by becoming bone marrow. This is why methods of sexual alchemy as well as those of internal alchemy were often designed so that the adept could retain his semen and send it through his spinal column into his brain where it could transform into marrow and then go down and replenish the entire body's skeletal system. *Jing* was understood to be the body's own form of nutrition that it is naturally endowed with. That the word *jing* has the meaning of a substance that gives vitality, in other words a nutrient can be seen from the fact that it is often employed to refer to the "essences" or nutrients in foods. In other words *jing* , which is manifested in its most concentrated form as semen, was regarded as the body's own food, and a depletion of it was thus thought to directly lead to hunger and malnutrition. Thus the capacity of this medicine to supplement the *jing* and bone marrow is directly related to its capacity to prevent hunger. Also vaguely implied here seems to be that the adept would also practice celibacy in order to retain his *jing* . The appearance of Jade Girls, based on the information we have from the *Sanhuang wen* (see p. 170) indeed suggests that those who took this medicine were practicing celibacy and sublimating their repressed sexual desires.

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[67]In the second *juan* , on pp. 24b-25a is found "Yue Zichang's Recipe for Concocting Sesame Seed Oil" 樂子長鍊胡麻雷方 which is also supposed to allow the adept to see Jade Girls. The adept boils two *dou* of sesame seed oil with one *dou* of water and two *sheng* each of *xunlu* incense and *shen* incense until the water completely evaporates. The adept takes five *ge* of the potion (about one liter) every day together with liquor. After 100 days, "Jade Girls will attend him", and after 500 days, "Divine Immortals will come to meet him and take him with them". Although the text does not state that this potion is used for facilitating a fast, the fact that the adept takes a very large amount per day as well as the recurring theme of Jade Girls perhaps indicates that the adept was expected to use the potion as a substitute for food.

*"The Perfected Man's Method of Avoiding Grains and Not Eating by Decreasing the Food Portions"

> [Ingredients]: One *dou* and two *sheng* (about 2.4 liters) of sesame seeds. Use those (seeds) that are of a pure black color.
> 24 *liang* (about 336 grams) of *fuling* .
> Eight *liang* (about 112 grams) of water plantain (*zexie*, *alisma plantago-aquatica*) plant.
>
> Prepare the three ingredients with 10,000 strokes of the pestel. Ingest with water one pill the size of a pellet three times per day. If you encounter food it does not matter whether you eat or do not eat. You may eat the 100 things. There are no prohibitions.[68]

The above recipe, as indicated by its title, is supposed to enable the adept to go without food. However, it is also clearly stated that an adept who ingests this medicine is by no means forbidden to eat ordinary food. Unlike what is the case with some methods (such as those of the *Zhonghuang jing* or the "Perfected Man's Method for Abstaining Completely from Grains"), eating food is not thought to ruin the efficacy of the method. In other words, for the author of this recipe, the object was not to purge the body of the corruptive *qi* of foods, but rather to enable the adept to be able to go without food when external circumstances necessitated that he do so. In the background here seems again to be the *Wufu xu*'s recurring eschatological concern with famines and cosmic disasters.

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[68] 2/6b See Plate 21

(c) Methods Employing the Poke Root (*zhanglu*)

On pp. 10b-11a of the second *juan* are two recipes employing the poke root or *zhanglu* (*phytolacca acinosa*) plant, a toxic[69] plant which was commonly used as a diuretic. On p. 10b, the text states as follows:

> The roots of the poke root plant have a sour taste and are poisonous. [Poke root] can control the evil *qi* in the chest. You can apply [*zhanglu*] to boils and welts and use it to slay demons. [You can use it to] refine the five viscera and dispose of the watery *qi* (this probably means that it can be used as a diuretic). Those which are shaped like the human body have divine qualities (great efficacy). 章陸根.味酸有毒.主胸中邪氣.逐拆腫殺精物.練五藏散水氣.根如人形者有神

Thus the *Wufu xu* also acknowledges its toxicity and its diuretic quality, while at the same time ascribing to it a certain "divine" quality that gives it the capacity to subjugate and fight off evil forces which threaten the body. On p. 11a is found the following recipe:

> Add one *dou* (about 2 liters) of *tianmendong*(*asparagus cochinchinensis*) powder to ten *jin* (about 2 kilograms) of yeast and 3 *dou* (about 6 liters)of rice. Let the *zhanglu* [roots(?)] sit [in them] for six days. Thereupon begin to eat them while observing ritual prohibitions. In five days your food intake will start to decrease. After 20 days, grains will be eliminated and your intestines will be so fat that they can only hold air. The various worms (such as the infamous Three Worms or Corpses) will all leave. Your ears and eyes will hear and see clearly. All of your moles and scars will

[69]The poison it contains is phytolacctoxin (C24H3008)

> disappear. When the moon rests in the *yugui* constellation and when the day is at the *ding* hour (2 a.m.), gather the *zhanglu* plant. Eat a piece the size of a jujube three times per day. Daoist adepts always grow this plant in a garden by their meditation chambers. It allows a person to communicate with the gods.
>
> (See Plate 22)

The poke root's toxicity apparently took quite a rapid and radical effect on the adept's body. Apparently it was able to cause the adept to eat less because its poison would cause swelling in the intestines that would make him unable to eat much of anything, likely because of the pain that would result if solid substances tried to make their way through. The statement that the intestines "only hold air" is suggestive that adepts who ingested the poke root would try to sustain themselves through methods of air-swallowing. The capacity of the poke root to cause the adept to "communicate with the gods" perhaps owes also to its toxicity, which perhaps induced hallucination. Another recipe[70] employing the poke root is supposed to make the adept "see demons" after ten days. After 60 days he becomes able to "make the demons fetch gold, silver and other treasures with which to build his dwelling according to whatever he desires" 使鬼取金銀寶物作屋舍隨意所欲. After 80 days he can see things at a distance of 1000 *li*. After 100 days, the adept gets to the point where "he is able to fly" 身能飛行 and his "intesines transform into sinews" 腸化爲筋. (2/11b)

So again, the "divine" quality or the poison of the poke root is employed to subdue and take control of malignant forces inside and outside the body and to incapacitate the normal functioning of the digestive system.

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[70] 2/11a-b. In this recipe, the poke roots are boiled rather than pickled. The adept is to eat one piece the size of a dryandra seed per day.

Later on in the text is found a recipe employing the poke root plant[71] which is designed specifically for the purpose of killing the Three Worms. The recipe goes as follows:

> Use ten *jin* (about 2.23 kilograms) of *fuling* and five *jin* (about 1.1 kg) of *zhanglu* root. Remove the outer skin and take only the lower, white portion. Cook and ferment together with five *dou* (about 10 liters) each of clear liquor, wheat flour and yeast. Place in a pot and seal. In 20 days, the medicine will be ready. 用茯苓十斤.章陸根削去上皮 但取下白者五斤.清酒麥麴.各五斗.并次酒釀之. 置瓮中.封之.二十日藥成.

The adept mixes the medicine with soy bean powder to form pills the size of large crossbow pellets. If he takes three pills daily, the Three Worms are supposed to come out with his stool in a decomposed form. The Lower Corpse comes out after 30 days, the Middle Corpse comes out after 60 days, and the Upper Corpse comes out after 100 days. The Upper Corpse is shaped like a hand and is black. The Middle Corpse is shaped like a foot and is blue. The Lower Corpse is shaped like an egg and is white. The text goes on to describe how the worms regularly go about doing their evil deeds and how they must be expelled before any kind of method of immortality can be effective. Once they are expelled, the adept "never again feels hungry or thirsty, and his heart is still and free of thoughts" 不復飢渴.心靜無念. .(2/24b) It also says that *zhanglu* can be made into a powder and taken by itself to bring about the same results that are described above. Berries of the pagoda tree (*huai, sophora japonica*) can also be eaten to serve this purpose. However, the text tells us that the quickest way of expelling the worms is through the swallowing of air:

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[71] 2/23b-24b. "The Immortal's Method for Expelling the Three Worms and Subduing the Corpses". 仙人下三蟲伏尸方

> Those who are able to adeptly imbibe *qi* need not use these recipes. Furthermore, perfect *qi* is the green sprouts which are the essences of the five directions. If a Daoist adept imbibes it, the Three Worms will run out in 21 days.[72] 能服氣者.不用此術.又真氣是青牙五方之精.道士服之二十一日.三蟲走出矣.

Presumably, the reason for why a practitioner would not want to expel the Three Worms by means of air-swallowing, which is the quickest method, is because it requires complete fasting right from the start and thus is the most strenuous. Therefore the alternative is offered of expelling the Three Worms and gradually overcoming hunger through the use of medicinal substances.

On p. 28b is a method for brewing a "poke root liquor". To brew the liquor, ten *jin* (about 2 kg) of poke root is set in a container together with 3 *dou* (about 6 liters) of glutinous rice, ten *jin* of wheat yeast and one *dou* (about 2 liters) of *tianmendong* and is made to ferment. The adept is free to drink as much of the liquor he wants whenever he wants. The texts tells us that "if you drink it for a long time you can abstain completely from grains" 久服断穀, and that it "causes the inside of the belly to be fat" 令人腹中肥, perhaps again meaning that the poison causes swelling in the intestines. It also says that the liquor can expel the Three Worms and exterminate the "hidden corpses" (which perhaps refers to the Three Worms themselves or to other malevolent creatures that conceal themselves inside the body).

(d) Methods Employing the Deer Bamboo (*huangjing*)

Pages 18a-23b of the second *juan* deal entirely with deer bamboo (*polygonatum sibiricum*) or *huangjing*, which means "yellow essence". The *Wufu xu* states that this herb

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[72] 2/24b

is actually the "essence of the sun" which congeals up in the "nine heavens" and then drifts about and disperses itself among the mountains where, nourished by the clouds and rain, it transforms and grows into the form of an herb. It could perhaps thus be said that the ingestion of deer bamboo is a medicinal equivalent to the various aforementioned visualization methods of imbibing astral essences. The reader may recall that in such methods found in the *Wufu xu* and in the *Laozi zhongjing*, the adept is said to imbibe "yellow essence", although in this case the "yellow essence" seems to come from the moon rather than the sun (which emits "red *qi* ").

The text tells us that deer bamboo grows on the slopes of the Taihang mountain range[73], which is perhaps a hint as to the general region where seekers of immortality began to experiment with the herb. Deer bamboo is described as having a yellow color and a sweet flavor. The text goes to great lengths (and certainly exaggerates) in describing the effects of deer bamboo which is "the place where the Central Yellow resides and the accumulated *yang* gathers" 中黃之所處積陽之所宗. The "Central Yellow" probably refers to the cosmic and bodily deity (and putative author of the *Zhonghuang jing*) Zhongji Huanglao , also known as Huangchangzi, the Perfected Man of the Central Yellow who, according to *Laozi zhongjing* , is the tutor of the "baby in the stomach's passage" 赤子 and is "in charge of the avoidance of grains" 主辟穀. The notion that this deity resides in deer bamboo seems to be an allusion to the capacity of it to "make people withstand hunger" 令人耐飢 . Ultimately, deer bamboo is supposed to be able to transform living things into their more exalted forms:

> If a snake eats it, it will transform into a dragon. If a bird eats it, it will transform into a phoenix. If a man eats it, he will become a King of the Immortals.[74] 蛇食之化爲龍. 鳥食之化爲鳳凰 人食之爲仙王.

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[73]This large mountain range spans across parts of the provinces of Henan, Hebei and Shanxi.
[74]2/18b

The salubrious and transformative effects of deer bamboo can be sought at two levels of intensity which can be understood as two different degrees of asceticism; one which brings about good health and long life, and the other which brings about the transformation into an immortal being:

> If a man can abandon glory and elegance and cultivate and maintain purity and stillness, and always in a non-active manner pursue the various subtleties and wonders, and ingest this herb unceasingly throughout the four seasons, he can extend his life span. If he is able to abandon the secular world and live in solitude in a famous mountain and ingest this herb, he can look face to face with Heaven and Earth. The divine throngs will gather [around him] and Taiyi will come to meet him. He will ascend above to the heavenly bureau and will wander below to Mt. Kunlun. He will be able to be everlasting together with Heaven and Earth.[75]

Deer bamboo can be eaten in small quantities or can be eaten in large quantities so as to serve as a substitute for food. A passage on p. 20a states, "If you eat large quantities you can abstain from grains and if you eat small quantities your spirit will be at peace."[76] The herb can be prepared and eaten in various ways. Its roots can be steamed, dried and then made into a powder of which a spoonful per day is to be taken. Its berries can be soaked in drinking water to make juice. The roots can be boiled and mixed with soybean powder and made into small cakes. The adept can also drink the water that the roots have been boiled in. The stem and the leaves can be mixed into porridge and eaten. The following recipe can be used for making deer bamboo pills:

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[75] 2/19a See Plate 23

[76] 多服絶穀.少服神安

> During the second and eighth months take the roots and shave off the fuzz. Wash thoroughly and cut into fine pieces. Boil one *hu* (about 20 liters) [of the deer bamboo pieces] in six *dou* (about 12 liters) of water, using a fire of moderate strength from morning until evening. When the medicine has cooked thoroughly, remove it [from the fire] and cool it. Press it and crush it with your hands. Strain out the fluid with a wine press so that pills can be made. Remove the impurities and dry it out so that it becomes a powder. Keep it in a kettle. If you [use the powder] to make pills (perhaps by mixing with honey?) the size of a chicken egg and eat three per day, you can avoid grains and stop eating. You will feel neither coldness nor heat and your going about will be swift as a galloping horse. If a person is able to abstain from [the activities of] the bedroom (sexual intercourse), he will not age, his life span will have no limit and he will become an Immortal. If he does not abstain from the activities of the bedroom, the longest he can live is 200 years.[77]

Deer bamboo was thus thought to bring about maximum efficacy when the adept fasted and practiced celibacy. Even though deer bamboo was thought to be effective even when one did not resort to extreme austerities, the adept who sought the maximum effect and the highest ideals had to live a thoroughgoing ascetic life of solitude, fasting and celibacy. On the other hand, the herb could be rendered completely ineffective if one's lifestyle was blatantly contrary to such standards. On pp. 22a-b, the text tells about how Sun Quan (182-252 A.D.), king of the Wu Kingdom of the Three Kingdoms Period ate deer bamboo but did not benefit at all from it because he "did not abstain from [the activities

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[77] 2/21a-b See Plate 24

of] the bedroom and did various uncalm things". "Uncalm things" probably refers to Sun Quan's warfare and/or the extravagance of his lifestyle.

On pp.14a-b is found the following method called "The Method of Entering the Mountains and Never Eating for the Rest of Your Life" which includes *huangjing* as one of its ingredients:

> Use 10 parts soy beans, 3 parts *weirui* (this is another name for deer bamboo)[78], one part water plantain, one part *feiying*("flying flowers")[79], and one half part *gaoben* tree (*ligusticum sinense*) leaves. Pound and sift the five ingredients and mix with sap from the jujube tree. Make pills the size of plum seeds. Take three pills and eat 21 jujubes per day. You will be able to go without eating for the rest of your life. If you have no jujubes, always drink from the spring of jade juice (swallow saliva).[80]

Here, "not eating" actually means to eat extremely small quantities of the prescribed substances only. As the title suggests the recipe is a lifelong dietary regimen which enables one to subsist on very small quantities while training in the mountains.

Essentially, deer bamboo was supposed to serve as survival food which could enable one to survive under austere circumstances, self-imposed or otherwise. The text tells us that when one takes deer bamboo,"he needs not to avoid tigers and wolves nor to fear military upheaval". Why this is so, the text does not say. It also states that "when you go about in the mountains you can [pick it and] eat it raw to your mouth's satisfaction, and drink [only] water when thirsty". We are also told that deer bamboo is sometimes referred to as "food for alleviating the plight of the poor". This is because "in a year

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[78]On p. 2/20b there are listed eight different alternate names of deer bamboo; *majian* , *mianzhu* , *weirui*, *keju*, *yangkuo*, *xianren yuliang* (the leftover food of the Immortals), *gouge* and *chuizhu* .

[79]I have so far been unable to identify what this is.

[80]2/14a-b See Plate 25

of famine it can be given to old people and children who can eat it while not eating grains".[81] 凶年可與老小休粮而食之

Thus what again becomes evident here is the concern with the realities of social agony caused by famine and war, which is probably further enhanced by eschatological beliefs. deer bamboo thus serves the needs of the mountain-dwelling Daoist who imposes austerities upon himself, as well as one who lives within human society, and must survive amidst the strife which inevitably occurs there.

The text clearly tells us on p. 20b that deer bamboo (unlike poke root) is not toxic, and on p. 19a bemoans the way in which people refuse to ingest it, confusing it with the very similar looking *goumian* (*gelsemium elegans*) plant (also known as *yege* or "field hemp") which was known to be so poisonous that it could kill a person who ate it on the spot. Thus there may also been an element of faith and risk involved in the eating of deer bamboo. Although deer bamboo, like poke root, is supposed to enable one to have contact with the gods and expurgate evil forces in the body, this is apparently due not to any kind of toxic or hallucinogenic quality.

(e) Two "Four Ingredient" 四物 Recipes for Medicines that Facilitate Fasts

On pp. 14b-15a are two recipes entitled respectively, "Huang Qing's Four Ingredient Immortality Method Received by the Yellow Emperor" 黃帝受黃輕四物仙方 and "The Perfected Man's Four Ingredient Powder for Doing Away with Grains" 真人四物却穀散 Both recipes seem to be intended to enable the adept to fast. The former claims to allow the adept to "neither hunger nor thirst" 不飢渴 , and the latter says in its title that it is a "powder for the avoidance of grains". Therefore, they are translated below:

*Huangqing's Four Ingredient Immortality Method Received by the Yellow Emperor

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[81] 2/22a

This recipe is presented in the form of a dialog between a certain holy man named Huang Qing and his disciple, the Yellow Emperor. Huang Qing tells the Yellow Emperor that if he ingests pill made out of the four ingredients "Vast Radiance" 鴻光 , "1000 Autumns" 千秋 , "10,000 Years" 萬歲 and "Merciful Ink" 慈墨 for seven years, he will live forever. When asked to give a clearer description of these ingredients, Huangqing says:

> "Vast Radiance" is mica (*yunmu*). "1000 Autumns" is selaginella (*juanbai, selaginella tamariscina*). This grows among the rock of the mountain. "10,000 Years" is water plantain. "Merciful Ink" is *xian* (*artemesia* or *chernopodium*) seed. Make them into pills the size of chicken eggs, using pine resin. Take one pill each in the morning and the evening. This makes a person live long and neither hunger nor thirst.[82]

*"The Perfected Man's Four Ingredient Powder for Abstaining from Grains"

> Use 3 part ground *fuling* , 1 part dried ground *dihuang* (*rehmannia glutinosa*), 1 part ground sesame seed and 1 part ground *tianmendong* . Fry the sesame seeds over a fire. Mix the four ingredients together with honey. Take a spoonful of this delicious potion daily together with water or liquor. After 30 days, you will feel a difference in your amount of vigor. After 100 days [you will have] twice as much [vigor]. After one year, the form of your *qi* will be like clouds. In your dreams you will wander about

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[82] 2/14b-15a See Plate 26

with the gods. After three years your bones will rise and your flesh will fly.[83]

(f) Fasting Methods Employing Grains

As has been noted repeatedly in preceding pages, to "avoid grains" in most cases meant to severely limit or completely eliminate one's consumption of food in general. It did not mean to merely not eat grains while continuing to eat whatever else one wanted to. To the Chinese, the "five grains" are the foods most representative of and essential to their diet. This is why Chinese people to this day refer to eating a meal as "eating rice" (*chifan*). In the same way, "avoiding grains", actually means to "avoid food". "Avoiding grains" was therefore an arduous practice carried out by only the very serious practitioners, who needed to resort a vast range of means including visualizations, respiration techniques, incantations, talismans and medicinal recipes in order to be able to practice it for a sufficient duration of time. Because the central objective of Daoist dietary practices was not to avoid eating grains but was to eat as little food as possible, some of the fasting methods in the *Wufu xu* actually employ grains as their main ingredients.

*"The Divine Immortal's Method of Eating Blue Millet"

Take one *dou* (about 2 liters) of blue millet (a type of large-grained millet that has a bluish color) and wash it and steep it in some fine liquor for three days. [Then] steam it without letting anything leak out. Steam 100 times and let it sit out in the open 100 times. It is better if you do not expose it to sunlight. Store it in a soft leather sack. Thereby, when you want to enter

[83] 2/15a See Plate 27

the mountains and travel long distances, you can eat [the millet] once (amount to be eaten is not specified), and it will sustain you for ten days as you go without eating. If you eat it again after the ten days, you can go without eating for 49 days. If you eat it again after the 49 days, you will be able to make 490 years your interval [between meals]. There is a variant recipe which says to use black millet. Yet another recipe says to use three *dou* .[84]

*"Another Recipe"

Take one *dou* of blue millet and three *jin* of red stone grease (a type of clay). Mix them together and steep them in water [with an amount of water that is]barely enough [to steep the ingredients in]. Keep in a warm place for two to three days until a film forms at the top. Pound and make into pills the size of a plum pit. Take three per day. This makes a person not hunger. If thirsty, drink water. You will become able to walk more than 1000 *li* (434 km) without becoming hungry or thirsty.[85]

*"Another Recipe"

Take some rice and wash it. Steam 100 times and then dry it and pound it. Ingest once a day with water. 30 days later you will be able to drink one cup [of water with the rice powder in it per day(?)] and never be hungry again for the rest of your life. [You will be able to] walk 300 *li* (about 120 km) in one day.[86]

*"Method for Eating Non-glutinous Rice Powder"

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[84] 2/34b See Plate 28
[85] 2/35a See Plate 29
[86] 2/35a See Plate 30

> [Use] 1 *dou* of non-glutinous rice and 3 *dou* of liquor. Steep the rice in the liquor until it absorbs all of it. Take and eat small quantities and drink water when thirsty. After about 30 days the supply will run out, so prepare a new batch in the same way as before.[87]

*"Method for Abstaining from Grains"

> Use five *ge* (100 ml) each of non-glutinous rice, millet, wheat, soy beans and hemp seed. Fry the beans before grinding them into powder. Mix the ingredients together with one *jin* of honey. Put over a flame and bring to a boil 100 times. Then put it into cold water [to cool it off] and make into pills the size of plum pits. Take one pill per dose (how often the pill is to be taken is not specified). You will be able to go for the rest of your life without getting hungry. Each of the ingredients are to be treated (ground?). Only the beans need to be fried.[88]

Appendix to (f) Fasting Methods Employing Grains: A Gradual Method for Fasting Employing Rice Found in the *Laojun taizhong jing*

The *Laozi taizhong jing* (*Laozi's Scripture on the Inside of the Womb*) is a lost scripture of which only a single fragment survives as a quotation in the *Daodian lun* (HY1122/TT764) an encyclopedic compilation of uncertain date, which has been estimated as having been written around the 8th century.[89] This fragment is of interest to us here

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[87] 2/35b See Plate 31

[88] 2/36a See Plate 32

[89] A copy of fragment of this work exists among the Dunhuang manuscripts, which are generally of Tang authorship. Ofuchi Ninji, based on its style as well as the scriptures that it quotes, estimates its date of

because it provides yet another example of a Daoist fasting method that employs grains. Unfortunately, there is no way of determining how far back the passage dates although it obviously pre-dates the *Daodian lun.* There is no discernible evidence in the contents of the passage as well as the title, *Laojun taizhong jing*, that would rule out the possibility that it dates back to roughly the same period as the *Wufu xu.* The passage goes as follows:

> The method of doing away with grains:
>
> Measure out no more than twelve hearty portions of cooked rice. Each day you will consume one portion. After eleven days you will have used up eleven portions. As for the remaining portion, eat half of what remains of it per day[90] until it is all gone by the 18th day. Even though your intestines will be empty, because there will still be grain *qi* in it, you should sit in a formal posture and stretch out your hands towards the direction where the 'king' is.[91] Grasp the air, raise your head and guide the air (this perhaps means to fan the air towards one's head). With your head raised, swallow it. Easily and gradually with care, guide the air into the passage of the stomach. Your stomach will instantly rumble. After the air has gone up and down [the esophagus] about nine times, you will be greatly satiated. Stabilize your mind and do not be restless. [If you are restless], the perfect *qi* cannot be guided and the evil *qi* will enter; this is no good. After twelve days [of imbibing *qi*] your body will feel light, and in 18 days you will attain the elementary level. After 27 days, you will attain the intermediate level. After 36 days, you will attain the advanced level. After 81 days, your head and face will emit a radiance. After 120 days, you will have

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authorship to be in the 8th century. See Ofuchi Ninji, Ishii Masako ed. *Rikuchoo-Too-Soo no Kobunken Shoin Dookyoo Tenseki Mokuroku, Sakuin* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1988), p.7.

[90]In other words, if for example the portion is 100 grams, the adept eats 50 grams. This will leave 50 for the next day on which he is to eat 25 grams, and so on.

[91]The 'king' here probably refers to the *qi* of the direction which is dominant at the particular time, perhaps meaning that the adept is to face east in the spring, south in the summer, west in the fall, and north in the winter.

> sufficiently attained the Dao. Your primal *qi* will be greatly stabilized and you will thereby become a Perfected Man.[92]

What is really interesting about this passage in light of what we have examined so far in the *Wufu xu* and the *Zhonghuang jing* is that it describes a process in which the adept first eases into the fasting process by slowly reducing his intake of grains, and then sustains himself by swallowing air once he has completely stopped eating food. Thus it can be seen how ingestion methods and non-ingestion methods were used together in a complementary fashion. Intriguing here is what precisely is meant by saying that the adept attains progressively higher levels until finally becoming a Perfected Man. This probably refers to altered and heightened states of consciousness and insight along with the attainment of certain supernormal powers.

(g) "Yue Zichang's Method of Holding a Jujube Seed in the Mouth"
樂子長含棗核方

This method does not actually involve ingesting any kind of substance. The adept swallows his own saliva, the flow of which he stimulates by sucking on a jujube seed:

> The way of long life is to always hold a jujube seed in your mouth [and suck on it] in the same way a baby suckles. After a long while, saliva will fill the mouth. Swallow two-thirds of it and then swallow the remainder together with air. This is called "recycling the *jing* ." [The *jing*] revolves and returns to the beginning [in a route that is circular] like a jade ring. While you are doing away with grains, you will come to a minor crisis after five days and your head will feel dizzy. After a while, [the dizziness] will

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[92] 4/11b-12a See Plate 33

> stop. After 14 days, your head will feel dizzy again, [but] the dizziness will stop after a while. After 21 days, your *qi* will be stable. If you want to eat, you can eat, and if you do not want to eat, your eating will naturally cease (you can easily go without eating). While you are doing away with grains, you must not engage in sexual intercourse. You may eat small amounts of jujubes and dried meats. Drink no more than one *sheng* (200 ml) of liquor. The method is the same for both men and women.[93]

In the above method the adept nourishes himself on his own body's nutrients or *jing* which wells up in his mouth as saliva. He is not allowed to engage in sexual activity during the fast, perhaps because the ejaculation of semen would cause a severe depletion of his *jing* . The adept starves himself to the point where the body shows clear signs of stress. However, what is demanded of the adept here seems to be more realistic and moderate than in the case of the most intense methods such as those of the *Zhonghuang jing*, in that the strict observance of the fast is required for "only" 21 days, during which some solid foods (dried meats and jujubes) can be eaten in very small quantities.

(h) "The Lingbao Talisman of *Yin* Life of the Great Obscurity" 靈寶太玄陰生之符

Finally, I will introduce the reader to a method which is not actually a fasting method, but rather seems to be a method of ritual suicide. This is not to say that it is intended as such, since the object of it is not to induce death, but rather to merely stage one's own death so that one can escape from society and his commitments to it and go on to pursue an everlasting life in the mountains. The method involves ingesting a medicine which is

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[93] 2/36a-b See Plate 34

highly toxic, and then performing a talismanic ritual as the poison begins to take its maximum effect. The recipe for the medicine goes as follows:

> During the third month slay an ox, fry [its flesh] to get 1 1/2 *jin* (about 350 grams) of grease. [Also use] 1 1/2 *jin* of mercury and 1 1/2 *jin* of tin. In a secret place in the mountains engage in ritual purifications for one month. Then heat the tin in a bronze vessel. When the tin has melted, mix the mercury and grease into it and make it into pills. Take 3 pills the size of soy beans 3 times a day. Take them for 9 days, thus ingesting a total of 81 pills. Suddenly you will escape your corpse and leave, like a snake that sheds its skin.[94]

When the adept has taken the pills for the prescribed number of days and is ready to "escape the corpse" he draws a talisman[95] in red ink on a piece of white silk. He then covers the front of his body with it as he lies on his back with his head pointed towards the west and visualizes himself as a dead person. The text then says that after a long while, the adept sheds his garments and goes off into the mountains. However, to the eyes of ordinary people it will appear as if a dead body is lying in the spot where the adept was lying. Later, this corpse also disappears. In reality (if one may presume to speculate), what seems to happen is that the adept dies of mercury poisoning. It would be because of his unquestioning faith in the efficacy of the method for conferring immortality (as well as perhaps a strong loathing for life in worldly society) that the adept would commit what non-believers regard as suicide.

In essence, the adept sacrifices his worldly life and his mortal body in order to live an eternal life away from society. This risk and sacrifice of life itself could perhaps be

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[94] 2/25b-26a See Plate 35

[95] A picture of the design of this talisman is found on 2/25b-26a.

considered the ultimate ascetic act. However, among the various ascetic methods found in the *Wufu xu*, "escaping the corpse" is not held in particularly high esteem, as it is described as a "path taken by lower-level Immortals" 下仙之道 , which allows the adept adept to live forever and roam the mountains as an Earthly Immortal. Thus while the *Wufu xu* does not rebuke the method or discourage the practice of it, higher priority is given to the other methods, which are certainly less lethal although probably more excruciating. Later, we will see some examples of where Daoist methods that caused bodily death while promising immortality were attacked as heresy by Daoists themselves.

In the above pages we examined the various types of fasting methods (as well as one suicide method) in the *Wufu xu*. Compared to those of the *Zhonghuang jing*, the ingestion methods of the *Wufu xu* largely represent more of a moderate, gradualist approach to fasting. Also, the fast is not described so much as a process of purifying and transforming the body by purging it of bad *qi* and filling it with good *qi* . The *Wufu xu* rarely goes into elaborate theories about what fasting does for the physiology of the body. The *Zhonghuang jing* goes into long descriptions of a divine upper realm which the adept, by transforming his body, longs to partake in. Furthermore, the body that is to partake in it seems to be an internal, spiritual body rather than the physical body, depending on how the scripture is interpreted. In the *Wufu xu* however, particularly in the second *juan* , the concern is more with physical survival in this mundane world of ours, amidst all of its strife, which occurs inevitably. To be immortal, the adept has to know how to survive without food because there are going to be times when food is nowhere to be had.

Therefore we can see that while fasting was widely practiced among seekers of immortality through various different methods, the major concerns which made practitioners feel the need to fast could vary considerably from school to school. However,

I think it can be said that the definitive trait of the diet of the serious immortality seeker of the fourth century and earlier was that he tried to eat little or nothing at all.

CHAPTER FOUR: INDIGENOUS MOTIVES FOR SEVERE ASCETICISM IN DAOISM PRIOR TO THE SHANGQING AND LINGBAO MOVEMENTS

The *Zhouyi cantongqi,* an alchemical[1] classic attributed to late Latter Han alchemist Wei Boyang, contains the following passage denouncing ascetics for their excesses:

> This [method that I teach] is not the method of going through the viscera,
> Which involves looking inside and contemplating.
> [Nor is it the method of] traversing and treading the upon the constellations,
> [Nor is it the method of imbibing] the Six *Jia* (talislmans?) in accordance with the sun and stars.
> The *yin* path (vagina) dislikes the nine and one[2],
> Which defiles and disturbs the primal womb.
> [Practitioners] eat air and make their intestines and stomach growl,
> Exhaling the proper [*qi*] and inhaling the evil [*qi*] from the outside.
> They never sleep during the daytime or night time,
> And they never rest from morning till evening.
> Their bodies become more and more exhausted by the day.
> With their consciousness obscure, they look like idiots.
> [The blood in] their 100 blood vessels boils like water in a kettle,
> Making them unable to reside in pure clarity.
> They build walls and erect altars and shrines,
> And engage in reverent worship from morning to evening.
> Demonic entities manifest their forms to them in their dreams,

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[1]A controversial issue is that of whether this book was originally written as a manual of laboratory alchemy or of internal alchemy. The contents of the book are too abstract for one to decisively conclude either way. Because there is no clear evidence of the internal alchemical tradition existing prior to the Tang, it would seem more logical to think of it as a text on laboratory alchemy; yet, the vast majority of extant commentaries treat it as an internal alchemical text.

[2]This refers to a method of sexual yoga.

> And they become emotionally moved.
> In their hearts and minds they rejoice,
> And they say to themselves, 'My life span will definitely be extended!'
> Suddenly they die prematurely,
> With their rotting corpses exposed.
> In what they do they are constantly misguided.
> By going contrary [to the correct ways] they lose track of the essentials.
> The various methods are extremely numerous.
> The 1000 routes have their 10,000 paths that branch out from them.
> Progressing and then regressing, they go against [the teachings of] Huang (Yellow Emperor) and Lao (Laozi).
> Perverted and deluded they bear guilt within the Nine Capitals (the underworld).[3]

The above comments, hypercritical as they may be, provide a vivid picture of Daoist immortality-seeking practices as they existed when the passage was written. Adepts pursued immortality within their various schools or master-disciple lineages, each putting to practice the method that they deemed to be most effective. The Daoist religion with its diverse beliefs and practices emerged out of the murky past without any single founder or doctrine as its source, and this diversity has always continued to be a characteristic of the religion. This was even more so during the days before powerful Daoist movements such as the Zhengyi, Shangqing and Lingbao, as well as the foreign religion of Buddhism began to assert pervasive influence upon Daoist adepts in general. How much antagonism there was between different schools is hard to say. As we have seen, the stories of the *Liexian zhuan* acknowledge the efficacy of various approaches towards immortality with no apparent disdain for any particular methods. In the *Shenxian zhuan* there is exhibited a

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[3] *Zhouyi cantongqi jie* (HY1004/TT628)1/21b-22a See Plate 36

strong preference for alchemy, similar to that of Wei Boyang. Yet, the stories of the *Shenxian zhuan* do not come across as being particularly critical of other methods. In fact, they are promoted as useful and necessary processes for conditioning the body and spirit for the pursuit of the supreme art of alchemy.

The above passage from the *Zhouyi cantongqi*, if it is an authentic piece of writing from the second century (this has been affirmed by some and deemed questionable by others)[4], is a rare and valuable example of a tirade against methods deemed incorrect. Much of what is criticized here, aside from the sexual yoga, is none other than the types of methods that we have examined in Chapters Two and Three. The passage alludes to the various methods of fasting which employ visualization, talismans, the swallowing of air and saliva and the holding of breath. Actually, it is difficult to tell whether such methods

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[4]The authenticity of the *Zhouyi cantongqi* has been questioned primarily because it is not listed in the bibliographical section of the *Suishu* and because the book did not receive a great deal of attention until the tenth century and later when numerous commentaries to it were written and it became one of the most authoritative classics of internal alchemy. However, arguments in favor of its authenticity are also quite substantial. It seems that Ge Hong was familiar with the *Zhouyi cantongqi*, or some sort of an alchemical text written by Wei Boyang. The *Shenxian zhuan* says clearly that Wei wrote "the *Cantong qi* and the *Wuxiang Lei* in about three juan ". In Ch.19 of the *Baopuzi* , Ge Hong mentions a "*Wei Boyang neijing* in one juan "魏伯陽內經一卷 . As I have previously mentioned, the credibility of the *Shenxian zhuan* as an authentic work of Ge Hong has been frequently questioned. Also, there is no means of knowing whether or not *Wei boyang neijing* refers to the *Zhouyi cantongqi*. Fukui Kojun has argued that it must refer to an altogether different text, contending that Wei Boyang does not refer to the Han alchemist, but rather to none other than Laozi, who, according to third *juan* of the *Baopuzi neipian*, had "Boyang" as a personal name and had a son who served the Warring States kingdom Wei as a general. Fukui thus argues that Ge Hong knew of no *Zhouyi cantongqi* by Wei Boyang, and that therefore no such book existed at his time. Fukui does believe, however, that a book entitled *Cantongqi* did circulate during the second and third centuries before becoming lost, based on a reference to the title found in a quotation of Yu Fan's (d. 233) *Yijing* commentary quoted in the *Jingtian shiwen*. He also affirms that a *Cantongqi* was in circulation again by the late Six Dynasties and during the Tang, based upon citations found in the *Zhengao* and the *Chuxue ji*. See Fukui Kojun, A Study of Chou-i Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i, in *Acta Asiatica* no. 27, pp. 19-32. If one is to agree with Fukui in thinking that the *Cantongqi* that existed prior to Ge Hong had been lost, the important question for us is whether or not and to what extent, it contents were recovered and preserved in the various versions of the *Zhouyi cantongqi* that survive up until today. Suzuki Yoshijiro says that the contents of the *Zhouyi cantongqi* bear characteristics that could only be had by a Han Dynasty text. The *Zhouyi cantongqi* utilizes theories of the *Yijing* to explain how the art of alchemy is to be carried out. Suzuki says that the *Zhouyi cantongqi*'s interpretation of the *Yijing* is precisely the type of *Yijing* interpretation that was unique to the Han Dynasty (of which the theories of Jing Fang are the most representative) which consisted of correlating the lines, trigrams and hexagrams of the *Yijing* with principles of astronomy, numerology and music. Furthermore, Suzuki argues that if the *Zhouyi cantongqi* had been written at any time significantly later than the Han, it would show signs of influence from Wang Bi's (226-249) *Yijing* commentary, which it does not. See Suzuki Yoshijiro, *Shuu-eki Sandookei* (Tokyo: Meitoku Shuppansha, 1977), pp.5-12. In the *Zhouyi cantongqi*, we thus appear to have a text which, in spite of numerous redactions and revisions over the centuries, preserves some very old material, and is largely reflective of the intellectual and religious climate of the late second or early third century.

are criticized because they are deemed utterly useless, or whether those who practice them are being criticized for carrying out the methods in a misguided way (For example, the phrase, "exhaling proper *qi* and inhaling external evil *qi* " suggests that respirational fasting methods fail not because they are useless, but because they are carried out in the wrong way.). What is clearly criticized is the excessive practice of these methods. The excessive practitioners were those who put their body under undue stress out of their zeal to carry out their methods. Such adepts deprived themselves of sleep as well as food, putting themselves into states of fatigued delirium and inducing visions which they mistook for miraculous encounters with the divine and as auspicious omens. But in reality, according to this passage, they were merely hastening their deaths by tormenting their bodies.

So why, despite such criticism and such dangers, did the ascetics persist in their ways? Various answers to this question have already been suggested in various places in the preceding chapters. I will now conclude Part I with a summary of what were the most important motives for severe ascetic activity among Daoists prior to rise to prominence of the Shangqing and Lingbao schools.

Because of the diversity of the beliefs and practices of the various schools and lineages, it is certainly risky to make generalizations about why Daoists practiced severe asceticism. Certainly, different practitioners had their different reasons. But I think that generally speaking, three ways of thinking motivated a large portion of them.

First of all, it was thought that the ascetic practices, far from being harmful to the body, were conducive to and even necessary for good health. Beyond this good health, the ascetic practices were ultimately supposed to bring about a transformation of the body and an unlocking of its marvelous, divine potential.

Secondly, a fondness and longing for participation in a realm transcending the ordinary caused the adepts to resort to all kinds of ways to invoke divine sympathy and to

induce trances and visions. These frequently entailed fasting, celibacy and sleep-avoidance.

Thirdly, many ascetics held a strong disliking for the mundane world and human society. Such adepts tended to look upon anything to do with the world and with society as harmful and detrimental towards their quest of immortality. This often also had to do with the perception that the world as we know it is not everlasting.

I will now discuss in more detail these three types of motives.

A. Severe Asceticism for Good Health and Physical Transformation

For the purpose of becoming healthy and living long, it was deemed important that the body be made clean and pure. This meant that one had to avoid taking substances into the body that were considered impure, unclean or evil. It also meant that one had to purge the body of the evil forces or impurities that were already in it. As we have seen (see pp. 110-111, 113-115, 155), this notion necessitated trying to avoid eating entirely since foods in general were thought to be defiling. This basic notion is also expressed clearly in the *Huangting neijing jing* which has in it the following passage:

> The hundred varieties of grains are the *jing* of the soil.
> The five flavors and external delicacies are the rancid impurities of the wicked demons.
> Their odors confuse your spiritual radiance and your womb *qi* gets depleted.
> How then, can you revert from old age and restore your youthfulness?
> Your three *hun* souls become obscured and your *po* souls perish.

> Why do you not eat *qi* , the essence of Great Harmony, and thereby be able to not die and to enter into yellow peacefulness[5].[6]

The filthiness and rancidness of food was thought to obscure and destroy the spiritual capacities of the adept as well as the subtle and marvelous forces in the body which needed to be activated for the attainment of perfect health and eternal life. This is why the diet of the serious adept was supposed to be completely different from that of ordinary people, as is described in *Huangting waijing jing* :

> People all eat grains and the [foods with] the five flavors.
>
> [I] alone eat the Great Harmony, the *qi* of *yin* and *yang* .[7]
>
> 人皆食穀與五味.獨食太和陰陽氣

A passage from a text called the *Xiandao jing* (*The Scripture that Manifests the Dao*, HY861/TT578), a text compiled at an unknown (possibly Tang or later) date[8], but which is valuable to our discussion for how it provides a wealth of concrete information (unavailable elsewhere) on non-ingestion techniques of indigenous and probably quite early origin and inspiration, goes as far as to attribute malicious intentions to the grains themselves:

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[5]Liangqiuzi explains that "yellow peacefulness" means that "The Way of the Yellow Court has been accomplished". 黃庭之道成也 (*Yunji qiqian* 12/14b).

[6]HY331/TT167 10a-b. See Plate 37.

[7]HY332/TT167 3/1a

[8]This text is 13 1/2 double-pages long, and takes the format of a conversation between Laozi and anonymous interlocutors. There is no ascertainable internal evidence of Buddhist, Shangqing or Lingbao influence. The methods of the text could be of very early origin. The *Daozang tiyao* (Ren Jiyu ed. Beijing: Zhongguo Shehuikexue Chubanshe, 1991), based on the fact that the text includes passages which closely match passages found in the Tang dynasty texts *Fuqi jingyi lun* (HY829/TT571 and in *Yunji qiqian* 57. Authored by Tang Shangqing patriarch Sima Chengzhen, 647-735. A fine discussion of this text is found in Ute Engelhardt, "*Qi* for Life: Longevity in the Tang in Livia Kohn ed. *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, pp.263-296.) and *Taixi jingwei lun* (HY828/TT571 and *Yunji qiqian* 58), speculates that it was compiled during the Tang dynasty or later, and is a collection of material drawn from miscellaneous texts on the "imbibing of *qi*" (*fuqi*). I have also found that the text includes a passage (which I quote later in this discussion) that matches closely with passages preserved in the *Sandong zhunang* as quotes from the *Daoji jing* and, curiously, the *Daode jing* . The *Xiandao jing* does not discuss its methods by means of the metaphorical language of alchemy, a trait that becomes increasingly prominent from texts of the late Tang up through the Yuan when internal alchemy reached the height of its development.

> Someone asked, "People are born, and from the time they are small to the time when they are big, they grow by eating grains. Why must one abstain from grains?"
>
> Laozi said, "Grains only make people grow. They do not want people to keep eating them up until their old age. Aging and death all come from grains."[9]

The above passage implies that the grains (which likely refers to food in general, as the *Xiandao jing* does prescribe methods of complete fasting) consciously poison and kill people so that they can avoid getting eaten any more. Perhaps the understanding here is also that by enhancing the process of growth, grains also accelerate the process of aging. This goes contrary to Daoist immortality techniques which were often intended to reverse the process of maturation and aging so that the adept could return to the state of infancy. Thus natal imagery abounds in the training of the Daoist adept who visualizes his internal divine self as a baby inside his own belly or who sucks on a jujube seed, imitating the way in which an infant feeds off his mother's breast.

The notion that grains (or foods in general) are agents of aging is well expressed in a alternate version of the story of Maonü (see p. 61) found in Ge Hong's *Baopuzi* . In this version, Maonü is captured in Mt. Zhongnan by a band of hunters who bring her back into human society where she is forced to re-adapt to an ordinary diet with grains as the staple food. The text tells us:

> At first, the smell of grains would make her vomit, but as the days went by this problem subsided. After two years, the fur on her body fell out and then she got decrepit and died. If she had not been captured by people, she would have become an Immortal.[10]

[9] 9a. See Plate 38

[10] HY1177/TT868-870 11/16b

As the adept fasts, he experiences much difficulty from hunger pangs, dizziness and weakness. But this, as the reader will recall, is attributed by the *Zhonghuang jing* (see pp. 114-115), not to the lack of food, but rather to the lingering in the body of the evil *qi* of food eaten in previous days. Even after the intestines had become free of solid wastes, this evil *qi* was thought to linger in the body as sticky membranes and plug up its apertures and conduits, making the primal *qi* unable to permeate and nourish it.

Along with the evil *qi* of foods, there were also thought to be evil spirits in the body (see pp. 106-111, 177-178), most frequently conceived of as the Three Worms which reside in the Three Elixir Fields, which caused hunger (as well as all other desires, especially those for money and sex). These creatures were to be subdued and expelled through continuous fasting sustained through the swallowing of air. Adepts who lacked the will power for this would at times take drugs, often toxic, that were supposed to kill the Worms. In theory, once the worms were expelled, the adept would no longer experience hunger and thirst, and would be free from all desires.

Along with the purification of the body through the purgation of bad *qi* and imbibing of good *qi* , another vital objective of an adept's training was the retention of the good *qi* that is already in the body. What this objective required primarily was the conservation of *jing* or seminal fluid (valuable because of its quality to bestow life and vitality) through celibacy. The following are some passages from *Tuna jing* , *Daoji tuna jing* , *Huangting neijing jing* and *Huangting waijing jing* that describe the importance of conserving one's *jing* and restraining or eliminating one's sexual activity:

(1) "[In pursuing] the Dao [you must] regard your [*jing*] as a treasure. If you administer it you will create a person. If a man retains it he will give life to his own body. If he gives life to his own body he will forever transcend the world and take on the rank of an Immortal. If he gives life to a person, his

worldly merit will be accomplished, and he may go into seclusion. People of the world regard this as severe. But how much more [severe the consequences are] if one carelessly admininsters and abandons [his *jing*]. [By] discarding and damaging [their *jing*] and not studying [the Dao], many [people] thereby decline and age and lose their lives."[11]

(2) Lord Lao said, "*Jing* is the river flow of the blood vessels. If the *jing* leaves, you will wither and age. Thus you must treasure it. The human body is like a nation. The spirit is the ruler, the *jing* is the minister and the *qi* is the people. Always cherish your *jing* . This is the essential way."[12]

(3) In [pursuing] the way of long life, *jing* is the treasure. *Jing* is what people are born from. Because *jing* is the treasure it is said, 'As for the Dao, the way of a single day is to eat one's full in the morning and go hungry in the evening. The Dao of a single month is to not lose track of the flourishing and declining. The Dao of a single year is to be thin in the summer and fat in the winter. The Dao of 100 years is to limit your intake of grains and to eat jujubes. The Dao of 1000 years is for a man to be alone without a woman. This is called long life and long vision. Nobody will be able to count [the number of years that you will live] .[13]

(4) [In order to] live long [you must] be most wary of the dangers of the bedroom.
Why engage in the deeds of death and cause your spirit to weep?
Suddenly you will go to the place of misfortune and your three *hun* souls will die.

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[11]Quoted from *Tuna jing*. *Sandong zhunang* 4/1b See Plate 39
[12]Quoted from *Daoji tuna jing* . *Sandong zhunang* 4/1b-2a See Plate 40
[13]Quoted from *Daoji tuna jing* . *Sandong zhunang* 4/2a See Plate 41

You simply must suck in air and retain your *jing* .[14]

(5) The essential marvel of long life is that the bedroom is dangerous.
Abandon your lustful desires and concentrate on retaining your *jing* .[15]

As we can see in passage (1), Daoists reasoned that semen, which possesses the capacity to impregnate, had the same marvelous, life-giving quality when retained in the body. It was regarded as the most valuable fluid in the human body, and losing one's supply of it meant death. Passage (2) is somewhat harder to understand, but by saying that *jing* is the minister while *qi* is the people, it places *jing* in a position of higher status than the other forms of *qi* that constitute the body, making the retention of it that much more vital. Passage (3) gives the clearest and strongest endorsement of celibacy as a means of seeking immortality, exalting it as "the Way of 1000" years which is superior to the other approaches that the passage alludes to. Passages (1) to (3) are all found in the *Sandong zhunang* in a section entitled, "Section on Abstaining from Grains" and are quoted from *Tuna jing* and *Daoji tuna jing* which, as we know, were texts that described methods of intense fasting sustained by respiratory techniques. It makes sense that the retention of *jing* is stressed in these scriptures because when an adept deprived himself of nourishment from food, retaining the vital materials of the body became all the more important for his survival and success. As was mentioned earlier, "*jing* " can also refer the nutrients in foods. The passage from *Huangting neijing jing* quoted on p. 198 provides an example of this usage. The fasting adept needed to feed on his body's own nutrients of which his semen was thought to contain a high concentration. That the retention of semen was a practice complementary to fasting is perhaps also attested to by passage (4) which says to "suck in air and retain your *jing* ". More likely than not, the phrase "suck in air" alludes to the

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[14]*Huanting neijing jing* .7b: 長生至慎房中急.何為死作令神泣.忽之禍鄉三靈沒.
但當吸氣錄子精.

[15]*Huangting waijing jing* .1/1b:
長生要妙房中急.棄損淫慾專守精.

respiratory methods of fasting. The reader may also recall how desires for food and for sex were at times simultaneously sublimated into visions of Jade Girls bringing lunch boxes.

Of course, retaining *jing* did not in all cases mean celibacy. As mentioned earlier in Chapter One (p. 77), sexual yoga was a method in which the male practitioner, while copulating with a woman, would not ejaculate, but rather attempt to send his seminal fluid through his spinal cord and into his brain. Indeed, the *Shenxian zhuan* provides descriptions of practitioners of fasting who were also experts in sexual yoga. For such adepts, sexual activity was not a hindrance and contradiction to their rigorous training as long as it was done according to methods of sexual yoga by which the *jing* was retained and even supplemented by drawing in the vitality of the adept's partner.

Celibacy as a widely ordained rule did not exist within Daoism until the Buddhist model of monasticism was adopted. Celibacy and sexual yoga were options that an individual or a group of individuals could choose as the means by which *jing* could be retained in the body. Indeed, passages (4) and (5), according to one's beliefs, could be read in two ways; they can be interpreted as telling the adept to refrain from sexual activity, or can be understood as a reminders to be free of lustful emotions and to not ejaculate while copulating.[16] Passage (1) is interesting in that it seems to offer the compromising option of taking on a life of celibate seclusion after one has fulfilled his social and filial obligation by using some of his *jing* to procreate a son to carry on the family name.

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[16]Wuchengzi's commentary to the *Huangting Waijing Jing* seems to advocate sexual yoga, while that of Liangqiuzi seems to prefer celibacy. Let us compare each commentators comment to corresponding passages.

"If you close the gate of your jing , you can live long." 閉子精門可長活 .
Wuchengzi's comment: Yin and yang copulate. If, at this time when your *jing* and spirit is about to leave you are lustful and lecherous and follow your five horses (emotions?) it (*jing* and spirit) cannot be restrained. Use your hand to hold down the cord and sack. Pull the jade flute and close the golden gate."(*Yunji qiqian* 12/36b) 陰陽交配.此之時.精神欲去.姪佚縱情.五馬不能禁止.以手撫弦囊.引玉簫.閉金門.

"If you close the path of your *jing* , you can live long." 閉子精路.可長活
Liangqiuzi's comment: "Eliminate wickedness and abandon the vulgar. Shut down the path of your jing and you can obtain long life."(HY263/TT131 58/8b)
絕耶棄俗.關閉精路.可得長生.

As well as for purifying the body and retaining its vital materials, severe asceticism in Daoism was also intended to serve the purpose of unlocking and putting to work the hidden potential of the body and to thus bring about a transformation. This latent potential was perceived of as both a form of *qi* and as gods that live within the body. The reader will recall that according to the *Zhonghuang jing* (see pp. 106-110), once the evil *qi* and the Three Worms have been expelled through continuous fasting, the adept becomes able to "see" the marvelous *qi* of his five viscera which are called the "Five Sprouts [which are the] *Qi* of the Nine Perfect". These Five Sprouts cannot be activated without fasting because they "dislike" the flavors of foods, which also make the five viscera "sick".

The *Xiandao jing* has in it a variant explanation for why the latent and marvelous potential of the body cannot be realized unless one fasts. It goes as follows:

> Someone asked, "If you want to practice concentrated meditation, but you do not want to abstain from grains, is it possible or not?"
> [Laozi answered], "If you eat grains and fill your belly, the rancid impurities will pile up as feces and the gods will not stay in your body. If you just practice the Dao relentlessly over a long period of time, you will naturally not hunger."[17]

So here, the latent forces of the body get described not as a type of *qi* , but as gods who cannot stand to live amidst the stench of impurities.

To return to the *Zhonghuang jing* (see pp. 118-121), the reader will recall that to bring to sight, activate and employ the Five Sprouts, the adept carries out visualization and womb-breathing (which refers, in this case, to the holding of breath) which he apparently (although the main text and commentary are not entirely clear on this point) carries out day and night without sleeping. As a result of this effort, the *qi* of his five viscera produce

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[17]8b See Plate 42

upon his body[18] a five-colored feathered garment which enables him to ascend to the heavenly realms. In the *Wufu xu* (see pp. 146-156), the Five Sprouts get described as the *qi* of the heavens of the five directions which wells up in the mouth of the accomplished adept as saliva which can be swallowed and used as nourishment.

Perhaps the oldest extant passage that deals with the subject of womb-breathing is a fragment of the *Taiping jing* (*The Scripture of the Great Peace*)[19] which survives as a quote in the *Daodian lun*. The passage goes as follows:

> "I respectfully ask you, why is it that a child in a womb can go without eating and yet obtain *qi* ?"
>
> The master answered, "Within the Way of Heaven there is the *qi* of self-so-ness and the *qi* of waxing and waning. That which is obtained inside the womb is the self-so *qi* of the Heavenly Way. That which one breaths by exhaling and inhaling [according to] *yin* and *yang* after being born is the *qi* of waxing and waning. If a person perseveres in the Way and strives to learn how to revert to the *qi* of self-so-ness, he will live. Those who maintain the *qi* of waxing and waning will die. Therefore, those who acquire the true way obtain *qi* internally and do not obtain *qi* externally. Hereby, internal *qi* nurtures one's nature. Eventually one can then return to

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[18]As mentioned before, it is unclear whether or not this referred to an internal, spiritual body.

[19]Two different Taiping scriptures are known to have existed during the Han Dynasty. First there was the *Tianguan li baoyuan taiping jing* presented to Emperor Cheng (r.32-7 B.C.) and the *Taiping Qingling Shu* which was presented to Emperor Shun r.126-145 A.D.) and utilized by the Taiping Dao, the proto-Daoist religious sect which staged the Yellow Turban revolt. There was also transmitted within the Heavenly Master's Sect a *Taiping dongji jing* (probably forged during the sixth century) which was allegedly revealed to the Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling of the Latter Han Dynasty. In regard to what survives of the *Taiping* Jing today (HY 1093 *Taiping jing* and *Taiping jing chao* as well as fragments surviving as quotes in other books), there is much controversy over when it was written and whether its contents actually date back to the Han Dynasty. However, generally speaking, the contents of what survives under the title *Taiping Jing* tend to emphasize the ideas that the Han millenarians seemingly would have emphasized (ideas on why misfortunes exist in the world and how the utopia can be realized) and is devoid of ideas (particularly Buddhist ones) that would indicate a significantly later date of authorship. Max Kaltenmark says that although the extant Taiping Jing seems to have been transmitted within the Heavenly Master's Sect, it clearly includes elements that must have come from the *Tianguan Li Baoyuan Taiping Jing*. See Kaltenmark, "The Ideaology of the T'ai-p'ing ching" in Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel ed. *Facets of Taoism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979) pp.19-52.

> infancy and restore one's life-destiny. Therefore you should study internal breathing and internally nurture your body."[20]

The idea of "womb-breathing" apparently comes from the notion that this "self-so *qi* " inside the body could substitute for air and food, and bring about the transformation into an eternally youthful body. The *Xiandao jing* (which again may be of later date than the time period we are concerned with here, but is of interest for its vivid descriptions of the types of methods we are concerned with) deals extensively with the topic of how to obtain and use this internal *qi* . The *qi* is activated through a meditational, respiratory technique performed lying down naked in a meditation chamber. What exactly the technique (which is referred to frequently throughout the text as simply, "the Dao") is, the text does not say, although my guess would be that it involves the swallowing and/or holding in of air. But whatever the technique may be, it is supposed bring about a sort of "internal breathing" in which *qi* is produced from the Lower Elixir Field which permeates the inside of the body as it is "exhaled" and "inhaled":

> Someone asked, "[As for the] exiting and entering of the *qi* , where does is always come from?"
>
> Laozi said, "The *qi* comes out of the [Lower] Elixir Field because it is the Gate of Life and is the original root of the primal *qi* of a person. The five viscera obtain it, and become clearly visible. This is the exiting and entering of the *jingqi* ."[21]

> Someone asked, "The *qi* is created in the [Lower] Elixir Field. But what organs does it go in and out of?"

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[20] 4/8b See Plate 43

[21] 4b See Plate 44

> Laozi answered, "When exhaled, it enters the lungs and heart. When inhaled, it enters the kidneys and liver. The exhalation and inhalation merge at the Great Storehouse (the stomach) and the Three Burners[22]. Harmonize and guide and put the *hun* and *po* souls under control. The *qi* of self-soness is the life of the Dao. If you understand and practice this over a long period of time, you will certainly become a Perfected Man."[23]

What is interesting is that the "obtaining of the *qi* " is something that is to be felt and experienced in a definite way:

> Someone asked, "[In regard to] *qi*, do men and women employ the same method or not?"
>
> Laozi said, "A diligent adult male practitioner will obtain the *qi* in two to three days. [In the case of] a diligent female practitioner, the *qi* will get through after four or five days. Thereby they will see and hear things. This is the manifest efficacy of the Dao, the great effects of *jing* and *qi* ."[24]

> Someone asked, "When the breathing has been obtained, what will be the sign?"
>
> Laozi said, "When the *qi* first arrives, your intestines will howl, your blood vessels will move (pulse will become rapid) and your hands and feet will ache. This is because of the *qi* ."[25]

> Someone asked, "When the *qi* arrives in the body, what happens?"

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[22] See Ch.2, footnote no. 8.
[23] 4b See Plate 45
[24] 5a See Plate 46
[25] 4a See Plate 47

Laozi said, "When the *qi* arrives in the body, the body gradually becomes cold, and you will be on the verge of terror (trembling?). [When this happens,] pacify your mind and stabilize your will. Do not allow yourself to be terrified. Just obey what the *qi* does."[26]

Why the adept has these visions and sensations is not clear. However, it probably has much to do with the fact that the adept is fasting and is meditating day and night, perhaps rarely or never sleeping:

(6) Laozi said, "Speechlessly merge with the Dao and acquire the the truth that has never been written down. For the hair on your head to grow abundantly is the root of acquiring the Dao. With your hands and feet perspiring abundantly, never sleeping day or night, [your virtue will be] equal in brilliance with the sun and moon. Never hungry and never thirsty, you breath inside your womb like the tortoise and the dragon. You will feel warm in the winter and cool in the summer."[27]

(7) Someone asked, "In order to perpetuate the *qi* of the Dao, should one abstain from grains?"

Laozi said, "If you want to transcend the world and separate yourself from what is secular, you should immediately abstain from them. By means of your breath, you will perpetually neither thirst nor hunger. This is the great essential [principle]."[28]

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[26] 4a-b See Plate 48

[27] 2b Passages nearly identical to this are found in the *Sandong zhunang* (4/3b, 8/21a) as quotes from *Daoji jing* and *Daode jing* (although such a passage does not exist in any extant version of Laozi's classic) respectively. This fact perhaps serves as some clue as to the date of authorship of *Xiandao jing*. It seems indicate that it comes out of the same background as the *Daoji jing* and perhaps also *Daoji tuna jing*, texts that existed at least before the compilation of the *Sandong zhunang*. See Plate 49

[28] 8b See Plate 50

(8) Someone asked, "In the guiding of *qi* , is there [a difference between what to do] during the day and during the night?"

Laozi said, "Concentrate on the Bureau of the *Qi* during the daytime and concentrate on the Palace of the Gods during the night time. The Bureau of the *Qi* is called the (Lower) Elixir Field. The Palace of the Gods is called the Hall of Light[29]. If you do not concentrate on the Bureau of the *Qi* during the daytime, the primal *qi* will not be mobilized. If you do not concentrate on the Palace of the Gods, your eyes will never see the gods."[30]

Passage (6) describes an ideal state to be attained which includes (among other things) the capacity to go without sleeping, eating or drinking. This occurs when one is at the stage of womb-breathing, which according to this passage is perhaps also the secret behind the renowned longevity of tortoises and dragons. Passage (7) indicates that hunger and thirst can be avoided for very long periods by means of respiration techniques. What perhaps happens is that the adept becomes able to enter into deep trances during which his respiration and pulse slow down almost to the point of stoppage, and this in turn slows down the metabolism. Passage (8) tells the adept to concentrate on the Lower Elixir Field in his lower abdomen during the daytime and on the Hall of Light, which seems to refer to a spot inside the head, during the night time. Quite probably it is expected that the adept maintain this concentration throughout the day and night without sleeping, judging from the ideal that is expressed in passage (6). A method very similar to what is described in passage (8) was taught in the early 13th century by the famous Quanzhen School patriarch

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[29]This probably refers to one of the "palaces" thought to exist in the brain. Liangqiuzi's commentary to *Huangting waijing jing* says, "One *cun* within the eyebrows is the Hall of Light." (HY263/TT131 58/6b):

[30]4b See Plate 51 眉頭一寸為明堂

Qiu Changchun.[31] In this method, the adept concentrates on his navel during the daytime and his head during the night time, arousing the Divine Water 神水 and True Fire 真火 within his body and inducing various marvelous visions. The effects described here in passage (8) resemble those of Qiu Changchun's method in that the subtle, miraculous forces in the body (in this case, the primal *qi*) are activated and made to permeate the body, and the adept becomes able to see the "gods".

Thus, the purified, activated anatomy of an accomplished adept was supposed to become the dwelling place of gods, the efficacy of which was to be best attained by visualizing them all day and all night long. A similar idea is well illustrated in ***Huanting neijing jing*** :

> The god of the heart is Danyuan; his style name is Shouling.
> The god of the lungs is Haohua; his style name is Xucheng.
> The god of the liver is Longyan; his style name is Hanming.
> He guides the dark and steamy smoke and is in charge of the obscure and the clear.
> The god of the kidneys is Xuanming; his style name is Yuying.
> The god of the spleen is Changzai; his style name is Hunting.
> The god of gall bladder is Longyao; his style name is Weiming.
> In the six bowels and five viscera the bodies of the gods are subtle.
> Entirely within your heart, move along the warp of Heaven.
> If you visualize them day and night, you will naturally live long.[32]

Thus sleep deprivation was yet another difficulty that some adepts would subject themselves to in order to be able to employ the subtle forms of *qi* and the various gods in the body. The workings of these latent forces were thought to bring about the

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[31]This method is found in *Dadan zhizhi* (HY244/TT115)pp.11b-12a.
[32]HY331/TT167 3a-b See Plate 52

transformation into a divine, immortal being. The adept would become aware of this transformation through sensations and visions that his austerities had induced.

Thus so far we have seen how austerities such as fasting, celibacy and sleep avoidance were utilized for the purpose of purging the body of bad *qi* , retaining its good *qi* and activating its marvelous *qi* (or "gods"), in order to make the body healthy and strong and to eventually transform it. It is also relevant to point out here that fasting and celibacy were often prescribed because they enhanced the efficacy of a particular medicine or method. The reader will recall from Chapter Three (pp. 181-182) how the *Wufu xu* states that ingesting deer bamboo can prolong the life span even if one is not completely celibate and does not "avoid grains" (fast). However the greatest of the herb's effects (immortality and heavenly ascension) cannot be brought about unless one is completely celibate and "avoids grains" by subsisting on *huangjing* (deer bamboo) alone. Also to be recalled is how in the *Shenxian zhuan*, prospective alchemists fail to ascend to heaven because of their continued bedroom activities (as was the case with certain recipients of Kong Anguo's alchemical formulas or some of Zhang Daoling's less accomplished disciples)[33], or are refused transmission of recipes because the *qi* from meat previously eaten still lingered in the body (as was Jie Xiang)[34].

The *Xiandao jing* makes it clear that "the Dao" that it prescribes brings about the maximum good effect only if the adept remains perfectly celibate:

> Someone asked, "After the Dao has been completed, can one enter the bedroom?"
>
> Laozi answered, "If you want to become a flying immortal and transcend the world, do not enter the bedroom. If you do not wish to transcend the world, you can do as you wish after 100 days."[35]

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[33] See pp. 78.
[34] See p. 66.
[35] pp.6b-7a See Plate 53

What is apparent here is that during the period when "the Dao" is being put into practice, sexual activity is prohibited regardless of what results the adept wishes to attain. After the "the Dao" has been completed (probably meaning, as we have seen, that the subtle *qi* in the Lower Elixir Field has been "obtained"), the adept must remain forever celibate for the maximum result to be attained. But if this seems like too much of a sacrifice, it is permissible to resume sexual activity, but only after a substantial waiting period.

Chapter 24 of *Laozi zhongjing* , depending on how it is interpreted, appears to set forth a severe warning towards its practitioners regarding sexual activity. First of all, it names the Jade Girls of each of the Five Directions[36] which the adept can summon on their designated days in order to have them "fetch the jade liquor and bring the lunch boxes". Each of the Jade Girls is made to unite with the resident god of a certain organ. The passage ends with the following warning:

> Absolutely do not take a wife. Taking a wife can kill a person, and in the end you will not acquire the Dao. If you want to practice the Dao, absolutely do not be lascivious. If you behave lasciviously, you will immediately die.[37] 慎無妻也. 妻之殺人. 終不得道也. 北欲爲道. 慎勿淫. 淫即死也.

It is hard to tell whether all sexual activity is being warned against here. "Being lascivious" may refer only to acts of adultery. "Taking a wife" perhaps refers to having erotic fantasies involving the Jade Girls; in other words fantasizing about having conjugal relationships with these heavenly beings. If interpreted in such a way, the passage is not a proscription against marriage for Daoist adepts. But what is clearly exhibited is a feeling of

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[36]Their names are Jade Girl of the Blue Waist (Qingyao Yunü) , Jade Girl of the Red *Gui* Jade (Chiqui Yunü, Jade Girl of Yellow Simplicity (Huangsu Yunü, Jade Girl of White Simplicity (Baisu Yunü) and Jade Girl of Black Radiance (Xuanguang Yunü).

[37]*Yunji qiqian* 18/20a

horror towards the immense destructive potential that sexual activity and lustful thoughts have upon the human body.

B. Severe Asceticism as a Vehicle towards Mystical Experience

> .....[The writ of the Heavenly August One says], "The first essential matter is to first seek for long life. The second essential matter is to try to conceal yourself. The third essential matter is to avoid worldly glories. If you understand these three essentials, the Dao will be accomplished. You will live long and be able to wander to the Flowery Peak (Mt. Hua). [There] you will conceal yourself till the very end, and Heaven will feed you with its blessings. If you abandon worldly glory and leave your [worldly] salary, Heaven will bring you gold and Jade."[38]

The above passage comes from a surviving fragment of the *Sanhuang wen* found in the *Wushang biyao*. The idea is conveyed here that the mountain dwelling adept, by shunning the riches and recognition of life amidst society, gets to prosper from the steadfast care of Heaven. The ascetic can shun worldly benefits because of his faith in this benevolent divine force, described here as "Heaven". His asceticism and his faith are what make him worthy of this divine support. In various different texts, this benevolent and sympathetic force gets described as a wide variety of gods and goddesses living in heaven, on earth or even within the adept's own body. For example, as the reader may recall (see pp. 94-95), the commentary to the introduction of the *Zhonghuang jing* states as follows:

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[38]*Wushang biyao* 25/1a See Plate 54

> If you abandon the myriad affairs, the hundred spirits will secretly protect you. If you forever eliminate your cravings and desires, *yin* gods will secretly help you.

We have already seen numerous examples of how deities in the heavens (e.g. the Jade Girls who bring lunch boxes) and in the body (e.g. the Mother in the spleen who nourishes the baby in the stomach) were visualized so that they could provide the adept with nourishment.

Another way of perceiving this good force was as the "One" or the "Three Ones" which refers to the Dao itself as it is embodied within the human body as well as everything else in the world.[39] A discussion concerning this One (which is almost identical to a passage found in the 18th chapter of Ge Hong's *Baopuzi*) is found at the very end of the *Wufu xu* as a quote from the mouth of the great Yu. According to this passage, all things of the world can take on their definitive traits and functions only because they embody the One:

> Heaven obtains the One and becomes pure. Gods obtain the One and become efficacious. Earth obtains the One and becomes peaceful. People obtain the One and [become able to] live. Gold sinks, feathers float, mountains loom up on high and rivers flow [because they obtain the One].[40] 天得一以清.神得一以靈.地得一以寧.人得一以生.金沈羽浮.山峙川流.

It is by preserving and concentrating upon this One that is inside him, that the adept can obtain sustenance and protection:

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[39]The origin of this concept is to be found in the 42nd chapter of the *Laozi* book which reads, "The way begets the one; one begets two; two begets three; three begets the myriad creatures." See D.C. Lau trans. *Tao Te Ching* (1982) p.63

[40]*Wufu xu* 3/22b

> If one contemplates the One and becomes hungry, the One will provide him with food. If one contemplates the One and becomes thirsty, the One will provide him with drink.[41]
>
> If you preserve the One in utmost earnestness, the One can communicate with the gods. If you limit your drinking and eating, the One will stay and rest itself within you. When on the brink of danger, do not doubt; the One will eliminate the hazards. If a cosmic disaster is before you, contemplate the One, and you will be able to survive.[42]
>
> If a person is able to preserve the One, the One will also preserve that person.[43]

What frequently went along with this faith in sympathetic transcendent forces was the desire to actually get to know, see and experience them. This desire was one of the major motives that caused adepts to intensify their training to the level of severe asceticism. In the above passage it states that by contemplating the One as earnestly as possible, contact with divine beings becomes possible through the inter mediation of the One. It also says that to preserve this One, the adept must limit his eating and drinking.

There are extant fragments of the *Taiping jing* which say that one must fast in order to become god-like, and as a result capable of communication with the gods outside and inside the body:

> Therefore those who eat have a limit to their life spans, and those who do not eat are in collaboration with the gods. [As for] those who eat air, their

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[41] *Wufu xu* 3/22b
[42] *Wufu xu* 3/23a
[43] *Wufu xu* 3/23a

divine radiance pervades. Not drinking and not eating, they perish together with (last as long as) Heaven and Earth.[44]

The Superior Perfected Men of antiquity saw the gods of the heavens eating air and behayed accordingly. Thus, if you learn how to eat air, true gods will come to help you with your management of affairs. Thereby they will wander down and reside in the Perfected Man's belly.[45]

Divine Men speak within the Perfected Man. Once you have made this clear, mortify your body, and their intentions will be understood. The external principle will naturally become rectified. Close your eyes and look within and communicate with the gods. Without uttering any words, you will be the same as the Dao. *Yin* and *yang* will cover each other and be enfeofed by Heaven.(?) Your eyes can be opened to the techniques of long life. You must not strain your intestines[46], but rather you should be harmonious and vast (in your state of mind). [From] heaven and earth receive harmony by being like a person who is blind and deaf (by discarding sense perception and relying on intuition). If you want to understand the mind of the child in the embryo, do not eat for ten months, and your spirits (of you and the baby within you) will communicate.[47]

The reader will recall that a powerful longing for the divine upper realm and a means for attaining a higher level of spirituality by which it can be directly experienced are to be found in the *Zhonghuang jing* (see pp. 124-126). As the body of the fasting adept

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[44]*Sandong zhunang* 4/2b-3a. Quoted from the 120th *juan* of the *Taiping jing* .

[45]*Daodian lun* 4/9a

[46] This character here may actually refer more generally to one's thoughts or emotions which one feels deeply as a harsh sensation in one's internal organs.

[47]HY1093/TT746 *Taiping jing chao* 4/1a See Plate 55

becomes purified and its subtle forces become activated, the adept reaches a higher level of insight and spirituality (the subtle *qi* is indeed equated to this insight and spirituality) where he can see the gods and spirits without and within his body. The adept furthermore comes to possess power over these gods and spirits as well as other kinds of supernormal powers. While ascension to the heavens is the final goal to some day be reached through sustained practice, the adept would also attempt to gain a foretaste of the upper realm while still physically residing in the mundane world. Clearly designed for this purpose is the visualization method described in the C-[11] in which through the rather dangerous practice of breath holding performed over long hours, the adept gets to see his ***hun*** souls, with which he travels up to paradise, leaving his *po* souls behind to take care of his physical body during his temporary absence. Experiences such as these are possible only after much pain and difficulty. This fact is well articulated in the following passage from the introduction ("Interpretation of the Title") of the *Zhonghuang jing*:

> However, when the Three Worms have not yet left, you will be treading upon a field of thorn bushes. Once the Three Worms have perished, you will naturally reach the Land of Huaxu.[48]

然三蟲未去.子踐荊楚之田.三蟲已亡.自達華胥之國

The commentary to this passage in ZH2 (*Yunji qiqian* 13/5a-6a), quoting a certain scripture entitled *Xuanjing zhang* (Chapter on the Obscure Mirror), explains that the land of Huaxu is a utopian realm, unlike any place in this world. There people live in perpetual good health and are able to come and go at will to visit the gods in the heavens. Free of the troubles and worries of working for a livelihood, these people acquire food and drink simply by wishing for them. However, this land is surrounded on all four sides for a distance of 30 *li* (about 13 km) by thorn bushes which one cannot avoid walking through before arriving at Huaxu. The text states, "Only if you disregard your ordinary body, can

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[48] 1b

you enter." 不顧凡身然可得入 The text goes on to say that if a person has any second thoughts after going into the thorn bushes, he will fail to reach Huaxu.

The thorn bushes, of course, are a metaphor for the suffering and weakening of the body that takes place during the stages of the fast prior to the complete purgation of the Three Worms. The Land of Huaxu is a metaphor for the mental and physical state of the adept after the successful purgation of the Three Worms, who lives in perpetual contentment on primal *qi* and has access to a blissful realm of experience beyond the ordinary.

As we have seen, the non-ingestion fasting methods of *Tuna jing*, *Daoji tuna jing* and the *Wufu xu* were also supposed to bring about in the adept the ability to experience what is divine and perform what is supernormal. The primary agent for inducing mystical experiences in these cases seems to have been hunger, sometimes assisted by the effects of self-asphyxiation and sleep deprivation. The delirium brought about by such austerities would intensify their meditational trance experiences. The *Huangting neijing jing* has in it the following passage which seems to particularly emphasize the role of sleep deprivation in inducing contact with the gods:

> The Great Lord of the Dao, Superior August One of Purple Purity,
> Attended on his sides by Taixuan and Taihe,
> Transforms and creates the myriad things and makes me into an Immortal,
> Who flies up to the ten heavens, mounted on a jade wheel.
> Think about [the Lord of the Dao] for seven days and nights without sleeping.
> If you can do this, you can exist for a long time.
> The acquisition of merit and the completion of training do not happen naturally.
> They result from sincere devotion and from guarding the One.

> Firmly guard within yourself, the truest of truths. Relaxed and peaceful amidst emptiness, you can naturally summon forth the gods.[49]

Contemplation and visualization of certain specific gods practiced over long hours was in such a way thought to bring about the assistance of those gods. The adept could feel assured of the efficacy of the gods if he could somehow experience their presence directly. By visualizing gods unceasingly, it was hoped that one could actually get to see them.

Although celibacy was perhaps not as important as a means of inducing mystical experiences (as its essential purpose was for the retention of *jing*), it was perhaps not altogether unrelated to the visions that adepts would have. As mentioned previously (see pp. 169-170), if and when the adepts saw Jade Girls, it was perhaps because of their repressed and sublimated sexual desires. This guess appears to be supported by the statement from the *Sanhuang wen* that Jade Girls can only be seen by those who are celibate. As we will see in Chapter Six, this mysticism of sublimated eroticism was to become extremely important in the early Shangqing tradition. Worth mentioning here is a hagiographic account of an episode in the life of an early fourth century adept named Guo Wen:

> "A man from outside the mountain (Mt. Baitu where Guo Wen lived) [named] Xu Kai assumed apprenticeship under Wenju (Guo Wen's style name) and received a register [from him]. The generals, sub official functionaries and soldiers [listed] on the register all manifested their forms to Kai, [who] took command of them. [Wenju] made Kai look at the earth (*she*) and hearth gods and admonished him, saying, "You must never engage in bedroom activity [, or else the spirits] will no longer be at your

山外人徐凱 師事文舉 受籙 籙上將軍吏兵 並見形於凱 使役之 令凱見神 竈神 戒凱曰 不可有房室 不復爲卿使

[49] 10a See Plate 56

command." Kai later married a daughter of the Ji family, and the various spirits thereupon concealed themselves, with the exception of two sub official functionaries of the register. [All of the spirits] no longer obeyed his commands. The two sub official functionaries of the register said to Kai, "You broke your promise to your teacher. The [Official Bureaucratic] Section of Heaven has already pulled back the functionaries and troops, leaving us behind to guard the Register of the Most High. You can no longer command us."[50]

This episode directly links celibacy with the ritual power of an ordained priest. It is well known that ordained Daoist priests who make the administering of ritual services their primary occupation are generally married. The above episode would appear to contradict this observation and indicate that not only the eremitic immortality seekers, but also some of the earliest ritual specialists were rigid celibates. Such a conclusion cannot be made, however, since the above story more than likely originates many centuries after the lifetime of Guo Wen, and thus conveys religious attitudes of a much later time.

Also worth noting is that sometimes the plant and mineral substances to be ingested during the fasts were selected not only for their capacities to eliminate hunger and thirst, but also for their capacity to induce altered states of consciousness. The rather clear example of this that we found in the *Wufu xu* is that of the toxic poke root plant which Daoist adepts

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[50]This episode is found in the *Yunji qiqian* 110/15b-16a within the hagiographic entries extracted from a certain *Dongxian zhuan* , as well as in the Yuan Dynasty compilation *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 28/10a-11a.

would grow at the side of their meditation chambers because it "allows a person to communicate with the gods" (See p. 176).

A very interesting theme which appears in some of our early texts and which continues to be evident in texts of much later periods is that of bodily sensations, temptations and visions of demonic forces which confront the adept as he approaches contact with good, divine forces. In the *Zhonghuang jing*, C-[11] we are told that as the adept attempts to leave his body together with his three *hun* souls (an experience described as similar to that of "leaving a dark room"), he sees all kinds of hideous-looking spirits and demons. If the adept is scared by these monsters, he will leak air (primal *qi*) from his nose and fail in his attempt to ascend. As we just saw in section A of this chapter, the *Xiandao jing* describes how, as the *qi* from the Lower Elixir Field becomes activated, the body feels cold, the intestines growl, the pulse becomes rapid and aching is felt in the arms and legs. Along with these sensations the adept begins to "see and hear things". Some of these "things"物 are "apparitions"小圣 which come to distract the adept who is struggling to maintain his concentration:

> Someone asked, "What ghost will I see?"
>
> Laozi answered, "After you have practiced the Dao for several tens of days, there will [appear before you] a white-haired old woman attended on her left and right by a girl. After a while, they will disappear to some place unknown. This is the apparition."[51]
>
> Someone asked, "When I see apparitions and my hands and feet shake and my mouth utters deluded words, should I close my eyes and concentrate on the [Lower Elixir] Field?"

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[51] pp.7a-b See Plate 57

Laozi answered, "Devotedly and single-mindedly close your eyes and concentrate on your [Lower Elixir] Field. Guide your *qi* as before [the apparitions appeared] without relenting and without doubting. After a long while, the apparitions will naturally cease [to appear]."[52]

Someone asked, "When one is always closing one's eyes and concentrating on the [Lower Elixir] Field, why does one still at times see apparitions?"
Laozi said, "[It is because] his mind is not yet focused and his will is not yet stabilized. Thus, he sees apparitions. [If this happens] he must not regard himself as correct. He must not rise up [from his meditative reclining position] out of fear and do something else. He must not speak with them (the apparitions). If he speaks with them, they will take him away with them."[53]

Someone asked, "Before it (the *qi* ?) arrives, the hands and feet shake and the mouth utters deluded words. Certainly I must not regard this as something natural, [must I]?"
Laozi said, "This is the doing of the *qi* of self-so-ness. It is not something caused by something evil."
Someone asked, "[What if] the shaking of the hands and feet and the deluded utterances do not stop."
Laozi said, "Within as many as two hours or only one hour, the *qi* will become stable, the mind will become focused and [the shaking and muttering] will cease."[54]

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[52] p.7b See Plate 58
[53] p.7b See Plate 59
[54] pp.7b-8a See Plate 60

> Someone asked, "If one sees ghosts, should he tell others about it?"
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> Laozi said, "If you tell others about it, the gods will not come [to you] later on. The ghosts are the envoys of the Perfected Men. Do not insult them or yell at them. The sound of their footsteps is [to be regarded as good]."[55]

While the ghosts described in *Xiandao jing* are temptational and potentially detrimental to the adept, the encounters with them are deemed as preludes to eventual desirable encounters with gods and Immortals. If the adept can resist being distracted by the ghosts, the gods and Immortals will later on come to visit him. One is reminded here of the theme, found prominently in the *Shenxian zhuan*, of trials put upon disciples by their masters or by gods and Immortals which test their caliber and determination before they can be revealed greater secrets. As we will see, this theme also receives much emphasis in the Shangqing texts.

Also very interesting is the passage from *Tuna jing* (see p. 136) where it says that when the adept is at the stage (after 8 days of the fast) when his "spirit travels about in the eight limits", his mouth tastes sweet every time he takes one of his ecstatic flights. In much later meditation texts of the internal alchemical tradition, frequent reference is made to "sweet dew" or "ghee", which refer to a good-tasting type of saliva which gushes forth in the mouth of the adept during deep meditational trances.

After the adept, over the course of his strenuous training, had activated the divine forces within his body, prevailed over the evil or tempting forces and come into contact with divine beings, it was thought that he would then come to possess supernormal powers. Most typically, the adept would be attributed with the power to combat and subdue demons and spirits, or the power to influence natural forces (e.g. relieve droughts by causing rainfall). Such notions conceivably would have then given the ascetic practitioner high credibility as a healer and a ritual master. It is in this sense that the two

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[55] p.8a See Plate 61

basic realms of Daoist practice, self-training and ritual, were always interrelated to a certain degree over the course of history. As for how frequently Daoist ascetics chose to actively utilize their alleged powers amidst the public is hard to say. An interesting example of an ascetic who allegedly utilized his powers frequently in public is found in the *Shenxian zhuan*'s entry on Ge Hong's uncle, Ge Xuan. According to it, Ge Xuan was an adept who lived on the *zhu* (*atractylodes macrocephala*) plant and was able to "abstain from grains for years and not get hungry". He was also known for his ability to sit on top of a raging bonfire without getting burned. But the narrative tells us that "more than anything else, he was good at healing diseases", that "demons and ghosts were all visible to him" and that "sometimes he expelled them (demons) and sometimes he killed them". The narrative then describes how Ge Xuan traveled about with his many disciples, combating evil spirits (many of whom were objects of worship within heretical cults), bringing rain for crops, and performing various other miracles.[56] If nothing else, this account at least appears to attest to how believers in the immortality-seeking tradition entertained hopes that their saints, whom they idealized as ascetics imbued with incredible powers, might come out into the world to use their great powers to the benefit of all.

As the reader may recall, a means by which the divine *qi* activated within the body of the adept could be used to heal peoples' diseases is described in the *Zhonghuang jing*, C-[12]. Certain other powers are also deemed as attainable by using this *qi*, such as the ability to see or go through solid surfaces or to read the minds of other people.

Other types of powers that would be attributed to successful adepts would be those of levitation and flight as clairvoyance. Probably for some adepts it was the allure of the prospect of attaining these powers which motivated them to persist in austere ways. Throughout the history of Daoism, the attainment of mystical experience and power were to continue to be important goals for ascetics.

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[56]*Shenxian zhuan* 7/29a-30b

C. Negative Views of the World and Society as Motives for Severe Asceticism

> Hide your traces and make yourself unseen, away from the world.
> Retain your *qi* and nurture your *jing* , and your mouth will be [colored] like vermilion.
> Bear upon yourself your nature and destiny and maintain [a mental state of] vacuous non-being.
> Your name will enter into [the registers of the realm of] Upper Purity and your death register will be erased.
> The enjoyment of the three gods (of the Elixir Fields) comes from reclusion.
> Suddenly [you will be able to find yourself] wandering about freely with no worries left.
> Your feathered garments will be ready and the eight winds will hasten.
> As you mount the three white clouds and ride the morning mist,
> Golden carriages will assume their position and follow your jade carriage.
> Why do you not climb a mountain and recite my book?
> Deep beyond the thickets are the traces of the Perfected Men.
> Why must you hesitate to enter the mountains?
> The world in which people live is crowded and bothersome and stinks like an old rag.[57]

This passage from the ***Huangting neijing jing*** urges its reader to leave society and live in seclusion in the mountains. Liberated from the concerns of daily life in society, the adept can concentrate solely on reciting the ***Huangting neijing jing*** and practicing the various methods that it alludes to, and thus achieve the best of results. The final line

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[57]8b See Plate 62

expresses very clearly a sentiment that was likely shared by a good portion of those who lived the austere lifestyle; a genuine dislike for society.

An intriguing question which confronts us is whether or not Daoist asceticism was more of a negative reaction to the mundane world than it was a positive quest for higher ideals. This question, while needing to be raised in regard to all periods of history, seems particularly relevant in regard to the strife-ridden times which produced most of the material that we have been studying in Part I, the late Han and early Six Dynasties periods. The end of the Han Dynasty was marked by corruption and intrigue within the political sphere and widespread dissatisfaction among the populace which culminated in the Yellow Turban Revolts, led and organized by the oldest religious Daoist sect known, Taiping Dao or the Way of Great Peace. Very little political and social stability was to ever exist in the centuries that ensued. Wars persisted during the Three Kingdoms period as the kingdoms of Shu and Wu in the south squared off against the Wei in the north. After a brief period of re-unification under the Western Jin Dynasty (265-316), the north came to be dominated by various non-Chinese peoples who fought incessantly among each other. Even during fleeting intervals of peace, politics remained rife with corruption, intrigue and danger, making the benefits of attaining power and status in society dubious. In other words, whether one was a poor peasant or a literate person of privileged upbringing, it must have quite often seemed difficult to affirm what the world had to offer as being desirable.[58]

On the other hand, one can argue that whether or not one assumes a world-denying, anti-social attitude is determined more on a personal, psychological level, and that there are always certain people who will come to disdain the world regardless of what the state of society in general happens to be. This assertion can be supported by the simple fact that severely ascetic attitudes and behavior can be identified within more or less all periods of history and within greatly diverse cultures. However, even though such may be the case, it

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[58]See John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert M. Craig, *East Asia: Tradition and Transformation* (1978) pp.78-96.

would be wrong to deny the impact that the overall historical context can have upon the specific ways in which the ascetic mentality gets expressed and the degree to which such attitudes pervade. For this reason it is highly noteworthy that late Han and Six Dynasties Daoism expounded unique messianic and eschatological world views which perceived the contemporary world as a corrupt and treacherous place which had to be reformed or transcended through religious belief and practice.

The final line of the above passage from *Huangting neijing jing* describes the world as "*fen fen* ", which means "disorderly" or "confusing". This most likely refers to all the distractions that society provides which hinder the adept's progress. This problem is also addressed in the following passage from *Xiandao jing* :

> Someone asked, "If I seek to transcend the world, but want to stay amidst the people, is it possible?"
> Laozi said, "Amidst the people are many desires which cause the mind to be unfocused. If you enter the mountains and live in secrecy, maintaining your aspirations [towards transcending the world], naturally your merits will be sufficient, your body will transform, and you will obtain long life."[59]

In virtually all forms of Daoist training, particularly in meditation, overcoming one's desire is considered mandatory if any degree of progress is to be made. To distance oneself from the stimuli for desires which society provides was considered to be an effective way for the mind to gain the degree of concentration that was necessary. This attitude in itself is not an actual disdain or aversion towards society. However, if a practitioner was truly earnest in his quest for immortality, this attitude would very conceivable cause him to genuinely hate and look down upon society as an evil place that

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[59] p.6b See Plate 63

could do him no good. The adept would then perceive the world as a place that "stinks", or consciously make an effort to perceive it as such, so as to sever his attachment to it.

This "stinking" quality was probably attributed to the world not only because of this conscious rejection of its corruptive stimuli, but also because of a dualistic disdain for the less noble principle. In other words, while longing for what was *yang* , good, pure, divine, heavenly, bright, formless and eternal, practitioners disdained what was *yin* , evil, filthy, demonic, earthly, material and impermanent. In the *Wufu xu* (3/3a-7a) is a lengthy description of a *jiao* or a rite of worship to the Five Emperors of the Five Directions which employs the Lingbao Five Talismans. The description ends with a lengthy memorial to be recited at the end of the rite when the Five Emperors, who had been invited into the ritual arena, are being bed farewell to as they return to their respective heavens. The memorial starts off with the with the following interesting words:

> I, being a man of flesh born from a womb and a [human] descendant with withering bones (a mortal human), was born and raised amidst the filthy world. Impure *qi* and intestinal worms assemble [within me]. My accumulated sins are as voluminous as rivers and seas. The guilt that I embrace is deep and burdensome. Ever since I can remember, I have revered and looked up to the Great Dao. My heart longs for the true *qi* so that I can rejoice in it.[60] 某以胎生肉人. 枯骨子孫. 生長濁世. 穢氣蟠聚. 積罪河海. 抱咎深重. 自有識以來. 尊仰大道. 心希真氣. 以自歡樂.

If this is an honest expression of how the practitioner feels, and not merely a form of formal modesty, it means that he is ashamed of being a part of the world and of possessing a body made of its filthy *qi* . Being by nature filthy, he thus also considers himself to be a sinner. It was probably the case then, that a good number of those adepts who employed

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[60] *Wufu xu* 3/6b

the most arduous, mortifying training methods, did so out of this sense of shame and disgust for themselves and their bodies. However, it must be remembered that even the most mortifying training methods found in the texts of the period that we have studied here in Part One are designed to ultimately strengthen and improve the health of the body. The punishing and harming of the body in themselves were certainly not the intended goals expressed in scriptures such as the *Zhonghuang jing* and *Wufu xu*. If many adepts did indeed mortify their flesh out of self-hatred, in many cases this self-hatred probably existed more in the subconscious. That the punishment of the body was in itself generally not a conscious goal is reflected in the fact there is no evidence of practices such as self-flagellation which inflict pain and injury with no supposed ultimate benefit upon the body's health. An intriguing issue here is how one is to regard the ritual suicides concerning which we have observed pertinent material from the *Liexian zhuan*, *Shenxian zhuan* and *Wufu xu*. In theory, the adept does not die, but gains eternal life through these methods. Yet, it is possible that for some who resorted to such means, the actual motivation could have been a suicidal state of mind, burdened with despair and shame of one's existence.

More typically, in the texts that we have been studying, the disdain for the grosser principle is not expressed in the form of self-hatred, but in the form of avoidance of the filth of the world that defiles the body. As we have seen over and over again, particularly in the *Zhonghuang jing*, food was disdained as defiling to the body. The body was thought to have within it the noble principle and the potential to itself become a heavenly realm where countless gods reside. It was thought that it was because people defile themselves by taking as nourishment the *qi* of the grosser principle that the noble principle within was obscured, rendering the body filthy, heavy and mortal.

Another negative feeling towards the mundane world which was a powerful motive for ascetic activity was fear; a dread of the tragedies and calamities that afflict everybody in real life and a concern as to how to survive in such a world. As we have seen, this concern is conveyed frequently in the *Wufu xu* where fasting methods are described not so much as

ways of purifying and transforming the body, but as a means of becoming able to survive the times of famine that are bound to afflict the world. As I have mentioned, this concern must have resulted because famines and widespread suffering were distinct realities within the lives of the practitioners of the *Wufu xu*, and also because of the eschatological belief which is alluded to in various places in the *Wufu xu*. As the reader may recall (see p. 149), the description of the Eastern Heaven on 1/12a states that those who swallow its *qi* can avoid the calamities that afflict the world at the end of each cosmic era. The narrative at the beginning of the *Wufu xu* states that the Great Yu, after compiling the "Heavenly Writ of the Lingbao Five Talismans" buried them in Mt. Miao so they could be revealed to a worthy man once every 10,000 years at the end of the great cosmic era (see p. 144). Also, it needs to be pointed out here that on 3/12a-b are found illustrations of two talismans called the "Nine Heavenly Kings' Flying Talismans for Perpetual Safety"
which, according to the accompanying text, serve the precise purpose of enabling the adept to survive the catastrophes that occur at the conclusions of cosmic eras:

> [If] a man of the Dao wears this [talisman] at the waist as he experiences the *Yang* Nine and the Hundred and Six [61], the 1000 poisons will not afflict his body. Once upon a time, Yu of Xia hid it amidst the stones so that it could be transmitted to Fu Bochang, the controller of water [as well as] Sang Jiazi, Li Guoguang and Ma Ping at Mt. Shi.[62] At the arrival of the end of the great *kalpa* , wear this talisman on the front of you.
>
> (illustration of the talisman)
>
> At the end of a small *kalpa* , wear [this talisman] on the back of you.
>
> (Illustration of another talisman)

[61] See Ch.3 footnote no. 17.

[62] Ma Ping could refer to a place rather than a person, and Shi Shan could actually be the name of a person.

The word "*kalpa* " (transliterated into Chinese as *jie*) seems to have been one of the first Buddhist terms to be borrowed and used frequently by Daoists. In a Buddhist context, it basically means "a period of time", often a very long period of time in which worlds are created and then go through an entire process of flourishing, declining and ultimate destruction. The word was borrowed and used by the Daoists so that they could explain their own eschatological beliefs. Texts of the Shangqing revelations[63] give the earliest available coherent and detailed expositions of a Daoist eschatology explained in terms of great *kalpas* and small *kalpas* .[64] Although the Shangqing texts do not always agree with each other as far as details are concerning how long the *kalpas* last, what is agreed upon is that a great *kalpa* is the amount of time between the creation of the world and its destruction, and that small *kalpas* are large divisions of time within the great *kalpa*. Calamities occur at the end of all great and small *kalpas* , but those at the end of a great *kalpa* are much more devastating than those at the end of a small *kalpa* . At the end of a small *kalpa*, there is to be much political unrest, as well as horrendous natural disasters which will kill off the evil people, allowing only the righteous to survive. At the end of a great *kalpa* , the world as it is known is completely destroyed. A Sacred Lord comes to decide, upon consultation with the Five Emperors of the Five Directions, who is to survive the end of the world as one of the chosen people or as an Immortal Official within the sacred bureaucracy of the utopia of the Lord. The theme of eschatology in the Shangqing

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[63]Expositions of Shangqing eschatology are found *Dongzhen santian zhengfa jing* 洞真三天正法經 (quoted in *Wushang biyao* 6), *Shangqing santian zhengfa jing* 上清三天正法經 (quoted in *Sandong zhunang* 9 and *Yunji qiqian* 2) and *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji* (HY442/TT198). 上清後聖道君列紀

[64]Fine studies concerning this Shangqing eschatology have been done in both Japanese and French. See Kobayashi Masayoshi 小林正美 "Jooseikyoo to Reihookyoo no Shuumatsu Ron" 上清經と靈寶經の終末論 in *Toohoo Shuukyoo* 東方宗教 no.75 (May, 1990) and Isabelle Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du Taoîsme* (1984) pp.138- 141.

texts will be returned to in Chapter Six. For our purposes now, it is significant to note that a belief in a notion of great and small *kalpa* s is demonstrated in the *Wufu xu*, the origins of which pre-date the Shangqing revelations. The possibility certainly exists that the passages in the *Wufu xu* referring to the great and small *kalpa* s were incorporated into the text some time after the Shangqing revelations. However, the absence of any reference to the Sacred Lord (known as Jinque Housheng Dijun or the Imperial Lord, the Sage of the Later Age of the Golden Palace Gates) or to scriptures and personages of importance within the Shangqing tradition suggests that the theme of *kalpa* s occurs in the *Wufu xu* because it was already widespread among Daoists of the Wu region and that the Shangqing texts did not invent, but rather elaborated upon the notion. This belief that terrible calamities inevitably occur which wipe out all except the few who are worthy certainly must have motivated practitioners to strive harder so that they could prove worthy. Certainly, the methods used to achieve this survival were not all particularly ascetic in their nature; they often involved possessing access to and knowledge of the proper talismans, scriptures and incantations. But for the purpose of making the body fit to survive the most dire of circumstances, or to win the sympathetic intervention of divine and immortal beings, or to achieve ascension into realms remote from the destruction, or to prove oneself worthy of transmission and possession of the proper talismans and scriptures, severe ascetic practices were something which could be resorted to.

Section 52 of *Laozi zhongjing* describes what is apparently a very archaic eschatological and messianic theory which does not employ the term, *kalpa* . According to this theory, every 36 years there occurs a converging of the Three Origins which are the Great One 太一 , the Great *Yin* 太陰 and the Baleful *Qi* 害氣 [65]. In years when this happens, the following is what takes place:

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[65]It is hard to understand what these three entities were supposed to be, although they seem to be vaguely understandable as three cosmic forces which operate and interact in the universe.

In years when the three converge, disasters such as floods, droughts, wars and famines arise at the same time. In years when the three converge, the *yin* (rainfall) and the *yang* (dry periods) occur in an untimely fashion (this seems to mean that floods and droughts occur). [The coming together of the Three Origins] influences Heaven and moves Earth. The Baleful *Qi* pervades. Going about in the daytime it damages the crops. When it afflicts humans, it causes epidemics. When it affects the grains, famines occur. If you live amidst [the world] at this time, you cannot keep yourself alive. How can you not strive and make efforts to study the Dao? As for the world at that time, floods, droughts, locust plagues, famines from shortages of the five grains, and armed rebellions will arise all at once. The people will suffer from epidemics and roads will be inaccessible. Carrying their old on their backs and their young in their arms, people will flee and disperse in separate directions. As for those fathers and mothers, wives and children, older and younger brothers [who have been separated from each other]; their sorrowful energy will be aroused from within, crushing their livers and severing their intestines. [Having sunk to a way of life] more or less like that of slaves, they will no longer know their own districts or villages. Even if you wish to [start to] study the Dao at this time, is it not too late? Is it not too late? I sincerely warn you; preserve your spirit and concoct the elixir so as to be well prepared beforehand. Thereby when you encounter the era of disorder, go into hiding in a far away place. When the enlightened era of the Sacred Lord arrives, the Dao can be practiced out in the open.

Therefore, in regard to the meeting of Heaven and Earth, every 45 years there is a small shortage, and every 90 years there is a small famine. Every 180 years there is a great shortage and every 360 years there is a great

> famine. Every 500 years, wise men have a small gathering. Every 1000 years , sagely men have a small gathering. Every 3600 years, sagely men have a large gathering. Every 18,000 years, a Perfected Man emerges to govern. Every 36,000 years, an Immortal of the Ultimate Extreme emerges and governs. Every 3,600,000 years Heaven and Earth merge together. The primal *qi* will [revert to] the original form of primal chaos. People will become the myriad things, not knowing east from west or south from north. Humans will transform into birds and beasts, and birds and beasts will be transformed into humans.
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> Perfect Men at that time will be above the primal *qi* . Immortals will at that time be in remote regions of limitless distance. The men of the Dao will live in hiding, and will be able to take care of themselves.[66]

Here is presented a picture of a world which is destroyed and re-created every 3.6 million years, during which periods of famines, wars and epidemics of varying degrees of severity occur inevitably at regular intervals. Various types of sages and sacred beings also appear at regular intervals to restore goodness, order and happiness in the world. But this restoration is merely temporary, as the times of misfortune keep coming, and the ultimate destruction and re-creation of the world finally takes place. The reader of *Laozi zhongjing* is thus advised to pursue Daoist training so as to not fall victim to the disasters, distancing himself from human society where the misfortunes become most prevalent. Presumably then, the ideal is to become one of the Perfected Men who live in the realm "above the primal *qi*" which is free of the miseries occurring during the destruction, dissolving and remolding of all things animate and inanimate.

Thus, if this truly grim view of a mundane world and society that are inevitably afflicted with suffering and doomed to destruction prevailed among Daoists in the early

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[66] *Yunji qiqian* 19/16a-17a See Plate 64

centuries of the common era, it is more than likely that severe ascetic practices were very often an expression of dread towards the misfortunes of the world, and a frantic attempt to escape it.

Of course, the reaction of Daoists that was inspired by this kind of a world view was not always one of horror and escapism. Hope was to be found in the notion that wise and holy men would arrive as messiahs and restore happiness. The objective for many was, then, to help bring about the utopia of the messiah. This belief led to the Yellow Turban Revolt started in 184 A.D., orchestrated by the Taiping Dao sect led by Daoist healer Zhang Jue. Quite a bit can be known about the ideology of the Taiping Dao and movements like it through what survives of the *Taiping jing* , which despite undergoing certain revisions and embellishments, expounds utopian ideas that may originate as early as the first century B.C.[67] The *Taiping jing* takes a disparaging view of the contemporary world as one which had become corrupt and had lost the blissful innocence of high antiquity. The reader may recall that this idealization of high antiquity is also present in the narrative at the beginning of the *Wufu xu.* But the solution presented to the problem is not to escape from the world. Instead, it encourages its reader to work to restore within the world this state of primal innocence which is the Great Peace. Perhaps the most important difference between the ideology of the *Taiping jing* and the eschatology of the *Laozi zhongjing*, *Wufu xu* or the Shangqing school is that the *Taiping jing* blames the corruption of the world and natural disasters on the actions of people, rather than describing them as a products of inalterable cosmic cycles.[68] The *Taiping jing* reasons that calamities are more common, suffering is more widespread, and life spans are shorter in the contemporary world because Heaven and Earth punish mankind for their immorality and misdeeds. Even the righteous are punished because they inherit the moral demerits of the their ancestors. Therefore, the

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[67]See Max Kaltenmark, "The Ideology of the T'ai-p'ing Ching" in Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel ed. *Facets of Taoism* .

[68]The exception to this is the *Jia* chapter of the *Taiping jing chao* , which is none other than a lengthy exposition of Shangqing eschatology with references to the messiah Jinque Housheng Dijun and the *Lingshu Ziwen* scripture, which must have been written some time after the Shangqing revelations.

ills of the world can be cured, and a time of bliss and widespread immortality can be restored if everybody makes an effort to live righteously in a way that does not offend or injure Heaven and Earth[69], and performs the proper penances and rituals to atone for their sins and those of their ancestors. The *Taiping jing* reasons that the society of antiquity can be restored if each individual emulates the ancients, who were spiritually in close contact with the gods. It is for the purpose of emulating them that complete fasting is prescribed in the 36th *juan*:

> When the people of the world first came into existence, they were provided with their bodies by Heaven and Earth. Embracing their primal *qi* amidst self-so-ness, they neither drank nor ate. They lived by inhaling and exhaling the breaths of *yin* and *yang*, never knowing hunger nor thirst. After a long while they became remotely separated from the Way of the Gods, little by little losing track of their principles. Those born later no longer were able to know the vacuity of the true Dao. Day by day they drifted into falsehood, thereby giving rise to hunger and thirst. [So it came to be that] they would consequently die if they did not drink and eat.[70]

Celibacy, on the other hand, is not recommended in the *Taiping jing*, which to the contrary encourages procreation so that humanity can continue to flourish in large numbers. In fact, it recommends that all men have two wives.[71] Thus, unlike some of the ascetically oriented scriptures which convey a disdain for society and a horror in regard to its future, the attitude towards society conveyed by the *Taiping jing* is one of despair for its present state accompanied by a bright hope for a restoration to be enjoyed by many.

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[69]In the 45th *juan* are found very interesting teachings which take on quite an environmentalist tone, in that the excessive exploitation of natural resources is cited as an act which injures Earth and thus brings due punishment upon mankind.

[70]HY1093/TT748 36/1b-2a See Plate 65

[71]This teaching is expounded in the 35th *juan* in a section entitled "The Method of the One Man and the Two Women"一男二女法.

The impression one gets is that as the Yellow Turban revolt was crushed, and new regimes failed to produce anything remotely resembling a utopia, gloomy and world-denying theories of eschatology came to overshadow any hopes for establishing the utopia in the here and now. Henceforth, when Daoists rejected the comforts and necessities of the mundane world, it was probably in many cases an expression of the fact that they had lost any kind of hope in it.

I shall now bring Part One to a close. As we have seen, severe asceticism was a widely held ideal among practitioners of the various Daoist arts who practiced their various methods within their individual schools and lineages. This fact is well attested to by hagiographic and scriptural evidence. Although the specifics of their beliefs and practices were each unique and at times contradictory, severe asceticism was very commonly endorsed, particularly in the form of fasting methods. The fact that the value of fasting was strongly emphasized can be recognized from the diversity and sheer number of the methods resorted to for its purpose.

In this chapter I have categorized the motives for severe asceticism into three basic types:

(1) The strengthening and transformation of the body.

(2) The attainment of contact with the divine, mystical experience and supernormal power.

(3) Negative attitudes (disdain, despair, horror) towards the mundane world.

Within the scope of asceticism as a phenomenon in religions as a whole, (1) represents a trait of Daoist asceticism which makes it quite unique in comparison to that of other religious traditions. In later times, all three basic motives were to continue to be important motives for severe asceticism among Daoists who continued to practice methods similar or identical to those which we have examined in Part One. At the same time, new methods were to also be developed along with new doctrines and ethics which were to

serve as rationalization for severe asceticism. For a large part, the new developments were to come about because Daoism was approaching maturity as an organized religion while interacting and competing with other religions, especially Buddhism. Part Two will examine how severe asceticism continued to exist and develop among Daoists after the Shangqing and Lingbao revelations and prior to the innovations of the Tang Dynasty (a period spanning from about 360 to 600 A.D.).

CHAPTER FIVE: SEVERE ASCETICISM IN THE NORTHERN-SOUTHERN DYNASTIES PERIOD-- HAGIOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTIONS FROM THE DAOXUE ZHUAN

The second part of our study deals with the phenomenon of severe asceticism as discussed in Daoist texts of the latter part of the Six Dynasties period, commonly referred to as the Nanbeichao or Northern-Southern Dynasties period (317-581). Before examining the most influential scriptures of this period (Shangqing and Lingbao texts) for evidence of the severe ascetic doctrines and practices that they endorsed, we will first look at some descriptions of the austerities of famous Daoists of the period which appear in hagiography. By doing so it is hoped that we can gain a clearer and livelier image of how the severe ascetic ideal was supposed to find expression in the lifestyles and deeds of outstanding and exemplary adepts. The most useful hagiographic source for our purpose is Ma Shu's (522-581) *Daoxue zhuan* (*Biographies of Learners of the Dao*)[1]which survives today in fragments, among which the most interesting ones for our study are found primarily in the *Sandong zhunang*. Other works that have preserved fragments of the *Daoxue zhuan* are the *Shangqing daolei shixiang* (HY1124/TT765) [2], the *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* (HY725/TT440-448) [3] , the *Xianyuan pianzhu*(HY596/TT329-330)[4], the *Sandong qunxian lu* (HY1238/TT992-995)[5], Li Shan's (d.689) commentary to the *Wenxuan* , the *Chuxue ji* [6], the *Taiping yulan* [7] and the *Shilei fu* [8]. Chen Guofu , in an appendix to his *Daozang yuanliu kao* v.2[9], has done a great favor for all scholars of Daoism by assembling all of the extant text fragments to form a restored *Daoxue zhuan* .[10] As Chen has pointed out, these text fragments are

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[1]Bibliographical citations of this work are found in the bibliographical sections of the *Sui shu* (by Changsun Wuji d.659), *Jiu tang shu* (by Liu Xu 887-946) and *Xin tang shu* (by Ouyang Xiu 1007-1072 and Song Qi 998-1067) and, as well as in the *Tongzhi lüe* (by Zheng Qiao 1104-1162), *Daozang quejing mulu* (comp. 1275) and *Maoshan zhi*. The *Jiu tang shu*, *Xin tang shu* and *Tongzhi lüe* give the name of Ma Shu as the author, while the others do not name an author.

[2]Compiled by Wang Xuanhe of the 7th century.

[3]Written by Du Guangting of the end of the Tang and beginning of the Wudai period.

[4]Written by Wang Songnian of the end of the Tang and beginning of the Wudai period.

[5]Compiled by Chen Baoguang ca. 1154.

[6]Written by Xu Jian (659-729).

[7]Compiled by Li Fang in 982.

[8]Written by Wu Shu (947-1002).

[9] pp.454-504

[10]See Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao* (1963) pp.454-504.

of great importance to scholars of Daoism because they supply information on numerous Daoists during the Northern-Southern Dynasties period (primarily in the south) about whom information in other sources is non-existent or scant at best.

More specifically for our purposes, these text fragments are valuable because many of them depict their protagonists as observing lifestyles, carrying out practices, or expressing attitudes of a strongly ascetic nature. This is probably because Ma Shu himself regarded severe asceticism as an ideal for all serious adepts to aspire to. The biography of Ma Shu preserved in four different sources indicates that he was a renowned scholar (versed especially in "Buddhist books, the *Book of Changes* and the *Laozi* ") who attempted himself to live an austere, eremitic life.[11] Undoubtedly Ma Shu's own ideals had great bearing upon whom he chose to depict, what type of behavior he chose to mention, as well as the events and sayings with which he embellished the information that he had available. Another reason why the severe ascetic ideal is well represented in what survives in the *Daoxue zhuan* is because Wang Xuanhe, the seventh century compiler of the *Sandong zhunang* and *Shangqing daolei shixiang* also seems to have exalted severe asceticism as an ideal worthy of emulation, and thus incorporated large portions from the *Daoxue zhuan* to fill out the sections in his *Sandong zhunang* that bear titles such as "Section on Poverty and Frugality" , "Section on Hiding One's Brilliance" , "Section on Dietetics" and "Section on Cutting Off Grains".

In this way, the content of what was to survive of the *Daoxue zhuan* was determined not only by Ma Shu's ideals, but also by the editorial policies of the compilers (especially Wang Xuanhe) that have preserved his writings. Although it is apparent that the *Daoxue zhuan* in its original form had much information on Northern-Southern Dynasties period Daoists and their austere ways, it was undoubtedly a work of a considerably larger scope than the fragments that we will deal with in

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[11]At the prime of his life he went into retirement on Mt. Mao (sacred to the Shangqing movement). He declined an appointment as the Minister of Revenue for the Chen Dynasty. Later, he grudgingly accepted the invitation of the Prince of Poyang, but refused to live in the elegant house built for him, and choosing to live in a grass hut in a bamboo grove. He refused as much as possible the gifts brought to him by members of royalty and nobility. The biography also notes that he had the ability to see things clearly at night, which is perhaps meant to suggest that he had mastered some sort of physiological technique. See the *Chen shu* (by Yao Sulian 557-637, Zhonghua Shuju edition, 1972) pp.264-265, the *Nan shi* (by Li Yanshou of the seventh century, Zhonghua Shuju edition) pp.1907-1908, the *Xuanpin lu* 4/3a-b, or the *Maoshan zhi* 15/1b-2b.

this chapter. In other words, the original *Daoxue zhuan* covered more than just the Northern-Southern Dynasties period, and described various details concerning the lives of its protagonists aside from their asceticism. The original work was of considerable volume as it consisted of twenty *juan*[12]. Fragments from entries on 106 different personages have survived, and there is really no way of knowing how many more entries there originally were. None of the fragments preserve an entire entry for a personage, although some of the fragments, such as those regarding Fan Chai and Lu Xiujing can be pieced together to reconstruct an account of substantial size that seems to represent the bulk of the original entry. Although no preface survives that states the scope and orientation of the entire original work, it appears that it purported to cover the noteworthy deeds of all prominent personages in the Daoist tradition, from murky antiquity up to times contemporary with Ma Shu himself. Thus preserved as quotes from the *Daoxue zhuan* is lore involving the mythical sage emperors Zhuanxu[13], Yao and Shun[14], as well as the legend surrounding the Lingbao Five Talismans[15] which we examined in Chapter Three. Also to be found among the surviving fragments are portions from entries on eighteen prominent personages of the Han and Three Kingdoms periods which include among them the Han Emperor Wu, Zhang Daoling, Jie Xiang (see p. 66), Jiao Xian (see pp. 53-55) She Zheng (see p. 75-76)[16], Sun Deng (see p. 56) and Gong Song[17]. While fragments on such earlier personages are outnumbered considerably by those on Northern-Southern Dynasties personages, this is probably in part because compilers of the books preserving the fragments took interest in the *Daoxue zhuan* primarily for its entries on the later personages, while relying more on works such as the *Liexian*

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[12]All of the bibliographies that cite it, with the exception of the *Xin tang shu* describe it as a work of twenty juan. The *Sandong zhunang*, which generally mentions the *juan* of the *Daoxue zhuan* that it quotes from, makes numerous quotes from the twentieth *juan*.

[13]Preserved in the first *juan* of the *Xianyuan bianzhu*. See Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao* p.489.

[14]Preserved in the eighth juan of the *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*. See Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao* p.489.

[15]Preserved in Li Shan's *Wen xuan* commentary and the *Taiping yulan*. See Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao* p.456.

[16]The text of the 663rd juan of the *Taiping yulan*, which preserves the passages on Jie Xiang, Jiao Xian and She Zheng is corrupted (unless the corruption occurred in the original *Daoxue zhuan*), and give the names of these three personages respectively as Jie Xiang 介像, Jiao Guang 焦光 and Bu Zheng 步正. The content of the fragments indicates that they refer to the same personages described in the *Shenxian zhuan*.

[17]This figure, who also has an entry in the *Shenxian zhuan*, was a disciple of Gan Ji and one of the early proponents of the Taiping movement who presented the *Taiping qingling shu to Han Emperor Shun* (r.126-145 A.D.). See Chapter Four ft. nt. 19.

zhuan and *Shenxian zhuan* for information on the earlier personages. From what survives of the text, it is difficult to detect any kind of a sectarian bias in favor of any particular faction of religious Daoism. Ma Shu eulogizes outstanding Daoists regardless of whether they with the Heavenly Master's Sect (e.g. Liu Ningzhi) or the Shangqing (e.g. Tao Hongjing) and/or Lingbao (e.g. Lu Xiujing) movements.

The focus of the present discussion is on fragments concerning those Daoists of the Northern-Southern Dynasties which are pertinent to our topic of severe asceticism. They are of unquestionable relevance to our study in so far as they reflect the beliefs and ideals of Ma Shu and others like him concerning the importance of leading an austere lifestyle, and the efficacy of severe ascetic methods such as fasting for attaining the ultimate religious goal. Much less certain is the historical authenticity of the events that Ma Shu narrates, due primarily to the fact that he wrote not as an objective historian but as a faithful Daoist with the purpose of glorifying the Daoist religion and its saints, while at the same time promoting particular religious values. For this reason it is very likely the he (or his sources) in many instances embellished or exaggerated certain facts, or attributed sayings never uttered to his protagonists in order to imbue them with a more sacred aura or to make them better match his own standards of what the character a great Daoist was supposed to be. For this reason we cannot fully rely upon the text fragments as evidence of ascetic behavior of real-life Daoists. We can merely speculate that something similar to what is described (at least the elements which do not defy common sense) may have taken place to form the basis and inspiration of the story. The sources of information which Ma Shu relied upon must have greatly varied. Concerning the stories involving persons and events of mythical antiquity as well as the Han and Three Kingdoms periods, it appears that Ma Shu relied heavily upon the *Shenxian zhuan* (as Chen Guofu has indicated in his reconstructed text) as well as other books of Daoist lore which existed at his time. Regarding the fragments that we will be dealing with, I do not know whether or not he relied upon any particular written sources or whether he was relying on hearsay. While some (Guo Wen, Tao Dan, Wang Jia, Xu Mai, Zhuge Le) of the personages that we will be looking at lived as many as 200 years or more before Ma Shu, others (Dongxiang Zongchao, Yu Chengxian, Zhang Min, Xu Mingye, Xu Shizi, Li Lingchen, Cheng Tongsun, Zhang Yu, Shuang

Zibian, Zhang Xuanche, Shuang Xizi) lived shortly prior to him or were his contemporaries. (Unfortunately, for many of the personages, the portions from their original entries which would have indicated the historical period in which they were active have not survived.)

I believe, however, that when compared to the tales of the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan*, much of the information (at least that which does not defy common sense) that we will be examining in this chapter is more credible. First of all, many of the *Daoxue zhuan*'s entries are about people who lived during the same century as Ma Shu. While it is true that even contemporary events can be exaggerated and miscommunicated, Ma Shu still would have been better informed and under more restraint by the facts when narrating the events in lives of people whom some of his contemporaries, if not Ma Shu himself, had known first-hand. Also (and more importantly), the accounts of the *Daoxue zhuan*, or at least those concerning the personages of the Northern-Southern Dynasties which do not draw upon the *Shenxian zhuan* or books like it, appear to be written not so much with the purpose of awing readers with miraculous events (although some miracles are described) as they were for the purpose of moral exhortation through living examples. Thus the accounts frequently make a point of describing rather mundane events and traits of their protagonists which are by no means miraculous or sensational, but merely illustrate a high level of religious or moral virtue. While probably in many cases Ma Shu has idealized his protagonists excessively along the lines of these virtues, his accounts are generally much more sober than those of the *Liexian zhuan*, *Shenxian zhuan* or so-called *zhiguai* (records of strange events) literature such as Gan Bao's (d.317)*Soushen ji*, which largely had the aim of amazing and entertaining their readers.

As we will also see in the following pages, the *Daoxue zhuan* reflects many significant new trends in Daoism. Perhaps most noteworthy are the accounts attesting to the development and proliferation of celibate monasticism patterned after the Buddhist model, as well as the enforcement of vegetarianism as a regulation to be observed in all Daoist monasteries. One can also observe how the Daoist ascetics are depicted as embodying the virtues of ritualistic piety and altruism which, as we will see in Chapter Seven, came to be especially vigorously endorsed by the Lingbao scriptures. So we shall now proceed to our discussion. Section A will examine the ideal of living

the austere life as it is conveyed in the *Daoxue zhuan*, and Section B will examine the references to fasting methods found in it.

A. Severe Ascetic Lifestyles

The biography from the *Daoxue zhuan* that serves as the most vivid example of the ideal of "poverty and frugality" is that of Fan Chai from the fourth *juan* of the original text, which the *Sandong Zhunang* thus quotes to begin its "Section on Poverty and Frugality". The biography reads as follows:

> The 4th *juan* of the *Daoxue zhuan* says, "Fan Chai was a man of Langzhong, Baxi [18]. [In some accounts his name is] written with the character 侃. His comportment was always proper. He never claimed to have clairvoyance, nor did he ever speak of spiritual omens. He lived in solitary leisure and had no desires, spending entire days in silence. He would tie together old rags, and with the rope [made by tying rags together] he made a net which he covered with woven thatch, [thus setting up a shack] barely [big enough] to shelter his body. He went bare legged in winter and summer, but his legs never chapped and cracked. Throughout the four times of day (morning, afternoon, evening, night) he never went to sleep. His skin was like that of a maiden and he had a beautiful face. When entertaining company he was always smiling. The masses all respected him and felt at ease with him.
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> In the 14th year of the Taiyuan reign era of the [Liu] Song Dynasty [19]he arrived in Jingzhou [20]and lived in Fucheng [21]in Zhijiang county of Nanjun , amidst the

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[18] Located in northern Sichuan Province near the provincial borders with Gansu and Shaanxi Provinces.

[19] This sentence is puzzling because during the Liu-Song Dynasty (420-479 A.D.) there was no Taiyuan reign era. During the preceding Eastern Jin dynasty there was a Taiyuan reign era which lasted from 376 to 396.

[20] This refers generally to a vast portion of southern China that includes the provinces of Hubei and Hunan, as well as parts of the provinces of Guangxi, Guangdong, Guizhou, and Sichuan).

[21] Jingnan Dao, Hubei Province.

winding thorn bushes at the end of the river shoal. Again he had a shack which did not protect him from the wind and frost. He made his couch out of mulberry twigs with straw stuffed in between. He owned one empty lunch box and one clay pot in which he carried his belongings and which he used as a pillow when he lay down. Sometimes for ten days he would travel about carrying these belongings and begging for food. He never consumed non-sticky rice, large millet, *lao* and *li* liquor (unclarified sweet wines), tasty foods and fruits. He ate only rough millet and rice with vegetable stew. He would eat about one *sheng* (0.5955 liters) which would last him for ten days.

He moved quickly and spoke very rapidly. [His speech was] virtually unintelligible unless one listened very attentively and carefully. He always sat in a respectful posture and did not concern himself with high or low social status. He did not talk with those exalted as noble among secular folk. He always closed his eyes and did not listen to singing and music. He would always lie down and talk to himself. When someone asked him [what he was saying], he would reply, 'The troops of Wang Jian[22] have come', and then quickly follow up with other additional responses."

[The 4th *juan* of the *Daoxue zhuan*] also says, 'He had no possessions whatsoever. His lunch box and water pot were always empty.'

[The 4th *juan* of the *Daoxue zhuan*] also says, 'When looking from a distance one could see that his clothing was made of rags of miscellaneous colors. His hat was also several decades old. He appeared to be extremely dirty, [but] when he came [nearby] he smelled very fragrant and clean."[23]

Here we have portrayed a man active around 400 A.D. who is said to have lived contentedly with virtually no possessions. Despite exposing himself to the elements and rarely eating or

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[22]This may refer to one of the generals who played an instrumental role in the founding of the Northern Wei Dynasty.

[23] *Sandong zhunang* 2/1a-b. See Plate 66.

sleeping, we are told that he enjoyed impeccable health and youth. He sustained himself by begging and spoke rapidly and incoherently, often to himself. While such a man might ordinarily be derided as a vagrant or a madman, his squalid lifestyle and eccentricity are described here as traits conveying extraordinary spirituality and virtue.[24] The understanding is that he lowered himself to the life of vagrancy because he had risen above all worldly feelings of pride and shame, and that his speech and conduct were nonsensical because he was at a level of insight and spirituality that put him above and beyond the understanding of ordinary people. The text, in telling how he never boasted of having clairvoyant powers and how he shunned contact with the powerful people in society, conveys how Fan Chai held a completely indifferent attitude towards pursuits of worldly success and recognition. The above passage does not clearly state that he was a Daoist adept, although such is hinted at by how his austerities kept him youthful, and how he apparently meditated often and possessed the ability to survive on amazingly little food. Fortunately, other sources have preserved supplementary information on him (although much of it is rather difficult to accept as authentic). The *Dongxian zhuan* (found in the *Yunji qiqian* 110) tells us the following in regard to his training methods:

> He practiced the Non-active Way of the Taiping. When he sucked and gargled with his eyes almost fully shut, a five-colored radiance rose from his nape.[25]

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[24] This is not to say that everybody held eccentrics and vagrants in high esteem. The *Daoxue zhuan* also tells us about Yunming Zheng , a Daoist master of healing who miraculously heals the chronically ill daughter of a certain wealthy man named Kang Hou who had vehemently tried to reject his services because "he saw [Yunming] Zheng's tattered garments and bare feet and thought that he was insane." See ibid. 1/14a-b. 見正之弊衣徒跣,意以為狂.

[25] *Yunji qiqian* 110/8a-9a. See Plate 67.
The same hagiography, contrary to the *Daoxue zhuan* says that he was renowned for his clairvoyance, and claimed to have witnessed the overthrowing of the Shang Dynasty and to have been childhood playmates with the Han court magician Dongfang Shuo. It also says that at the time when Huan Wen (312-373) was regent, he already had streaks of white hair, but that during the Yuanjia reign era (424-453), his appearance had not changed. We are also told that he angered Emperor Wen (r.424-453) of the Liu-Song Dynasty and hence was made to commit suicide. The account then claims that his coffin was later dug up and found to be empty, and that he appeared to disciples in visions. Oddly, another account preserved in the *Yunji qiqian* 86/14a, says that he was only 49 years old when he achieved immortality through "liberation from the corpse" and that he died peacefully in a seated posture after bathing in fragrant water. No indication is given that it was a suicide carried out at the command of the Emperor. We are also told that Liu Ningzhi wrote a hagiography of him, which suggests that Fan Chai was affiliated in some way with the Heavenly Master's Sect.

Apparently, Fan Chai was believed to have practiced some sort of method involving the swallowing of air and/or saliva, which likely served as his means for resisting and preventing hunger. Perhaps he studied the *Taiping jing* and practiced the methods endorsed in it, which as we have seen (pp. 206-207, 216-217) included womb-breathing and the eating of air.

The following are some other passages from the *Daoxue zhuan* which convey the ideal of "poverty and frugality":

> Liu Ningzhi's style name was Zhi'an . His childhood name was Changnian . He was a man of Zhijiang, Nanjun [26]. He never accepted gifts from kings and dukes. Giving his house, wealth and his business to his younger brother, nephews and nieces he (together with his wife) went out amidst the weeds and made himself a tiny hut. He took nothing which he did not earn through his own labor. Both husband and wife maintained their integrity and were able to be content amidst hardship. He did not concern himself with petty matters. He would always, together with his wife enter the market place with a cartload of hay, and sell it to people at a price affordable to their degree of affluence. Whatever they earned that was beyond what was necessary for their subsistence, they gave to the beggars. Even in years of famine when there was no food, they would not change their ways. His wife was the daughter of Guo Quan , the Regional Inspector of Liangzhou[27]. [Her father] would send them luxurious presents which Ningzhi would distribute among his relatives until they were gone. His wife never regretted his doing this either.
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> By nature [Ningzhi] was fond of mountains and rivers. Therefore he took his wife and children with him and traversed cliffs and peaks, and built a small hut from *peng* (*erigeron kamschaticum*)weeds. His wife and children all came along with him. How and where they ended up is unknown.[28]

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[26]See ft.nt. 20.

[27]A province that included parts of present day Shaanxi and Sichuan Provinces.

[28] *Sandong zhunang* 2/2a. See Plate 68.

(Quoted from the 5th *juan*)

Kong Lingchan's style name was Lingchan. He was a man of Shanyin, Kuaiji [29]. When his mother passed away he took up mourning and became renowned for his filial piety. From this time on he completely disengaged himself from merriment, drinking and culinary delicacies. He ate only porridge and vegetables and wore only plain clothing, vowing to do so for the rest of his life. His father was in the capital, and knew nothing about this. Later, when [Lingchan] went out to the capital to visit [his father], [his father] saw that [Lingchan] had become emaciated. His father felt sorry for him and ordered that fine foods be prepared in the kitchen for him and his son to eat together. Obeying the kindly instruction from his father [to eat], he reluctantly forced himself take [the food] to his mouth and eat it, and ultimately because of it became ill. His father [did what he did] because of his benevolence, but one's nature endowed from Heaven cannot be changed. [Thus] he never forced [Lingchan to eat lavish food] again.[30]

(Quoted from the 16th *juan*)

Deng Yuzhi's style name was Xuanda . He was a man of Xinye, Nanyang [31]. He hid himself in the Southern Peak . He went about in solitude and had no permanent house. In the cold and heat he wore only a tattered monk's robe. In mourning he did not wear a topknot. When his hair grew he would cut it. He was a man of the Yongming reign era of the Qi Dynasty (483-493).[32]

(Quoted from the 18th *juan*)

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[29] Near present day Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province.

[30] Ibid. 1/17b. See Plate 69.

[31] Present day Xinye County, Henan Province.

[32] Ibid 2/3b. See Plate 70.

Dongxiang Zongchao's[33] style name was Yilun. He was a man of Qianzou, Gaomi [34]. From his early childhood he was detached from secular matters. He never married nor took office. He was dedicated and diligent in his training to a degree that others could not endure. He ate one meal at noon, eating only hemp and wheat. All of his disciples and family members were vegetarians. In the hut of [self]-refinement (temple, monastery) in which he lived, fish was never served.[35]
(Quoted from the 10th *juan*)

Zhang Ze's style name was Shihe . He was a man of Wu of Wujun [36]. He devoted his heart to the doctrines of the Dao, regarding the world as something that sinks and floats (transient). According to the situation he would speak or would observe silence. He lived in poverty and maintained his frugality, and was never discontent while doing so.[37]
(Quoted from the 11th *juan*)

Yan Jizhi's style name was Jingchu. He was a man of Jurong, Danyang [38]. He abandoned his home to enter the Dao. He ate a vegetarian diet and wore hemp cloth. He never wore an inch of silk on his body.[39]
(Quoted from the 4th *juan*)

Yu Chengxian's style name was Chongguang. He was a man of Yanling, Yingchuan [40]. He clearly understood the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*. His ways were of utmost purity and frugality. He wore hemp cloth and rested on a straw mat. He

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[33]The text here actually reads, "Chaozong" which is apparently an error, since other passages in the *Sandong Zhunang* refer to him as "Zongchao".
[34]Located near present day Jiao County, Shandong Province.
[35] Ibid 5/7b. See Plate 71.
[36]Vicinity of present day Suzhou, Jiangsu Province.
[37] Ibid 2/2b. See Plate 72.
[38]Jiansu Province, near Nanjing.
[39] Ibid 2/2b. See Plate 73.
[40]Yanling County, Henan Province.

> engaged in a perpetual retreat and ate coarse (vegetarian) food for 40 years, always devoting himself to teaching and preaching.[41]
>
> (Quoted from the 13th *juan*)

> Meng Daoyang's style name was Xiaoyuan. His outer name (named used outside his circle of fellow Daoists?) was Yuan. He was a man of Pingchang [42]. He was compassionate and benevolent by nature. He clad his body in hemp cloth and filled his mouth with coarse food. Aside from these things he had nothing. In carrying out his deeds he was devoted and diligent, never once slacking. In practicing the Dao in worship, he did not avoid coldness nor heat.[43]
>
> (Quoted from the 13th *juan*)

What all of the above people had in common was that they did away with all luxuries and lived only on the bare necessities. Ma Shu makes a point of describing their lives of "poverty and frugality" because they represent an exemplary virtue worthy of emulation by all Daoists.

Liu Ningzhi is unique among the above personages in that we are told that he observed his austere lifestyle together with his wife and children. He was a renowned ritual healer of the fifth century, ordained within the Heavenly Master's Sect tradition, as would be indicated in the following passages:

> He strove vigorously in serving the Dao. In the fourteenth year of the Yuanjia reign era (424-453), while meditating he suddenly felt an excruciating pain in his forehead. When he rubbed it he obtained nine precious jewels. When he put them afloat in clean water, their radiance pervaded the entire room.[44]

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41 Ibid 2/3a. See Plate 74.

42 This probably refers to a the Pingchang Commandery located in present day Anqiu County, Shandong Province, or the one in present day Chu County, Anhui Province.

43 Ibid 2/3a. See Plate 75.

44 ibid. 5/1b. See Plate 76.

> [Liu Ningzhi and his wife] lived on the south side of Mt. Heng where they gathered herbs and practiced dietetics. They were transmitted the Heavenly Master's Way of Converting the People. Husband and wife wore belts (symbols of ordination as priests), and rescued [living] beings from amidst hazards and dangers [with their performance of ritual healing], which was extremely divinely efficacious.[45]

It is thus indicated that both he and his wife were ordained priests and healers, and that they were also practitioners of dietetics and meditation.

Kong Lingchan's dietary habits, we are told, were austere enough that he became visibly emaciated. From sustaining this diet faithfully, his digestive system had become unable to properly digest rich food. In another extant fragment from his biography, we are told that Kong Lingchan went on to become an eminent Daoist who "profoundly researched the essentials of the Dao" and was summoned by Emperor Ming (465-472) of the Liu-Song Dynasty and made to reside at the newly established Huaxian Guan monastery located next to the Tomb of Yu on Mt. Kuaiji.[46] In the *Nanshi* we are told that he was of extremely privileged upbringing and had been serving as governor of Jin'an (northeast of present day Minhou County, Fujian Province) when this took place.[47] The *Nanshi* also tells us that shortly after taking up residence at the Huaixian Guan, he was appointed to the post of Grand Master of Palace Leisure, and that he was greatly renowned for his skills in astrology and numerology. Thus it is indicated that while living an austere and deeply religious lifestyle at the private level, Kong Lingchan never disengaged himself from society and politics. Also, he likely never abandoned family life nor practiced celibacy, as would seem to be indicated by the fact that he did have a son (Kong Gui). What is interesting and rather unique about his story is that he began observing the austere lifestyle while in mourning for his mother, which he resolved to continue observing for the rest of his life. From the information that we have it appears likely that the shock of his mother's death not only overcame him with grief but also brought about a religious conversion due to a heightened awareness of the reality of death

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[45]ibid. 1/1b-2a. See Plate 77.
[46]ibid. 2/7b. Also *Shangqing Daolei Shixiang* 1/2b-3a.
[47]*Nanshi* 4/49, p.1214.

and a preoccupation with how to overcome it, a concern which is addressed by Daoist immortality techniques.

Noteworthy also in this regard is the passage about Deng Yuzhi which says (provided that I have understood it correctly) that he did not wear a topknot because he was in mourning. For whom he was mourning is unclear. It is possible that he too had resolved to live the austere life due to the psychological impact of the death of a parent. Or perhaps "mourning" in his case was meant symbolically in the sense that his life of austerity was his way of putting to death his old self in order that a new self could emerge. Interestingly, other Daoist hagiographies inform us that he had originally traveled about the various holy mountains with an older adept named Xu Lingqi who "ascended" in the second year of the Yuanhui reign era (474). Perhaps, then, it was the death of his friend and mentor that he was mourning. If so, from the way in which Deng Yuzhi mourned the death of Xu Lingqi as he would have mourned the death of a parent, we could conceivably deduce that in becoming a roaming ascetic he had renounced his family ties, for which he substituted his bond with his fellow adepts.

Now, in the passage on Dongxiang Zongchao we are told that he never married nor took office and that he lived in a "hut of refinement" (*jingshe*), apparently in a communal setting with disciples who all practiced vegetarianism, as did he and his family members. Yan Jizhi is described as having "abandoned his home to enter the Dao" and as having practiced vegetarianism. These passages on Dongxiang Zhongchao and Yan Jizhi represent important early evidence of Daoists observing the Buddhistic practice of renouncing married life to live in a religious communal setting where certain precepts of conduct such as celibacy and vegetarianism were obeyed by everybody, although in the case of Dongxiang Zongchao it appears that certain members of his family also lived with the community, which would differ from the typical Buddhist situation. As we have already seen, from earlier times there had existed numerous examples of Daoist adepts who left their homes to live in seclusion or with a community of fellow adepts. Vegetarianism and celibacy were also quite common. However, it is highly noteworthy that during the Northern-Southern Dynasties period celibacy, vegetarianism and cenobitism became more common among Daoists, and bore as means for their justification Buddhistic ethics as well as the

previously discussed indigenous factors that pertained primarily to physiology and mysticism. As we shall see, this apparent fact is also attested to by texts that we will study in Chapters Six through Eight. An article[48] on the phenomenon of "leaving the family" (*chujia*) in Daoism has been written by Ozaki Masaharu. In this article, Ozaki, based largely on the *Daoxue zhuan*, speculates that the practice of *chujia* or "leaving the family" became common among the Daoists of southern China during the sixth century. Ozaki points out[49] that the following 14 people are clearly described as having "left the family" (to their names I have added translations of the pertinent passages):

章旻 Zhang Min- He abandoned his wife and children. He left his family to receive the Dao. He ate coarse (vegetarian) food and engaged in a perpetual retreat[50]
弃遣妻孥. 出家受道. 蔬食長斎

許明業 Xu Mingye- At a young age he left his family.[51]
少年出家

戴勝 Dai Sheng- At a young age he left his family.[52]
少年出家

鄒榮 Zou Rong- At a young age he left his family.[53]
少而出家

徐師子 Xu Shizi- He left his family and ate coarse (vegetarian) food.[54]
出家蔬食

李令稱 Li Lingcheng- At a young age she left her family and separated herself from the secular.[55] 少出家離俗

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[48]Ozaki Masaharu, "Dooshi, Zaike kara Shukke e" in *Rekishi ni okeru Minshuu to Bunka* (Fetschrifte for Sakai Tadao, Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1982) pp.205-220.
[49]ibid. p.207.
[50]*Sandong zhunang* 5/8a
[51]ibid. 1/4a. Also *Shangqing daolei shixiang* 1/12a.
[52]*Sandong zhunang* 2/3a
[53]ibid. 1/5a
[54]*Shangqing daolei shixiang* 1/13a
[55]ibid. 1/13b

姬慧琰 Ji Huiyan- During her childhood she left her family to become a Buddhist nun. Later she left the Buddhist nun-hood to become a female Daoist adept.[56]

幼出家為比丘尼.後捨尼為女道士.

宋玉賢 Song Yuxian- She was finally able to leave her family.[57]

遂成出家也

王道憐 Wang Daolian- Her wish was to leave her family. Therefore she went to Mt. Long[58].[59] 志願出家乃入龍山

張允之 Zhang Yunzhi- At a young age he left the family, taking tutelage under his master-friend.[60] 少而出家.依隨師友

成童孫 Cheng Tongsun- At a young age he left his family, and engaged in a perpetual retreat, eating coarse (vegetarian food).[61]

少年出家.
長齋蔬食

殷法仁 Yin Faren- At a young age he left his family. He diligently engaged in [scripture] recitation and engaged in a perpetual retreat, eating vegetarian food.[62]

少而出家.勤習誦長齋茎食

張裕 Zhang Yu- At a young age he left his family.[63]

少小出家

淳于普洽 Chunyu Puqia- At a young age he left his family.[64]

少出家

To the above list of people described as having "left the family" we can also add the names of Yan Jizhi, as well as Xiao Zheng who "at a young age detached herself from her family and

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[56] *Sandong zhunang* 1/5b
[57] ibid. 4/10b
[58] Located in Wuxi County, Jiangsu Province.
[59] *Shangqing daolei shixiang* 2/3b
[60] ibid. 1/9a-b
[61] ibid. 1/9b
[62] ibid. 1/11a
[63] ibid. 1/12b-13a
[64] ibid. 1/13a

entered into a desolate mountain to study the Dao."[65] Although what they did is not described with the precise word *chujia* , the phrases "abandoned his family" (*shejia*) and "detached herself from her family" (*lijia*) most likely mean the same thing as *chujia* . Ozaki points out that among these examples of Daoists who "left the family", those whose biographies (or what survives of theme) indicate the time when they were active[66], were all active during the sixth century.[67] Also, all of them were active in the southern part of China, which may mean that Daoist monasticism became common in the south before it did in the north, although this may merely be the result of the fact that Ma Shu was more familiar with events in the south.

Ozaki, however, also points out that even though the word *chujia* is used only in passages concerning Daoists of the sixth century, the *Daoxue zhuan*'s entry on Lu Xiujing (406-477), serves an indication of "family-leaving" taking place during the fifth century:

> He once said to his co-workers (when he was still an official),'It would be hard to ever meet with the opportunity again (to devote himself to Daoist training)', and thereupon abandoned his wife and children, and dropped out of from his occupational duties. He devoted himself to the teachings and methods, relentlessly when awake and asleep (i.e. at all times).[68]
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> .....He hid himself in Mt. Yunmeng[69] to cultivate the Dao. He came down [from the mountain] for a while to seek for medicines. As he was passing through his home village, he stayed at [his family's] home for several days. His daughter suddenly became afflicted with a violent disease, and her life was about to end at

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[65] *Sandong zhunang* 3/27b.

[66] The text fragments tell us that Zhang Min went on a fast in the first year of the Da (sic. Tai)jian era of the Chen Dynasty (569). Xu Mingye was active as a monk during the Taiqing era of the Liang Dynasty (547-549). Xu Shizi was made abbot of the Zhongxu Daguan monastery by Chen Emperor Wu (r. 557-580). Li Lingchen healed the illness of the crown prince during the reign of Liang Emperor Yuan (there was no such emperor, but this likely refers to Emperor Wu r. 502-556). Cheng Tongsun was made abbot of the Jingsheng Guan monastery in the 16th year of the Tianguan era (517). Zhang Yu established the Zhaozhen Guan on Mt. Yu (near Changshou County, Jiangsu Province) during the Tianguan reign era (502-519).

[67] See Ozaki p. 207.

[68] *Sandong qunxian lu* 2/17a. See Plate 78.

[69] There is a Mt. Yunmeng near Baocheng County, Shaanxi Province. However, since Lu Xiujing hailed from Wuxing (Zhejiang), it seems likely that this passage is referring to a different Mt. Yunmeng located nearer to Wuxing, where his family presumably still lived.

> any moment. The people of his family begged him to heal her. The teacher (Lu Xiujing) said with a sigh, 'I have left behind my wife and family and have entrusted my body to the limits of the mysteries. My coming by my house now is like taking up lodging at an inn. Why should I have any feelings of attachment [to my daughter/family]?' Hereupon he swept up his robe and exited, and walked off without looking back. One day after he left, his daughter's disease was cured.[70]

It can be seen that Lu Xiujing, at least as he is depicted in the above story, strongly believed that in order to truly devote oneself to the Dao, it was necessary to separate himself physically and emotionally from his family. Lu Xiujing was the most eminent Daoist of his time, known particularly for his compilation of the *Sandong jingshu mulu* (a comprehensive catalog of Daoist scriptures that established the standard of categorizing Daoist scriptures into the "Three Caverns" or *sandong*), his energetic promotion of the Lingbao scriptures and his writing of liturgies. If the above passages accurately convey the lifestyle and attitude of Lu Xiujing, it would seem likely, judging from his stature and authority within organized Daoism at the time, that his lifestyle and attitude represented the standard for the Daoist clergy of the time (or at least within the faction with which Lu Xiujing was affiliated and bore authority), and that "leaving the family" was already widespread among Daoists in the fifth century. Noteworthy also in this regard among the personages of the *Daoxue zhuan* is Chu Boyu (394-479), an older contemporary of Lu Xiujing, about whom the following episode is recorded in other sources:

> [Chu] Boyu from a young age had the wish to become a hermit and had few cravings and desires. [When he was] 18 years old, his father made him get married. [But when] his bride [to be] entered the front gate, Boyu exited out the back gate. Thereupon he went to Shan[71] and lived on Mt. Pubu[72].[73]

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[70]*Sandong zhunang* 1/15b-16a. See Plate 79.

[71]Shan is the name of a county and a mountain range in Eastern Zhejiang Province.

[72]Near Tiantai County, Zhejiang Province.

[73]*Nanqi shu* (by Xiao Zixian 489-537) pp.926-927. See Plate 80. This episode is also narrated in *Xianyuan pianzhu* 2/4b, *Xuanpin lu* 3/19b-20a, *Sandong qunxian lu* 6/20b-21a and *Nanshi* p..1873-1874. According to the

It appears that Chu Boyu regarded marriage as something that would have undermined his religious quest. Whether his thinking this would have been based on indigenous or Buddhistic beliefs is unclear. However, it is interesting to note that Chu Boyu was one of the privileged adepts of his time who had managed to acquire some of the authentic manuscripts of the Shangqing revelations.[74] As we will see in Chapter Six, the Shangqing scriptures are quite adamant in prescribing celibacy for serious adepts. Lu Xiujing's attitude is quite Buddhistic in how he emphasizes emotional detachment from his family, which he presumably regarded as a part of his detachment from transient existence in general; a level of wisdom which can effect a liberation from the cycle of rebirth. As we will see in Chapters Six and Seven, this attitude is conveyed in numerous passages in both the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures, with which Lu Xiujing was thoroughly acquainted.

As can be seen from the *Daoxue zhuan*, "family-leaving" Daoists in the sixth century included women. Among those mentioned as having "left the family", four were women. Ji Huiyan, we are told, had initially entered the Buddhist nun-hood as a girl, but later switched to Daoism. Actually, whether her case actually represents evidence of Daoist monasticism is ambiguous, since as far as can be ascertained, her life as Daoist may not have been as a celibate nun. Among the three clear accounts regarding Daoist nuns, perhaps the most interesting is the narrative concerning Song Yuxian, which describes how she, out of her faith in the Dao, resisted social pressures to marry:

> The nun (lit. "female cap-wearer") Song Yuxian was a woman of Shanyin, Kuaiji[75]. As she had been endowed with a woman's body, she exhausted her will power but could not become naturally devoted. When she got close to the age for wearing a hairpin (15 years old), her parents married her off to the Xu family. She secretly packed her ritual robe and boarded the carriage. After she arrived at the gate

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version in the Xianyuan Pianzhu, Chu Boyu fled from his wedding when he was 16, and engaged in his training on Mt. Tiantai.

[74]See p.31 of Michel Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy" in *Toung Pao* no.63 (1977) pp.1-64.

[75]Vicinity of present day Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province.

> of [the house of] her husband-to be and the time came for the six rites (wedding ceremony), she put on her yellow cloth skirt and hempen robe. In her hands she held a magpie's tail feather and an incense burner. She did not observe the propriety of the bride. Guests and hosts at the wedding were aghast. The groom's family pressured her, but could not make her yield. So they gave up on her and returned her to her family. [Thus] she was finally able to leave the family.[76]

Unfortunately, no passage survives indicating when this event took place. But the above passage tells us that in the case of Song Yujian, her desire to cultivate the Dao caused her to adamantly resist marriage. Also present here is the notion, which as we will see can be found in the Lingbao scriptures, that women are inferior to men in their capacity to seek the Dao, but that this disadvantage can be overcome through unwavering faith. Song Yujian exhibits this faith through her stubborn resistance of marriage.

Interestingly, the *Daoxue zhuan* has in it a passage in its entry on Dongxiang Zongchao which indicates that the government played a significant role in enforcing proper discipline within Daoist monasteries. Dongxiang Zongchao is lauded in the passage for his cooperation in this endeavor:

> Under Liang Emperor Wu's (r.502-550) [policy of] the 'equal promotion of the Three Teachings', it was legislated that all [clergy (?)] must be vegetarians. Even though there was this edict, few were able to obey it. [But] Yilun (Dongxiang Zongchao's style name) upheld it and carried it out. Thereupon the throngs of his monastery all became vegetarians. If anybody tried to violate the rule secretly, he expelled them. Even on occasions of feasts and festivals, no meat was eaten. People far and near praised [his monastery] for being the only one that was pure and plain.[77]

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[76]ibid. 4/10b. See Plate 81.
[77]ibid. 5/7b-8a. See Plate 82.

Apparently, prior to the Emperors edict, vegetarianism was not strictly required nor observed by the Daoist (and Buddhist) clergy in general. Emperor Wu, in the year 504 publicly renounced Daoism and professed his faith in Buddhism. Henceforth he carried out various measures to promote Buddhism (both its institutions and its ethical ideals) and suppress Daoism. Himself a staunch observer of Buddhist precepts (he ate just one vegetarian meal per day and became celibate after the age of 50), he was particularly obsessed with encouraging the ethic of non-killing. Buddhist sources (*Guang hongming ji*, *Fozu tongji*) and official histories (*Nanshi*, *Liang shu*[78]) attest to how he forbade the use of blood sacrifice at the official rites, pressured everybody in his court to become vegetarian, and authored a lengthy treatise (*Duan jiurou wen*)[79] forbidding the Buddhist clergy from consuming meat and alcohol and explaining why vegetarianism and sobriety were so vital.[80] That this prohibition did not exclude the Daoist clergy is indicated in the story of Dongxiang Zongchao. As has been mentioned, it was already previously common among Daoists to be vegetarian, albeit for physiological rather than ethical reasons. In Chapter Seven we will see how in Daoist texts written well before Emperor Wu's reign, Buddhistic dietary rules based on Buddhistic ethics (karma, reincarnation) are ordained for advanced adepts. However, we can see that pressure from the Emperor is what forced Dongxiang Zongchao to strictly require vegetarianism for <u>all</u> of his disciples, not just the most advanced. Compliance with the Emperor's decree may have been critical for the survival of the Daoist religion; i.e. by thus adhering to Buddhistic values as faithfully as possible, Daoists perhaps managed to mitigate the Emperor's tyranny. The actual extent of the suppression (for which "the equal promotion of the Three Teachings" seems to be a euphemism) remains unclear. The *Fozu tongji* of the 14th century tells us that in 517 Emperor Wu decreed that all Daoist monasteries must cease to operate, and that all Daoist clergy must return to secular life. While some have questioned whether the suppression actually ever took place, Michel Strickmann has argued that it indeed did, largely based upon an incident recorded in the HY302/TT152*Zhoushi mingtong ji* where a 35 year old celibate "home-

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[78]By Yao Sulian (557-537).

[79]This is found in the twenty-sixth *juan* of the *Guang hongming ji*, Taisho Canon v.52 pp. 294 middle - 298 bottom.

[80]See Nakajima Ryuzo, *Rikuchoo shisoo no kenkyuu* (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1985) pp.370-378.

leaving" female Daoist (the aunt of Zhou Ziliang, disciple of Tao Hongjing) "married out of expediency" (i.e. in order to make it look as though she had renounced Daoism) due to pressures from government regulation in 504 (the year of the Emperor Wu's renunciation of Daoism).[81]

Anyway, the attitude of the *Daoxue zhuan* is one which regards vegetarianism as something to which a good Daoist should adhere, and for this reason Dongxiang Zongchao's compliance with the imperial edict is cited as an exemplary act. It is for this same reason that numerous entries mention the vegetarianism of the protagonists.

Now, to fully trace and determine how, when and to what extent monasticism proliferated among Daoists is a complex and important issue deserving of a comprehensive study all its own, beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, the proliferation of monasticism undoubtedly must have had significant bearing upon determining the forms of austerity put to practice as well as their means of justification and motivation. Within a monastic setting, the entire community would observe a common set of ascetic rules of discipline (precepts or *jie*), underpinned largely by Buddhistic ethics. Basic among the rules would have been celibacy and vegetarianism. As will be seen in chapters Six and Seven, this new Buddhistic mode of ethics as well as specific sets of regulations are to be found in the Shangqing and Lingbao texts (even though these texts themselves nowhere employ the word *chujia*), the teachings of which had a great influence upon Daoists of the Northern-Southern Dynasties period and later. The severe ascetics, then, were those who excelled and set themselves above the rest of the ascetic community by carrying out the rules of discipline at a greatly heightened intensity. A question which naturally comes to mind is whether at this time when more and more Daoist adepts were "leaving the family", the house holding priests of the Heavenly Master's tradition were waning as a presence. This again is an important issue that deserves a careful and comprehensive study of its own.

Now, as we shall be seeing in Chapter Six and especially Chapter Seven, the proponents of the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures themselves were highly familiar if not closely associated with the Heavenly Master's Sect (although in what capacity is not clear), and consequently the new

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[81]See Michel Strickmann, "Liang Wu Ti's Suppression of Taoism" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* no. 98.4 (1978) pp.467-475.

religious systems that they (especially the Lingbao movement) set forth incorporated elements of doctrine and practice from it which had considerable bearing upon the types of severe asceticism that they promoted. In other words, while the new doctrinal systems tended to undermine the traditional house holding lifestyle of the Heavenly Master's Sect priesthood, they still accommodated the ecclesiastically-oriented religiosity of the Heavenly Master's sect complete with its grand rituals of confession, prayer and healing. Always important within such rituals was the *zhai* or "retreat"; the observance of strict ritual proscriptions for the purification of mind and body during a set number of days that would occur periodically during and prior to festivals. As we will see, the Lingbao movement further developed and elaborated the rituals of the Heavenly Master's sect (and referred to the rituals themselves as "retreats") by putting forth sets of proscriptions, the strictness of which would vary according to the caliber of the individual. These rituals at times became occasions where participants resorted to severe self-punishment as an expression of remorse and repentance.[82] Severe ascetics observed the strictest and most arduous of such ritual prohibitions and practices over extended periods of time or even a lifetime (this is discussed in detail in Ch.7). Thus, the livelihood of the ascetic came to be described as the *changzhai* or "perpetual retreat" a word used in the *Daoxue zhuan* 's entries on Yu Chengxian, Zhang Min, Cheng Tongsun and Yin Faren. Now, another usage of the word *zhai* , used particularly in Buddhist contexts, but also in Daoist contexts, is to describe the vegetarian food that gets served at temples during festivals. By extension of this meaning, *zhai* can also refer to vegetarian food in general under ordinary circumstances. Due to this considerable range of meanings that the word *zhai* can have, it is difficult to determine precisely what the word *changzhai* means when it is used. In the *Daoxue zhuan*'s entries on the above mentioned four adepts, it seems to refer merely to the lifelong practice of vegetarianism, judging from how the word is used alongside the word *shushi* meaning "ate coarse (vegetarian food)" as though the two words were synonymous or complementary to each other. But as we will see in Chapters Seven and Eight, the word also

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[82]The *Nanshi* (p.1214)gives the following information regarding Kong Lingchan's religiosity which reflects well the mood of repentance and remorse that Daoist rituals bore:
"He served the Dao diligently and sincerely. On auspicious days he would worship towards the four directions inside his hut of silence with his tears downpouring."
事道精篤. 吉日於靜屋四向朝拜. 涕泣滂沱.

meant to make every day a "retreat" in the sense that one observed on all occasions the various strict rules of conduct which normally applied only to festival days, while engaging relentlessly in worship and contemplation. Severe ascetic feats thus took the form of ritual worship and scripture recitation carried out over extended periods or within adverse conditions at an intensity that surpassed the endurance and tolerance of ordinary people. An example of this ideal is to be found in the *Daoxue zhuan*'s entry on Meng Daoyang (see p. 251) who is lauded for engaging energetically in worship under all weather conditions. Other examples are found in the biographies of Zhang Min and Fang Qianzhi:

> On nights when he ascended the altar, [even] in the brutal cold at the height of winter, [Zhang] Min would hold the candlestick in his bare left hand and stay that way without slackening until morning. Whenever he went to participate in a ritual for somebody he would willingly take on menial tasks, cleaning away the filth while exerting full effort in doing so. On hot days he always yielded [the cool shade under] the tent [to others]. On cold days he always refused garments and quilts (yielded the use of them to others).[83]

> Fang Qianzhi's style name was Daochong. He was a man of Bo County, Zhao Commandery, Ji Region[84]. He disregarded his own body in order to rescue [other living] things. In carrying out retreats (liturgical rituals) he accorded with [the ideal of] twelve hours [of worship] per day. For twelve hours he always [carried out the] Confession of the Ten Directions.[85] Few within the world were able to do as he did, and thus he often carried out the worship by himself. As his life destiny

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[83]ibid. 1/3b-4a. See Plate 83.

[84]Hebei Province.

[85]These seems to be the name of a specific liturgy of confession sins for the benefit of all beings living and dead throughout the world. Surviving in the Daoist Canon today is a scripture entitled *Taishang shifang yinghao tianzun xian* (HY542/TT296). The text is largely incomplete, as it preserves only the 2nd and 10th *juan* of what was originally a work of 10 *juan*. This scripture could well have been the liturgy used by Fang Qianzhi, although this is difficult to ascertain due to the fact that we know neither the dates of Fang's birth and death nor of the scripture's authorship. The scripture, as its title indicates, is a liturgy of worship and repentance directed at the Heavenly Worthies of the Ten Directions (*shifang tianzun*) for the expiation of sins and the bringing of happiness and salvation to all living beings. Its contents convey fully the Mahayanist spirit of the Lingbao movement, indicating an authorship of no earlier than 471, since it is not listed among Lu Xiujing's catalog of Lingbao scriptures.

> was about to come to an end, he quit the retreat for seven days, whereupon he passed away.[86]

Both men are depicted here as exhibiting extraordinary endurance in engaging in ritual worship. Along with this endurance Zhang Min also exhibits the virtues of deference and humility by taking on the least desirable tasks and most uncomfortable of circumstances for himself. The passage about Fang Qianzhi emphasizes how his relentless performance of the "Confession of the Ten Directions" (apparently the title of a specific liturgy) was an altruistic act in which he disregarded his own bodily needs in order to benefit others. The understanding is that the performance of the ritual brings benefits to other living beings, and thus the relentless and painstaking performance of it is an altruistic act.

As will be discussed at length in Chapter Seven, the self denial identified with the true Perfected Man in the Lingbao tradition came to entail a strong altruistic character, probably largely due to the influence of the Mahayanist Bodhisattva ideal. Likely because of this heightened emphasis upon altruism as a definitive trait of a holy man, the *Daoxue zhuan* makes a point of describing altruistic traits of its protagonists. The ritual arena was one important place where altruism was to be exhibited, but altruism naturally also involved alleviating more directly the physical miseries of the people. Thus the *Daoxue zhuan* describes (see p. 248) how Liu Ningzhi and his wife gave everything that they had, aside from what was absolutely necessary for their own subsistence, to beggars. In regard to Meng Daoyang we are told the following:

> [Meng Daoyang] was by nature benevolent and compassionate. He always made it his duty to give to those in need. In years of famine when many people were dying of starvation, he would always cook food to feed them. He always regretted that [because of his own] poverty, he could not give to his heart's satisfaction.[87]

However, the most poignant tale of altruism to be found in the *Daoxue zhuan* is that concerning Zhang Xuanche:

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[86]ibid. 5/8a. See Plate 84.
[87]ibid. 1/4a. See Plate 85.

> Zhang Xuanche's style name was Wenju. He was a man of Yiyang Jun, Sizhou. During the great social unrest at the end of the Liang Dynasty (ca.557) they went together[88] into the eastern fringes to sustain their livelihoods, just barely preserving their lives. He always shared his cooking vessels and cooked and ate together with the starving people. Because [Xuan]che was benevolent and yielding by nature, he never put himself before others, and always yielded the pot and fire to others. Even when he had but a mere *sheng* or *ge* (0.5944 liters) of cooked food, he always put himself last. [Because] he was like this day after day, it started to cause him weariness and suffering. He thus became emaciated and one morning he died. But because he put himself last and others first, he eventually regained his life.[89]

Under the most trying of circumstances, Zhang Xuanche is depicted as adhering to the ideals of compassion and selflessness at the very expense of his own life. What is meant by "regained his life" is unclear, though the belief was perhaps that he won the sympathy of the gods and Immortals who thus resurrected him literally, or conferred upon him some form of other-worldly immortality or a rebirth into a privileged existence. As we will see in Chapter Six, the Shangqing texts do convey the belief that gods and Immortals could intervene and favorably alter the fate of those deceased persons who had exhibited particular moral virtues during their lifetimes.

B. Fasting Methods in the *Daoxue zhuan*

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[88]Apparently, in the original text, the above passage is preceded by the following passage preserved in the *Sandong zhunang* 1/16b (and thus Chen Guofu has restored the text accordingly): "He lectured for a man of his village named Zhang Guisun. Guisun suddenly fell ill with palsy and became bedridden. Putting aside matters of study, [Xuanche] took up the task of looking after him. He handled his filthy vessels (bedpans, urinals) and provided him with drink and food. He did this for three years without regarding it as burdensome. People at that time marveled at his righteousness and loyalty." Thus apparently, the Xuanche and Guisun went together to the "eastern fringes" at the end of the Liang Dynasty. See Plate 86.

[89]ibid. 1/3a-b. See Plate 87.

Now we shall proceed to look at the references to fasting methods found in the *Daoxue zhuan*:

> Guo Wen's style name was Wenju. He was a man of Henei[90]. [One time] he got infected by an epidemic disease and was suffering greatly. [But] he would not take medicine, saying, 'My life does not depend upon medicine'. He went without eating for twenty days, but did not become thin. Later he died, and was buried at Lin'an County, Yuhang.[91]

> Tao Dan's style name was Aijing. He was a man of Deyang, Lujiang[92]. At the age of around fifteen or sixteen, he practiced dietetics and got rid of grains. At first he still ate noodles, but later ate only jujubes.[93]

> [Xu Mai] entered a mountain of the Dao in Xincheng[94] where he ingested sesame seeds and cut off grains. He always imbibed his *qi* , taking over 1000 respirations for a single *qi* (held his breath for the amount of time it normally takes to inhale and exhale 1000 or more times)....[95]
>
> Yan Xuanzhi of Gaoping[96] and Peng Chu of Langye[97] both assumed apprenticeship under Yuanyou (Xu Mai's style name). Yuanyou said, "Sir Yan can cut off grains by imbibing *qi* . Sir Peng should use medicine to increase his *qi* . He thus taught Peng how to ingest the *zhu* (*atractylodes macrocephala*) plant.[98]

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[90]This refers to the northern portion of present day Hebei province.
[91]ibid. 1/15b. See Plate 88.
[92]Apparently a mistranscription of Deyang, Lujiang located in present day Huoqiu County, Anhui Province.
[93]ibid. 3/2a. See Plate 89.
[94]This is probably a mistranscription of Xincheng located in the vicinity of present day Hangzhou.
[95]ibid. 3/24b. See Plate 90.
[96]Near present day Jinxiang County, Shandong Province.
[97]Near present day Linyi County, Shandong Province.
[98]ibid. 3/24b. See Plate 91.

Wang Jia, whose style name was Zinian, was a man of Longxi[99]. At the entrance of the Dongyang Valley (location unclear) he dug a cave on the river bank and lived there. He did not eat the five grains and did not wear elegant clothes. In a pure and vacuous manner he imbibed *qi*. He did not mingle with the world. Yao Chang[100] and the Murongs[101] summoned him, but he did not respond.[102]

Zhuge Le's style name was Maolun. He was a man of Langye. He served the Dao purely and immaculately, always cutting off grains.[103]

Chu Boyu's style name was Yuanchu. He was a man of Qiantang, Wujun[104]. He hid himself in Mt. Huo[105] where he refined his fluids and ate mist, cutting off grains for many years.[106]

Lu Xiujing's style name was Yuande. He was a man of Dongqian, Wuxing. Even though he was involved in worldly duties on the outside, inside he maintained his integrity and simplicity. From a young age he practiced the cutting off of grains, and slept separately [from his wife[107]] in solitary residence.[108]

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[99]Present day Longxi County, Gansu Province.

[100]The founder of the Latter Qin Dynasty (384-417), one of the many kingdoms founded in the north during the Northern-Southern Dynasties Period by non-Chinese peoples, in this case the Qiang tribe of Tibetan ethnicity.

[101]Murong was the surname of the royal family (belonging to the Xianbei tribe of Turkish descent) of the Former (337-370), Latter (384-409) and Southern (398-410) Yan Dynasties.

[102]ibid. 3/24b-25a. See Plate 92.

[103]ibid. 1/5a. See Plate 93.

[104]Hang County, Zhejiang Province.

[105]The best known Mt. Huo (also known as Mt. Tianzhu) is located near Huo County, Anhui Province. Another possibility is the Mt. Huo sacred to the Shangqing movement, the exact location of which is unclear, but is somewhere in Nan'an County in Fujian Province. Michel Strickmann has speculated that a mountain today called Mt. Daiyun may be the mountain in question. See "The Mao Shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy" p.152 ft. nt. 85.

[106]ibid. 4/1a. See Plate 94.

[107]This took place prior to his "leaving the family".

[108]ibid. 3/2a. See Plate 95.

Shuang Zibian was a man of the Liang period (502-557). He cut off grains and abstained from food. He engaged in a perpetual retreat and underwent bitter training. He went out to Guangzhou to evangelize. In the Nanhai region he was called 'the Master.[109]

Ji Huiyan was a person of Yuhang, Wuxing[110]. When still a child she left her home to become a Buddhist nun. She later left the Buddhist nun-hood to become a female Daoist adept (*nü daoshi*). She eventually went into Mt. Tianmu[111] where she cut off grains and practiced dietetics.[112]

Shuang Xizu's style name was Zhongyuan. He was a man of the Liang period (502-557). When he first began to cut off grains, he became emaciated and thin. There was a wealthy man named Fan Xin who invited him [to his place] recommended a good medicine for him, and gave him servants to gather it (the herbs for making the medicine) for him. He soon became restored to normal [health].[113]

The female [Dao] official (*nüguan*, i.e. nun) Xiao Zhen was a person of Dantu, Donghai[114]. At a young age she left her home to enter a desolate mountain to study the Dao. There she only ate the leaves of the arbor vitae tree.[115]

Thereupon [Zhang Min] abandoned his wife and children, left his family and received the Dao. He ate vegetarian food and engaged in a perpetual retreat. There

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[109]ibid. 1/4a. See Plate 96.
[110]In the vicinity of present day Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province.
[111]Near Lin'an County, Zhejiang Province.
[112]ibid. 1/5b-6a. See Plate 97.
[113]ibid. 3/27b. See Plate 98.
[114]Near present day Dantu County, Jiangsu Province.
[115]ibid. 3/27b. See Plate 99.

was never any toil in which he would hesitate to engage his seven *chi* of empty delusion (his body). He hid himself in a mountain in Anwu[116] and lived in silence. He did away with food for over twenty days. Bandits and vicious beasts lurked about where he was staying. His energy and life were weakening and dwindling. Friendly visitors implored him to eat, and after a while he yielded [to their request]. After he had more or less been restored to normal [health], in the first year of the Dajian era of the Chen (569), he stopped eating again. He said, "If I protect my body, certainly my understanding will not be long-lasting and penetrating, and I will not benefit the living masses. I do not plan to stay long [in the world]. As for practicing the Dao and establishing proper conduct, why must it take place here?" [Even when] there were those who tried to persuade him [to quit his fast], he refused and would not entertain [their suggestions].[117]

The above passages mention a considerable variety of fasting methods. Some of the entries are vague as to what methods were employed, stating merely that the person "cut off grains" and/or "practiced dietetics". Some of the passages mention the use of certain substances; noodles and later jujubes by Tao Dan, sesame seeds by Xu Mai, the *shu* plant by Xu Mai's disciple Peng Chu, and arbor vitae tree leaves by Xiao Zheng. This information can be supplemented with that from other sources which tell us that Chu Boyu lived on "pine powder"[118] (made from ground pine seeds) and Xu Mai ingested deer bamboo along with the *shu* plant[119]. Reference is also made to non-ingestion methods; the "imbibing of *qi* " practiced by Xu Mai and his disciples as well as Wang Jia, and the "refining of fluids" and "eating of mist" practiced by Chu Boyu. In other sources[120] we are told that Wang Jia "controlled (imbibed) the Six *Qi* [121] and guarded the Three

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116A county located near present day Jing County, Anhui Province.

117ibid. 5/8a-b. See Plate 100.

118"[Chu Boyu] hid himself in the middle peak of [Mt.] Tiantai for 20 years. A woodcutter saw him under a multi-tiered cliff. His facial expression was cheerful, and all that he had with him on his left and right were two bags of pine powder." *Xianyuan pianzhu* 2/4b. See Plate 101.

119See *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (HY296/TT139-148)21/13a.

120*Jinshu* pp.2496-2497. *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 28/4a-5b.

121This apparently refers to the air that the adept imbibes, which exists in six forms; the *qi* of dawn ("morning mist"), noon ("proper *yang*"), sundown ("flying spring"), night time ("pure dew") along with the *qi* of the sky and the *qi* of the earth.

Ones." Another highly significant fact about Wang Jia recorded in these same sources is that while living in the Dongyang valley he had several hundred disciples who lived in cave dwellings just as he did; a rare reference to a very large wilderness ascetic community in 4th century China.

That the practice of fasting was thought to be more effective when one was celibate is reflected in the passage on Lu Xiujing. There it is indicated that even before "leaving the family", Lu had begun to engage in methods of fasting, and for this reason had apparently stopped sleeping with his wife. In this light we can also speculate that Chu Boyu may have fled from his marriage (see pp. 257-258) in order to succeed at his fasting techniques. It is perhaps also worth mentioning that other sources[122] inform us that Tao Dan (active during the fourth century, before Buddhistic monasticism was common among Daoists) never married, which could perhaps be speculated to have been because he engaged in fasting techniques from his adolescence.

We can see that the fasting of some adepts simply involved eating the same substance all the time, as was allegedly the case with Xiao Zheng who ate only arbor vitae tree leaves. The passages on Tao Dan and Xu Mai illustrate how in some cases the methods employed would apparently change as the adept made progress. We are told that Tao Dan, in the early stages of his "cutting off grains" tided himself over with noodles, but later at a more advanced stage switched to eating only jujubes, the assumption being that the latter method was the more desirable. This was probably because noodles were considered mere food while jujubes were regarded as medicinal. It appears that Xu Mai regarded the imbibing of *qi* as the most ideal means of "cutting of grains". He is attributed with the incredible feat of holding his breath for "1000 breaths", which was perhaps what his favorite method of imbibing *qi* called for. As can be recalled, this specific feat is prescribed by the *Zhonghuang jing* (see p. 117). It should also be noted that according to an annotation by Tao Hongjing in the *Zhengao* (13/2a), Xu Mai at the age of 23 was transmitted the Yin and Yang Lunch Box Talismans of the Six *Jia* 六甲陰陽行廚符 by a Heavenly Master's Sect libationer (*jijiu*) named Li Dong. This seems to indicate that he practiced the same talismanic fasting method that we discussed on pp. 162-163. To the less fit of his two disciples, Xu Mai prescribed the ingestion of the *zhu* plant, while to his more advanced disciple he encouraged the exclusive practice of

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[122] *Jinshu* (by Fang Xuanling 578-648) p.2460, *Xuanpin lu* 3/14a and *Sandong qunxian lu* 14/16b.

imbibing *qi*. (Xu Mai was the brother of Xu Mi and uncle of Xu Hui, the recipients of the Shangqing revelations written down by the hand of the visionary mystic Yang Xi.)

Ideally, as we have seen, the best practitioners were supposed to be able to fast completely without ingesting any substances. In Guo Wen we see an example of a Daoist who allegedly refused the use of medicine even when he was ill. The *Daoxue zhuan* also tells us that the same attitude was shared by Fang Qianzhi and Lu Xiujing:

> At a young age [Fang Qianzhi] stopped drinking liquor, and up through his old age never again held a wine cup in his hand. Even when he was ill, he did not take medicine. Never did he undergo acupuncture or moxibustion. He accorded with his destiny and was at peace amidst danger. He disregarded his own body and rescued others.[123]

> [Lu] Xiujing from the beginning had *qi* ailment[124]. He [thus] took some medicine with him into the mountain and lived separately in a house. Soon [the house] caught fire. His disciples wanted to extinguish the flames, but the teacher (Lu Xiujing) said, "Do not bother to save it. It is simply that the mysterious Dao does not permit me to own medicine. I must cure it by myself." In a few days he was cured.[125]

Regarding the reasons for why men like Guo Wen, Fang Qianzhi and Lu Xiujing would have refused to take medicine, it is to be noted that the Heavenly Master's Sect (to which it is known that Guo Wen and Lu Xiujing bore affiliation) emphasized the role of sins as the cause for diseases and disdained medicinal healing, preferring confession and the employment of talismans (overseen by ordained priests) as their healing methods.[126] Thus there seems to have existed the notion

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[123]ibid. 1/16b. See Plate 102.

[124]This refers to a disease where the patient suffers an extreme loss of energy.

[125]ibid. 1/16a. See Plate 103.

[126]Lu Xiujing himself wrote, in his *Lu xiansheng daomen kelue*(HY1119/TT761, 8a), "Ritual masters of the Mengwei (Way of the Heavenly Master) do not receive payments [for their ritual services]. Their gods do not eat and drink (require food sacrifices); this is called 'pure frugality'. In healing diseases they do not employ acupuncture, moxibustion or medicines. [They heal] only by means of the ingesting of talismans, drinking of charm water,

among some Daoists that resorting to non-moralistic methods of healing such as taking medicines was an act that contradicted their faith. Also, as is well expressed in the passage on Fang Qianzhi, the employment of medicine for one's own disease was apparently seen by some as an act that reflected an unwholesome and excessive concern with one's own well being; a fear of death and a clinging to life which are typical of an undisciplined, unenlightened mind. The idea is also conveyed that by being unconcerned with his own well being, he was somehow better fit to devote himself to the needs of others. Another likely reason for refusing medicine when ill would have been because non-ingestion fasting techniques generally purported to have the property of preventing and curing illness, and thus the best of adepts were expected to cure themselves without medicine.

What is difficult to figure out from the passage on Guo Wen is whether or not the illness and the alleged twenty day fast were part of the same incident; in other words, whether or not the fast was undergone when he was ill, specifically for the purpose of curing the ailment. The other intriguing question concerning Guo Wen is how long after the fast he died, and whet er or not the cause of his death was the illness, or perhaps the fast. Fortunately, the *Jin shu* (p. 2441) gives preserves a more complete account of the episode. There we are told that Guo Wen had contracted his illness during a great epidemic in the years 322-323. It was at this time that he declined medicine offered to him by his patron Wang Dao[127], allegedly saying, "[My] destiny lies with Heaven, not with medicine. As for the length and shortness of my life span, [it has its allotted] time." Although he apparently continued to live for a number of more years, his illness was never cured. The *Jinshu* indicates as follows that the 20 day fast took place on the occasion of his death:

> When his disease became worse, he requested to be allowed to return to the mountain. He wanted to use a stone as a pillow to relax his corpse, so as to not

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confession of sins, reforming of conduct and presentation of petitions." See Plate 104. See Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao* p.324, 314-315.

[127]Guo Wen during certain periods lived in the wilderness as a hermit, and at others lived on the estates of certain famous high officials (Counselor in Chief Wang Dao, and later Wan Chong, magistrate of Lin'an) grudgingly (supposedly, at least) at their behest. What Guo Wen's role was under their patronage is not clear, but they perhaps valued him as a teacher or as a healer.

allow people to carry out a burial for him.[128] [His patron Wan] Chong did not allow it. [Guo Wen] did not eat for over 20 days, but did not become thin. Chong asked him, "How many days do you have [left to live] Sir? [Guo] Wen raised his hand three times (3x5 fingers=15)[129]. Lo and behold, he passed away 15 days later.[130]

Thus it is indicated that the cause of his death was the disease, and his fast took place at the time of his death. The purpose of the fast remains unclear. Apparently he had resigned himself to his death, which means that the fast was not a means for combating the disease. To the contrary, it may have been carried out for the purpose of hastening his death. However, the *Jinshu* and *Daoxue zhuan* both make a point of mentioning that he did not become thin during the 20 days, meaning that at least in the interpretations of the authors of the two sources, the fast did not have such a suicidal purpose nor effect. If the fast did indeed take place, it is probably best understood as a spiritual exercise in preparation for death which was intended to bring about some form of otherworldly immortality[131]. Striking, more than anything else within the *Jinshu*'s account, is Guo Wen's blatantly fatalistic view of death (or at least of the worldly death of the body of flesh), which defies the archaic ideals of bodily longevity and immortality in their strictly defined sense. In the ensuing chapters it will be seen that the Shangqing and Lingbao movements, partly due to the effect of Buddhist influence, set forth alternative modes of salvation aside from literal perpetuation and/or ascension of the human flesh. The loftiest ideal of Immortal ascension itself came to be described in ways which, albeit ambiguous, could be interpreted as denying the possibility that the flesh could be perpetuated. Guo Wen, however, died well before the writing of the Shangqing and Lingbao texts. He could thus be viewed as a figure that reminds us of the

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[128]The account of the *Jinshu* also tells us that one time, when asked whether he worried about dying in the wilderness with no one to bury him so as to protect his corpse from scavenging birds, Guo Wen replied, "Those who are buried also get eaten by ants and mole crickets. What difference is there."

[129]At this stage of his life, Guo Wen had putatively resolved to no longer communicate by means of speech.

[130]See Plate 105.

[131]Not surprisingly, the claim made in certain Daoist hagiographies is that he "passed away [from the mundane world] in the manner in which a cicada [sheds its] shell", meaning that he left his mortal flesh behind in the world while proceeding in his immortal body to the another realm. See *Yunji qiqian* 110/15b and *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 28/10a-11a.

diversity of beliefs and attitudes among Daoist adepts prior to the proliferation of the influential and syncretic texts, and attests to the fact that even then, the spirituality of some Daoist ascetics was not centered around the ideal of bodily immortality, or perhaps that their interpretation of the ideal was non-literalistic. However, we also need to keep in mind the likely possibility that the deeds and especially the sayings attributed Guo Wen are embellishments which reflect more than anything else the ideals and attitudes current during the lifetimes of Ma Shu and Fang Xuanling (578-648, compiler of the *Jinshu*).

That adepts would at times cause emaciation and suffering for themselves through their fasts is indicated by the passages on Shuang Xizu (active in the early sixth century) and Zhang Min (Ma Shu's contemporary). By using the right type of medicine while fasting, Shuang Xizu was allegedly able to regain his full health. We are not told that such was the case with Zhang Min. As far as can be ascertained, he may have even starved himself to death. At least, judging from what he allegedly said when refusing food during his second fast, he was ready to die of starvation rather than give up his fast. In Part One it was discussed at length how fasting in Daoism was ultimately intended to strengthen the body, not destroy it. In the case of Zhang Min as he is depicted in the *Daoxue zhuan*, other priorities clearly took over. For him, success in the religious quest was unattainable as long as he clung to life and feared death. Somehow, he thought that only by succeeding in his quest could he benefit the people of the world. This emphasis on the elimination of attachment to life, linked with the bringing of benefits to all living beings, reflects Buddhist influence. While Daoist fasting methods and other longevity techniques continued to be carried out for physical strengthening and transformation, the story of Zhang Min reflects how the methods were meant to serve, more than ever before, the purpose of eliminating desires for the attainment of a higher insight and spirituality. In the case of Zhang Min, this latter objective appears to have dominated his mentality to the point where he was indifferent to the deterioration of his body (or at least allegedly claimed to be). Disdain for the body is also reflected in the words of Ma Shu's narrative in which the body is referred to as the "seven *chi* [132] of empty delusion". The idea that one had to persevere in one's training in order to be able to help others reflects how

[132]This refers to the approximate height of the human body.

Daoists, especially the proponents of the Lingbao scriptures, had come to perceive their ideal holy man as a compassionate being similar to the Buddhist Bodhisattva who exercised marvelous powers to benefit and save all living beings. Also vigorously promoted in the Lingbao scriptures is the notion of transmigration, and how the ultimate salvation is attained through effort sustained over countless reincarnations. Zhang Min's alleged willingness to die of starvation was perhaps based upon this belief. He perhaps thought that by persevering and dying he would achieve rebirth into an environment where he could once again resume his training and achieve Perfection. Such is likely what is meant by the statement, "As for practicing the Dao and performing my deeds, why must it take place here?"

In sum, from the *Daoxue zhuan* we can see that fasting methods such as those discussed in Part One continued to be advocated during the Northern-Southern Dynasties period. The large scale adoption of Buddhist ideas did not make these methods obsolete. In many cases, Buddhistic beliefs served as further means of justification and motivation for persevering in the arduous fasts. However, in the case of Zhang Min, the Buddhist influence may have caused him to disregard his body's worth to the point where he abused it. While the accounts that we have examined may grossly exaggerate the severity and duration of the fasts, they at least reflect the fact that the dietetic methods taught and practiced among Daoists continued to envision the ultimate (albeit unrealistic) ideal of becoming completely unreliant on food, a fact to which ample evidence will be examined in the ensuing chapters. Chapter Eight examines the *Taishang dadao yuqing jing* which attacks vigorously as heretics those who abuse the body out of a disregard for it. Zhang Min would certainly qualify as a heretic by these standards, and it was perhaps the presence among Daoists of men with attitudes like that ascribed to Zhang Min (as well as Guo Wen, whose attitudes are <u>not</u> Buddhistic) which prompted the attacks of the *Yuqing jing* .

Chapter Summary

From the fragments of the *Daoxue zhuan* it can be seen that Daoists of the Northern-Southern Dynasties period such as Ma Shu regarded severe ascetic lifestyles and training methods as

exemplary modes of conduct, and that there seem to have been actual people who lived out this ideal. Granted, such people presumably represented a distinct minority, since severe asceticism was primarily the domain of only the most serious and advanced adepts. The *Daoxue zhuan* gives various descriptions of people who lived out the ideal of what the *Sandong zhunang* calls "poverty and frugality"; the resigning or subjection of oneself to a life virtually devoid of worldly possessions and pleasures. In many cases, this austere lifestyle appears to have been pursued after renouncing the householder's life and joining a monastic community. Also exalted in the *Daoxue zhuan* is the altruistic spirit, which the protagonists embody through tireless and humble participation in group rituals (which benefit all living beings) or through giving to those in need, in one case to the point of starving to death. The adoption of monasticism attested to in the *Daoxue zhuan* is a clear example of Buddhist influence, as is the heightened emphasis on altruism. Also to be found are stories depicting the protagonists as manifesting the ideal of severe asceticism through the exhibition of prolific endurance in the performance of worship activities.

In the *Daoxue zhuan* are mentioned various ingestion and non-ingestion fasting methods, including the most severe ones which are described as having caused visible emaciation upon the body. The new, Buddhist-influenced doctrines of the times evidently by no means undermined the importance of the ancient and indigenous fasting techniques. However, we did see one instance (Zhang Min) where Buddhistic doctrines may have caused one adept to speak and act in ways that defied the traditional attitude maintaining that fasts were supposed to ultimately strengthen and perpetuate the flesh.

Having thus looked briefly at hagiography, we shall now turn to the contents of the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures, the teachings of which emerged from and greatly influenced the religious climate portrayed in the *Daoxue zhuan.*

CHAPTER SIX: SEVERE ASCETICISM IN THE SHANGQING TEXTS

[The Biography of] Master Deng of the Southern Peak[1]: His personal name was Yu. He was a man of Jianping, Jizhou[2]. At a young age he chose not to serve [in government]. He hid himself in a staggeringly steep peak on Mt. Heng, building for himself from wooden planks a small house two *jian* (3.6 meters) [in diameter]. He never came down from the mountain. He cut off grains for over 30 years, only ingesting mica powder together with stream water. Day and night he recited the scripture(s) of the *Dadong*. Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty revered him particularly fervently. He concocted an elixir for the Emperor, but the Emperor did not dare take it. [The Emperor] erected the Tower of the Five Peaks for it (the elixir) to be stored and worshipped. On auspicious days of the Daoists, he would personally go and worship it.[3] [One day] in broad daylight, the Divine Immortal Madame Wei suddenly came and descended [upon Deng Yu's midst]. She came riding on the clouds, accompanied by 30 young women, each wearing crimson and purple brocaded thin over-dresses and petticoats, all of them [appearing to be] 17 or 18 years old. Their complexions were like peaches and plums. Their texture was superior to red jade and green jasper. After conversing for a long time, they said to Yu, "You have the allotment [of destiny] for Immortal-hood. Therefore since a long time ago

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[1]It appears possible that this Deng Yu may be the same person as the Deng Yuzhi described in the *Daoxue zhuan* (see pp. 253-254), judging from the similarity of their names (i.e. one of the two sources may have given his name slightly wrong) and the fact that both are described as having been active on the Southern Peak Mt. Heng around the vicinity of the year 500. The discrepancy in the place name given as his home region could be explained by the possibility that one source gives his actual place of birth and upbringing, and the other gives the place where his family originally hailed from. On the other hand, by stating that he was a "man of the Yongming reign era of the Qi Dynasty", Ma Shu displays no knowledge of his protagonist having any contact with the Liang Emperor Wu, which perhaps indicates after all that Deng Yuzhi was not Deng Yu.

[2]Located around present day Wushan County, Sichuan Province.

[3]Presumably, this would have taken place before the Emperor's renunciation of Daoism in 504.

> we have been watching over you regularly." In the 14th year of the Tianjian reign era (515 A.D.) he suddenly saw two blue birds, each about the size of a crane, flapping their wings, singing and dancing for awhile and then leaving. He said to his disciples, "Seeking it has been very laborious, but having attained it, I am very relaxed. The blue birds just came, and [thus] the time has come." A few days later he died with no illness. Throughout the mountain only fragrant air could be smelled, that was unlike anything that ever existed in the world.[4]

The above is a story about an adept of the early Liang Dynasty who, at least according to this tale, engaged in severe ascetic practices and revered the Shangqing scriptures. The "scripture(s) of the *Dadong*" which he is said to have recited constantly while living on mica powder and water refers either to the Shangqing scriptures in general or more specifically to the most revered scripture of the corpus, the *Dadong zhenjing*. We are told that his sustained training led to miraculous visions of Madame Wei Huacun, one of the most revered Perfected Beings of the Shangqing movement who allegedly appeared frequently as the primary preceptress in the all-important revelations (it must be noted that when the words "revelations" or "revealed" are used, they refer only to what Daoists believed about the texts and are not meant to claim as a fact that a divine revelation took place) from which the scriptures were inspired. The profound influence of the Shangqing movement upon the religiosity of Deng Yu as he is portrayed here can also be seen in how his miraculous vision featured beautiful young women (beautiful divine women appear prominently within the imagery of the Shangqing texts), and how he concocted an alchemical potion which the Emperor was supposedly afraid to take (probably because of its deadly toxicity). In this chapter we will examine in detail the beliefs and practices taught by the Shangqing texts which would have inspired severe asceticism such as that ascribed here to Deng Yu.

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[4]*Nanshi* p.1896. See Plate 106.

The original Shangqing texts were authored by the visionary mystic Yang Xi (330-?) in the town of Jurong (Jiangsu Province) during the years 364-370. The contents of the texts were allegedly revealed to him by divine beings within the context of visions. The texts were then also passed on to a court official name Xu Mi (303-373) and his son Xu Hui (341-370), the latter of whom was subsequently inspired to leave the secular world and devote himself to practicing the methods of the scriptures on Mt. Mao.[5]

Isabelle Robinet emphasizes that Yang Xi was a mystic or a visionary, as opposed to a medium. As she explains, a medium acts as a simple, unsophisticated mouth-piece for the god or spirit that possesses him or her. The information brought forth by a medium is typically fragmented and responds only to the concerns of certain concrete situations. Yang Xi, on the other hand, produced a full-fledged religious system with a comprehensive scheme of cosmology, soteriology and praxis. Also, unlike a typical medium, Yang Xi was a man of extremely high culture. His writings reflect a deep familiarity with the Confucian classics as well as most other forms of intellectual literature, religious and secular, that were available at his time. He was also a first rate calligrapher, and it was the excellence of his calligraphy which later came to be used by Tao Hongjing as the standard for identifying his authentic manuscripts.[6]

What was produced from what Robinet calls the "ecstatic visions" of Yang Xi was a religious literature that fit the tastes of those educated elite who were spiritually inclined. More specifically, as has been brought up by Miyakawa Hisayuki[7] and elaborated upon by Michel Strickmann[8], the Shangqing doctrines served the agenda of the elite clans which had been well established in the Wu region since the end of the Han Dynasty (who had come south during the mass southward exodus of aristocratic families during the unrest that ensued with the crumbling of the Han Dynasty), only to be relegated to a subservient role

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[5]See p.3 of Michel Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy" in *T'oung-pao* no.63.1 (1977).
[6]See Isabelle Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* (1984) v.1.pp107-108.
[7]See *Rikuchoo shi kenkyuu: Shuukyoo hen* (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1964) p. 139.
[8]See "The Mao Shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy" pp.6-14.

when the Western Jin capital of Luoyang was conquered in 311 by non-Chinese peoples[9], causing the imperial family and the powerful northern aristocrats to migrate southward and establish a new capital at Jiankang. Power struggles between the northern and southern aristocrats existed not only in the socio-political sphere but also in the religious sphere, as many of the northerners were adherents of the Heavenly Masters sect of Daoism, which set out to destroy the temples of various local cults and convert the people to their own faith. The Xu family (more specifically, Xu Mi's father and uncle), had chosen the option of submission and collaboration with the new elite, serving as officials under their regime, and converting to the Heavenly Master's Sect. While subservience on the secular plane was irreversible, the revelation of the Shangqing scriptures served to elevate the Xus and others (generally relatives or friends of a similar social background) with access to them to a superior and privileged position in the realm of religion. Owning manuscripts of the Shangqing scriptures and putting their teachings to practice were thought to put one into contact with the loftiest of gods and Immortals and enable one to some day become one of them. The Shangqing scriptures claimed to offer a much higher level of immortality than what could be attained through the rituals and practices of the Heavenly Master's Sect or other earlier schools. While the veracity of the Heavenly Master's Sect and the more archaic traditions indigenous to the south were not denied, their practices were relegated to the status of minor methods (*xiaofa*) which served to prepare the adept and make him worthy of transmission and practice of the superior methods, which were the methods (primarily involving visualizational meditations and incantations) prescribed by the newly revealed texts, the most revered of which was the *Dadong Zhenjing* . Thus while still functioning as members of the Heavenly Master's sect, Yang Xi, the Xus and other privileged recipients of the scriptures became the custodians of a new religious path which was to them the highest of divine truths accessible within the realm of mortals.

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[9]Luoyang was sacked by the armies of Liu Yao (of Xiongnu ethnicity) and Shile (of the Jie tribe) of the new Han kingdom.

As has been stated by Robinet[10], the significance of the Shangqing texts within the history of Daoist doctrines does not lie so much in the originality of their teachings. In the Shangqing texts are assembled together various previously existing beliefs and practices which were further developed and molded into the grand scheme of a comprehensive religious system. What was new and significant about the Shangqing texts was this synthesis which took what had previously been independent methods and wove them into a grand program for salvation. Robinet also points out that the development and eventual proliferation of this religious system represented a crucial juncture at which the Daoist quest for immortality, which was previously "a young system in perpetual gestation" in which emphasis was upon the individual's faith experience and inspiration, became a fixed system which served as a basis for an established school. In other words the Shangqing texts purported to represent the product of a single, all-important revelation of divine truth to a patriarch (Yang Xi). This ultimate truth now became something that could be approached not solely through one's personal quest, culminating in a decisive and unique revelation all one's own, but primarily instead through initiation into the school and transmission of the all important scriptures (which also provided techniques and imagery through which Yang Xi's mystical experience could be re-lived).[11]

This is not to say that the earliest participants and recipients of the revelations formed an independent religious institution. At first, only a very limited few obtained access to the scriptures, since they were at first only transmitted within a close circle of relatives and acquaintances. But eventually the fame and acclaim of the new texts began to grow as they were transmitted to more people (typically pious Heavenly Masters sect laymen). This growing acclaim provoked the activity of imitators who produced their own texts. Most important among such texts were those of the Lingbao corpus which are the topic of the next chapter of this dissertation. The remarkable success that the Lingbao scriptures came

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[10]*La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* (1984) v.1.p.108.
[11]ibid. p.109.

to enjoy in turn provoked the emergence of newer, apocryphal Shangqing texts which, while maintaining much of the original spirit of the revelations, also incorporated many elements from the Lingbao scriptures.[12]

During the second half of the fifth century, certain erudite Daoists began to exert gallant efforts to once again ascertain, amidst a confusing state of affairs, which texts truly belonged to the original revelations. The first such effort was that of Gu Huan. Shortly before the year 465, Gu Huan, who himself had transcribed the collection of original manuscripts that had come under the custody of the Ma family, met in the Shan mountains (in eastern Zhejiang) with Du Jingchan, who had inherited original manuscripts from his father, and Zhu Sengbiao who had been transmitted original manuscripts by his teacher Chu Boyu[13]. There they collaborated in an effort to examine critically the texts that they had in hand. The fruit of this effort was a collection of writings deemed to be authentic products of the great revelations entitled the *Zhenji* (Traces of the Perfected), which is now regrettably no longer extant.[14]

Following the example set by Gu Huan's work, a similar endeavor was carried out by Tao Hongjing (456-536). Tao, who came from a clan allied by marriage to the Xu clan, was simultaneously an initiated Daoist adept (a pupil of Sun Youyue, a pupil of Lu Xiujing)[15] and a highly respected official at the court of the Qi Dynasty. Tao, who got his first glimpse of an authentic Yang Xi manuscript during his apprenticeship under Sun Youyue, was so impressed by its literary style and calligraphy that he became convinced that it was a product of greatest divine inspiration. He consequently came to devote much of his time to gathering and studying Shangqing manuscripts, eventually retiring from his

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[12]For more details on the early proliferation of the texts see Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy" pp. 16-54. In it, Strickmann has made full English translation of the *Zhengao* 19/9b-20/4b, which describe the process in detail. The man responsible for the writing of much of the apocrypha was Wang Lingqi (see pp.19-24, 45-49 of the article).

[13]As the reader may recall, this person is described in the *Daoxue zhuan* as having cut off grains in Mt. Huo while refining his fluids and swallowing mists. See p.267 of this dissertation.

[14]See Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy" pp. 31-32.

[15]His initiation took place during his mandatory three year mourning period (484-486) for his mother.

governmental post in 492 to reside on Mt. Mao and study the texts full time. The fruits of his studies were the *Zhengao* (HY1010/TT637-640. *Proclamations of the Perfected*) and the HY421/TT193*Dengzhen Yinjue*. (*Secret Lessons for the Ascent to Perfection*)[16] The *Zhengao*, which survives as a complete work today, is a collection of miscellaneous writings of Yang Xi and the two Xus (these include the "revealed" teachings as well as some correspondences between Yang Xi and the Xus) to which Tao Hongjing added annotations, as well as a postface describing the history of the "revealing" and transmission of the scriptures. The *Dengzhen Yinjue* , which is an annotated collection of methods and rituals from Yang Xi's original texts, unfortunately survives today only in a shorter version preserving only a small fraction of the material from the original version[17], as well as fragments surviving as quotes in various sources such as the *Sandong zhunang* and*Taiping yulan.* Needless to say, we are greatly indebted to Tao Hongjing for providing us with a means of knowing a good portion of what we can know today about the Shangqing revelations. Furthermore, Tao Hongjing was responsible for establishing a formal Shangqing sect based on Mt. Mao which, thanks to Tao's personal prestige and connections, was able to curry the favor of Liang Emperor Wu, a Buddhist who denounced and suppressed Daoism as we have already seen (see pp. 259-261).[18] The Shangqing sect continued to flourish throughout the remainder of the Six Dynasties and the Tang Dynasty as one of the most influential schools of Daoism.

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[16]See pp. 139-140 of Michel Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching" in Anna Seidel and Holmes Welch ed. *Facets of Taoism* (1979) pp. 123-192.

[17]The version in the Daoist Canon today has only three *juan*. The original edition of the work apparently had as many as 24 *juan*, as is evidenced in the earliest biography of Tao Hongjing, *Huayang yinju xiansheng benji lu* (*Yunji qiqian* 107/1b-14a) written ca. 499 by Tao Hongjing's nephew Tao Yi. The "Dadong zhenjing mu", a catalog of Shangqing texts found in the *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* (HY1117/TT760-761, written ca. 550) 5/1a-2b lists it as having 26 *juan*. Almost all of the passages quoted in other works are not found in the Daoist Canon version. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* v.2 p.347.

[18]See Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching" pp. 157-158. "The Mao Shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy" p.39. Strickmann has also speculated, however, that even Tao Hongjing and his sect eventually felt the impact of the suppression of 517, which was why Tao built facilities for Buddhist worship on Mt. Mao and personally carried out Buddhist rituals. See Strickmann, "Liang Wu Ti's Suppression of Taoism" pp.471-472.

In studying severe asceticism as it existed within the Daoism that developed out of the Shangqing revelations, we will rely on the extant texts that convey the original teachings of the revelations or which at least reflect the beliefs of proponents of the Shangqing texts during the Northern-Southern Dynasties period. To be on the safe side, I have relied particularly heavily on the *Zhengao* and what survives of the *Dengzhen Yinjue*, since they represent the writings most readily verifiable as authentic writings of Yang Xi and the two Xus.[19] I have also employed the scriptures (*jing*), "esoteric biographies" of saints (*neizhuan*; these are elaborate legends of ancient semi-legendary adepts revered within the tradition which incorporate detailed descriptions of the techniques that the protagonist putatively employed) and lessons (*jue*) extant in the Daoist canon which modern scholarship has deemed to have been actually authored by Yang Xi, or at least by someone among the early (i.e. Northern-Southern Dynasties Period) proponents of the Shangqing texts. Isabelle Robinet, through painstaking effort has analyzed all (to her knowledge) extant texts that claim to have issued from the "revelations" in regard to their authenticity. The impressive product of her efforts is *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme v.2: Catalogue analytique des oeuvres Shangqing originel*, which I have consulted constantly in my selection of materials.

So we shall now move on to our discussion. Section A will examine the ethics and values conveyed in the texts (some of them Buddhistic) that encourage self-subjection to suffering and the elimination of desires. Sections B and C will examine respectively the mystical and anti-worldly attitudes conveyed in the texts that dictated severe asceticism. Section D will discuss the role of severe asceticism, especially fasting, as an imperative prerequisite for advanced spiritual progress and the transmission of the exalted scriptures.

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[19]However, not even the *Zhengao* is entirely non-suspect, as certain changes to the text were made after the lifetime of Tao Hongjing, primarily involving the order in which some of the material is presented, and how the *juan* are divided. The most blatant example of revision in the main text (ascribed to Yang Xi), is a citation of the Houhan shu, an early fifth century work, found on 12/1a. See Robinet, La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme, vol. 2, pp. 318-321.

Finally, section E will examine in detail the specific fasting methods endorsed within the texts.

A. The Necessity of Suffering and the Elimination of Desires

In the following passages, it is asserted that training as a Daoist requires subjection to suffering, hardship and even danger:

(1) Polish your marvelous insight of the essence of heaven, and eliminate all immediate thoughts regarding your myriad burdens. Your most [worthy] deeds will be manifested in your harsh suffering. Eliminate your traces and become identical with formlessness. Your three meals will be sufficiently provided by the mountain streams, and your discreet sincerity will manifest itself far and near.[20]

(2) [Lord Baoming[21] said]"Those who are outstanding in [matters of the] mysterious, and who dwell up on high, do not [bother to] glance even when mountains and rivers are crumbling [around them]. Those who aspire to the Dao and preserve the Perfect do not protect themselves even amidst

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[20]*Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing* (HY1302/TT1025, from here on to be referred to as the *Ciyi jing*) 9b. See Plate 107.
According to Robinet, the *Ciyi jing* as it exists today is not one of the original revealed Shangqing texts, but is a collection of materials produced by the original revelations or by early Shangqing proponents. The text did not take on its present form until the seventh century (when the Sandong zhunang was compiled) or later. This speculation is based primarily on the observation that much of its material also appears in the *Wushang biyao* and *Sandong zhunang*, but mostly as quotations from scriptures with different titles. The portion (1a-19b) of the *Ciyi jing* in which the above passage appears deals primarily with how to prepare oneself for the recitation and practice of the all-important *Dadong zhenjing*. Robinet says that this section stylistically does not resemble the original Shangqing writings, and that on p.11a there is a reference to the Primordial Heavenly Worthy or Yuanshi Tianzun (the supreme deity introduced and venerated in the Lingbao scriptures), meaning that the section was written during the fifth century at the earliest. The above passage is still of significance for our purposes, in that it does convey the religiosity of early proponents of the *Dadong zhenjing*. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* v.2 pp. 261-276.

[21]This refers to Mao Zhong, the youngest of the three Mao brothers, three semi-legendary adepts who allegedly attained Perfection during the Han Dynasty and from whom Mt. Mao gets its name. The brothers were among the numerous divine beings who spoke to Yang Xi in his visions.

coldness, heat, hunger and thirst. This is the ultimate in single-mindedness. If your concentration becomes scattered in the eight voids [eight directions; N, S, E, W, NE, NW, SE, SW] and your *hun* soul wanders in the ten thousand paths, you will become ill from the wind which seizes upon your negligence or from demonic possession. All will have then gone to naught."[22]

(3) Immortals practice a thousand matters over a single day and night. Once you no longer feel fatigue, it will be clear that your striving in the Dao has reached [the required level]. [This] life must not be lost.[23]

(4) The Blue Boy of Fangzhu appeared and proclaimed, "For a person to practice the Dao is also to suffer, but to not practice the Dao is also to suffer. People from their birth reach old age, and from old age reach [the stage of] illness. Protecting their bodies they reach [the point of] death[24]. Their suffering is limitless. In their minds they worry and they accumulate sins. With their births and deaths unending their suffering is difficult to [accurately and sufficiently] describe (underlining added). Even more so it is because many do not live to their old age ordained by Heaven!

[By saying that] to practice the Dao is also to suffer, I mean that to maintain the Perfect purely and immaculately, to guard the mysterious and long for the miraculous, to search for a teacher while struggling, to undergo hundreds of trials, to keep your heart diligent without failure, to exert your determination firmly and clearly; this is also the utmost in suffering."[25]

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[22] *Zhengao* 6/13b-14a. Also *Wushang biyao* 65/1a. See Plate 108.

[23] *Dengzhen yinjue* 2/18b. See Plate 109.

[24] The cognate portion in the *Sishi'er zhang jing* here reads, "From illness they reach [the point of] death."

[25] *Zhengao* 6/6a. The underlined portion of this passage is cognate with the 35th chapter of the Buddhist *Sishi'er zhang jing*. See Plate 110.

The above passages assert the necessity of training strenuously, painfully and dangerously. This severe asceticism is a manifestation of complete devotion to the pursuit of Perfection, which requires the abandonment of all other concerns, even the securing of proper food, clothing and shelter. Thus passage (1) urges its reader to live by drinking the water of mountain streams and passage (2) says that a truly worthy adept does not defend himself from natural hazards nor seek to obtain food and drink. Because his mind is completely concentrated on the quest of Perfection, he somehow becomes indestructible. However, failure to remain completely concentrated can make him vulnerable to disease, which represents a complete failure that invalidates whatever had been accomplished up to that point. Passage (3) states that a truly accomplished adept (worthy of the description of Immortal or *xianren*) has the endurance to do all that is required in the pursuit of the ultimate goal, regardless of how strenuous it may be.

That the above were ideals to be aspired to, rather than standards actually adhered to by the typical practitioner, is well indicated by Tao Hongjing in his annotation to passage (3) which goes as follows:

> Once you are worthy of Immortal-hood (*xian*), the body becomes able to withstand toil. This[26] applies only to those who are about to attain immortality. Generally, novice adepts are not particularly upright and strong, and their bodies easily become tired and worn out.[27]

In other words, asceticism of the most severe kind was meant for only the most worthy and accomplished adepts. Tao goes on to say that one who is not yet at an advanced level of training must not force himself to practice methods which are overly

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[26]What is described in passage (3)

[27]*Dengzhen yinjue* 2/18b. See Plate 111.

demanding. Rather, he should learn and master one method at a time in the proper sequence.

But nonetheless, as passage (4) tells us, the process of training, by its essential nature, entails much suffering. Yet, one is best advised not to shy from this painstaking process, since ordinary life carried out without the pursuit of immortality is in its essence nothing other than suffering. If this notion of suffering being the essence of life sounds like Buddhist doctrine, it is no coincidence. As is well known, the teachings of passage (4) as well as most of what is found in the *Zhengao* 6/6a-12a, 9/6a-b and 9/19b-20a were borrowed from the Buddhist *Sishi'erzhang jing* (*Forty-two Chapter Sutra*)[28], a sutra which in its preface claims to be the first Buddhist sutra to be translated into Chinese, and which by the late fifth century or early sixth century had come to be generally acknowledged as such (a claim which modern scholars are skeptical about).[29] The portions of passage (4) that I have underlined are identical to the 35th chapter of the *Sishi'erzhang jing* . Such a large portion (27 of the 42 chapters, as well as the preface) of the sutra was borrowed in the Shangqing revelations probably because its teachings served well the purpose of reinforcing and amplifying the importance of striving hard in the religious quest. As has been pointed out by Erik Zürcher and Isabelle Robinet, the impact of Buddhist beliefs upon Shangqing texts, particularly in comparison to that which is

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[28]*Taisho Canon* no.784. vol.17 p.722. The first to discover that the Zhengao passages match with those of the *Sishi'er zhang jing* was Hu Shi (see "Tao Hongjing de Zhengao kao" in *Hu Shi lunxue jinzhu diyi ji* [1935] pp.155-167.), who vehemently attacked Tao Hongjing for plagiarism and deception. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo has pointed out that Tao, as compiler and annotator of the writings of Yang Xi and the Xus was not guilty as accused, and that the passages in question were among the authentic manuscripts of Yang Xi. Tao's "innocence" is also attested to by the fact that "revealed" passages corresponding to the *Sishi'er zhang jing* are also found in the 7th *juan* of the *Wushang biyao* as quotes from the *Zhenji*, and *Daoji* (other compilations of Shangqing materials. The *Zhenji* predated the *Zhengao*, as may also have been the case with the *Daoji*). See Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dookyoo to bukkyoo* v.3 (Tokyo: Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, 1976) pp.3-38. Yoshioka provides a very useful table which places the text of the *Sishi'er zhang jing* alongside the cognate passages in the *Zhengao* as well as another later Daoist scripture, the *Shangqing zhongzhen jiaojie dexing jing* (HY458/TT203). I have relied upon Yoshioka's table for recognizing the portions of the text that match with the *Sishi-erzhang jing*.

[29]Estimates of the date of the *Sishi-erzhang jing*'s authorship range between the Latter Han and ca. 500 A.D. It has also been questioned whether it is actually a translation of an Indian original. The fact that large portions of it were found among the manuscripts that Tao Hongjing deemed as authentically belonging to Yang Xi and the Xus, would indicate that the *Sishi-erzhang jing*, or a large portion of it, was in circulation by the late fourth century.

evident in the Lingbao texts, is as a whole superficial, usually amounting to not much more than borrowings of individual Buddhist terms and phrases, taken out of context and used in a fashion in which their meaning has been changed or is extremely vague.[30] Thus, the "Daoist version" of the *Sishi'erzhang jing* preserved in the *Zhengao* and other collections of "revealed" material is an exceptional example among original Shangqing material of a somewhat profounder level of borrowing in which certain vital Buddhistic attitudes and beliefs are adopted (and altered to a certain degree) to vitalize and reinforce the exhortations set forth as putative instructions from Perfected Beings. Apparently, while the early Shangqing proponents had come to agree with such Buddhistic beliefs and attitudes to the point where they would make such a wholesale incorporation (or plagiarism) of a Buddhist scripture, these beliefs and attitudes had not become entrenched in their minds to the point where they would regularly show up in their own original writings. This latter phenomenon was to take place in the writing of the Lingbao texts.

Noteworthy in passage (4) is that it affirms the Buddhist belief of reincarnation by referring to an endless cycle of births and deaths. As we will see in the Chapter Seven, this belief in reincarnation which is affirmed here and yet given limited exposure in the Shangqing texts as a whole, becomes a predominant theme in the Lingbao scriptures. The belief in reincarnation engendered the notion that existence in a situation (as a Daoist adept) where one has the opportunity to train towards the goal of Perfection is a truly elusive privilege that is attained through diligent effort and good merit accumulated over countless previous lives. In addition to personal effort and merit, Daoism also attributed a person's state of existence to the merits and demerits accumulated by ancestors. This indigenous theory of causation (discussed at great lengths in the *Taiping jing* [31]) was subscribed to from earlier times, and was not relinquished even after the belief in reincarnation was

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[30]See Zürcher, "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism" in *T'oung-pao* no.65 (1980) pp.84-146 and Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol. 1 pp.87-106.

[31]See Wang Ming, *Taiping jing hejiao* pp.22-24 ("Jie chengfu jue") and pp.57-61 ("Wushi jie chenfu fa").

widely adopted.[32] Because life as an adept was thought to be such an elusive privilege, it was deemed vital for an adept to strive his hardest to make the best of his opportunity in his present life, since if he failed, it could mean countless more rebirths before the opportunity could be gained again. This is what is meant in passage (3) where it says, "[this] life must not be lost" judging from the explanation given by Tao Hongjing in his annotation.[33][34]

Another basic Buddhistic notion that is utilized as a justification for arduous training is that of the impermanent and illusory nature of life:

(5) Silently observe heaven and earth and contemplate [becoming a] flying Immortal.[35]

Silently observe the mountains and rivers and contemplate [becoming a] flying Immortal.[36]

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[32]As has been pointed out by Strickmann, a good example of the this dual causality (found in *Zhengao* 3/13b-14a) is the case of Xu Mi, whose faith in the Dao and his pre-ordained destiny within the bureaucracy of the heavens were declared to have been caused by the merit of a distant (seven generations prior) ancestor who had saved the lives of 408 people during a famine. Also, it was revealed that Xu Mi was the reincarnation of a Han Dynasty adept name Xue Lü who had not managed to attain Immortal-hood due to his concupiscence, and had requested rebirth into the Xu family, so as to benefit from their great hereditary merit. See Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching" p.188 ft.nt.192.

[33]Tao's note reads as follows: "Over 10,000 kalpas you formed your causes and now you have this life. Once you lose this life, it will likely be another 10,000 kalpas [before you get another rebirth as privileged as this]. How can you not bravely and fiercely devote your labors to hereby from this [existence] pursue eternal life?" 萬劫結緣.今有此生.此生一失復恐萬劫.何可不勇猛精勤.修於此道.常生久

[34]Another passage from the sixth *juan* of the *Zhengao* which is also mostly borrowed from the *Sishi'erzhang jing* expounds this same basic notion in terms of what are called the "eight difficulties" (*ba'nan*): "Lord Wang of Xicheng proclaimed, 'It is difficult for a person to avoid the three bad existences (existence in hell, as a hungry ghost or as livestock) and get to become a human. Once one has gotten to be a human, it is difficult to avoid becoming a woman and to become a man. Once one has become a man, it is difficult to become fully endowed with the six senses and four limbs. [Even] when one has the six senses, it is difficult to get to be born in China. Once one has been born in China (underlines added), it is difficult to get to live under parents and a ruler who maintain the Dao. Even if one gets to live under a ruler who maintains the Dao and be born into a family which studies the Dao, it is difficult to get to have a good heart, and it is difficult to get to believe in the inner power of the Dao and long life. Even if you believe in the inner power of the Dao and in long life, it is difficult to get to live during the moment of the Great Peace of *Renchen* . How can you not be diligent!" (Zhengao 6/6b-7a) See Plate 112.

[35]The text of the Sishi'erzhang jing reads, ".....contemplate impermanence." (*nian feichang*) 念非常

[36]The text of the Sishi'erzhang jing reads, ".....contemplate impermanence." (*nian feichang*)

> Silently observe the myriad things and contemplate [having a] compassionate heart that covers and holds up [living things as heaven and earth do].[37]
>
> [If you] always keep your heart like this, you will acquire the Dao (underlines added).
>
> Human life is merely like an illusion. You live temporarily between heaven and earth for a short time only. If you control your *qi* and manage your spirit, and [strive] bitterly and harshly to concentrate on Perfection, you will attain the Dao for a long time. When the Dao is completed you can dwell amidst the Great Non-being together with heaven and earth. If you penetrate the void and embody Non-being, you will live together with the Great Non-being amidst utter serenity. As for the penetrating into the serenity; it cannot be seen if looked at, and cannot be heard if listened to. The roots of death and birth (reincarnation) can be easily let go of and eternal years [of life] can be easily sought. If you seek it you can obtain it. If you let go of them (the roots of death and birth) you can become long-lasting.[38]

If passage (5) initially seems less Buddhist in tone than passage (4), it is because it corrupts and embellishes the text of the *Sishi'erzhang jing* considerably. The 16th chapter of the *Sishi'erzhang jing* tells its reader to contemplate impermanence while observing heaven, earth, mountains, rivers and the myriad things, and that by doing so the acquiring of the Dao (enlightenment, Buddha-hood) will be facilitated. Passage (5), while it initially eliminates the word "impermanence" (*feichang*) by replacing it with the words "flying Immortals" (*feixian*), revives the theme of transitoriness in the latter portion that does not

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[37]The text of the Sishi'erzhang jing reads, "....contemplate impermanence." (*nian feichang*)

[38]*Zhengao* 6/10b-11a. This passage matches with the 16th chapter of the *Sishi'er zhang jing*. See Plate 113.

match the extant text of the *Sishi'erzhang jing* . As is the case in Buddhist doctrine, this constant awareness of transitoriness leads to an enlightenment that liberates one from the chain of rebirths. This liberation comes in the form of an existence as a Flying Immortal, which is realized through bitter, harsh and concentrated training of mind and body (or its *qi*). Inevitably, the question that comes to mind here is , "If one who acquires the Dao as a Flying Immortal lives eternally amidst the Great Non-being, is the immortality a non-corporeal existence? What happens to the flesh?" The text is completely ambiguous regarding this question.

The archaic Daoist ideal of bodily immortality is contradictory to the Buddhist goal of extinction. Yet it appears that Daoists could not resist adopting various aspects of Buddhism because Buddhism had much to offer them as a means for justifying and reinforcing their beliefs and practices, such as their concern with overcoming desires and transcending worldly tribulation. Thus the *Zhengao* passages borrowed from the *Sishi'erzhang jing* include passages such as the following which deal with the issue of eliminating desires:

(6) Lord Blue Boy of Fangzhu said, "As for a person's practicing of the Dao, those who are able to remove the roots of craving desire: it is like picking up pearls. If you pick them up one by one, they will eventually all get picked up. If you gradually get rid of external evils, they will eventually all be gone. When they are eliminated, you will acquire the Dao[39].

Also, to take something nearby as an example, an ox which carries a heavy burden and goes about in the mud: at the height of fatigue it does not care to look left nor right, but wants only to leave the mud so it can recuperate and relax. A Daoist adept sees emotions and desires as being worse than [this]

[39]This portion matches with the 40th chapter of the *Sishi'er zhang jing*. The text of the *Sishi'er zhang jing* concludes simply, "when the evils are eliminated, you acquire the Dao". 惡盡得道

mud. If with a straight mind he contemplates the Dao, he can avoid the various forms of suffering (underlines added), and can acquire the Dao[40]."[41]

(7) [As for] what wealth and sex are to the self[42]; it is comparable to a child's longing for honey which is on the blade of a sword. Its sweetness is insufficient for satisfying his palate (underlines added), and furthermore he suffers the misfortune of having his tongue cut off.[43]

By incorporating Buddhist teachings, the above passages amplify the emphasis upon eliminating desires for worldly things. Probably most noteworthy about the heightened emphasis on the elimination of desires conveyed in the Shangqing texts is that sexual desire becomes singled out for being the worst kind of desire. This attitude is conveyed most clearly in the following passage, which is clearly another example of Buddhist influence, since it is borrowed from the *Sishi'er zhang jing*:

(8) [The Madame of the Southern Extreme said,] "As for what is great among longings and desires, nothing is greater than lust. The guilt it brings on has no limit, and it is a matter which cannot be forgiven. Fortunately, there is only one [desire as harmful as lust]. If there furthermore were two [such kinds of desire], none of the people [under] the entire sky would be able to practice the Dao (underlines added)."[44]

Also borrowed from the *Sishi'erzhang jing* is the following passage which clearly urges its reader to avoid or abandon married life:

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[40]This portion matches with the 41st chapter of the *Sishi'er zhang jing*.
[41]*Zhengao* 6/6a-b. See Plate 114.
[42]The text of the *Sishi'er zhang jing* here reads, "....to others." 於人
[43]*Zhengao* 6/8b. This passage matches with the 20th chapter of the *Sishi'er zhang jing*. See Plate 115.
[44]*Zhengao* 6/9b. This passage matches with the 22nd chapter of the *Sishi'er zhang jing*. See Plate 116.

(9) Madame Xuanqing proclaimed, "The misfortune involved in a man's being bound with a wife, children, valuable possessions and a home is greater than that of being shackled and handcuffed inside a prison. [When you are] shackled and handcuffed inside a prison, there is still the possibility of release. But as far as the emotions and desires [involved in] having a wife and children are concerned, even though it entails a [degree of] harm comparable to a tiger's bite[45], people still willingly throw themselves into them, and the sins can never be forgiven (underlines added)."[46]

The Buddhist solution to the problem of lust and other harmful emotions involved in the householder's life has always been to enter into a monastic community. As was mentioned in Chapter Five, celibate monasticism based on the Buddhist model seems to have become widespread among Daoists by the sixth century. Although the early recipients and proponents of the Shangqing scriptures did not yet have monastic institutions, presumably the truly serious among them were celibate, choosing to not marry or to separate from their spouses. Thus, it is recorded that Xu Hui, when he left public life to train on Mt. Mao, divorced his wife and returned her to her original family.[47] It is also known that Tao Hongjing never married, as may have also been the case with Yang Xi. As we have already seen in Part One, prior to substantial Buddhist influence Daoists had their own reasons for preferring celibacy, which primarily had to do with the physical harm thought to be caused by sexual intercourse rather than the inherent sinfulness of it. This physiological concern dictating celibacy is also very much to be seen in the Shangqing texts:

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[45]A note by Tao Hongjing states that the portion reading, "[When you are] shackled.....tiger's bite" is missing from a "different manuscript from a different hand" of this same passage.

[46]*Zhengao* 6/8b-9a. This passage matches with the 21st chapter of the *Sishi'er zhang jing*. See Plate 117.

[47]See *Yunji qiqian* 5/3b-4b.

(10) The lesson of the Little Boy of the Eastern Sea:

If a Daoist adept seeks to become an Immortal, he must not copulate with women. Each time you copulate you nullify a full year's medicinal strength. If you ingest nothing and engage in bedroom activities, you will lose thirty years off your life span.[48]

(11) [The Oral Lesson of Feng Yanshou, the Perfected Man of Supreme Purity:]

Men who study [the perpetuation of] life must pacify their hearts and nurture their spirits, practice dietetics and cure their diseases, make the Palace of the Brain full and abundant, and not use up their primal *jing* . Thereby one can preserve the spirit, imbibe mist, and inhale and exhale the two radiances (sun and moon). If you frequently engage in sexual intercourse and ejaculate, your *qi* will be defiled and your spirit will perish, and your *jingling* (the sacred thing that is your semen?) will dry out. Even those who have been mysteriously selected (lit. "pulled out") and whose names have been written in gold upon the Jade Registers in the Great Ultimate[49] will not be free from non-life. In the past, previous masters always admonished regarding these matters saying, 'If a person who studies [the perpetuation of] life copulates once, he will nullify a single year's medicinal strength. If he copulates twice, he will nullify two year's medicinal strength. If he exceeds three copulations, the medicine that he nullifies [will be so much that it will be] all gone from the body. Hereby, stalwarts of Perfection and Immortality always restrain themselves from this

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[48]*Zhengao* 10/23b-24a. See Plate 118.

[49]This most likely refers to those who, based on their own merit from past lives as well as that inherited from their ancestors, are predestined to gain access to the Shangqing scriptures and achieve immortality in the realm of Taiji, a realm of Perfected Beings to which only the realms of Yuqing and Shangqing are superior.

(sexual intercourse) and make it a great prohibition to be observed from life to life.[50]

(12) The Oral Lesson of the Female Immortal, the wife of Liu Gang:

Those who seek immortality must not associate with women. The ninth day of the third month, the second day of the sixth month, the sixth day of the ninth month and the third day of the twelfth month; on these days you must stay in your room and must not look at women. If the Six Corpses (the Three Corpses of the adept himself and of the woman that he looks at?) cause chaos, the blood in your viscera will be disturbed and aroused, your three *hun* souls will be unguarded, your spirit will weaken and your *qi* will leave. All of these [factors] will accumulate, and bring about death. As for why you avoid [women] on these days, it is not only to block of lasciviousness. It is [also] to pacify the female palaces. The female palaces[51] are in the *shen* [52] and the male palaces are in the *yin* [53]. *Yin* and *shen* punish each other. Both execute each other.[54] On these days the Three Corpses of men and women come out from the pupils of the eyes. Female Corpses beckon the male, and male Corpses beckon the female. Misfortune and harm pass back and forth, making the spirit perish and thus blemishing your rectitude. Even if a person does not notice it, his body is exposed and has already been harmed because the Three Corpses fight

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[50]*Zhengao* 10/18b-19a. In his annotation, Tao Hongjing comments that this "lesson" probably is not a product of one of Yang Xi's visions, but is in accord with the teachings of the revealed scriptures. See Plate 119.

[51]What is meant by "female palaces" and "male palaces" is unclear, but it perhaps refers to the compartments of the bodies of women and men respectively where the Corpses reside.

申 [52]The ninth of the twelve "branches". It correlates to the seventh month, 4 p.m. and the direction of west-southwest.

寅 [53]The third of the twelve "branches". It correlates to the first month, the phase of Wood, 4 a.m. and the direction of east-northeast.

[54]What all of this means is unclear, but apparently it is this correlation of the male and female palaces with the branches of *yin* and *shen* which dictates the days in which contact with the opposite sex is to be most carefully avoided.

> within the eyes and blood is shed within the Niwan (a palace in the brain). On these days, even if it is a girl (or daughter?) who you are extremely fond of, or a wife of a close friend (?), you absolutely must not look them face to face. My predecessor and teacher became an Immortal by simply practicing this method. The [proscription] does not apply to closest of relatives to which you have no thoughts [of sexual attraction].[55]

Passages (10) and (11) recommend celibacy for the purpose of facilitating "medicinal strength" (*yaoli*) which refers to the salubrious effects previously accumulated through the continuous ingestion of a certain prescribed substance (which is not named in either passage) or perhaps through training in general, not necessarily involving the taking of medicine (if the word "medicine" is to be understood figuratively). If sexual activity is engaged in beyond the point where whatever "medicinal strength" accumulated previously in the body has been exhausted, it becomes downright deadly. Passage (11) tells us that the physical damage caused by excessive sexual activity is so severe that it inevitably brings death ("non-life") even to those "whose names have been written in gold upon the Jade Registers", i.e. predestined to become immortal.

The Shangqing movement thus saw sexual intercourse as an act extremely counterproductive to the effectiveness of the various immortality techniques. One particular meditation technique called the "Way of the Black and White" (*xuanbai zhi dao*) described in the *Zhengao* and *Dengzhen Yinjue* is of particular interest in this regard. This is a method in which the adept from sunrise until noon visualizes black *qi* in the Niwan (in the brain), white *qi* in the heart and yellow *qi* inside the belly which emerge from the body and envelope it, and then transform into fire, making the adept "interpenetrate and perceive the body as though inside and outside were one." The adept then swallows air 120 times. After describing the method, the text warns as follows:

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[55]*Zhengao* 10/25a-b. See Plate 120.

> The meat of the six varieties of livestock as well as food that has the five acrid flavors is absolutely prohibited. You must separate your place of sleeping [from that of your spouse] and contemplate amidst stillness. The affairs of the bedroom are absolutely prohibited. If you engage in affairs of the bedroom, you will immediately die. This method is similar to the Guarding of the One, but it is a short cut which abbreviates [the complicated details]. Its injunction against sex is stricter than that of the Guarding of the One. The injunction entailed in the Guarding of the One only requires moderation of it (sexual activity).[56]

The degree of importance placed upon celibacy thus varied according the specific method(s) being put into practice, and the Way of the Black and White was one in which the need for complete celibacy was absolute. The consequence for violating the proscription was thought to be instant death. Mentioned also here is the methods of Guarding of the One which does not demand complete celibacy. However, the method thought to work faster with less bothersome details is that of the Black and White, for which celibacy is imperative.

Passage (12) is a warning not merely against sexual intercourse, but against interaction of any kind with women. Women are to be avoided not only to prevent the conscious arousal of sexual desire, but also because on certain days, the demons residing in the body called the Three Corpses emerge from the eyes and intermingle with those of people of the opposite sex, causing damage in the brain.

Also worth noting is that in the *Zhengao* 10/21b-22a is described a method designed specifically to eliminate all lustful impulses from the adept by putting the *hun* and *po* souls under control and by exterminating the "evil corpses" that perform the type of mischief

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[56]*Zhengao* 10/2a-b and *Dengzhen yinjue* 2/21a-b. See Plate 121.

described in passage (12). On prescribed days[57] the adept observes a retreat of purification (preferably abstaining from sleep) and paints a red dot under his left eye and a yellow dot under his right nostril. He then knocks his teeth together, recites a chant, knocks his teeth together again, swallows saliva three times, and then presses the two dots seven times each. The text explains that the left eye and right nostril are the routes through which evil spirits exit and enter. The red and yellow dots represent the hot rays of the sun and moon respectively which burn to death the temptational demons. After performing this method faithfully for three years, the adept is supposed to become completely free of sexual desire.

We can thus see how the Shangqing texts incorporated previously existing Daoist beliefs dictating celibacy for the facilitation of various methods, while also promoting celibacy by means of Buddhistic arguments.

Contemporaneously with the revelations, a method of sexual yoga called the "Method of the Red Realm of the Yellow Book" (*huangshu chijie zhi fa*, also referred to by the abbreviated name "the Way of the Yellow and Red" or *huangchi zhi dao*) was being practiced within the Heavenly Master's Sect. In two passages in the *Zhengao* we find discussions of this method ascribed to revealing Immortals who acknowledge to a slight degree the efficacy of the method, but ultimately discredit it as being a minor method (*xiaofa*), the dangers of which far outweigh the benefits. At the beginning of the second *juan* is found a passage in which Perfected Man Qingxu (Wang Bao) states as follows:

> [As for] the Way of the Yellow and Red, the method of mingling the *qi*; Zhang Ling (the first Heavenly Master) merely used it as a method for sowing seeds in his receiving the teachings (from Taishang Laojun?)[58] and

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[57]The first and final days of each lunar month, as well as the *gengshen* (57th) and *jiayin* (51st) days of the sexegenary cycle.

[58]This perhaps means that after being entrusted by Taishang Laojun (the apotheosized Laozi) with indoctrinating the masses, the Heavenly Master used the method of the Yellow and Red as a means of

carrying out evangelism. It is not a matter for a Perfected Man [to be concerned with]. Many times I have seen people who have practiced it and have lost their seeds (innate, latent potential for attaining immortality?[59]). Never have I seen anybody who has planted this (?)[60] and has thus obtained life. Among the million people [who have practiced the method] none have not fallen subject to divine punishment. If it just happens that, defying odds of ten million to one, there is somebody who masters it, the greatest [result] he could attain is non-death (rather than more exalted modes of immortality such as Perfection, heavenly ascension). Zhang Ling merely received [this method] in order to teach it to the people of the world. [As for] the transformation and ascension of [Zhang] Ling; he did not [achieve it] by practicing this [method]. You must be careful not to speak of such an inferior method of the defiled world and by so doing destroy the proper *qi* of the empyreans of the Perfected. If those who embrace in their thoughts lustful desires and whose minds are obsessed with erotic sights simultaneously practice the superior methods, they are only fit to be interrogated and punished by the Three Officials[61]. This is what is called

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"sowing seeds" of faith and eventual attainment of the Dao by attracting and instructing those of lesser spiritual caliber.

[59]Here I have tentatively complied with the interpretation of Miyakawa Hisayuki. See *Rikuchoo shi kenkyuu: Shuukyoo hen* p.137.

[60]There could be a textual error here. "Planted this" presumably refers to "practiced the Way of the Yellow and Red".

[61]This refers to the officials of the netherworld who examine the merits and misdeeds of the living and the dead so that they can be awarded or punished accordingly. In the early Heavenly Master's Sect, they were conceived of as the Official of Heaven, Official of Earth and Official of Water, to which writs of confession would be offered for the healing of diseases. However, in the *Dongzhen taishang zhihui xiaomo jing* (HY1333/TT1032) 1/5a-b is found a passage which states that the Three Officials live in the Eastern Peak Mt. Tai and are 1) the Water Official of the Left who monitors the sins of the living, 2) the Fire Official of the Right who monitors the sins of the dead, and 3) the Woman Official who monitors the sins of women. Oddly, the *Zhengao* 13/4a describes the Three Officials as residing at the northern mountain of Fengdu where they are in charge of the Palaces of the Six (Infernal) Heavens. Tao Hongjing, in his annotation takes note of the *Xiaomo jing*'s alternate theory and states that the three posts are currently filled by the three Mao brothers.

'carrying jade and walking into a fire' or 'burying a dog in a golden coffin.'[62]

In another passage we find Madame Ziwei, in a very similar fashion, stating as follows:

> Even though the [Method of the] Red Realm of the Yellow Book is [one of the] secret essential for long life, it is in truth an inferior method for attaining [long] life. It is not something to be discussed by the Heavenly Perfected Beings of the Upper Palaces and by men who relax amidst the celestial bodies [mounted upon] flowing chariots. This way consists only of a [method for] perpetuating and nurturing one's allotted [earthly] life. It is not the superior way. If one embossoms the *qi* of lechery and at the same time practices [the methods of the] secret books, he will only deserve to hold the brush for the Water Official or beat the drum for the Three Officials. He will be unable to attain mysterious selection [for heavenly immortality]. If one thus depends on [posthumous expiation], this is unreliable [as a means for ultimate salvation]. Put succinctly, if you are chaste, spirits will descend [to your midst]. If you are devoted, you can command gods.[63]

As we can see from the above two passages, the doctrinal system of the Shangqing revelations offered an immortality in divine realms which was clearly claimed to be superior to the immortality that was offered by the "inferior methods". While various archaic methods were incorporated and promoted within the Shangqing doctrinal system as useful steps by which one could progress towards becoming worthy of practicing the

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[62]Zhengao 2/1a-b. See Plate 122.
[63]*Zhengao* 2/1b. See Plate 123.

highest methods, sexual yoga was seen as something to be preferably avoided because it was counterproductive towards the religious quest, if not downright dangerous.

So far we have seen how suffering (*ku*) is described as an indispensable and unavoidable component in the quest for Perfection, and how the elimination of desires (especially sexual) was deemed as a crucial and central objective. We will next discuss how severe asceticism was meant to serve the purpose of bringing about mystical encounters and winning divine sympathy.

B. Severe Asceticism for Mystical Encounters and Divine Sympathy

Due greatly to the fact that the Shangqing texts were written by a visionary mystic, they put much emphasis upon gaining auspicious encounters with Immortals and divine beings who bear the keys to the most sacred realms. As the last passage quoted indicates, coming into contact with divine beings was one of the main purposes for which the Shangqing scriptures placed such great emphasis on the elimination of sexual desires. Another passage (which Tao Hongjing, as stated in his annotation, believed to have been uttered by the Immortal Pei Jun) reads as follows:

> Those who are perfect have no feelings of [erotic] passion and desire, nor any thoughts of man and woman. If [thoughts of] red and white (this apparently refers to sex, or to the fair complexion and red lips of a beautiful woman) exist in one's bosom, the sympathy of Perfected beings will not come about as a response, and Divine Women and Superior Worthies will not descend [to your midst].[64]

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[64]*Zhengao* 6/14a. See Plate 124.

In Part One, it was speculated that the suppression and sublimation of sexual desires may have in many cases been made to result in visions of beautiful goddesses called Jade Girls (see pp. 169-170). The same seems to have been the case with early Shangqing adepts. Indeed, some adepts in effect compensated for the romantic relationships that they had sacrificed at the worldly level by entering into divine "partnerships" with a specific deity of the opposite sex. From the Zhengao we can know that Yang Xi was "betrothed" (with Madame Wei Huacun of the Southern peak as the go-between) to a Perfected Woman bearing the appearance of a 13-14 year old girl, named Jiuhua Zhenfei (Perfected Princess of the Nine Flowers) who was to frequently visit him in his visions and was supposed to ultimately become his companion in the celestial realms.[65] Xu Mi was promised a similar liaison with Madame Wang Youying of the Cloudy Forest. In the *Zhengao* 2/16b-21a are found numerous poems allegedly revealed by her addressed to Xu Mi, informing him of the betrothal and urging him to train more diligently so that the realization of their union could be expedited.[66] These unions, however, were to be completely spiritual and platonic, devoid of sexual contact and passion. This concept is explained by Madame Ziwei as follows:

> As for the matching of radiances of Perfected Beings, what is valuable exists in companionship. Mutual love is to exist between the two forms (of you and your partner). Even though you are called husband and wife, you do not carry out the traces of husband and wife (have conjugal sexual relations). Here an empty name is merely used to show to sight and

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[65]On the "betrothal" of Yang Xi, see *Zhengao* 1/11b-18a.

[66]In one poem (Zhengao 2/19a-b) she urges him to abandon his official post and his family, reasoning that men of his talents who choose the secluded life can remain ever youthful. She then goes on to tell him that he can partake in a potion of immortality more potent that the golden elixir, called the Fire Jujube and Mingling Pear (*huozao jiaoli*) if he can just purify his mind. She than presents the following metaphor: "The trees bearing the Fire Jujubes and Mingling Pears are already alive in your heart. [But] in your heart there are still thorn bushes which intertwine. Therefore the two trees cannot be seen and discerned. You must cut down the thorn bushes and reveal the trees. If one of them bears fruit, things will more or less work out...." 火棗交梨之樹.已生君心中也.心中猶有荊棘相雜.是以二樹不見不實.可剪荊棘出此樹.單生其實.結好也.

> hearing. If yellow and red (erotic passion) exist in your chest, Perfected Beings cannot be seen, and contact cannot be made with holy beings. You will vainly labor in your carrying out of things, and you will be put to labor under the Three Officials.[67]

In one of her messages to Xu Mi, Madame Wang Youying says:

> ....However, your polluted thoughts have not yet been purged, and your vulgar greed is firm within you. Your lustful thoughts have not yet been cut off[68], and your holy pond (mind?) is not yet clear. We cannot yet discuss with each other the time of the inside and outside (?), and revel in the mingling of [our] two forms.[69]

Thus, the divine marriage can only be partaken in by one who is free of sexual desire. It can be said that the Shangqing texts amplified the importance of the role of not only celibacy, but of ascetic discipline in general as a means of bringing about mystical encounters. The notion that communion with divine beings is a privilege to be enjoyed by those who strive very hard is reflected in passages such as the following:

> You must diligently meditate, employing bitter training to discern what is miraculous and subtle. Thereafter the Dao will arrive [in your midst] and a hundred Perfected Beings will thereby come to your rescue. Those who do not occupy their minds with the utmost [worthy] deeds and seek secretly amidst the taste of bitterness, are but vainly bringing guilt upon themselves. What could [thus] be hoped for?[70]
>
> The master entrusted himself to his spirit and *qi*,

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[67]*Zhengao* 2/2a. See Plate 125.
[68]The character *jian* 漸 seems to be a mistranscription of the character *zhan* 斬.
[69]*Zhengao* 2/17b-18a. See Plate 126.
[70]*Ciyi jing* 11b. See ft. nt. 20. See Plate 127.

Throwing his [bodily] form into the eastern forest.

He bathed himself amidst the desolate hill,

Separating himself from [persons of] like heart (?).

Whenever he gazed eastwards towards the Canghai[71],

He sighed at the quickness of his going (the imminence of his eventual death).

When looking westward at the limits of the clouds,

Despair arose from within him.

Vaguely envisioning his home village,

His feelings of melancholy piled up.

As he longed to head on his way home,

He simply redirected his feet and restrained himself.

Hereby he stabilized his mind and thought of one thing.

Secludedly he put his trust in the miraculous void.

Climbing up onto steep and precarious cliffs,

He looked up to the Mysterious in anxious anticipation.

While darkening his aspirations within his dwelling,

He wandered amidst the clouds and rose to Perfection.

[Thus] for the first time he felt like his [bodily] form was not his own substance.

Finally he lost his body and followed his spirit.

With his mind wandering beyond the raging winds,

The road to the world was forever cut off.

His feet were happy in the desolate forests,

As his external hazards were all blocked off.

He exerted his will power without tiring,

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[71]This could refer to the ocean or to a mythical island of Immortals.

And was devoted and sincere without relent.
He finally encountered an enlightened master,
And received a strange technique.
In purity he discussed the new marvels [with his master],
As sounds of jade resonated secretly.
He expelled and retained [*qi*] with a peaceful expression,
Refining his soul and protecting his bones.
With harmonious *qi* [his mind] was pacified and eradicated [of thoughts],
And no longer was there an inside and an outside.[72]

The first of the above two passages states clearly the necessity of diligent meditation carried out amidst "bitterness", and states that only this diligent effort can make Perfected Beings "come to the rescue". The second passage gives a compelling account of an adept (unidentified) who overcame crushing feelings of despair, homesickness and loneliness to perfect his practice of secluded wilderness meditation (and probably fasting as well, as seems to be conveyed in the statement that he "expelled and retained"), which brought as its results a trance experience of ecstatic wandering outside of the body and an encounter with an "enlightened master", who I believe is best understood as a Perfected Being encountered in a vision similar to those Yang Xi claimed to see and experience.

The Shangqing movement gave added emphasis to the notion that divine beings exist who are sympathetic and supportive to the adept's quest. An adept could subject himself to the most lonely, miserable and dangerous of circumstances because of his solid faith in their protection. This is why in one revelation uttered by a certain Madame Zhonghou, diligent adepts are referred to as "those who leave their lives in the hands of the Superior

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[72]*Zhengao* 18/10a. Tao Hongjing adds in a note, "This [is an excerpt from] the [method for the] Imbibing of Jade Liquid and other methods transmitted to Wang Shilong and others." Thus the exact identity of the "master" who is the protagonist in the passage is unclear, but is perhaps the teacher of this particular Wang Shilong. See Plate 128.

Perfected Beings and entrust their bodies and *qi* to the management of the gods."[73] Eventually, it is hoped that by exhibiting his devotion and sincerity to the Immortals and gods, an encounter will be earned, whether in the form of a vision or a meeting in the flesh with a divine being who will provide the adept with a specific means by which immortality can be realized. In other words, until this encounter has been earned, what truly counts more than anything else is the devotion and sincerity exhibited by the adept. This notion is clearly reflected in a story narrated from the mouth of Dinglu Jun[74]:

> Once upon a time there was a man who was fond of the Dao but did not know how to seek the Dao. He would simply worship a certain withered tree every morning and evening and say, 'I beg for long life.' He did like this for 28 years without tiring of it. One morning, flowers suddenly bloomed on the withered tree. The flowers had a nectar that was sweet as honey. There was a person (a Perfected Man?) who then instructed him to eat them. [He thus] picked and ate the flowers and their nectar. When he had finished eating it all, he became an Immortal.
>
> If you employ your utmost devotion and sincerity of your heart like this, even a withered tree can produce purple flowers and flow with sweet nectar.[75]

This story is followed by two more stories teaching the same moral. One is about a certain man named Liu Shaoweng whose training in Mt. Hua and relentless (for twenty years) worship of the mountain earns him an encounter with the Elder of the Western Peak and a transmission of the Way of Immortality. The other story is about a man (unnamed) who for ten years worshipped the Yellow River, earning an encounter with the Marquis of the Yellow River and the Earl of the Yellow River, who taught him methods for walking on

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[73] *Zhengao* 8/9b.

[74] This refers to Mao Gu, the second eldest of the Mao brothers.

[75] *Zhengao* 12/12b-13a. Also *Wushang Biyao* 65/1b. See Plate 129.

water without drowning. Later this man "acquired the Dao" and was sighted on the Central Peak, Mt. Song. Thus, in the Shangqing texts we find conveyed the notion that gods and Immortals are willing to come to the aid of anybody who shows a sincere attitude of faith and devotion. Apparently, sympathetic divine intervention was thought to be something that could also occur after death. This fact is attested to in the 16th *juan* of the *Zhengao* where we find an autobiographical poem putatively revealed by a certain Xinxuanzi, who was the son of Xin Yin, a high official during the reign of Han Emperor Mingdi (r. 58-75 A.D.). The first part of the poem reads as follows:

> [I], Xuanzi, was fond of the Dao from my youth.
> I revered and observed the doctrines and the precepts.
> I trained bitterly (*kuxing*) to my heart's limit.
> I ate vegetarian meals just once a day at noon.
> I refined my body and guarded my *jing* ,
> And did not concern myself with external matters.
> I avoided all summons from the Regional Office, not responding to even one.
> I wandered about in the mountains and forests,
> Abandoning the wind and dust of the world.
> My ambition and hope was to entrust myself to [Wang] Zijin on the peak of Mt. Go[shi][76],
> And to become companions with Lingyang [Ziming] in Buxuan.[77]
> Therefore I changed my name to Xuanzi ("Master of Mysteries"),

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[76]This refers to the famous Immortal Wang Qiao whose biography appears in the *Liexian zhuan* (1/14a). According to it, Wang Qiao, who was the crown prince during the reign of Zhou Dynasty King Ling, trained and achieved immortality on the Central Peak Mt. Song, and later appeared in mid-air above Mt. Goshi (located near Yanshi County, Henan Province).

[77]This probably refers to Lingyang Ziming, another Immortal whose feats are recorded in the *Liexian zhuan* (2/14b-15a)

And took on the style name of Yanqi ("Extending the time span [of life]").

[But] I had not taken into account [the fact that] my ancestors had committed many sins,

And that their misfortunes wrought from their guilt would flow down to their descendants (i.e. Xin Xuanzi himself)

Their established guilt had been recorded on the Emperor's[78] tablets,

And had sunk down to their descendants.

[Therefore] my life span was not long,

And I eventually lost my life [drowning] in the harbor of a long embankment.

[However,] the Queen Mother of the West had seen my bitter training (*kuxing*),

And the Northern Emperor of Fengdu felt sympathy towards my heart [that longed for] the Dao.

He thus ordered the Controller of Destiny to write an order to the Three Officials,

To gather up my body and bones and to return my *hun* and restore it to Perfection,

Making me nurture my womb while taking on the status of a miracle-working god.

This happened 200 years ago.[79]

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[78]This probably refers to the Northern Emperor of Mt. Fengdu, the supreme ruler of the netherworld. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme*, vol.1 p.137.

[79]Here Tao Hongjing adds a note stating that Xin Xuanzi's case is comparable to that of the daughter of a certain Wang En who had also drowned and remarks that in cases such as these, the body cannot be restored to life but that one can only "return the substance to the womb-spirit", which refers apparently to the posthumous regeneration in the Southern Palace. The understanding is apparently that something other than the ordinary body is regenerated. However, Tao Hongjing's attitude seems to be that the perpetuation of the body is still the highest ideal. This, Xin Xuanzi failed to attain in spite of his dedication, due to a lack of what Tao Hongjing calls "deeds of the Dao", which apparently refers to his hereditary merit and/or guilt.

> Soon I will get to have my name passed on to the Southern Palace and have my tablet established in Zhuling,
> Where my *jing* will be stored while I await the time when I obtain the status of Immortal.[80]

Here, divine intervention occurs posthumously. As has been discussed by Robinet, the Shangqing texts convey the belief (possibly a Shangqing innovation) that there exists a fiery Southern Palace of Zhuling where the dead can be sent to be transformed by the holy flames into Immortals.[81] This is what supposedly happened to Xin Xuanzi. What evoked the compassion of the Queen Mother of the West and the Northern Emperor of Mt. Fengdu was the "bitter training" or *kuxing* of Xin Xuanzi. Unlike the aforementioned man who worshipped the withered tree, Xin Xuanzi knew of and put into practice various doctrines and methods (the phrases "laws and ordinances" and "ate vegetarian meals" suggest that he was also an active Buddhist, or convey Buddhist influence upon his putative training methods) which should have bestowed him with immortality. But his methods, correct as they may have been, were undermined by the sins he inherited from his ancestors. The notion that even the most painstaking of efforts can be thus undermined is stated clearly in the *Ciyi jing* [82]:

> Even if [you train] diligently and bitterly during your lifetime with your body and mind, if you are born with guilt inherited from your seven generations of ancestors which is not expiated, you definitely have no hope of becoming an Immortal.[83]

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[80] *Zhengao* 16/6b-7a. See Plate 130.
[81] See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme*, vol.1 p.132.
[82] See ft. nt. 20.
[83] 24a. See Plate 131.

The Shangqing texts thus frequently claim that their advanced methods have the efficacy of bringing about the transformation and immortalization of the adept's ancestors in the fires of the Southern Palace, which frees the adept of the guilt he inherits from them.[84] Apparently, Xin Xuanzi's methods lacked this efficacy, and consequently he suffered a premature death by drowning. However, even though his efforts were initially undermined, his sincere devotion and the sheer harshness of his training won him the divine sympathy which was to bring him eventual Immortal-hood, albeit at the end of a greatly retarded process.

While painstaking devotion and effort alone could bring about divine intervention for men like Xin Xuanzi, Liu Shaoweng and the men who worshipped the withered tree and the Yellow River, the Immortal-hood that was thought to be attained by them was that of a much lower grade than that deemed attainable by one who partook in the highest of revealed truths and who bore the more exalted title of Perfected Man (*zhenren*).

A truly ambitious Shangqing adept was one who in his lifetime in the world, sought to earn the transmission of the greatest secrets and achieved direct ascension to the highest heavens without ever undergoing physical death. For this to become possible, it was thought that the adept had to constantly prove the worth of his character to the gods and Immortals. Thus the theme of trials, which appears prominently in the *Shenxian zhuan* (see pp. 81-86), is also very prominent in the Shangqing texts. The theme is brought up, as the reader may recall, in passage (4) where the "practice of the Dao" is described as a bitter process in which among other things, the adept "undergoes several hundred trials". The theme of trials is dealt with most extensively in the *Zhengao* 5/5a-10a. The entire fifth *juan* is presented as a the sayings of a certain "Lord" who remains unidentified, but whom Tao Hongjing speculates to be the Immortal Peijun[85]. On pp.2a-4b there is a long list of esoteric scriptures and methods which constitute "the Way of Immortality". On p.4a,

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[84]See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme*, vol.1 p.172.

[85]An semi-legendary adept of the Former Han. His esoteric biography is found in the 105th *juan* of the *Yunji qiqian*.

"Peijun" states that if one receives and masters these scriptures and methods (which include the highest revealed Shangqing texts such as the *Dadong Zhenjing*), he will become a Perfected Man of the Nine Palaces[86], which is a status superior to that of a mere Immortal (Tao Hongjing, in his annotation states that such a status is conferred if one of the scriptures or methods is mastered, and that if all of the methods are mastered one becomes a Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate[87] or a *taiji zhenren*). Peijun then states that he will transmit the Dao (which presumably refers to the scriptures and methods enumerated), but warns that the recipient of the Dao (which in this case presumably refers to Yang Xi and/or the two Xus) must be prepared for trials that will be administered by his own teacher, the Pine Master of the Southern Peak[88]. Then on p.5b Peijun states, "If one passes all of the twelve trials of the Way of Immortality, one can be transmitted these scriptures. These twelve trials are great trials. All are overseen by the Perfected Men of the Great Ultimate. Can you not be careful?"[89]

The notion that trials can be of a difficulty that even eludes the capabilities of the best of adepts is reflected in an episode narrated (5/5b-6a) about Qingwu Gong[90] who had trained in Mt. Hua for 471 years but failed three of the twelve trials. Later on, when he succeeded in concocting and drinking the "golden liquid", he was given only the status of Immortal (*xianren*) and did not become a Perfected Man (*zhenren*).

Also given is the example of Liu Fenglin:

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[86]As Strickmann points out ("On the Alchemy of Tao Hongjing" p.180), the Nine Palaces is the fifth highest tier of divine realms, situated directly under the Taiqing, according to Tao Hongjing's "Chart of Ranks and Merit of the Perfected Holy Beings" (*Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu* HY167/TT73. Also preserved in the 83rd *juan* of the *Wushang biyao*.)

[87]See ft. nt. 49.

[88]This refers to a famous Immortal named Chisongzi (Master of the Red Pine), mentioned in Peijun's esoteric biography as his teacher. Biographies of Chisongzi (the contents of which differ almost completely) are found in both the *Liexian zhuan* (1/1a) and *Shenxian zhuan* (2/6). The Chisongzi of the *Shenxian zhuan* is one who is revered in the Shangqing tradition.

[89]仙道十二試皆過而授此經 此十二事大試也. 皆太極真人臨見之. 可不慎哉.

[90]A disciple of Pengzu, according to Tao Hongjing's annotation.

> There was a [certain] Liu Fenglin who was a man of the Zhou period who studied the Dao on Mt. Songgao. Over a span of 400 years he concocted a divine elixir three times but was foiled each time by wicked creatures. Thereupon he moved to Mt. Weiyu[91]. He is able to hold his breath for three days without breathing. He has now been living for over a thousand years. [However, he] has not yet ascended to immortality because he still has many trials which he has failed to pass, and his Dao number (number of accumulated merits) is not yet sufficient. This person merely got to avoid death by ingesting golden thread (*huanglian* or *coptis chinensis*). He is unable to be in command of [gods and spirits].[92]

A success story, on the other hand, is that of a certain Huangguanzi. Interestingly, the text tells us that "from his youth he was fond of the Dao, and his family revered the way of the Buddha."[93] Every morning for 49 years, Huangguanzi kowtowed and worshipped (the object of worship is unclear, but it may have been the Buddha) and "begged for long life". Eventually he began to practice dietetics (*fushi*) in Mt. Jiao[94] where he underwent and passed all 140 trials administered by a Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate. Because of this he got to ingest the "golden elixir" (*jindan*)[95] and recite the *Dadong Zhenjing* and ultimately became an Immortal Official bearing the title Immortal Chamberlain of the Left of the Great Ultimate. The reference here to 140 trials is inconsistent with the above mentioned notion that an adept must undergo twelve trials. This is perhaps because the stories narrated in the fifth *juan* are collected fragments which

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[91]Located in Huangyan County, Zhejiang Province.

[92]*Zhengao* 5/9b. See Plate 132.

[93] 少女道．家奉佛道

[94]Located in Dantu County, Jiangsu Province.

[95]A recipe for a golden elixir to be ingested while reciting the *Dadong zhenjing*, which has as its ingredients cinnabar, mica powder and honey is found in the *Ciyi jing* pp.57b-58b. The elixir supposedly allows the adept to return to the world and resume a normal diet after mastering the recitation and practice of the *Dadong zhenjing*. (See *Ciyi jing* 16b.) Whether it is this same golden elixir being referred to in the story of Huangguanzi is unclear.

do not represent a single coherent doctrinal discourse by "Peijun". Or perhaps the idea here is that Huangguanzi underwent so many trials because he received the *Dadong Zhenjing* , the greatest of all scriptures.[96]

"Peijun" also tells some stories as examples of the kinds of trials that are supposed to take place. The first story he tells (5/5b) is about a certain Liu Weidao of Zhongshan[97] who had been training in Mt. Bozhong[98] for twelve years when an Immortal came to administer a trial. The Immortal made him lie under a boulder 100,000 *jin* (about 20,000 kg) in weight suspended on a single white hair. Liu laid there for twelve years without showing any signs of fright. After passing numerous other trials administered by the Immortal, he "ascended to heaven in broad daylight."

Another story (5/7b) is about a certain Mr. Fu who when still young entered a stone grotto in Mt. Jiao and had been training there for seven years when he was visited by Lord Lao of the Great Ultimate. Lord Lao handed him a wooden awl and told him that he could obtain the Dao if he bore a hole through a stone slab five *chi* (about 1 meter) thick. Mr. Fu spent 47 years drilling at the stone slab with the wooden awl day and night without ceasing until he finally bore a hole all the way through. He then obtained a "divine elixir" and ascended into the heaven of Taiqing and became the Perfected Man of the Southern Peak.

In the above two cases, the trial occurs when a divine being reveals himself before the adept and clearly describes what the trial consists of. But other passages from the Shangqing revelations convey the belief that very often trials would occur at unexpected moments in any situation. A passage in the eighth *juan* of the Zhengao revealed by the

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[96]The narrative ends with the comment, "This is not something that the Buddha is able to bring about. It is because his inner inch (his heart) was stable."(5/7b-8a). Thus it is made sure here that the reader does not attribute Huangguanzi's success to the power of the Buddha, but rather to his own inner devotion which evoked the intervention of the Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate.

[97]There are several other possibilities, but this probably refers to the Zhongshan located near present day Jingyang County, Shaanxi Province.

[98]Located near Mian County, Shaanxi Province.

Madame of the Yixian Palace[99] (the deceased mother of Xu Hui) and addressed to Xu Hui states, "For a person to study the Dao is like traveling 10,000 *li* (one *li*= 434.16m). Wherever he goes he undergoes everything, whether it be coldness, heat, good, bad, grass, trees, water or earth; and there he finds trials."[100] In other words, provided that I have understood the statement correctly, she is saying that trials are likely to confront a Daoist adept at all times and in any situation. Thus an adept must always be prepared. Another interesting notion conveyed by Peijun in the fifth *juan* is that in order to keep adepts off guard for their trials, Perfected Men will assume disguises:

> Perfected Men conceal their marvels of the Dao and manifest themselves in ugly forms. Sometimes they will be wearing tattered [garments], their bodies will be emaciated, or they will have the appearances of idiots. When a person wants to study the Dao, [Perfected Men] administer these trials, but people are invariably unable to recognize them. When they do not recognize them, they will have failed the trials. You must always be careful about this.[101]

So here occurs the theme, prominent in Daoist hagiography of various periods, of Daoist saints taking on the form of vagrants. To pass the kind of trial mentioned here, an adept must have the attentiveness, perceptiveness and humility to identify the saint among the vagrants, and bow to him for instruction. To pass this trial means to overcome one's arrogance and impulse to deride or be condescending towards those less privileged.

Interestingly enough, the esoteric biography of Peijun[102] tells us that Peijun himself once passed this kind of trial. The esoteric biography tells us that Peijun (also known as

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[99]The Yixian Palace is the name of a paradise for women believed to be located in the terrestrial Grotto Heaven of Huayang in Mt. Mao. This is where Xu Hui's mother was thought to reside after her death. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol. 1 p. 136. See *Zhengao* 13/2a-6b.

[100]*Zhengao* 8/2a-b. See Plate 133.

[101]*Zhengao* 5/7a. See Plate 134.

[102]The existence of an esoteric biography of Peijun among the original Shangqing literature is attested to by a reference to it found in the *Zhengao* 2/18a. According to Robinet, the version that exists today in the

the Perfected Man Qingling), who was born in 178 B.C. to a Buddhist (clearly an anachronism)[103] family in Xiayang, Fufeng[104] was a very religiously inclined youth who when barely ten years old got into the habit of meditating and reading scriptures day and night without sleeping. His first mystical encounter and trial occurred when he was traveling with his two friends Zhao Kangzi and Hao Jicheng to a Buddhist temple to worship and commemorate the Buddha's birthday (the eighth day of the fourth month):

> It was a cloudy and rainy day. There suddenly appeared a pauper clad in an old single-layered garment and yellow turban who followed the Lord's (Peijun's) carriage from behind and begged to be given a ride. The Lord (Peijun) paid his respects [to the pauper] and asked him [who he was] but did not receive an answer. The Lord got off the carriage and let him get on. Kangzi and Jicheng got very angry and asked [Peijun] why he was allowing such a person into their carriage, but finally consented to let [the pauper] ride with them at the Lord's urging. The Lord himself followed [the carriage] from behind on foot with no change in expression. The man given a ride also acted naturally, and showed no signs of shame. Just as they were about to reach the temple [the pauper] said, 'My house is near here', got off the carriage, and suddenly they lost him.[105]

The hagiography then goes on to describe how Peijun met various other divine beings and was transmitted various methods and scriptures.

Yunji qiqian is not the original version, but contains fragments of the original version that it has mixed with fragments from other Shangqing texts. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol. 2 pp. 375-383.

[103]The historicity of this story is already in grave doubt solely on the basis that Peijun was allegedly born almost two centuries prior to the official introduction of Buddhism to China at the court of Latter Han Emperor Ming.

[104]Present day Hancheng County, Shaanxi Province.

[105]*Yunji qiqian* 105/1a-b. See Plate 135.

In sum, the Shangqing texts convey the notion that Perfected Beings are always watching over the progress of adepts and are always ready to help those who exert the proper effort and exhibit the right qualities. Thus in instances where adepts associated with or influenced by the Shangqing movement engaged in severe asceticism, this belief in sympathetic divine beings and the desire to encounter them were important sources of encouragement and motivation.

C. Fear and Disdain towards the World

Unfortunately, "Peijun" informs us in the fifth *juan* of the *Zhengao* that not all trials are administered by sympathetic and well-intentioned Perfected Men. Many trials come at the hands of mischievous or downright malicious spirits and demons who are only interested in undermining the adept's quest. We are thus told the tragic story of Lü Chengzi:

> Once upon a time [there was a man named] Lü Chengzi [who] from his youth was fond of [the quest of] long life and the study of the Dao. After he was 40-some years old, he entered Mt. Jing[106]. When he had accumulated over 70 years [in age] he underwent a trial at the hands of the mountain spirit of Mt. Jing. Chengzi, mistaking it for a Perfected Man worshipped it and got bitten by a giant snake and was on the verge of death. Thanks to the speed of his enlightenment, he managed to visualize the Most High One and meditate upon the seven stars (of the Ursa Major) in order to expel it (the snake's poison?). By doing so he was able to avoid [death]. Later he again became deceived by evil demons and lost his left eye. In the

[106]There appear to be eight different Mt. Jings which could well be the mountain referred to here; two in Henan Province, two in Anhui Province, two in Hubei province, and one apiece in Shandong and Shaanxi Provinces.

> end he never acquired the Dao, and died amidst the mountains. You must beware of these kinds of trials. Always keep in mind your master. Even this Chengzi was insufficiently devoted in carrying out his aspirations [for Perfection], and this was because he frequently had wicked thoughts.[107]

The life of the Daoist adept as depicted here is truly a hazardous one. Survival amidst the terrors wrought by the evil forces in the mountains can be assured only if the mind is pure and devoted, thus accessing the protection of the Perfected Men. The spirit of Mt. Jing is depicted as apparently employing the devious tactic of pretending to be a Perfected Man. Another such devious tactic that evil spirits were thought to resort to was to arouse and exploit the most harmful and troublesome of wicked thoughts, lust:

> The Lord said, "In the world there are evil and powerful demons of the lower earth. Many of them turn themselves into women in order to tempt and test people."[108]

The text goes on to say that if an adept encounters a woman who he thinks may be a demon, he should hold his breath and visualize the *heng* and *fu* stars of the Ursa Major, compose his mind and body, an then look at the "pearls within the circles", which seems to refer to the pupils of the woman. If they have a murky appearance, she is a demon. If they have a radiance in them, the woman is a "person of the Dao of Immortal-hood". The encounters in question here apparently are those which occur within mystical visions, the kind through which Yang Xi putatively received the revelations. We have here instructions intended for those privileged few who partook in mystical experiences. As speculated before, the encounters which mystics would frequently have with beautiful goddesses likely resulted from the repression and sublimation of sexual desires. If so, we find here

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[107] *Zhengao* 5/9a. See Plate 136.
[108] *Zhengao* 5/13b. See Plate 137.

evidence that the mystic was in constant danger of defeat at the hands of his own sexual desires, which confronted him in the form of evil visions thought to be the work of demons which without warning would enter in amidst the visions that he regarded as holy.

Within an adept's ordinary everyday experience, trials were believed to commonly occur in the form of diseases. One of the scriptures, the *Xiaomo jing* [109] claims to be especially helpful for those adepts who suffer from diseases. The first *juan* of the extant edition (*Taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing* or *The Perfect Scripture of Wisdom on the Elimination of Devils Expounded by the Most High*, HY 1333/TT 1032) is entitled "Section on True Medicines, Dark Flowers and High Souls" and includes in it long lists (1/6a-14a) of divine medicines (not available in the mundane world) which are supposed to be so potent that the mere recitation of their names can cure diseases. On the first few pages it says that Jinque Dijun (The Imperial Lord of the Golden Palace Gates) who had heard this first section preached by Taishang Daojun, orally transmitted it to Lord Blue Boy, who in turn transmitted it to Chisongzi. The text then tells about how Chisongzi was confronted with diseases and how he overcame them:

> When Chisongzi was studying the Dao but had not yet attained it, he suddenly became ill in Mt. Jinhua[110]. He was seriously ill for 16 years during which in spite of continuing to contemplate Perfection and preserve his *jing* , his suffering was not alleviated. At this time (when he was transmitted the scripture?) [Chi]songzi therefore pacified his mind and sought the Dao. He polished his spirit and maintained stillness, and for the first time began not to grieve over his ailment and make life and death the

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[109] According to Robinet (*La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol. 2 p. 183.) the first two *juan* of the extant Daoist Canon version can be deemed as authentic Shangqing material, based on comparisons with the citations of the *Xiaomo jing* found in the *Zhengao*.

[110] Located in Jinhua County, Zhejiang Province.

> object of his seeing and hearing (worry about whether he was going to die?).
>
> The so-called spirits and demons of the Six Heavens[111] used disease to disrupt his [progress towards] Perfection. Or at times Superior Beings caused wicked beings to make him ill, only wanting to destroy his sincere heart and see whether he would conduct himself properly or improperly when treading upon water and fire (undergoing hazards and difficulties). In other words, [the diseases] were disease-trials.
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> Once [Chi]songzi had observed a retreat of purification amidst his illness and recited the [section on] Wisdom and sung [the section on] Eliminating the Devils 3000 times, all of his ailments were healed, his heart opened up and his spirit became joyful; even more so than before he had ever been ill.[112]

In the story of Chisongzi we are given an example of an adept who despite constant serious illness is never demoralized, but remains devoted and faithful in his spiritual cultivation. His faith, endurance and will power along with a divine gift in the form of a revealed scripture allowed him to finally regain complete health. The text then explains further as follows regarding the "purpose" that diseases have:

> As for the diseases, their first [purpose] is to test the sincerity of the heart. Their second [purpose] is to expurgate the [body's Three] Corpses and impurities. Their third [purpose] is to eliminate what is improper. Their fourth [purpose] is to refine the dusty and impure [body(?)]. [As for] those who with a calm mind that is firmly devoted and who in their feelings and aspirations desire more than ever before to seek the Dao and preserve their

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[111]These heavens refer not to paradises, but to six infernal realms of punishment located in Mt. Fengdu.
[112]*Xiaomo jing* 1/2a. See Plate 138.

> spirit in hope and anticipation of profound instructions; their illnesses can be gotten rid of in a short while. If one becomes ill and has his mind disrupted, and is not firm in maintaining his diligence, and his feelings wander towards the confusion; even if he is still sincere and diligent, the diseases may still test him throughout the morning[113].[114]

Thus, it was believed that despite the fact that the demons who cause diseases are truly vicious and want only to undermine the adept's quest, diseases often occur at the command of the divine, benevolent beings and serve a good purpose. First of all, diseases serve as trials which by overcoming, the adept can grow spiritually. We can also see that in the above passage, as is the case with what is expounded in scriptures such as the *Zhonghuang jing* , *Daoji Tuna jing* , and *Tuna jing* , painful physical ordeals (which in the case of the diseases mentioned here are not self-imposed) are seen as ultimately good for the body because they are processes through which the good, pure forces of the body are doing battle with the evil, impure forces. As long as the adept perseveres in his training, the Three Corpses (or Worms) and other impurities will be expelled from the body, and the once filthy body can become refined and purified.

Concepts of demonology are developed at considerable length in two extant scriptures, *Shangqing gaoshang miemo yudi shenhui yuqing yinshu* (HY1345/TT1038) and *Shangqing gaoshang jinyuan yuzhang yuqing yinshu* (HY1347/TT1038) which we will refer to as *Yuqing yinshu* (*Hidden Book of [the Realm of] Jade Purity*) 1 and 2, which according to Robinet are early apocrypha written after the revelations and which contain methods to be put into practice in order to complement the recitation of the *Dadong Zhenjing*.[115] *Yuqing yinshu* 1 explains as follows why demons are allowed to flourish in

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[113]The meaning of this last sentence is unclear, but seems to be saying that the recitation of the *Xiaomo jing* will definitely cure diseases, but that a lack of mental concentration can delay its effect. Delayed as it may be, the scripture is still supposed to show its efficacy within the same day.

[114]*Xiaomo jing* 1/2a-b. See Plate 139.

[115]See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* v. 2 pp.237-244.

the world despite the existence of the gods and Immortals who are benevolent and almighty:

> The King of the Divine Empyrean of Jade Purity said, 'All the demons and devils employ clever tactics and transformations of 10,000 varieties. Sometimes they sink, sometimes they float. Sometimes they appear and sometimes they disappear. Sometimes they gather [and sometimes they disperse(?)[116]]. Sometimes they hide. Sometimes they conceal themselves. Sometimes they take on forms. Sometimes they [take the form of] *qi* (ethers). Sometimes they are dead and sometimes they are alive. Sometimes they fly amidst the clouds and sometimes they govern an empty cavern. Vaguely, in the five colors, they have no constant shape. [Demons and devils] such as these accord with the cycles of the Six Heavens. [They] receive approval from the Three Heavens and are a part of their designs. They therefore are able to give free rein to their wicked abominations. Also, [the following explanation can be made regarding] the High and Superior Beings; because students of later times have much cleverness and the hearts of the populace are impure, [they cause] harmful afflictions to arise in abundance and evil and recalcitrance to be increasingly manifest. [High and Superior Beings] therefore tolerate [the demons] and use their [malicious deeds] in order to make the people fear [the consequences of their own immorality] and make them accord with the Truth. They use them to punish wrong-doers. They employ them as their investigating officials. Therefore they do not eliminate their roots and seeds. When the cycle ends and their destiny comes to the end, their (the demons') *qi* will naturally dissipate, the

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[116] I suspect a lacuna here.

> hearts of the populace will naturally become pure, and students [of the Dao] will naturally become Immortals.[117]

We are told here that Demons, wicked as they are, have a function within the plan of the universe. They do their evil deeds because the cycles undergone within the impermanent profane world (which is essentially what is meant by "the Six Heavens"[118]) dictates that they do so, and the divine beings of the eternal sacred realm (the Three Heavens) knowingly allow them to do so. The good purpose thus served by them is to punish those who deserve punishment and inspire people toward remorse and repentance. When the cosmic cycle ends and the world is destroyed, the demons are eliminated from the world, presumably because in the new world order, the hearts of people are pure, and the demons have no role to serve. *Yuqing yinshu* 1 itself as well as *Yuqing yinshu* 2 describe at length various methods by which the adept can utilize the power of the good gods to protect his or her self from the demons. Although adepts who pursued the highest methods had to live in cautious fear against demons, they could also find solace in the notion that demons, dangerous as they were, were ultimately inferior and subservient to the forces of good. *Yuqing yinshu* 2 provides adepts with a further sense of security by describing in detail the chief devils, the Demon-Kings who are in command of the demonic hordes, but who can be rendered powerless beneath the might of the Great King of Jade Purity who Eliminates Devils (*Yuqing Xiaomo Dawang*). Thus, rather than having to be horrified of a situation in which countless demons are working their malice in unpredictable

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[117] 16b-17a. See Plate 140.

[118] The precise meaning here of "Six Heavens" and "Three Heavens" is difficult to ascertain. However, the theme of the sacred Three Heavens (the heavens of Qingwei, Yuyu and Dachi) that prevail over and subdue the tyranny of the evil spirits and demons of the profane Six Heavens (the objects of worship of non-Daoist folk cults) was prominent within the beliefs of the early Heavenly Master's Sect. Eventually the Three Heavens came to be described as the Three Pure Realms (*sanqing*) of Yuqing, Shangqing and Taiqing. (See Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao* pp. 311-314. Robinet points out, however, that the Heavenly Master's Sect's names for each the Three Heavens are nowhere to be found in the Shangqing texts, and that the Six Heavens are described in the Shangqing texts as infernal realms in Mt. Fengdu. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* v. 1 p. 67.

ways, the adept is provided with images of chief demons whom by subduing, one can bring all demons under control.

The *Yuqing yinshu* 2 tells us that in the north (somewhere) is located Mt. Luofeng[119] which is 2600 *li* high and about 30,000 *li* in circumference. The entire mountain is studded with palaces in which demons and spirits reside. On the summit lives their kingpin, the Northern Imperial Great Demon-King. The Great Demon King, when left to his own devices, does as follows:

> The Grand Demon-King always wants to undermine people's studies [of the Dao]. He dislikes it when people attain immortality, [because when they] attain immortality they become Perfected Beings who are superior to [himself, the] Demon-King.[120] Therefore, students [of the Dao] always become the objects of the Grand Demon-King's trials. Many of them fail. They are all defeated by the Grand Demon-King.....[121]
>
> The Grand Demon-King wears a cloak with black patterns and on his head wears the Crown of Rampaging through the Heavens. On his hip he carries the double-edged dragon-head sword. He always rides a feather-wheeled chariot and flies amidst the clouds, always singing the folk ballad in 3000 lyrics, in order to confuse and defeat the students of later times.[122]

We can see that the primary motive of the Grand Demon-King is his vain envy towards proficient adepts who by pursuing their training threaten to attain a status that is

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[119]This is another name for Mt. Fengdu. According to a note by Tao Hongjing in the *Zhengao* 15/1a, it is located in the northern sea, tens of thousand of *li* north of the You Region (roughly present day Hebei and Liaoning Provinces) and the Liaodong Peninsula. 大魔王之上真

[120]Lit. "...Superior Perfected Beings of the Grand Demon-King." This could mean that they become Superior Perfected Beings under the employment of the Demon-King. However, it fits the context better if interpreted as meaning that they become his superiors, since one would think that the Demon-King would want them under his control.

[121]2b. See Plate 141.

[122]3a. See Plate 142.

superior to his own. However, while living in the self-delusion of being "the King", the Grand Demon-King is subservient to the Great King who Eliminates Devils. Due to this subservience, the Grand Demon-King eventually has to perform the duty that is completely contrary to his own wishes:

> When students of later ages attain Immortal-hood, the Great King who Eliminates Devils always orders the Grand Demon-King to protect and elevate [the adept] and testify [on his behalf]. Thereupon [the adept] can fly about in [the Heaven of] Supreme Purity.[123]

Thus to avoid having to perform this humiliating task, the Demon-King tries hard to prevent the adept from succeeding. The *Yuqing yinshu* 2 provides the adept with various means by which the trials set forth by the Grand Demon-King can be overcome, which include knowing the numerous names of the Grand Demon-King himself as well as those of the palace in which he lives, knowing the lyrics to folk ballads sung by the Grand Demon-King, as well as reciting the "incantations of the 100 Gods of the King who Eliminates Devils". The text states, "When the demonic trials have been extinguished, Perfected Spirits will be able to descend [into your midst] and you can see their Perfect Forms. In broad daylight you will fly up to the Palace of Jade Purity."[124]

The *Yuqing yinshu* 2 goes on to describe a set of eight Demon Kings of the Eight Directions who on the days of the eight seasonal transitions (*bajie*)[125] take turns flying around and imposing trials upon adepts. The text provides the adept with lengthy chants to be recited on these days. If these chants are recited without fail for a designated number of

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[123] *Yuqing yinshu* 2 p.2b. See Plate 143.

[124] 3a. See Plate 144.

[125] This refers to the first days of each of the four seasons, along with the spring and fall equinoxes and the summer and winter solstices.

years, the adept is to become able to directly encounter the good gods of each respective direction to whom the Demon-Kings are completely subservient.

As we will see in Chapter Seven, this concept of Demon-Kings was modified and adopted in to the Lingbao doctrinal system in the form of a belief in the Demon Kings of the Five Directions who similarly torment proficient adepts, but are powerless before the Five Monarchs (or Five Venerables). In both Shangqing and Lingbao doctrine it is recognized that the most arduous and dangerous of temptations occur at the advanced, highly intense stages of training when the adept is exercising a great degree of self-denial and is attempting to realize mystical communion with the divine. It is at this stage when he is taxing the resources of his mind and body to the point of peril and is suppressing the most basic and powerful of his desires. He thus becomes highly vulnerable to disease, depression, fear and spiritual regression, as well as mental delusion and hallucination. These great difficulties and dangers are personified in the form of the Demon-Kings.

For the adept of the Shangqing tradition, life in the world at all times was seen as a series of struggles and trials which had to be overcome and endured if one hoped to partake of the sacred realms. The attitude towards the world conveyed by the Shangqing revelations is strongly negative. As has already been mentioned, some of the world-disparaging views of Buddhism were incorporated into these texts, such as the notion of suffering being the essence of existence and the emphasis on the impermanence of things. Along with such Buddhistic notions, these scriptures convey a picture of the mundane world as a place infested with demons and impurities that are lethal and contaminating. The world itself is terminally ill as it rapidly approaches imminent destruction at the end of the cosmic cycle. A passage in the *Zhengao* , a revelation from Lord Baoming directed to Xu Mi during a time of illness through Yang Xi, explains as follows:

> Right now when [the spirits and demons] of the Six Heavens are everywhere, and the [traces of] the Great Peace are weak, [living] souls are

> unable to cooperate with and obey [the Dao], but are only able to bring about the various forms of wickedness. Therefore the spiritual light is remote, and wickedness takes advantage of its proper duty (?).[126] You are at an advanced age and have been without virtue for a long time. The chaos and confusion of demonic accusations have piled up [and caused your illness].[127]

In other words, Xu Mi is a victim not only of his own old age and past sins, but also of the times in which he lives. It is a time when the state of primitive bliss or Great Peace has been long lost and has yet to be restored. On the verge of the apocalypse the world is overrun by evil spirits who are eager to exploit the weaknesses and shortcomings of human beings.

For this reason, in another passage in the *Zhengao* , Madame Ziwei, in a lengthy passage endorsing the benefits of ingesting the *zhu* plant (*atractylodes macrocephala*) says, "This [drug] is what is needed in these times. In these closing years [of the present world] there are many diseases. You should ingest [this drug]."[128] In another revelation directed at Xu Mi, the Lord Baoming gives the following disparaging view of the present world, especially the people who inhabit it:

> The wind of the [Dao's] dark mysteries [that pervaded in] days of yore has been exhausted.
> Polluted air permeates everywhere.
> All over the place [things are] in decline.
> Frivolity and hypocrisy have increasingly arisen.

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[126] I do not understand this sentence clearly, but I think it means that traces of what are good and divine are scarcely to be found in the world, as the demonic entities carry out their proper duty which is to punish evil people by afflicting them with misfortunes.

[127] *Zhengao* 8/8b. See Plate 145.

[128] *Zhengao* 6/4a. See Plate 146.

> Those who scamper about on their horses and carriages abandon [the quest for] Perfection [regarding it as something] beyond the limits [of the capabilities of mortals].
> The hordes who hasten and compete after wealth and power greedily pursue [worldly] benefits within the limits of what has forms and names.
> Their self-serving cleverness produces endlessly flowing suffering.
> Their longings bring about continuous slayings by spears (war, bloodshed?).
> Disobeying the eternal [principles] they accommodate themselves as they please,
> Distancing themselves from what is most right in favor of what is not right.
> In their names and bodies, who is intimate with the good precepts of the school of the Dao?
> Treading upon impurity is what is most forbidden for those who guard the One.[129]

Humans in general are disparaged here for their immorality, particularly their greed. The adept (Xu Mi in this case) is thus told to distance himself from the moral corruption of worldly people.

As well as being morally corrupt, the people of the world are also looked upon in the scriptures as being imbued with defiling forces. A serious adept is thus to live away from them so that he will not get contaminated and infected:

> The Oral Lesson of Chen Anshi[130]: As for a Daoist adept's tying and combing his hair, his eating and drinking, and his handling of his footwear

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[129] *Zhengao* 6/12b-13a. See Plate 147.

[130] As is noted by Tao Hongjing, Chen Anshi's biography appears in the *Shenxian zhuan* (eighth *juan* pp.33b-34a). According to the biography, Chen Anshi was a servant who was one day given two pills two Immortals, after which he ate nothing and lived on water alone.

> and bedding; he must not let those who are not Daoist adepts see his grooming, interfere with his dining, move his footwear, or use his bedding. [This is because] the demons that reside within the *po* -body[131] of those worldly-corpses will come and invade your own spirit(s). The reason for why Daoist adepts live in the mountains and forests and conceal themselves is because they want to distance themselves from the clamor and filth and cut themselves off from and let go of the duties of the world among men. This is for the fear that the 100-odd external objects will violate their nature and life-destiny. Be discreet about it (your training).[132]

Expressed here is a disdain for people that borders on the pathological. Ordinary people who do not engage in Daoist training are called "worldly corpses". The text says that they need to be avoided because the evil, defiling forces that infest their bodies are capable of infecting the adept.

It was likely largely because of this near complete loss of hope in the contemporary world and disdain for the people that inhabited it that the Shangqing revelations invested high hopes in divine intervention and divine gifts (in the form of revealed texts) as the vehicles that would deliver the adept from the evils of worldly existence, into an existence of eternal bliss in a transcendent realm.

D. **The Place of Severe Asceticism in the Hierarchy of Spiritual Progression**

It has already been discussed in section B how the hope for divine sympathy and intervention was a motivating factor for adepts to persevere in severe forms of training. However, it is also conceivable that such an emphasis on divine grace could undermine

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[131]The body of flesh where the *po* souls make their abode.

[132]*Zhengao* 10/24b. See Plate 148.

the importance of ascetic personal effort. If salvation is no longer considered attainable solely through the efforts of mere mortals, the conclusion could conceivably be drawn that personal effort could and/or should be abandoned in favor of sheer faith and prayer, which entrusts the miraculous transformation of mind and body entirely to the work of divine beings. To a certain degree, this was what happened in the Shangqing movement. Previously existing ascetic training methods were devalued in the sense that they on their own were no longer considered to be capable of effecting transformation into the highest forms of immortality. Rather, the combined practice of various such methods was deemed useful in that it helped to get rid of desires and condition the body, thus qualifying the adept for access to divine texts and evoking the sympathy of divine beings. Also, it must be noted that Shangqing theories on the afterlife vindicated to a certain degree levels of religiosity which were not ascetic. In other words, avenues were conceived of by which salvation could be provided for those who showed some kind of moral virtue without necessarily ever undergoing any rigorous training. For example, according to a fragment of the *Baojian jing* (*The Scripture of the Precious Sword*)[133] preserved today in the *Zhengao* (16/10a1-12a7) and the *Daodian lun* (2/11a-12b), "people of utmost filial piety and/or utmost loyalty" could become *dixia zhuzhe* or Masters in the Underground, low level officials who work in the underworld of Mt. Fengdu (also known as Mt. Luofeng) where souls of the dead are judged and sentenced. After 140 years they are transmitted teachings which enable them to become "minor Immortals". Similar processes of slow advancement towards immortality are described for those who "have the virtue of superior sages".[134] People who exhibit significant degrees of righteousness, integrity, frugality and chastity can become "pure demons" or "good and luminous demons" which become

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[133]The full title of this original scripture (surviving today only in fragments preserved in various sources) listed in the *Dadong zhenjing mu* (see ft. nt.17) is *Shijing jinguang zangjing luxing jing*. In the Zhengao it is referred to as the *Baojian jing* or simply *Jian jing* (Scripture of the Double-edged Sword). The *Daodian lun* quotes it under the title, *Taiji zhenren feixian baojian shangjing*. See Robinet, La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme" v.2 pp.137-140.

[134]After being a Master in the Underground for 1000 years, they "manage demons and spirits for 1400 years and finally become "Intermediate-level Immortals of the Nine Palaces of the Great Purity." (*Zhengao* 16/10b, *Daodian lun* 2/11b).

Masters in the Underground after 280 years and 400 years respectively, and from there eventually[135] get the opportunity for further advancement. One's fate can also be determined by the deeds of one's ancestors. There were, as we have seen in the story of Xin Xuanzi, thought to be cases where guilt accumulated by ancestors could undermine the efforts of sincere ascetics. Contrarily, if one had virtuous ancestors, one could attain transformation or a more privileged reincarnation as the sheer result of their merit, as is indicated in the following passage from the *Baojian jing* :

> If your ancestors have merit with the Three Officials, [the merit] will flow down to their descendants. Sometimes the refinement and transformation [into an Immortal] will be passed on from a generation to another. Or one may get reborn into a different (presumably more privileged family). These things are caused by the hidden merit of the seven generations of ancestors. Roots and leaves connect with each other.[136]

However, the doctrinal system of the Shangqing movement ultimately affirmed the importance of severe asceticism. Gradual and lower forms of salvation accessible to those who did not devote themselves to full-fledged training were not supposed to be desired by truly worthy adepts. While the various severe methods were no longer deemed as capable on their own merit of bringing about the greatest salvation, they were still indispensable if one was to qualify for the transmission and utilization of the greatest scriptures, which was the means of the highest salvation. Once one received the scriptures, one would recite them and perform the visualizational meditations described in them[137]. However, the maximum effect was not to be gained without the simultaneous observance of severe self-discipline.

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[135] 280 years for the pure demons and 300 years for the good and luminous demons.

[136] *Zhengao* 16/12a. *Daodian lun* 2/12a. See Plate 149.

[137] My own study will not deal heavily with the meditations which constitute the exalted mode of practice in the Shangqing curriculum, partly because severe asceticism manifested itself primarily in how the adept prepared and conditioned himself for the meditations, rather than in the meditations themselves. Another reason is because there is an excellent discussion of these meditations; Isabelle Robinet's *La Meditation*

As has been mentioned, the most exalted among the revealed scriptures was the *Dadong zhenjing* . A scripture containing methods which serve as preliminary exercises which must be carried out before transmission of the *Dadong Zhenjing* , is the *Ciyi jing* (*The Scripture of the Feminine-One*). The extant edition of the *Ciyi jing* (HY 1302/TT 1025 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing*) discusses at length the requirements and rules for the transmission of the *Dadong zhenjing*. On pp.1b-2a is found the following important passage:

> If you possess this scripture, you must practice [the methods included in] the text. You must always hide yourself quietly in a secluded room, scatter fragrances (sprinkle perfume, burn incense?) and sweep away the dust. [Make your] spirit reside in the dark forests. Avoid and distance yourself from the human realm. [Live in] lonesome serenity and abandon [worldly] affairs. Get rid of your [worldly] burdens and bring in Perfection. Make your heart vast and forget about competing. Entrust yourself to and accord with the roots of the profound. Live alone in the dark room. Cut off grains and do away with spices. The blandly flavored skies above will spew forth their liquids and harmonize your fluids. With your solitary form, do away with your companion. In the darkness gaze at your three ***hun*** souls. Undergo bitter training (***kuxing***) for a long time. Do not eat after the noon hour. Engage in a bitter retreat for three years, and then you can receive and read the *Dadong Zhenjing*.[138]

Thus, according to the *Ciyi jing*, an adept who aspired to the highest form of salvation was definitely required to leave social and family life to engage in a secluded

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Taoiste (1979), now available in English translation (*Taoist Meditation*, trans. by Norman Girardot and Julian Pas, 1993).

[138]See Plate 150.

retreat of "bitter training" (*kuxing*) for three years. As is clearly described, this purification requires "cutting off grains" (which as we have discussed means limiting the intake of solid foods as much as possible) and complete abstention from eating after the noon hour. This latter requirement (emphasized greatly within the Lingbao movement, as we shall see) was also customary among Buddhist monks, and is likely a result of Buddhist influence. The ideal form of food during this three year retreat is "liquid" from the heavens, which means that the adept is supposed to try to nourish himself on non-ingestion techniques. The phrase, "with your solitary form do away with your companion" indicates that celibacy was required as well. The *Ciyi jing* also indicates that similar retreats, albeit of shorter length, were required for the transmission of other revealed texts. The *Ciyi jing* states the following rules for the transmission of "the *Lessons on the Dadong* , the *Upper Verses of the Dongyi* , the *Combining and Transforming of the Female and Male* , the *Pleas to Send up to the August Lord* , the *Eight Spaces of the Dark Mother*, and the *Hidden Book of the Golden Flower* .":

> If [these] are to be transmitted, the disciple must first declare [that he will carry out] retreats of 100 days each, before and after [the transmission]. Again, if you carry out a pure retreat of 100 days, you can be transmitted them. An intermediate retreat is 70 days long. An inferior retreat is 39 days long. [After the disciple has] engaged in bitter training, the transmission can be made. If the transmission is made without discerning [the character] of the recipient and without a retreat, the scripture master will die, and the recipient will lose his sight in both eyes. If the retreat is not thoroughly bitter, the scripture master will become ill, and the recipient will become mute.[139]

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[139]*Ciyi jing* 9a. See Plate 151.

As has been discussed by Robinet, the *Ciyi jing* as it exists today is not one of the original scriptures, but rather a collection of various teachings and methods, some of which were products of Yang Xi's revelations, and others which are early apocrypha. According to Robinet, the first 19 pages (which include the passages quoted above) were most certainly authored after the revelations, (perhaps in the fifth century) as they show some influence from the Lingbao doctrines (for example, mention is made of the Primordial Heavenly Worthy or Yuanshi Tianzun , the supreme deity of Daoism introduced by the Lingbao scriptures)[140]. In other words we cannot, based upon the above quoted passages, conclude that the austerities described were from the very beginning required for the transmission of the *Dadong zhenjing* . There is, however, ample evidence that the "avoidance of grains" was always a requirement. In the fifth *juan* of the *Zhengao* we find a passage where Peijun says the following:

> When studying [the way of long] life amidst humans, you should eat medicines only. If you do not cut off grains, you will be unable to hear the [teachings of the] Dadong (emphasis added). As for the methods of cutting off grains, there are methods in the world.[141]

What is difficult to determine here is what "the *Dadong* " refers to. It could refer specifically to the *Dadong zhenjing*, or it could refer more generally to the superior doctrines of the Shangqing revelations. As has been pointed out by Robinet, the term *dadong* is often used as a virtual synonym for the word *shangqing* , or is used to refer to the doctrinal system of the Shangqing revelations, as can be seen from terms such as "Superior Lesson of the Dadong", "Master of the Methods of the Dadong". In this light, it may be correct to deduce that the *Dadong zhenjing* , gets its name due to the fact that it is

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[140]See ft. nt. 20. The prescription of the post-noon fast may also be the influence of the Lingbao scriptures.

[141]*Zhengao* 5/15b. The underlined portion is also found in a fragment from the third *zhuan* of the original text of the *Dengzhen yinjue* , surviving in the *Sandong zhunang* 3/13a. See Plate 152.

the most perfect scripture (*zhenjing*) of the Shangqing religious system (the *Dadong*).[142] Anyway, the above passage indicates clearly that a serious adept was expected to stop eating ordinary food and to live on medicines alone. What is important to point out is that this fasting, as was the case with asceticism in general in the Shangqing revelations, was not on its own considered to have supreme efficacy, but was nonetheless considered indispensable for the quest of Perfection to be carried out properly. A passage from the *Dengzhen yinjue* preserved in the *Sandong zhunang* states as follows:

> Generally speaking, if you cut off grains you will not necessarily live long. The reason for why you must cut off grains is so that you can do away with the bother of eating meals [consisting of] grains and side dishes so that you can better revere and practice what is miraculous and marvelous, and so that you can bring about the maximum efficacy in the medicines and minerals that you ingest.[143]

Here, ordinary food and the desire and need for it are perceived as distractions and hindrances which divert the adept's energy from the religious quest. Also, it is assumed here that a fasting adept ingests medicines, and that the fast enhances the potency of the medicine, which is of utmost importance in achieving the goal. In this sense, fasting is understood differently from what is taught in the *Zhonghuang jing* , where the adept is told to do away with all substances and allow the sheer effectiveness of the fast and the primal *qi* that it activates to transform his body.

Shangqing doctrine took well into account the fact that doing away with food was an arduous task that could not be accomplished by everybody, and which could be harmful if attempted too rapidly. For those who were simply unable to "cut off grains", the following words of advice are given:

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[142]See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol.2. p.30.
[143]*Sandong Zhunang* 3/7a. See Plate 153.

> If you are unable to practice dietetics (*fushi*) and get rid of grains in order to purify your intestines and polish [yourself to] Perfection, you should [at least] restrict your intake of greasy impurities and bloody rancidnesses as well as of the miscellaneous dishes of pungent and acrid vegetables. Those who are able to stop eating all of these things completely can expect to have their life spans extended.[144]

> The Lord (Peijun) said, "As for your eating, be careful not to allow it to be in large quantities. [If you eat] a lot, you will become ill. If you are full, be careful to not lie down immediately [after the meal], [or else] your mind will become uncontrolled. If your mind is uncontrolled, you will frequently lose your nature (lose your sanity?). If you eat a lot, you will become ill. If you are ill, the medicine will not circulate. Those who want to study the Dao must be careful about this. [These instructions apply to] the time prior to when you start to practice dietetics (*fushi*)."[145]

Noteworthy in the above passages is the usage of the term *fushi* (literally, "ingesting and eating") which is translated as "practice dietetics". In the first passage it is used in tandem with the word *qugu* (get rid of grains), implying dietetics generally involved the practice of fasting in tandem with the ingestion of medicines. *Fushi* in the second passage thus also seems to refer to a method of medicinal ingestion which is complemented by a fast. The first passage is directed towards those who are unable to fast, and the second passage is directed towards those who plan to eventually attempt to fast and ingest

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[144]Quoted from the *Taiyi dongzhen xuanjing* in the *Sandong zhunang* 3/4b-5a. This scripture is listed in the *Dadong zhenjing mu as Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing*, and exists independently in the canon (HY1319/TT1030). However, the extant Daoist Canon version does not include the above passage. Robinet speculates that the above passage was originally part of a biography of the Perfected Woman Madame Wang of the Purple Sublimity, which appeared at the beginning of the original or early versions of the scripture. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme*" v.2 p. 152. See Plate 154.

[145]*Zhengao* 5/13a. See Plate 155.

medicines, but are not yet ready. We can see that for such people, it was considered desirable to maintain a bland, vegetarian diet and be careful not to over eat. Bad eating habits, both in terms of quality and quantity, were thought to be harmful to both the mind and body. It was acknowledged that even without fasting, if one simply observed good eating habits, life could be extended.

In fact, even immortality was deemed possible for those who still ate normal food or "grains", even though this was a clearly lower level of immortality. In esoteric biography (*neizhuan*) of the Perfected Man Zhou Ziyang (*Ziyang Zhenren Zhou jun Neizhuan* , in the*Yunji Qiqian* , *juan* 106), the protagonist meets the Immortal of the Central Peak Xu Lin who gives him a lengthy lecture on methods of immortality. Within this lecture, Xu Lin says, "As for those who eat grains and do not die and do not have shadows during the daytime, they are minor Immortals."[146]

Thus again, we can see that access to superior forms of immortality or Perfection required the "avoidance of grains". So let us now examine the methods of fasting recommended in the Shangqing revelations.

E. How to Fast

Due to the importance placed upon the fasting, the Shangqing texts endorse and describe numerous fasting methods both ingestion (methods of preparing and ingesting special substances which help subdue and prevent hunger) and non-ingestion (methods which do not call for the ingestion of any external solid substance, but which can be complemented with ingestion methods if necessary). These methods will now be examined in detail. First to be examined are the ingestion methods, followed by the non-ingestion methods.

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[146]*Yunji Qiqian* 106/11b. References to this esoteric biography are found in the Zhengao 12/13b,14/14a and 20/14a. The author of this biography was not Yang Xi but rather Hua Qiao, another visionary mystic employed (and soon dismissed) by Xu Mi prior to Yang Xi. Robinet speculates that the version of the biography found in the Yunji qiqian is a condensed version of the original, while another version surviving as *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* (HY303/TT152) is an embellished version. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme*" v.2 pp.385-388. See Plate 156

1. Ingestion Methods

Because of the difficulty and potential danger, it was recommended that "the avoidance of grains" be carried out gradually, as can be seen from the following passages from the *Zhengao* , *Dengzhen Yinjue* and the esoteric biography Wang Bao, (*Qinxu zhenren Wangjun neizhuan*):

(13) The Lord said, "Your drinking and eating must not be abruptly terminated. You simply must gradually decrease your intake of it (food and drink). If you decrease your intake by one *sheng* (0.2023 l) every ten days, you can stop eating completely in half a year."[147]

(14) By eating the Cloud Sprouts you can cultivate the Way of the Perfect One. If while protecting the origin and swallowing saliva you feel hungry, you should eat things such as noodles and thereby gradually avoid grains. Do not suddenly one day abandon [food]. This is what is referred to [by the phrase], "Lose some of it and [later] lose some more of it, and thereby bring about a state of non-action[148]."[149]

(15) The Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate said, "Generally speaking, [the reason for why you should] receive the *qi* of life from the five grains is because one always embraces the flowing essences of grain *qi* in order to produce an embryo and nurture things. The myriad transformations that merge with the Perfect also bring about the profound nourishment of the five grains. As you have been given your body from your father and

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[147] *Zhengao* 5/14a. See Plate 157.

[148] This is an allusion to the 48th chapter of the *Laozi* where it reads "One loses every day until one does nothing at all". See D.C. Lau trans. p.69.

[149] 4th *juan* of the original *Dengzhen yinjue* quoted in *Sandong zhunang* 3/4b. See Plate 158.

mother, you should rely upon what gave you your life in order to manage your life. Those who have not relied upon the original basics of what gave them life, but instead abruptly abandoned what caused [them to live] have always withered and expired because of their unbalanced views, cutting short their life spans by emaciation. Everybody should rely on what they came about from and accord with the source of their fluids. Solidify, cleanse and become harmonious. Subtly detach [yourself] from your roots. Make your circulation of blood and energy (*yingwei*)[150] get transformed and refined through your daily deeds. Your six bowels will begin to digest grains very gradually. Therefore, to rely on grains (for gradually reducing your food intake) is the good technique for utilizing your life (?). To employ the basics (grains) to get rid of the basics is the [method that is the] marvelous traces of managing the radiance."[151]

(16) Cut off grains by means of grains, and very gradually transform your six bowels.[152]

The above four passages tell the adept to slowly decrease his dietary intake rather than try to abruptly stop eating. Passages (14)-(16) specify grains as the type of food which the adept should eat while slowly decreasing his dietary intake. Passage (14) describes this process as something to be undergone while practicing the method of eating the Cloud Sprouts, one of the many non-ingestion methods endorsed within the revelations, which will be examined shortly later on. Passage (15) is the prologue to the method of *xunfan*, a gradualistic fasting technique (to be discussed in detail shortly) that employs rice as a main

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[150]This is a medical term which refers to the way in which the energy taken into the body from foods circulate within the body through the bloodstream. *Ying* refers to the pure blood and energy thought to circulate within the blood vessels, and *wei* refers to the turbid blood and energy that is outside of the blood vessels. See section 18, "Yingwei shenghui" of the medical classic *Lingshu jing*.

[151]*Sandong zhunang* 4/3b-4a. See Plate 159. This passage is also found in the *Yunji qiqian* 74/1b-2a. References to Lord Wang's esoteric biography (12/13b) and the method of *xunfan* (14/17b) are found in Tao Hongjing's annotations in the *Zhengao*.

[152]*Sandong zhunang* 3/7a. See Plate 160.

ingredient. It is most interesting in that it says that if one continues his training while eating grains, he will slowly alter his bodily functions of circulation and digestion, causing him to digest foods more and more slowly. Also attested to here is the fact that adepts at times could cause severe damage, or even death, through their fasting. Such adepts are criticized for suddenly abandoning the grains (i.e. foods) which are the very "basics" that make possible their conception, birth and maturation as human beings born of human parents. Thus, while ultimately the adept wants to "get rid of the basics", to do so abruptly cannot but be damaging.

The Shangqing movement incorporated and endorsed numerous fasting techniques, both ingestion and non-ingestion. Typically more than one would be practiced at the same time, which, as we have seen in Part One, was also frequently the case among earlier Daoists. The ingestion methods endorsed by the Shangqing revelations employed a wide range of ingredients, many of them the same as those mentioned in the *Liexian zhuan*, *Shenxian zhuan* and *Wufu xu* . For example, in the sixth *juan* of the *Zhengao*, is a passage where Madame Ziwei states as follows:

> As for those who practice frugal rites relying upon their sincere devotion; they have no need for the extravagant delicacies (*tailao*)[153] of their eastern neighbors.[154] Thus they can sustain themselves on the water cinnamon of the five clouds, the root of the *zhu* plant (*atractylodes macrocephala*), deer bamboo, the *yang* grass of the *nanzhu* (*vaccinium bracteatum*), the eastern rock hollow azurite, the sap and seeds of the pine and arbor vitae trees,

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[153]This word originally referred to lavish festivals where the sacrifices included cattle, sheep and pigs. It later took on the derived meaning of lavish food.

[154]The is an allusion to a passage in the Book of Changes (the text attached to the hexagram *jiji*) which reads, "The eastern neighbors' slaying of cattle is not as good as the western neighbors' frugal festivals, which truly bring about blessings". 東鄰殺牛.不如西鄰之禴祭.實受其福. The point of the passage is that the cultivation of proper virtue, not extravagant sacrifices, is what moves the gods favorably.

> sesame seeds[155] and tukahoe (*fuling, pachymo cocos*). All of these are the equipment for nurturing life. With these you can extend your life span.[156]

The Shangqing texts also promote and describe particular recipes which serve the purpose of facilitating fasts. We shall now examine the major ones. In the *Zhengao* we find the following passage:

> When you avoid grains and enter into the mountains, you should boil and eat white rocks. In the past, Baishizi (Master White Rocks) made white rocks his food. Thus the [people of the] world called him the Master of the White Rocks (Baishisheng). He was a man of utmost [accomplishment and virtue]. He is now the Immortal Chamberlain of the Left in the Eastern Bureau. There is a method for boiling white rocks. The recipe for white rocks was invented by Master Baishi. Also, he admired the *Taisu zhuan* [157] where it says, "White rocks have *jing* ." This was the Master of the White Rocks.
>
> (Tao Hongjing's comment): This method exists in the world.[158]

An entry on Baishizi is found in the *Shenxian zhuan.*[159] So then, what specifically does "white rocks" refer to? The method for "boiling white rocks" alluded to in Tao

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[155]In the "secret biography" of Peijun is found a recipe for pills made out of 3 *dou* (one *dou*= 2.03 l)of sesame seeds and 3 *dou* of honey. After ingesting the whole batch, the text states that "[the adept's] intestines transform into sinews and he no longer feels coldness nor heat". (*Yunji qiqian* 105/25b)

[156]*Zhengao* 6/3b. See Plate 161.

[157]This probably refers to an esoteric biography that is now non-extant. The biography apparently included in it teachings on the merits of eating white rocks. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* v.1 p.56.

[158]*Zhengao* 5/14a-b. See Plate 162.

[159]Oddly, his biography there does not depict him as an ascetic nor as a practitioner of fasting. While it does say that he boiled and ate white rocks, it also says that he drank liquor, ate dried meats and ordinary food. He also excelled at sexual yoga and the ingestion of liquid gold, and that he opted for the eternal enjoyment of worldly things, rather than heavenly ascension. (2nd *juan* p.6a). While the Baishisheng of the *Shenxian zhuan* is thus a personage that goes against the ascetic, world-denying spirit of the Shangqing

Hongjing's note apparently survives today within Shangqing material. It is described in detail in the *Yunji qiqian* (74/7b-13a) in a section called "Taishang jushengyu zhu wushiying fa" ("The Most High Method for Boiling Five Quartz Pieces in Sesame Oil") as well as in the *Ciyi jing* (53b-56b "Dadong ciyi taiji dijun zhensheng wuzang fa") and the *Wushang biyao* (quoted from a *Dongzhen taiji dijun zhensheng wuzang shangjing*).[160] Frequent references to this same method are found in the *Sandong zhunang* as quotes from the third and seventh *juan* of the original *Dengzhen yinjue* and from the *Xuanmu Bamen jing* (*The Scripture of the Eight Gates of the Mysterious Mother*). The phrase, "he admired the *Taisu zhuan* ...." is also highly suggestive that Baishizi's method was this specific method. In the "Taishang jushengyu zhu wushiying fa" it states, "Perfected Man Taisu deciphered the words (the recipe).[161] He received it (the recipe) and ingested it and then requested an interpretation and annotation of it from the Imperial Lord of the Great Ultimate."[162] The passage from the *Xuanmu Bamen jing* quoted in *Sandong Zhunang* 3/18b refers to the recipe in question as "the medicine ingested by Perfected Man Taisu". What all this suggests is that there was an esoteric biography of a certain Perfected Man Taisu which narrated how this particular person obtained the method and which also included the recipe itself. Thus the passage quoted on p. 341 seems to say that Baishizi had read the biography and had been inspired by it to "boil white rocks."

The recipe in question employs as its ingredients ten *jin* (one *jin*= 222.73 g) of shallots, one and a half *hu* (one *hu*= 20.23 l) of black sesame seed oil, five *dou* (one *dou*= 2.023 l) of honey, 26 *hu* of mountain spring water and 5 unscratched, unblemished pieces of white quartz. Throughout the "Taishang jushengyu zhu wushiying fa" as well as the other above mentioned passages alluding to the recipe, the five pieces of quartz are referred

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texts, the *Zhengao* mentions him solely as one who excelled at fasting and who ultimately joined the divine bureaucracy.

[160]Michel Strickmann also describes this method on pp.183-184 of "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching".

[161]According to the legend, the recipe had been written in abbreviated form on "the central wall of the Palace of Purple Sublimity" by a certain Perfected Man of the Golden Flower of the Great Ultimate.

[162]*Yunji qiqian* 74/9a. Similar references to Perfected Man Taisu are found in the *Ciyi jing* 54a and *Wushang biyao* 87/6b-7a.

to as the "five rocks". The adept first polishes the quartz pieces on a whetstone until they become shaped like tiny sparrow eggs. The adept then carries out a retreat of 30 to 60 days (160 days according to the *Ciyi jing* and *Wushang biyao*). Then, on the ninth day of the ninth month he sets up an earthen hearth and sets on top of it a large iron kettle. At the hour of *you* (6 p.m.) the adept kneels facing eastwards towards the kettle, and tosses the five quartz pieces one by one into the kettle, reciting a verse and holding his breath for "five breaths" before each toss. While the verses in their entirety will not be quoted here, it is relevant to point out that the contents of the verses indicate that the "five rocks" each bear names and serve the function of sustaining a particular bodily organ. Each chant invokes the protection of specific vital gods in the Shangqing pantheon.[163]

The adept then stands up and puts the shallots, honey and sesame oil into the kettle one after the other and then puts the water in. He then covers the kettle with a wooden lid. On the morning of the next day, a weak fire is to be lit under the kettle. As the water evaporates during the boiling, the adept keeps adding water until the entire 26 *hu* of water is used up. After all of the water has been boiled away, the adept leaves the kettle to cool for five days. Then at dawn, the adept swallows the five quartz pieces one after another together with the sauce they were cooked in, while drinking water. The aforementioned chants are repeated before swallowing each rock. In days following this, the adept continues to eat 2 *ge* (one *ge*= 0.2023 l) of the sauce (together with liquor) per day until it is all gone.[164] The adept may then make a whole new batch if he so wishes. That this method of eating the "five rocks" served the purpose of facilitating fasts is clearly indicated in the following passage:

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[163]The following are the names of the rocks, the organ that is sustained, and the deities that are invoked:
The Rock of the Blue Imperial Duke: Liver; Sansu Yuanjun, Taiyi Siming, Xuanmu.
The Rock of the White Imperial Duke: Lungs; Taiyi, Yuanfu, Xuanmu.
The Rock of the Red Imperial Duke: Heart; Dijun, Xuanmu, Taokang.
The Rock of the Black Imperial Duke: Kidneys; Taiyi, Xuanmu, Yuanfu.
The Rock of the Yellow Imperial Duke: Spleen; Laojun, Taiyi Dijun.

[164]The *Ciyi jing* and *Wushang biyao* do not mention eating the sauce in the days after the quartz pieces have been eaten.

> Those who ingest the five rocks can eat nine meals in one day and [yet their] 100 passages [of their bodies] will still interflow.[165] They can also go the entire year without getting hungry, reversing their aging process and returning to youthfulness. If they have food they can eat it, but if they have no food they are still fine. Truly, this is a marvelous method of Superior Immortals, and is what is rare and miraculous among the various [methods of] cutting off grains.[166]

Curiously, however, the "Taishang jushengyu zhu wushiying fa" does not cite this capacity to transform the digestive system as a benefit bestowed by the "five rocks". This is perhaps because it is taken for granted that the method would have such an effect. Rather the focus is on the capacity of the "five rocks" to preserve and protect the five viscera so that something even more miraculous could take place. This amazing property is described vividly in the original *Dengzhen yinjue* :

> Ingest the five rocks to protect and settle the five viscera. If you temporarily die, your white bones (skeleton) will be like jade. Your seven *po* souls will protect and attend, The two (sic. three) hun souls will protect the 'house'. The Three Origins (elixir fields) will rejoice and relax. The Great Spirit will be enshrined within.
>
> An outer commentary [says], 'Skin and flesh come temporarily together and adhere to the body. Thus they both must scatter and rot. Just make your viscera and bowels remain uncorrupted, maintaining a life-like complexion. [Make your] bone marrow never dry out so that the sinews and the brain interflow. [Make your] ***hun*** and *po* souls be at protected and settled.

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[165] As we saw in Chapter 2 (pp. 111-112), it was believed that foods were harmful due to the fact that they clog the apertures and passages of the body.

[166] The seventh *juan* of the *Dengzhen yinjue* quoted in *Sandong zhunang* 3/6a. See Plate 164.

> [Make your] Three Palaces relaxed and still. Your Great Spirit will thereby not circulate and wander in nine transformations as it is always confined within the Dongfang[167]. On the day when you [come back to] life, it shall once again circulate throughout. After forty, twenty, ten or three years, it will by its own will emerge. And at the time of coming to life, it will gather the blood, nurture the flesh, produce the fluids and create the fluids, and thus restore the body, which will be superior to the form that you had prior to your death. This is what is referred to by the phrase, "Perfected Men refine their body in the Great Yin and transform their appearances before the Three Officials."[168]

Thus it was believed that the "five rocks" could bring about the miracle of resurrection. The rocks were thought to preserve the vital organs and functions of the body so that one day a spiritual entity retained amidst them called the Great Spirit (*dashen*) could somehow act as the agent that would create new skin and flesh for the bones and vital organs, many years after the old skin and flesh had decomposed.

Because this property of the "five rocks" to bring about resurrection is the point of emphasis, the "Taishang jushengyu zhu wushiying fa" begins with a narrative[169] about a certain Zhao Chengzi who was transmitted the method by the Perfected Man of the Southern Peak (Chisongzi), ingested the "five rocks", died and was resurrected in the fashion described in the above passage. The narrative also tells us that there was a man who was walking in the mountains when he discovered the body of Zhao Chengzi, of which there only remained the dried bones together with the five viscera preserved in perfect condition, each with a peace of shiny white quartz glimmering from within. The man, reasoning that he must have happened upon the body of a seeker of immortality who

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[167]One of the "palaces" in the head.

[168]*Sandong zhunang* 3/7a-b. See Plate 165.

[169]Also found in *Zhengao* 4/16a-b and *Wushang biyao* 87/11a-12a. Described in Strickmann "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching" pp.182-183.

had failed his "trials", decided to take and eat the quartz pieces for his own benefit. However, after he had done this, the "five rocks" flew right out of his mouth and returned to the five viscera of Zhao Chengzi. Later, Zhao Chengzi was resurrected. The man who stole the quartz pieces was less fortunate; he and his entire family died of leprosy.

Before moving on to discuss other ingestion fasting methods promoted in the Shangqing revelations, it is relevant to speculate the possible implications of the fact that this particular method which facilitated fasts was also thought to bring about the miracle of resurrection. Could this belief in resurrection have at times served to encourage adepts to fast to the point of death? It is possible, especially given the fact that certain suicidal methods employing poisonous substances are endorsed in the revelations. This theme of religious suicide, which has already been discussed thoroughly and admirably by Michel Strickmann in his article, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching" will be returned to shortly.

Another drug which is strongly endorsed in the revelations for the purpose of fasting is the leaves of a shrub called the *nanzhu* (*vaccinium bracteatum*)[170] mentioned by Madame Ziwei in the passage quoted on pp. 340-341. The following passage from the seventh *zhuan* of the original *Dengzhen yinjue* tells us that *nanzhu* can be used as a survival food, much in the same fashion as deer bamboo (see pp.178-183) can:

> [Those who are experiencing a year with a bad harvest with no grains, or are poor and unable to obtain [food], can all ingest *nanzhu* by itself. They can also combine it with tukahoe or they can blend the *nanzhu* with honey. Or they can mix it with leaves of the pine or arbor vitae trees.[171]

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[170]The *nanzhu* grows to a height of 1-3 meters. Its leaves have a sour and bitter flavor. *Zhongyao dazidian* entry no.3261.

[171]*Sandong zhunang* 3/6b. See Plate 166.

It would logically follow that it could also be used by an adept who is intentionally trying to "avoid grains". Most typically, *nanzhu* was used for making what was called *qingjing ganshi xunfan* or "dried stone and *xun* (a variant name for *nanzhu*) rice of the blue essence". (From here on this will be referred to as *xunfan*). Another passage from the Dengzhen yinjue, preserved in the *Taiping yulan* 671/2a-b, tells us the following:

> [As for] the Method of Blue Refined Rice *Xunfan* of the Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate; according to the Biography of Pengzu[172] it says, 'In Dayuan[173] there is a Master of the Blue Refined Rice who can eat nine meals in one day, or could go without eating for a full year.' [The method of *xunfan*] is truly the strange and marvelous one among the methods of cutting off grains. In other words, this (the *xunfan* method) is it (the method that he used). It is truly the marvelous method of the Superior Immortals and is the strange and marvelous one among the methods of cutting off grains.[174]

Apparently the claim is that *xunfan* was ingested by the Master of the Blue Refined Rice, a mythical Central Asian contemporary of Pengzu (another mythical figure of the Xia and Zhou periods) who was apparently well known during the 4th century due to the popularity of immortality lore such as that of the *Shenxian zhuan*. As has been pointed out by Robinet, the recipe for *xunfan* was at one time part of the esoteric biography of Wang Bao.[175][176]

A brief description of how to make *xunfan* is found in another quotation from the third *zhuan* of the original *Dengzhen yinjue* :

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[172]Pengzu's biography and the passage cited here are found in the *Shenxian zhuan* 2/4a.

[173]This refers to a kingdom that existed in the Ferghana basin in Central Asia. Its people were of Persian ethnicity.

[174]See Plate 167.

[175]See *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol. 2 pp.372-373.

[176]Sawada Mizuho has discussed the connection between xunfan and Japanese sekihan ("red rice", eaten in Japan on happy occasions) in "Dookyoo seiseihan koo", *Yoshioka hakase kanreki kinen dookyoo ronbun shuu* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1977) pp.381-401.

> The *qingjing ganshi xunfan* of the Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate is a miraculous recipe of Superior Immortals.
>
> The commentary (presumably that of Tao Hongjing) says, "This herb (*nanzhu*)has in it the god of blue essence, and you can also mix in with it the vermilion and blue and use it to make dried rice. This is why it is called blue dried stone *xun* rice. This is a miraculous method of the Superior Immortals of the Various Palaces. It is not an inferior method. The Blue Rice of Yuzhang's[177] Mt. Xi or the Blue Dragon Rice of the Wu-Yue region are to be used. Blue rice (rice that includes the word "blue" in its name) is of vacuous texture(?)[178] and absorbs the medicinal *qi*. Pound the branches of the *nanzhu* bush in order to extract its juice, and use it to soak the rice of the Blue Dragon and produce the medicine. Then you ingest it."[179]

The efficacy of *xunfan* for decreasing and eventually eliminating the adept's intake of food, according to the following passage from the original *Dengzhen yinjue*, was supposed to show itself gradually:

> Practice dietetics to cut off grains. Abstain from foods, amidst the mountains and forests. Cut off grains in order to purify your intestines. If you observe pure retreats and abstain from foods while eating *xunfan* for five years, grains will be cut off.[180]

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[177]Present day Nanchang County, Jiangxi Province.

[178]This perhaps means that the rice kernels do not have veins in them which obstruct the soaking in of the fluid.

[179]*Sandong zhunang* 3/14b-15a. See Plate 168.

[180]*Dengzhen yinjue* quoted in *Sandong zhunang* 3/13a. See Plate 169.

Thus, it was supposed to it take five years of ingesting *xunfan* for the adept to be able to "cut off grains", i.e. stop eating.

The most detailed discussion on *xunfan* is the *Taiji zhenren qingjing ganshi xunfan shangxian lingfang* (*The Miraculous Method of Superior Immortals for Blue Refined Rice Dried Stone Xunfan of the Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate*, hereon to be referred to as *Xunfan lingfang*) found in the *Yunji Qiqian* (74/1a-7b), which appears (based upon textual correspondences) to be the source text drawn upon by Tao Hongjing in the discussions of *xunfan* in the original *Dengzhen yinjue*. There the rate by which the reduction of food intake takes place is described in more detail:

> When you first ingest this (*xunfan*) do not immediately get rid of grains. You should decrease [your intake of] grains, making 2.5 *sheng* your [daily(?)] limit. After one year, reduce it to 2 *sheng*. After three years reduce it to one *sheng*. After four years reduce it to 0.5 *sheng*. Then reduce it [to the point where] nothing is left, [as you] reach five years. This makes a person light and bright [and makes him show] great effects (good health, special powers etc.) . After this point you can eat nine meals in one day or go without eating throughout the year.
>
> [Comment]: If you eat noodles, you can decrease [your intake more] easily.[181]

Reading the *Xunfan lingfang* makes it apparent that the "vermilion and blue" mentioned in the *Dengzhen yinjue* which is to be "mixed in" refers to cinnabar (*dansha*) and the large hollow variety of azurite (*kongqing*) which the adept has the option of adding to the concoction in order to make the medicine work faster. According to the *Xunfan Lingfang*, to concoct one batch of *xunfan*, the adept uses one *hu* and five *dou* (app. 30

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[181] *Yunji qiqian* 74/6b-7a. See Plate 170.

liters) of non-glutinous rice. The "blue rice of Yuzhang's Mt. Xi" and the "blue dragon rice of the Wu-Yue region" are varieties of non-glutinous rice which are used for the simple reason that they have the word "blue" in their names. Five *jin* of *nanzhu* leaves (3 *jin* if they are dried) are boiled to produce a dark reddish-blue fluid which is then set aside to cool off. The adept washes the rice in this fluid and then cooks it in the fluid. The cooked rice is then dried out. The adept eats 2 *sheng* of the *xunfan* per day, and is not allowed to eat any meats, with the exception of dried meats. Also, the adept is not supposed to engage in any sexual activity because if he does, "impurity will spread about and the medicine will be ineffective.[182] If the adept wants to accelerate and enhance the efficacy of the xunfan, he can grind up azurite (seven *liang*; one *liang*= 13.92 g), cinnabar (1 *jin*), tukahoe (2 *jin*) and *jing* (*vitex negundo*) tree leaves (5 *liang*) into a very fine texture and mix them into the fluid in which the rice is cooked. The text of the *Xunfan lingfang* says the following regarding the effects brought about by these minerals, as well as the prohibitions that must be obeyed:

> [As for] hollow azurite, that [which] is vacuously radiant is more perfect [than that which is not]. It fills (satiates) the stomach and improves the eyesight. It strengthens the sinews and supplements the fluids. It increases the *jing* and makes the face youthful. It is a mineral of the Superior Immortals. If you administer it [upon yourself] and thereupon engage in bedroom activities, your *qi* will be defiled and your spirit will perish. Harm and death will be brought about immediately. Can one not be careful?[183]
>
> Cinnabar has a vermilion colored radiance and shines brightly. It fills the bones and increases the blood. It strengthens the will and supplements the brain. It increases the *qi* and regulates the lungs. It enhances the circulation

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[182] *Yunji qiqian* 74/3a

[183] *Yunji qiqian* 74/4a. See Plate 171.

> in people's 100 segments and harmonizes the joints. It is a mineral for the Superior Immortals. [If you ingest cinnabar,] you are forbidden from eating meat, treading upon impurity or having sexual activity. [As for] those who violate these [prohibitions], they will [suffer from] coughing and bring upon themselves abdominal ailments and chronic bone-withering[184] diseases.[185]

As can be seen, the dietary and sexual prohibitions become stricter and much more emphatic when these two substances are taken. Also worth mentioning here is that hollow azurite is mildly toxic and cinnabar is highly toxic. Even though ancient Chinese medicine was well aware of their toxicity, both were employed quite commonly to treat various bodily ailments.[186] While both minerals are undoubtedly included in the *xunfan* recipe because of the medicinal benefits that they were thought to bring, I also wonder whether their toxicity may have also been a desirable quality, due to the need to "kill" the Three Worms. In the sixth *juan* of the original *Dengzhen Yinjue*, the efficacy of *xunfan* is described as follows:

> If you ingest *xunfan*, the 100 kinds of hazards cannot damage you. The various diseases will be unable to intrude upon you. It will rid you of your various thoughts and exterminate the Three Corpses. Your hearing and vision will become clear and sharp, and you will feel light and buoyant as you go about.

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[184]What kind of disease this refers to is unclear.

[185]*Yunji qiqian* 74/4a-b. See Plate 172.

[186]Hollow azurite, perhaps due to its blue color (and the correlates that blue has in the five phases scheme) was thought to "enter" the liver and to be effective for treating eye ailments, as well as various other conditions such as palsy. Cinnabar, being red, was thought to "enter" the heart and was used commonly to treat, among other things, mental conditions such as fear, anxiety, insomnia and anxiety. See *Zhongyao dazidian.*

> The commentary (presumably of Tao Hongjing) says, 'The vermilion (cinnabar) and blue (hollow azurite) harmonize the spirit and nurture the *qi*. They are able to control and eliminate disasters and epidemics. Therefore diseases and hazards will never again violate you. Once your *jing* and *hun* souls have [thus] become relaxed and joyful, you will no longer have worries, sorrows nor [any other] distracting thoughts. Once you have stopped eating side dishes and grains, the Corpse-Worms will naturally disappear and be done away with. Your liver and kidneys will become pure and moist. Your ears and eyes will [hear and see] transparently and clearly. Your sinews will be powerful and your bones strong, and you will move about [swiftly] as though you were flying.[187]

Thus it was thought that *xunfan* was extremely effective for strengthening the body and relaxing the mind of the adept as well as enabling him to stop eating and to kill off the Three Corpses (or Worms).

As we can see, the theory of the evil Three Worms is very much subscribed to and emphasized within the Shangqing texts. Thus another recipe found within them is that of the "pills for controlling the worms" (*zhichongwan*), also called the "pills of the first spirit"(*chushenwan*), which were intended precisely for the purpose of killing the Three Worms, and were to be taken by the adept before he started to "avoid grains". These pills are mentioned as follows in the original *Dengzhen yinjue*:

> [If you ingest] the pills of the first spirit, the grain-worms will die and the Three Corpses will dry up.[188]

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[187]*Sandong hunang* 3/6b. See Plate 173.
[188]*Sandong zhunang* 3/13a. See Plate 174.

> Swallow the Cloud Sprouts in order to cut off grains. If you want to cut off grains, first ingest the pills of the first spirit. The Taiyi pills of the four protectors (*taiyi sizhen wan*) can also be used to cut off grains. If you do not cut off grains, you cannot yet get to hear the Dadong.[189]

A discussion of the problems caused by the Three Worms, accompanied by a recipe for the pills as well as a description of how to go about "avoiding grains" afterwards is found in the esoteric biography of Zhou Yishan (in the *Yunji qiqian* 106). There we are told that Zhou Yishan, who from a tender age at his own initiative had practiced various immortality techniques including air-swallowing, saliva-swallowing, meditation and sexual yoga, was one day visited by the Xu Lin, the Immortal of the Central Peak, who gave him the following advice:

> From your youth you have known how to make your *yang jing* and marrow return without leaking (mastered the art of sexual yoga). You also know how to manipulate and guide (*daoyin*), imbibe *qi*, swallow the radiances, and swallow the juices. You no longer have any need for the benefits of supplementing the womb attained through the secret methods of the *yin* elixir (sexual yoga). However, your Three Worms have not yet been destroyed. Because the Three Worms have not died, your manipulating and guiding and your imbibing of *qi* are not working properly. You should first ingest the fine-textured pills for controlling the worms in order to kill the grain-worms. The worms have three names (one for each). The first one is named Qinggu, the second is named Baigu and the third is named Xueshi. They are called the Three Worms. The Three Worms inside the body cause the mind of a person to be full of bothersome thoughts and cause them to

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189 *Sandong zhunang* 3/13a. See Plate 175.

> lack resolve and will power. [They cause people] to be unable to concentrate on what they are contemplating (in meditation?) and to feel hungry when they have no food. Because they are moved by feelings of despair and worry, they fail to accomplish what they had diligently aspired to. Thus they are unable to limit and do away with food and drink. Even though they again do away with grains their bodies will feel heavy and sluggish. Listless and lethargic, the dreams (visions?) that they see are false (evil, temptational). Floundering confusedly they cannot get rid of their evil and vulgar ways. This is all because these worms inside of them disturb their five viscera.[190]

Noteworthy first of all here is that the validity of sexual yoga, relatively speaking, is affirmed. This puts this passage at some variance with some of those that we have examined (see pp. 299-301).[191] Still, sexual yoga is regarded here as a preliminary and minor method, and thus Zhou Yishan is told that at his advanced stage of training he no longer needs to practice it. However, Zhou Yishan's remaining problem was that he needed to stop eating and drinking in order for his methods of circulating and imbibing *qi* to become effective. This he was unable to do because of his Three Worms. The phrase, "the dreams that they see will be fake" indicates that intense fasting was expected to induce dreams or visions, presumably of benevolent divine beings. Presumably, "fake" dreams here refer to dreams of a deceptive and temptational quality, orchestrated by the malevolent Three Worms.

The text goes on to give as follows the recipe for the pills:

> Autumn root (*fuzi, aconium carmichaeli*)- 5 *liang*.
>
> Hemp seeds- 7 *sheng*.

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[190] *Yunji qiqian* 106/9b-10a See Plate 176.

[191] A possible explanation could be that unlike most of the original Shangqing material that was authored by Yang Xi, the original version of Zhou Yishan's esoteric biography was authored by Hua Qiao (see ft.nt. 146), who perhaps held sexual yoga in somewhat higher esteem than did Yang Xi.

Dihuang (*rehmannia glutinosa*)- 6 *liang*.

Shu (*atractylodes macrocephala*)- 7 *liang*.

Zhuyu root (*evodia rutaecarpa*)- 7 *cun* from a large one.

Saigon Cinnamon (*gui, cinnamon cassia*)- 4 *liang*.

Flowers of Cloud Fungus (a potion made of mica and realgar)[192]- 5 *liang*.

[It has] seven ingredients in all.

First take the roots of the *changpu* (*acorus gramineus*) and boil them in order to brew a thick liquor which is pure and rich in flavor. Chew the seven ingredients in your mouth and steep them in a pot of 1.5 *dou* of the liquor. You can also not chew [the ingredients]. After three nights take the ingredients out, sun bake them and make them dry. Steep them for three more nights in the same liquor, and then sun bake them again. Keep doing this until the liquor has been used up. Sun bake them (the ingredients) and make them dry, put them into an iron grinder and grind and sift them into a powder. Take some white honey and mix it in with them so that pills can be made. At dawn, facing eastward, first ingest two pills the size of small beans. Gradually increase your dosage by one pill [per day] so that it can eventually be ten-odd pills per day. They (the pills) control the *qi* above the *xuanshi* (unclear) in the belly [as well as] the blockages in the heart and chest. They benefit the skin and make the body light and lustrous. When you finish [ingesting] one batch, the Worms will die. When the Worms die, their three corpses will wither.[193] The Three Corpses will wither and naturally fall [out of the body]. You can also make several batches. You

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[192]See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* v.1,p.53. In the *Dengzhen yinjue* quoted in the *Taiping yulan* 671/4b, this potion is described by itself as effective for killing the Worms.

[193]Here I have understood *sanshi* not as an alternate name (the Three Corpses) for the Three Worms, but as the three corpses of the worms that have been killed.

> are not limited to one batch. After this, you can concoct the pills of the four protectors (*sizhenwan*). Add 1 *liang* each of stratified azurite (*zengqing*) and deer bamboo and thereby cut off grains.[194]

As we can see, the "pills for controlling the worms" were not taken during the fast, but rather before it, in order to create a physiology capable of fasting. Thus here the ingestion of stratified azurite and deer bamboo is recommended for the sustaining of the fast itself. Noteworthy here is that the recipe includes autumn root and realgar, which are highly toxic. This is likely because the medicine was meant to kill the malevolent forces in the body. No doubt the poison would do some damage, or cause irritation in the body of the adept himself. Interesting in this regard is a short note written by Yang Xi to Xu Mi found in the *Zhengao*. In it, Yang Xi asks Xu Mi whether or not he had ever taken the "pills for controlling the worms", and recommends that he do so if he has not yet. Yang Xi then says the following about his own experience with taking the drug:

> As for those [pills] the [I, Yang] Xi had portioned out for myself[195]; I immediately started ingesting [them] every day without fail. I did not actually experience anything extraordinary, other than the fact that during my first six or seven days [in which I took the pills], I felt a fever in my brain and a rumbling in my stomach. There was nothing else beyond that. I think that perhaps the medicine only begins to work gradually.[196]

This statement by Yang Xi, the visionary himself, provides an interesting glimpse at the first proponents of the Shangqing revelations attempting to themselves put to practice the methods endorsed in their texts. It is interesting here to see that despite his truly

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[194]*Yunji qiqian* 106/10a-b. See Plate 177.

[195]Perhaps a batch had been prepared of the pills, some of which Yang Xi had sent to Xu Mi, and some of which he had kept for his own use.

[196]*Zhengao* 17/15a. See Plate 178.

impressive knowledge, Yang Xi was himself in the relatively early stages of practicing the methods (it seems here as though he may not have prepared the pills himself). He reminisces over his experimentation with the pills as if it was a new and unfamiliar experience. But from what he relates here, the pills were poisonous enough to create some discomfort in the body. What effects he was hoping to feel is unclear, but while understandably disappointed, he did not lose faith in the pills either, choosing to rationalize the negative experience. Presumably, if he practiced what his texts preached, Yang Xi at some point moved on to the stage of "avoiding grains" after somehow gaining assurance that his Three Worms had been exterminated.

Now, as we have seen, both the *Dengzhen yinjue* and the esoteric biography of Zhou Yishan recommend the ingestion of the "Pills of the Four Protectors" or *sizhenwan* for facilitating the fast that is carried out after the Worms have been eliminated. The recipe for concocting these pills is found in the *Yunji qiqian* 77/7b-10b in a section that bears the heading, "The Pills of the Four Protectors of the *Jiuzhen zhongjing*" (jiuzhen zhongjing sizhen wan). The method is also found in the extant edition of a Shangqing scripture called the *Jiuzhen zhongjing* (*The Middle Scripture of the Nine Perfected*)[197]. The "four protectors" apparently refers to the four groups of five ingredients each which make up the recipe. They are as follows:

4 *liang* of Limonite (*taiyi yu yuliang*). 1 *liang* each of bombay mastic incense wood(*xunluxiang*, *boswellia carterii*), *zhendanggui* (*angelica sinensis*), ginseng (*renshen*), and cloves (*jishexiang*).

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[197]Full title *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* (HY1365/TT1042) 2/19b-22a ("Taiyi da sizhen wan fa"). The *Jiuzhen zhongjing* is one of the scriptures listed in the *Zhengao* 5/2a and in the *Dadong zhenjing mu*. Robinet has speculated that the HY1365 version of this scripture consists of original material from the revelations; the scripture did not take on its present form until after the compilation of the *Sandong zhunang* (i.e. 7th c.).

4 *liang* of cinnabar (*dansha*). 1 *liang* each of licorice (*gancao, glycyrrhiza uralensis*), *qingmuxiang* root (*aristolochia debilis*), dried *dihuang* (*rehmannia glutinosa*), and *zhantangxiang* (unclear).

4 *liang* of tukahoe (*fuling*). 1 *liang* each of atractylis (*baishu, atractylodes macrocephala*), dried ginger, *fangfeng* (*sapishnikovia divaricata*), and mica powder.

4 *liang* of black leeks (*maimendong, ophiopogon japonica*). 1 *liang* each of dried jujube oil, autumn root, sesame seeds, and dragon's bones (*longgu*, fossilized pre-historic animal bones).

Each of the four groups of ingredients are pounded into fine powder. The four groups of powdered ingredients are then mixed and pounded together. Finally, honey (4 *sheng*, or more if necessary) and wax are mixed in so that the mixture can be formed into pills. The text claims that after ten years of taking the pills, the adept obtains the power to command demons and spirits and subdue tigers and leopards and becomes an Immortal who possesses the power to be in many places at the same time.

The text of the *Jiuzhen zhongjing* ends with the following comment:

> After taking the medicine your are forbidden to look at dead bodies, smell blood or eat the five pungent vegetables and all types of meat. When you first begin to take the pills you should eat noodles, jujubes and chestnuts. After a long while you will naturally get to not eat at all. If you have no wheat flour, barley will also be fine. If you do not have the two types of grain (wheat, barley), you should eat rice. Rice only makes the medicinal qi circulate [more] slowly. It is generally harmless. Those who have already acquired the Way of Immortality still ingest it (the Pills of the Four Protectors). Those who ingest the Pills of the Four Protectors while[still]

> eating grains, will thereafter never again give rise to the 100 diseases. This is an essential Way.[198]

Again, the gradual approach towards eventual total fasting is recommended. As we can see, the pills are meant to accomplish more than just facilitating the fast, and are meant to benefit and strengthen the whole body. This is probably why the recipe calls for so many ingredients, each of which the salubrious effects brought to various body parts are described by the text in detail. Thus the pills were thought to also greatly benefit those who were not "avoiding grains" and had no such intention. Presumably the difference between those who "avoided grains" and those who did not, was that the former held aspirations of advancing higher within the Shangqing hierarchy of methods in order to attain Perfected Man status in the highest heavens. Whether or not any form of immortality was deemed attainable for those who took the pills without "avoiding grains" is unclear. Regarding the dosages the taking the pills, the text states that a small number of the pills are to be taken over a lengthy span of days[199] and that one must fast for one day prior to taking the medicine. After taking the medicine, one can return to one's normal diet (which presumably consists of noodles, jujubes and chestnuts for those aspiring to one day "cut off grains". Thus we can see how it was thought that fasting enhanced the effectiveness of the pills. By logical extension, if the medicine's good effects were to be enhanced by a day's fasting, it could be reasoned that the medicine would become much more potent if taken by someone who fasts daily. Thus while the *Dengzhen yinjue*, the biography of Zhou Yishan and the *Jiuzhen zhongjing* describe the pills as serving the purpose of enabling adepts to fast, it is actually a situation where ingestion and fasting mutually facilitate each other, as the fasting is supposed increase the medicine's potency.

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[198] 2/22b. See Plate 179.

[199] Initially, 5 pills are taken over 100 days. After an interval of 1000 days, 7 pills are taken over 200 days. After another 2000 days, 20 pills are taken over 300 days. Finally, after an interval of 3000 days, 30 pills are taken over 400 days.

Again it is to be noted that these pills include toxic ingredients, among which cinnabar and autumn root are particularly deadly. This is probably why the pills are to be taken gradually at lengthy intervals. We have already seen how celibacy was required for those who ingested hollow azurite and cinnabar. Probably because the "pills of the four protectors" include cinnabar and other toxic ingredients, the same proscription applies:

> If you want to concoct this medicine, first observe prohibitions for seven days. You should never again enter the bedroom (have sexual intercourse).[200]

We can thus again see how the practice of medicinal ingestion dictated severe asceticism in both dietary and sexual conduct due to the need to enhance the medicine's potency and to minimize the dangerous side effects.

Now, as was mentioned earlier, certain methods tantamount to religious suicide were promoted by the Shangqing movement, as has been brought to attention by Michel Strickmann.[201] Strickmann suggests the possibility that Xu Hui, who died in his late twenties, had himself employed such a suicidal method. Also speculated as having done so is Tao Hongjing's adolescent disciple Zhou Ziliang. The most explicit description of a suicidal method is found in the *Zhengao* 10/5a. The method calls for the ingestion of a "White Powder of the Perfected of the Great Ultimate (or "Grand Bourne" as rendered by Strickmann) for Abandoning the Waistband[202]", and the passage in question has been translated as follows by Strickmann:

永不得犯房室

[200] *Yunji qiqian* 77/10a. The Jiuzhen zhongjing 2/22a states, "You must never again violate the prohibition of sexual intercourse.". See Plate 180.

[201] Michel Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching" in Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel ed. *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion* pp.130-136.

[202] According to Strickmann, "abandoning the waist band" means to cast aside the restrictive coil of formal social relationships. See ibid. p.137, footnote 37.

> When you have taken a spatulaful of it, you will feel an intense pain in your heart, as if you had been stabbed there with a knife. After three days you will want to drink, and when you have drunk a full *hu* your breath will be cut off. When that happens, it will mean that you are dead. When your body has been laid out, it will suddenly disappear, and only your clothing will remain. Thus you will be an immortal released in broad daylight by means of his waistband. If one knows the name of the drug [or, perhaps the secret names of its ingredients] he will not feel the pain in his heart, but after he has drunk a full *hu* he will still die. When he is dead, he will become aware that he has left his corpse below him on the ground. At the proper time, jade youths and maidens will come with an azure carriage to take it away. If one wishes to linger on in the world, he should strictly regulate his drinking during the three days when he feels the pain in his heart. This formula may be used by the whole family. It begins with the words, 'Take nine liang of Garb of Cloudy Radiance (*yunxia yi*)[203]'.[204]

Thus, under the belief that his body will be escorted off to the high heavens after his death, the adept poisons himself to death in a fashion that causes excruciating pain. The passage states that the pain can be alleviated by knowing the "name of the drug", which Strickmann understands as referring to the secret names of the medicine's ingredients. I would like to suggest that it could also refer to certain medicines from transcendent realms such as those enumerated in the *Xiaomo jing* (see p. 319) which are unobtainable to mortals, but which can cure ailments if one merely recites their names. Also interesting here is how the adept is given the option of not dying (by drinking less water), presumably in the event that he changes his mind about leaving the world.

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[203]This substance is unidentified.
[204]See ibid. p.137.

As has been pointed out by Strickmann, suicidal methods such as this one were held in considerably high esteem in the Shangqing tradition. In the *Zhengao* we can find passages that eulogize certain men who "staged" their deaths, some in a truly gruesome manner, in order to become immortal:

> Lupigong[205] swallowed jade flowers (highest quality jade) and flowing worms came out from the door [of his house]. Chou Jizi[206] swallowed golden liquid and the stench [of his decaying body] could be smelled as far as 100 *li* away. The Yellow Emperor fired the [Elixir of the] Nine Cauldrons at Mt. Jing[207], and there still exists his grave at Qiaoling[208]. [Sima] Jizhu[209] ingested the Cloud Powder and thereby sank and ascended, and his head and legs [are still buried] in different locations.
>
> Mo Qiu swallowed the rainbow elixir and drowned himself. Master Ning[210] ingested paraffin and walked into a fire. Wu Guang[211] picked leeks and entered in to a pure and cool pool. Bocheng retained his *qi* and his intestines and stomach rotted three times.[212] Examples such as these are countless. Sublime is the acquisition of the Dao! The traces of their going and abandoning are without a constant [pattern that they follow].[213]

The actions of such men are explained elsewhere in the *Zhengao* as follows:

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[205]His hagiography is found in the *Liexian zhuan* 2/4b.
[206]This likely refers to Chouzi, whose story is found in the *Liexian zhuan* 1/8.
[207]See ft.nt. 106.
[208]This could refer to Mt. Qiao near Zhongbu County, Shaanxi Province.
[209]His story is found in the *Yunji qiqian* 85/8a-9a.
[210]See pp. 87-88 of this dissertation.
[211]See *Liexian zhuan* 1/7b.
[212]This sentence on Bocheng is also quoted in the *Taiping yulan* 670/2a.
[213]*Zhengao* 4/15a-b. See Plate 181. Other passages similar to this have been translated by Strickmann and are found on p.131 of his article, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching".

> These men have all already gathered at the holy hill like dragons and fluttered up the cloudy pond like phoenixes. The reason for why they yet feigned death through the liberation from the corpse was that they wanted to cut off the feelings about life and death, and show the people that there is a limit [to life]. They are not the same as those whose corpses rot in the Great Yin (netherworld), and whose flesh feeds the mole-crickets and ants. They just wanted to cut themselves off from men of the world, and block off the [worldly] yearnings of secular folk.[214]

Suicidal methods are thus justified and lauded as actions of true immortals that served a didactic purpose. By dramatically displaying the brutal reality of death to people, they demonstrated the ultimate impermanence and futility of worldly life. I cannot determine whether the phrase, "cut off feelings of life and death" means that these men did what they did in order to conquer their own yearning for the world or to help others to do so. But what is important to note here is the paradoxical notion, conveyed also in the *Shenxian zhuan*, that one had to stop fearing death and wishing to live if one were to gain eternal life. The putting into practice of suicidal methods perhaps was the ultimate expression of the world-denying spirit of early Daoism that pervades the Shangqing texts. The reference to Bocheng is unique and of particular interest in that he allegedly died and rotted instantaneously while "retaining *qi*". In other words, it sounds as though the his story may have been inspired by some actual occurrence where an adept died of suffocation or starvation while carrying out non-ingestion methods alone, and the death was described by hagiographers as an Immortal's feigning of death and embellished with fascinating and gruesome details.

2. Non-ingestion Fasting Methods

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[214] *Zhengao* 14/17a-b. See Plate 182.

Before discussing specific non-ingestion methods, it is to be noted again that such methods were generally to be practiced in tandem with ingestion methods. In the *Zhengao* we find various descriptions of semi-legendary adepts who had used ingestion and non-ingestion methods simultaneously:

(17) [Long] Bogao[215] later followed the Immortal Diao Daolin and received [from him] the Method of Imbibing Womb-*qi*. He also always ingested the [medicine of the] blue *xun* method (*xunfan*). He pretended to have died of drunkenness and lived in hiding at Fangtai[216], making Dinglu jun[217] his master.[218]

(18) In Mt. Huo there were students of the Dao named Deng Boyuan and Wang Xuanfu to whom were transmitted the methods of Ingesting Blue Essence Mineral Rice (*xunfan*) and of Swallowing the Bright Red Radiance of the Sun. They [also] employed [the method of the] contemplation upon the Dongfang[219]. After 34 years they could see their five viscera inside them and could write at night amidst darkness.[220]

(19) In Mt. Huayin there were students of the Dao named Yin Qianzi, Zhang Shisheng and Li Fanghui. They were all men who lived during the reign of Jin Emperor Wu (265-290). The Immortal Guanchengzi's method of Steaming Cinnabar and Ingesting the *Shu* Plant was transmitted to them.

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[215]Active during the Han.

[216]This refers to a paradisical grotto heaven for "those who acquire the Dao", putatively located in Mt. Siping, southwest of Mt. Mao, and connected by a tunnel with Mt. Mao's Huayang Grotto Heaven. See the *Zhengao* 14/1a.

[217]The second eldest of the Mao brothers

[218]*Zhengao* 14/2b. See Plate 183.

[219]One of the "palaces" in the head. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol.1 p.43, 125-126.

[220]*Zhengao* 14/7b. See Plate 184.

> By ingesting both, they extended their life spans and became healthy. They also received Zhou Shouling of Mt. Sumen's[221] Way of Imbibing the Bright Red Mist. After practicing for fifty years, visualizing internally with devoted minds, they no longer ate nor drank, and their bodies and bones became light and sturdy. Their complexions became like those of children.[222]

The above stories reflect the belief that non-ingestion methods such as the imbibing of "womb-*qi*", "solar essences" or "mists" generally needed to be complemented with medicines because the body needed to be free of diseases or any kinds of defects before such methods could achieve the desired results. In the 10th *juan* of the *Zhengao* is found a section entitled "Oral Lessons of Feng Yanshou, Perfected Man of the Shangqing".[223] The "Lesson" states as follows:

> In order to study the Way of [Eternal] Life, you must first cure your diseases and not allow your body to have [in it] any deficiencies or evils such as a lack of blood, depletion of the brain, or pollution and stagnation of fluids. If you do not first cure your diseases, even if you ingest and guide the *qi*, it will be of no benefit to your body.[224]

The above passage is followed by the story of a certain Wang Zhongfu who had practiced methods of "Sucking in the Two Radiances and Eating the Mists" for 40 years, but to no avail. While he was doing this, his son also practiced the same methods, but unlike his father "ascended to heaven in broad daylight" after only 18 years. The story then

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[221]Mt. Sumen is located near Hui County, Henan Province.
[222]*Zhengao* 14/8a. See Plate 185.
[223]According to Tao Hongjing's annotation, Feng Yanshou was the "Perfected Man of the Western Peak" who was also a beggar in the market places of Qu.
[224]*Zhengao* 10/18a. See Plate 186.

tells us that one day, the Perfected Man of the Southern Peak descended down into Wang Zhongfu's midst and told him that he had been unsuccessful because:

> The palace of the brain is depleted, the sinew fluids do not pour [into the sinews (?)], and miraculous fluid is not yet abundant. [Thus] even if you summon forth the radiances and eat mist, it will not benefit the body.[225]

Wang Zhongfu, the text tells us, thereupon corrected his bodily defects by ingesting medicines while continuing to "eat the mists", and 18 years later ascended to heaven in broad daylight.

The following are some of the non-ingestion methods which adepts were supposed to devote themselves to, in the hope of achieving a result comparable to that putatively achieved by Wang Zhongfu:

a) Ingesting the Cloud Sprouts

The method for ingesting the Cloud Sprouts is essentially the same method as that of "Fetching and Imbibing the *Qi* of the Various Heavens of the Five directions" described in the *Wufu xu* (see pp. 146-156). As has been pointed out by Robinet, the method for ingesting the Clouds Sprouts was apparently once included in the esoteric biography of Wang Bao.[226] It is found today in various different sources, among which the most detailed descriptions are found in the ***Shangqing mingtang yuanzhen jingjue***

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[225]*Zhengao* 10/18a-b. See Plate 187.

[226]See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol.2 pp.371-372.

(HY424/TT194 *Lessons on the Upper Purity Scripture on the Primal Perfection in the Hall of Light*, 6a-10a)[227] and in the *Wushang biyao* [228](76/8b-11a).[229]

As has just been discussed as being the case in general with non-ingestion methods, "Cloud Sprouts" were generally eaten while ingesting prescribed substances. The recipe for *xunfan* in the *Xunfan lingfang* precisely requires that the method of eating the Cloud Sprouts be practiced while the adept ingests *xunfan*, however also adding that the method of the Cloud Sprouts may be practiced without ingesting *xunfan.*[230] Presumably this is because other medicines could be substituted or because some adepts were deemed physically ready to sustain themselves on the Cloud Sprouts alone. The anonymous commentator of the *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* describes the method of the Cloud Sprouts as "the unusual method of vacuous contentment, the secret method of expelling and retaining" (6a). On p.9a he states as follows:

> If you can cut off grains by practicing this method, you are more sagely than [those who do so by means of] Blue Refined Rice (*xunfan*). It is the superior method of doing away with grains. However, it absolutely requires that one be still and calm without [worldly] affairs. Its benefits can only be obtained from devoted practice sustained over many years. If you at the same time involve yourself with miscellaneous matters, I fear that it [the method] is more than can be withstood by your energy and strength.

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[227]This text consists of the method of the Cloud Sprouts, the method of the Mingtang Xuanzhen (see pp. 374-377) together with annotations by an anonymous commentator who clearly lived during or after the time of Tao Hongjing (he quotes him).

[228]The method bears the heading, "Taiji zhenren fu suji yunya shenxian shangfa" and is presented as a quote from a now non-extant text called the *Zhenji*, which was probably a compilation of fragments of Shangqing literature deemed as authentic revelations, similar to the *Daoji*, *Zhengao* and *Dengzhen yinjue*. The text states that the method was transmitted from Wang Bao to his disciple, Madame Wei Huacun of the Southern Peak.

[229]Descriptions of the method are also found in *Shangqing wozhong jue* (HY140/TT60, 3/9a-b), *Huangting dunjia yuanshen jing* (HY872/TT580, 5b-8b), *Shangqing taiji zhenren shenxian jing* (HY1393/TT1050, 1a-4b,7b-8b). See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol.2 pp.371-372.

[230]"[The ingesting of] *Xunfan* requires the employment of the [method of the] Cloud Sprouts. The [method] of the Cloud Sprouts can be carried out without [ingesting] *xunfan*." *Yunji qiqian* 74/7a.

餌飯須重牙之用. 重牙不須餌飯而行事也.

> [In such a case, ingesting the Cloud Sprouts alone] is not as good as ingesting [*xun*]*fan* so that [the Cloud Sprouts and *xunfan*] complement and benefit each other. One must discern the differences in the emptiness/fullness (of *jing*, *qi*?), strength/weakness, oldness/youth of peoples' bodies. One must not generalize [without regard for one's situation] and exclusively employ [the method of ingesting Cloud Sprouts].[231]

We can thus see how it was acknowledged that the ingesting of Cloud Sprouts was a method of a highly strenuous nature, suited only for those of strong spirit and body. Also, it should be recalled that passage (14) mentions that the imbibing of Cloud Sprouts is carried out while "avoiding grains" gradually, eating small amounts of noodles until one is ready to rely completely on the Cloud Sprouts. A passage that is closely similar to passage (14) is to be found in the text of the *Wushang biyao*, and this passage is followed by the statement, "If in practicing this method you reach your limit (become very hungry, tired) you may eat jujubes."[232] The version in the *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* adds the injunction, "If in practicing this method you reach your limit, do not eat dried meat".[233] The Cloud Sprouts themselves and the effects that they were thought to bring, are described as follows:

> The Cloud Sprouts are the *jingqi* of the Five Elders, the mists of the Great Ultimate. Therefore fetch the spears of the illustrious rays and fulfill the harmony of the six fluids. Penetrate the subtleties and move [the myriad gods] amidst darkness, and the myriad gods will descend [into your midst].[234]

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[231] See Plate 188.
[232] *Wushang biyao* 76/8b-11a. 修此道极. 可食枣.
[233] 8b-9a. See Plate. 修此道极. 勿食脯肉
[234] *Wushang biyao* 76/10b. *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* 9a. See Plate 189.

> Perfected Men fetch the radiances of the five primal morning stars (this probably refers to the Five Planets) and eat the essences of the nine mists. Therefore, divine light shines within them and vermilion efflorescences are displayed outside them. Their bodies emit a jade-like brilliance. Their bodies and *qi* are bright. If you practice it for ten years, the Elder of the Four Extremes and the Primal Goddess of the Center will descend to you. Together you will mount the clouds and ride upon dragons, ascending to the heavens in broad daylight.[235]

The "Five Elders" are also the gods of the Five Planets (east-Jupiter, south-Mars, west-Venus, north-Mercury, center-Saturn). This is evidenced in the esoteric biography of Peijun where we find described a method for visualizing the Five Planets at midnight which, like the method for eating the Cloud Sprouts, is supposed to enable the adept to encounter the Five Elders who are "the essence-spirit (*jingshen*) of the Five Planets.[236] By swallowing the Cloud Sprouts, the adept becomes nourished by the vital energy of these gods. The "six fluids" perhaps refers to the fluids in the six bowels, i.e. the digestive system which the adept satiates through the method. Accompanying this nourishment and satiation is a heightened spiritual capacity that can bring forth the gods. How one carries out the procedure is described as follows:

> Even more when one who studies [the Dao] pacifies his mind, concentrates on the profound and intricately polishes his roots of the Dao, filthy burdens are purged from his bosom, and what is true and correct remains in his Three Palaces. Gather the dispersed radiances of the Five Morning Stars (planets) and imbibe the mist-juice of the six sweet liquors. Chant the

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[235] *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* 6a. See Plate 190.

[236] To carry out the method, the adept knocks his teeth together nine times, swallows saliva three times and then visualizes for a lengthy amount of time Mercury above his forehead, Jupiter to his left, Venus to his right, Mars at his knees and Saturn inside his heart. See *Yunji qiqian* 105/2b.

> mysterious treasures of the Nine Heavens, and spew out the secret words of the marvelous and miraculous. The dragon jumps and emits a radiance, and the bright light radiates in seven ways. Taste the three flowers in your white teeth. Take and drink the satiating liquid from the spears of your lips (?). Inside, refine your six bowels. Open up your hearing and make your vision clear. Exhale and inhale the [*qi* of the] heavenly origin [so that your] *hun* and *po* souls will refine your body. Have an audience with the profound and command the non-being and thereby reach the miraculous. Slowly, slowly at the end of 10 years the five gods will come and descend. Truly, what could sufficiently describe [the marvels of] it?[237]

From this we can see that the method basically consists of concentrating the mind, reciting sacred verses and then swallowing saliva, which is regarded as the *jingqi* of the Five Elders. It is intended to "refine" the digestive system, and the culminative result is that the adept gets to encounter the Five Elders who nourish him. Therefore, the salubrious results of the method are described as follows:

> This superior lesson of the Jade Scripture is the Way for bringing forth the Five Elders. It cuts off grains and gets rid of the Corpses and makes your complexion youthful. [It makes you] no longer [need to] avoid [extreme] cold and heat. [It keeps you] unharmed amidst disasters and suffering. With the refined radiance of a Divine Immortal, your life span will be extended to 10,000 years. [After the] 10,000 years you will acquire the Jade Liquid of the Nine Beautiful Jades and the Flying Essence of the Eight Jades, and thereby merge and end together with the two radiances (sun and moon) and match [the longevity of] heaven and earth.[238]

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[237] *Wushang biyao* 76/10b-11a. *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* 9b. See Plate 191.
[238] *Wushang biyao* 76/10a. *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* 8a. See Plate 192.

Once again we can see that the method of imbibing the Cloud Sprouts was intended to enable the adept to fast completely and to encounter the divine. It is described as an "superior lesson of the Jade Scripture", which perhaps means that it is a method which serves to qualify an adept for transmission of the most exalted scriptures, or perhaps accompanies the employment of them. It strengthens the adept's body to the point where it is impervious to adverse circumstances, and makes him worthy of encountering gods and drinking the heavenly potions[239] inaccessible to mortals.

Now, to get more to the specifics of the method, we are told that it is to be carried out at dawn and that it can be done in a seated or reclining position. After knocking his teeth together nine times, the adept is to silently recite the following words:

> The blue sprouts of the eastern direction are the flowing mists of the purple clouds. The three whites circle about [along with] the black frost and jade net (?). Imbibe the morning astral radiance and drink the morning efflorescence.[240]

After reciting the above words the adept uses his tongue to draw saliva from under his upper lip, and swallows it thirty times. After ten years of doing this, the Eastern Elder arrives to transmit to him "the Perfect Text in Red and Blue".

The adept goes on to repeat essentially the same procedure for the other four directions, with minor variations in the verses recited and the parts of the mouth from where the saliva is drawn. The Elders of each of the directions are to thus be encountered, who will each transmit a sacred text to the adept. Because the method of imbibing the

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[239]These specific potions are Listed in the *Xiamo jing* 1/8b and in *Sandong zhunang* 3/9a (quoted from the *Xiaomo jing*).

[240]*Wushang biyao* 76/8b. *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* 6b. See Plate 193.

Cloud Sprouts is adapted from the *Wufu xu*'s method of "Fetching and Eating the *Qi* of the Various Heavens of the Five Directions", the names given to the Cloud Sprouts in the chants are identical to those given to *qi* of the heavens in the *Wufu xu*. However, in the method of the Cloud Sprouts, references to "heavens" are absent and are replaced by those to the "morning stars" or planets.

b) Methods for Ingesting the *Qi* of the Sun and Moon

Promoted frequently in the Shangqing texts are methods for eating the vital forces of the sun and/or moon. Again, generally speaking, small quantities of certain foods were to be eaten when the adept was practicing these methods while "cutting off grains" Enlightening in this regard is the following passage from the *Xuanmu bamen jing* [241]found in the *Sandong zhunang* :

> Those who regularly imbibe the essences and efflorescences of the sun and moon should always eat bamboo sprouts. Bamboo sprouts are the womb of the sun's efflorescences. Another name for them is Great Light (*taiming*). They should also eat pine needles. The pine tree is superior among trees. If you want to imbibe the sun and moon, you should eat the *qi* of these things and feel and circulate it.[242]

In the 10th *juan* of the *Zhengao* is found a concise and uncomplicated description of a method for feeding off the sun:

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[241]Robinet speculates that the *Xuanmu bamen jing* was an early Shangqing apocryphal work (many of its fragments preserved in the *Sandong zhunang* and *Taiping yulan* match with passages of the *Ciyi jing*) associated closely with the apocrypha involving the recitation and practice of the *Dadong zhenjing*. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol.2 pp.262, 272-274.

[242]*Sandong zhunang* 3/19a. See Plate 194.

> Fan Yaochong was a man of Liaoxi[243]. He attained a change in body through womb transformation[244] and has now come here (the Grotto Heaven of Huayang in Mt. Mao[245]). He always imbibed the three *qi*. The method of the three *qi* [goes as follows]. Visualize blue *qi*, white *qi* and red *qi*, each in the form of a thread coming down from the sun in the east and entering directly into your mouth. Fetch (swallow) it 90 times. Stop when you feel full. [Fan] did this for ten years and got so that his body on its own had *qi* of three colors, and he finally became a Divine Immortal. This is the Inner Scenery Method of Great Simplicity of Gaoyuanjun. Do this every morning. Do it with your eyes just slightly open. It is even better if you look at the sun. The method is simple yet very effective. [You,] Marquis Xu (Xu Mi) ought to practice it.[246]

Thus the adept fills his stomach with what he visualizes as being the *qi* of the morning sun. Although the text does not explicitly say so, this method was presumably to be used by fasting adepts, judging from how the adept is told to swallow until he feels full. In the *Dengzhen yinjue* (extant Daoist Canon version 2/19a), Tao Hongjing describes this method as "one of the minor methods of the Shangqing Three Primal Lordesses of Great Simplicity". Also, the *Zhengao* tells us that Fan Yaochong had to "receive a change in body through womb-transformation" before becoming an official in the Grotto Heaven of Huayang. In other words, this method in itself was not regarded to be effective enough to bring about the loftiest forms of heavenly immortality, but was regarded as effective enough to provide access to a grotto heaven through a retarded, posthumous process.

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[243]This refers to an area extending over parts of present day Hebei and Liaoning Provinces.

[244]This probably means to say that he was posthumously regenerated into an Immortal in the Southern Palace of Zhuling (see p. 310)

[245]Tao Hongjing's commentary (10/1b) says that Fan Yaochong had become an official serving in the grotto heaven.

[246]*Zhengao* 10/1a-b. See Plate 195.

The ninth *juan* of the *Zhengao* describes the method of Mingtang Xuanzhen (the Mysterious Perfection of the Hall of Light) by which the adept feeds off both the sun and the moon during a prolonged period of fasting and other abstentions. The description is as follows:

> The Eastern Chamberlain, the Controller of Destiny[247] said, "To the previous teacher Lord Wang [Bao] in the past was transmitted the *Taishang mingtang xuanzhen shangjing*. [To practice the method], engage in a retreat and abstain from food, visualizing the sun and moon inside your mouth. During the daytime visualize the sun, and at night visualize the moon. Make them [within your visualization] be the size of jade rings. The sun is red and has nine rays of purple light. The moon is yellow and has ten rays of white light. Visualize, swallow and imbibe the liquid of the light rays. Always do this discreetly, for a limitless number of times. As for times when you are not cultivating and visualizing, make the sun and moon return to the face, within the Mingtang (a chamber believed to be located in the head). The sun resides on the left, and the moon resides on the right. Make the two radiances combine their *qi* and interpenetrate with the pupils of your eyes. With this method you produce *jing* by means of controlling and transporting. It regulates and harmonizes the *hun*-spirit. The Six Ding [Jade Girls(?)][248] will serve and attend you, and heavenly troops will protect you. This is a method for Superior Perfected Beings."[249]

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[247]This refers to Mao Ying, the eldest of the Mao brothers. Robinet points out that the Mingtang Xuanzhen method was originally part of the esoteric biography of Mao Ying. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol.2 p.396.

[248]See pp.169-170 of this dissertation.

[249]*Zhengao* 9/18a. Also found in *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* 4b-5a, *Yunji qiqian* 23/9b-10a and HY1394/TT1050*Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jing*. See Plate 196.

As we can see, this method is to be carried out constantly while fasting. The phrase, "produces *jing* by means of controlling and transporting" is interesting in that it apparently means that the method, by producing *jing* (which as was discussed in Chapter Four p. 203, could refer to the nutrients in foods), is supposed to produce nutrition for the body during the fast. The text continues by saying that practicing this method is a prerequisite for being taught the Way of the Yupei Jindang (Jade Belt Ornaments and Golden Crown Ornaments). It then tells us the following about a certain Ji Wei:

> Ji Wei once upon a time engaged in a perpetual retreat for three years, and was for the first time able to be thoroughly earnest and concentrated, and was thereupon able to obtain it. Hereby, divine light illuminated his body. Only after this did he receive the book.[250]

Unfortunately it is difficult to tell whether the above passage means to say that Ji Wei practiced the method of eating the rays of the sun and moon for three years before receiving the Way of the Jade Belt Ornaments and Golden Crown Ornaments, or that he observed a retreat for three years before learning how to eat the rays of the sun and the moon. But if the former is the case, it is a good example of how adepts who wished for transmission of the highest methods were expected to devote themselves to periods of fasting and contemplation, and that methods of visualization and saliva/air swallowing were used during these periods.

In the Daoist Canon there is a *Yupei jindang jing* (*Taishang yupei jindang taiji jinshu shangjing*, HY56/TT30)[251] to which the above Mingtang Xuanzhen method is intended to allow access. Within this scripture (pp.23b-25b), as well as in the *Mingtang yuanzhen*

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[250]Zhengao 9/18a-b. See Plate 197.

[251]Robinet speculates that this scripture, which expounds at length a training method of origins antedating the "revelations", was a part of the original Shangqing corpus and that its present contents are mostly authentic, based on how they match well with the quotations found in the *Wushang biyao* and *Sandong zhunang*. The exception is the portion describing the Mingtang Xuanzhen method, which originally was part of the esoteric biography of Mao Ying. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol.2 pp.213-218.

jingjue (pp.4b-5b) is found a more detailed version of the Mingtang Xuanzhen method that has been studied and translated by Edward Schafer[252]. According to Robinet, this longer version is the original version from which the above-examined shorter version was taken. Schafer, to the contrary, says that the longer version is a later, embellished version of the shorter one. Whichever the case may be, the longer version is especially interesting in that it includes an erotic element. To summarize the longer version (for details, I refer the reader to Schafer's translation), as is the case with the shorter version, the adept visualizes a red sun with nine purple rays in the daytime and a yellow moon with ten white rays at night. However, rather than visualizing the sun and the moon inside his mouth, he visualizes them nine *chi* away from his mouth, which receives the rays which they emit. Within the center of the sun/moon he visualizes a young woman called the Jade Woman of the Cinnabar Aurora of the Highest Mysteries of the Greatest Mystery (Schafer's translation) who spews out red qi from her mouth which enters the adepts mouth and which the adept swallows 90 times. After this, he visualizes the sun/moon with the woman inside it approaching right up to his face. The text then tells the adept to "command that the Jade Woman's mouth press a kiss upon your own mouth, causing the liquor of the pneuma to come down into the mouth." The adept then swallows this "liquor of the pneuma" (actually his saliva) 90 times. The text then goes on to say that the adept should visualize the sun and the moon with equal frequency and that he should carry out the visualizations as often as he can. As is the case with the shorter method, the adept is told to store the "sun and moon" within his Mingtang and make their *qi* interconnect with that of his eyes when he is not visualizing. Finally, the text states that after five years of practicing the method, the adept will actually be visited by the Jade Woman of the Great Mystery, and that she can turn into several tens of Jade Girls who are under his command.

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[252]See Edward Schafer, "The Jade Woman of the Greatest Mystery" in *History of Religions* vol.17 no.3/4 (1978) pp.387-398. Schafer translated the text of the *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* , and was at the time apparently not aware that the method is also found in the *Yupei jindang jing*.

As has been speculated in Part One (pp. 169-170), the Jade Girls whom we find mentioned frequently as appearing within the context of methods involving intense self-denial seem to represent sublimations of repressed desires. Thus there are frequent statements that when an adept maintains celibacy and engages in the fast, he is supposed to be visited by beautiful Jade Girls who bring him lunch boxes. This longer method of the Mingtang Xuanzhen is probably the clearest example within Shangqing literature of the ascetic adept's repressed hunger and sexual desire being consoled by images of beautiful women bringing him nourishment and affection. While it is possible that Schafer is correct in thinking that these amorous elements are later embellishments, they are not incompatible with the original spirit of the Shangqing movement in which adepts longed for sublime unions (albeit platonic) with beautiful other-worldly women.

The method of Eating the Mysterious Root, found in several different sources, is a method for eating "solar nutrients" which Robinet speculates to have originated as part of the early Shangqing apocrypha associated with the transmission, recitation and practice of the *Dadong zhenjing* .[253] The text of the *Wushang biyao* (76/11a) starts by summarizing the method as follows:

> Imbibe and suck the morning liquid. Distance yourself from food and cut off grains. 服吸朝液. 懸粮絶粒.

The method is to be performed by the adept when he wakes up in the morning. He imagines that he has in his mouth a wad of white *qi* the size of an egg yolk surrounded by *qi* of five colors. This *qi* then expands and fills the heart and mouth. The text states that this qi is called "the *qi* of the three, five, seven and nine" or the "essence of the Mysterious Root". The adept then visualizes a baby girl (who has the sobriquet, Mysterious Girl of the

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[253]Robinet's speculation is based upon the fact that the method is cited in the *Daodian lun* 4/9a under the title, *Dadong yujing zhujue* and in the *Yunji qiqian* 11/37b (commentary to the Huangting neijing jing) under the title *Dadong zhenjing*. Descriptions of the method are found in *Shangqing jiutian shangdi shu baishen neiming jing* (HY1349/TT1039) 7b-9a, *Wushang biyao* 76/11a-12b and *Yunji qiqian* 23/10a-11a. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol.2 pp.41-42.

Nine Heavens) standing naked at the entrance of his stomach with her mouth open, sucking at the "five *qi* of the egg yolk" in the mouth. Visualizing thus, the adept fills his mouth with saliva which is the "five-colored fluid which is the *qi* of the sun" and swallows it, visualizing and making the saliva go down into the baby girl's mouth. The adept carries out this process five times and then knocks his teeth together and recites a chant. Finally, he rubs his hands together vigorously until they become hot, and then rubs his eyes and eyebrows with his hot hands.

What the adept supposedly nourishes himself with are the nutrients from the morning sun. The goddess visualized in this case is the recipient of the nutrition, rather than the provider of it. This, added to the fact that she takes on the form of a baby, makes this method reminiscent of the previously examined (see pp. 160-161) method from the *Laozi zhongjing*. There it is stated that the baby in the stomach represents the internal self of the adept which becomes nurtured and reared to maturity. Very likely the same is the case with the Black Girl of the Nine Heavens. The intriguing question here is why the internal self is depicted as a girl. Perhaps this particular method is designed for female adepts.

In the Zhengao (9/21b-22a) we find the "Method of Imbibing the Rays of the Sun and the Moon". In this method, the adept visualizes a red sun the size of a coin in his heart. This sun emits nine rays which rise up through his throat and into his teeth, and then return downwards and into the stomach. After a short while, the adept becomes able to see the inside of his stomach clearly. He then exhales air from his mouth and swallows his saliva 39 times. He does this three times a day. At night the adept visualizes the moon in his brain which emits ten white rays which go down into his teeth and then into his stomach. According to the text, this method eliminates the Three Corpses and cures and prevents all diseases and misfortunes. It is practiced not only by mortals seeking immortality, but also by the Immortals in the paradise of the Great Fangzhu. Thus is conveyed the notion that the rays of the sun and the moon are truly the food of Immortals.

In the esoteric biography of Peijun (*Yunji qiqian* 105/15a-18a) is described the somewhat more complicated Way of Rushing to the Sun and Moon, that promises to put the adept into blissful communion with the Five Emperors of the Sun and the Five Empresses of the Moon. At sunrise, the adept closes his eyes most of the way, holds his breath for the span of ten normal breaths, and then "swallows the sunlight ten times". This he does by first allowing the "light and mist" of the sun to enter the mouth and then swallowing. He then visualizes the Five Emperors emerging from the sunlight. The Blue Emperor comes and stands at his right[254], the Red Emperor stands at his right, the White Emperor stands behind him, the Black Emperor stands on his left hand and the Yellow Emperor stands on his right hand. A crimson cloud chariot pulled by nine dragons then comes out of the sunlight which he then mounts together with the Five Emperors. Together they rapidly travel to the sun. The texts states that Peijun practiced this method in a secluded mountain and that after one year he became able to vaguely see the Five Emperors. After two years he could see them clearly. After three years he was able to converse and laugh with them throughout the day. After five years, he finally was able to travel about with them in a chariot. He thus traveled to the paradisical realms of the sun where he received "Chapters on Commanding Spirits" and "Talismans of the Nine Existences" and got to eat "blue essence sun candy"and drink the "black oil of the cloudy blue". The text continues with a description of a virtually identical process in which the adept swallows moonlight and visualizes himself rushing off to the moon with the Five Empresses. This description is followed by another narrative on how Peijun got to travel about with the Five Empresses.

c) Method of the Three Lords in the Mingtang

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[254]This is probably a textual corruption, as the text more logically ought to say that the Blue Emperor stands on his left.

The final non-ingestion method to be looked at, unlike the others, does not employ astral imagery. However, it does resemble the Mingtang Xuanzhen method in that the adept is supposedly fed by divine entities that reside within the Mingtang palace in his head. The method is preserved in the *Sandong zhunang* (3/17b, as a quotation from a certain *Dayou shangjing*), and in the *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing* (HY 1303/TT 1026, 13b-14a)[255] as well as in the extant Daoist Canon version of the *Dengzhen yinjue*. It goes as follows:

> Between your two eyebrows on the left there is the Perfected Lord Bright Boy, on the right there is the Perfected Official Bright Girl, and in the center there is the Divine Lord of the Bright Mirror. These three Lords together govern the Mingtang Palace. From their belts hang four jade bells. In their mouths they hold jade mirrors. The bells are all made of red jade. If a Daoist adept becomes frightened, he can visualize these three gods and make them ring their jade bells so that they resonate to the Great Ultimate. [He can] make them spew the radiance from their mirrors to a distance of 10,000 *zhang*(one *zhang*= 2.412 m). Visualize and see these Three Lords spew red *qi* from their mouths. If you make it irrigate your mouth, 1000 wicked beings will be subdued and stopped, and 10,000 demons will disappear. If a Daoist adept hungers and thirsts, he can suck and swallow it (the red *qi*). For a short while [the three gods of the Mingtang] will spew out the red *qi* . Make it moisten your mouth, and thereby suck and swallow it, and in a little while you will be full.[256]

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[255] A collection of chronologically diverse texts affiliated with the Shangqing movement. The section in which the method in question here is found, according to Robinet, consists of methods that probably pre-date the "revelations" and which were incorporated into the Shangqing system as "minor methods". See *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol.2 pp.285-299.

[256] *Sandong zhunang* 3/17b. See Plate 198.

In sum, it can be said that the non-ingestion methods in the Shangqing texts are mostly elaborations and variations upon methods and themes from earlier traditions. The method of ingesting the Cloud Sprouts was inspired by and based upon the *Wufu xu*'s method of "Fetching and Imbibing the Qi of the Various Heavens of the Five Directions". Methods of eating solar and lunar essences, similar to those from the *Wufu xu* and the *Laozi zhongjing* examined in Chapter Three, are found in great variety. While the fasts facilitated by these methods primarily served the purpose of preparing the conditioning the adept's mind and body for the recitations and visualizations of the highest "revealed" texts, the methods claimed to make the adept god-like through the emulation of Perfected Beings, imbue and transform his body with radiant substances, and enable him to commune with gods, travel to paradisal realms, and partake in supra mundane potions in the midst of his meditative trances. The trance experience was likely induced and heightened in part by the delirium caused by eating little or no food. While in theory the belief was that the best adepts could survive eternally on these non-ingestion methods, the danger of ordinary men attempting to do so was well recognized, and thus the non-ingestion methods were often accompanied by prescriptions for medicines and foods that could be eaten by those unable to "avoid grains" entirely (which was presumably in reality the case with all adepts). The most ambitious adepts probably strained the limits of their capacities to withstand hunger, out of the fervent desire to convince themselves, their teachers and divine beings, of their qualifications for partaking in the highest levels of Perfection.

Chapter Summary

As was frequently the case with earlier Daoists, a serious adept in the Shangqing tradition was expected to exert an excruciating amount of effort because the final goal was thought to be extremely elusive. The religious quest demanded the adept's full devotion,

and thus it was thought that he should ideally abandon all worldly concerns and needs. While avenues towards salvation were available for non-ascetics, the most lofty forms of salvation required severe asceticism. This was not because fasting and other austerities were in themselves the means towards Perfection. The means towards Perfection was the proper transmission, recitation and practice of the highest revealed scriptures and their methods. The adept had to undergo suffering and hardship in order to condition himself and prove worthy of employing these scriptures and methods.

While the Shangqing religious system blended together a wide variety of older Daoist beliefs and methods, it also came under the influence of Buddhism, although much less so than the Lingbao scriptures to be examined in the next chapter. Of great interest are those passages of the *Zhengao* taken and adapted from the Buddhist *Sishi'erzhang jing*. As was discussed, some of these passages convey important Buddhist attitudes and beliefs which are utilized to reinforce the importance of striving bitterly in one's training. Noteworthy among these was the belief in reincarnation and the elusiveness of privilege of existence as a believer and practitioner, which made it imperative for one to strive single-mindedly in one's present life. Also to be found is a disparaging perception of the world as a place of suffering and impermanence. Also, borrowed from the *Sishi'erzhang jing* are passages emphasizing the purification of the mind and elimination of desires as virtual ends in themselves towards salvation, as well as a passage which singles out sexual desire as the worst form of desire. Although monasticism did not formally begin within Daoism until later, one of the borrowed passages urges its reader to "leave the family".

Although such Buddhist ideas are utilized to reinforce ascetic ideals, evidence is even more abundant within the Shangqing texts of indigenous factors. Sexual activity was dreaded most for its adverse effects on the body which counteracted the good effects of the various medicines and methods promoted within the tradition. Indeed, it was thought that sexual intercourse engaged in while in the process of practicing the Way of Guarding the Black and White or while ingesting hollow azurite (an optional ingredient of *xunfan*) would

bring about immediate death. Also, mere casual social contact with women was regarded as harmful not only because it could arouse sexual desires, but because the evil forces living inside of women were thought to stimulate and mingle with those dwelling within the adept, causing brain damage. Actually, this harmful, contaminating quality was attributed to people of the world in general. The world as a whole was seen as being on the verge of total destruction. Men and women of high moral caliber, uncorrupted by greed were regarded as next to non-existent, and malevolent disease-bringing demons were thought to be running rampant.

It is appropriate then that this religious system produced from the hand of a visionary mystic saw hope in salvation through divine gifts (texts) bestowed by benevolent and sympathetic divine beings. Much of the self-denial and cleansing of mind advocated in the revelations was intended to prove the adept worthy of receiving the divine gifts and coming into communion with the gods and Perfected Men. The yearning for achieving this communion in the form of visions is expressed particularly strongly, and adepts are urged to eliminate all worldly passions precisely because they make people incapable of seeing sacred visions or cause them to see evil ones. These visions, at least those that Yang Xi claimed to have seen, were frequently of beautiful female Perfected Beings who in at least two cases were thought to be the other-worldly spouses of adepts. The heightened erotic element of Shangqing mysticism was likely a result of the sublimation of repressed sexual desires. Due to the emphasis put upon gaining encounters with divine beings, the theme of "trials", prominent also in the *Shenxian zhuan*, is given considerable exposure. These trials, which one was in theory required to overcome for the transmission of the loftiest scriptures, were thought to be administered by the Perfected Men who oversaw the adept's progress. Trials were believed to exist in any place and in any situation, quite typically in the form of diseases and injuries caused by the malevolent forces in the world. It also came to be believed, as is conveyed in Shangqing apocrypha, that the best of adepts had to be prepared to overcome the evil schemings of the vainglorious and envious Demon Kings,

who sought to undermine those who excelled in the religious quest, and thus threatened to transcend their own domain of power. As a whole, the impression one gets from Shangqing texts is that life in the world was seen as period of trial which the adept was to tolerate, endure and overcome (but not partake in) on the strength of his faith in the mercy of the gods and Perfected Men, and the glorious existence that lay beyond.

Various fasting methods are promoted and described in the Shangqing texts, and this is largely because the "avoidance of grains" was a prerequisite for the transmission of the *Dadong zhenjing* and other lofty scriptures and methods. It is difficult to determine the extent to which an adept at the advanced stages was actually expected to fast. Certainly, he would not have been expected to stop eating for the rest of his life. Probably, advanced adepts would observe periods of complete fasting, while living on an restricted diets the rest of the time. Whatever the case may have been, we can know that the Shangqing texts advised that the adept not attempt to stop eating abruptly, but that rather he should gradually decrease his food intake. While survival on subtle entities such as "Cloud Sprouts" or "solar essences" alone was an ideal, the ingestion of small quantities of certain substances such as pine leaves, jujubes, the *zhu* plant, bamboo sprouts and/or elaborately prepared medicines was generally recommended for adepts. While such substances served to facilitate the fast by enabling the adept to overcome hunger and eat as little as possible, the fast was in turn thought to facilitate the ingestion of medicines by enhancing their potency for strengthening the body and lengthening life.

The Shangqing texts, while acknowledging the validity of a wide variety of medicines for facilitating fasts, promoted with particular emphasis certain elaborate recipes. The method of "Boiling Five Quartz Pieces in Sesame Oil", while credited with efficacy for sustaining fasts, was also believed to enable the adept to achieve resurrection after death. The recipe for *xunfan* was a gradualistic "grain avoidance" method to be carried out over five years, which included non-glutinous rice as its main ingredient. In order to enhance the medicine's effect, the adept could mix hollow azurite and cinnabar into the recipe, both

of which are toxic. Part of the reason why adepts knowingly ingested poison may have been the prevailing notion that the Three Worms or Corpses in the body had to be killed before the "avoidance of grains" or any advanced form of training could be successful. Thus the "pills for controlling the Worms" were also recommended for adepts. These pills had as their main ingredient the deadly autumn root, and were to be taken prior to the actual fast for the precise purpose of killing the worms. Clearly promoted also are methods tantamount to religious suicide which are justified on the grounds that they merely create the illusion of death, and serve the didactic purpose of demonstrating the fleeting quality of life in the world

The non-ingestion fasting methods promoted in the Shangqing texts employed a great amount of visualization of astral imagery. Thus we have looked at various methods by which the adept endeavored to feed off the nutrients provided by the Five Planets and the sun and/or moon. Such methods generally involved procedures of visualizing the heavenly bodies and/or their resident deities, which emitted the divine nutrients in the form of rays, mists, ethers etc. that enter the adept's mouth, manifested as saliva which the adept would swallow many time until he felt full. It was also believed and hoped that constant visualization of these astral gods (which in some cases were thought of as residing in the body) would as a final result bring about an actual encounter with them. In the case of the longer version of the Mingtang Xuanzhen method, the visualization is intensely erotic and seems to represent a sublimation and means of consolation for the repressed sexual desire of the adept as well as his hunger.

In sum, severe asceticism held a very important place within the religious system expounded in the early Shangqing texts. This is not to say that all early proponents of the Shangqing texts were ascetics. However, the worth of an adept was supposed to be reflected in austerities. A severe degree of asceticism was thought to earn access to the bestowal of divine knowledge and experience, which also meant a more lofty form of eternal life.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SEVERE ASCETICISM IN THE LINGBAO SCRIPTURES

Another group of texts written during the Northern-Southern Dynasties period that had a pervasive and lasting impact upon the Daoist religion as a whole was the Lingbao (Holy Treasure) scriptures. First of all it is necessary to clarify what I refer to by the term, "Lingbao scriptures". By it, I refer to the scriptures that were categorized as such by Lu Xiujing, who is known to have on two occasions compiled catalogs (the *Lingbao jingmu* of 437 A.D. and the *Sandong jingshu mulu* of 471 A.D.) listing the Lingbao scriptures. All that survives of the earlier catalog is the preface preserved in the *Yunji qiqian* (4/4a-6a). The bulk of the contents of the latter catalog, however, has been recovered from among the Dunhuang manuscripts (Pelliot manuscripts 2861 and 2256). Found in these manuscripts is a list of Lingbao scriptures compiled by 6th century Daoist Song Wenming as a part of his work entitled *Tongmen.* After listing the scriptures, the text clearly states that the list was based upon what had been written down by Lu Xiujing. The catalog divides its entries into two categories. One category is the "Old Scriptures of the Primordial [Heavenly Worthy], the 36 *juan* of the Golden Curriculum catalog of the Purple Sublimity". As has been speculated by Kobayashi Masayoshi, these scriptures were believed to have been revealed and expounded throughout the universe by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy in the first year of the Shanghuang reign era (a mythical era occurring in the inconceivably remote past, see p. 436).[1] The other category is the "New Scriptures received by the Immortal Duke Ge [Xuan consisting of] doctrinal precepts, essentials of the lessons and expositions on deeds and karma". These were believed to have been revealed to Ge Xuan during the Chiwu reign era (238-251 A.D.) of the Three Kingdoms Wu Dynasty. Among modern Japanese scholars, the two categories are referred to more simply as "the Primordial's category" (*genshi kei*) and "the Immortal Duke's category" (*senkoo kei*). A novel feature

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[1]See p.105 of Kobayashi Masayoshi, "Ryuu-soo ni okeru Reihookyoo no keisei" in *Toyo Bunka* (March, 1982) pp.99-137.

of the scriptures of the Primordial's category is that some are described as having "already come out", and others as having "not yet come out". What this is thought by modern scholars to indicate is that the Primordial's category scriptures were believed to already exist in the heavens since times long prior to creation and that there had already circulated a catalog of the titles of these texts even prior to their "revelation" to the world (i.e. actual authorship). Those described as having "already come out" thus were those that had been actually written, while those that had "not yet come out" were scriptures that were presumably scheduled to be written before too long. Whether all the scriptures were eventually completed as scheduled is unknown. However, due to the information that 21 of the 36 *juan* "had already come out" it has been ascertained that the list is based on Lu Xiujing's 471 catalog. This is because evidence is found in the 6th century Buddhist polemical work *Xiaodao lun*, that Lu Xiujing's 471 catalog described 15 of the Dongxuan (i.e. Lingbao) scriptures as "still hidden in the celestial palaces".[2]

Ofuchi Ninji, relying upon the list recovered from the two Dunhuang manuscripts as well other later catalogs of Lingbao Scriptures ("Lingbao zhongmeng mulu" in Pelliot manuscript 2337 *Sandong fengdao kejie yifan* and "Zhaitan anzhen jingmu" in *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*, HY508/TT278) has reconstructed the entire catalog and has made a gallant effort to determine which scriptures extant today in the Daoist Canon and the Dunhuang manuscripts correspond to the titles enumerated in the catalog.[3] Thanks, therefore to the discovery of the manuscripts and to Ofuchi's efforts, we have a means of knowing reasonably well which of the scriptures that we have today authentically belong to this very early group of texts that represents the full-fledged doctrinal system of an emerging faction of Daoists whose beliefs were to have great impact on the religion .

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[2]See Kobayashi, "Ryuu-soo ni okeru Reihookyoo no keisei" p.104.

[3]See Ofuchi Ninji, "On *Ku Ling-pao ching*" in Acta Asiatica 27 (1974) pp.34-56. The list is also provided, along with short, helpful comments on the contents of the scriptures, in pp479-486 of Stephen Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures", in Michel Strickmann ed. Tantric and Taoist Studies vol. 2 (1983) pp. 434-486.

The actual writing of the texts catalogued by Lu Xiujing took place in the 5th century. The noteworthy exception, as has been mentioned, is the *Wufu xu*, much of the contents of which were known of by Ge Hong through his teacher Zheng Yin. Regarding the rest of the corpus, a widely held theory[4] among modern scholars has been that they were written by Ge Chaofu around the year 400. This theory is based upon a passage by Tao Hongjing in his account of the early diffusion of the Shangqing texts (in the *Zhengao* 19/11b) which mentions how the Lingbao scriptures which Ge Chaofu had "produced"[5] were enjoying tremendous popularity. However, this theory has been challenged by Kobayashi Masayoshi who, based on the doctrinal content of the scriptures, has argued convincingly that the texts could not have been authored so early. As we shall see, a prominent characteristic of the scriptures is that they claim to possess a message and holy power that can bring salvation to all living beings, and that they are thus the Great Vehicle of Daoism, compared to which all other approaches towards salvation are but the Small Vehicle. This claim was certainly made in imitation of such similar claims of Mahayana Buddhists, and hence the scriptures could only have been written after there had come to exist a segment of Chinese Buddhists who self-consciously identified their beliefs as the Great Vehicle and as something distinct from and superior to the Small Vehicle. This, Kobayashi points out, did not happen until the first decade of the 5th century when Kumarajiva came to China and translated numerous important Mahayana sutras and sastras, and trained disciples such as Seng Rui, Dao Sheng, Seng Zhao and Huiguan who played instrumental roles in elucidating and propagating Mahayanist beliefs.[6] Kobayashi thus speculates that the Lingbao scriptures "produced" by Ge Chaofu were the *Lingbao chishu wupian zhenwen*, or the Lingbao Five Perfect Writs in Red Script (extant today in the *Chishu zhenwen* (*The*

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[4]This theory was first proposed by Chen Guofu in *Daozang yuanliu kao* pp.67-68.

[5]*Zhengao* 19/9b-20/4b is translated in full in Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy" pp.41-62. The key passage is translated on p.46. Bokenkamp ("Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures" p.441) feels that Strickmann's translation is too indulgent, and that the word translated as "produced" would be better rendered as "constructed" or "fabricated".

[6]See Kobayashi Masayoshi, "Ryuu-soo ni okeru Reihookyoo no keisei" pp.118-121.

Perfect Writs and Red Script)[7] 1/7b-29a, *Chishu yujue* (Jade Lessons on the Red Script)[8]1/8b-16a, and a section entitled "Dongxuan chishu jing" in the *Wushang biyao* 24/7b-15a); five sets of sacred verses that purported to constitute the loftiest and most ancient revelation within the Lingbao scriptural corpus (and hence had a status comparable to that held by the *Dadong zhenjing* within the Shangqing corpus). The contents of the verses themselves are largely inspired by the *Wufu xu*, and do not convey the theme of universal salvation through the Great Vehicle.

Kobayashi has also brought to light the apparent fact that the Lingbao scriptures were still in the process of being written after the compilation of Lu Xiujing's first catalog in the year 437. Lu Xiujing's preface to it states that only three-tenths (*sanfen*) of the 36 *juan* that comprise the Primordial Heavenly Worthy's scriptures had "already come out" (had been revealed to the world, i.e. extant). The restored text of the 471 catalog (*Sandong jingshu mulu*), however, says that 21 of the 36 *juan* had "already come out", meaning apparently that more of scriptures had been written and proliferated since the compilation of the first catalog, although Kobayashi also speculates that this increase is also partly due to the apparent fact that some of the scriptures which were originally classified within the Immortal Duke's category were transferred into the Primordial's category.[9] Kobayashi estimates that the process of writing and proliferating the scriptures began around 420 A.D., based upon a passage from the *Santian neijie jing* (HY1196/TT876). The passage in question lauds the coming to power of the Liu-Song Dynasty (420-479) and enumerates several auspicious events that coincided with it (and hence attested to Heaven's mandate in favor of the new regime), one of which was that "the Lingbao came out into the world."

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[7]The full title of this text is *Yuanshi wulao chishu zhenwen tianshu jing* (HY22/TT26).

[8]Full title, *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* (HY352/TT178).

[9]See Kobayashi Masayoshi, "Ryuu-soo ni okeru Reihookyoo no keisei" pp.107-111, 126-128. Based on the fact that the name of Ge Xuan appears prominently in their contents, Kobayashi speculates that the *Shengxuan buxu zhang*, *Ziran wuzheng wen* and *Falun zuifu* originally belonged to the Immortal Duke's category. See entries 4, 6 and 14 of the accompanying list of Lingbao scriptures for the titles of the extant Daoist Canon editions of these scriptures.

Kobayashi thus speculates that this refers to the Lingbao scriptures.[10] Based on the above then, we can say that the scriptures were written between the years 420 and 471. While it is not possible to clearly determine the authorship dates of individual texts, it appears that some of Primordial's category texts and all of the Immortal Duke's category texts existed by 437. Kobayashi speculates that those of the Primordial's category which already had been written by 437, probably pre-date those of the Immortal Duke's category since they constitute what was regarded as the highest revelation to which the Immortal Duke's scriptures serve a supplementary role. It cannot be precisely determined which of the Primordial's category texts constituted this earliest group, but it can at least be said that it most likely included the *Chishu zhenwen* and *Chishu yujue*, which contain in them the all-important Perfect Writs. It is doubtful that the entire corpus could have been written by Ge Chaofu alone, since the writing of the bulk of it began roughly 20 years after he had authored his "Lingbao scriptures", and was still in progress roughly 70 years later. The new doctrinal elements that the scriptures introduced (while retaining the veneration of the Five Writs as a central element) are very substantial, representing enough of a departure from the Five Writs themselves to make it difficult to assume a common author. Kobayashi has also pointed out that while all of the scriptures bear the common trait of expounding the "Great Vehicle of Daoism", there are traits that distinguish the texts of the Primordial's category from those of the Immortal Duke's category. The former generally take the form of teachings uttered by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy, usually to his disciple, the Most High Lord of the Dao (*taishang daojun*). The latter take the form of lessons given to Ge Xuan by the Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate Xu Laile and the Three Perfected Men of the Mysterious One, and provide quotes from and allusions to texts outside the corpus, such as the *Dadong zhenjing* and *Daode jing*. Kobayashi speculates therefore that the two categories issued from different, albeit related factions; the scriptures of the Primordial's category were authored by Daoist adepts of the "Ge family category"

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[10]See Kobayashi Masayoshi, "Ryuu-soo ni okeru Reihookyoo no keisei" pp.122-123.

(*katsu shi kei*) who had become stimulated by Buddhist Mahayanism, and those of the Immortal Duke's category were authored by a reformist faction of the Heavenly Masters sect.[11] The problem I see with this speculation is that too little is known about this so-called "Ge family category" concerning who they were, how they were organized, and how they were affiliated or related to the Heavenly Masters sect. Probably, Ge Chaofu and his associates (whoever they were), as was the case with the Xu clan who received the Shangqing revelations, were affiliated with the Heavenly Masters Sect. They were probably aptly describable as a "reformist faction of the Heavenly Masters Sect" and could well have authored the texts that convey strong influence from the Heavenly Masters sect and a high regard for it. A key issue that remains difficult for scholars to clarify is how the Heavenly Masters sect was organized around 400 A.D. and how and why it accommodated and allowed for syncretic and radical new doctrinal movements such as the Shangqing and Lingbao. Unlike the case of the Shangqing texts where we know the identity of the author and the first recipients of the texts as well as some biographical information about them, we can only speculate as to who first wrote and propagated the Lingbao scriptures. Even if one was to accept the theory that Ge Chaofu authored the entire corpus, virtually nothing is known about this person aside from his name and his ancestry. The Ge clan, to which Ge Xuan and Ge Hong had also belonged, was one of the prominent aristocratic families of the south, much like the Xu clan of the Shangqing texts. In fact the Ge and Xu clans were intermarried.[12] It appears that the first Lingbao proponents belonged to the same segment of society as Yang Xi and the Xus. Bokenkamp speculates that the scriptures bore in part the aim of serving the interests of the Ge clan in particular, which is why (in Bokenkamp's opinion) Ge Xuan gets depicted as the saint who is privileged with the revelation of texts from divine beings.[13]

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[11]See Kobayashi Masayoshi, "Ryuu-soo ni okeru Reihookyoo no keisei" pp.133-135.
[12]See Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Lingbao Scriptures" pp. 445-446.
[13]See Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Lingbao Scriptures" pp. 442-443.

Like the Shangqing corpus, the Lingbao corpus presents a syncretic doctrinal system combining old and new elements. The old elements include beliefs and practices of the Shangqing movement and the Heavenly Masters Sect. The most vital trait of the Lingbao system is that it presents its version of Daoism as being the greatest of religious truths, and asserts this claim through an elaborate mythology describing how the Lingbao scriptures and doctrines issued from primordial times, and how the greatest of all gods named the Primordial Heavenly Worthy has revealed them to the world at various junctures within the cosmic cycles so that happiness and salvation can be brought to all living beings. The greatest of the scriptures, the Five Perfect Writs, are equated with the fundamental cosmic force that creates the universe and gives life to the living. Thus while the Lingbao corpus resembles the Shangqing in so far that it molds diverse beliefs, old and new, into a comprehensive system, its system sets forth a scheme for universal rather than merely individual salvation, and more forcefully asserts itself as the greatest of all truths by attributing itself to a single, mighty force. As we will see, the Lingbao system includes elements geared towards only the most advanced adepts, which typically entail severe asceticism. But as a whole, the system accommodates to a much larger degree to the religious needs of the less sophisticated believer, which are addressed through moral indoctrination and communal festivals. Thus, the Lingbao system emphasizes moral discipline through the observance of rules (precepts or *jie*) resembling those of Buddhism. The Buddhist belief in causality involving karma and rebirth is made the fundamental basis for the ethics expounded. The festivals (communal retreats or *zhai*), based on those of the Heavenly Masters tradition, were occasions at which the sins of all participants along with those of all beings alive or dead could be expiated for the good of everybody.

In this chapter we will examine the role and form taken on by severe asceticism within this doctrinal system. The discussion will consist of three sections. Section A will discuss how the Lingbao scriptures redefined the ideal of the Perfected Man both in terms of the virtues that he embodies, as well the very soteriological scheme by which he

becomes immortal. We will see that, as was the case with the Shangqing and other earlier traditions, severe asceticism was seen as a definitive trait of a truly great adept. However, according to the ideals of the Lingbao tradition this asceticism must also be altruistic, as the true saint must always be concerned with the salvation of all, rather than just his or her self. We will also see how the adoption of the Buddhist theory of transmigration inspired a new view of mind and body that threatened to undermine the ideals of bodily strengthening and longevity in favor of those of enlightenment and transcendence. The figure who gets frequently depicted in the Lingbao scriptures as the exemplary saint is Ge Xuan, and therefore our discussion in section A will rely primarily on texts which take the form of lessons bestowed on Ge Xuan or by Ge Xuan which shed light upon how and why he became a Perfected Man of the highest order. These texts include the *Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* (*The Perfect One Marvelous Scripture of the Exhortations and Admonishments of the Wheel of the Doctrine*)[14], *Xuanyi quanjie falun miaojing* (*The [Perfected Man of] the Mysterious One's Marvelous Scripture of the Exhortations and Admonishments of the Wheel of the Doctrine*)[15], *Benyuan dajie jing* (*The Scripture of the Great Precepts of the Original Vow*)[16], *Benxing yinyuan jing* (*The Scripture on the Causation from Past*

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[14]Full title *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* (HY346/TT177). Five and a half pages (double-pages) long. This was once part of a single text together with the other texts thought to correspond to entry 14 of the catalog. Based on their content, these texts would seem to fit more logically into the Immortal Duke's category, and thus Kobayashi believes that entry 14 originally belonged to the Immortal Duke's category and later switched over to the Primordial's category out of an apparent urgency to fulfill the quota of thirty-six juan that were supposed to be "revealed" from the heavens. The *Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* constitutes the prologue which describes the scripture's celestial origins and narrates how the Three Perfected Men of Mysterious One appeared before Ge Xuan on Mt. Tiantai to reveal the divine scripture, and explain to him why he was selected for the revelation.

[15]Full title *Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo quanjie falun miaojing* (HY348/TT177). Six and a half pages. This is one of the scriptures thought to have once formed part of a single text together with the *Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing*. Presented as sayings uttered by "the Dao", this text includes lessons concerning various types of religious training and conduct and the consequences that they bring. Emphasized is how ones privileged social status is something to be attributed to good deeds of past incarnations.

[16]Full title *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin jing* (HY344/TT177). 18 pp. Instructions bestowed upon Ge Xuan by the Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate at Mt. Tiantai. Presented in this scripture is a list of fifty-nine "original vows of wisdom" which are descriptions of specific pious and compassionate wishes to be made when witnesses specific things. Other important themes include the importance of stabilizing the mind and treasuring the qi, the benefits of studying and reciting the Laozi, the successive grades of progressively intensified training that one should undergo in their proper order, and the horrendous punishments that ensue for those who enter the full-time religious life are morally lax or resort

Deeds)[17] and *Taiji zuoxiangong qingwen jing shang* (*The Scripture on the Inquries of the Left Immortal Duke of the Great Ultimate, Upper Volume*)[18]. In the discussion of the new soteriology, pertinent passages will be drawn from the *Gongde qingzhong jing* (*The Scripture on the Lightness and Heaviness of Meritorious Virtue*)[19], *Dingzhi tongwei jing* (*The Scripture on Stabilizing the Will and Penetrating the Subtleties*)[20] and *Mingzhen ke* (*The Curriculum of Bright Perfection*)[21], texts which deal heavily with matters of moral conduct and retribution in the afterlife. Section B will discuss how the Lingbao movement stressed precepts and retreats as the primary vehicles for universal salvation, and how this dictated the forms in which severe asceticism manifested itself. In other words, adepts were made to advance gradually towards greater degrees of asceticism by observing

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to charlatanry. The assertion is made that it is better to remain a lay person than to become a corrupt clergyman.

[17]Full title *Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing yinyuan jing* (HY1106/TT758). 7 1/2 pp. On Mt. Laocheng, Ge Xuan, in response to questions from a group of thirty-three earthly Immortals and Daoist adepts, describes the long process spanning over countless rebirths through which he gained his lofty status of Left Immortal Duke of the Great Ultimate.

[18]Preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts (Stein 1351). 5 1/2 pp. Teachings bestowed upon Ge Xuan by "the Peerless Master of the Doctrines, the Lofty and Superior Laozi of the Most High Great Ultimate." Major themes include the importance of accumulating merit through the performance of good deeds, the merit to be gained through the Lingbao and Santian (Three Heavens) retreat rituals, the benefits gained through the proper recitation of the *Laozi* and the *Buxu jing*, the importance of striving "bravely and fiercely" in various aspects of the religious life.

[19]Full title *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pin jie gongde qingzhong jing* (HY456/TT202). 37 1/2 pp. Instructions bestowed upon the Most High Lord of the Dao by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy. Includes detailed descriptions of the divine bureaucracy of the Three Origins of Heaven, Earth and Water who monitor human conduct and administer punishments and rewards as necessary. Also described is how the gods the inhabit the human body report the deeds of humans to the divine bureaucracy. Of greatest interest is the discourse on the principle of karma and rebirth which is determined primarily by one's state of mind, and which is a claimed to be a causal principle of earlier origin and greater authority than that of hereditary causality, which is however also acknowledged as having some impact on the fate of people. Also provided is a list of 180 sins which bring about punishment from the divine bureaucracy.

[20]Full title *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing* (HY325/TT167). 24 1/2 pp. Teachings bestowed upon the Perfected Men Zuoxuan and Youxuan by the Heavenly Worthy of the Lingbao. Included is a discussion on how the spirit, which is originally pure, becomes corrupted as it takes on a bodily form and is influenced by stimuli from the six senses. One must thus utilize the insight that all is empty in order to cut off all one's attachments and return to one's original state of Perfection. Also bestowed upon Zuoxuan and Youxuan are a rudimentary set of ten precepts which they should propagate to all of the people in the world in order to gradually direct them towards salvation. Also included are two lengthy parables, one extolling the merits of generous stewardship towards the Daoist clergy, and the other promoting the observance of the ten precepts.

[21]Full title *Dongxuan lingbao change zhifu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke* (HY1400/TT1052). 39 pp. Taught to the Youth of Superior Wisdom by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy. Major themes include descriptions of twelve categories of types of livelihoods and religious training and the auspicious consequences that they bring, and descriptions of fourteen kinds of bad behavior which lead to hideous punishment. Provided are two different but similar liturgies of ritual repentance for the benefit of all living beings and tormented souls.

various sets of precepts that became increasingly more demanding as one progressed. Fasting, meditation and ritual worship of an arduous and sometimes painful and humiliating nature were carried out during "retreats" (the meaning of which will be explained in detail) which took place more frequently and over longer periods, the more advanced one was in one's training. Texts relied upon in section B will be those which include lists of precepts; namely the *Chishu yujue*[22], *Zuigen dajie jing* (*The Scripture on the Roots of Sins and the Great Precepts*)[23], *Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajie wen* (HY1353/TT1039, *Text of the Great Precepts for Monitoring the Body*)[24], *Benyuan dajie jing*, *Shangpin jie jing* (*The Scripture of the Upper Section Precepts*)[25] and *Zhihui shangpin dajie* (*The Great Upper Section Precepts of Wisdom*)[26]. The discussion on

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[22]Three *juan*. 75 pp. The first *juan* begins by describing the origins of the Perfects Writs, how the Primordial Heavenly Worthy made them manifest and legible, and how the marvelous power of the writs brought about the process of creations. The writs themselves are shown, written in seal script and accompanied by talisman. Next in the text are descriptions of the Five Monarchs which are also accompanied by talismans. These are followed by general descriptions of the various ways in which the Perfect Writs can be utilized. The second *juan* displays various types of talismans, most of which are designed for the purpose of enabling one to survive the cosmic flood at the end of the cosmic era. The third juan lists the days during the year in which retreat rituals must be carried out. Also provided are various lists of the blessed attributes of the Perfect Writs and the auspicious consequences of employing them.

[23]Full title *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui zuigen shangping dajie jing* (HY457/TT202). Two *juan*. 28 pp. The first *juan* consists of instructions given to the Most High Lord of the Dao by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy. After a description of how the Primordial Heavenly Worthy appeared in the world during the various cosmic eras to indoctrinate the living masses, the text provides various lists of precepts. The second juan consists of conversations between the Most High Lord of the Dao and the Flying Heavenly Perfected Beings of the various directions in which they inform him on how men and women have come to suffer the torments of the various hells, and the specific ritual methods and offerings through which they can be released.

[24]24 pp. A list of 300 precepts to be observed by the most advanced and serious practitioners. This is not one of the catalogued Lingbao scriptures, but it appears to be prior or contemporary to them, and its precepts were apparently known and esteemed by Lingbao proponents.

[25]Full title *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shangpin jie jing* (HY454/TT202). 8 pp. Instructions bestowed upon the Most High Lord of the Dao by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy. Major themes include the importance of performing rituals and sending up petitions bearing one's name on the first day of each month in order to gain divine recognition for one's virtue, along with the standard exhortation towards good behavior and warnings regarding the consequences of bad behavior. Also included are the poignant and compassionate wishes pronounced by the Heavenly Girls of Resolved Mind and Immortals who Withstand Humiliations, the Precepts for the Six Senses, a list of twelve kinds of diseases (types of evil behavior) and a list of twelve medicines (types of moral virtue through which the "diseases" can be eliminated).

[26]Full title *Taishang dongzhen zhihui shangpin dajie* (HY177/TT77). 16 pp. Teachings bestowed upon the Most High Lord of the Dao by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy. The text consists of various lists of precepts including the Ten Precepts of Wisdom, the Twelve Precepts to be Obeyed, the Precepts for the Six Senses, the Great Upper Section Wisdom Precept for Delivering the Living, the Great Precepts of the Ten Good Deeds of Encouragement and Assistance (a list of ten types of meritorious and pious conduct), and the Wisdom Upper Section Precepts on the Retribution for Meritorious Virtue (descriptions of the blessed consequences of the generous giving of donations and alms).

retreats will rely upon the *Zhaijie wieyi jue* (*Lessons on Retreats, Precepts and Mighty Rituals*)[27] and *Taiji yinzhu baojue* (*The [Perfected Man of] the Great Ultimate's Precious Lessons with Secret Commentary*)[28] which contain discussions on the meaning and purpose of a retreat , as well as teachings on the conduct to be observed during retreats. Also to be examined is the *Mingzhen ke*, which includes two liturgies that entail a strenuous show of repentance and humility before the gods. Section C will examine and discuss the ascetic (primarily non-ingestion fasting) methods that are described and promoted in the *Ershisi shengtu jing* (*The Scripture of the Twenty-four Life-Bestowing Diagrams*)[29], *Chishu zhenwen* and *Chishu yujue* [30], texts which methods designed to be put in practice by the most advanced and sincere adepts.

Appended to the chapter is a list of the titles of scriptures in Ofuchi Ninji's reconstructed Lingbao catalog, together with the extant Daoist canon scriptures believed to correspond to them. Entries 1 through 19 are belong to the Primordial's category, and entries 20 through 27 belong to the Immortal Duke's category. As can be seen, some of

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[27]Full title *Taishang zhenren fu lingbao zhaijie weiyi zhujing yaojue* (HY532/TT295). 23 1/2 pp. Presented as utterances of the Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate, with commentary attributed to Ge Xuan. Instructions on when to carry out retreats and how to conduct oneself during them. Another prominent theme is the importance of the *Laozi*, the *Dadong zhenjing* and the Lingbao scriptures, and how they have existed from the beginning of time and are indestructible. A short liturgy is provided entitled the Retreat of the Peerless (*wushang zhai*).

[28]Full title *Shangqing taiji yinzhu yujing baojue* (HY425/TT194). 19 1/2 pp. Instructions on various matters spoken by the Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate. The dominant theme is how one is to properly receive, venerate and utilize important scriptures such as the *Laozi*, the *Dadong zhenjing*, the Lingbao scriptures, the *Sanhuang wen*, and the various Shangqing scriptures and talismans. Endorsed here is the Heshanggong commentary to the *Laozi*. Also to be found are instruction concerning why and how one should carry out retreats and engage in meditation.

[29]Full title *Dongxuan lingbao ershisi shengtu jing* (HY1396/TT1051). 48 pp. For a description of the contents, see pp. 486-499.

[30]Two juan. 62 1/2 pp. The opening portion of the first *juan* depicts how the Most High Lord of the Dao revealed the scripture to a certain Wang Long and bestowed him with two sets of precepts, the Lingbao Ten Precepts and the Twelve Precepts to be Obeyed. The text then presents two short liturgies of repentance directed. After this the all-important Lingbao Perfect Writs are presented in ordinary, legible script, and are accompanied and followed by detailed instructions on how to utilize them for seeking immortality, correcting inauspicious alignments of the stars, surviving the cosmic flood and gaining immunity and dominance over demons and spirits. The second *juan* begins a summary description of how the five *qi* or "sprouts" are concentrated in the highest heaven and then sent down to the world every morning to recharge the world with vitality and nourish those adepts who know how to eat them. This is followed by the story of a pious girl named Aqiu Zeng (see pp. 411-412). The text then describes at great length the method for eating the "sprouts". This is followed by descriptions of a technique for visualizing and summoning the Five Monarchs of the Five Peaks, a ritual method of invoking deities employing the Perfect Writs, and a liturgy for the transmission of the Perfect Writs.

the texts on the list have been given little or no exposure in my discussion. This is because I have found these texts less useful for the purpose of my study due to the nature of their content. The Pelliot 2399*Taishang dongxuan lingbao kongdong lingzhang*, *Dongxuan lingbao yuqingshan buxu jing* (HY1427/TT1059), *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing* (HY318/TT165) and *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* (HY1/TT1) are texts which center around hymns designed for ritual recitation, the content of which consists primarily of names of divine beings and the heavenly realms that they inhabit, as well words of praise for the Lingbao scriptures themselves. The *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* (HY97/TT49) explains in detail the verses of the *Wuliang duren jing*. The *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen yaojie* (HY330/TT167) expounds beliefs concerning cosmogony, eschatology and the genesis and role of the Perfect Writs, and contains invocations to the protective spirits of the Writs and penitential addresses to the heavens. The *Taishang dongxuan lingbao miedu wulian shengshi miaojing* (HY369/TT181) contains burial rites. The *Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wuzheng fu shangjing* (HY671/TT352) presents a set of five talismans called the *wuzheng ziran fu* and describes how to utilize their power for various benefits such as the lengthening of life, healing of diseases or the attainment of prosperity. Unfortunately, a considerable portion of the Pelliot 2356 *Zhenyi ziran jingjue* has been lost, and what survives does not pertain to asceticism. In sum, these scriptures do not contain substantial discourses on ethics and self-discipline nor descriptions of specific training methods that entail austerities such as fasting; hence they have not been given great exposure in my discussion. It should also be mentioned that in certain places (e.g. 1/2b) the *Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wuzheng fu shangjing* conveys a religiosity that runs counter to what will be discussed in the following pages, as it promises that its talismans, when utilized by lay people of various types (i.e. nobility, high officials, low officials, women) can bring benefits of a very worldly and self-serving nature. This is probably best understood as being due to the fact that the Lingbao movement sought to appeal to a wide audience, and that those of an ascetic

mentality represented a only a portion of its faithful; most likely a spiritual elite that represented a minority.

A. Perfection Re-defined

The *Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* is a prologue to a set of three scriptures, all extant, which were putatively transmitted to the "Immortal Duke" (*xiangong*) Ge Xuan by three different "Perfected Men of Mysterious One" named Yuluoqiao, Guangmiaoyin, and Zhendingguang. According to it, the "old texts" of the three scriptures have existed from times prior to the creation of the present world, stored in the Dark Terrace of the Six Directions of the Most High, where they are guarded and venerated by Jade Girls and Jade Boys. They are to be transmitted to humans once every 40,000 kalpas. It was thus determined that the Immortal Duke on the Left of the Great Ultimate (Ge Xuan) would become the privileged recipient. The text then describes the process that Ge Xuan underwent that directly brought about the revelations:

> The Immortal Duke on the Left of the Great Ultimate (Ge Xuan) on Mt. Tiantai engaged in a silent retreat and expiated his sins. Burning incense, he confessed and repented. He contemplated upon the Perfect and kept his mind upon the Dao. Within 100 days a divine light appeared faintly atop the empty darkness. The cloudy luster flickered on and off, sometimes dispersing and sometimes concentrating, illuminating the hall of retreat in a winding fashion. The Immortal Duke himself realized that his thoroughgoing [self-imposed] suffering had distantly moved the Heavenly Perfected Beings. Hereupon he polished and contemplated upon his karma from the obscure past with extraordinary diligence and vigor. Within a year

> of engaging in the retreat, he finally brought about a communication with the Superior Saints.[31]

Here Ge Xuan is portrayed engaging in a religious regimen that entails suffering (*ku*). It is this suffering which is directly responsible for bringing him into communication with the saints who reveal the scriptures. Thus here we have a recurrence of the familiar notion that severe asceticism serves as a means for obtaining contact with the divine. But what is also noteworthy is that this self-imposed suffering takes on the form of a lengthy retreat (*zhai*) of worship, confession and contemplation which, as we will see later on in section B, can be described as highly intensified solo version of the communal rituals prescribed for all believers. The Lingbao movement's heightened emphasis on redemption of sins, piety and worship redefined to a considerable degree the context and the way in which severe asceticism was to be carried out.

The narrative of the *Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* continues with a description of how the three Perfected Men of Obscure Unity descended upon Ge Xuan's meditation chamber in full divine splendor, mounted on radiant jade carriages attended by tens of thousands of Jade Boys and Jade Girls. Each of the Perfected Men then took turns explaining to Ge Xuan why he was chosen as the recipient of the revelation:

> (Yuluoqiao): You, over many kalpas in your thoughts and actions harmed (sacrificed) your body (self) in order to rescue [living] beings and opened up [the means of] deliverance for the living. Your mercy extended to [even] the grasses and trees. You entrusted your body to the forests and hills, guarding your emotions and withstanding lustful feelings. Respecting and revering your teachers you remained relentless and tireless. You strove strenuously in fervent rigor.[32]

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[31] 1b. See Plate 199.
[32] 2b. See Plate 200.

(Guangmiaoyin): You in your transmigrations through births and deaths allied yourself with goodness. Over the kalpas you accumulated [good deeds] from generation to generation without ceasing. You abandoned [worldly] glory and left behind [an official's] salary, throwing your body into the desolate hills. [Exposing yourself] to hunger and cold amidst the precarious steep mountains you wordlessly contemplated the Dao. You respectfully looked up to your Master-Treasure[33], always in the way you would a god. With a tender heart that is benevolent and harmonious you were joyful in all activities (*zuoqi*, lit. when sitting and when standing). You engaged in a perpetual retreat (*changzhai*) and meditated strenuously without taking any time off. Your diligence moved [the gods] as it reached afar. Thus your name has been recorded in the [heaven of] Shangqing.[34]

(Zhendingguang): Your seven generations [of ancestors] were of gracious [character]. They shared their food in order to rescue the poor, and their benevolence extended to the birds and beasts. Their merit flowed down to later generations and nourished you. You also accumulated [years of] diligent and humble service to your master-treasure. In coldness you did not think of [wearing] a coat. When hungry you did not give pleasure to your mouth. You suffered bitterly amidst the forests and mountain peaks, concentrating your mind without change. Your purple viscera [came to]

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[33]The Three Treasures (or Jewels) in Buddhism are the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. In Taoism, the term was adopted to refer to the Dao, the Scriptures, and one's Master who instructs and transmits scriptures. What is perhaps one of the earliest example of this usage of this concept of the Three Treasures is found in one of the Lingbao scriptures, *Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing suyuan jing* (HY1106/TT758, 12a).

[34]3a. See Plate 201.

> contain the Perfect and your head began to emit a strange radiance. This made the High Superior Beings descend to your midst.[35]

Ge Xuan is thus described as a mountain-dwelling practitioner who abandoned all worldly glory and wealth in order to devote himself to religious training that entailed much suffering. By concentrating his mind upon the Dao, Ge Xuan overcame his worldly desires and was indifferent to the hunger and coldness that afflicted him. This training transformed his body into one with extraordinary attributes ("purple viscera [came to] contain the Perfect and your head began to emit a strange radiance") and qualified him for a communication with divine beings. All of the above characteristics are very much in keeping with classic images of Daoist ascetics which we have looked at in our previous chapters. However, in the above passages we also find references to certain traits which represent new points of emphasis which probably came to the forefront for the first time with the Lingbao scriptures.

Most significant is the virtue of altruism. First, before anything else, Ge Xuan is described as somebody who would suffer harm himself for the sake of helping others, and who works for the salvation of all living beings. This altruism was a trait of Ge Xuan that elevated him above other ascetics. This belief is most clearly conveyed in the *Benxing yinyuan jing* (*The Scripture on Causation from Past Deeds*)[36]. There we are told that on the first day of the first month of the third year of the Chiwu reign era (240 A.D.), Ge Xuan ascended Mt. Laocheng to contemplate the Dao amidst a "silent retreat" (*jingzhai*). There he was visited by 33 earthly Immortals and Daoist adepts. One of the earthly Immortals then asked him the following question:

> [We] lower [Immortal] officials have studied the Dao for years and years which at the present have piled up to as many as 600 years (or perhaps "600

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[35]3a-b. See Plate 202.

[36]Full title *Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing yinyuan jing* (HY1107/TT758).

> sexegenary cycles"). Yet we are still scattered about amidst the mountain forests. You, worthy master, when you first began to study the Dao were fortunate enough to early on be given the rank of Left Immortal Duke of the Great Ultimate. [You] ascended to the Jade Capital[37] where you entered the Golden Palace Gates and paid your respects to the Peerless Emperor of the Void. I do not clearly understand what kind of meritorious and virtuous deeds you performed from early on to hereby receive a heavenly office and reach this lofty status which makes the Three Realms and [Mt.] Fengdu look up to you. I wish for you to explain for us the source of destiny and the basic principles of cause and effect.[38]

To this question, Ge Xuan replied as follows:

> The single *qi* was produced from empty non-being. The two principles [of *yin* and *yang*] divided from the single *qi*. What was pure became heaven and what was turbid became earth. Humans came to exist by receiving the intermediate *qi* and participate with heaven and earth to form the Three Functioning Principles (*cai*). At first there were no differences between humans in their mediocrity or sageliness, nor any discrepancies in their life spans. [With their minds thoughtless as though] in the state of primordial chaos, the Dao naturally resided in them without their relying on religious practice. But once the primal chaos had been gouged open and the great simplicity had scattered, human affairs arose in a confusing manner, and the Dao was contradicted. You in your past lives when you studied the Dao and received scriptures performed few good deeds. You only wished to

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[37]The *Dongxuan lingbao yuqingshan buxujing* states, "The Mysterious Capital of Jade Capital Mountain exists above the Three Pure Realms" and , "It is the Heaven of Daluo that is without a superior, and is the place governed by the Most High Vacuous Emperor of the Limitless." (1a)

[38]1a. See Plate 203.

save yourself and did not think about saving other people. You only sought the Dao for yourself and did not concern yourself with [helping] other people attain the Dao. You did not believe in the vast and distant words of the Great Scriptures. You did not carry out the retreats and obey precepts and did not respect the Doctrinal Masters of the Three Caverns. Because you took pleasure in the Small Vehicle you obtained the Dao of earthly Immortals. Although you can appear in any place at will and go and come freely while living eternally without dying, you are still unable to transcend the Three Realms, wander in the ten directions and look up to the Most High in the Golden Palace Gates in the Jade Capital. If you want to employ the Wheel of the Doctrine (*falun*)[39] to ascend rapidly and fly to the various heavens of Shangqing you must establish your merit by rescuing and saving the people of the land from calamities and diseases. When great merit has been established in full, the Most High will beckon you. This is why Pengzu[40] who is 800 years old, Anqisheng[41] who is 1000 years old and Baishisheng[42] who is 3000 years old still wander amidst people. They are penalized because the methods they practiced in previous lives were minor and their merit was thin. There are even those who have been amidst the mountains and rivers for 10,000 years and yet have been unable to ascend. You have only [been there] for several hundred years; how can this be thought of as long? Immortals hide themselves in the mountains and forests. Those who ascend to [heavenly] immortality by practicing hidden virtue or undergo liberation of the corpse while leaving behind a make-

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[39]Another term borrowed from Buddhism, which refers to the Dharma (doctrines) of the Buddha or to a state of enlightened wisdom that is attained through the Dharma. In this context it seems to refer to the Daoist teachings and techniques that bring about immortal ascension.

[40]See pp. 51-52.

[41]His story is found in the *Liexian zhuan* 1/14b-15a.

[42]See pp. 341-342.

> believe body are numerous. But those [among them] who have manifested their traces to the world to be praised by the people of the land and have [their deeds] recorded in the chronicles are few.[43]

Ge Xuan begins the above reply with a short summary of Daoist cosmogony, describing how the world as we know it came about from the spontaneous generation of the primordial chaos (or single *qi*) from the original non-being, leading eventually to the splitting apart into heaven and earth, in between which humans came into being. Humans of the beginning days are idealized here (as they are in the *Wufu xu*) as having embodied the Dao spontaneously without any effort. However, this primitive bliss has long since been lost. The teachings of the Lingbao texts were introduced to the world precisely for the purpose of alleviating the misfortunes of those who in these corrupt times have gotten out of touch with the Dao. The rewards that one can thus reap from religious practice in this world are thus directly proportionate to the degree to which one embodies the ideals of the Lingbao texts. By this measure, Ge Xuan tells the earthly Immortals that they have failed to attain the loftiest of ranks because they sought only their own salvation rather than that of all living beings. The doctrines and practices that they chose were of the "Small Vehicle". The "Small Vehicle" or Hinayana, of course, is a Buddhist term used by the advocates of the Mahayana (Great Vehicle) schools to refer derisively to the Theravada schools whose doctrines they regarded as serving only the good of the individual, making them "small" in their capacity as a "vehicle" for the salvation of living beings. By logical extension then, we can see that the Lingbao school saw itself as the Great Vehicle of Daoism. Unfortunately, the earthly Immortals neglected the Lingbao scriptures ("the Great Scriptures"), the essential practices (retreats and precepts) and the masters who expound the Lingbao teachings.

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[43] 1b-2a. See Plate 204

Thus we have contrasted here in the figures of the earthly Immortals and of Ge Xuan, the classic Daoist Immortal vs. the new image of the Daoist saint who is aptly describable as a Daoist Bodhisattva who has achieved the highest of merit according to the standards of the Lingbao teaching, the Great Vehicle for the salvation of all living beings in these corrupt times. Ge Xuan's specific advice to the earthly Immortals then is to establish merit by alleviating the plight of the people of the world. The necessity of helping those in need is also well articulated in the *Benyuan dajie jing* (*The Scripture of the Great Precepts of the Original Vow*)[44]. In this scripture, which takes the form of a lesson given to Ge Xuan by his principle teacher, the Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate Xu Laile, includes the following passage:

> In studying the way of immortal ascension, when you establish 1200 good merits, you will in the end never receive your retribution[45]. If you establish 3000 merits you will ascend to heaven in broad daylight. [These merits] all [pertain to] rescuing people from the hazards which put them on the brink of death. Administering grace to those people is the best. In studying the Dao you must make all your deeds comply with the doctrines, broadly establishing your field of merits and giving rise to your heart of great compassion. In motion and in stillness always give rise to the intentions of the Dao. If one is able to be like this and [thereupon] expel and retain, ingest medicines, wear talismans, read scriptures and meditate diligently for one's entire life without tiring, how can there be anyone [like this] who will not attain immortality? People take medicines, wear talismans, read scriptures and observe retreats and precept without this

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[44]Full title *Dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan dajie shangping jing* (HY344/TT177).

[45]The point being made here is unclear. It could be saying that good retribution cannot yet be had with only 1200 merits. Or it could be saying that 1200 merits assures one of not suffering bad retribution such as early death, damnation etc.

> [compassionate virtue], and therefore for their whole lives achieve no [positive] results. Students [of the Dao] should reflect clearly upon these essential words.[46]

In the *Taiji zuoxiangong qingwen jing shang* [47] (*The Scripture on the Inquiries of the Left Immortal Duke of the Great Ultimate, First Volume*), Ge Xuan is told a very similar thing by Laozi:

> It is so that for studying the Dao and developing virtue, [the accumulation of] good deeds is the top priority. Afterwards (after performing good deeds) you can observe retreats and precepts, expel and retain the primal harmony, and fetch and gargle the flowing mists and the efflorescences of the five flowers. If in studying the Dao you do not actively practice good deeds, your observation of retreats and precepts will be but futile exercises among the mountain forests.[48]

We can thus see that while the worth of a wide variety of methods of personal training including air/saliva swallowing, drugs, talismans, scriptural study and meditation was affirmed, the adept was first and foremost required to carry out good deeds for the benefit of other living beings before his personal efforts could amount to much. While intense self-denial in the form of the various techniques was still held in high esteem, it was not regarded as truly worthy if the adept was divorced from the service of fellow living beings and was not completely morally upright. The notion that one must accumulate good deeds in order for immortality techniques to be of any use was not new, and had been

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[46] 8b. See Plate 205.

[47] This scripture survives today among the Daoist scriptures recovered from the caves of Dunhuang. It is catalogued as Stein#1351. See Ofuchi Ninji ed. *Tonkoo dookyoo: Zuroku hen* (1979) p.86.

[48] 1a. See Plate 206.

expounded in the *Baopuzi*.[49] In light of this fact it must be acknowledged that prior to the Lingbao movement morality was never entirely absent from the minds of immortality seekers. However, in the Lingbao scriptures, this archaic and indigenous theory about the celestial tabulation of good and bad deeds was given renewed emphasis and was fused and complemented with the Buddhist Bodhisattva ideal.

It would logically follow that an adept who is both an ascetic and a humanitarian would willingly suffer harm for the benefit of others. Such was indeed expected of a truly worthy adept, and as can be recalled, the *Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* tells us that Ge Xuan "harmed his body in order to rescue [living beings]." Perhaps the most extreme expression of the altruistic ideal is to be found in the *Shangpin jie jing* (*Scripture of the Upper Section Precepts*)[50]. This scripture takes the form of a sermon delivered by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy to an assembly of divine beings. In it we are told that Heavenly Girls of Resolved Mind and Immortals Who Withstand Humiliation adorned in stellar crowns and lunar skirts arrived in the midst of the assembly and uttered their 10 superior vows which went as follows:

> 1) I wish to give the flesh of my body as food for the starving birds and beasts.
>
> 2) I wish for the eight fats of my body to become fuel for the lamps so that they can continue to shine.
>
> 3) I wish to lend my strength to relieve those who toil, and to rescue people by carrying their burdens.

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[49]See *Baopuzi neipian* 3/10b-11b. Also pp.279-280 of Sakade Yoshinobu, "Choosei jutsu" in Fukui et. al. ed. *Dookyoo 1*. For a good study on the belief in merits and demerits (*gongguo*) in early Daoism, see Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dookyoo to Bukkyoo* vol.2 (1976) pp.167-196.

[50]Full title *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shangping jie jing* (HY454/TT202). Ofuchi for some reason does not mention this scripture as one of the extant texts corresponding to the titles in Lu Xiujing's catalog. However, its title resembles entries 8 and 9 in the catalog, and large portions of it (1a-b, 3a-4a, 5a-b) match with HY177/TT77*Taishang dongzhen zhihui shangpin dajie* and Pelliot no.2461*Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui shangpin dajie*, texts which Ofuchi believes to correspond to entry 9.

4) If I see poor people naked, I wish to give them food and clothing.

5) If I happen upon an ill person, I wish to give him medicine.

6)When I recognize a need among people, I wish to help by providing what is needed.

7) [As for] those people who despair and suffer, [I wish to] bring them joy in accord with their situations.

8) As for those prisoners who are executed and have their [slain] bodies put on display; I wish to bear their punishment for them.

9) I wish that all pregnant women will quickly give birth.

10) I wish that all frontier regions will be subdued and returned [to the rule of the legitimate Chinese Emperor]."[51]

Thus the Heavenly Girls and Immortals essentially express the wish to alleviate suffering of all kinds as it exists in the world in any way possible, and in vows 1, 2 and 8 wish to sacrifice their lives. The altruism expressed is particularly poignant in that the beneficiaries of the life sacrifice are birds, beasts, the souls of the dead[52], and criminals. Certainly this extreme degree of altruism was not literally required for believers. However, voiced from the mouths of divine beings, it represents a virtue of the loftiest order that would ideally be aspired to.

It is also relevant to mention that in one scripture of the Lingbao movement of perhaps somewhat later authorship (*Taishang dongxuan lingbao jieye benxing shangpin miaojing*, HY345/TT177[53]), there is to be found a passage which promotes martyrdom as a virtue which can qualify one for immortality at an exalted level.[54]

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[51]2a. See Plate 207.

[52]At least, this is how I understand vow 2. As we will see in section B, lanterns are employed in confession rituals for universal salvation.

[53]Although this title is cognate with the catalog's 13th entry, Ofuchi ("On *Ku Ling-pao ching*" p.51) states that it is not the same scripture because its contents do not at all resemble Pelliot no.3022 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen duren benxing miaojing*, which he believes to correspond to entry no.13. My impression is that while the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao jieye benxing shangpin miaojing* in its essential spirit is not incongruous with the Lingbao scriptures, it contains elaborate discourses on themes (such as an

The ideal of sacrificing one's life out of faith is promoted in a story about an event that took place in the celestial realms during a remote kalpa found in the *Taishang Zhutian lingshu duming jing* (HY23/TT26, *The Most High Miraculous Book of the Various Heavens, the Scripture on the Deliverance of Lives*)[55]. This scripture narrates fundamental cosmological and soteriological legends. The scripture starts out by narrating at great length how the Primordial Heavenly Worthy established five lands of the blessed in the Five Directions[56], starting from the central land, the "Land of the Hall of Great Blessings"(*da futang guo*). After this, he returned to the "Lodge of Perpetual Enjoyment" (*changle she*) in the central land where entire nations of people from outlying regions came to see the him in hope of obtaining salvation. The following is what then happened:

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enumeration of grades of saints or *sheng*) not present in the Lingbao scriptures, which seems to hint at a later date of authorship.

[54]On pp.8b-9a, the "places of the ten goodnesses" are enumerated by the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial One (*yuanyi tianzun*). These are essentially traits to be exhibited by a truly righteous man and include many of the typical items to be found within such lists (among which there are many to be found within the Lingbao scriptures), such as compassion and love for all living beings, giving to the poor and observing the retreats and precepts. The sixth item within the list is "to be able to die while maintaining your goodness, withstanding disgrace without killing and not stealing." If this is not a clear enough exhortation towards martyrdom, one finds later on p.10a the following words of advice on how to deal the those unrighteous people who may persecute you: "I revealed the superior section on the ten goodnesses in order to make all gods and people throughout the ten directions avoid the ten places of evil. Being so, if there are those who practice the ten evils, you must not follow them. If you go amidst them, and there are those who say the praises of [sensual] pleasures, you should avoid them. If there are those who say they want to come and harm you, you should with your whole heart contemplate the remonstrances about karma and concentrate upon the Perfect, and thereupon let them kill you. The principle [of cause and effect] will naturally then work so that there can be no harm. Your own body will transform into an Utmost Perfected Being that is without Superior. Those people [who kill you] will naturally suffer the retribution (punishment) for murder." (See Plate 208)
Thus, standards of righteousness as ordained in the Lingbao scriptures are something which a true adept must be willing to die for. Rather than commit a violent act, one was to allow oneself to be harmed or even killed by the unrighteous, rather than lower oneself to their level of morality. Such martyrdom is the ultimate expression of faith in the religion and of renunciation of the world's ways of evil and greed.

[55]19 pp. This scripture takes on the format of teachings uttered by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy to the Most High Lord of the Dao, describes at length how the Lingbao scriptures were manifested in the five lands of the blessed, and how the world has undergone successive cosmic eras during which the Primordial Heavenly Worthy has appeared taking on various titles to instruct living beings. The final part of the text consists of four sets of verses to be recited towards the heavens of the east, south west and north for obtaining longevity for oneself and deliverance into the Southern Palace for one's ancestors.

[56]As Bokenkamp has illustrated, this notion of five lands is inspired by the Pure Land Buddhist belief in Amitabha's Western Pure Land, the concept of which was adopted and grafted upon the belief in the heavens of the Five Directions. See "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures" pp.472-473.

The [Primordial] Heavenly Worthy at that time for 3 days and 3 nights shut off the lights of the skies so that the light would not illuminate [the universe]. He gathered firewood and piled it up on the ground about 200 *zhang* (1 zhang=2.412m) high. The Heavenly Worthy sat on the firewood and burned himself with fire. As the fire burned, its radiance illuminated [throughout] the four directions clearly. The men and women of the various nations, from a distance saw the Heavenly Worthy seated on the fire and had no way to go [near him] to speak what was on their minds. The Heavenly Worthy, wanting to observe their hearts (test their faith and determination) said to those who had come, "If you want to obtain long life, you must enter the fire so that you can receive the doctrines from me." Those who had the utmost [of faith and determination in their] hearts and were fond of the great doctrines, of which there were 72,450 in number, threw themselves into the fire. All of them arrived at the presence of the Dao, and the Heavenly Worthy instantly amidst the fire bestowed on them his scriptures and his doctrines. As each person entered, he or she received the transmission and all of their bodies obtained deliverance whereupon they concealed their bodies and left. Those remaining who did not enter [the fire] numbered 400,000. They saw from a distance that those who were entering the fire were [apparently] not coming out from it, thus they all said, '[They] have burned to death.' Thereupon they retreated and each returned to their homelands. Beforehand, those who had entered the fire and obtained salvation had already returned to their homes. Those who had not entered [the fire] later returned home and saw [those who had entered the fire], and became regretful, lamenting that they had not attained [this result]. Those who received deliverance all obtained long life. Their bodies no

> longer experienced any pain and suffering, and their bodies did not decline and age. They all lived for 30,000 years before they finally died.[57]

While the above story was likely intended to be regarded as an authentic event by a believer, it also serves as a parable illustrating how one should be willing to risk his life for the purpose of seeking salvation, and that the reward for doing so is great. The story also illustrates how the vast majority of humankind wants to seek salvation, but unfortunately shrinks from endeavoring to do so because of the great sacrifices involved. Also intriguing about the above story is that it depicts the greatest god of the religion inflicting apparent harm upon himself in order to miraculously save human beings. The story is probably the closest thing in the Daoist tradition to the Christian crucifixion narrative, although the crucial difference would be that the Primordial Heavenly Worthy is not depicted as experiencing agony, death and resurrection.

Finally, on the subject of the giving of one's life as an ideal, it is worth mentioning a story narrated in the *Chishu yujue* (*Jade Lessons on the Red Writing* 2/1b-4a) about a young woman named Aqiu Zeng. As has been pointed out by Stephen Bokenkamp[58], this story conveys a male-chauvinistic attitude which maintains that only men are capable of achieving Immortal-hood. Bokenkamp further points out that the story itself is a direct adaptation of a parable found in the Buddhist *Longshi nü jing*[59] translated by the famous translator Zhi Qian. To summarize the story briefly, the 16 year old Aqiu Zeng was bathing when she saw a golden light. When she went outside to get a better look, she saw the resplendent countenance of the "Perfect God of the Dao". That day, she vowed to observe the retreats and precepts in order to receive scriptures so that she could erase her bad karma and achieve rebirth as a man and then engage in training to become a Flying Immortal. Unfortunately, this vow did not go unnoticed by the Five Imperial Demon-

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[57] 11a-b. See Plate 209.
[58] "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures" p.474.
[59] Taisho Canon no.557. vol.14 p.909 bottom.

Kings. As was mentioned in Chapter Six, the Lingbao scriptures conceive of five Demon-Kings who envy and resent adepts who seek to escape the profane realm (over which the Demon-Kings enjoy power) and ascend to an exalted status that supersedes their own. Thus, the story goes, these five Demon-Kings disguised themselves as the Five Monarchs in order to deceive Aqiu Zeng. They appeared before her and told her to abandon her religious pursuit because her father had already made plans for her to get married[60], and because the virtue of filial piety ordained that she must obey him. However, Aqiu Zeng could not be persuaded. After the Demon-Kings had given up and left, she built a bonfire in which to cremate herself alive, in the hope that her ashes would be blown by the wind and "settle down in the Dao's midst". She then climbed up on a wall above the blazing fire and jumped down into it. At this very moment, the Primordial Heavenly Worthy, moved by her faith, rescued her from the flames and transformed her instantly into a man. He then entrusted her/him to the Worthy God of the Southern Extreme as a disciple.

Thus in the story of Aqiu Zeng we have yet another example of how a truly devoted believer was ideally supposed to be capable of sacrificing his or her life for the quest of salvation. Also very significant is that the above story presents earnest religious pursuit and marriage as conflicting priorities for a woman. In other words, the story serves as a possible indication that there were female Daoist adepts who held celibacy as a serious priority much as male adepts did, or perhaps even that there existed a Daoist nun-hood as early as the fifth century.

Turning our attention back to Ge Xuan, it will be recalled from p. 400 that in the *Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing*, Ge Xuan is commended by Guangmiaoyin for remaining righteous during the span of numerous rebirths and accumulating a great amount of merit. Also, as can be recalled from p. 403, in the *Benxing yinyuan jing* we find Ge Xuan

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[60]Bokenkamp understands this portion of the narrative differently. According to him, the Demon Kings told her that her father was about to be reborn as a woman, and that she must follow his example by remaining a woman. He has apparently misinterpreted the phrase 汝父當出女身
The fact that my interpretation is correct is supported by the text of the story as it is found in the *Yunji qiqian* 102/11b. There, the corresponding portion reads 汝父當嫁汝身

criticizing the earthly Immortals for not accumulating enough merits during their previous lives. One of the most significant traits of the Lingbao texts is how they fully utilize the notions of karma and reincarnation as foundations for exhortation. The main body of the *Benxing yinyuan jing* is made up of Ge Xuan's own description of numerous (albeit a small portion of the total number) reincarnations that he underwent before achieving his privileged status. The sequence of lives thus described skillfully demonstrates the principle of cause and effect, serving a didactic purpose for believers at all levels. For example, Ge Xuan tells how in one life he was born into a wealthy family, and because he mistreated his servants, became reborn as a messenger who was constantly beaten and abused by those he serviced. In order to better his fate, he gave his personal belongings to the poor and served a Daoist priest as a lay disciple. This earned him a rebirth as an aristocrat. But because he enjoyed fishing and hunting he died and went to hell where he was made to walk amidst "sword mountains and double-edged sword trees and was boiled in hot water and made to swallow fire". He then underwent successive rebirths as a pig and then a goat. He was then reborn as a lowly man of evil character who frequently defrauded people of their money. This caused him to be reborn as an ox. After being slain and eaten, he was rewarded (perhaps because he had fed and nourished others) with rebirth as a man of moderate social standing. In the rebirths that ensue, Ge Xuan began to progressively participate in the Daoist religion to an increasingly greater degree, which led to a marked improvement in his fortunes. In one of these lives he finally became a Daoist adept. But because he was so busy with his duties as a teacher and a performer of rituals, he proclaimed the wish to be reborn as a woman so that he could enjoy himself in silent non-action. During his subsequent life as a woman, he/she carried out retreats and read scriptures and proclaimed the wish to be born as a king who could act as a powerful patron of the Daoist religion. He was thus reborn into a royal household, and when still the crown prince, he proclaimed the wish to become a hermit.[61] Eventually, in what was to

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[61]The text tells us that during his life as a prince he acquainted himself with circle of future religious

become the next to the last of his incarnations, Ge Xuan became a Daoist master who "aspired to the deeds of the Great Vehicle". He thus went to a master of the doctrines (*fashi*) to receive the Great Scriptures of the Three Caverns and lived a life of constant worship and observance of retreats and precepts while practicing dietetics and methods of "expelling and retaining" (*tuna*). But because he had still not yet eliminated his causes (*yinyuan*) for rebirth, he died and was reborn into a Daoist household and once again grew up to be a Daoist adept and again engaged in the practices of his preceding life. This time he succeeded in capturing the attention of the Superior Saints (*shangsheng*) and became the recipient of revealed texts.

After being told by Ge Xuan about the process that he had gone through, the earthly Immortals exclaimed as follows:

> Heavenly Worthies and Superior Men seek the Dao through a long process over a long [time] spanning over [entire] kalpas. Thus his acquisition of the status of Immortal Duke truly has its [justifiable] reason. We have now thoroughly seen that the meritorious deeds that we have performed in our previous lives are thin, and that the scriptures we have received are few. How can we demand and request the status of a High Immortal? Hereby we must [be] mindful [to] receive the scriptures of the Dadong (Shangqing scriptures?) and train diligently, fondly longing for the Dao. [With a] heart

> of compassion [we must] rescue those in trouble and thus hope [to accomplish] the Way of Heavenly Ascension.[62]

Having finally gotten his message across, Ge Xuan reinforced it by saying:

> There is nothing that I have not experienced. [My experiences] cannot be [sufficiently] put into writing. My toil and suffering is are difficult to describe. [Only after undergoing all of this] did I for the first time receive my present reward.[63]

Near the end of the *Benxing yinyuan jing*, the text states that one of the earthly Immortals told Ge Xuan about how one time he had encountered Zhang Daoling in full divine splendor attended by divine throngs on Mt. Kunlun[64]. The earthly Immortal then asked Ge Xuan about how Zhang Daoling had achieved his exalted status. To this Ge Xuan replied:

> The Heavenly Master, in his deeds and experiences also toiled and suffered over the span of many kalpas. He observed retreats and precepts, and read scriptures. He spread the [teachings of] the Dao and saved many. Up on high he made the Obscure Perfection his model, and savored the flavor of

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figures (who were palace attendants at this particular incarnation and time) which included the Buddhists Shi Daowei, Zhu Falan and Daoists Zheng Siyuan and Zhang Tai. Nothing is known by modern scholarship regarding whom Shi Daowei and Zhang Tai were. Zheng Siyuan is the name of the actual disciple of Ge Xuan who was also the teacher of Ge Hong. Zhu Falan is the name of one of the Indian Buddhist masters in the famous legend of Han Emperor Ming's dream (which led to the introduction of Buddhism into China) who putatively came to Luoyang in 67 A.D. However, Bokenkamp speculates that the Zhu Falan mentioned here alludes to a monk by the same name who trained together with Zhi Qian on Mt. Qionglong. He goes on to speculate about a possible connection during the third century between the Ge clan and an early southern Buddhist tradition for the purpose of whom Zhi Qian had carried out his translation work. See Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures" pp.466-467.

[62]5b-6a. See Plate 210.

[63]6a. See Plate 211.

[64]The legendary cosmic mountain in the west.

> the rare and subtle. In is reincarnating and seeking the Dao, he far surpassed me.[65]

So once again, in his reply regarding Zhang Daoling, Ge Xuan reinforces the basic message while paying verbal homage to the first Heavenly Master. This indicates that while the Lingbao scriptures laid claim to being the most sacred of texts, they did not seek to undermine the authority of the Heavenly Masters sect. While it cannot be ascertained completely what sort of relationship existed between the original proponents of the Lingbao scriptures and the Heavenly Masters sect, it does not seem to have been antagonistic.

The basic message of the *Benxing yinyuan jing* is that to attain an immortality of the highest caliber requires virtually limitless "toil and suffering" over countless life spans. If an adept's efforts do not achieve the greatest results they are not futile, since they do allow him rebirth into a setting where full-time training is again possible. As can be seen, Ge Xuan describes not only his past lives as a religious man, but also those less fortunate lives in which he acted in ways which brought him punishment. Thus, the text illustrates the ways in which the laws of cause and effect work upon living beings of all kinds, and thus encourages moral goodness in its readers, regardless of their social status and mode of affiliation with the religion. Also, by describing at such length the sequence of diverse rebirths, the text conveys the elusiveness of the final goal, which is realized only after a painstaking and virtually endless process of advancements interspersed with devastating regressions. The adept is thus motivated to strive hard in his present life, since life as an adept is a hard-earned privilege which is much too valuable to waste.

The *Xuanyi quanjie falun miaojing* (*The [Perfected Man of the] Mysterious One's Marvelous Scripture of Wheel of the Doctrines of Encouragement and Admonishment*) describes the types of living and training to be carried out respectively by three categories

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[65]7a. See Plate 212.

of "gentlemen" that will lead to exalted forms of immortality after designated numbers of rebirths. The descriptions will now be examined. They are as follows:

> Upper gentlemen diligently seek to vastly spread open the gates of the doctrines. They put others first and themselves last. They help and save the king of the nation. They give their own food to help the poor. They go naked in order to clothe those who are cold. Their benevolence extends [even] to the birds and beasts. Their generosity reaches out to [all] living beings. They obey their masters and uphold the doctrines, always as if in the presence of a god. Engaging in a perpetual retreat they bitter contemplate [the Dao], diligently polishing [their insight into] the Dongxuan[66]. They expel and retain *qi* and fluids with their minds like ashes and their wills diligent. They cut off and abandon the burdens of lust[67]. The myriad thoughts are all eliminated [from their minds]. Their feelings are in harmony, their *qi* is supple, and men and gods alike rejoice in them. As for training that is like this, if for one death and one life one is relentless in his will, one will be able to become a Superior Immortal. His three masters will be sufficiently prepared(?) and his body will rise to the Great Ultimate. His rank will be that of an Immortal Chamberlain (*xianqing*).[68]
>
> Intermediate gentlemen are intensely fond [of the Dao] and their longings lie within the mysteries. They open up [the way to] salvation for all. They rescue those in danger and relieve those who suffer. They exert their effort

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[66]This probably refers to the Lingbao scriptures.
[67]Another possible translation is, "....burdens of forms."
[68]1a. See Plate 213.

and spread their virtue, establishing their field of merit[69]. They are loyal to their rulers and filial to their parents. Kindly and wise, they embrace benevolence. They wish to enjoy the Three Treasures. From sunrise till evening (or perhaps, "at sunrise and in the evening") they cultivate and polish [themselves]. They empty their minds and maintain the Dao. With their mouths they savor the holy volumes as they burn incense and scatter flowers. They penetrate and enter into the gates of the Dao. In eating they do not wish to be filled. In clothing themselves they do not mind being cold. Suffering does not demoralize them. They do not rejoice in pleasures. In toiling they do not slacken, and when weary they work even harder. With their various deeds all sufficiently carried out for three deaths and three lives with their wills and aspirations clear and firm, they will become able to fly and wander about in the [Realm of] Taiqing[70]. They will be given the post of Perfected Man of the Nine Palaces.[71]

Lower gentlemen cultivate their moral character, cutting off their emotions and withstanding their erotic desires. They nurture their spirits by ingesting (*fuyu*)[72] [medicines and *qi*]. They abandon and distance themselves from [worldly] glory and elegance. They reside and relax in desolate forests as they love the mountains and enjoy the streams. They bask in the enjoyment of the motionless Perfection. Free of desires and concerns they sustain [their self-discipline] firmly. They cut off grains and refrain from eating, as they observe a perpetual retreat and contemplate the Dao. They do not eat

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[69]An originally Buddhist term referring to the good retribution brought about by revering and serving the Three Treasures.

[70]One of the Three Pure Realms, ranking under the realms of Yuqing and Shangqing. Tao Hongjing's *Zhenling weiyi tu* places another realm, Taiji, in between Shangqing and Taiqing.

[71]1a-b. See Plate 214.

[72]This verb is used to refer to ingestional and non-ingestional methods (eg. see *Yunji qiqian* 74/11b and 11/52b).

> after the noon hour. They sit upright as they face their Master-Treasure. In going out and coming in they make the birds and beasts their companions. Alone they reside within caves [located on] cliffs. They live alone in desolate mountains. In their thoughts they do not long to return [to society]. Despair does not afflict their bodies. They strive strenuously amidst the forests and streams, cutting of [leaves and/or bark] from arbor vitae trees to make their meals. Signs of starvation can be seen upon their visages, but in their hearts they embrace sincerity [of faith and devotion]. While thoroughly afflicted with suffering and difficulty they always bear relaxed expressions. When faced with trials they do not fret, as their minds remain still and their spirits remain peaceful. Training in this manner moves the Emperor of the Void (*xuhuang*) up on high. If for nine deaths and nine lives they do not relent in their aspirations and remain ever the more firm, they will be able to transform. Mounting upon empty space, they will fly and wander about amidst the Five Peaks. They will freely wander in Great Non-being. From this they will advance in rank and become High Immortals.[73]

As we can see, all three types of gentlemen engage in severe asceticism. In all three categories, the ability to subject oneself to great toil and suffering while remaining faithful and determined amidst such conditions is cited as an essential virtue that brings about heavenly immortality. The question that comes to mind when comparing the above three categories is what the essential distinction is between the three levels of gentlemen. Severe asceticism is a trait common to all three. There appears to be no marked difference between them in the degree of their self-denial. If anything, the asceticism of the lower gentlemen is the most severe. The differentiating factor apparently lies somewhere else. The first

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[73] 1b-2a. See Plate 215.

possibility that thus comes to mind as the main determining factor is the importance of gaining merit through service towards all living beings in the form of evangelism and charity. Superior and intermediate gentlemen are both described as proficient in this regard, while lower gentlemen are described as only engaging in personal training. In this regard, the lower gentlemen appear similar to those earthly Immortals in the *Benxing yinyuan jing* whom Ge Xuan criticizes for practicing the "Small Vehicle". Yet they are not similar in that the lower gentlemen, unlike the earthly Immortals, revere the "Master-Treasure" and engage in "perpetual retreats", and in these regards bear allegiance to the Great Vehicle. Apparently the lower gentlemen are reclusive wilderness-dwelling ascetics affiliated with the Lingbao movement. Lower gentlemen seem to be less capable of meritorious social action not only because of their reclusion, but also because of their low status within the religious organization as well as society, which limits their capability to exert positive influence upon others. Upper gentlemen, on the other hand, seem to be leaders (or the leader) within the clergy who exercise influence even over the Emperor, and whose deeds have an impact upon the entire nation. While in a position of such power, upper gentlemen possess the selflessness and humility to starve or go naked for the sake of those in need. Intermediate gentlemen, then, are also people of significant clerical and social standing who can play instrumental roles in propagating the religion and helping those in need. This capacity to benefit the religion and the nation may also have to do with financial capabilities, i.e. the ability to give large sums of personal wealth to the religion, or the power to allocate the church's money to causes that benefit the needy. The former, of course, would require that the adept still have access to great personal wealth. Whether a full-time adept was allowed to retain personal wealth seems doubtful. As we will see later, the precepts expounded by the Lingbao movement appear to require that an advanced adept leave the wealthy aristocratic life. However, one's placement within the three categories was probably still largely determined by upbringing and social status, which likely had much bearing upon one's ability to advance within the clerical hierarchy. This could have

been easily rationalized on doctrinal grounds, since the principle of cause and effect so vigorously expounded in the Lingbao scriptures clearly explains that a high social standing is a reward for merits from past lives. One could thus reason further that an aristocrat has a higher accumulation of merit than does a peasant, and is therefore fewer rebirths away from heavenly immortality, provided that he "toils and suffers" in the religious life. Another hint that the three categories are based on social background can be found in how no mention is made of the study and recitation of scriptures in regard to the lower gentlemen, while we are told of how intermediate gentlemen "savor the holy volumes" and the upper gentlemen "diligently study the Dongxuan (Lingbao scriptures)". In other words, lower gentlemen may be those who are illiterate, due to lowly social background. As the holy scriptures were of paramount importance, it is understandable that the inability to study them would have been seen as a great disadvantage which would on its own set the lower gentlemen back by six to eight reincarnations. Fortunately (if the above conjecture is at all correct), the heavens were not believed to be ultimately closed to such adepts of lowly upbringing. Rigorous wilderness asceticism is thus prescribed in the present life as the means for achieving heavenly immortality eventually.

So far we have discussed how the Lingbao scriptures fully adopted the Mahayana Buddhist ideal of universal compassion and concept of transmigration to redefine their ideal saint. A vital question that remains is whether the ultimate salvation came to be thought of primarily as an extinction from samsara and whether the ideals of bodily longevity and immortality had been undermined and abandoned. This question is of great importance to this study, since as we have seen, strengthening and transforming the body was a central motive for Daoist asceticism. An altered view of the body and its role in one's salvation could drastically impact the methods and motives of severe asceticism. Of greatest interest in regard to this issue is the following passage found in the *Gongde qingzhong jing* (*The Scripture on the Lightness and Heaviness of Merit*):

[The Primordial Heavenly Worthy said], "You die, and you are born again. It becomes dark, and then light is restored. Heaven and earth rotate like the wheels of a cart. The births and deaths of people [follow one after another] like the shadow follows the body, and thus they are difficult to put an end to. Each *qi* follows the other and each seed produces causes. Good, bad, misfortune and blessing all have roots of destiny [by which they are caused]. They are caused not by heaven, earth nor [other] people; they in truth come from your own mind. The mind is, in other words, the spirit. Your bodily form is not proper to you. The reason for why you came to be born was because you came from the self-so-ness of vacuous non-being, and through certain causes entered into a womb, underwent transformations and were born. The father and mother who produced you in the womb are not the father and mother of your original birth. Your true father and mother are not here [in the ordinary world]. The love of your [true] father and mother (the Dao?) is great, and their lofty worth is unsurpassed. [As for] the father and mother who gave birth to you in your present existence; you were entrusted to them due to [past] causes and received the favor of their rearing and nurturing. Therefore you [should] repay them with propriety by calling them 'father' and 'mother'.

Therefore, the body that you receive is not your body. You only reside there and make it your house. By means of it you make your home in which you house yourself. You entrust yourself to it and make it your [bodily] form. I shall now teach you about being and non-being.

Therefore, those who acquire the Dao no longer have a [bodily] form. When you do not have a body, what afflictions could you have? The reason for why you have afflictions is only because you have a body. When you have a body, 100 afflictions are produced. If you have no body, you will

thereby enter into self-so-ness, and in your carrying out of actions you will merge with the Dao, and thereby your body and spirit will be one. If your body and mind merge into one, this will be your body of Perfection, and you will return to your [true] father and mother who first gave birth to you, and thus attain the Dao. You will no longer suffer, and you will never die. Even if you undergo extinction and deliverance (*miedu*), your spirit will go and your body will not be destroyed. For your entire life you will return to your origin to never leave it again.

If the body violates and commits the 100 evil sins, it will come to an end and die. This is what is called death. You die and become destroyed, and then return to parents who install you in a womb. If your causes for punishment are not exhausted, you cannot return to your true father and mother. Your spirit will serve the sentence of muddy labor (in hell) and your body will turn to ashes and dust. The dust and ashes fly up and turn into light particles (*shuang*)[74]. The ***hun*** soul is released [from hell] and merges with the light. Thus the hun soul and light transform and merge into one, and then achieve rebirth and return to existence as a human being. The body and spirit follow each other and never leave each other. In this way good and evil [actions] in the body each have their appropriate consequence.[75]

The above begins by addressing the quintessentially Buddhistic issue of how to end the cycle of rebirths and the suffering that it entails. It then states that all causes for one's existence lie nowhere else but in the mind (*xin*), or the spirit (*shen*). The text goes on to

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[74]The character *shuang* has no commonly used definition which is a noun. However, it is used as an adjective referring to the brightness of dawn. Following the example of Isabelle Robinet, I have rendered this word as "light", for lack of a better conceivable alternative. See Robinet, *Histoire du taoisme: des origines au XIVe siecle* (1991), p. 157.

[75]33b-34b. See Plate 216.

discuss how by obtaining the Dao one can avoid hell and rebirth and instead merge eternally with the Dao, which is one's true "father and mother".

The body, unlike the spirit, is described as something which is not actually one's own and as a mere temporary dwelling for the spirit. The text states that having this body is the cause for all suffering and that one who has obtained the Dao no longer "has a body". That "not having a body" does not mean to literally have no body of flesh can be deduced in the above passage from how the adept who "has no body" is described as merging his body (this most likely refers to the body of flesh) with his spirit. The inspiration for this abstract notion of "not having a body" comes not from Buddhism but from the 13th chapter of the *Laozi* which reads, "The reason for why I have great afflictions is because I have a body. If I had no body, what worries would I have."[76] In explaining this passage, the Heshanggong commentary, which is the Laozi commentary recommended for study in the Lingbao scriptures (see *Taiji yinzhu baojue* pp.14a-b) states as follows:

> When you "have a body" you worry about labor, and are concerned about starving and freezing. Your emotions are affected by humiliations, thereby causing misfortunes....[77]
>
> If you make yourself not have a body, you will embody the Dao spontaneously, lightly ascending upon the clouds, exiting and entering the midst of non-being. Spiritually corresponding with the Dao, what worries could you have?[78][79]

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[76]See D.C. Lau tr. *Tao Te Ching* p.19.

[77]This is the comment to the portion, "The reason for why I have great afflictions is because I have a body.

[78]This is the comment to the portion, "If I had no body, what worries would I have?"

[79]*Daode zhenjing zhu* (HY682/TT363) 1/10b. The commentary is ascribed to a Former Han Dynasty hermit called Heshanggong. Opinion among modern scholars concerning the date of this text is divided, ranging from Latter Han to roughly the time contemporary to the Lingbao scriptures. Kusuyama Haruki proposes that while there was an original Heshanggong commentary that may have been written in the Latter Han, portions dealing with physiological theories and method of life-nurturing were added to the text during the late Six Dynasties (Liang Dynasty or later) by Lingbao proponents. See *Rooshi densetsu no kenkyuu* (1979), pp. 5-160. See Plate 217.

Based on the above passage, the concept of "not having a body" is again not to be taken literally since it is described as something that is to accomplished before one can embody the Dao. "Not having a body" thus refers to a state of mind in which the adept is oblivious to concerns and worries involving the sustenance and survival of his body, and is no longer swayed by corruptive desires to give pleasure to the senses and gratification to the ego.[80] As we will see in section B (see p. 455), this abstract usage of the phrase "having a body" is also to be found in the precepts promoted by the Lingbao movement. In teaching the importance of rising above the concerns and desires pertaining to having a body, the following passage from the *Dingzhi tongwei jing* (*The Scripture on Stabilizing the Will and Penetrating the Subtleties*) uses Buddhist concepts particularly well:

> The essential lesson [you ought to learn] is that you must understand that [all] within the Three Realms and Three Eras (past, present, future) is empty. [You must] understand that the Three Eras are empty [and that] even though you have your body, all is going to return to emptiness. If you are clear on the principle of returning to emptiness, you will thereby be able to forget about your body. [As for] those who are able to forget about their bodies; no longer will they love their bodies. When they no longer love their bodies, they will be able to have nothing that they love. Only the Dao will be [the object of] their love. [As for] those who are able to love the Dao; the Dao will love them too. Those who obtain the love of the Dao will for the first time return to Perfection.[81]

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[80]Livia Kohn, in her article "Eternal Life in Taoist Mysticism" (Journal of the American Oriental Society no.110.4 (1990) pp.622-640), observes that the word *shen* (translated above as "body") is generally used in Taoist texts in a negative fashion to refer to the body that is afflicted with the consciousness of a personal identity, and that *xing* (translated above as "bodily form") gets used in a positive fashion to describe the body as a duplication of the cosmos. She thus proposes that shen should be translated as "personal body" or "extended self", and that xing should be translated as "physis" or "physical body". She also admits that the usages of the two words do not always conform with this analysis, as is the case here where the two are used interchangeably.

[81]4b. See Plate 218.

Taught here is the fundamental Buddhist principle of emptiness (*sunyata*) which is meant to serve as an insight that will allow the adept to "forget his body" and become able to attain Perfection. By understanding that neither his body nor any of the things that the mundane world has to offer possess any permanent and self-sufficient reality in themselves, the adept can concern himself solely with seeking the Dao while disregarding everything else.

Although this concept of union with the Dao through the disregarding of the body as well as all other worldly objects is certainly conducive to severe asceticism, it also seems to define the ultimate accomplishment solely in terms of insight and spirituality. If one describes the body as a "temporary dwelling" and as "empty", one would seem to be denying that the flesh could be made immortal. Was the quintessentially Daoist motive for asceticism, namely the strengthening and transformation of the body, thus undermined? The key to answering this question seems to lie in how one understands the phrase "the body and the spirit will be one" and the term "body of Perfection", mentioned in the passage quoted on pp. 422-423 from the *Gongde qingzhong jing*. Do such concepts convey a concern for keeping the spirit inside the body so that the life span can be lengthened? An important passage which sheds considerable light upon the issue is the following one from the *Benyuan dajie jing*:

> The Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate said, "The Dao is non-being. It expands and wraps around infinitely. If you wish to seek it nearby, within your very own body it also exists. By means of being, enter into non-being. Continuously contemplate [the Dao] in order to obtain what is marvelous. The myriad things in their abundance are all but like mirages. They will all return to emptiness. The same is so with the human body. When the body dies, the spirit leaves. It is comparable to a house. When

> the house is destroyed, a person cannot stand there. If the body is damaged, the spirit will not reside there. You [therefore] must control your thoughts to stabilize your will. [You must] make your body still in order to make your spirit peaceful. Treasure your *qi* in order to preserve your *jing*. Forgetting both your thoughts and concerns, darkly contemplate and look within, and your body and spirit will merge into one. If the body and spirit merge into one, they will soon become the body of Perfection."[82]

Here also the body is described as a temporary dwelling for the spirit. However, the passage goes on to describe how through meditation one can endeavor to keep the body and spirit together in order to stay alive, and clearly states the importance of not letting the body get harmed. Keeping the two together involves intense meditation and discipline of the mind, but also involves the stabilization of the body and the retention of *qi* and *jing*. This eventually leads to the realization of the body of Perfection. Although the above passage is also very vague as to what the "body of Perfection" is, the realization of it is apparently tantamount to discovering the Dao that resides in the body. The text also assures that by employing one's temporal transitory body (being), one obtains and enters into the eternal Dao (non-being) that is latent within it. It can thus be said that the human body and its maintenance still held an integral place within the new soteriology. Yet, further questions naturally arise regarding the nature of this "body of Perfection". Was it conceived of as a rarefied, transformed body? Is it best understood as a metaphor for the innate ineffable Dao or Non-being that the adept somehow comes to terms with? Was it thought of as an entity which would at some point be liberated from the body of flesh, or was the entire flesh supposed to be transmogrified into an eternal entity? Interpretations probably varied from individual to individual within the Lingbao movement. While they were eager to adopt the appealing doctrines of Buddhism, there was also the desire and

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[82]2a. See Plate 219.

need to leave open the possibility for the transformation and eternal life of the flesh. It is thus noteworthy that the *Gongde qingzhong jing*, while on the one hand calling the body a "temporary dwelling", also has the following passage which asserts the possibility of bodily ascension into heaven:

> Inside the human body there are the 36,000 gods of the Three Palaces and Six Bowels. When the human body does evil, the bodily deities report it to the Three Officials. When the human body does good, they pass on their name of immortality (recommend them for selection as Immortals). [As for] life, death, punishment and blessing, none of these are not first and foremost caused by the bodily deities. Shadows and echoes respond appropriately in their natural manner. People are born endowed with *qi*. The *qi* gathers and forms the gods. If a person is able to nurture his *qi*, the gods will thus exist [in him] for a long time. If you contemplate internally and guard what is Perfect, what is Perfect will not depart from the body. If there is [an adept] who obtains the Life-Extending Talisman of the Great Mystery, the 36,000 gods will gather their *qi* and manifest their forms, raising up his body as he ascends to the heavens in broad daylight. Hastening about in a chariot of clouds, he will ascend and enter into the vacuous emptiness (the sky). If you lose your *jing* and lose your *qi*, your myriad [bodily] gods escape and fall out [of your body]. Your gods will wander and your *qi* will scatter, and your [bodily] form will perish as an empty corpse.[83]

Methods such as those described above, which employ talismans and are designed to mobilize, manifest and gather together the bodily gods who in theory propel the adept into the heavens, will be discussed in section C. As we will see, these methods involved

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[83] 21a. See Plate 220.

intense fasting, meditation and possibly sleep-avoidance. Of note here is the usage of the character *shen* (which I have rendered here as "gods" rather than as "spirit") which unlike in the other lengthy passage quoted from the same scripture (see pp. 422-423) refers primarily not to a single entity equated to the "mind" (*xin*), but to thousands of entities which seem best understood as personifications of the forces that animate each and every part of the body. For the preservation and mobilization of these entities, the adept is told to treasure and nurture the basic components (*jing*, *qi*) with which his body is endowed. If we can assume that Lingbao adherents believed literally what is described above, we can conclude that in spite of the adoption of Buddhist ideas, they believed that the flesh could be made immortal. Of course, we cannot assume this, and it would seem to me more realistic to think that there would have been a considerable degree of variation from one believer to the next in terms how literally they believed in bodily immortality and how strongly they leaned towards Buddhistic views of emptiness and impermanence. It is also likely that many of those who believed in "ascension in broad daylight" quite literally, saw it as an ideal so lofty and elusive that they themselves entertained no ambition of achieving it.

Of paramount interest within this issue of Buddhist impact and its effect upon beliefs in bodily immortality is the usage of the word *miedu* which I translated on p. 423 as "extinction and deliverance". This word is a Buddhist term which in Buddhist texts refers to the enlightenment, extinction and liberation from *samsara* which constitutes the greatest salvation. In the Lingbao scriptures, the term also describes a worthy mode of salvation. However, it is a mode of salvation that is only the second best alternative (the best alternative is the "liberation from the corpse" in which bodily death is "feigned") to the highest ideal of "ascension in broad daylight". What was essentially thought to happen was that the person would indeed die, but the spirit would not experience punishment in hell and the body would not decompose, and one day resurrection would take place. Most instructive in regard to this matter is a passage found in the *Mingzhen ke* (*The Curriculum*

of Bright Perfection) (4a). The text sets forth categories of practices and lifestyles with descriptions of the consequences that they bring after one's current life in the world. The categories range from the most blessed who ascend to the realm of Yuqing, down to those wretched sinners who suffer the torments of hell, which are portrayed vividly. After first describing the people who achieve "ascension in broad daylight"[84] and "liberation from the corpse"[85] respectively, the text states:

> [As for those who upon being] born into the world refine their Perfection by ingesting the divine elixir and protect and vitalize their Divine Chambers and Five Palaces (viscera) with the Five Rocks[86]; their merit is slight and their virtue is narrow. Their destiny is not yet to ascend to heaven. Their bodies will achieve extinction and deliverance, and their skeletons (or "bodies"?) will be fragrant and full forever throughout hundreds of thousands of kalpas. After a while they will return to form and once again obtain life to return to the midst of humans. Their wisdom will be thoroughly perceptive and they will foresee good and bad fortune. They will command and control demons and spirits. Transmigrating unceasingly they will definitely be able to [eventually] receive documents and become Perfected Men of the Nine Palaces [of the realm of Taiqing].[87]

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[84]The practices that accomplish this are described as follows: "Abandon lust and cut off your emotions. Engage in a perpetual retreat and uphold the precepts. Recite the scriptures morning and evening without tiring amidst the hours. Applying yourself to only the Dao." The text states that people such as this will ultimately ascend to the realm of Yuqing if they remain unwavering in their aspirations for immortality throughout countless successive incarnations. Thus again the elusiveness of the ultimate goal and how it requires countless lifetimes is emphasized. See Plate 221.

[85]The adept who achieve this are described as follows: "Cultivate and practice [according to] the scriptures and teachings. Swallow the essences and swallow *qi*, always without tiring. Sustain a retreat, ingest [medicines] and expel and retain." The text goes on the state that adepts who do this will feign their deaths to become minor Immortals who roam the Five Peaks, and later are born again into the midst of men to study under a proper master and achieve ascension to the realm of Shangqing. See Plate 222.

[86]This most likely refers to the method of "Boiling the Five Quartz Pieces in Sesame Seed Oil" discussed in Chapter Six.

[87]4a. See Plate 223.

Most interesting here is the reference to the method of "protecting" the "Five Palaces" with "five rocks" which is very likely the method of "Boiling the Five Quartz Pieces in Sesame Oil" which, as we saw in Chapter Six, was promoted by the Shangqing movement as a means for achieving resurrection and for "avoiding grains".

Also useful for enhancing our understanding of the word *miedu* as it is used in a Daoist context is a story found in the *Yunji qiqian* 101/11a-12b as a quote from a certain *Lingbao benxing jing*, which was probably one of the Lingbao scriptures or which at least had a close relationship to them.[88] The story is a hagiography of a certain deity called the Perfected Venerable Lord of Cinnabar Numinosity who prior to his apotheosis was a man named Zheng Ren-an who lived in the mythical World of Chanli. To summarize the story briefly, Zheng Ren-an, who had been training in mountain-dwelling seclusion from the age of 12, encountered a certain Master Xuanhe who transmitted to him the "Perfect Writs of the Black Emperor" (*Lingbao chishu wuqi xuantian heidi zhenwen*) and the "Ten Superior Precepts of Wisdom" (*Zhihui shangpin shijie*). Unfortunately, the nation later was afflicted with a huge flood, whereupon Zheng Ren-an employed the power of the Perfect Writs to rescue the populace and then gave the Writs to the king, after which the Writs flew back up to the heavens from which they originally had issued. Because he no longer possessed the Writs, Zheng Ren-an had disqualified himself for ascension. The text thus states:

> His fate was to undergo extinction and deliverance. He feigned [the end of his] destiny and proclaimed his death at the Hill of Beirong where his holy corpse was exposed for 30-odd years, during which the body never decayed. Its lustrous complexion was fresh and clear, no different from when he was alive.[89]

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[88]The title is cognate with catalog entries 13 and 27. The aforementioned story of Aqiu Zeng, which is found in the *Chishu yujue*, is also found in the *Yunji qiqian* as a quote from this *Dongxuan benxing jing*.
[89]*Yunji qiqian* 101/11b. See Plate 224.

The story goes on to say that when a forest fire raged through the hill, the body and the area surrounding it remained unharmed and that a radiance of three colors emanated from the body. When the king, out of curiosity, built a fire to burn the body, the body was resurrected.

Finally, regarding *miedu*, it must be mentioned that among the Lingbao scriptures there exists the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao miedu wulian shengshi miaojing* (*The Marvelous Scripture on Extinction and Deliverance, the Fivefold Refinement for Reviving the Corpse*)[90] a funerary liturgy designed to bring about the phenomenon of *miedu* through the power of ritual for the sake of those who have been unable to achieve the feat through their own practice and merit. Reading through the liturgy makes it clear that as a result of the ritual the interred corpse is supposed to be preserved intact indefinitely while the *hun* soul is delivered from the underworld and sent to the Southern Palace of Fire (see p. 310) for purification and refinement. Ultimately, after a very long time, the body and *po* soul are to be resurrected and re-united with the *hun* soul, and eventually some day heavenly ascension is to be achieved.

Returning our attention back to the passage from the *Gongde qingzhong jing* quoted on pp. 422-423, it can be recognized that in the Lingbao version of the transmigration theory, the spirit (*shen* , *hun*) and body (*shen*, *qi*, *po*) are in all cases, whether good or bad, inalienably associated. Thus even in the worst scenario where the sinner's soul receives long and miserable punishment in hell and the body decomposes into dust, the soul and body (transformed to dust and then to light) eventually re-unite to form the entity that enters a womb to be reborn. In sum, the Lingbao soteriological scheme by no means disregards the significance of the body for achieving immortality, "extinction and

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[90]This scripture and its concept of *miedu* have been discussed by Stephen Bokenkamp in "Death and Ascent in Lingbao Taoism." *Taoist Resources*, 1.2 (1989), pp. 1-20. However, Bokenkamp has understood *miedu* differently from the way I have, seeing it as a process in which rebirth, not resurrection is achieved. I do not think his interpretation makes sense, since if one is going to enter into a human womb to reborn, it would be senseless to preserve the corpse in the ground. As we have already seen, the understanding within the Linbao movement of rebirth was that the body would decompose into dust and then into light, after which it re-unites with the *hun* soul before becoming reborn.

deliverance" or any other afterlife scenario. The blessed person is characterized by the degree to which his body is kept intact and how his soul evades the torments of hell.

Still, as we have seen, there are clear statements asserting the impermanence of the body and glorifying a merging with a Non-being that could be identified with a non-corporeal mode of existence. It must be said that an inner tension had come to exist between views emphasizing and de-emphasizing the perpetuation of the flesh. Presumably, asceticism based on the former types of views would manifest itself in austerities designed to strengthen the body, while that based on the latter types of views could conceivably entail abuse or neglect of the body.

To sum up this section, severe asceticism was exalted as a definitive trait of a truly great adept, as it was in previous forms of Daoism. However, the Lingbao texts greatly re-defined the ideal of the ascetic holy man by adding an intensely altruistic dimension, as well as an institutionalized dimension. An adept who functioned independently from the organization of the Masters who provided access to the Lingbao curriculum of scriptures, doctrines, ethics and ritual (the Great Vehicle) was criticized as being a proponent of the Small Vehicle who selfishly sought his own salvation at the exclusion of others. In his commitment to the welfare of living beings and to the propagation of the religion, a true holy man was expected to exhibit self-denial, ideally even to the extent of giving his life in altruism or in martyrdom. Because the Lingbao scriptures adopted the Buddhist theories of karma and reincarnation as a central component of their world view, severe asceticism is promoted largely as a means for gaining merit for gaining favorable rebirths and making progress towards the ultimate goal of heavenly immortality. Based on this world view, adepts were apparently evaluated based on their perceived accumulation of merit from past lives, which translated into the status that they were to have within the clergy as well as the remaining number of lives within which heavenly immortality was deemed attainable to them. This evaluation was probably based largely on the adept's social background.

However, severe asceticism was deemed essential for all serious adepts regardless of how they were thus evaluated, likely even more so those of lowly status.

Also of undoubtedly great impact upon how Daoists conceived their highest ideals were new ideas regarding the body and its place in the quest for immortality, which skillfully combined Buddhistic transmigration theories with Daoist philosophy. The result was an attitude, expressed in several passages, which seeks to transcend our realm of suffering and impermanence by becoming oblivious to the body and its needs. While such an attitude was certainly conducive to severe asceticism, it also had the potential to undermine the archaic ideal of bodily immortality and engender the types of ascetic abuses of the body which came to be denounced in the *Taishang dadao yuqing jing*, which we will examine in Chapter Eight.

B. Precepts and Retreats

As has already been mentioned, an essential element of the Lingbao doctrinal system is its mythology, which describes the cosmic cycles through which the universe progresses, and the creative, life-giving role played by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy and his scriptures. A relatively brief version of the history of the universe is to be found in the *Zuigen dajie jing* (*The Scripture on the Roots of Sins and the Great Precepts*, 1/2a-3b).[91] The story, narrated by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy to the Most High Lord of the Dao (*taishang daojun*), goes as follows:

> During the years of the Longhan [era] (a mythical period, as are Yankang, Chiming, Kaihuang and Shanghuang which appear later in this passage), I

[91] A longer version is found in the *Taishang zhutian lingshu duming miaojing* (HY23/TT26) 11b-14a.

brought forth the Doctrines (*fa*)[92] in order to save people. [People of] those days were simple and naive, not knowing the sounds of the Doctrines. They simply acted according to their purity and simplicity, and were free of wicked thoughts. They knew nothing about propriety and righteousness, and there were no rulers and subjects. They knew nothing about destiny nor of cause and effect. I instructed them with lessons on the Doctrines [so that they could] gradually enter into the gates of the doctrines (*famen*)[93]. They devoted their minds and applied themselves faithfully, and did not create sinful roots [for themselves]. Everybody lived a long time and nobody died a premature death.

After I had gone through and left, heaven and earth were destroyed. No longer was there any light. Men and women became extinct, and sunk into the utter darkness of the hundreds of millions of kalpas of the Yankang period.

[When the] opening up of the light of the Chiming era [came about], heaven and earth were restored to their positions, and I once again came out into the world and assumed the title, Lord of No Name. I brought out the Doctrines and instructed, and saved the various gods (*tian*)[94] and humans. The men and women in that era had discrepancies in their [degree of] refinement and roughness in their behavior. Those who were faithful with their entire hearts obtained longevity. Those who gave rise to covetousness, wickedness and disloyalty all died prematurely. Thereby there came to exist the roots for punishments, blessings, causes and effects.

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[92]This is a Chinese Buddhist term referring to the doctrines or Dharma of the Buddha. Feeling that it is inappropriate to use the term "Dharma" to refer to the Daoist religion, I have rendered the term as "the Doctrines".

[93]This is originally a Buddhist term referring to the Buddhist teachings which are the "gateway" to understanding the ultimate truth.

[94]This is the standard word used in Chinese Buddhist texts to translate the Sanskrit word *deva*.

After I had gone through and left, the kalpa came to a close, and all between heaven and earth was again destroyed, and once again there was no light. It remained utterly dark for five kalpas.

When it came to the first year of the Kaihuang period, the Perfect Writs of the Lingbao opened up and put into orbit the Three [Heavenly] Forms (sun moon and stars). Heaven and earth were restored to their proper positions as the Five Writs shined brilliantly. I, amidst the Heaven of Original Greenness assumed the title of Primordial Heavenly Worthy. I expounded doctrines and teachings to indoctrinate the various gods.

At the time when things first opened up[95], the people were pure and simple. They tied ropes together [as clothing] and thus went about. They were like primordial chaos in the workings of their minds (free of thoughts and desires), and they were thus merged with the self-so-ness. They all attained a long life span of 36,000 years.

When it got to the first year of the Shanghuang era, their hearts were gradually becoming corrupt. I feared that this would lead to their demise and that the orthodox doctrines would be incomplete. Therefore I traveled about from land to land, expounding and transmitting the Heavenly Writs, making everybody enter into the [religion of the] Doctrines and bring to fulfillment what was in their hearts. After the kalpa had progressed half way, their life destinies had gradually declined, and their life spans got to be only 18,000-odd years.

Ever since I went through and left, the cycle of heaven has accelerated. The hearts of people have become corrupt. They plot rebellions one after another. Out of jealousy they harm those who fare better than themselves. They compete for recognition. They do not believe in the scriptures and

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[95]The time of creation when heaven and earth came apart to assume their positions above and below.

doctrines and they doubt the heavenly truths. [Saying] good [things with their] mouths [and thinking] evil [thoughts in their] minds, they create doctrines of their own. They licentiously worship evil gods. They kill living beings [as sacrifices] when they offer their prayers. Confused and not devoted, they cruelly harm each other, and bring about their own premature deaths. Their fate has no means by which it can be managed, and their life spans have no determined length. They brought about the [existence of] a record of their sins. [With their] bad seeds[96] they transmigrate through the five roads[97] and eight difficulties[98] and have sunk into the *santu*[99]. Nobody knows the roots of their destiny. Utterly dark within the perpetual night, they are unable to return [to the realm of humans] for hundreds of millions of kalpas. Dragged about through mud and soot they are so pitiable. I now declare unto you the precepts for governing your body, [the instructions regarding] merit and retribution, the consequences of sins and the roots of destiny [which govern] birth and death. Hereby you shall know and accept my teachings. Be careful in your actions, without forgetting. Evangelize extensively and open up [the way to] salvation. Reveal it to all gods and humans. Make all men and women entrust themselves to the Gates of the Doctrines, obeying precepts and carrying out retreats, distancing themselves from the various sources of evil. Make them joyful and peaceful amidst their lives and deaths, obtaining the Dao spontaneously.[100]

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[96]In Yogacara Buddhism, "seeds" refer to the momentum of karma that lingers in the Storehouse Consciousness. "Bad seeds" here apparently refers to the bad karma which brings bad consequences.

[97]Buddhist term. This refers to the five modes of existence in samsara; hell, hungry ghost, animal, human, and god.

[98]Buddhist term. This refers to eight circumstances which make salvation difficult. For a Daoist version of this concept see Chapter Six ft. nt. 34.

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[99]This is probably a mistranscription of 三途, a Buddhist term referring to the three deplorable modes of existence; hell, hungry ghost and animal.

[100]See Plate 225.

This passage describes a cyclical cosmic process which occurs over an inconceivably long period of time. Long eras of primal darkness and chaos are interspersed with eras during which a world populated with living beings exists. Each time such a world is re-created, the greatest god-head who personifies the Dao (known in the present continuing era as the Primordial Heavenly Worthy) appears and teaches gods and humans the essential doctrines that lead to happiness and long life. His Lingbao Five Writs are themselves the creative and life-giving force of the universe which restores heaven and earth to their proper positions. Those who receive and obey his teachings live long, and those who are faithless and disobedient die young and accumulate sins. After the he leaves the world, the world goes into a decline and is eventually destroyed. In the description of the world (apparently our world) created in the first year of the Kaihuang period, we find described an initial state of blissful primitive innocence, similar to what is described in the *Wufu xu*, which degenerates as the people fall victim to their own greed, avarice and hypocrisy, the punishment for which is death, damnation and rebirth in various undesirable modes of existence. Thus, the Primordial Heavenly Worthy says here that out of pity he reveals sets of precepts along with teachings on matters of cause and effect. The hope is that through contact with his teachings, all men and women can be led to observe the precepts (*jie*) and carry out retreats (*zhai*) which can enable them to be free from the causes of their misfortunes.

We can thus see how precepts and retreats were regarded as the fundamental components of the religious life. Precepts and retreats of numerous varieties and levels of intensity are described throughout the Lingbao scriptures. Severe asceticism thus typically manifests itself in the form of highly intensified precepts and retreats.

Various sets of precepts are included in the Lingbao scriptures in order to accommodate the capability and religiosity of a diverse variety of believers. The most advanced set of precepts endorsed in the Lingbao scriptures is the 300 Great Precepts for

Monitoring the Body (*guanshen dajie*), which exists today, preserved in the *Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajie wen* (not one of the catalogued Lingbao scriptures, but apparently known and esteemed by Lingbao proponents) as well as in the *Wushang Biyao* 45/1a-17b. These precepts, to be examined shortly later on, demanded a degree of dedication and self-denial that was beyond the capacity of an ordinary person. Thus the *Zuigen dajie jing* states as follows:

> The Primordial [Heavenly King's[101]] wisdom regulations in three categories have been composed into the Great Precepts for Monitoring the Body which consist of 300 entries in total. With the exception of those who have the virtue of a Superior Immortal, who penetrate the Three Pure Realms with their bodies, and enter into self-so-ness with their bodies, no one is able to observe these [ordinances]. [As for] men and women at the end of the age; their hearts have become destroyed and their behavior has become lazy and arbitrary. All of them harbor doubts [about the true doctrines] and hasten towards myriad [other] means. Those who guard the truth are few. [Most people of later generations] are certainly unable to revere and take upon themselves the [Great Precepts for] Monitoring the Body. Because they do not revere and uphold them, they are bound to bring upon themselves great calamities. I therefore have now written the Ten Precepts of the Upper Section. These can be used to save people. By widely teaching these [ordinances] we can make [people] enter the Gates of the Doctrines.[102]

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[101]As will be discussed later, the Primordial Heavenly King (not Worthy) is a prominent figure in the mythology surrounding the celestial origins of these precepts.

[102]1/5b. See Plate 226.

Apparently the Great Precepts for Monitoring the Body, at least in their original form, were authored contemporaneously or prior to the Lingbao scriptures and were directed towards the most advanced adepts. While the *Zuigen dajie jing* acknowledges the divine provenance of the Great Precepts for Monitoring the Body, it sets forth, out of the concern for saving those less capable, a newer and less demanding set of precepts. The ten precepts that it thus sets forth are as follows:

> 1) Do not envy those who excel you. [Do not] persecute those who are worthy and enlightened.
>
> 2) Do not drink liquor in reckless abandon, defiling and disturbing your Three Palaces (Elixir Fields).
>
> 3) Do not commit adultery with another man's wife, out of your greed for the delicate and smooth [touch of a woman].
>
> 4) Do not abandon and neglect the aged, the ill, the poor and the lowly.
>
> 5) Do not insult righteous people or verbally attack your fellow students [of the Dao].
>
> 6) Do not greedily accumulate valuable treasures without being willing to give alms.
>
> 7) Do not kill living beings [as offerings in order to] worship the demons and spirits of the Six Heavens[103].
>
> 8) Do not criticize and discuss the scriptures, making them out to be fallacious.
>
> 9) Do not turn your back upon your obligation to your teacher by deceiving and tricking new students.

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[103]See p. 323 ft. nt. 118.

10) Be impartial with your entire heart, exercising benevolence and filiality towards all.[104]

What is described here is not severe asceticism; it is no more than basic morality and obedience to be expected of believers of all levels. A very similar rudimentary set of ten precepts is found *Dingzhi tongwei jing*. As Bokenkamp has pointed out, the first five of these precepts were inspired by the Buddhist set of five precepts for laymen which proscribe killing, stealing, adultery, deception and the drinking of liquor.[105] (The *Dingzhi tongwei jing* differs slightly in that it allows for moderate liquor consumption by proscribing drunkenness.) Precepts 6 through 10 are as follows:

6) Be friendly and harmonious with your relatives, do not be alienated from any of them.

7) When you see good things [happening to other] people, be supportive and joyful in your heart.

8) When you see that someone is in despair, help to bring about happiness for him.

9) When someone comes and defeats (?) you, bear no thoughts of revenge.

10) If everyone has not obtained the Dao, do not wish to obtain it yourself.[106]

Precepts 6 though 9 are prescriptions of good conduct, rather than proscriptions of bad conduct. Precept 10 is an adaptation of the Mahayanist vow of the Bodhisattva to work relentlessly for the salvation of all, rather than merely oneself. The attitude of the *Dingzhi tongwei jing* is particularly lenient and geared towards those less capable in that it provides an "escape clause" which reads, "If you are encumbered by worldly burdens and cannot completely devote your mind, select from the ten [ordinances] nine, eight, seven,

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[104] 1/6a-b. See Plate 227.
[105] See "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures" pp.470-471.
[106] 7b. See Plate 228.

six or even [as few as] five of them which you are capable of [obeying]. The blessings [to be gotten from obeying just] five precepts [are so great that] they are hard to describe."[107]

Directed at believers at a somewhat higher level of religiosity are the Lingbao Great Precepts (*lingbao dajie*) found in both the *Chishu yujue* (1/2b-3a) and the *Wushang Biyao* 46/9a-10a (under the heading, "Dongxuan zhihui shijie"). They require in more precise terms a pure and disciplined state of mind as the foundation for moral behavior. Also required is a degree of altruistic self-sacrifice. Precepts 1, 3 and 4 state as follows:

> 1) In your mind bear no hatred nor jealousy. Do not give rise to hidden hostility. Control what you say and be careful not to do wrong, keeping your mind upon the Doctrines.
>
> 3) Maintain your integrity be yielding and righteous. Do not commit adultery and do not steal. Put good thoughts into practice. Harm yourself in order to rescue [other living] things.
>
> 4) Have no lust nor desire. Harbor no recklessness in your heart. Sincerely and cleanly maintain your carefulness, so that your conduct will be spotless."[108]

A higher degree of discipline is demanded here as the reader is told to rid his mind of sinful thoughts rather than merely to control his actions. Precept 3 calls for altruism while precept 4 apparently prescribes or at least encourages celibacy.

Also found in the *Chishu yujue jing* (1/3b-4a) as well as in the *Zuigen dajie jing* (1/8a-9a) and *Wushang biyao* 46/10a-11b are the Twelve Precepts to be Obeyed (*shi'er kecong jie*), which are positive exhortations towards a fruitful religious life. Some of the precepts call for a degree of hardship and sacrifice:

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[107]8a. See Plate 229.
[108]See Plate 230.

> 5) Have faith in the profound and wonderful. Venerate and uphold the scriptures and lessons. Contemplate and recite them morning and evening without becoming lazy or tired.
>
> 6) Do not strive for [worldly] glory. Cut off your secular connections. Devote your mind and stabilize your will. Make your toil be for the [religion of] the Doctrines.
>
> 10) Purify your body and uphold the precepts. Establish merit through the practice of retreats. Vastly save the living masses so that they can all attain deliverance and liberation.[109]

Judging from how the reader is told to engage constantly in scriptural study and recitation and to abandon all worldly ties, the Twelve Precepts to be Obeyed seem to be directed at full-time adepts who have made the quest of immortality their full-time vocation. At this level of religiosity, the adept is given various scriptures and lessons and engages in retreats which, as we will see, are not only meant to establish merit for himself, but also to facilitate the salvation of all living beings.

As is reflected in the various sets of precepts, the Lingbao scriptures conceive of levels of religiosity appropriate for demanding of people in accordance with their capabilities. Before one could advance to the higher levels within which the most advanced and severe training methods and rituals could be studied and practiced, one first had to meet the requirements called for at the lower levels of religiosity. This concept is demonstrated most lucidly in the following passage from the *Benyuan dajie jing* (14a-b):

> The Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate said [to Ge Xuan], "People who study the Dao should first of all be filial to their parents, loyal to their rulers, kind to their servants and trustworthy to their friends. In their speech they

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[109]From the *Chishu yujue* version. See Plate 231.

should also reprimand those who do evil and encourage those who do good. They should have no private interests based on conceptualizations of other and self. They should not disobey external teachings (*waijiao*)[110] and should be able to serve the way of humanity.

"Next, they should cut themselves off from liquor, music, sex, jealousy, killing, greed, arrogance and laziness.

"Next, they should abstain from eating tasty foods which include the five spicy vegetables (leeks, shallots, onions, garlic and ginger), fats and meats.

"Next, they should darken both their cogitations and thoughts, and with their minds observe the pure void.

"Next, they should practice dietetics and abstain from eating food. They should uphold the Great Precepts, strengthening their [bodily] constitution and making their will diligent. They should practice the guiding and leading [of qi] and [engage in] Womb-breathing. They should harmonize their fluids through expelling and retaining. In cultivating and establishing meritorious virtue they should withstand what people are unable to withstand, do what people are unable to do, live where people are unable (unwilling) to live, wear what people are unable (unwilling) to wear, eat what people are unable (unwilling) to eat, and sustain what people are unable to sustain.

"If in their practice of the Dao they are like this, they can henceforth protect [their five viscera][111] with miraculous medicines and feed off the Cloud Sprouts. The Corpse-Worms in their [bodies] will drown and fall out, and defiling outflowings[112] will disappear and cease to exist. Their Three

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110This is a borrowed Buddhist term which in this context refers to teaching regarding basic social morality rather than more internal, spiritual matters.

111This again may be a reference to the method of Boiling the Five Quartz Pieces in Sesame Oil.

112This could refer in a Buddhistic fashion to superfluous thoughts, or possibly more literally to leakages of body fluids.

> Palaces will thus be washed and rinsed out, and their five viscera will be peaceful and relaxed.
>
> "They can engage in a perpetual retreat and meditate constantly, motionlessly reciting the Scriptures of the [Three] Caverns. Savoring the various wonders, they can complement them with the Cinnabar Fluid (*danye*). [As for] those who are able to train like this; could any of them not master the Way of Immortal Ascension?"[113]

Thus, becoming a morally upstanding member of society is described here as the first step to be taken in the quest of immortality. Once this step has been taken, the adept can proceed to progressively detach himself from the corrupting pleasures of the world and to refine and transform his mind and body through training that is of a difficulty and unpleasantness that surpass the capability and tolerance of ordinary people. This severely ascetic training centers largely on fasts sustained by the ingestional and non-ingestional methods which have been examined in previous chapters, as well as a few (which will be examined later) that are unique to the Lingbao scriptures. Unclear here is the reference that is made to "Cinnabar Fluid", which may refer to a specific alchemical potion, or perhaps has a more abstract meaning of some sort of divine nourishment that the adept is thought to partake in through a non-ingestional technique. As we saw to be the case in the Shangqing revelations, the severe ascetic practices are described here as pre-requisite steps that qualify the adept to practice the culminative practices that bring about immortal ascension, which according to this passage consist of meditation and the recitation of scriptures carried out within the context of a "perpetual retreat".

Because making progress in the quest of immortality entailed the rejection of worldly pleasures, some of the more advanced sets of Lingbao precepts call for the adept to control his body's "six senses" (an originally Buddhist term referring to the capacities of sight,

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[113]See Plate 232.

hearing, smell, taste, touch and cognition) which put him in contact with the world. In the *Shangpin jie jing* (5a-b) are found the following Precepts for the Six Senses (*liuqing jie*)[114]:

> 1) Do not look around with your eyes. If they are disturbed by flowery colors, you will lose your eyesight. Looking at objects exhausts the eyes. If your are able to control the light (vision) in your eyes, an Immortal will appear in the world.
>
> 2) Do not listen confusedly with your ears. If you mingle with the five sounds, you will injure your spirit and damage your propriety as bad sounds wail at you. If in your ears you can control music (not listen to corruptive music), an Immortal will appear in the world.
>
> 3) Do not broadly indulge your nose. Do not put yourself in the midst of various mingled breaths. Putrid rancidities cause trouble and disorder, harming the spirit and jarring the mind. If in your nose you can refrain from the accumulation of odors, an Immortal will appear in the world.
>
> 4) Do not be greedy for flavors within your mouth. [If you eat] the various greasy and aromatic foods, your six bowels will violate your five viscera [such as your] spleen and lungs. If in your tongue you are able to limit yourself to [eating the food of] the Joy of the Doctrines (a Buddhist term referring to vegetarian food), an Immortal will appear in the world.
>
> 5) Have no lusts that waver your feelings[115]. If your body does not make contact, your *jingqi* will be securely guarded. Guard your mind and collect yourself. If in your sense of touch you can maintain concentration and wisdom, an Immortal will appear in the world.

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[114]A shorter variant version is found in the *Wushang biyao* (46/11b-12a) and *Zhihui shangpin dajie* (6a-b).
[115]The character *qing* rendered here as "feelings" may be a mistranscription of *jing* or "seminal essence".

> 6) Let your mind have no confusions. In your mind do not cling to worldly attachments. With your original nature empty and serene, you can be calm and firm. If in your various thoughts (*yuan*)[116] you are able to control [yourself according to the standards of] the gates of the Doctrines, an Immortal will appear in the world.[117]

The adept is told here to refrain from all sorts of sensual pleasures by restricting the use of his six senses. Precepts 4 and 5 prescribe respectively vegetarianism and celibacy. Precepts 1, 2 and 3 essentially state that the adept should detach himself from the world and the stimuli that it provides. Right after presenting these Precepts for the Six Senses the text quotes the Primordial Heavenly Worthy as saying, "The six senses are the great afflictions of the body."[118] This partly means that the abuse of the six senses causes physical damage, as is reflected particularly in precepts 1 and 4 which maintain respectively that too much looking around damages one's eyesight, and that tasty foods harm the internal organs. However, the even greater concern here appears to be the stabilization and purification of the mind that leads to enlightenment and wisdom. On p.5b, the text states, "The Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate listened to and received the Six Precepts [for the Senses], became enlightened and obtained the Six Penetrations."[119] The "Six Penetrations" (*liutong*) is a Buddhist term that generally refers to six types of supernormal powers that Buddhas and Bodhisattvas obtain through meditative concentration and wisdom. They include: 1) Penetration (i.e. supernormal power) of the Divine Feet (*shenzutong*)- the ability to go anywhere instantaneously 2)Penetration of the Heavenly Eyes (*tianyantong*)- the ability to look into all past and future events 3) Penetration of the Heavenly Ears (*tian'ertong*)- ultra sensitive hearing 4) Penetration of the Minds of Others

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[116]Literally, "causes". This word can refer to thoughts in the sense that thoughts are the causes that bring about as effects various types of retribution.

[117]See Plate 233.

[118]5b. This phrase is also found in *Zhihui shangpin dajie* 6b.

[119]5b. 太極真人聽受六戒證得六通

(*taxintong*)- the ability to read the minds of people 5) Penetration of Destiny (*sumingtong*)- the ability to know about one's own past incarnations 6) Penetration of No Outflowings (*wuloutong*)- the ability to free oneself of superfluous thoughts.[120]While this conventional meaning of the Six Penetrations may have been understood and accepted by Lingbao proponents, the text of the text of the *Zhihui shangpin dajie* gives a variant description of the Six Penetrations:

> The Wisdoms of the Six Penetrations are Penetrating Perception, Penetrating Hearing, Penetrating Emptiness, Penetrating the Void, Penetrating Purity and Penetrating Subtlety. These are the Six Penetrations, which have no place where they do not penetrate. With your six senses relaxed and calm, your spirit will spontaneously return [to the Dao (?)]. The One will spontaneously be produced. Your *jing* will naturally be firm. Your life span will be long and far-reaching and to the end you will never die.[121]

In this interpretation, the Six Penetrations are supernormal capacities of sensation, cognition and insight, which bring as their tangible results longevity and immortality.

Now we shall examine the set of precepts, the observance of which theoretically led directly to the highest salvation. As mentioned previously, these most demanding of precepts were called the 300 Great Precepts for Monitoring the Body. Although these precepts are alluded to in the *Zuigen dajie jing*, the precepts themselves are not written down in any of the extant Lingbao scriptures. The precepts survive today in a text originating contemporaneously or prior to the Lingbao scriptures which was known and esteemed by Lingbao proponents.

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[120]See Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyoo go daijiten* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki Kabushiki Gaisha, 1975) p.1457.
[121]See Plate 234.

The scripture containing the precepts, the *Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajie wen* begins with a preface telling of how the Primordial Heavenly King[122] was first taught the precepts by the Most High Lofty Saint Lord of the Dao (*taishang gaosheng daojun*), and then transmitted them orally to the Heavenly Emperor of Great Subtlety (*taiwei tiandi*)[123] and the Lofty Immortal Heavenly King of the Great One (*taiyi gaoxian tianwang*). The precepts (of which there are actually 302) are then enumerated and followed by comments by the Primordial Heavenly King, the Heavenly Emperor of Great Subtlety and the Lofty Immortal Heavenly King of the Great One regarding the importance and efficacy of obeying the precepts.

We will now examine the types of asceticism that these precepts demanded. The precepts are divided into three sections; the Jade Purity Wisdom Precepts (*Yuqing zhihui jie*) or the Lower Origin (the Way of Superior Immortals, first 182), Middle Origin (the Way of the Peerless Orthodox Perfected Beings, 36 entries) and Upper Origin (the Limitless Way of the Most High, 84 entries). The following are some noteworthy entries from the Lower Origin Precepts:

> (p. 1b) One who studies the Dao must not take the lives of living creatures.
>
> One who studies the Dao must not drink liquor.
>
> One who studies the Dao must not lewdly violate the women among the 100 surnames (the general populace).

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[122]This is a god that appears prominently in the Shangqing texts as a revealer of scriptures. (See Robinet, La revelation Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme vol.1 pp.127,187.) In Tao Hongjing's *Zhenling weiyi tu* he is described as the teacher of the Queen Mother of the West and is ranked in the realm of Taiqing. He is rarely mentioned in the Lingbao scriptures (with the exception of the *Ershisi shengtu jing* where it appears that he is perhaps equated to the Primordial Heavenly Worthy, although it is hard to tell) or in later scriptures, likely because the Lingbao scriptures introduced the figure of the ultimate god-head, the Primordial Heavenly Worthy whose name is probably an adaptation of that of the Primordial Heavenly King.

[123]His "chronicle" is found in the Shangqing scripture *Dongzhen taishang zidu yanguang shenyuan bianjing* (HY1321/TT1030). See Robinet, *La revelation Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol. 1 p.127.

(2b) One who studies the Dao must not extravagantly accumulate the seven treasures without giving to the people of the four directions.

(3a) One who studies the Dao must not raise the six kinds of livestock.

One who studies the Dao must not eat and drink out of gold and silver utensils and have his bones buried extravagantly when he dies.

One who studies the Dao must not be greedy for and take pleasure in fame and wealth.

(3b) One who studies the Dao must not be greedy for the delicacies of the world.

One who studies the Dao must not wish to eat the five spicy vegetables.

(4a) One who studies the Dao must not be privy to the nation's military matters.

One who studies the Dao must not meet with emperors, kings and lords for no reason.

(4b) One who studies the Dao must not pluck the flowers of the various grasses for no reason.

One who studies the Dao must not be friendly with wicked people.

One who studies the Dao must not be talkative among people and must not associate with secular folk.

(5a) One who studies the Dao must not partake in the worldly matter of marriage.

One who studies the Dao must not familiarize himself with the music of the singing girls of the world.

(5b) One who studies the Dao must not speak and walk in private with a woman.

One who studies the Dao must not go [anywhere] together with a woman. If he does go [somewhere with a women] he must have a person of [his/her (?)] clan (*zong*)[124] [accompanying them (?)].

One who studies the Dao must not sit together with women amidst crowds where both sexes mingle.

One who studies the Dao must not eat with women nor touch garments with them.

One who studies the Dao must not directly instruct women.

One who studies the Dao must not superficially flatter worldly people.

(6a) One who studies the Dao must not be intimate with people of his own clan.

One who studies the Dao must not be unfriendly to those of differing surnames.

One who studies the Dao must not teach people to abort children and harm embryos.

One who studies the Dao must not love his disciples over-indulgently.

(6b) One who studies the Dao must not value himself.

One who studies the Dao must not be boastful.

(7a) One who studies the Dao must not deride the aged and the ill.

One who studies the Dao must not neglect and deride beggars.

(7b) One who studies the Dao must not have separate doorways from his father and mother).

One who studies the Dao must not get angry at his disciples.

One who studies the Dao must not get angry and criticize people of the world.

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[124] I am not certain as to how *zong* here should be translated, but I have tentatively interpreted the passage as meaning that an adept must not go anywhere together with a woman without somebody of her clan or perhaps his own to accompany them and monitor them.

(8a) One who studies the Dao must not map out hills and plan homes for people (engage in geomancy?).

One who studies the Dao must not prognosticate the good and bad fortunes of the world.

(8b) One who studies the Dao must not lie on ornately crafted beds of gold and jewels.

(9b) One who studies the Dao must not neglect to observe the retreats and precepts for contemplating the Dao, while the retreats and precepts are being observed in the various heavens.

(10a) One who studies the Dao must not disobey the required observance of the Six Annual Retreats and not carry out the retreats during the [ordained] months.

(10b) One who studies the Dao must not own an abundance of clothing and personal articles.[125]

Demanded here is an austere lifestyle for a full-time religious practitioner. The adept is essentially told to disassociate himself from anybody or anything that is secular. The precepts convey a strong awareness of the corrupting dangers of involvement with politics and with the rich and powerful people of the world. The audience to whom these precepts were addressed primarily if not entirely belonged to the southern aristocracy. Power and wealth were readily available to many of them, and for this reason the precepts emphasize the need to distance oneself from worldly riches and pleasures. Also conveyed is an awareness of the potential (if not already present) problem of charlatanry within the religion, and thus the adept is forbidden from engaging in prognostication and geomancy, so that he can be free of the temptation to use his position of religious authority to exploit the faith and trust of lay believers.

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[125]See Plate 235.

Of particularly great interest here are the precepts pertaining to how to deal with women. Celibacy is a very serious priority, as the adept is told to virtually avoid any contact with women. We apparently have here a very early example of proscription of marriage for Daoist clergy ("One who studies the Dao must not partake in worldly matters of marriage"). Yet, curiously, at least at this "Lower Origin" level, it seems that "leaving the family" is discouraged as the adept is told not to live separately from his parents ("One who studies the Dao must not have separate doorways from his father and mother"). Possibly the idea was that eremitic or cenobitic lifestyle should be pursued only after one's parents had passed on, and that filial duty required adepts to live the celibate religious life at home while taking care of their parents.

The adept is also told to observe a bland diet that is vegetarian, judging from the proscriptions against killing and the raising of livestock. The emphasis on preserving the lives of other living beings is also conveyed in the proscription against abortion.[126] Also emphasized is the faithful observance of the periodic retreats (to be discussed further later on) which are vital because they coincide with retreats carried out by immortal beings in the celestial realms.

The degree of asceticism intensifies in the precepts of the Middle Origin:

> (10b) One who studies the Dao must not wish [to be the object of] propriety and respect from people.
>
> One who studies the Dao must not adorn himself elegantly.
>
> (11a) One who studies the Dao, when walking with others, must let others walk in from [of him].

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[126]Apparently because the Precepts for Monitoring the Body are directed at celibate adepts, they include only a proscription against "teaching people to" have abortions. However, the fact that abortion itself was condemned is evidenced in the Gongde qingzhong jing (27a) where abortion is included in the lengthy list of sins (*zui*) that bring about punishment in the underworld. The list is also found in the 44th *juan* of the *Wushang biyao*.

One who studies the Dao, when eating with others, must eat only coarse foods and vegetables.

(11b) One who studies the Dao, when others do evil deeds to him, should accept their evil deeds, and must not harbor any resentment.

One who studies the Dao must not harbor resentment and anger, nor take revenge upon others.

One who studies the Dao, when conversing with a woman, must not look directly at her face nor smile at her.

One who studies the Dao, when crossing a river with a woman, must not look at her eye to eye.

One who studies the Dao, when he suffers many misfortunes and illnesses, must humbly blame himself and think about how to reform his past conduct and improve himself in the future.

One who studies the Dao must withstand what others are unable to withstand.

One who studies the Dao must detach himself from what others are unable to detach themselves from.

One who studies the Dao must wear what others are unwilling to wear.

(12a) One who studies the Dao must eat what others are unwilling to eat.

One who studies the Dao must study what others are unable to study.

One who studies the Dao must tolerate what others are unable to tolerate.

One who studies the Dao must bear what others are unable to bear.

One who studies the Dao must cut himself off from what others are unable to cut themselves off from.[127]

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[127]The eight ordinances here that follow the pattern, "...must (so and so) what others are unable (or unwilling) to (so and so)" are strongly reminiscent of the passage from the *Benyuan dajie jing* quoted on pp.443-445, the author of whom was thus apparently familiar with the Ordinances for Monitoring the Body.

[As for] one who studies the Dao; if his body is unclean, his *hun* and *po* souls will leave him.

[As for] one who studies the Dao; if he has thoughts, the Heavenly Perfected Beings up on high will distance themselves [from him] and the demon-officials will not submit themselves [to his commands].

[As for] one who studies the Dao; if he has a family, the Three Poisons will not perish and the Three Perfected Beings will not reside [in him].

[As for] one who studies the Dao; if he 'has a body', the various desires will not leave him, and his earnest meditation will elicit no [divine] responses.

(12b) [As for] one who studies the Dao; if he has an empty mind that is quiet and serene, he will find himself face to face with Perfected Beings.

One who studies the Dao must pacify his Mysterious Spring. He must not allow his Source of Life to move deludedly.

One who studies the Dao must eliminate his knowledge and conceal his vision. [Only] after he does this will a Perfected Man appear [before him].[128]

In the above precepts, the adept is told to willingly subject himself arduous, miserable and humiliating circumstances. When life's miseries confront him against his will, he is told to humbly accept his predicaments, while repenting of his sins which had brought them about. Again strongly emphasized is the importance of celibacy. Particularly interesting is the dread expressed of making eye contact with women. This likely has to do with the belief that the demons (Corpses) in the bodies of men and women could emerge from the eyes and interact with each other regardless of the intentions of the people themselves (see pp. 296-297). As has already been discussed in Part One, the primary

[128]See Plate 235.

reason for celibacy in early Daoism was the retention of *jing*. The entry which says to "pacify the Mysterious Spring" and keep the "Source of Life" under control, is likely at least in part a proscription against sexual activity. The "Mysterious Spring" refers to the fluids of the body that are to be retained, the most crucial among which is semen or *jing*. The "Source of Life" probably refers to the body's capacities to produce and administer *jing*. Also found is a precept against "having a family" which is probably an endorsement of "leaving the home". It is, however, possible that "having a family" is supposed to be understood abstractly as one would the phrase "having a body", and that the precept tells the adept to merely detach himself emotionally from his family. The Three Poisons which the adept eliminates by "not having a family", based on the Buddhist definition, would refer to greed, anger and ignorance. They may also refer to the Three Worms or Corpses. When the Three Poisons are gone the Three Perfected, which probably refer to the gods of the Three Elixir Fields, will be present in the adept's body. This interpretation matches well the teachings of the *Zhonghuang jing*. Similarly, in some of the other entries the connection is made between ascetic discipline and coming into contact with the divine. The adept is advised not to "have a body" (be concerned with the sustenance and gratification of oneself) so that his meditation will bring about "responses". By calming and emptying his mind, the adept is to encounter Perfected Beings. The ability to contact the divine is to be accompanied by the power to subdue and command "demon-officials".

In the precepts of the Upper Origin is conveyed a process in which through sustained discipline and the constant thinking of proper thoughts, the adept progresses to the most advanced methods, the transmission of the loftiest scriptures, and the most wondrous of mystical experiences:

> (12b) One who studies the Dao must mindfully observe a constant vegetarian diet.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully live in the mountains and forests, meditating in solitude and silence.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully resign himself to poverty, read scriptures and practice the Dao without getting tired.

(13a) One who studies the Dao must mindfully seek transmission of the precious scriptures of the Three Caverns so that he can diligently venerate them.

(13a) One who studies the Dao must mindfully establish merit and save people, tirelessly until the end of the kalpa.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully put the myriad living beings first, and must not speak about himself.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully to distance himself from demons and spirits, neither venerating nor scorning them.

(13b) One who studies the Dao must mindfully distance himself from skillful performances of voices, eroticism, singing and dancing.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully distance himself from wicked and confused people who serve and follow the demons and spirits.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully seek not and want not.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully maintain the Perfect amidst purity and simplicity.

Qne who studies the Dao must mindfully bear no other thoughts in his mind. It simply must be empty and serene.

One who studies the Dao must wish for all families to be peaceful and secure, without pain and suffering.

One who studies the Dao must wish on behalf of all people amidst despair and misfortune, that their bondage to sin and their sufferings and worries will all be eliminated.

(14a) One who studies the Dao must wish for his father, mother and seven generations of ancestors to all ascend to the halls of heaven.

One who studies the Dao must wish for his teacher to quickly achieve ascension.

(14b) One who studies the Dao must mindfully look upon the bodies of others as surpassing his own [in importance].

One who studies the Dao must mindfully look upon the wounds and pains suffered by others as more serious than those that he himself suffers.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully see the humiliations of others as more serious than his own [humiliations].

One who studies the Dao must wish for his roots of destiny and causes [for reincarnation] to be cut off.

One who studies the Dao must wish for his womb-roots to be cut off so that he will no longer be born into the world and share a common cause with descendants and parents.

One who studies the Dao must wish for his tree of life to wither so that his spirit will merge with the great non-being, and so that for countless kalpas he will embody the Dao and merge with the Perfect.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully eat [only once a day at] noon in order to nurture his spirit, abandoning all rich delicacies.

(15a)One who studies the Dao must be mindful to [put into practice] the great doctrines carefully and conscientiously. Constantly visualize the Perfected Man Zidan[129] in the Three Palaces.

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[129]This is a name for the internal god mentioned in the *Wufu xu*, *Laozi zhongjing* and *Huangting jing* which represents the internal divine "baby" or self (see pp. 160-161). Here it seems to be equated to the deities of the Three Elixir Fields.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully observe the world and soften his radiance[130]. Do not be boastful towards secular folk.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully uphold the scriptures and the precepts of the Three Treasures. Always recite [the scriptures and ordinances] incessantly.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully contemplate the Female-One (perform the visualizations of the *Ciyi jing*)[131] and recite the Dadong scripture (*Dadong zhenjing*) as though he is face to face with the gods.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully eat the spontaneous delicacies of the kitchens of the heavens without any thoughts of hunger and thirst.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully put himself face to face with the Heavenly Perfected Beings, calmly amidst non-action.

(15b) One who studies the Dao must wish to be in command of Immortal Boys and Jade Girls.

One who studies the Dao must wish to wander eastward to the Eastern Flowers of the Green Forest.

One who studies the Dao must wish to wander southward to the Southern Flowers of the Great Elixir.

One who studies the Dao must wish to wander westward to the Western Flowers of Anyang.[132]

One who studies the Dao must wish to wander to the Northern Flowers of Biluo.

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[130]This means to modestly conceal one's superior wisdom so as to associate and identify better with ordinary folk, while at the same time not coming under their bad influence. The term is employed in the 4th chapter of the *Laozi*.

[131]This refers to a technique of inner visualization to be carried out in preparation of the Dadong zhenjing. The adept visualizes the Three Primal Goddesses of Simplicity in the Jinhua (Golden Flower) Palace in his head. See Robinet, *Taoist Meditation*, pp.131-134.

[132]In a Buddhist context, Anyang refers to the western paradise of the Buddha Amitabha.

One who studies the Dao must wish to travel to the northeast to rescue the men and women of the populace by transmitting to them the encouragements of goodness and the admonishments of evil, so that they can pass over and enter the northeastern gates. Enable them to enter the place of non-action. (this entry is followed by near-identical entries for the gates of the southeast, southwest and northwest)

(16a) One who studies the Dao must wish to wander to the Jade Purity Palace of the Seven Treasures and pay his respects to the Heavenly Worthies of the Three Origins.

(16b) One who studies the Dao must wish to wander to the palaces of the sun and moon where the radiance is brilliant. [There he can] have an audience with the kings of the sun and moon, and sup the golden nectar of the flowers of the sun and moon.

(17a) One who studies the Dao must wish to wander to the various heavens and listen to the music of the celestial singing girls without any worldly thoughts.

(17b) One who studies the Dao must mindfully practice the Dao with his entire heart to the very end without having any wicked views nor evil thoughts. You must make your heart empty and your mind peaceful, without any thinking nor worrying. Pacify your thoughts amidst empty serenity.

One who studies the Dao must mindfully keep secret the names of the Heavenly Perfected Beings. Do not let them come out of your mouth.[133]

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[133]See Plate 235.

In this loftiest group of precepts, the adept is told to live in seclusion and poverty, eating only one meager meal per day (at noon) and engaging in constant study, worship and meditation. As will be discussed shortly, this lifestyle was referred to as a "perpetual retreat" (*changzhai*). At the same time, the most advanced adept is in his mind and actions thoroughly altruistic. He wishes to bring about happiness and salvation to everyone before doing the same for himself. He is more concerned with the suffering of others than with his own. He also adheres faithfully to the orthodoxy of the Daoist religion and distances himself from heretical, demonic cults. He aspires to become worthy of the transmission of the orthodox scriptures. At the same time he ventures to eliminate all superfluous thoughts and actions which serve as causes (or "roots") for reincarnation. As he overcomes his wicked thoughts and bodily desires his spiritual capacities expand, as he becomes able to "wander" to various celestial and transcendent realms, and partake in what they have to offer. There he meets with Perfected Beings and receives instructions. He is impervious to hunger and thirst because he dines on the delicacies of the "kitchens of the heavens". He also "sups the nectar of the flowers of the sun and moon". What is most likely meant by such notions is that the adept excels at non-ingestional fasting methods. Also promoted are the loftiest methods of the Shangqing movement; the visualization of the Female One (the visualization of the Primal Goddess of White Simplicity, the Primal Goddess of Yellow Simplicity and the Primal Goddess of Purple Simplicity), and the recitation of the *Dadong zhenjing*.[134]

While coming into contact with divine beings, the adept becomes one himself. He has Immortal Boys and Jade Girls under his command. In his "wanderings" he travels to the lands of the various directions to guide men and women through the "gates" of

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[134]This indicates that the author(s) of the precepts was a proponent of the Shangqing texts. However, this veneration of the Shangqing scriptures is by no means in conflict with Lingbao doctrine, and the Lingbao scriptures themselves ascribe a special status to the *Dadong zhenjing*. The Lingbao scripture *Taiji yinzhu baojue* includes it among the most worthy of scriptures and includes instructions (2b-3a) regarding the proper transmission of it. The *Zhutian lingshu duming jing* says that the *Dadong zhenjing* and the scriptures of the "Lingbao Dongxuan" are the "ancestors" of all scriptures which survive all cosmic disasters and which are revealed anew each time a new world comes to exist (15a-b). The *Zhaijie weiyi jue* (19a-20a) ascribes this "eternal" status to the *Laozi* as well.

salvation. This he does primarily through the encouragement of goodness and admonishment of wickedness. The theme of the eight gates of salvation is dealt with in great detail in the Lingbao scripture, *Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo santu wuku quanjie jing* (HY455/TT202). There, "the Dao" discusses how, upon witnessing for eons and eons the suffering of living beings, it set up the Eight Gates and expounded doctrines concerning matters of cause and retribution in order to indoctrinate the ignorant masses. It then describes how he traveled about to the various hells of the eight directions (N, S, E, W, NE, NW, SE, SW) and witnessed the hideous sights of men and women being punished for their sins (described in vivid and brutal detail). At the hells of each direction it told the Flying Celestial Beings (*feitianren*) to admonish the sinners towards righteousness so that they could be reborn as humans in the ordinary world, and then proceed to live the righteous religious life that leads to ascension through the Eight Gates to the immortal realm.

Essentially then, according to the Precepts for Monitoring the Body, the advanced adept has the power to emulate the Dao, somehow traveling into the various worlds and hells in order to bring about the salvation of sinners. More simply put, this probably means that the adept who successfully observes the 300 Precepts possesses the ritual power to alleviate the plight of damned souls; one of the central objectives of the Lingbao *zhai* (retreat) rituals.

By fully observing all of the Precepts for Monitoring the Body, the adept would in theory come to embody all of the virtues of the ideal Perfected Man discussed in section A. He would practice a degree of asceticism above and beyond ordinary human capacities. This asceticism is thoroughly altruistic in that he puts the welfare and salvation of others first. His efforts would follow strictly along the lines of a set curriculum of methods and scriptures, as he stands in staunch opposition to demonic, heretical cults ("people involved in the wicked trickery of the quick effects of the demons and spirits"). Access to mystical

power and experience were to be a great part of his reward, and this translated into great power in the ritual arena.

After listing the precepts, the *Zhihui guanshen dajie wen* goes on to describe their efficacy and importance. The following passage eloquently sums up why precepts were considered to be essential:

> The Primordial Heavenly King says, "[As for] the *Dadong zhenjing*; if you recite it ten thousand times, a cloud chariot will come down to meet you. The Lingbao Dongxuan [corpus] has scriptures for surviving through the kalpas.[135] Nowadays why is it that people put [the *Dadong zhenjing* and the Lingbao scriptures] into practice but do not become Immortals, and are unable to concoct golden pills and miraculous fluid? It is because they have been unable to practice and uphold the Wisdom Precepts for Monitoring the Body. Therefore, these precepts are the wonders among the various wonders. Powerful gods, utmost worthies and immortal beings of the Golden Flower, 900 in number stand in attendance and burn incense to them. They are the Way to the Secrets of Perfection which are not transmitted in writing and which are to be learned through recitation only. If [one who] studies the Dao does not receive these precepts, he will to the very end never achieve immortality. He will perhaps create karma by following voices and colors (music and women). Or perhaps he will initially be diligent [only to] become lazy in the end. Or perhaps, while in the mountains or while at home, he will succumb to the trials of various demons. Or perhaps he will give rise to deviating thoughts and come to

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[135]If the text here pre-dates the Lingbao scriptures, this here perhaps refers to Ge Chaofu's Five Perfect Writs which have as one of their main attributes the power to help one survive the great cosmic flood. This phrase could also be understood as an indication that the Precepts for Monitoring the body were authored contemporaneously with the years during which the Lingbao scriptures were gradually being written.

> doubt the Perfect Scriptures. Or perhaps he will revert to following worldly views ways and no longer have any intention to return to the Dao. Or perhaps he will regard lightly his teacher-friends (those who do him the friendly favor of instructing him in the Dao) and insult his fellow students [of the Dao]. Or perhaps he will suddenly give rise to depravity and foolishness as his nature and his *qi* fall into confusion. Or perhaps he will become greedy for wealth and fond of sex and regard lightly, on the other hand, the Three Treasures. Or perhaps he will become beset with difficulties in his family life and be met with all kinds of grudges. Or perhaps he will have evil dreams and disorderly thoughts, and his spirit will become sorrowful and lethargic. All of this results from not having the Great Precepts with which to control the mind and spirit. Thus the Three Poisons and floating Corpses trick and deceive the Five Bureaus (five viscera?). Hereby, [you must] be aware of these afflictions. [Or else,] the Demon Kings will not erase your death-name in the Crooked Springs (the nether world). You will be unable to pass through the Three Realms and into the Immortal ranks.[136]

Exhibited here is a clear understanding of the reality that when one endeavors to pursue a religious goal while repressing one's worldly desires, one remains vulnerable or becomes even more vulnerable, to temptations. The precepts are thus indispensable for all adepts, so that they can always be mindful of and prepared for the dangers that confront their souls. While the above statement is not itself found within a catalogued Lingbao scripture and refers specifically to the Precepts for Monitoring the Body, it can be said that the Lingbao movement placed such great emphasis upon precepts in general for the same reasons as those stated above.

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[136] 18a-b. See Plate 236.

Along with the precepts, the other vital component in the Lingbao scheme for universal salvation was retreats or *zhai*. In its most basic definition, *zhai* refers to the various purificatory ritual prohibitions observed on occasions of rituals and festivals of all kinds (i.e. not only Daoist rituals and festivals but also the rituals and festivals of state religion and popular cults, dating back prior to the existence of organized religious Daoism). In Daoism, the word *zhai* always retained this basic meaning, but also came to refer to the rituals and festivals themselves which were carried out within the Heavenly Master's tradition and were further elaborated upon and proliferated by the Lingbao movement. Because ritual prohibitions always pertained a great deal to diet, it also came about that when Buddhism began to spread throughout China, the word *zhai* was employed to translate the Sanskrit word *upasatha*, which refers to the monastic Buddhist practice of fasting after the noon hour. This definition was then further extended to refer to the vegetarian food itself eaten by monks daily and by laymen on special occasions at the monasteries. These newer Buddhist definitions of *zhai* are also adopted wholesale in the Lingbao texts.

Because the Lingbao texts employ the word *zhai* in all of the above definitions, it is often difficult to determine which definition is the operative one. According to the context, a *zhai* or "retreat" refers to a group ritual employing elaborate liturgies which is carried out periodically over a designated span of several days. But very often, a "retreat" refers to a solo training regimen carried on for a very long period or even a life time. Yet there really does not seem to exist a clear line of demarcation in the minds of the author(s) between the temporary communal retreat and the lengthy personal retreat, as the latter is essentially an extension and intensification of the former, carried out only by the most serious adepts. In other words, the advanced adept would, in his perpetual retreat (*changzhai*) observe the same types of prohibitions required in the communal retreats participated in by all believers; only he would do so permanently rather than temporarily. He would chant scriptures and liturgies as he would in the communal retreat festivals, albeit in solitude. His solo rituals

bore much of the same meaning and purpose as the communal rituals; emulation of the gods and communion with them, which would effect not only the salvation of the ritual participant(s), but of all living beings, dead or alive. The *Zhaijie weiyi jue* (*Lessons on Retreats, Precepts and Mighty Rituals*) and the*Taiji yinzhu baojue* (*Precious Lessons with Secret Annotations of the Great Ultimate*) respectively have the following to say about the significance of retreats, and when to carry them out:

(a) The Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate said, "In the studying the Way of the Broad-Daylight Ascension of the Perfected Immortals, [it can be said that] everything has retreats and precepts as the basis for establishing virtue. The Lingbao scriptures have the Great [Ritual] Methods. The first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh months are the six retreats of the year. The 1st, 8th, 14th, 15th, 18th, 23rd, 24th, 28th, 29th and 30th days are the ten retreats of the month. Through perpetual retreats and lengthy contemplation one can aspire to the way of transcending into vacuity. Thus, as for the Peerless Lingbao Retreats; August Venerable, Heavenly Worthies and Great Saints always uphold and practice them without tiring. Even more must not Daoist adepts and Immortals observe them conscientiously?"[137]

(b) "The Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate said, 'The study of the Dao has the retreats and precepts as its basis. The recitation of scriptures requires a retreat. The editing of scriptures requires a retreat. The writing (copying) of scriptures requires a retreat. The writing of talismans requires a retreat. The preparation of medicines requires a retreat. The concoction of the golden elixir requires a retreat. Concentrated meditation requires a retreat. Visiting and inquiring of a teacher requires a retreat. Bowing and

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[137]*Zhaijie weiyi jue* 1a. See Plate 237.

> worshipping requires a retreat. Receiving scriptures requires a retreat. Healing diseases and alleviating calamities requires a retreat. Beckoning Perfected Men requires a retreat. The retreat is what the Most High reveres and values. It is what the Lord Lao carries out and protects. It is what the saintly throngs put their trust in."[138]

Both of the above passages convey the notion that a retreat is something to be carried out very often and that it is carried out by the divine beings themselves. Actually, the meaning of the word "retreat" seems to be somewhat different in the two passages. In passage (b) it seems to refer to a personal undertaking, likely consisting primarily of dietary and sexual restrictions as well as perhaps some meditation and worship. In passage (a) it refers to the communal rituals, and the passage is followed by a short liturgy. In the *Chishu chenwen* (3/1a-8a) we are told that the above mentioned ten retreats of the month are each respectively days when supreme deities in the heavens of the ten directions gather to carry out retreats, pay their respect to the Lingbao Five Writs and examine the merits and demerits of the "humans and demons on the earth." It is thus vital that humans carry out the retreats on these days so that their sins will be forgiven and their merits acknowledged. As can be recalled (see p. 452), the proper observance of the six annual and ten monthly retreats is included among the Precepts for Monitoring the Body. Apparently, the idea was to carry out the ten monthly retreats only during the months of the six annual retreats (thus 6x10=60 days per year). An outstanding adept, while participating in the regularly prescribed retreats, could also on his own go above and beyond the normal requirements in his personal quest for immortality. As can be recalled (pp. 398-399), the *Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* tells of how Ge Xuan on Mt. Tiantai engaged in a silent retreat for a full year during which he relentlessly devoted himself to confession and contemplation. The reward for his austerities was an encounter with the Three Perfected Men of the Obscure Origin

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[138]*Taiji yinzhu baojue* 15b. See Plate 238.

and the transmission of divine scriptures. This type of mystical experience wrought through a lengthy retreat was not considered the exclusive domain of a great saint like Ge Xuan. This fact is attested to by the following passage from the *Taiji yinzhu baojue*:

> The Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate said, "When a person carries out a pure retreat amidst lengthy stillness, engages in concentrated meditation basking in the dark mystery, recites scriptures and confesses sins, and burns incense in worship, he will eventually see Flying Celestial Beings. Immortal Boys and Jade Girls will descend to his room. Perhaps he will hear [voices] in the room exalting [his] goodness for him. Perhaps rays of light will illuminate his body. Perhaps he will hear the sounds of gold and jade [chimes] in the eight tones. These are all signs that he is about to attain the Dao. Be diligent! Be diligent! The Most High will not forsake you."[139]

Thus here, the adept is told to be diligent in carrying out the retreat of meditation, scripture recitation, confession and worship because by doing so he is guaranteed to some day receive confirmation, in the form of a mystical experience, of the progress that he is making. *Zhaijie weiyi jue*, in the following passage, describes more specifically the methods employed to induce mystical signs:

> The Perfected Man of the Great Ultimate said, "When engaging in a retreat, everybody should concentrate their minds on the Mysterious Perfection and always have no external thoughts. Your thoughts must be upon the scriptures and your teacher. First visualize the Three Ones in their palaces, residing there peacefully, clearly visible, accompanied by the three *hun*

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[139]17b. See Plate 239.

souls and seven *po* souls. The Great One protects the Niwan as in the Method of the Whirlwind and the Imperial One.[140] Afterwards, [the Great One] will participate in the retreat together with you and listen to the scriptures [that you recite]. [If] you receive [secret lessons] from the mouth [of the Great One] and contemplate [the lessons] in your heart, thereby the Three Corpses will run away and the evil *qi* will be purged. Inside and outside, you will receive the truth. If you do like this, you will be close to immortality. Complement this (your visualizations) with [methods of] Expelling and Retaining, Leading and Guiding, and the Harmonization of Fluids. If you practice the above marvelous ways, the Heavenly Perfected Beings will most certainly descend into your midst. Upper gentlemen obtain the Dao inside the [meditation] chamber. Even if you live in a cave, if an external thought even as slight as a single hair has not been eliminated, you will have but wasted your strength in futile labor. The study of the Dao is nothing more than the elimination of mentation. If mentation is eliminated, Immortals will come down to monitor and test you. Make sure that you are fully aware of this."[141]

Specifically recommended here are techniques of visualizing the Three Ones, the *hun* and *po* souls, and the Great One. Also to be noted is the reference to the Shangqing text method of the Whirlwind which reflects the familiarity of the Lingbao proponents with the Shangqing texts and their high esteem for them. Visualizational techniques were supposed to enable the adept to concentrate his mind in a way that made communion with the divine

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[140]This refers to a visualizational method described at the end of the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* (HY6/TT16-17, 6/16a-18a) which was meant to be carried out after the recitation and practice of the *Dadong zhenjing*. The adept visualizes "one hundred gods" who transform into a white *qi*, enter his mouth, pervade the interior of his body, exit from his extremities, encircle and illuminate his body, and finally merge together to become the Imperial Worthy Lord of the Dadong who enters the adept's mouth and enters into his brain (the brain chamber he enters is the Liuhe Palace, rather that the Niwan). See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol.2 p.36. Also, *Taoist Meditation*, pp.103-117.

[141]21a. See Plate 240.

possible. At the same time, his body is purged of the Three Corpses and wicked *qi*, and he supplement his visualizations with methods of air/saliva swallowing, breath control and guiding of *qi*. As was discussed at length in Part I, all such methods typically served the purpose of subduing hunger and sustaining fasts, and an important purpose of the fasts was to purge the body of its demonic and impure forces. While the above passage cites the concentration of the mind as the primary means towards inducing the appearance of divine beings, one also should not ignore the role that was played by hunger and fatigue in inducing such mystical encounters within the adept's subjective experience. Regarding the dietary restrictions required for a retreat, the *Zhaijie weiyi jue* has the following information:

> A Daoist adept distances and cuts himself off from human traces and lives quietly in renowned mountains. He practices this perpetual retreat and lives alone in a desolate valley. Thereby he no longer selects a Master of the Doctrines [as his preceptor], but simply makes his mind converse with his mouth. When practicing this retreat amidst people, a Daoist adept practices dietetics. The five grains are cut off by him, and he does not eat anything, and that is all. But if he ingests medicines, he should do so at noon. After the noon hour he may drink water but must not eat anything. At dawn he may drink porridge and at noon he may eat vegetables. When the retreat comes to an end, and the retreat is to be adjourned with a great feast, [the feast] must be clean and pure (bland, vegetarian?) in its form. Serve the fruits which are the seasonal delicacies. You must first burn incense and say prayers [before eating]. Wish for the host of the retreat[142] to ascend to immortality and transcend the world.[143]

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[142]This probably refers to the believer whose home is serving as the ritual arena. The fact that participants at the final feast are told to wish for his ascension perhaps implies that the host is recently deceased and that

The above passage starts out by describing the personal perpetual retreat of advanced adepts, and moves on to describe guidelines for dietary conduct at communal temporary retreats. Oddly, the text seems to contradict itself by first saying that the adept during the retreat "cuts off grains" and only takes medicines, but then allows for the eating of porridge and vegetables. Presumably, the complete rejection of food is stated as the ideal, and the taking of medicine and eating of porridge and vegetables are allowed as compromises to the realistic unfeasibility of total fasting for most adepts. The fact that adepts were supposed to at least try to eat nothing and that they typically strained themselves trying to do so is well attested to in another passage in the same text that reads as follows:

> When observing a retreat, if you reach your limit [of your capacity to withstand hunger], you may eat dried jujubes and dried venison. Anything raw or fresh is not allowed to be served.[144]

The eating of dried meat probably came to be thus prescribed because of the effectiveness it had for the required purpose (to relieve and stave off hunger), due to its high concentration of protein. For both the jujubes and the venison it is deemed important for them to be dried, due apparently to the notion that drying them out made them less defiling to the body.

The end of the passage quoted on pp. 470 deals with the adjourning of the temporary communal retreat, after which presumably most festival participants were allowed to return to a normal diet. Advanced adepts who observed the perpetual retreat would simply continue the dietary austerities.

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the ritual was conducted for the deliverance of his soul and was carried out at the request and by means of the funds of his family.

[143]21b. See Plate 241.

[144]23b. See Plate 242.

As was briefly mentioned previously, the practice of shunning food after the noon hour was adopted from Buddhism. The Lingbao scriptures add extra meaning and emphasis to this practice by promoting it as a truly effective means towards cleansing the body and winning the favor of divine beings. Thus a passage in the *Zhihui shangpin dajie* (4b), also quoted in the *Wushang biyao* 47/3a reads as follows:

> The Heavenly Worthy said, "The Dao is to be venerated, the Doctrines are wondrous [and] the bodies of humans are also precious. Thus the Dao expounded the doctrines and bestowed [upon the world] the precepts and scriptures in order to save the bodies of humans. The bodies of humans, when they are saved, merge with the Dao up above. You [therefore] should be diligent in your behavior as you uphold retreats and observe precepts. Subdue your mind calmly and silently. Be clear and decisive in your aspirations. With your whole mind take refuge [in the Dao]. Devote your thoughts and have nothing else in your mind. Cleanse and purge your six bowels by eating no food after the noon hour (emphasis added). Pure and vacuous inside and outside, you will always merge with the self-so-ness."[145]

Here, the post-noon fast is emphasized along with concentration of the mind as a vital means of bringing about a union with the Dao. In a quintessentially Daoist fashion, the specific effect ascribed to this originally Buddhist practice is the cleansing of the digestive system. The fact that the Lingbao movement ascribed a particularly great efficacy to the post-noon fast is also well illustrated in a somewhat lengthy tale quoted from the *Dongxuan benxing miaojing* [146]preserved today in the *Wushang biyao* (47/4a-5b) and the *Yunji qiqian* (37/15a-16b). According to the story, there was a Daoist adept who once hired a

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[145]See Plate 243.
[146]See ft. nt. 88.

commoner to clean his dining hall (*zhaitang*). After the job had been done, the adept shared his noon meal with the man (here the eating of the noon meal is called "upholding the retreat" or *chizhai*). During the meal he lectured to him on religious matters, and then urged him to practice the post-noon fast, claiming that if he was able to fast for 24 hours until noon of the next day, he would be guaranteed of not being poor in his next rebirth. However, when the man returned home that evening, his wife who had been awaiting his return with dinner prepared got very upset when he tried to tell her that he planned not to eat until noon of the next day. Unable to resist his wife's insistent urging, the man ate his dinner. The story then goes on to tell of how the man, because of his inability to fast, became reborn as the resident spirit of a 1000 year old tree, and how he then managed to urge some "morally upright men" (*xianzhe*) to arrange for Daoist adepts to carry out a retreat of 3 days for his deliverance, and finally achieved ascension as a "roaming Immortal". The moral of the story is that the benefits to be gained from the post-noon fast are truly great. While the failure to fast for 24 hours cost the man the opportunity for a privileged rebirth, the text points out that by just fasting for half a day, he salvaged for himself a rebirth from which he could eventually realize immortality. Therefore, the text asserts, if one truly makes an effort to carry out the post-noon fast along with other precepts, ascension is definitely attainable.

Thus we can see that the Lingbao scriptures exalt the perpetual retreat and complete fasting as ideals for advanced adepts, while at a more realistic level promote a standard regimen of gruel in the morning, vegetables at noon, and fasting after the noon hour. For a full-fledged adept this was a way of life, while for a lay believer it was a pious act to be carried out during festivals. Yet, again, a truly earnest adept was certainly encouraged to attempt an eating regimen of greater severity. Therefore, in a text issuing from later Lingbao proponents, we find described nine different dietary regimens to be observed during retreats. The text in question is a section from the now lost *Xuanmen dalun*

preserved in the *Yunji qiqian* 37/8a-9a. Japanese scholars[147] have speculated that this scripture, also known as the *Xuanmen dayi*, was written during the Daye era (605-617) of the Sui Dynasty. Sunayama Minoru asserts that the scripture was authored by members of what he calls the Chongxuan faction, a powerful group of Daoists that carried on into the Sui and Tang periods the scriptural heritage of the Lingbao and Taixuan factions.[148] It is not unlikely that the nine dietary regimens described in the *Xuanmen dalun* were put into practice during retreats by the early Lingbao proponents. The nine dietary regimens are as follows:

1) Coarse eating: A diet of hemp and millet grains. Purpose/Effect- "To terminate cravings and desires."

2) Rough eating: A diet of vegetables. Purpose/Effect- "To abandon fats (pork)."

3) Limited eating: Observing the post-noon fast. Purpose/Effect- "To eliminate confusion and defilement."

4) Imbibing Essences: The taking of talisman water and "Cinnabar (red?) Flowers". Purpose/Effect- "Your body and spirit will embody and complete the 'flower stems'."

5) Imbibing Sprouts: Eating the Cloud Sprouts of the Five Directions. Purpose/Effect- "You will transform into the sprouts."

6) Imbibing Light: Eating the "Three [types of] Rays of the Sun, Moon and Seven Origin (stars of the Ursa Major)". Purpose/Effect- "You will transform into light."

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[147] See Sunayama Minoru, *Zui-Too Dookyoo shisooshi kenkyuu* (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1990) pp.193-194. Also Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dookyoo to Bukkyoo* vol.2 p.67.

[148] See Sunayama Minoru, *Zui-Too Dookyoo shisooshi kenkyuu* , pp.201-211. The Taixuan faction, according to Sunayama, was a movement that emphasized the *Laozi*, the *Xisheng jing* and the *Miaozhen jing*. Its most prominent figure was Meng Zhizhou of the Liang Dynasty who devised the system of categorizing scriptures into the four *fu*, which served to complement the previously devised three Caverns or *dong*.

7) Imbibing *Qi*: Eating "the *Qi* of the Six Awakenings" and the "Great Harmony which is the Wondrous *Qi* of the Four Directions." Purpose/Effect- "You will transform into the Six *Qi* [149]and wander about in the ten directions."

8) Imbibing the Primal *Qi*: Eating "the *qi* of the Three Origins [which are all endowed with] the *jing* of Great Harmony which is in the Great Vacuity." Purpose/Effect- "You will transform into primal *qi* and merge with heaven and earth to form a single body."

9) Womb-eating: Eating "the harmony of the primal *jing* which I, on my own, have obtained. It is the origin of the embryo and the womb. It is, in other words, the pure and vacuous *qi* which descends into the four limbs. No longer do I have a relationship with the outside." Purpose/Effect- "Perpetually you will be in your infancy, and will merge and become one with the Dao."[150]

Entries 1 through 3 describe austere, bland diets ascribed with the purpose of self-discipline. 4 through 9 describe fasting techniques (mostly non-ingestional) which are ascribed with transformative qualities of a symbolic nature. Essentially, the adept "becomes what he eats". Entry 4 is the most difficult to understand, but a tentative interpretation would be that the adept eats flowers together with talisman water so that he will be ready to "bloom" with the "flower" of immortality. In 5 through 8, the adept eats rarefied, subtle substances such as "Cloud Sprouts", light rays and *qi* so that he himself becomes such a substance, and consequently escapes from the constraints involved in possessing a solid, heavy body. In 9, the imagery in operation is that of perpetual infancy and innocence, as the adept lives entirely off his own body's "womb-*qi*", much as a baby is nourished in his mother's womb without eating the food and breathing the air of the world outside.

We can thus see how retreats sometimes entailed the most severe dietary austerities. Along with hunger, another type of self-imposed stress required which likely served to

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[149]See Chapter Five ft. nt. 121.
[150]See Plate 244.

induce mystical experience was fatigue. As was mentioned, the *Zhaijie weiyi jue* includes a short liturgy for a retreat called the *wushang zhai* which consists of verses for summoning gods and Immortals, pronouncing one's wishes (this is done by sending out as envoys the resident divine officials in one's body) for oneself, one's family, one's ancestors, as well as all living beings in the universe to "obtain the Dao and ascend as Immortals". Also prescribed in the liturgy is the recitation of scriptures which is to be preceded by verses of confession. On p.10a is a passage which extols the benefits of the sustained observance of the retreat, which is followed by annotation that describes the routine that is to be observed during the retreat:

> If you practice the Dao for 1000 days, with your mind completely devoted to the mysteries, you will certainly be able to beckon down Perfected Men, see Saints and obtain the Dao.
> (Comment) Engage in worship for twelve hours (*liushi*, or six Chinese double-hours) during the day and night. Be at the lecture for six hours. Visualize your bodily deities for six hours.[151]

Elsewhere in the text[152] it is stated that the above mentioned 12 hours of worship were divided into two 6 hour sessions during the daytime and night time respectively. What is meant by "be at the lecture" is unclear. If he was actually required to listen to or give "lectures" this would mean that he had no time for sleeping (perhaps then participants would take the opportunity to doze off while visualizing their bodily deities). Even if some sleeping was allowed, the above routine would still be very strenuous, especially if one was fasting and was observing the routine for any extended period of time. Certainly, to

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[151] See Plate 245.

[152] 9a: "During the retreat burn incense and repent of your sins six hours a piece in the day and evening. Simply with your entire heart hear and receive the wondrous and profound teachings of the scriptures and doctrines." 晝時日夕各三時燒香悔過。唯一心聽受經法。

observe the routine for the recommended 1000 days would have been no ordinary feat. Thus, much more realistically, the text makes certain allowances for those incapable of such strenuous exertion in the following statements attributed (probably spuriously) to Ge Hong:

> Baopuzi said, "[I, Ge] Hong think that during great retreats that last a great number of days, those nobles or those Daoist adepts who are of naturally frail and weak physique are unable to bear the stress of twelve hours of day and night worship. I would like them to burn incense and worship during the six hours [of worship] during the daytime. They may be absent from the night time [worship]. They may simply have the doctrines lectured to them instead. Those who are able to burn incense [and worship] for twelve hours can on their own master the doctrines. I fear that [some] people have not yet obtained the *qi* of the Dao and that their strength is extremely weak. I only want them to engage in the retreat for one day and one night, during which whey should practice the Dao for 12 hours. Those who study [the Dao] should employ proper judgment [in determining the length and intensity of their participation]."[153]

Thus it is well acknowledged here that the observance of the full routine over any extended period was excessive and dangerous for those who were physically frail or who lacked endurance due to a lack of previous practice. Interesting here is how this endurance is understood as coming from obtaining the "*qi* of the Dao", a theme which is given major emphasis in the text to be studied in our next chapter, the *Taishang dadao yuqing jing*. Shortly later on in the *Zhaijie weiyi jue*, Ge Hong is quoted as follows:

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[153] 23a-b. See Plate 246.

> As for those who are not mountain dwelling adepts (*shanxue*), [but] who reside at home to practice the scriptures; they are certainly not capable of engaging in the perpetual retreat of sustained contemplation. Essentially they must participate in retreats and practice the Dao (worship) even if it is only for short periods of ten days, nine days, seven days, three days, or even one day.[154]

Here we have a clear demarcation between the "mountain dwelling" full-time adept who can withstand the rigors of the perpetual retreat, and the "at home" practitioner who is required only to participate in retreats occasionally, in accordance with his capabilities.

In the *Mingzhen ke* we find two ritual liturgies which, while presumably requiring the rigorous dietary rules and daily routine discussed above, also call for the adept to inflict pain and humiliation upon himself for the expiation of the sins of all. The first liturgy is entitled "the Upper Item of the Jade Boxes of the Nine Darknesses for Pulling Out and Rescuing the Dead Souls from Punishment" (17a-24b). It is carried out on the occasions of the aforementioned ten monthly and six annual retreats, as well as on the eight seasonal transitions (the equinoxes and solstices and the first day of each season) and the days of *jiazi* and *gengshen* in the sexegenary cycle. In the courtyard of the house serving as the ritual arena, a lantern post 9 *chi* high is erected, upon which nine lanterns are placed. These symbolize the radiance of the sun, moon and seven stars of the Ursa Major which illuminate the Nine Darknesses (*jiuyou*, the hells located in the regions deep below the earth, commonly referred to as the Nine Earths or Nine Springs) as the Primordial Heavenly Worthy expounds the Perfect Doctrines and guides the damned souls onto the path towards righteousness and liberation from the consequences of their previous sins.[155]

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[154] 23b. See Plate 247.

[155] A ritual which continues be carried out to this day and which employs lamps based on the same symbolism is the *fendeng* ritual which has been studied by Kristofer Schipper in his book *Le fen-teng: rituel taoiste* (1975).

In the ritual that ensues, a petition is recited towards the supreme deities of the ten directions (N, S, E, W, NE, NW, SE, SW, above and below) requesting that all living beings be spared from the Ten Sufferings and Eight Difficulties (*shiku banan*)[156] and that all souls of the dead be liberated from nether world punishments to be reborn into a good existence. Each time the petition has been read (the petition is read ten times; once for each direction), participants kowtow (*koutou*; i.e. to kneel and touch the forehead to the ground) and "hit themselves" (which probably means to slap oneself on the cheek)[157] a prescribed number of times. The prescribed number of kowtows and slaps for each direction are as follows: east- 81, south-27, west- 63, north- 45, northeast-9, southeast- 9, southwest- 9, northwest- 9, above- 288, below- 120. In other words, the participant kowtows and slaps himself a total of 660 times! This obviously entailed much fatigue and pain; and it was supposed to do so, since supposedly the suffering enhanced the effectiveness of the petitions:

> It is so that by prostrating yourself in worship, kowtowing and hitting yourself, you administer words of humble confession. Thereby with your earnest heart and devoted mind, your sincerity is thorough and your suffering is sufficient; naturally [your petitions] will move [divine beings] pervasively. If your body becomes tired and worn and can no longer withstand being dragged about, you may worship the Heavenly Perfected Beings in your heart, and need not go to the trouble of prostrating yourself. If you pretend [to be reverent] externally but are lazy in your heart, you will only belabor your body in worship. [As for] gentlemen of faith; their hearts and mouths are consistent. Holding incense their poignant wishes already

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[156]Buddhist terms. For the eight difficulties see Chapter Six ft.nt. 34. The Ten Sufferings refer to the suffering caused by 1) being born, 2) old age and decrepitude, 3) illness, 4) death 5) despair, 6) resentment, 7) emotional affectations of suffering, 8) worrying, 9) fear of death and 10) transmigration.

[157]In some place the text reads "hit your cheek" (*bojia*) rather than "hit yourself" (*zibo*).

> [before you know it,] permeate the various heavens. The sins of the realm of life and death (*samsara*) are all dissipated. This merit is extremely great. It is to be praised throughout the Three Realms[158]. Its blessings and virtues are lofty beyond description.[159]

Again, the severity of what is demanded is acknowledged, and allowances are made for those unable to follow literally the demands of the liturgy. The basic aim is to "move" the gods to heed the petitions through one's inner sincerity reflected in external act of "suffering". The text warns, however, that suffering which is merely for show and which is not a genuine expression of repentance is completely futile.

The second liturgy in the *Mingzhen ke* is "the Method of the Curriculum of Bright Perfection for the Bureaus of Perpetual Night, the Jade Boxes in the Nine Darknesses" (25b-37a), which is to be performed at times of national crises such as droughts, epidemics and wars. Numerous lanterns (depending on the occasion and the severity of the crisis, as many as 900) are set up which symbolize the divine light that illuminates all existence, including the hells of Perpetual Darkness. Also employed in the ritual are the utmost sacred Five Perfect Writs of the Lingbao which are each written in red ink and placed on five different tables in the courtyard. Placed beside the Writs are small images of dragons, each made from one *liang* of gold. In the grand finale of the ritual, the Five Writs are burned. The features of the ritual which are of particular concern to our study are described in the following passage:

> The great ritual master [stands] in the center [of the ritual arena] with his hair letdown and topknot untied. In accordance with the lessons he smears [himself] with soot. For twelve hours [per day] he petitions and repents,

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[158]A Buddhist term referring to three realms that make up the realm of *samsara*; the realm of desires (*yujie*), the realm of forms (*sejie*) and the realm of no forms (*wusejie*).
[159]24b. See Plate 248.

> carrying out these activities in the courtyard. If men and women of purity and faith [wish to] pray and request on behalf of the nation, they should express their sentiments outside the gates by disheveling their hair and smearing soot on themselves. In the spring, [the ritual should go on for] nine days and nine nights. In the summer, [it should go on for] three days and three nights. In the fall, [it should go on for] seven days and seven nights. In the winter [it should go on for] five days and five nights. During four *ji* months (third, sixth, ninth, twelfth) [it should go on for] twelve days and twelve nights.[160]

We are thus told that the "great ritual master" as well as any believer who so wishes, performs the rite of penance twelve hours a day for three to twelve days, taking on a humiliating appearance by disheveling his hair and smearing soot on himself. The text continues with petitions to the deities of the ten directions to be read during the ritual. Again, the petitions (which vary only slightly in their wording) are to be followed by kowtows and slaps. (east-81, south-27, west-63, north-45, northeast-9, southeast-9, southwest-9, northwest-9, above-88, below-108 ; total-448). The petitions include the words, "...We now therefore hold a retreat. We open our hearts and expose our bodies. We continuously implore [you] while disciplining ourselves, in order to rid our nation of its misfortunes...."[161]

As was the case with the first liturgy, the self-infliction of pain and stress is employed to enhance the effectiveness of the petitions. The phrase, "expose our bodies" likely means that the participants would strip off all or most of their clothing in order to smear their entire bodies with soot. Fortunately, we have at our disposal sources which describe much more vividly what would take place at these rites of "smearing soot". These sources have been

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[160]26a-b. See Plate 249.
[161]See Plate 250.

brought to attention and discussed by Henri Maspero.[162] By the latter part of the Six Dynasties period, the rite of "smearing soot" had achieved on its own the status of a full-fledged retreat called the *tutanzhai* (Retreat of Smearing Soot). The 50th *juan* of the *Wushang biyao* consists of a long section (20 and a half pages) entitled "Section on the Retreat of Smearing Soot", which is a liturgy for the retreat which incorporates petitions and verses from miscellaneous scriptures. The section begins with a petition which includes the following words:

> [We] your subjects....[who are like] worms and ants are stinky, filthy, insignificant and lowly as one could be. Due to some kind of a mistake we have had the fortunate destiny of being born into the age of the great evangelism....[163]
>
> Holding us reverently by the hand, for So-and So we follow the instructions of the Celestial Master: (face) smeared with soot, according to the regulations of pardon, presenting ourselves in the sacred place, we are attached, we are linked together, our hair is disheveled, we have smeared our foreheads with mud, we keep our heads averted and our hair in our mouth at the foot of the balustrade, conforming to the (ritual of) pure fasting of the Great Pardon of the Lower Original of the Sacred Jewel, we burn incense and we strike the earth with our forehead; we ask for mercy.
>
> In this day, such-and-such a day of such-and-such a month, on the sacred altar of such-and-such a sub prefecture of such-and-such a commandery, such-and-such a family, carrying out the fast for pure pardon, has lit the lamps and produced the brightness illuminating the heavens. For three days and three nights, for six hours each (of these days and nights), it has carried

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[162]See Henri Maspero, Taoism and Chinese Religion (Frank Kierman trans. 1981) pp.381-386.
[163]50/1a. See Plate 251.

> out repentance to obtain pardon, so that the hundred thousand ancestors, relatives and brothers, already dead or who will later die, including the person of So-and-So (who is performing the ceremony), shall be without evil throughout the Kalpas.....[164]

Described here is an exercise in self-degradation. Participants compare themselves to worms and ants who are of little or no worth due to their past sins. They express their remorse by treating themselves like convicted criminals, stripping and binding themselves. They further degrade themselves by smearing mud on their faces and striking ridiculous postures. This goes on for three days, presumably with severe dietary restrictions and little or no rest and sleep.

Another interesting passage which Maspero has brought to attention is from a Buddhist polemical (anti-Daoist) work written by a certain Dao-an in 570 A.D. called the *Erjiao lun*. The passage in question reads as follows:

> The Retreat of Smearing Soot was originated by Zhang Lu. [Participants] roll in the mud like donkeys. Their faces are smeared with yellow mud, and they are grabbed by their heads and hung from their hairpins. [They are then] kneaded until they are ripe (?). When it came to the beginning of the Yixi reign era (405-418), there was a certain Wang Gongchao who deleted the hitting and slapping [from the procedure]. Lu Xiujing of the Wu region still carried out only the [smearing of] mud on the foreheads and binding of hands behind the back. To resort to these things to deliver oneself from disasters; how extremely foolish.[165]

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[164] 50/1b. Here I have borrowed Maspero's translation from *Taoism and Chinese Religion* pp.381-382.

[165] Taisho Canon vol. 52 p.140 bottom. See Plate 252.
An alternate version of this passage is found in Zhen Luan's *Xiaodao lun* (also written in 570) and reads as follows: "[Participants] smear their faces with yellow mud and roll about in the mud like donkeys. Hung by their heads to a pillar, they are hit and slapped until they are ripe. From the Yixi era of the Jin Dynasty, the Taoist Clergyman Wang Gongqi eliminated the method of hitting and slapping, but Lu Xiujing still smeared foreheads with yellow mud, bound [people's] hands behind them and hung them from their heads. Licentious cults such as this ought to be laughed at with along with other various licentious [cults]." Taisho Canon v.52 p. 149 bottom. See Plate 253.

Conveyed here is a scene where participants have worked themselves up to a state of religious frenzy, where the sense of solemnity and dignity has broken down. Most interesting here is the alleged fact (which should probably regarded with much skepticism since the source here is polemical and hence anything but objective) that the ritual was at times prior to the Lingbao movement much more abusive and violent upon its participants, and that the most revolting aspect (the beatings) had been eliminated from the procedure during the first decades of the fifth century. Still, according to the Buddhist polemicist, the ritual otherwise retained its elements of self-torture, and supposedly wrought chaotic frenzy. In the opinion of Maspero, this state of frenzy was precisely what the rituals of the early Daoist church (i.e. the Great Peace Sect and Five Pecks of Rice Sect at the end of the Latter Han period) were designed to bring about, and the restrictions put upon eating and sleeping helped to create the delirious state of mind in which the frenzy was made possible. Maspero speculates that the excitement created at rituals was the key element that enabled the "Yellow Turbans" (which in Maspero's book refers to both the Great Peace and Five Pecks of Rice sects) to win converts at such a phenomenal rate.[166]

For our purposes, the relevant conclusion to be made regarding retreats is that asceticism of a quite severe nature was put into practice not only by advanced adepts who observed perpetual retreats, but also by the general participants of the temporary communal retreats (festivals). The rigorous routine of worship, lectures and meditation, the dietary restrictions, the kowtowing and slapping, and the humiliation of "smearing soot" made even the short retreat a formidable ordeal. The more one was able to withstand the ordeal to its fullest, the more effective his prayers were thought to be. If the "smearing of soot" described in the *Mingzhen ke* did in fact (this is uncertain) typically lead to the type of scene described in the *Erjiao lun*, we could speculate that religious frenzy was also a frequent (and perhaps calculated) result of the austerities.

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[166]See *Taoism and Chinese Religion* pp.387-388.

C. Severe Ascetic Methods in the *Ershisi shengtu jing*, *Chishu zhenwen* and *Chishu yujue*

This section will examine some of the severe ascetic training methods that the Lingbao scriptures prescribe for advanced adepts. The Lingbao scriptures, compared to the Shangqing texts, do not provide abundant descriptions of personal training methods such as visualizational meditations, chants, talismans, recipes etc. This is essentially because the Lingbao proponents simply inherited and accepted the training methods promoted by their predecessors (especially the Shangqing movement) while rigorously setting forth as their own unique and lasting contribution to the development of Daoist religion, a new theology, soteriology and ethics geared toward universal salvation that emphasized the mythology surrounding the Primordial Heavenly Worthy and the Five Perfect Writs along with Buddhistic theories of causality and transmigration. In sections A and B we did see examples of how severe ascetic methods, rarely described as they may be, were required to be put to practice by serious adepts. We saw how fasting, for example, is promoted in various places throughout the Lingbao scriptures. As is conveyed particularly clearly in the passage from the *Benyuan dajie jing* quoted on pp. 443-445, adepts, as they progressed in their training, were eventually expected to abstain from food by employing methods of ingestion, *qi* circulation, womb-breathing, expelling and retaining, and the imbibing of Cloud Sprouts. By carrying out these practices at an intensity that went beyond ordinary human capacities, they could establish merit, strengthen their minds and bodies, purge their bodies of evil forces and impurities, and purify and pacify their Three Elixir Fields and Five Viscera. We also saw how fasting methods were carried out during retreats (perpetual and temporary) where self-starvation was thought to evoke the sympathy of the gods.

However, the Lingbao scriptures do not include many descriptions of fasting methods that are unique to them. It seems likely that the specific fasting techniques (especially the ingestional methods) employed by Lingbao proponents of the 5th century and later could have been none other than those of the *Wufu xu*, which could have been part of why the *Wufu xu* was esteemed enough by the Lingbao movement to be included in Lu Xiujing's catalog. The few "original" methods that are to be found described in detail are found in the *Chishu zhenwen* and the *Chishu yujue* and are little more than adaptations and embellishments of non-ingestional techniques from the *Wufu xu*.

These fasting methods of the *Chishu zhenwen* and *Chishu yujue* will be examined in this section along with their methods for protecting oneself from demons and surviving the cosmic flood that was thought to be imminent. But first, we will examine some verses from the *Ershisi shengtu jing*. These verses, while they fail to describe any one training method in detail, are of great interest in that they allude to a variety of non-ingestional fasting methods and provide intriguing clues as to when, how frequently and for how long each method was supposed to be carried out, while conveying a belief in how the adept's severe and sustained training activates and concentrates the divine, animating forces of his body to bring about the miracle of ascension. As we have already seen, this same belief is also conveyed in the *Gongde qingzhong jing* (see p. 428).

1. The Verses of the *Ershisi shengtu jing*

As has been well discussed by Stephen Bokenkamp[167], the *Ershisi shengtu jing* was probably inspired by and based largely upon books mentioned in the *Baopuzi* (some of which existed in Ge Hong's library and may have survived and been available to the authors of the Lingbao scriptures[168]) as well as legends from the Shangqing texts

[167]See "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures" pp.458-460.

[168]Bokenkamp in his article subscribes to the theory that Ge Chaofu wrote the entire corpus.

involving the impending apocalypse and the messiah Housheng Lijun. The verses to be examined below are found among a set of Twenty-four verses, each of which were meant to accompany a diagram (*tu*). The diagrams, however, do not appear in the extant text, either because they were at some point lost, or because their esoteric nature did not allow them to be displayed in the Canon together with their accompanying text.[169] Although the text is extremely vague as to the function of the verses within the adept's training and/or worship, they were most likely intended for chanting, and the chanting of them was intended to enable the adept to visualize, manifest and mobilize a set of body gods called the Twenty-four Perfected Beings, the Eight Luminaries Per Each of the Three Sections (*ershisizhen sanbu bajing*). Clearly described as serving such a purpose are the twenty-four talismans which the text displays (eight at a time) after each of the three sets of eight verses. These talismans are to be drawn and swallowed. Most likely then, there was some sort of technique to be carried out which involved a combination of the chanting of the verses, the swallowing of the talismans along with the visualization of the body gods. The severe ascetic nature of the method is hinted at in the opening narrative of the text (concerning its celestial origins) which describes how in the first year of the mythical Shanghuang era, Housheng Lijun encountered the Primordial Heavenly King[170] and confided in him regarding how he, despite being transmitted the Twenty-four Diagrams in Celestial Jade Writing, had not yet fathomed their meaning and still "did not have their image" (was unable to see his Twenty-four Luminaries?). The text then continues as follows:

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[169]In the HY671/TT352*Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wuzheng fu shangjing* (11b-12b) are found short descriptions of purposes that are to be served by possessing each of the twenty-four diagrams. For example, the text tells us that one should obtain the Diagram of the Five Peaks if he wants to "stabilize the Five Monarchs and command the mountain spirits", and that he should obtain the Diagram of the Six *Jia* Communicating with the Miraculous if he wants to "correspond with the five phases and bring forth the lunch boxes."

[170]Depending on how one reads the narrative, it seems that the Primordial Heavenly King is identified with the Primordial Heavenly Worthy, or is, like Housheng Lijun, a disciple of the Primordial Heavenly Worthy who had somehow attained a higher level in his training.

> The Heavenly King spewed out from his mouth the Dongxuan Jade Talismans of Internal Vision and gave them to the Lord (Housheng Lijun), and made him engage in a pure retreat of 1000 days, smoke his body with the five fragrances and imbibe the talismans while facing eastward. [The Heavenly King then told the Lord], 'Your body gods will all be seen [by you] and you will naturally fathom [the meanings of the diagrams] thoroughly. Your doubts will instantly come to an end.' Lord Li bowed and obeyed the instructions. In complete accord with the celestial rites he engaged in a lengthy retreat of 1000 days and imbibed the talismans while facing eastward. The Twenty-four Luminary Gods all appeared inside his body, and the Twenty-four Diagrams of Jade Characters in Golden Writing appeared clearly amidst the air.[171]

What this tale reflects is that a real life adept would utilize the diagrams, verses and talismans within the context of a lengthy retreat. As we have already seen, a retreat virtually by definition entailed some kind of fasting. As we will now see, the contents of the verses indicate strongly that the adept would attempt to nourish his body on "celestial nutrients". By doing this he sought to commune with the divine forces of the universe, while activating and concentrating his own divine forces. The following are the verses which indicate this:

(2)[172] Divine Immortal's Diagram of the Perfect Forms of the Five Peaks: The Second Perfect *Qi* of the Upper Section

Marvelous is the Dao of the Primordial [Heavenly Worthy].

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[171]See Plate 254.

[172]The 24 verses are arranged in the text in three groups of eight for the upper (these I have numbered 1-8), middle (9-16) and lower sections (17-24).

The Five Holy Ones[173] lay out the Perfect Writs.

In the past (lit. "above"), they opened up the Longhan kalpa[174].

Brilliantly, the Three Radiances (sun, moon and stars) were divided.

The Flying Heavenly Writings in Ten Sections,

Are secure with the Five Monarchs,

The Chengxuan Palace(s) of the Holy Peaks,

Vigorously spew out the precious clouds.

Up above is the *qi* of immortality;

Plant the sprouts and refine the Five Immortals.

The Jade Fungi will glisten in the dark.

Your body will be immaculate and naturally fragrant.

If you meditate concentratedly, the High Spirits will descend,

And you will wander about with the Superior August Lords.[175]

(4) Divine Immortal's Diagram of the Six *Jia* Communicating with the Miraculous: The Fourth Perfect *Qi* of the Upper Section

The Flying Celestial Girls of the Miraculous Palaces,

The Six Perfect Beings relax in the bath of perpetuity,

Embracing the sun and carrying the bright moon on their backs.

Look up to and ascend upon the rays of the Three Heavenly Bodies (sun, moon, stars).

Communicate with the miraculous and fathom the obscure and subtle,

Clearly seeing through into the ten directions.

Summon and bring your way the kitchens of self-so-ness.

[Nourished by the] Five Fungi, your six bowels will flourish.

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[173]This probably refers to the Five Monarchs who are correlated to the Lingbao Five Writs and are given a prominent place in the method of eating the Five Sprout examined below.

[174]The most ancient of cosmic eras, the commencement of which was brought forth by the power of the Five Writs.

[175]4b. See Plate 255.

Transform and refine the myriad gods.

Dividing your forms and changing your normal appearance.

Ride upon the vacuity and stroll within the Mysterious Capital.

Fly up high and enter the Empty Cavern.

From time to time bring down the people of the Golden Empyrean,

Who wander into your bosom, the chamber of the Three [Primal Goddesses of] Simplicity[176].

Together under the flying canopy,

We wander carefreely and ascend to the Jade Capital.[177]

(9) The Divine Immortal's Diagram of the Miraculous Transformations which Penetrate the Subtlety: The First Perfect *Qi* of the Middle Section

The Great Dao is marvelous and without form.

It circulates the *qi* and congeals it in the High Mysterious [Realm].

It takes form amidst emptiness, generated spontaneously.

Miraculous transformations manifest the Three Gods.

In the morning draw in the essences of the five planets.

At noon suck in the fluid of the sun.

In the evening dine on the yellow moon-flowers.

When you lie in bed, refine your Five Immortals.

Change your form, transforming along with the empty space,

Suddenly you will establish your self-so-ness.[178]

(11) The Divine Immortal's Diagram of the Nine Changes: The Third Perfect *Qi* of the Middle Section

Marvelous transformations are to be felt through the empty space.

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[176]This is probably a reference to the Three Goddesses of Primal Simplicity visualized in the methods taught in the *Ciyi jing*. See ft. nt. 131.

[177]5a-b. See Plate 256.

[178]9a. See Plate 257.

Devotedly contemplate and communicate with the most holy [of beings].

[From] above, eat the *qi* of the Nine Heavens.

Guide and draw in the essence of the Five Clouds.

For three days refine the myriad spirits,

Transforming your body nine times in one day.

Escape your body and wander in the Nine Regions[179].

Frolic in the gardens of the Three Realms.

Ride upon the radiance and gaze upon the Great Simplicity.

In the miraculous wind circle about [in a] green carriage.

In the flying mist circle around in the ten remote [regions].

[As the] yellow banners beckon the myriad souls.

The various heavens send down their grandeur.

Rising like steam, you enter into the [Realm of] Taiqing.[180]

(12) The Divine Immortal's Diagram of Constant Visualization: The Fourth Perfect *Qi* of the Middle Section

Contemplate silently, summoning the Perfected Beings of the obscure realms.

Devotedly and silently, your spirit will naturally return.

Outflowings will be done away with and external responses will disappear,

And your proper *qi* will naturally be peaceful and subtle.

Moved [by your devotion] time and time again, the Wondrous Perfected Beings will descend,

And your six bowels will produce a bright luster.

At the mysterious gathering the empty forms are harmonious,

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[179]This refers to the nine large geographic regions of China was had been designated in high antiquity. The verse thus apparently tells the adept to wander, amidst his state of mystical trance, throughout the entire territory of China.

[180]9b. See Plate 258.

As the myriad gods gather in response like echoes [respond to sounds].

The Eight Luminaries hold up the cloudy canopy.

The radiance showers down swiftly in its grandeur.

It carries me beyond the Great Purity (*dafan*)[181].

Wandering carefreely I fly mounting the skies.[182]

(13) The Divine Immortal's Diagram of Guarding the One and Nurturing the Body: The Fifth Perfect *Qi* of the Middle Section

Guide and draw in the *qi* of the Nine Heavens,

Rubbing your hands and comforting your body.

Cut off the routes of the wicked demons.

Adorned with luster, refine your radiance.

Fly like a phoenix and commune with the Perfect *Qi*.

Transcend like a dragon and control the myriad souls.

At the *shen* hour (8 a.m.) in the morning the Perfected throngs meet.

Nurture your body and feel your [body] gods come alive.

Calmly without desires go back to Guarding the One.

Contemplate quietly in the Garden of Proper *Qi*.

When the gods are ready, your form will naturally fly,

Ascending up high to the [Realm of] Shangqing.[183]

(14) The Divine Immortal's Diagram of Guarding the Spirit and Combining the Luminaries: The Sixth Perfect *Qi* of the Middle Section

In the Niwan is located the Fort of the *Po* Soul.

In the Central Origin is the Palace of Embracing the One.

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[181]This term borrowed from Buddhism is used here to refer to the great and pure sky or to a certain heavenly realm. In Buddhist cosmology it refers to the ninth heaven, as it also does in the scheme of multitiered heavens expounded in the Shangqing scripture *Taixiao langshu*. See Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoisme* vol.1 p.91.

[182]9b-10a. See Plate 259.

[183]10a. See Plate 260.

Within the Three Holy Storehouses that are the Elixir Fields,
Mix and combine the 100 Divine Kings.
In your Three Passages[184] control the Nine Heavens.
Exhale and inhale the rays of the sun and moon.
The Dark Mysterious Nourishment of the Five Planets,
Flows in and fills your six stomachs (six bowels, digestive system).
[If you] contemplate silently, the myriad *qi* will return [to being one],
And your spirit will be at peace and your body will also be fragrant.
The Eight Luminary Perfected Beings of each of the Three Sections,
Will carry you and enter into the Great Emptiness (sky).
Eternally living [there throughout] the kalpas of heaven and earth,
You will have no beginnings and forever have no end.[185]

(15) The Divine Immortal's Diagram of Desolately and Silently Nurturing the Jing and Maintaining the Will: The Seventh Perfect *Qi* of the Middle Section

During the purity of morning dine on the Five Planets,
[While] exclusively contemplating upon and guarding the Niwan.
At high noon swallow the sunlight,
[While] silently contemplating upon the fragrance in the Crimson Palace.
At sundown guide in the lunar essence,
Irrigating and moistening the Lord of the [Lower] Elixir Field.
The Three Perfected Beings will produce a single Luminary.
As they transform, their appearance will naturally become discernible.
Once you see the myriad gods return [to being one],
Pulling up the *qi*, the Luminary will hasten up on high.
Ascending to the palaces of the sun and moon,

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[184]This apparently refers to the Three Elixir Fields.
[185]10a-b. See Plate 261.

Exiting and entering, you will see the Eight Gates[186].

The Longhan is an endless kalpa.

Marvelous are the Writs of the Lingbao![187]

(16) Diagram of the Fungi, Flowers and Jade Girls: The Eighth Perfect *Qi* of the Middle Section

Whirling about, they disperse the miraculous *qi*.

Fungi and flowers swirl in the wind.

The various gods pour down their fragrant flowers.

The sun and moon pour down their holy radiances.

The Jade Girls carry forth the golden trays,

Resplendantly flying, mounted upon the sky.

Look up and contemplate their Perfect visages coming down [to you].

If you swallow the fungi, your Five Spirits will open up (be activated).

[As you] guide and draw in [the divine nourishment], the radiances will pervade.

For myriad kalpas your body will not decline.[188]

(17) The Divine Immortal's Diagram of the Six *Yin* Jade Girls: The First Perfect *Qi* of the Lower Section

The miraculous flight penetrates the Great Ultimate.

The Jade Girls with yellow-green and vermilion jades,

Enticingly come out flying in the sky.

Whirling about they are born, mounted upon the void.

The mysterious and marvelous *qi* of self-so-ness,

The Six *Yin* [Jade Girls] relax in their constant forms.

Distantly contemplate and hope for an auspicious meeting.

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[186]See p. 462.

[187]10b. See Plate 262.

[188]10b-11a. See Plate 263.

Gaze upwards and bring down the Six *Ding* [Jade Girls],

Join your form [with them] in the Golden Chamber,

Gracefully, beautifully, devotedly and sincerely,

The mysterious feelings naturally seek each other,

Why place your hopes in forms and names.

The transformations start from [your] earnestness.

Responding to the echoes, the spirit is naturally miraculous.[189]

(19) The Divine Immortal's Diagram of Guiding and Drawing In: The Third Perfect *Qi* of the Lower Section

Steaming forth are the Five Cloud-Fungi.

With their mysterious radiance they spew out a brilliant jade light.

Congeal your fluids and penetrate the Holy Storehouse,

Roaming the palaces of the sun and moon.

The five-color patterned High Perfected Beings,

Let flow their essences and irrigate the ten directions.

Exhale and suck [them] in without feeling fatigue.

The flying gods line up with their golden countenances.

[If you] guide and draw in, and dine on the miraculous nothingness (*lingwu*)[190],

[With] the food of the dark mysteries [of the Dao], your six stomachs will be full.

Your concentrated meditations will easily evoke [divine] sympathy.

Peacefully sit and observe the empty cavern."[191]

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[189] 13b-14a. See Plate 264.

[190] This may be a mistranscription of *lingqi* or "miraculous *qi*".

[191] 14a-b. See Plate 265.

The above verses (verses 9 and 15 are especially clear) endorse techniques of "eating" the subtle, rarefied nutrients of the Five Planets (the Five Sprouts), the sun, and the moon, which are to be carried out respectively in the morning, at noon and in the evening. By doing so, the adept satiates himself by filling his digestive system (six bowels, six stomachs), which consequently becomes purified to the point where it has a bright luster. As the final two lines of verse 19 indicate, the filling of the bowels with rarefied nutrients coincides with an enhanced ability to "move" the gods and to see and experience ineffable mysteries during the process of meditation. The "eating" is accompanied by visualizations of the Three Palaces of the body. While dining on the planets, the adept concentrates upon the Niwan in the brain. While dining on the sun, he concentrates upon the Crimson Palace in the Heart. While dining on the moon, he concentrates upon the (Lower) Elixir Field in the lower abdomen. By doing so, he is supposed to channel the nutrients to the Three Palaces and nourish the gods that reside in them so that they can be activated and manifested. These gods are described as three gods (*sanshen, sanzhen*), one for each Palace. But they are also conceived of as "the Twenty Luminaries" (*bajing*); i.e. eight gods residing in each of the Three Palaces who control specific body parts. The comments attached to each of the twenty-four talismans displayed after each set of verses indicate that the allocation of body part gods to each of the Three Palaces is as follows:

Niwan: brain, hair, skin, eyes, head-marrow, backbone, nose, tongue

Crimson Palace: throat, lungs, heart, liver, gall bladder, left kidney, right kidney, spleen

[Lower] Elixir Field: stomach, colon (or perhaps appendix?)[192], large and small intestines, the inside of the intestines, diaphragm, armpits, left *yang* (left testicle?), right *yin* (right testicle?)

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[192]*Qiongchang* or "end intestine".

It is stated in verse 14 that these Twenty-four Luminaries can eventually carry the adept upwards into a state of heavenly immortality. On p. 6b, the text quotes a certain *Lingbao shenxian tu* (Lingbao Diagrams of the Divine Immortal) as follows regarding the 8 Radiant Gods of the Upper Origin:

> The Eight Luminary Upper Perfected Beings are protected within the Upper Origin Palace of the human body. If you bring forth the *qi* of life of the Upper Origin and contemplate eternally with a devoted heart for eight years, the Eight Perfected Beings will manifest their forms. 1000 chariots and 10,000 cavalry troops will carry forth radiant clouds which carry the person (you, the adept) and ascend.[193]

Similar passages regarding the Eight Luminaries of the Middle (p.11a) and Lower Palaces (pp.15b-16a) are also to be found, which state that the ascension can be attained after eight years of "bringing forth the *qi* of life" and visualizing. Also, as mentioned, to be found in the text are 24 talismans, one for each Luminary, which are to be swallowed regularly during the process.

The internal deities which the adept activates are actually much more numerous than just twenty-four, as the Luminaries are to be accompanied by their attending spirits, the presence of which is alluded to in verses 4, 11, 12 and 15 as the "myriad gods" and also in the passage cited above where it mentions 1000 chariots and 10,000 cavalry troops. On pp.21a-47b are listed the names of numerous bodily deities who are subordinate to the 24 Luminaries. Verse 15 indicates that through sustained practice, the adept makes the Perfected Beings of the Three Palaces merge together into one Luminary, which means that the myriad deities return (*gui*) to a state of one-ness to form one holy entity. The fact that

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[193]See Plate 266.

these deities personify the *qi* of the human body is indicated in verse 14 where it states that the myriad *qi* come together when one engages in silent contemplation, after which ascension takes place. The personification of the *qi* of the human body in the form of deities reflects the appreciation held towards the sacredness of life; the sheer wonder that a bundle of flesh can be animate. For each organ, bone, joint, pore or cell of the body to be able to function, move and feel is a marvel, which is attributed to the presence of countless deities and miraculous *qi* throughout the body. Through fasting and meditating, the adept is to activate all of these wondrous entities and concentrate them, first in three large groups, and finally into one conglomeration of incredible power which can bring about transcendence and eternal life.

Also found in the above verses of the *Ershisi shengtu jing* are references to the five Immortal or gods (*wuxian, wushen*) which probably refer to the resident deities of the five viscera.[194] These gods are nourished by nutrients from the Five Directions, which in the above verses are described primarily as issuing from the Five Planets. Also conveyed is the notion that there are Jade Girls in each of the Five Directions who bring the nourishment to the five visceral gods. Verse 16 thus describes how the adept will be graced with the presence of Jade Girls who will bring him fungi on golden plates which "open up" (activate) his five visceral gods. We have here imagery that perhaps represents the sublimation of repressed sexual desire. That celibacy was required for those who carried out the methods of the *Ershisi shengtu jing* is reflected on p.20a (within a liturgy for the rite of transmission of the scripture) where we read that an adept to whom is transmitted the *Ershisi shengtu jing* must "abandon all burdens of lust". In other verses there appears imagery of goddesses that is more erotic than that in verse 16. Verse 4 presents the very sensual image of "Flying Celestial Girls" bathing. They are also described as the Six Perfected Beings, and the verse bears the heading, "The Divine Immortal's Diagram of the

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[194]Another less likely possibility is that it refers to a set of five body gods of the Shangqing tradition called the Wulao or Five Elders; Taiyi (brain), Wuying (liver), Baiyuan (lungs), Siming (heart) and Daojun (lower Elixir Field). See Robinet, *Taoist Meditation* pp.100, 133, 143.

Six Jia Communicating with the Miraculous". Apparently the goddesses described in verse 4 are equivalent to the Six *Jia* Jade Girls which the reader can recall from pp.163-164 and 167. The food brought by them is again the Five Fungi, but here they are described as coming from the Three Heavenly Bodies (sun, moon and stars) and nourishing the "six bowels". Verse 17 has the most erotic imagery as it describes the Six *Ding* Jade Girls (mentioned also in the *Huangting neijing jing* and *Huangting waijing jing*, see pp. 168-169) whom the adept comes together with in a "Golden Chamber" in a marvelous, ineffable union.

Bokenkamp has pointed out how the Lingbao scriptures in general convey a male chauvinistic, misogynistic attitude (which is indeed identifiable in the story of Aqiu Zeng as well as the Precepts for Monitoring the Body), and has speculated that Ge Chaofu (who he believes authored the entire Lingbao corpus) disdained the Shangqing scriptures partly because of the prominence that they gave to female Immortals as divine revealers and to the theme of pure, mystical unions with Perfected Beings of the opposite sex.[195] For this reason, the presence of a mysticism of sublimated eroticism in the *Ershisi shengtu jing* is rather surprising; this presence of a divergent attitude within the corpus appears to lend support to Kobayashi's view that the Lingbao scriptures were authored by more than one person gradually over several decades.

Verse 9 states that the adept is to refine the Five Immortals when he lies down to sleep. This perhaps means that he is supposed to refrain from sleeping while visualizing his visceral gods throughout the night (see pp.210-211). Whether such was indeed the case is not at all clear. But if we were to assume that it was, the question which arises is how long adepts would actually subject themselves to complete fasting and sleep-avoidance. A hint is perhaps to be found in verse 11 where it says, "For three days refine the myriad gods. Transform your body nine times in one day." This perhaps means that during the eight years of eating *qi* and visualizing bodily deities, the adept would at times

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[195]See "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures" p.445.

engage in three day periods of complete fasting and sleep-avoidance which induced trance states in which the adept felt himself "escaping the body and wandering in the nine regions". Presumably, the rest of the time he would practice a less severe asceticism.

2. Methods in the Chishu zhenwen and Chishu yujue

(a) Talismanic Methods for Feeding off the Sun and Moon

In the *Chishu zhenwen* 2/2b-3b are found brief descriptions of two talismanic methods for feeding off the sun and moon respectively. The talisman for feeding off the sun is called the "*Yang* Life Talisman of the Great Simplicity of the Nine Heavens". The text states that the "Primordial [Heavenly Worthy]" bestowed it upon the Elder of the Most High. As can be recalled (see p. 162), the *Wufu xu* (3/13a) describes a talisman with a virtually identical title that was transmitted to the Lord Lao by the Elder of the Most High. The *Chishu zhenwen*'s *Yang* Life Talisman and the method described for its ingestion are clearly inspired the *Wufu xu*'s *Yang* Life Talisman. The *Yang* Life Talisman is to be utilized as follows:

> [According to] the ancient regulations of the Palace of Purple Sublimity in the Mysterious Capital, draw [the talisman] in bright red [ink] on a piece of white silk five *cun* square. Engage in a pure retreat for 100 days. Enter the [meditation] chamber, visualize the solar essence, put [the talisman] in your mouth, and swallow it. You will get to be of equal life span with the sun, and exist [perpetually] together with heaven and earth. If you meditate upon the holy and contemplate upon the Perfect, your [bodily] form will naturally become able to fly. If you have defiling *qi* remaining in your mouth, the talisman will immediately come out, and you will die. Another name [for the talisman] is 'the Token of Living Perfection'. [Yet] another name [for

> it] is 'the Dragon Script of the Eight Mighty Ones'. If a woman swallows this talisman, she will later become reborn into a male body.[196]

The above passage is virtually identical with *Wufu xu* 3/13a, with the exception of certain elaborations. Here, the swallowing of the talisman is linked with the swallowing of solar essence. The talisman is also made to accommodate the need that had newly come to be considered important for female adepts; that of becoming reborn as men. This quality is ascribed to the talisman likely because by eating solar essence, the body would be filled with the *yang* (male) force, which could transform a *yin* (female) body. The notion that the ultimate Perfection is only attainable by men is reflected in the story of Aqiu Zeng.[197] As is the case with the *Wufu xu*'s *Yang* Life Talisman, the swallowing of the talisman is preceded by a 100 day retreat, which apparently demanded strict dietary restrictions, as any "filthy qi" in the mouth was thought to bring about instant failure and death. "Filthy *qi*" most likely refers to the *qi* of meats and spicy foods, if not food in general.

The talisman for swallowing lunar essences is called "the *Yin* Life Talisman of the Great Obscurity of the Nine Heavens." The passage describing this talisman is also inspired largely by a talisman of virtually identical name in the *Wufu xu*. The method for employing it is as follows:

> [In accordance with] the ancient regulations of the Palace of Purple Sublimity of the Obscure Capital, draw [the talisman] in black ink on a piece of yellow silk five *cun* square. Engage in a pure retreat for 100 days. Enter the [meditation] chamber, visualize the lunar essence, put [the talisman] in your mouth and swallow it. You will have a life span equal to that of the

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196 *Chishu zhenwen* 2/2b-3a. See Plate 267.

197 Another story belonging to the Lingbao tradition very similar to that of Aqiu Zeng is found in the "Chronicle of the Worthy God of the Southern Extreme" quoted from the *Dongxuan benxing jing* in the *Yunji qiqian* 102/12b-13b.

> moon. Daoist adepts who want to carry out the liberation from the corpse (*shijie*) can draw [the talisman] in black on a wooden sword and curl up and lie down with it. [The sword] will take the place of the human body and die for you. In practicing this [method] you must be concentrated. If you have other thoughts, or have defilements in your mouth, the talisman will thereby come out and the body will die. Another name for the talisman is 'the Token for Transforming the Body'. Another name [for it] is 'the Holy Script of the Nine *Yin*'. If a man swallows this talisman, he will later on turn into a woman.[198]

As is the case with its virtual namesake in the *Wufu xu* (see pp.190-191), this talisman is supposed to enable the adept to stage his death so that he can escape from society. As can be recalled, the *Wufu xu*'s method of "escaping the corpse" was a form of religious suicide in which the adept poisoned himself to death with pills containing mercury in the belief that he was to become immortal by doing so. Such may have been the case with the *Yin* Life Talisman of the *Chishu zhenwen.* But aside from this use for "escaping the corpse", the *Chishu zhenwen* also states that the talisman is to be swallowed while visualizing lunar essences. Again, a 100 day retreat with strict dietary restrictions is to be observed. The adept is also warned that "extraneous thoughts" (*tanian*) as well as "defiling *qi*" can bring about dire consequences. Since the lunar essences imbibed by means of the talisman are of the *yin* principle, the talisman is attributed with the property of transforming a man's body into a woman's body. Why, based on what we know of Lingbao doctrines, a male adept would want to turn into a woman is difficult to understand. But while the *Yang* Life Talisman enables a woman to be "born" (*sheng*) as a man, the Yin Life Talisman enables a man to "transform" (*hua*) into a woman. In the former case, it seems that the woman seeks rebirth as a man so that she can advance further in the progress towards

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[198]3a-b. See Plate 268.

ultimate Perfection. The latter perhaps applies to situations where a male adept, for the purpose of avoiding secular obligations wants to become a woman. It is difficult to tell whether the idea was to become reborn as a woman to live an entire lifetime as a woman, or rather to merely be transformed temporarily for a short time into the guise of a woman. Interesting, however, in regard to this issue is Ge Xuan's putative voluntary reincarnation as a woman (see p. 413).

While the ingestion methods of the *Yang* Life and *Yin* Life talismans are not described specifically as fasting methods, both are methods for only the most sincere adept which require much self-denial. This fact is clearly conveyed as follows:

> These two talismans are the two *qi* of *yin* and *yang*, the essences of the sun and moon. If you cannot devote your body and persevere amidst suffering, [you must] refrain from frivolously imbibing them. Only if you engage in the pure retreat in accordance with the rules, can you become never-ending.[199]

(b) Ingesting the Five *Qi* (Sprouts)

The fasting method that is most emphasized and described in greatest detail in the *Chishu zhenwen* and *Chishu Yujue* (also described in the Wushang biyao 76/1a-8b) is that of ingesting the Five Sprouts. This method, like the Shangqing text method of ingesting the Cloud Sprouts, is an adaptation of the *Wufu xu*'s method of Fetching and Eating the *Qi* of the Various Heavens of the Five Directions. The method for ingesting the Five Sprouts is much more elaborate than the methods of the *Wufu xu* and the Shangqing movement, and the validity of it is explained based on the cosmogony and cosmology indigenous to the Lingbao movement. The *Chishu yujue* explains the necessity of ingesting the Five Sprouts as follows:

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[199]2/3b. See Plate 269.

> The Primordial [Heavenly Worthy's] Perfect Writs in Five Tablets of Red Script were produced amidst the great emptiness. Before heaven and earth had light, when the coming apart [of heaven and earth] was still unclear, the primal root was latently formed. The Three Radiances (sun, moon and stars) were established, and the Five *Qi* thus came to circulate. The five colors became distinguishable and they illuminated the Five Directions. Entrusted to the Five Monarchs and according with the *yin* and *yang*, they rotate upon the strings of the Nine Heavens. They circulate their radiances within the radiances of the Five Planets. They are planted into the Five Peaks of the earth where they are securely protected. They infiltrate[200] the Five Bureaus (viscera?) of men and nurture their spirits. Therefore, people of utmost Perfection always at the first shining of the sunlight, guide down the harmonious *qi* of the Nine Heavens from above, and draw in the flowing fragrances of the Jade Spring from below. Bring forth the primal essence from the Great Ultimate. Summon forth the Five Monarchs from (through the mediation of?) the Holy Youths. Those who irrigate [themselves with] them will not decline. Those who visualize them will be limitless [in life span]. They will evade [the destruction at the end of] myriad kalpas and begin anew, preserving the Five Sprouts upon their visages. This is truly a marvelous lesson of the Lingbao which spreads the original legacy of the myriad Saints.[201]

Essentially, according to the above explanation, the adept achieves immortality by feeding off the very creative force of the universe that existed before creation, the power of

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[200]The translation of the character 澳 (read *yu* or *ao*) is tentative as it has no common usage as a verb. The character can correspond to 溷 (*hun*) which as a verb can mean to pollute something or make it turbid. For the Five Qi to enter the viscera here is a good thing, thus I have tentatively chosen to render the word as "infiltrate" rather than "pollute".

[201]*Chishu yujue* 2/4b-5a. See Plate 270.

which allows all entities in the universe to exist and function. This force is described both as Perfect Scripts and as *Qi*. As we will see, probably because of this dual conceptualization of the force, the technique for swallowing the Five Sprouts consists of both the swallowing of air and of pieces of paper with the "Jade Writ in Red Script" written on them.

The concept of the Five Writs is undoubtedly inspired by the *Wufu xu*'s Lingbao Five Talismans. However, the Perfect Writs in Five Tablets in Red Script are ascribed with a provenance and importance that far supersede what the *Wufu xu* ascribes to its Five Talismans. As can be recalled, the *Wufu xu* claims that the Five Talismans were written by the Great Yu, who had drawn his inspiration from the Holy Books originally revealed to the Yellow Emperor and concealed in Mt. Zhong, as well as from other revelations from divine beings. The *Chishu zhenwen* tells us that the Perfect Writs, "were produced before the Primordial [Heavenly Worthy] amidst the empty cavern, before heaven and earth had their beginnings and before the sun and moon shined."[202] The text further states that the Perfect Writs had issued from the Heaven of Original Green-ness in a color and form that made them completely illegible. It was the Primordial Heavenly Worthy who made them legible by "smelting them in the Mansion of Penetrating *Yang*", and "molding them in the Garden of Flowing Fire", forming fiery red characters that radiated brilliantly. When this radiance was emitted, the Five Monarchs (*wudi*) gathered at the Upper Palace, around which they circumambulated, burned incense and recited the words of the Perfect Writs. This set in motion the process of the creation of the world as we know it, which took place in a series of miraculous events called the Twelve Mysterious Signs of Heaven and Twenty-four Responses of Earth.

As the world continues to exist, it is believed that its vitality is maintained because it is permeated by the Five *Qi*, personified by the Five Monarchs (or Five Elders; *wulao*), that emanate from the Five Writs. The Five *Qi* imbue in particular various vital sets of five that

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[202] 1/1a-b. See Plate 271.

exist in the universe; the Five Planets, the Five Peaks and the Five Viscera. Thus by eating the Five *Qi* or Sprouts, the adept feeds off the very *qi* that emanates perpetually from the Five Writs made manifest by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy. The *Chishu yujue* describes as follows how the world is daily recharged with this basic creative force, and how divine immortality is attained by those who can eat it:

> The Primordial Five *Qi* always, at the crying of the rooster, assemble up above in the Upper Palace of the Mysterious Capital in the Lingbao Jade Capital. When the sunlight first shines, it scatters forth the Primordial [Heavenly Worthy's] radiance which pervades and observes the various heavens. The *qi* is vigorous and its radiance is delightful. The essence is like moon pearls. The light is like purple clouds. The Five *Qi* revolve like cartwheels. Above, they control the palace gates of the Nine Heavens. In the middle, they consolidate the holy mountains of the Five Monarchs. Below, they pour into the roots of the Five Sprouts (i.e. the five viscera) of the gentlemen who study [the Dao]. The sacred throngs of the Upper Palace and the Perfected Men of Great Wisdom all dine on the radiance at that time. Looking up, they swallow its essence. Receiving it from heaven, they bring about their attainment of unendingness.[203]

The Five *Qi* , which are apparently thought to be contained within the sun's rays, are eaten at sunrise because that is when they are newly dispatched into the world, and are thus apparently understood as being at their freshest and most nutritious. By eating them, the adept emulates the Perfected Men. The above passage is also quoted in the *Sandong zhunang* , where it is followed by the following comments:

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[203] 2/1a. See Plate 272. Cognate passage also found in the *Sandong zhunang* 3/23b-24a.

> [As for] Sages of Later Times (*housheng*) [and] Daoist adepts who abstain from food while carrying out perpetual retreats, getting rid of dust amidst the Five Peaks, or contemplating distantly upon matters of pure Perfection while in the human realm; they should daily imbibe the mist from the sun's roots and swallow the essence of the sun. Thereby they will instantly sense that their bodies are forming a jade-like luster and their faces are taking on a flowing radiance. Their status will be [equivalent to] that of the Jade Emperor.[204]

The above comments clearly equate the eating of the Five *Qi* to the eating of solar essence. The understanding is apparently that the sun's rays contain in them the Five *Qi*, and thus act as the agent which recharges the universe with their force. It is also made clear that the method is put into practice in the context of reclusive retreats and fasts. By nourishing his internal Five Sprouts (which are thought to grow in the five viscera) the adept attains excellent health as well as a deified status.

The basic method for eating the Five *Qi* is to be carried out daily and is almost identical to the method of the *Wufu xu*. At "the cry of the rooster", the adept faces the east and knocks his teeth together nine times. He rubs his hands together until they are hot, after which he rubs his face nine times. Looking upwards he recites a chant, and then uses his tongue to induce the flow of saliva, which he swallows three times. After this he "draws in the blue *qi*" (i.e. *qi* of the east) and swallows air nine times so that it "fills up" the liver. In quick succession, he carries out the same basic process (with only vary slight variations) for each direction. The chants recited are identical to those found in the *Wufu xu* (see pp. 153-154). The number of air-swallowings varies for each direction (east-9, south-3, center-12, west-7, north-5). Each of the Five Qi serve to "fill" the viscus that corresponds to its direction (east-liver, south-heart, center-spleen, west-lungs, north-

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[204]*Sandong zhunang* 3/24a. See Plate 273.

kidneys). After swallowing each of the Five Qi, the adept knocks his teeth together thirty-six times and swallows air twenty-five times. He then recites another chant, also nearly identical to one found in the *Wufu xu* (see p. 155, ft. nt. 40). The adept then swallows saliva three times, after which he repeats twenty-five times a procedure in which he inhales air, holds it in for as long as he can, and then swallows it. This completes the regular morning procedure. In total, the adept swallows saliva twenty-four times and air eighty-six times, which would be a feat of considerable difficulty for one inexperienced in such techniques. Since the aim is largely to keep the adept from getting hungry for the rest of the day, he is told to fill the body will a very large quantity of *qi*.

Alongside the above daily procedure, the *Chishu yujue* describes more elaborate procedures for eating the Five *Qi* that are to be carried out on the eight seasonal transitions (bajie). The methods for eating the *qi* of the east, south, west and north are carried out respectively on the first days of spring, summer, fall and winter. The method for eating the *qi* of the center is carried out on the spring and fall equinoxes and summer and winter solstices. All of the methods follow the same basic process. For the sake of brevity, we shall now focus on the method for the center. The adept goes into the meditation chamber at "the cry of the rooster. Facing the dominant (*wang*) direction (i.e. the direction that corresponds to the season, according to Five Phases cosmology; spring-east, summer-south, fall-west, winter-north) he bows twelve times, knocks his teeth together twelve times and visualizes the following:

> The Primal Elder Lord of Original Holiness of the Jade Treasure of the Center; his surname is Tongban, his taboo personal name is Yuanshi and his style name is Hanshuniu. [He is] 1 *chi* and 2 *cun* in height. On his head he wears the Jade Crown of Yellow Essence. He is clad in a five-colored flying garment of yellow feathers. He rides a jade carriage [carried by] yellow dragons upon which is set up a yellow flag. He leads the gods

who are the 120,000 Central Bumpkin (*cang*)[205] elder officials of the *wuji*. From the Yellow Heaven of the 12 *Qi* he descends down into your room. After a little while, he transforms into yellow *qi* that is light and energetic like the radiance spewed out from luminous clouds. It pours down and covers your body and enters through your mouth, descending directly to the storehouse of the spleen. Thereupon visualize Saturn (the earth-phase planet) shining brightly in the central heavens. The light illuminates your body, making everything distinct and clear.[206]

After visualizing the above, the adept recites the following chant:

On Mt. Song of the Central Yellow,

The primal *qi* circulates.

Up above is the Primal Elder who coordinates and controls the remote regions of the four directions.

He rides with yellow dragons and wears a five-colored feather garment.

He rotates and guides the nine heavens to revolve around the stars Xuan and Ji[207].

Saturn lets flow its light and disperses its radiance.

Jade flowers and fragrant fungi fill and immerse the body's four extremities.

They pervade and irrigate the body, and the bureau of the spleen is freshly opened up.

[If I] nurture the sprout and dine on the essence, the myriad gods will all come to me.

[If I] regulate my *hun* soul and control my *po* soul,

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[205]This is a word that was used by people of the Wu region (native region of the Lingbao scriptures) to deride the supposedly backward people living on or hailing from the banks of the Yellow River.

[206]2/8b. See Plate 274.

[207]This can refer to the second and third stars of the Ursa Major, or to the first through fourth stars.

> Immortals will refine the Eight Mighty Ones (*bawei*)[208].
>
> Outside and inside will be seen clearly, and I will live perpetually without declining.
>
> [I will] communicate with the Perfected Beings and reach holiness, ascending into the Great Sublimity.[209]

The text then states that after reciting the chant, the adept "draws in the yellow qi and swallows it twelve times". He then ingests the "sixteen characters of the Central Jade Writ in Red Script". The essential nature and function of these characters, written is seal script, are as follows:

> The sixteen characters on the right[210] are the names of the of the Central Yellow Heaven. To guide and draw in the 12 *qi* of the Yellow Monarch and ingest the yellow sprouts, write all [of the characters] in red ink on white paper. After you are finished with the visualization, quickly swallow it (the paper). Thereby, you draw the primal *qi* of the Nine Heavens from above, which flows down into the *xuanying* (a salivary gland located under the tongue)[211] at the marvelous gate. The Great Storehouse (stomach), is naturally filled with *qi*-food (the *Wushang biyao* version in this portion reads "...no food" 76/5a). The bureau of the spleen, without being defiled, is naturally fragrant. The Yellow Elder responds and echoes with mysterious harmony. The Holy Youth loosens his collar and proclaims the Writ. [The Primal Goddess of] Yellow Simplicity runs about and gives

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[208]The Eight Mighty Ones commonly referred to gods of the eight directions and the eight trigrams. Although the meaning of this sentence is unclear, perhaps the idea is that the adept has his own set of these eight gods who become "refined" as a result of the technique.

[209]2/9a. See Plate 275.

[210]The seal script characters are shown in the text beside the passage.

[211]See p. 150 ft. nt. 32.

orders east and west. Marvelous are the Jade Lessons, [which are] the starting point for the myriad Immortals.[212]

The above method is clearly much more elaborate than that carried out daily. It involves an elaborate visualization in which the yellow *qi* of the center is personified in the form of the Yellow Elder and his countless attendant gods. It also involves the swallowing of pieces of paper bearing sixteen characters of sacred seal script. The *qi* is also identified with the rays emitted from Saturn, and therefore Saturn is also included in the visualization. The text states that the procedure is supposed to serve to fill the stomach and to purify the spleen. Curiously, within the descriptions of the corresponding methods for the other directions, only the white *qi* of the west gets clearly attributed with the property of satiating an empty stomach[213]. The word "sprout" is used to describe two things; the *qi* that is swallowed and an entity that grows in the spleen (and the other viscera), the growth of which the adept facilitates by practicing the methods. In the methods for eating the *qi* of the east and the south is also to be found the concept of there being Jade Fungi which are drawn in from the heavens and which grow in the viscera[214]. The understanding is that the "sprouts" grow up to become the "fungi", as would be indicated on *Chishu yujue* 2/5b where we read, "[From] above dine on the morning mist and draw in and imbibe the wood-essence. Solidify and nurture the Blue Sprouts, preserving yourself from declining and aging. The bureau of the liver will be full and overflowing, and the Jade Fungi will spontaneously be produced."[215]

As will be seen shortly, another method in the *Chishu yujue* describes the Fungi as coming from the Five Peaks, brought by Jade Girls. Although this role is not attributed to Jade Girls in the methods of eating the Five *Qi*, the adept is supposed to bring the Jade Girls under his command. Also mentioned are the Holy Youths who serve the role of

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[212] 2/9b. See Plate 276.
[213] "The Great Storehouse is naturally fragrant without eating". p.2/11b. 太倉不啖而自香
[214] See 2/6a, 7b.
[215] See Plate 277.

revealers of the divine Writs. What this means is hard to say, since the adept who practices the method has presumably already received the Perfect Writs. The understanding is perhaps that the Holy Youths enable the adept to attain new insights regarding the Perfect Writs, or that they reveal additional divine texts. The Five Holy Youths are described in more detail on 1/29b-31a where their names are given and appearances described. The text says that the Youths, who reside in the heavens of the Five Directions, will descend into the body of the adept who visualizes them, and that they will actually become visible after 100 days. It also states that if the adept wears the Perfect Writs on his body, the Five Youths will live in his five viscera and help to bring forth the "essences of the Five Sprouts". On 1/31a the text states as follows:

> These Holy Youths of the Five Monarchs were born together with the Primordial Five Elders. They are in charge of the Perfect Writs in Five Tablets. Above, they control the *qi* of the Nine Heavens. Below, they control the Five Peaks. In the middle they are in charge of the five viscera of humans, and draw in the essences of the Five Sprouts, supplementing and nourishing the human body. When you ingest the Five Sprouts, if you do not know these gods, you will never influence [the gods] and will be belaboring yourself in vain.[216]

Thus, before the adept could proceed to practice the exalted methods of swallowing the Five *Qi*, he had to master the technique of visualizing the Holy Youths, in order to make the Youths present in his five viscera. "Knowing" them most likely meant being able to actually see them. Without first achieving such a mystical encounter, the adept could not hope to attain the desired results through his arduous practice of "eating the sprouts". On

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[216]See Plate 278.

2/13b, the text describes as follows the culminative results to be attained through the eating of the Five Sprouts:

> If you practice this for eight years, Immortal Officials will descend [to your midst], and Jade Girls will attend and escort you. Your body will produce a radiance which illuminates the ten directions. Exiting and entering, you will wander about. The Five Monarchs will bow to you, and the Three Realms will wait upon and welcome you. This status [of yours] will be worthy of the title, Superior Perfected Being of the Three Heavens.[217]

Thus, after eight years of sustained practice (note the agreement here with the *Ershisi shengtu jing*), the adept can attain Perfection of the highest order, making him superior to all within the Three Realms, including the Five Monarchs. In sum, the method for eating the Five *Qi* or Sprouts expounded in the *Chishu yujue* purports to be the loftiest and most potent of all training methods.

So to what degree was the adept expected to starve himself? The fact that the adept daily swallowed large amounts of air and saliva, along with the fact that the text states that the stomach is supposed to become filled without eating food, indicates that the ideal was to eat nothing for eight years. Of course, this would have been an unrealistic demand. More realistically, based upon what we have discussed in regard to precepts and retreats, the adept would probably regularly observe an austere dietary regimen (e.g. vegetarianism, post-noon fasting) and/or ingest special substances. Periods of complete fasting were likely observed intermittently, perhaps at times such as the eight seasonal transitions when the more elaborate method of eating the Five *Qi* was carried out. It was at such occasions of invoking and imploring divine forces that the adept presumably would have wanted to achieve a higher state of spirituality (which could be induced in part by hunger) so that his

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[217]See Plate 279.

visualizations would receive "responses". As is stated in the third *juan* of the *Chishu zhenwen* (8b-9b), the eight seasonal transitions are among the days when divine beings gather in the celestial palaces to tabulate and evaluate the deeds and virtues of people so that they can be reported to the Lingbao Upper Palace of the Mysterious Capital; thus on these days all believers must "practice a retreat, obey precepts and venerate the Heavenly Writs"[218] so that the Five Monarchs will help them get their names recorded in the registers of immortality. The adept would have presumably wanted to intensify his fast on such occasions in order to impress the gods and win their sympathy.

(c) Method of the Five Monarchs of the Five Peaks

The method of eating the Five Qi is but one of many methods linked with the mythology of the Perfect Writs to be found in the *Chishu zhenwen* and *Chishu Yujue*. In the latter, on 2/14b-16a is found the "Jade Lesson of the Primordial Five Elders on Visualizing the Five Monarchs of the Five Peaks , Inviting the Spirits and Seeking Immortality". This method also involves imbibing *qi* from the five directions, and includes visualizations and chants. However, the imagery it employs and the physiological process that gets described include unique elements of considerable interest. The text says that on the sexegenary cycle days of *jiayin* and *yimao* immediately after the first day of spring, the adept bathes and observes a pure retreat, entering the meditation chamber at dawn. Facing eastward, he bows nine times. In a seated position he knocks his teeth together nine times and proclaims petitions while ritually sending out his bodily deities (*guanqi shenshen*).[219] The text then states as follows:

> Close your eyes and visualize the Blue Imperial Lord of the Eastern Peak Mt. Tai, whose surname is Xuanqiu and whose taboo personal name is

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[218] 3/10a.

[219] Another example of this practice within the Lingbao texts is found in the *Zhaijie weiyi jue* 1b-3b.

> Mulu. His body is nine *cun* and nine *fen* (app. 24 cm) in height. On his head he wears a Blue Jade Jewelled Heaven-Penetrating Crown. He wears a flying garment of blue feathers and is mounted upon a blue dragon. He is attended by the 12 Jade Girls of the Blue Waists. Coming from the east, they descend upon your chamber. After a long while, the Blue Imperial Lord transforms into the form of a newly born baby amidst the blue *qi*. Together with the *qi*, he enters into your mouth and goes directly to your liver. Visualize the heart producing a red *qi* which irrigates and encircles the bureau of the liver. The blue and red *qi* merge and adhere chaotically like the distant mist of auspicious clouds. You will feel your liver become smoky and hot. Thereupon swallow nine times and recite the chant which goes, "....[220]

After the chant, the adept swallows nine more times. The text says that after nine years, the Blue Monarch actually comes down to the adept's midst, and that the adept becomes able to command nine "Jade Girls of the Blue Waists" to ascend to the Nine Heavens so that his accomplishments will be acknowledged, and the sins of his parents will be forgiven. In the above quoted passage we have the appearance of natal imagery. The Imperial Lord enters the liver in the form of a baby. The red *qi* of the heart then encircles and merges with the blue *qi* that envelops the baby. Thus there is a "copulation" (which albeit takes place after the "baby" is already present) that takes place between the *qi* of two of the viscera, which produces hot energy in the body. This imagery of an internal baby, as has been mentioned in Part One, was from early on present within methods of eating solar and lunar essences, as well as in the much later internal alchemical tradition. The interaction of visceral *qi* was also to become a prominent concern within the

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[220] 2/14b-15a. See Plate 280.

physiological theories of internal alchemists. Again, processes similar to what is described above are also described for the other four directions.

(d) Methods for Blocking Off Demons

In the *Chishu yujue* 1/26a-29b is found the "Jade Lesson in Red Script of the Primordial Five Elders for Protecting the Souls, Seeking Immortality and Averting Calamities". In it, the adept is simply told to write the Five Perfect Writs on pieces of silk with colors corresponding to their respective phases, and place them on each wall of the meditation chamber (the Perfect Writ of the Center is set down in the middle of the room). The text describes the efficacy of each Writ in virtually identical terms with slight variations. Regarding the Writ of the east, the text states as follows:

> If a Daoist adepts train in secret and writes the Perfect Writs in Red Script of the Blue Monarch and places them in the east, the Immortal Officials of the Eastern Peak will arrive. Carry out a lengthy retreat of 100 days, concentrating upon and visualizing the Worthy Gods of the Lingbao. Thereby, Heavenly Perfected Beings will descend and provide you with nine Jade Girls of Blue Waists who will fetch for you the Fungus Grass of the Divine Immortals of the Eastern Peak, which is the medicine of immortality. The demons and devils of the Blue Monarch will stay at a distance of 90,000 *li* from the perimeter of your dwelling. None of the malignant and treacherous evil beasts and venomous [creatures] will harm you, [because their] minds will have reverted to goodness. If a benevolent person trains himself in a perpetual retreat of twenty-four years[221], his body will attain divine immortality. If one merely wears this writ at the

[221]This appears to conflict with the teachings of the *Ershisi shengtu jing*, but does not conflict if one understands the *Ershisi shengtu jing* as meaning that the eight year periods for activating the gods of the Three Sections did not occur simultaneously but rather successively.

> waist, [even] he will achieve liberation from the corpse, transmigrate and [eventually] accomplish Immortal-hood.[222]

Thus by using the talismans to consecrate his meditation chamber, the adept creates an environment immune from the temptational, harmful forces of the world, within which he can safely contact sacred beings. Recurring here is the theme of the Jade Girls who bring him nourishment.

Although the Perfect Writs produce a powerful effect even if the adept does no more than wear them on his person, a lengthy retreat within the consecrated space is required if the adept wishes to realize the best results in his current lifetime. Although not specified, the methods practiced within the consecrated space were probably those of eating the Five *Qi* as well as the methods of eating solar and lunar essences mentioned in the *Ershisi shengtu jing*. On 1/29b the text also states that in the morning and evening, the adept must burn incense and worship the Five Writs. It also adamantly states that he must not mingle with secular folk, and that outsiders absolutely must not be allowed into the room. Otherwise, divine punishment will be the result.

On 1/29a the role of the Perfect Writs is described as that of "destroying demons and averting their trials". In the story of Aqiu Zeng (see pp. 411-412), a temptational trial is administered by the Five Monarch Demon Kings. The "demons and devils of the Blue Monarch" (*qingdi gui mo*) mentioned in the above passage probably refers to the Blue Monarch Demon King and/or to the countless demons under his command. As we have seen regarding the Demon Kings described in the Shangqing apocrypha (see pp. 321-326), their definitive personality traits are their propensity towards grandiose presumption and their resentful envy towards advanced adepts who threaten to surpass them in status. Thus it is natural that in Lingbao literature, both in the story of Aqiu Zeng and in the *Chishu yujue*, it is the adepts of greatest capability and resolve who are the prospective victims of

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[222] 1/26a-b. See Plate 281.

their connivings. Clearer evidence that presumption and envy were traits attributed to the Five Monarch Demon Kings is to be found in the early commentaries to the *Wuliang duren jing*, a scripture that consists essentially of verses to be recited at rituals for bringing about happiness and salvation for all living beings. Within its verses is a portion which describes in menacing terms the Five Monarch Demon Kings. In his comment to this segment, the text's earliest commentator Yan Dong (fl.483-493) equates the Five Monarch Demon Kings to the Demon Kings of the *Yuqing Yinshu* and tells us that the Five Demon Kings, who are violent and bloodthirsty by nature, have authority over all of the spirits of the profane world, and that they try to distract and undermine the efforts of advanced adepts by singing "folk ballads" (*yaoge*). The adept can survive the temptations if he knows and recognizes these songs. When the adept attains Perfection, the Demon Kings gets subjected to the duty of "protecting and raising" him out of the profane world. The vain and jealous nature of the Demon Kings is described and explained vividly as follows by the early 7th century[223] commentator Li Shaowei:

> Lord Zong[224] says, "Those who have taken on the body of a Heavenly Demon are all [adepts] who in previous lives upheld precepts, gave alms and strove bravely and aggressively in their training, yet could not avoid being jealous of those who excelled them; thus they received this retribution."[225]

> The *Yuqing yinshu* says, "The Five Monarch Demon Kings each carry tiger-head satchels and command their officials who number 38,000. Born together with heaven, they always trouble and confuse students [of the Dao]

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[223]See Sunayama Minoru, *Zui-Too Dokyoo shisooshi kenkyuu* pp.273-275.

[224]This could refer to a certain Zong Jingxian who is mentioned by Lu Xiujing in his *Lingbao jingmu* preface (*Yunji qiqian* 4/5a) as having critically examined numerous scriptures and sorted out what he felt were "authentic" Lingbao scriptures.

[225]*Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu.*(HY87/TT38-39) 2/65a. See Plate 282.

> and do not want them to attain the Dao. Also, they personally claimed to equal the various gods and the Superior Monarchs in their sacred merit. But later, at the time of opening up of the charts (creation, revealing of the Five Writs) of the Longhan Kalpa, they submitted to transformation by the Primordial [Heavenly Worthy]."[226]

The above two passages, despite issuing from the same commentator, seem to contradict each other, due partly to the fact they are quotes from two different sources. In one passage, the "Heavenly Demons" are described as reincarnations of failed adepts, while the other passage describes the Five Monarch Demon Kings as beings of primordial origin. Possibly the "Heavenly Demons" refer to the demonic throngs under the Demon Kings rather than the Demon Kings themselves.

Whatever the case, the fact that the demons who torment the most advance and worthy adepts were conceived of as having vanity and envy as their definitive traits seems to reflect an awareness that adepts at the highest stages were frequently vulnerable to their own grandiose presumptions and their jealousy towards other adepts who rivaled them. In this sense, the demons personify the adept's own internal corrupting impulses, to which he is more susceptible than others, precisely due to his superior virtue and extraordinary self-discipline.

An interesting side note to this is that Liu Ts'un-yan has proposed the novel theory that the descriptions of the Five Monarch Demon Kings in the *Wuliang duren jing*'s main text as well as in Yan Dong's commentary are transliterations of the names of five figures from Manichaean soteriological mythology called the Five Sons of the Living Spirit.[227] While Liu's arguments supporting his theory are not convincing, the concept of the Demon Kings indeed has interesting parallels in the beliefs of Manichaeism and Gnosticism in

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[226] *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 2/66a. See Plate 283.

[227] See "Sources of Zoroastrian and Manichaean Activities in Pre-T'ang China" in *Selected Papers from the Hall of Harmonious Wind*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), pp.3-58.

general, in which the believer, who seeks to escape the evil profane world, is thought to be engaged in constant conflict with vainglorious demiurges and archons who want to keep him trapped inside.

Returning to the *Chishu yujue*, a concern expressed is that when an adept is at the stage where his meditational trances are accompanied by visions, demons will enter into such visions and try to deceive him. Thus on 1/20b-21a is found a short method entitled, "The Primordial Five Elders' Jade Lesson in Red Script on Controlling and Summoning the Demons and Devils of [Mt.] Beifeng". There it states as follows:

> The Dao says, 'It is so that when you receive the Superior Methods of the Lingbao, you make the Divine Radiances come and descend. [When your] visualizations and contemplations resonate and penetrate, you will mingle with Heavenly Perfected Beings. You should first distinguish the appearances of demons and devils [from those of the good gods in order to] block off their meddlings and trials. Once the devilish spirits have been subdued, your visualizational meditation will naturally move [the Divine Radiances], and the Divine Radiances will be easily brought forth.[228]

While the above passage speaks of the necessity of distinguishing the bad demons from the good gods, the text includes no description of a method for visually discerning the sacred or demonic quality of the spirit appearing before him, such as that mentioned on p. 318. Rather, the adept is to rely upon the power of the Five Perfect Writs to discern and banish the spirits to Mt. Beifeng for him. On five wooden colored tablets, the adept writes the Perfect Writs.[229] Then, facing the northeast, he knocks his teeth together 36 times, holds his breath for the span of 9 "breaths", and recites the following chant:

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[228] 1/20b. See Plate 284.

[229] The Perfect Writs for each of the Five Directions are each divided into four sections; writs for invoking divine beings, writs for correcting inauspicious alignments of stars and constellations, writs for blocking off demons and writs for surviving the cosmic flood. The Writs to be used in this case, obviously, are

In the Three Origins the light was revealed,

And revolving took place in the constant manner of Heaven.

The cycles progressed, and their number came to a limit.

The Hundred-Six rode the mainstay (took place as destined?) and the Great Kalpa came to a close.

The myriad wicked beings hasten about.

[Mt.] Beifeng cannot restrain them.

The demonic sects are roaming freely .

The devilish hordes are at their willful abandon,

And the evil obscures the radiance of heaven.

The High Monarch has a decree,

Which is proclaimed throughout the ten directions.

He expounds and elucidates upon the gods and demons,

And the Religion of the Doctrines is founded.

The Orthodox Dao governs the people,

Clearing out all that is inauspicious.

What petty wickedness can there be,

That can have its place among the masses?

The Jade Writs in Red Script,

Investigate and control the homestead of the demons.

[To] the Three Officials of [Mt.] Beifeng,

They are clearly and quickly transmitted.

The 1000 devils are put in bondage,

And the 10,000 demons are banished.

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those for blocking off demons. The instructions for writing the Writs on the tablets are found within the annotations to the Writs themselves (1/8b-16a), to which the above "Lesson" refers the reader.

> The flowing bells intermingle their radiance,
> And their vigorous *qi* [is that of the] Great *Yang* (the sun?).
> Golden Tigers await upon the four [corners],
> And the celestial soldiers capture the fugitives.
> Large and small, they all arrive, and are unable to hide.
> What the Primordial [Heavenly Worthy] proclaims,
> Is in proper order reported to the Upper Palaces.[230]

Of note here is that the condition in which demons pervade and afflict the world is attributed to the waning of the cosmic cycle. By employing the Perfect Writs, the adept can enforce punishment upon the wayward demons. The above passage states that the Lingbao doctrines and the Perfected Writs can restore order and peace to an ailing world by subduing rampant evil. However, elsewhere in the *Chishu yujue* it becomes evident that the eventual destruction of the world at the end of the cosmic cycle was regarded as ultimately inevitable.

(e) Method for Surviving the Cosmic Flood

Kobayashi Masayoshi has pointed out that only one passage in the entire Lingbao corpus specifies when the apocalypse will take place.[231] The passage, found in the HY318/TT165*Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing* states as follows:

> The great cycle at the pre-ordained time [of its culmination], when the numbers end at the *jiashen* year, floods will wash away the defilements, and evil disasters will encompass [even] the heavens.[232]

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[230] 1/21a. See Plate 285.
[231] See p.35 of "Jooseikyoo to Reihookyoo no shuumatsuron" in *Toho Shukyo* no.75 (1990) pp.20-41.
[232] 5b. See Plate 286.

The nearest *jiashen* year at the time the text was written would have been either 444 or 504 A.D. There is no clear indication that the Lingbao proponents had the most imminent *jiashen* year in mind. However, the fact that they apparently did expect to personally experience the ending of the cosmic era is reflected in how the text includes a method to be carried out at the time of the flood for the purpose of survival. Again, the method relies on the power of the Perfect Writs:

> The Dao says, "At the coming together of heaven and earth at the [end of the] Great Kalpa, floods will arise in the four directions to clean away the defilements and eliminate wickedness, sparing nothing. At this time, heaven and earth will darkly merge. The people will go adrift in the flood waters. There will no longer be any good or bad. Only those gentlemen who aspire towards learning [the Dao], and obtain the Lingbao Perfect Writs and the talismans of the Great and Small Kalpas can be able to ride upon flying feathers and observe from up high. [Only they can] ascend holy peaks, soar and fly. At this time, Divine Beings will dispatch water dragons to create a path for those [who have the Perfect Writs], opening up the water routes so that they can cross [beyond the hazards]. The Marquis of the River will wait upon and meet you, and will not block your way."[233]

The actual method described in the text involves writing the Perfect Writs (the sections pertaining to surviving the flood) on pieces of colored paper, reciting chants, and then throwing the pieces of paper into the water. The adept then faces the east, knocks his teeth together five times, and while holding his breath for the span of twenty-five breaths, visualizes his heart producing fire which rises up and emerges from the top of his head, burning his body and all that surrounds it. His body is turned into ashes which fly up

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[233] 1/19b. See Plate 287.

amidst blue smoke. He then visualizes himself transformed into a water dragon swimming in the water, and recites a long chant. After this, he swallows air twenty-five times, after which the "Gods who Open up the Water" come forth to carry him to safety.

Again, the above method existed probably because early Lingbao proponents anticipated actually living to see the flood. As the above quoted passage also mentions, there were also talismans to be worn (found in the *Chishu zhenwen* 2/3b-17b) for protection in the event of the flood. Noteworthy for our purposes is that the techniques for surviving the disaster were probably the exclusive domain of the advanced adept who had earned the transmission of the Perfect Writs, and hence had observed strict precepts and carried out strenuous retreats entailing intense fasting and meditation. Conceivably then, the dread of what was to happen in the *jiashen* year and the desire to obtain access to the means for survival would have motivated adepts to persevere in severe training. Their other choice would have been to simply hope that their next rebirth after drowning would be a privileged or at least tolerable one.

As we have seen, the most exalted fasting methods were the non-ingestion techniques that employed visualization of celestial and astral imagery, the swallowing of air and saliva, incantations, and talismans. The *Ershisi shengtu jing*, while lacking any detailed descriptions of how to perform the methods that it alludes to, holds interest for how it describes an eight year-long regimen where the adept feeds morning, noon and evening off the planets, sun and moon respectively while visualizing his body's Three Palaces. At the culmination of the process, the countless resident gods of the body are to become concentrated into a single potent entity that propels the adept towards the heavens. The method described at greatest length in the *Chishu Yujue* is that of eating the nutrients of the Five Planets (Five Sprouts, Five *Qi*) in the morning, an adaptation of similar methods in the *Wufu xu* and the Shangqing revelations.

As was the case with preceding traditions, the methods of the *Ershisi shengtu jing*, *Chishu zhenwen* and *Chishu yujue* were intended to enable the adept to go with little or no food for as long as possible, while rejuvenating and transforming his body and bestowing upon him the spiritual capacity to directly contact and interact with divine beings. At such a heightened state of spirituality, protecting oneself against the intrigues of demons became a particularly great concern, and hence we find in the *Chishu yujue* methods by which the adept who engages in secluded fasting and meditation can use the Perfect Writs to defend himself. As we have seen to be the case with the Shangqing texts, there is an acute disdain and mistrust towards the contemporary world as being corrupt and doomed to inevitable destruction. The belief in this inevitability is most clearly reflected in the *Chishu yujue*'s technique designed to be carried out on the actual occasion of the cosmic flood.

The non-ingestional fasting methods described in the Lingbao corpus are adaptations of techniques inherited from previous traditions. Significant, however, is the way in which the various methods are packaged in imagery and symbolism pertaining to the Five Perfect Writs and their correlates within the Five Phases cosmology, which give the adept reassurance and confidence in the belief that the forces that feed and protect him are the eternal and fundamental creative and life-giving forces of the universe.

Final Comments

From the above discussion it can be said that the Lingbao scriptures, as was the case with previous forms of Daoism, promoted severe asceticism both as a means of perpetuating the body and of contacting divine beings by winning their sympathy. The former objective was probably the exclusive domain of advanced, full-time adepts who could actually go into "mountain-dwelling", observe the Precepts for Monitoring the Body and carry out a "perpetual retreat" to devote themselves to techniques such as those alluded

to or described in the *Ershisi shengtu jing*, *Chishu zhenwen* and *Chishu yujue*. The latter objective probably at times (i.e. communal festivals) inspired even the common, unsophisticated believer towards considerable austerities for short, temporary periods. Asceticism in the Lingbao tradition, particularly in the context of communal festivals but also within the personal "perpetual retreat", was imbued with an ethical element stronger than that identifiable in the Shangqing or other early immortality-seeking traditions. Altruistic compassion for others and guiltful remorse for one's own sins were essential components in the mentality of the sincere Lingbao ascetic, which were to find expression in acts of self-sacrifice and strenuous ritual confession (for the behalf of oneself and others).

The impact of Buddhism is extremely strong within the Lingbao scriptures. Certain Buddhistic beliefs and attitudes mentioned and affirmed only passingly in the early Shangqing texts (i.e. primarily in the portions of the *Zhengao* taken from the *Sishi-erzhang jing*) constitute key components in Lingbao doctrine. Much more so than in the Shangqing scriptures, the belief in reincarnation was given a central place in the ethics of the religion. Because one's rebirths were thought of as being dictated by one's thoughts and actions, purity of mind and moral discipline (which one cultivated through the observance of progressingly demanding degrees of precepts) were virtually becoming the main concerns; in the case of some believers, this likely came at the expense of the concern for strengthening and maintaining the body. Because of the revolutionary notion that people were reborn into different bodies on the basis of the merit or demerit that issues ultimately from their own minds, the mind came to be identified with an eternal "spirit" (*shen*) which is the entity that transmigrates and is the proper identity and essence of the person (see pp. 422-423). Ironically, while such a notion is contrary to the Buddha's fundamental assertion of *anatman* (no soul), the belief in an immortal transmigrating spirit was prevalent among Chinese Buddhists during the Six Dynasties period, as can be well attested to by the occurrence of the famous controversy concerning the destructibility of the soul in which the

Buddhists' standpoint was that the soul is immortal.[234] Anyway, as a result of the new belief in the mind as the eternal spirit, some passages in the Lingbao scriptures relegate the body in its importance, describing it as something that is by definition impermanent; a mere dwelling for the eternal spirit which is not a proper part of one's identity.

As we saw on pp. 422-428, Buddhist soteriology and the philosophy of the Laozi are fused, as the ultimate Perfection is described as a liberation from the cycle of reincarnation and a return to original Non-being from which one originally issued. The adept who accomplishes the ultimate goal gets described as "no longer having a body". The above notions (particularly if "no longer has a body" is taken literally) appear to deny the body any place or role in the final salvation. Severe asceticism carried out under such assumptions could have easily led to abuse of the body. A good example of where this potential danger may have materialized would be the case of Zhang Min (See Chapter Five, pp. 268-269) who was ready to starve himself to death because he believed he could continue his quest for Perfection in another body in his next life.

However, as we have seen, the Lingbao scriptures at the same time contradict such attitudes in numerous passages which appear to affirm the possibility of great longevity and bodily ascension into heaven. Even in lesser modes of fate believed to follow one's life in this world, whether it be "deliverance from the corpse", "extinction and deliverance" or the death and transmigration of the average person, the condition of the body (whether it actually dies and whether it decomposes) is part of what attests to the caliber of the person, and the body is thought to be eventually re-united with the spirit even after decomposing. This concern for the condition of the body is even reflected in the expositions of the new mind/body concept, where the adept is told that the Dao (original Non-being) is inside his

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234See Kenneth Chen, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 138-142. Also see Nakajima Ryuzo, *Rikuchoo shisooshi no kenkyuu* (1985), pp.547-552. Huiyuan (346-416) and Liang Emperor Wu were two of the most famous proponents of the Buddhist position. The most famous anti-Buddhist proponent of the position arguing for the destructibility of the soul was Fan Zhen who wrote a *Treatise on the Destructibility of the Soul* (*Shenmie lun*) during the reign of Liang Emperor Wu, creating much furor.

body and is instructed to keep his spirit and body together so that they merge into one. By doing so he lengthens his life span and creates his Body of Perfection (*zhenshen*). The method by which this is accomplished involves both the concentration of the mind and the retention and nurturing of the body's *qi* and *jing*. To the end there is no clarification as to whether the Body of Perfection is the human flesh somehow transformed and made non-corporeal and eternal, or whether it is a metaphor for the Dao to which the spirit returns. As a whole, one senses an ambiguity in the minds of the authors themselves who were equally concerned with the conflicting ideals of longevity and transcendence. While Buddhist soteriology provided an exciting new format by which the latter ideal could be envisioned, it did no service to the former. Thus, as we move to Chapter Eight, the reader should keep in mind this ambivalence reflected in these influential scriptures regarding the role of the body within the soteriological scheme, and its latent potential for engendering controversy regarding how and to what degree one ought to strains one's body through austerities.

Finally, as we proceed to our next discussion, it is important to keep in mind that severe asceticism in Lingbao Daoism was a means for gaining access to and utilizing the single omnipotent creative and life-giving force in the universe, described in terms such as the "Dao", the "original Non-being", the "Primordial Heavenly Worthy", the "Five *Qi*" or the "Five Perfect Writs". This purpose for severe asceticism, while present in previous forms of Daoism, is communicated most forcefully in the Lingbao doctrines which are founded upon the movement's grand cosmogonic and soteriological mythology.

Thus, in spite of the wholesale adoption of Buddhist doctrines, Lingbao Daoism (and hence the asceticism that it promoted) retained and claimed as its definitive and exclusive domain the perpetuation of the body and the capacity to tap the almighty power of the Dao. This claim is made particularly forcefully in the *Taishang dadao yuqing jing*, to which we shall now turn our attention.

CHAPTER EIGHT: ON HERETICAL ASCETICISM AND ORTHODOX ASCETICISM-- A STUDY OF THE *TAISHANG DADAO YUQING JING*

The great impact of the Lingbao scriptures can be seen from how during the first few centuries after their appearance, numerous scriptures came to be written which bore some of their basic traits and carried on and expanded upon some of their major themes. Some of these scriptures survive today in the Daoist Canon as well as among the Dunhuang manuscripts.[1] These scriptures are very long, ranging between approximately 30,000 to 100,000 characters in length. All of them are anonymous in their authorship, and their contents consist of narrations of events and records of conversations which allegedly took place in realms beyond and prior to the world as we know it. Imitating the model set forth in some of the scriptures (especially those of the "Primordial's category") of the Lingbao corpus (which in turn imitate Buddhist scriptures), various doctrines are expounded from the mouth of a Perfected being (most commonly the Primordial Heavenly Worthy) towards his various interlocutors. As is the case with the Lingbao scriptures, the teachings thus expounded purport to be the Truth that exceeds all others, which originates from the eternal, transcendent and yet all-pervasive Dao itself.

Among these scriptures, the most interesting one for our purposes is the *Taishang dadao yuqing jing* (HY1301/TT1022-1024[2]*The Most High Great Dao's Scripture of [the Realm of] Jade Purity*; from here on to be referred to as the *Yuqing jing*). This text, which takes up three full bound volumes in the Daoist Canon, is divided into 10 *juan* which contain a total of 19 chapters or *pin* (numbered 1 through 20; there is no longer any ch. 7). The contents include numerous tales and "divinely uttered" discourses expounding various doctrines and exhorting various types of religious and moral behavior. The religiosity of

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[1]Major examples of these scriptures, aside from the *Yuqing jing* are, *Taixuan zhenyi benji jing* (HY1103/TT758), *Taishang yisheng haikong zhizang jing* (HY9/TT20-22), *Taishang lingbao yuanyang miao jing* (HY334/TT168-169), *Dasheng miaolin jing* (HY1387/TT1049), *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* (HY336/TT174-175) and *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing* (HY1114/TT759)[1]

[2]The text is also included in the *Daozang jiyao* nos.26-27.

various types of believers is dealt with in the text. Although a fair portion of the text (the portions that we will primarily be dealing with) does pertain to the training of advanced adepts which entails asceticism, much of the text also deals with matters of more basic morality and piety at non-ascetic and lay levels, such as the observance of moral precepts, reverence towards the gods of Daoism, participation in the periodic festivals, or the giving of alms. The titles of the chapters and their main themes are as follows:

1) *Benqi pin* ("Chapter on the Original Arising" 1/1a-12b): The miraculous restoration of harmony and happiness in the world by The Primordial Heavenly Worthy. How humans must repay him for his kindness through piety, repentance, the observance of precepts and the carrying out of retreats. The arising of the "wicked religion" in the future decrepit age and the necessity to persevere in the proper faith and practice.

2) *Yuandui pin* ("Chapter on Causes and Retributions" 1/12b-20b): The miraculous salvation of the woes of the suffering masses and damned souls by the Lord of the Dao and the Great Perfected Beings. The need to turn the senses inward to achieve union with the ineffable Dao. The merit of propagating and reciting the scripture, releasing animals and livestock from captivity (*fangsheng*), healing diseases, alms-giving, filial piety, and scriptural recitation in wilderness seclusion.

3) *Shijie pin* ("Chapter on the World" 1/21b-27a): Sermon by the Heavenly Worthy on the "four types of human-gods" (*sizhong rentian*); four categories of livelihood and religious practice which bring about an existence in the "World of Ultimate Enjoyment." 極樂世界

4) *Cibei jie xupin* ("Prefatory Chapter to the Precepts of Compassion" 1/27a-33a): The conversation between the Later Age Sagely Heavenly Worthy and the "youths from the Snowy Mountains". See pp. 569-575.

5) *Shuo jieke pin* ("Chapter on the Expounding of the Curriculum of Precepts" 1/33a-40b): Teachings on proper conduct during festivals and in daily life. Rules of conduct to observe when carrying out a life of wilderness seclusion.

6) *Cibei fangbian pin* ("Chapter on the Skillful Means of Compassion" 2/1a-34b): Sermon by the Heavenly Worthy on the Power of the Dao and the *Qi* of the Dao directed at "Immortals" of lesser caliber. How to treasure and utilize the primal *qi* to merge with the Dao (see p. 608). The ubiquity of the Power/*Qi* of the Dao and its latency in the entire human body. The need to eliminate all confusion, worldly attachments, and wrong views. The temptation by the Five Monarch Demon Kings. The submission and conversion of the Five Monarch Demon Kings.

7) Missing. It is possible that what was once the seventh chapter has become mixed in with the sixth chapter.

8) *Tong youwei pin* ("Chapter on Penetrating the Dark and Obscure" 3/1a-27a): The Heavenly Worthy's conversion of the demons. See pp. 574-581.

9) *Shangyuan pin* ("Chapter on the Upper Origin" 4/1a-8a"): The significance of the days of the Three Origins (15th day of the 1st month, 15th day of the 7th month, 15th day of the 10th month) and the performance of reverent worship on these days.

10) *Zhongyuan pin* ("Chapter on the Middle Origin" 4/8a-15b): How the misdeeds of humanity bring about natural disasters as their due punishment. The power of the Heavenly Worthy to deliver damned souls. The need to not only understand the ultimate principles with the mind, but to also "enter the Dao with the body" through proper practice.

11) *Xiayuan pin* ("Chapter on the Lower Origin" 4/16a-28a): The power of the Dao to transform and rejuvenate those who worship and contemplate it and to bring limitless benefits upon all living beings (see pp. 614-616). The benefits of worshipping tirelessly for three days and three nights.

12) *Sanyuan baojing liutong pin* ("Chapter on Proliferating the Precious Scripture of the Three Origins" 4/28a-29b): The Heavenly Worthy tells the emperors of the various nations to revere and proliferate the scripture eternally throughout their domains.

13) *Bajie pin* ("Chapter on the Eight Seasonal Transitions" 5/1a-18a): The importance of observing precepts and carrying out retreats on the days of the Eight Seasonal Transitions

(the equinoxes, solstices and the first day of each season). The perpetual retreats of "superior gentlemen" (see p. 618). The misguided austerities of "infidels" with false views.

14)*Zhaijie pin* ("Chapter on Retreats and Precepts" 5/18a-26a): Story about a filial son of a pious and wealthy family whose parents die and cannot go to heaven due to guilt inherited from ancestors. The son visits an eremitic Grand Master on Mt. Wutai who teaches him the proper way of carrying out a retreat ritual for the salvation of his parents.

15) *Zhaoling pin* ("Chapter on [Perfected Man] Zhaoling" 6/1a-16b): Perfected Man Zhaoling visits the realm of Jade Purity and observes the wondrous phenomenon of Three Perfected Beings entering into successive and progressively deeper states of meditative trance and wisdom over an inconceivably long period of time. See pp. 609-613.

16) *Weimo pin* ("Chapter on the Assertion of Might over the Devils" 6/16b-26a): Vainglorious and wicked demons are defeated and humiliated by Perfected Man Zhaoling in a contest of supernormal powers. See pp. 546-547.

17) *Dao hua siyi pin* ("Chapter on the Dao Indoctrinating the Four Barbarian Peoples" 7/1a-39a): Evil "barbarians" try to invade and conquer a blessed land ruled by a sage king, but are afflicted by an epidemic, brought to repentance and indoctrinated with the true teachings of the Dao. See pp. 581-588.

18) *Youxi pin* ("Chapter on Desolate Dwelling" 8/1a-25b): Instructions on proper mountain-dwelling training (rules of conduct and training methods) given to kings and ministers of the World of Great Vastness who had "left the family" (*chujia*) to practice the Dao. Various stories depicting good and bad examples of training. Enumeration of the best mountains.

19) *Mingwei zhenren weiye pin* ("Chapter on Perfected Man Mingwei's Assertion of Might over the Wicked" 9/1a-23a): How the doctrines and methods bestowed upon the world by Perfected Man Mingwei serve to combat the wicked forces that run rampant in a decrepit

world. Harrowing descriptions of how heretical doctrines and practices taught by demons cause widespread suffering and death.

20) *Fayin pin* ("Chapter on the Seal of the Doctrines" 10/1a-30b): Teachings on the ubiquity of the Power/*Qi* of the Dao and how to tap into it to merge with the Dao. How ingest the pure primal *qi* (see pp. 601-603). The differences between the beliefs and practices of the true religion and the wicked religions, and the results that they bring.

What make the *Yuqing jing* unique, and consequently of great interest for our study, are its numerous attacks against beliefs and practices which it deems as heretical, many of which constitute severe asceticism of an excessive and abusive quality. The text provides very clear explanations for why the practices that it denounces are heretical. At the same time, the text promotes and describes in various places certain severe ascetic practices that it regards as an essential part of the pursuit of Perfection. In other words, this scripture presents lucidly the view of a Daoist (or Daoists, as this very long scripture may be the product of a collaborative effort) regarding what was bad asceticism and what was good asceticism. While doing this, the text attempts to provide solutions to important doctrinal tensions and contradictions which had long been latent within the religion and which had become further aggravated as Buddhist doctrines became adopted on an increasingly larger scale. These contradictions pertain to the ultimate goal of the adept's quest (i.e. longevity vs. transcendence), and the role that is to be played by the human body.

To avoid any misunderstanding, it must be clarified that in this discussion when I use the words "heretical" or "heresy" I am referring to beliefs and practices deemed as such strictly from the viewpoint of the author (or authors) of the *Yuqing jing*; i.e. beliefs and practices that he (or they) did not regard as correct Daoism. "Orthodoxy" thus refers strictly to what the *Yuqing jing*'s author(s) regarded as correct Daoism. Thus in using words such as these I am not making any value judgments based on my own views and standards nor those of anyone else, aside from the text's author(s). In the ensuing discussion we will see

that the basic heresy attacked in the *Yuqing jing* is that which disdains life, maintaining that one must seek to destroy the body in order for the spirit to become liberated and saved. In terms of practice, the text claims that the consequence of the heresy is ascetic abuses which injure or kill the body. The orthodox adept, on the other hand, places utmost value on life, and performs austerities which actually strengthen and transform the body so that he can "obtain the Dharma Body[3] immediately within this body". Another issue to be discussed is that of whom in particular the author has in mind when he describes and attacks the heresies. This he does through mythical narratives depicting demons, "barbarians" and "infidels"[4] who corrupt the world with their perverse ways. We will discuss how the images of these heretics he portrays are partly based on images of the adherents of rival religions in his midst (primarily Buddhism, but perhaps also indigenous folk cults or even Zoroastrianism), but perhaps even more on images borrowed from Buddhist scriptures which describe the doings of Indian ascetics contemporary with the Buddha. While the *Yuqing jing* thus exhibits a vehemently antagonistic attitude towards foreigners in general and Buddhists in particular, we will also see that the author saw the heresy as existing not only among non-Daoists, but also among Daoists, and that he was more concerned with correcting the faults of his co-religionists than with discrediting rival religions.

Because the *Yuqing jing* makes no mention of any author nor of any historical personages or events, a precise dating of the text is difficult. However, certain definite things can be said about its earliest and latest possible dates of authorship. Because the impact of the doctrines of the Lingbao scriptures throughout the text is unmistakable, the

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[3]Judging from its usage throughout the *Yuqing jing*, the term "Dharma Body" refers to the state in which one has achieved the final goal of the religious quest. It is, of course, an originally Buddhist term used to refer to the cosmic body of the Buddha which is beyond forms, shapes and differentiations, equivalent to "emptiness" (*sunyata*), which is the ultimate and absolutely true principle. The *Yuqing jing* is one of the earliest Daoist scriptures to make frequent use of the term.

[4]Throughout this chapter this is how I will render the term *waidao*, an originally Buddhist term which Buddhist texts employ to refer to adherents of faiths other than Buddhism. When used in Daoist texts, it refers to non-Daoists. The word "infidel", designating "one who does not accept a particular faith" appears to be the single most appropriate English word to translate the term. While I fear that certain readers may feel that the word "infidel" is too loaded with connotations of the type of religious dogmatism and conflict that have characterized western religion, I would contend that such connotations are actually quite appropriate for the acerbic tone that pervades this entire text.

scripture certainly was not written before the late fifth century. We can also say that the *Yuqing jing* must have been in circulation in its present format before 753, because one of the manuscripts[5] of a fragment of the *Yuqing jing* recovered at Dunhuang bears a colophon stating that it was copied down in the 12th year of the Tianbao reign era of the Tang Dynasty (753). Another important clue to dating the scripture is that a passage from the scripture's 17th chapter ("Chapter on the Dao Indoctrinating the Four Barbarian Peoples", 17/21a-22a of Daoist canon text) is quoted[6] in the HY422/TT193 *Shangqing sanzhen zhiyao yujue* (17b-19a), a compilation consisting primarily of material from the Shangqing "revelations" which clearly postdates the *Zhengao* (it quotes the *Zhengao*), but which Ishii Masako has speculated was written not too long after it.[7] Ofuchi Ninji has supported her speculation by pointing out that this citation of the *Zhengao*[8] indicates that the book was written when the *Zhengao* still circulated in its earliest format of seven *juan*[9], which existed during the lifetime of Tao Hongjing[10]. The fact that the format was changed to 10 *juan* not much later is indicated by the citation of a 10 *juan Zhengao* in the HY1117/TT760-761*Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi.* The dating of this particular text has

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[5]The manuscript in question is Pelliot no.2257 (matches with Daoist Canon text 2/19a-20b). The other Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Yuqing jing* are: Pelliot nos. 2341 (7/30b-34b), 2385 (thought to be a portion of the same manuscript as Pelliot 2257. 10/2a-21a), 2405 (7/26a-27b), 2467 (2/29a. excerpts from *juan* 6, 5, 7, 8, 3, 9) and Stein no. 5507 (Heading indicates it is from the ninth chapter "Shangyuan pin" in the fourth *juan*. Matches with 4/1a). See Ofuchi Ninji, *Tonkoo dookyoo-- Mokuroku hen* pp.304-310. As Ofuchi demonstrates, all of the fragments have corresponding passages in the Daoist Canon edition, albeit with numerous minor textual discrepancies. It is apparent that the 753 manuscript consisted of the entire scripture in its entirety in its present format, as Pelliot 2257 and 2385 match respectively with portions of the second and tenth *juan*. It is also noteworthy that Stein 5507 has "Shangyuan pin" as the ninth chapter in the fourth *juan*, which is consistent with the Daoist Canon edition's format.

[6]The text states that it is quoting from "the *Taishang yuqing jing* no.7, 'Chapter on the Dao Indoctrinating the Four Barbarian Peoples'". "No.7" could be a mistranscription of "no.17", or could be referring to the seventh *juan* rather than chapter (*pin*). If neither of the above is the case, it means that the *Yuqing jing* circulated in a shorter version at the time when the *Shangqing sanzhen zhiyao yujue* was compiled.

[7]See Ishii Masako, *Dookyoogaku no kenkyuu* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1980) pp.357-371. Unfortunately, she does not state very clearly her reason for believing this. Her observation is probably based upon the fact that the *Shangqing sanzhen zhiyao yujue* is a compilation of a similar nature and spirit to that of the *Zhengao* which is indigenous to a spiritual climate in which the collection and authentication of "revealed" Shangqing manuscripts was a matter of lively concern.

[8]20b: "What is on the right comes out of the *Zhengao*, '.....youwei pin' in the fifth *juan*."

[9]See p. 6 of Ofuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako ed. Rikuchoo-Too-Soo no kobunken sho-in Dookyoo tenseki mokuroku-sakuin (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1988).

[10]The seven *juan* version is mentioned in the *Huayang yinju xiansheng benqi lu* (*Yunji qiqian* 107/1b-14a) written ca. 499.

been a matter of contention among prominent Japanese scholars, among whom Yoshioka Yoshitoyo gives the earliest estimate of ca. 536-554 A.D.[11] Akizuki Kan-ei[12] and Ofuchi Ninji[13] have made more conservative estimates of ca. 600 and ca. mid-7th century respectively. It would seem that the *Yuqing jing* definitely predates the *Shangqing sanzhen zhiyao yujue* which probably predates the *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*, although the latter observation could be undermined by the possibility that the seven *juan* and ten *juan* versions of the *Zhengao* circulated simultaneously. If one were to accept the above two assumptions, and furthermore advocate Yoshioka's dating, one could argue that the *Yuqing jing* was written no later than the first half of the sixth century. Although I am reluctant to come to such a conclusion, I think that it is reasonable to estimate the date of the authorship of the *Yuqing jing* , or at least the earliest portions of it, as "sixth century".[14] This estimate is tentative, however, and it is worth noting that the events narrated in the eighteenth chapter take place in the World of Great Vastness or *datang shijie*, which may be an allegorical allusion to the Tang Dynasty. If so, this would mean that the text, or at least the eighteenth chapter was written during the Tang. However, *tang* could also be understood as an allusion to the reign period of the legendary Emperor Yao, or as merely meaning "vastness." It is possible that the writing of this very long scripture took place gradually in stages, but it appears from the Dunhuang fragments that the entire ten *juan* were in existence by the mid-eighth century. Now, the entry on the *Yuqing jing* in the new *Daozang tiyao* (the compilation of which was overseen by Ren Jiyu) states that it is a Six Dynasties text and says that passages from the *Yuqing jing*'s "Chapter on the Upper Origin", "Chapter on the Middle Origin" and "Chapter on the Lower Origin" are found in the 45th *juan* of the *Wushang biyao*. This would prove decisively that

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[11]See *Dookyoo to Bukkyoo* vol.3 pp.77-159.
[12]See "Rikuchoo Dookyoo ni okeru oohoosetsu no hatten" in *Hirosaki daigaku jinbun shakai* vol.33 (1964).
[13]See *Dookyooshi no kenkyuu* p.254 ff.
[14]Yoshioka and Strickmann have both written short remarks in footnotes which agree with my estimate, although they do not state their reasons. See Yoshioka, *Dookyoo to Bukkyoo* vol.3 p.37 and Strickmann, "Liang Wu Ti's Suppression of Taoism" p.472.

the *Yuqing jing* is a Six Dynasties period work. Unfortunately, a horrendous error has been made, as the text of the *Wushang biyao* does not match with the *Yuqing jing*, but is instead none other than the "300 Precepts for Monitoring the Body" which we discussed in Chapter Seven. Apparently, without even comparing the texts, the compilers of the *Daozang tiyao* saw the headings given to each of the three divisions of the "Precepts" ("Yuqing xiayuan jie pin", "Yuqing zhongyuan jie pin" and "Yuqing shangyuan jie pin") and drew the premature conclusion that they came from the *Yuqing jing*.

The eighteenth chapter ("Chapter on Desolate Dwelling") provides what could be a hint as to the geographical setting in which the *Yuqing jing* was written (8/21a). There the text enumerates specific mountains as being the most suitable locations for the pursuit of Perfection. Listed first and foremost is Mt. Wangwu[15], followed by Mt. Wutai[16], Mt. Chang[17], Mt. Taibai[18] and Mt. Zhongnan[19]. After praising these mountains, the text goes on to mention "the Five Peaks", Mt. Fanghu (location unclear. Could refer to a mythical island in the eastern sea), Mt. Fulong[20], Mt. Tiantai[21], Mt. Danhuo[22], Mt. Luofu[23], and the Wuling mountain range[24]. What this perhaps indicates is that the *Yuqing jing* was written somewhere in the north, since highest esteem is put upon northern

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[15]Located in Yangcheng County, Shanxi Province. Not far from Luoyang, capital of several different northern dynasties.

[16]Located in Dai County, Shanxi Province. To this day one of the holiest sites of Chinese Buddhism, this actually refers to five individual peaks.

[17]"Mt. Chang" is a variant name for Mt. Heng, the "Northern Peak" near Datong, Shanxi Province. Other possibilities (probably less likely) are the Mt. Changs located respectively near Zhucheng County, Shandong Province and Changshan County, Zhejiang Province.

[18]This probably refers to the most famous Mt. Taibai located near Mei County, Shaanxi Province.

[19]This is the putative site where Laozi transmitted the *Daode jing* to his disciple Yin Xi. Located not far from Xi-an, Shaanxi Province.

[20]This probably either refers to a mountain near Zhenhai County, Zhejiang Province or one near Xiangyang County, Hubei Province.

[21]Near Tiantai County, Zhejiang Province.

[22]Location unclear. This could be an alternate name for Mt. Huo. The most famous Mt. Huo (also known as Mt. Tianzhu) is the one located near Huoshan County Anhui Province. Sacred within the Shangqing tradition was a Mt. Huo located somewhere in present day Nan-an County, Fujian Province. Strickmann has speculated that it refers to the mountain now known as Mt. Daiyun. See "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching" p.152 ft.nt. 85.

[23]Near Zengcheng County, Guangdong Province.

[24]This refers to a mountain range that stretches over parts of Guizhou, Sichuan, Hunan and Hubei Provinces.

mountains. It can be added that the acerbic tone of the entire text is a hint towards an authorship in the north where acrimonious inter-religious conflict existed, which led to two major persecutions[25] of Buddhism. If I were to venture to make a bold guess (not to be taken too seriously), it would be that the author was a Daoist monk[26] (or monks) living on Mt. Wangwu, or perhaps in the capital of one of the northern dynasties (or the Tang Dynasty) where he was vying vigorously with foreign religions for imperial favor.

We shall now proceed to our discussion of severe asceticism as it is denounced and promoted in the *Yuqing jing*. In the first part we will discuss the descriptions and criticisms of heretical asceticism. In the second part we will examine the asceticism that the text encourages.

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[25]These occurred respectively during the years 446-452 and 574-578 during the reigns of emperors Taiwudi of the Northern Wei, and Wudi of the Northern Zhou.

[26]Frequent references to "family-leaving" Daoists are to be found in the *Yuqing jing*, indicating most likely that the author viewed "family-leaving" as the lifestyle for a serious adept to pursue and that he himself was probably a monk.

A. Heretical Asceticism

"The Chapter on the Original Arising" (*benqi pin*), the first of the *Yuqing jing*'s twenty chapters, contains the scripture's first description and criticism of improper ascetic acts. As a whole, the chapter deals with the theme of how the power and teachings of the Primordial Heavenly Worthy act as the sole vehicle for the salvation for living things amidst the recurring cosmic cycles of creation, flourishing, decline and destruction. The chapter consists of a mythical narrative describing events in the "world of Qixian". It tells of how this particular world was coming to the end of a cosmic cycle, and was afflicted with widespread suffering caused by general human malice and warfare as well as natural disasters and epidemics. Eerie and sinister phenomena took place, such as the earth growing hair and fur and animals talking like human beings. Under these horrific circumstances, people were resorting to suicide and cannibalism. The Primordial Heavenly Worthy saw this and took pity on the "world of Qixian" (*qixian* translates into "abandoning those of upstanding character"), and decided to restore its happiness and vitality and delay indefinitely its impending destruction. Thus, he descended upon the world to expound his doctrines for seven days and seven nights, during which the radiance, fragrance and music that he emitted pervaded the world. He inscribed the Perfect Scripts of the Five Monarchs and with them "protected" the five directions. Through the working of the various good gods under the command of the Five Monarchs, crops became plentiful, the climate became agreeable, demons were subdued, and morality was restored among people in general.

The narrative goes on to describe the good deeds of a wise and virtuous king named Dezheng who, out of his gratitude to the Primordial Heavenly Worthy, built temples and monasteries and directed all of his subjects to worship the Dao and confess their sins day and night. After a nation-wide retreat of seven days and seven nights, the Primordial Heavenly Worthy revealed his divine countenance to the populace and bestowed upon them a set of ten ordinances which all were to observe without fail.[27] To the king himself were transmitted certain secret methods. The king then abdicated the throne to one of his sons in order to devote himself to training to become a Perfected Man.

The text then describes how the throne was passed down from generation to generation while Dezheng and his son Shanxiu (who had also abdicated in order to pursue the religious quest) trained themselves to the point where they obtained the Six Penetrations and were given the status of "Great Perfected Being", a Perfected Man who can manifest himself at will in various times and places for the sake of guiding people towards salvation. One day, wishing to enter the Heaven of Daluo[28]and visit the Patriarch of the Primal *Qi*, they went to ask permission from a certain Perfect Lord Without Superior. The Perfect Lord thereupon refused their request due to the reason that they were not yet ready for such a direct encounter with the ineffable Dao. This refusal was then followed by an ominous prediction of the fate that lay ahead for the world and mankind:

(I) Furthermore, the Emperor of Heaven has made his calculations according to the cycles and will order you to go down to indoctrinate and deliver the living masses. Attending the Heavenly Worthy, you will go below the four heavens to teach and indoctrinate the various nations and spread forth the *qi*

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[27]The ten ordinances can be summed up as follows: 1) Do not be disrespectful or disobedient towards your parents, teachers and superiors. 2) Do not kill. 3) Do not commit treason. 4) Do not commit adultery, especially incest. 5) Do not blaspheme the Dao. Do not transmit scriptures in an improper way. 6) Do not defile holy altars or act contemptuously in their midst by being naked. 7) Do not deceive or deride those who are poor or without families. 8) Do not go about naked beneath the sun, moon and stars. Do not deceive or deride the aged or the ill. 9) Do not drink liquor excessively. Do not tell lies and do not insult others. 10) Do not do things in a cruel and arbitrary manner. See 1/8b-9a.

[28]The highest heaven located above the Three Pure Realms.

of the Dao. Why is this? It is in order to postpone the disasters of this *kalpa*'s fire-*qi*. By according with and practicing the religion of the Dao we can subdue the calamities of the *Yang*-Nine[29], and make the fire-essence disappear. When it gets to a later *kalpa* , heaven and earth will be destroyed and the merits of the populace will be exhausted so that [our] doctrines cannot save them. When the cycle comes to its limit, it will naturally be like this.

At the beginning of the Water *Kalpa*[30], our Dao will greatly flourish. For 370,000 years, people will be pure and naive. But later, the Great Dao will gradually cease to be carried out, and the *yin qi* (evil energy) will become vigorous. The people, in seeking blessings will set up empty burial mounds and build numerous shrines throughout the world. Men and women with wicked hearts will practice the methods of extinction and will not accord with [our] ritual regulations. Yelling loudly, they will seek death. Some will enter into pits of fire and some will throw themselves into deep pools. Mutilating and dismembering themselves, their hordes will worship and sing hymns while sobbing and weeping. Some of them will enter into the empty burial mounds and sit silently. Some will embrace corpses or venerate dried bones. Some will make altars out of manure. Some will smear the earth with fragrant mud. Some, because they do not respect their fathers and mothers will engage in all kinds of bitter training. Some of them will eat impure and hideous things. There will be nothing that they will not resort to, but to the very end they will not acquire the Dao of Proper Perfection. The minds of people will be prejudiced, and there

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[29]See Ch. 3 ft. nt. 17.

[30]Apparently subscribed to by the author was a cosmology that conceived of a sequence of cosmic cycle which each had their operative element or phase which dictated the type of calamity that would destroy the world. Apparently, the narrative here is set in the Fire Kalpa in the inconceivably remote past which was to be followed by the Water Kalpa, which refers to the cosmic era inhabited by the *Yuqing jing*'s author as well as ourselves, which according to this theory will end with a gigantic flood.

will be no righteousness between fathers and sons. Amidst the wicked religion(s), factions will arise.

Before the Great Water *Kalpa* there will be a Small Water *Kalpa* (flood?)[31] that will subside only after ten years. During the four thousand years after this, from amidst the wicked religion there will arise a military revolt. Plotting harm among themselves, some of them will proclaim themselves to be kings, only to self destruct within 10 to 100 days. There will be no propriety among fathers and sons. Using their force they will exploit those who are weak. People of like surnames and of [the same] bones and flesh (blood relatives) will commit lewd acts with each other. Even though they will have human bodies, they will not have human hearts. Viciously and vindictively they will compete with each other and have no mutual trust. In this way the time will come when the Wicked Way will gradually arise and the *yin qi* will flourish to the utmost. Before long, drifting and drowning [in the Great Flood], people will transform into fish, and the scaly dragons will eat the people. At this moment, the Law [of the Dao] will elect its chosen people and place them in the homestead of blessings. You must toil and suffer from morning till evening tirelessly [if you want to be one of the elect]. This is called the Great Dao. Spread it among people. One's destiny is in one's own hands. [Destiny] is controlled and maintained by people [themselves]. If the mind is proper, the Dao will respond to it. If you follow the wicked, misfortunes will come your way. If you are fond of killing, you will only slay yourself. You must carry out great compassion.[32]

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[31]Here, *Kalpa* seems to refer to the cosmic disaster rather than the cosmic cycle.

[32] 1/11b-12b. See Plate 288.

The chapter thus ends. Undoubtedly, in narrating the above story, the author of the *Yuqing jing* is warning his contemporaries. The "world of Qixian" described here likely refers to this very world, or is at least an allegory of it. We can thus see that the author held a very grim view of the world he lived in, seeing it as imminently doomed to complete destruction by a great flood (the small flood described above probably alludes to the famous flood in Chinese mythology that was tamed by the Great Yu). He believed that his own religion, Daoism, was the religion taught to the world back in the inconceivably remote past when the Primordial Heavenly Worthy had graced the world with his presence and had imbued it with the vitality and force by which it could continue to survive. He apparently saw the age that he lived in as a time when the *yin qi* (evil energy) had come to pervade the decrepit world and had brought about a decline in the Daoist religion while bringing to prominence a "wicked religion" (or perhaps "wicked religions"). In describing this "wicked religion" the author likely had in mind one or more specific religions that existed in China at his time which were in competition with Daoism for the allegiance of the masses and the imperial court. As for what religion or religions this was, speculation will be made later. For now, it shall be pointed out that the author employs two of most typical polemical ploys for discrediting his adversaries, portraying them as potentially seditious and accusing them of extreme moral corruption. More importantly for our purposes, the participants in the wicked religion(s) are portrayed as having a morbid and ghoulish fondness for death which is reflected in their forms of worship, especially their extreme bodily mortifications. These include the eating of impurities, self-mutilation and even suicide. The text appropriately describes their forms of "bitter training" as "methods of extinction", since they are intended to bring about the death of the human body. The author denounces these practices as utterly useless for seeking salvation. He urges his readers to remain faithful to Daoism and continue to propagate it amidst all the evil that surrounds them. The author asserts that while being a Daoist also involves subjection to much strenuous hardship, it offers the definite reward of survival and eternal bliss.

In Chapter 19, "Chapter on Perfected Man Mingwei's Assertion of Might over the Wicked" ("Mingwei zhenren weiye pin"), the emergence of wicked religion is attributed to the various demons who inhabit the world. In this chapter, which deals with how a certain Perfected Man Mingwei[33] manifests his doctrines and apotropaic methods in the world in order to combat evil forces and pass on his demonifugic powers to his successors, we find the following passage:

(II) "The Great Perfected Mingwei was aware beforehand[34] of the prejudiced and wicked ways of the later *kalpas*. Wickedness would give rise to *yin qi*, and a filthy and evil world would thus immediately and easily come to exist. When the purity and simplicity was lost, flippancy and deceitfulness would arise at once. The Four Devas of the lower realm would proclaim themselves to be Divine Kings. Devils such as these would take on the name of God of Heaven, and [in the] filthy and evil world would pervade the lands down below. Under the Four Devas, the spirits (*jing*)[35] of the rocks of the mountains and forests would possess living humans. All of them would mimic each other in proclaiming themselves to be Immortal Kings. Joining together with the monsters of the wicked *qi* of the Six Heavens, they would form mobs and alliances. Their [organizational] tributaries would disperse and pervade, establishing their prominence over the generations. Traitors of the Dao would make offerings [to them] and pray for blessings. [The disguised demons] would gnaw on the *jing* and *qi*

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[33]This likely alludes to the first Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling as a deified, cosmic being. The doctrines and methods of the Heavenly Master's Sect are commonly referred to as "Zhengyi meng(=ming)wei zhi dao santian zhengfa" or "The Way of the Might of the Covenant of the Orthodox Unity, the Orthodox Methods of the Three Heavens".

[34]*niji*. I have tentatively understood *ni* 逆 as meaning "beforehand" (there is a verb 逆告 nigao which means to verbally predict something), and *ji* 記 as corresponding to *ji* 記 which can mean to remember or have something in mind.

[35]A spirit denoted by this character usually refers to an animistic nature spirit which resides in a plant, tree or rock or which is the transfigured form of an animal which has reached an unusually old age.

> of people and eat the blood and [blood] vessels of people, shortening their life spans as they remained unaware. Entering into people's bodies they would be able to make them hate life and love death. In this way the various demons would enter into your (the people of the future) bodies and their descendants would grow up and flourish. Their *jingqi* being rampant and arbitrary, they would have [sexual] intercourse with living people. Worm-monsters and demonic women would also have the ability to make people discern the various doctrines on emptiness, and be jealous of the Way of Life. Whenever there were men and women who cultivated and studied the Way of Life, these various evil demons would all at once come to harm them, wanting people to die so that they could claim their *hun* souls as their companions. For this reason they would resent and hate the Way of Life. As for students [of the Dao] of later times; if your body is able to accomplish the Dao, wicked monsters and evil mobs will submit to your commands, and will not be at their free abandon. For this reason, people who study the Dao should clearly be aware of this evil disease that is infidel religion and have prior knowledge of the methods of Mingwei, so that they can slay [the wicked beings that] haunt them and thereby protect their bodies and spirits."[36]

Here, the founding of the wicked religion(s) is attributed to demons who inhabit the profane world and entertain pretensions of the being mighty and divine beings. They delude human beings into accepting their pretenses so that they can satisfy their own arrogance, hunger and lust at the expense of their victims. They cause people to "hate life and love death" because they find it to their own advantage for people to die, presumably because this keeps their souls transmigrating within the profane realms where the demons

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[36] 9/3b-4a. See Plate 289.

can exercise their tyranny. It is perhaps also because the human corpses become nourishment for the dirt, stones and trees etc. that are inhabited by the demons, or perhaps the implication is that the deluded masses are made to feed their demonic lords by means of human sacrifice. Also greatly worth noting here is that those who are demonically possessed become well versed in doctrines regarding "emptiness", and that these doctrines seem to be at least in part responsible for making them fond of death and disdainful towards life. Daoism, in stark contrast, is described here as "the Way of Life". The arrogant demons are envious of "the Way of Life" presumably because it issues from forces that are superior to them, and which are truly eternal, almighty and divine. They do their utmost to hinder those who pursue training in the "Way of Life" because they know that those who "accomplish the Dao" and obtain victory over death not only cease to be under their control, but contrarily gain dominance over them.

This theme of pretentious demons endeavoring to ensnare people under their influence by means of false doctrines can also be found in Chapter 16, "Chapter on the Assertion of Might over the Devils". There it is narrated how one time the wicked Immortals of the two realms of form and desire[37]who possessed the Five (not Six) Penetrations[38]and had attained life spans of 80,000 Great Kalpas, decided to try to challenge the Primordial Heavenly Worthy to a contest of divine powers. They are, however, defeated easily and rendered unconscious by a disciple of the Primordial Heavenly Worthy name Perfected Man Zhaoling. Upon regaining their consciousness, they became aware that they were not truly Perfected beings, in that despite their considerable supernormal powers and lengthy life spans, their bodies were ultimately

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[37] These refer to the two lower realms among the three realms that the Buddhists, and later the Daoists, believed to make up the world within which living beings transmigrate. The realm of desire is the lowest realm, whose inhabitants possess the various desires. The realm of form is the realm where desires no longer exist, but in which people still are deluded by the perception of forms. Above these two realms is the realm of no form which is a realm where all desires and forms are transcended amidst a state of deep *samadhi*. By describing the wicked Immortals as belonging to the two lower realms, the text is essentially saying that in spite of their considerable powers, they were not Perfected beings of the highest caliber.

[38] The fact that they lack the sixth penetration, which is the ability to get rid of all confusion, also seems to mean that they have not reached true saint-hood, in spite of their great powers.

doomed to "decaying and rotting", and that they would eventually have to experience decline, death and rebirth. Perfected Man Zhaoling then told them that the god that they served, who bore for himself names such as, "Immortal King of the Four Heavens", or "the Divine King" was no more than a spirit from Mt. Kunlun whose methods were not "the Methods of Self-so-ness of the Great Dao that is without Superior". He then told them to immediately return to the lower realms, so as to not defile the sacred realm with the rancid, putrid, corpse-like smells of their bodies. After the wicked Immortals had returned to the lower realm, their leader named Luobi reported all that had taken place and all that he had been told to his master, the spirit of Mt. Kunlun. The spirit immediately fainted out of horror, and then after regaining consciousness warned Luobi not to tell anything to anybody. This was because if word of any of it got out, he would lose his power over the people of the world. The text then goes on to state that to this very day, the spirit of Mt. Kunlun and his wicked Immortals continue to deceive, possess and receive worship from mankind. However, when the Heavenly Worthy of the Golden Palace Gate appears in the world, they will all be exterminated.

Thus the *Yuqing jing* depicts an on-going conflict between the Perfected beings who have their abode in a transcendent realm, and the inferior demonic beings who are powerful within the profane world. While demonic forces continually seem to prevail in everyday life, the ultimate victory is inevitably to be won by the good force. It is hard to resist pointing out that this notion of a cosmic dualistic conflict in which the ordinary world is conceived of as a place where human souls are deluded and trapped by presumptuous demons, finds a striking parallel in the West among the various Gnostic cults of the early common era as well as in Manichaeism. But what certainly is unique about this Daoist version of the cosmic dualistic conflict is that the adherents of the good side are the ones strongly concerned with the perpetuation of human body, which as we will discuss in more detail later, is itself a requirement for transcending the evil realm. In Gnosticism and

Manichaeism, the flesh was seen as a prison for the divine internal spark, and thus its maintenance was not high on the agenda.[39]

The *Yuqing jing* tells us that those who are deluded by demons into hating life and loving death typically give expression to this morbid spirituality through the practice of excessive and self-destructive austerities. A truly gruesome example of how the false doctrines of the demons of this world could lead people towards hideous ascetic excesses is to be found in the following passage from Ch.19:

(III) In bygone days at the beginning of the Fire Kalpa[40], a spirit of a mountain in the Rong region (western lands of the "barbarians") disguised himself in human form. His body possessed all of the various marks (*xiang*)[41] [of a saint]. He went about in the world teaching and indoctrinating. He acquired a following of 80,000 [people]. He taught them how to worship fire, as well as the method of observing water. For twelve years he sucked on the *jing* and *qi* of people. People all lost sight of what was correct, and their wicked views thus took shape. At that time, the various people of like mind resigned themselves to death, each of them entering into [a pile of] dry grass where they folded their hands together and knelt naked with their cap strings undone. A hired hand then set fire to the hay, and in an instant the flames burned and injured the 80,000-odd people. Their hair was charred, their skin was wrent and fluid from their blisters splattered out. Their arms and legs became twisted and shrunk as they fell curled up on the ground. In bitter pain they regretted [what they had done], but were unable to utter a sound. At that time, the mountain spirit snapped his fingers and

[39]The best general discussions in English on the beliefs and practices of the Gnosticism and Manichaeism are found in Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958) and Kurt Rudolph, *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1984).

[40]See ft. nt. 30.

[41]This refers to various types of physical features which were thought to distinguish men such as the Buddha or Laozi from ordinary humans.

commended them saying, "All species who live will in the end return to annihilation. The body of confusion is the dwelling place of a hundred poisons. You should quickly distance yourself from it and seek early liberation from it. You must annihilate this body and thereby seek the Dharma Body (*fashen*)[42]. If you cannot stand the severity of the fire-poison, you should go into the deep pool." As the mountain spirit finished saying this, the 80,000-odd people crawled into the water. They were sent adrift by the wind and waves, and were devoured by the water creatures. The River Spirit seized their *hun* and *po* souls and the Water Bureau put their essences and light particles (?) (*jingshuang*)[43] to labor. They have been suffering under this banishment for over 7000 years endlessly up to this very day. Once you fall victim to the wicked, you cannot escape from [the bad consequences in] life and death. At that time, the spirit of the mountain of Rong, who had enticed and murdered common folk, knew that he was guilty. Fearing the might of Heaven, he hid himself deep amidst some rocks. [But] in the spring the God of Thunder exposed him by using his thunder, and put him to the task of tending to his dragons. [The mountain spirit now] labors painstakingly day and night without any freedom. In this way, the method for controlling powerful spirits can be carried out by employing the Duke of Thunder to behead them and tear them apart.[44]

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[42]See ft. nt. 3.

[43]What exact this refers to is unclear. *Jing* could conceivably refer to the body "essences" or fluids that seep out of the corpse or could refer to a soul substance of some kind. It could also be an adjective modifying *shuang*. The meaning of *shuang* is unclear since it normally does not have a definition as a noun. As can be recalled, the Lingbao scripture *Gongde qingzhong jing* says that the human body decomposes into dust which then transforms into *shuang*, which I tentatively rendered as "light particles".

[44] 9/8b-9b. See Plate 290.

Noteworthy first of all here is that the wicked religion is ascribed to a foreign origin. The place of its origin is described vaguely as "Rong", a word which can be used to describe any "barbarian" territory located west of China. Here we have an example of the fierce xenophobia which can be identified in various places throughout the *Yuqing jing*. Interesting also, for reasons to be discussed shortly later on, is the reference to fire worshipping. Of greatest interest to our study is the reasoning by which the mountain spirit justifies and exalts the burning of his followers. The essential idea is that the human body is the "body of confusion" (which seems to mean that it is both the product of karma-producing confused, ignorant thoughts from past lives, as well as being the cause for the confusion in this life) that is filled with the "poisons" which hinder the enlightenment and liberation of the soul. Also, reasons the mountain spirit, life is bound to come to an end anyway, and it is therefore foolish to cling to it. He thus encourages his followers to hasten the body's destruction and the soul's liberation by means of suicide. The passage goes on to describe the hideous consequences suffered by those who took his advice, and thus illustrates the falsity of the mountain spirit's doctrines. The reader is in this way sternly warned not to heed the teachings of anybody who teaches doctrines that resemble those of the mountain spirit. Also interesting here is how an exorcistic method is prescribed for combating "powerful spirits" that confront Daoists in daily life. The mountain spirit depicted here apparently not only represents the various non-Daoist preachers in the author's midst, but also certain invisible non-corporeal demons or "powerful spirits". He thus recommends ritual exorcism as a means of deprogramming those who subscribe to false doctrines. What these "powerful spirits" likely may have actually been will be discussed later on.

The most lengthy and detailed description of the ways of the wicked religion(s) is to be found in yet another passage from Ch.19. I will now quote this passage, and then discuss the question of what specific religion the author may have been alluding to in his descriptions:

(IV) At that time (the Fire Kalpa?), also, there was a mountain spirit of [Mt.] Tiewei located in the direction of [the phase of] metal [which is] the southwest, who transformed himself into a human and went out into the world to teach and indoctrinate. His doctrines pervaded throughout the wild, barbaric regions of the west (*huangrong*). Throughout a hundred nations it changed its form into 500-odd varieties. These are called 'infidels'. They worshipped the various phenomena such as the sky, the earth, the sun, the moon, the stars, wind, water, metal, wood, hearth-fire, city walls and roads. Performing all kinds of bitter training, they changed their attire and physical appearances. They set up statues and made offerings, and wrote their scriptures on tree leaves. They wounded and harmed their bodies and visages and wore Rong-style clothing. Putting to practice their thaumaturgic mantras, they entered the cities to beg. Each one of them would say, "This is [what brings about] the best of effects." In their retreats and festivals they used blood sacrifices as they praised and called out to the "King of Heaven." Some of them called themselves "Brahman Masters" and devoted themselves to boiling and slaying [sacrificial victims] for the purpose of serving the God(s) of the Heavens in hope of gaining great blessings. Seeking for worldly wealth and benefits, they would each say, "Anybody who gives alms to me will obtain limitless blessings." Infidels such as these took possession of the bodies of people, who would sob and wail and pull out their hair. They would dance about while striking themselves, as they resigned themselves to death and sought annihilation. Some would sit silently in dark rooms, and when they clearly saw forms of light, they would claim that they had seen a great saint. Some could [fore]see all appearances of punishment and blessing (possessed

clairvoyant powers). Common folk would hear about this and compete with each other in coming forth and giving them as alms their valuable treasures, wives, children, slaves, horses, cities and farms. Some would [even] give up their bodies and lives, their minds not hesitating to relinquish their eyes, bone marrow and brains. This was because those infidels taught them to love death. Whenever they saw a dead person they would sing out in praise. They would abandon their corpses in wild fields and refer to it a "being born in heaven." Gathering in crowds they would worship and rejoice, exclaiming, "Great stalwarts and superior men hate the world and seek deliverance [from it]. Their bodies fill up [the bellies of] the birds and the beasts as their lumps of consciousness[45] live on in heaven. Confusion no longer continues. Is this not joyous?" Such is the way of bitter training of the various infidels. They would build large bonfires and say, "If good men and good women are able to enter the bonfire and roast their bodies, they are to be called Great Stalwarts of the First Order. They will be able to depart from their confusion and realize the utmost in results. They will obtain the undefiled ground of perpetual enjoyment. They will get to ascend to the unwavering ground of perpetual enjoyment." These various infidels would praisingly say, "Great Stalwarts are brave and strong. The power of their merit is without comparison. They are able to bring about great benefits in the world." Foolish people would see this and eagerly burn their bodies. At the same time, the infidel roaming spirits would fly about in the air singing hymns and performing all kinds of music to keep them resigned and content [with being burnt to death]. Thus in the hundred Rong

[45] This seems to refer to the spiritual and mental capacities were thought by the "heathens" to survive the death of the body. It is probably a mistranscription of which would translate into "*hun* soul consciousness."

territories over a span of several decades, more than half of the population was injured and killed by the methods and coaxing of these infidels.[46]

Mt. Tiewei, from which the wicked religion issues in the above passage, is the outermost of the eight ring-shaped mountains that are said to encircle Mt. Sumeru, the cosmic mountain of Hindu and Buddhist legend which was thought to be the center of the universe and the abode of its loftiest divine beings.[47] Here it is described as a mountain located in the direction of the southwest. Thus again the wicked religion is ascribed to a foreign origin, and it is here alleged that its false doctrines were responsible for wiping out half of the population of the western "barbarian' regions. The passage is more than likely meant to warn the reader that the same consequences will be suffered in China if the false doctrines are allowed to prevail. So what religion (or religions) that he saw in his actual environment is the author of the *Yuqing jing* alluding to and discrediting in his descriptions of the "wicked religion(s)"? From where does he get all of the harrowing images? Based on the historical circumstances of the bitter on-going Daoist-Buddhist conflict that existed at the time, it seems most likely that the "wicked religion" refers to Buddhism. This speculation can be substantially backed up by the contents of the four passages quoted so far.

The "empty burial mounds" mentioned in passage (I) likely allude to Buddhist stupas. The "dried bones" likely allude to the relics or *sarira* of Buddhist saints that Buddhists worship. The well known Buddhist veneration of such things was apparently misconstrued (perhaps knowingly) by the author as a fondness for death. The ways of the "wicked religion(s)" are described as "methods of extinction", and by describing them in such terms, the *Yuqing jing* seems to be accusing Buddhists of inciting people towards religious suicide by setting forth extinction and liberation from *samsara* as the central goal.

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[46] 9/10a-11a. See Plate 291.
[47] See Mochizuki Shinko, *Bukkyoo daijiten* pp.3767-3768.

The Four Devas described as pretentious demons in passage (II) most likely allude, in a most uncomplimentary fashion, to the Four Deva Kings[48] who bear a prominent place in Buddhist legend and iconography as the faithful and righteous protector deities of the Buddhist religion. Describing them as wicked demons seems to be yet another way by which *Yuqing jing* derides Buddhism. In passage (II), people possessed by worm-monsters and demonic women are described as being good at discussing doctrines of "emptiness", which appears to be a reference to Mahayana Buddhist doctrines which emphasize the "empty" (*sunyata*)[49] quality of all objects and concepts (including the concept of "emptiness" itself). The passage may also be suggesting that the pre-occupation with the concept of emptiness has caused Buddhists to disdain human life on account of its being empty. The perceived connection of Buddhist teachings with self-mutilation and suicide is most clearly expressed from the mouth of the mountain spirit in passage (III), who justifies the destroying of the body as a means of cutting off confusion (of which the body is both the product and the cause of) and attaining liberation.

In passage (IV) also, the "infidels" are quoted as equating the killing of the body to the elimination of confusion. The descriptions of them as mendicants and practitioners of intensive seated meditation are likely based on the activities of actual Buddhists witnessed or heard of by the author. It has also been well documented by modern scholarship how certain prominent Buddhist monks during the Six Dynasties period, especially in the north, achieved considerable popularity and political patronage because of their alleged clairvoyant powers, efficacious mantras and other thaumaturgic abilities such as those ascribed to the "infidels" in passage (IV). Although the Tantric Zhenyan school of Buddhism, noted for its emphasis on mantras did not come to flourish until the eighth century, Buddhist scriptures containing mantras were translated into Chinese already in the early third

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[48]According to Buddhist mythology, these four gods live on Mt. Sumeru and serve the god Indra in the task of protecting the Buddhist religion. Their names are Dhrtarastra, Virudhaka, Virupaksa and Vaisravana. See Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyoogo jiten* vol.1 pp.527-528.

[49] For something to be empty means that it has no existence and reality that stand entirely self-sufficient of other things or facts. Buddhism teaches that our delusion and our suffering comes from an inability to understand the empty quality of all things, which causes us to have attachments to them.

century, and numerous others were translated during the fourth and fifth centuries, and thus the author of the *Yuqing jing* could well have been familiar with the activities of Buddhists of such an orientation.[50]

It must be noted, however, that many of the practices described as being practiced by the "infidels" are quite incongruous with what would have been practiced by Buddhists. The references to worship of the various demons and spirits of the profane world which is described in passages (II), (III) and (IV), the employment of blood sacrifices mentioned in passage (IV) as well as the practice of human sacrifice[51] which passage (II) in particular seems to hint at, would make more sense if understood as allusions to practices of indigenous non-Daoist folk cults.

Another foreign religion, other than Buddhism, whose practices may have been witnessed by the author and which may have served as models upon which the "infidels" are depicted, is Zoroastrianism. As has been pointed out by Chen Yuan in his article, "Huoxianjiao ru Zhongquo kao" ("A Study on the Entry of Zoroastrianism into China")[52], there is evidence in the dynastic histories (the *Weishu* , *Beishi* and *Suishu*) that Zoroastrianism was known to the Chinese by the early sixth century and that certain members within the courts of the Northern Wei, Northern Ji and Northern Zhou dynasties practiced Zoroastrian rituals. Thus, even though Zoroastrianism is thought to have been practiced primarily by foreigners residing in China and to have had few or virtually no converts among the common populace, it is not altogether improbable that the author of the *Yuqing jing*, especially if he were someone privy to the on-goings in the courts of the northern dynasties, knew of certain Zoroastrian practices and regarded Zorastrianism as a rival in the competition for imperial favor. Within the passages cited above, the evidence which first draws attention to the possibility of the author's familiarity with Zoroastrianism

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[50] See Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* .pp.78-81 and Matsunaga Yuukei, *Mikkyoo no Rekishi* (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1969), pp.131-135.

[51] An interesting discussion of the practice of human sacrifice that had survived within certain folk cults during the Song Dynasty and well into late imperial times is found in Sawada Mizuho, "Satsujin Saiki" in *Chuugoku no Minkan Shinkoo* (Tokyo: Kosakusha, 1982), pp.332-373.

[52] In *Beijing Daxue Guoxue Jikan* v.3 (1923).pp.27-46.

is the mention that is made of the worship of fire in passages (III) and (IV). Daily Zoroastrian worship consists of worship towards the supreme god Ahura Mazda and his assisting divinities called amesha spentas or yazatas whose presence in the world is thought to be manifested through various tangible objects, which therefore become objects of worship. Foremost among these is fire, and Zoroastrian temples are commonly referred to as "fire temples" because they feature as the main object of reverence, a large fire which is kept burning at all times. Also among their objects of worship are water, the sky, the earth, the sun, the moon and the stars. All of these are mentioned in passage (IV) as being worshipped by the "infidels". Zoroastrian worship also calls for the use of blood sacrifice, which is consistent with the description found in passage (IV). The words used in the dynastic histories to refer to the gods worshipped in Persia (then ruled by the Sassanian Empire which had Zoroastrianism as its national religion) are *huoshen* (God of Fire) and *tianshen* (God of the Heavens)[53], the latter of which Chen Yuan speculates to be because the Chinese recognized the worship of the sun, moon and stars as the prominent trait of the Persian religion. It is thus highly noteworthy that the "infidels" in passage (IV) worship "the God(s) of the Heavens" and that passage (II) says that the demons of the world took for themselves the title of "God of Heaven" (*tianshen*). Perhaps most suggestive of all is the mention in passage (IV) of the burial practice of leaving corpses out in the open for birds and animals to feed on. This practice, of which mention is also made in the Chinese dynastic histories, is the traditional funerary custom of Zoroastrians who, because they include both fire and earth among their sacred objects, refuse to desecrate them (corpses were considered to be extremely ritually impure) through cremation or interment. It is

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[53] The key passage is found in *Weishu* , *juan* #102 (pp. 2271-2272) and *Beishi*, *juan* #97(pp.3222-3223). Other nations which get described in the *Weishu* as worshippers of the God of Heaven are Gaochang (a kingdom in the vicinity of present day Turfan) and Yanzhi located in the vicinity of present day Yanzhi county, Xinjiang Province), which suggests either that there were Zoroastrians in those territories or that the word *tianshen* is used to describe the astral gods of cults of foreign peoples more generally, rather than of Zoroastrianism alone. Contact with Zoroastrians was apparently also made by the Southern dynasties, as the *Liangshu* (54th *juan*. p.812) and *Nanshi* (79th *juan*. pp.1984) describe a certain Central Asian nation called Guguo where people worshipped *huoshen* and *tianshen* and which sent envoys with tribute to the Liang court in 516 and again in 521.

believed that at death, the souls of the righteous leave the body to reside in Heaven in preparation for the apocalypse when they will be reunited with their bones (left bare of the old flesh devoured by birds and animals) within a body of new, pure flesh and live eternally in Ahura Mazda's new kingdom on earth. In passage (IV), the "infidels" express a belief similar to this, stating that the soul lives on in Heaven while the corpse satiates the birds and beasts.[54] There is thus a fair possibility that the *Yuqing jing* represents another early source that attests to the familiarity of the Chinese with Zoroastrianism in the sixth century. However, due to near total absence of expertise in Zoroastrianism, I will limit myself to merely suggesting this possibility and hope that this issue will pursued by someone in the future.

What can be said with certainty is that the behavior attributed to the "infidels" cannot be understood in its entirety as a slanderous allusion to the practices of any single rival religion in the author's midst. The images of the "infidels" are best understood as products of the author's imagination in which elements of multiple religious traditions are mixed together along with pure fantasy about abominable acts which probably no actual person in his midst was guilty of.

It is true that there is evidence of something resembling the self-mutilation and immolation described in the *Yuqing jing* being carrying out by Buddhists. What come to mind here are the descriptions that have survived of the festivals honoring a relic (a finger bone) of the Buddha enshrined at the Famen Temple west of Tang capital Chang'an that have been brought to attention by Kenneth K.S. Chen.[55] During these festivals, the relic was brought to the imperial palace where it was kept for three days for it to be worshipped by the members of the court. It was then put on public display, whereupon a scene of ferocious religious frenzy would take place. The description of one such festival which took place in 819 is found in a memorial presented by the famous Confucian scholar Han

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[54]See Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge, 1979) pp.23-27, 119.

[55] *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* , pp.279-282

Yu in protest of the on-goings. There he alleges that multitudes of people, in a show of piety, burned their heads and roasted their fingers. A first hand description of another such festival that took place in 873 (which has been translated and quoted in full by Chen) is found in *Duyang zapian* by Su E. There it states as follows (here I am borrowing Chen's translation):

> At that time, a soldier cut off his left arm in front of the Buddha's relic, and while holding it with his hand, he reverenced the relic each time he took a step, his blood sprinkling the ground all the while. As for those who walked on their elbows and knees, biting off their fingers or cutting off their hair, their numbers could not be counted. There was also a monk who covered his head with artemisia, a practice known as disciplining the head. When the pile of artemisia was ignited, the pain caused the monk to shake his head and to cry out, but young men in the market place held him tight so that he could not move. When the pain became unbearable, he cried out and fell prostrate on the ground. With his head scorched and his deportment disorderly, he was the object of laughter of all the spectators.[56]

It is possible that the author of the ***Yuqing jing*** witnessed scenes similar to what is described above, which inspired some of the images depicted in his own writing.

However, I believe that he drew his most powerful images of ascetic abuses not from events that he actually witnessed, but rather from certain texts describing the austerities of religious men in India. These texts were none other than Buddhist scriptures which include vivid description of the ways of the Indian ascetics who lived contemporaneously with the Buddha and whose ways the Buddha himself practiced for a time, only to eventually reject them in favor of his "middle path". One such description which the author of Yuqing jing

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[56] ibid. p.281.

was very likely familiar with is found in the *Guoqu xianzai yinyuan jing*, a narrative of the life of the Buddha which was translated into Chinese around 450 A.D. and which was distributed and read very widely. The narrative tells of the time when the young prince Gautama Siddhartha, shortly after leaving his home to pursue the goal of enlightenment, visited a forest inhabited by a certain anchorite (*xianren*) Baqie and his fellow anchorites and there observed the various austerities that they practiced. The text states as follows:

> [The prince] observed the activities of those various anchorites. Some of them made their garments out of grass. Some of them made their clothing out of the bark and leaves of trees. Some of them ate only weeds, trees, flowers and fruits, eating just once per day, once every two days, or once every three days. In such ways they practiced the methods of self-starvation. Some of them worshipped water and fire. Some of them venerated the sun and moon. Some of them stood on one leg. Some of them lay down in the dust and dirt. Some of them lay down on thorns. Some of then lay down next to water and fire. The prince, upon witnessing bitter training such as this, asked the anchorite Baqie, "Your present practicing of these deeds of hardship is truly extraordinary. What results do you seek to attain from this?"
>
> The anchorite answered, "We practice this bitter training because we want to live in heaven."
>
> The prince again asked, "Even though the various heavens are enjoyable, [existence there] comes to an end when your merits expire. Transmigrating in the six paths of existence, in the end it will be but a bundle of suffering. Why do you put to practice what is but the cause for suffering, only to receive the retribution of suffering?"[57]

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[57] Taisho Canon no.189 v.3 p.634 middle and bottom. See Plate 292.

The resemblance between the ways of the anchorites described here and the "infidels" described in passage (IV) in particular is striking. Described here are extreme austerities that are accompanied by cults of worship to water, fire, sun and moon. The motive cited here for the austerities is the attainment of a life in heaven, which is also the case in passage (IV). The Buddha here rejects their methods for the reason that the life in heaven that they purport to bring about does not constitute the emancipation from suffering that he seeks.

Another Buddhist passage of great interest which the author of the *Yuqing jing* was probably familiar with is found in the *Nirvanasutra* (*Daban niepan jing*), a highly influential Mahayana sutra noteworthy especially for its doctrine of an innate Buddha-nature possessed by all sentient beings, which was first translated into Chinese in 421 by Dharmakshema. The passage in question, putatively uttered by the Buddha, goes as follows:

> Understand [the following]. [There are those who practice] the methods of self-starvation. [Some] throw [themselves] into pools or enter into fire. [Some] fall off high cliffs. [Some] constantly stand on one leg. [Some] roast their bodies with five sources of heat. [Some] constantly lie down amidst soot, dirt, thorns, woven rafters (?), tree leaves, bad weeds or cow dung. [Some] wear coarse hemp garments, or wear manure-stained woven woolen garments abandoned amidst burial mounds. [Some wear *qinboluo* (?) robes, deer skin belts and garments of straw. [Some] eat vegetables or eat weeds. [Some eat] lotus roots and fruits defiled with grease, grime and cow dung. [Some], when they go about begging only go to one house. If the master of the house says that he has no food, they take leave of him, and do not pay attention even if he calls for them to come back. [Some] do not eat salted meats or the five varieties of beef dishes. [Some] always eat boiled porridge made from chaff. [Some] uphold precepts [against eating]

> beef while others observe ordinances against eating dogs, chickens or pheasants. [Some] smear their bodies with soot and grow their hair long. [Some,] when they carry out their worship with sacrifices of sheep, first say a mantra before killing. In the fourth month they worship fire and imbibe wind for seven days. They offer hundreds, thousands and hundreds of millions of flowers to the various heavens. Their various wishes are to thereby be realized. As for these various methods, there are none which can become causes for the ultimate liberation.[58]

In the above passage, as is the case in the *Yuqing jing*, we find described austerities that harm and kill the body mentioned alongside the practices of begging, eating impurities, fire worshipping and blood sacrifice. It is relevant to point out here that another Daoist scripture which may be roughly contemporaneous to the *Yuqing jing*, the *Taishang lingbao yuanyang miaojing* (HY334/TT168-169*Yuanyang jing*, or *The Scripture of the Primal* Yang) plagiarizes the above passage almost word for word.[59] Thus we have an undeniable example of a Daoist text which borrows and utilizes for its own purposes, Buddhist descriptions and criticisms of the ascetic excesses of non-Buddhist Indian ascetics. Although the influence of the *Nirvanasutra* and/or the *Guoqu xianzai yinyuan jing* upon the *Yuqing jing* is not quite as obvious, the *Yuqing jing*'s images of "infidels" seem

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[58] Taisho Canon no.374 v.12 p.462 top. See Plate 293.

[59] See *Yuanyang jing* 3/13b line 3 character 13- 14a line 5 character 4. The *Yuanyang jing*'s massive plagiarization from the *Nirvanasutra* was first brought to the attention of modern scholarship by Kamata Shigeo in *Chuugoku Bukkyoo shisooshi kenkyuu* (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1968) pp.168-172. Added as an appendix to this book is a table displaying the text of the *Yuanyang jing* alongside the passages of the *Nirvanasutra* with which it matches. From this table we can see that the major bulk of the contents of the *Yuanyang jing* was taken from the *Nirvanasutra*. The Buddhist polemical work *Erjiao lun* of 570 A.D. makes mention of a *Yuanyang jing* which it criticizes as being a plagiarization of the *Lotus Sutra*. This could refer to the *Yuanyang jing* under question here (the one surviving in the Daoist Canon today), since as Kamata points out, a portion of it (the "Wenxing pin" chapter in the 4th *juan*) indeed matches with the *Lotus Sutra* (the introductory chapter in the 1st *juan*). It is, however, odd that the *Erjiao lun* does not mention the *Nirvanasutra* as being plagiarized, since the bulk of the *Yuanyang jing* is taken from it. As has been brought to light by Ofuchi Ninji, apparently two different scriptures bearing the title *Yuanyang jing* circulated, as only one (Pelliot 2450) of several Dunhuang manuscripts thus entitled matches with the Daoist Canon version, while the others have an entirely different theme and content. See *Tonkoo dookyoo: Mokuroku hen* pp.104-105.

to be for a large part inspired by depictions of non-Buddhist Indian ascetics found in them or possibly other Buddhist scriptures that I am not aware of. Interesting, however, is the fact that the *Yuqing jing* does not emulate such Buddhist scriptures by including dietary restrictions and fasts among the ascetic excesses that are to be despised. This likely has to do with the great amount of faith that the author of the *Yuqing jing* himself had in the importance and efficacy of the various rigorous fasting methods emphasized within Daoism.

Yet, even though the images of the "infidels" in the *Yuqing jing* are thus probably based largely on those of non-Buddhist Indian ascetics depicted in sutras, these borrowed images are embellished with various traits such as those discussed above that make them appear similar to Buddhists. Also, even though the references to the worship of fire and other objects employing blood sacrifices can be explained as elements borrowed from the depictions in the sutras, one could still attempt to argue that the author was aware of Zoroastrianism based on the references to burial by exposure and to the "God(s) of Heaven". By embellishing the images of "infidels" with Buddhist and possibly Zoroastrian elements, the author certainly does exhibit an intensely antagonistic attitude towards rival religions. But if his primarily goal was to discredit his actual opponents, why did he dilute his depictions of "infidels" with images of austerities of non-Buddhists known to the Chinese people only through the literature of the Buddhist religion itself? Would his polemics not have been much more effective if he had limited himself to describing and discrediting those beliefs and practices which everybody would associate with the Buddhists? By drawing his images from sutras as widely read as the *Nirvanasutra* and the *Guoqu xianzai yinyuan jing*, was he not merely exposing the spuriousness of his tales? If the main message of his stories was that Buddhists were demon worshippers who habitually mutilated and murdered themselves, were his allegations not so slanderous and sensationalistic that they tended more to threaten his own credibility? In reality, it seems that the author's primary purpose was not polemical. As xenophobic and anti-Buddhist as

he may have been, he apparently did not necessarily require his readers to identify the "infidels" with anybody in particular. His purpose for depicting them was essentially the same as that for which the Buddhist scriptures depict the non-Buddhist ascetics; to expound vital and orthodox doctrines by providing, for purpose of contrast, descriptions of beliefs and practices that he deemed as blatantly heretical. The essential heresy that the *Yuqing jing* sets out to attack is the disdain for the body and human life, and the ascetic abuses that can result from it. More precisely, it is the belief that salvation is a liberation of the soul from the body, which can be expedited by destroying the body. The author seems to have seen the need to attack this heresy at such great lengths not so much (if at all) because it was a trait of rival religions, but rather because it existed to a degree among Daoists themselves, and threatened what the author regarded to be an essential component of his religion's doctrinal integrity. The following passage attests to this fact:

> Gentlemen of later times who study [the Dao], if you want to eliminate the divergent ways you should practice the methods of the Orthodox One and equip yourself with great and mighty gods and thereby subdue them. With the marvelous *qi* of the Great Dao and the perfect might of the Gods of Life, [you should] eliminate them. The infidels of ordinary bodies will naturally be converted. The infidel spirits will naturally cease to exist.
>
> Students who study [the Dao] in later times, if you want to eliminate these evils, you should adeptly use the Way of the Fire Bells[60], and thereby the evils will perish. As for these various infidels, even though they seek the best results, they will never be able to attain them. The way of annihilating life is not the [way of] attaining Perfection. It is to be called,'the wicked

[60]This refers to a demonifugic talisman endorsed in the Shangqing tradition. See Robinet, *Taoist Meditation* p.32.

> and false way of the walking corpses (*xingshi*)[61]. Even within the Religion of the Great Way, there are people like this (emphasis added). The hearts of people change and waver and their bodies do what is incorrect. Wicked gods employ them. These people are also to be called infidels. People such as this cannot distinguish between true and false. With purity and turbidity not distinguished, they naturally bring forth wicked specters. Once their minds have thus become prejudiced and spiteful, the Great Dao will not be carried out [by them]. If tempting spirits have gotten into their hearts, how can they hear the Way of Life?[62]

Most noteworthy here is the sentence I underlined which clearly states that the heresy has infiltrated Daoism. So then, how did this come about? The text blames it on "infidel" spirits that possess people. In reality, these "spirits" probably lived in the minds of Daoists themselves, and were none other than certain beliefs and attitudes (both indigenous and foreign-influenced) within the Daoist religion which, when misinterpreted, led to perverse disdain and abuse of the body. We have seen in Part I how there can be identified within early Daoist texts a strong loathing towards the human body in its ordinary, untrained condition. It was seen as being full of gross, filthy *yin qi* which made it heavy, weak and corruptible, and as infested with internal demons (the Three Worms in particular) which tempt people to become overwhelmed by corruptive desires and emotions. As long as it was in such a condition, the body served as a hindrance to the adept's progress. As we shall see shortly later on, the same disdain for the body in its untrained condition is clearly identifiable in the *Yuqing jing* itself. Also, along with the strong loathing for what was deemed gross, impermanent and *yin*, there existed a longing for participation in a realm that is pure, eternal and *yang* lying beyond the ordinary world. This longing resembles the

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[61]This is a derogatory term which means that somebody is worthless and no good, only as a useful as a corpse despite being alive.

[62] See *Yuqing jing* 9/11a-b. See Plate 294.

wish expressed by the "infidels" to "live in heaven". As we will see, the *Yuqing jing* itself exalts as the loftiest of ideals, a merging with an eternal, ineffable non-being. I have already suggested that this dualistic loathing and longing presented powerful incentives for adepts to persevere in extreme austerities.

Such austerities are by no means supposed to harm or destroy the body, but are to the contrary designed to refine, strengthen and transform it. But there definitely existed the danger that the dualistic loathing and longing would, in certain individuals, find misguided expression in the form of ascetic abuses which facilitated the body's demise for the purpose of a hastened participation in the transcendent realm. Noteworthy in this regard are the methods for "escaping the corpse", of which we examined an example on pp.190-192, in which the adept, for the supposed purpose of staging his death in order to escape from his social entanglements, poisons himself to death. Also, as was mentioned in Chapter One, the *Liexian zhuan* and *Shenxian zhuan* include stories which attest to the possible existence of practices of self-cremation, drowning and poisoning. We have also seen how the Shangqing texts strongly the endorsed the efficacy and worth of such methods tantamount to religious suicide. The fact that fasting and sleep avoidance were at times carried out excessively with lethal consequences is attested to by the statements from the *Zhouyi cantongqi* quoted on pp. 194-195 as well as by the *Daoxue zhuan*'s entry on Zhang Min. I would like to propose the possibility here that the author of the *Yuqing jing* himself knew of or had witnessed such abuses among his contemporary co-religionists, and that his attacks upon the ways of the "infidels" were written largely in response to this problem.

By the time when the *Yuqing jing* was written, the innate potential of Daoist doctrines for engendering heresy and ascetic abuses had become even greater, due to the massive incorporation of Buddhist elements. Already in the Shangqing scriptures (in those passages of the *Zhengao* borrowed from the *Sishi-erzhang jing*) we identified the incorporation of the Buddhist view that all existence is impermanent and has suffering as its essential nature. In the Lingbao scriptures, the doctrines of karma, reincarnation and

liberation are vigorously promoted as the basis for the soteriology and ethics of their religious system. The attainment of Perfection comes to be described in similar terms to the liberation from samsara sought by the Buddhists. Some passages in the Lingbao scriptures describe the body as a mere temporary dwelling for the spirit, or emphasize the "empty" quality of the body as an insight that can help the adept to "forget" about his body and stop "loving" it. A Perfected Man is also described as one who embodies fully the Boddhisattva ideal, even to the extent of being willing to sacrifice his body to feed those living beings that suffer from hunger (see pp. 407-408). A truly sincere adept is ideally supposed to be willing to sacrifice everything out of his faith in the Dao. Noteworthy is the story found in the *Lingshu duming jing* in which the faithful people obtain long life by entering into a giant bonfire together with the Primordial Heavenly Worthy. There is also the story (plagiarized from the Buddhist *Longshinü jing*) in the *Chishu yujue* about the girl (Aqiu Zeng) who tried to burn her body in order to be reborn as a man and engage in training towards Perfection.

It also seems relevant to mention here a story that appears in the aforementioned *Yuanyang jing*. In this story, borrowed from the *Nirvanasutra* and changed only slightly, a certain Perfected Man Yuanyang[63] disguises himself as a ferocious beast and appears before an ascetic adept or *kuxing zhe* (who is the Primordial Heavenly Worthy[64] in one of his past incarnations) who is training in the Mountain of Wonderful Enjoyment in order to test him. There he recites for him part of a *gatha* [65](originally authored by a "Heavenly Worthy of past times") which immediately fills the ascetic with a feeling of joy. The ascetic, in spite of his initial fears and misgivings caused by the ferocious appearance of the beast, approaches it and begs for it to recite the rest of the *gatha* for him. When the beast

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[63]Indra, according to the original story in the *Nirvanasutra*

[64]The Buddha, according to the original story in the *Nirvanasutra*

[65]This refers to poems appearing in Buddhist sutras which expound Buddhist teachings or praise the Buddha and/or Bodhisattvas.

refuses on account of being hungry and furthermore states that he only eats human flesh, the ascetic makes the following proposal:

> You just need to finish reciting the *gatha*. After I am done listening to the *gatha*, I will give my body to feed [you,] the ferocious beast. Even though my life will thus end, something such as my body is useless [anyway]. It will only end up being eaten by worms, and does not render even a single bit of merit. I now, in order to seek the fruits of the Correct and Perfect Dao that is Without Superior, abandon my impure body in order to exchange it with a pure body.[66]

The beast thus finishes the *gatha*, after which the ascetic climbs up a tree in order to throw himself from it and kill himself, so that the beast can eat his body. While climbing the tree, the ascetic pronounces the following wish:

> I wish to make all of those who are miserly and covetous see me abandon and leave behind this body [so that they can become enlightened from my example]. If there are those who cherish and delight in [their bodily lives], I wish that they will also watch as I, for the purpose of a single *gatha*, abandon my body as I would [a piece of] manure.[67]

The ascetic then throws himself from the tree, but is caught in mid-air and brought down safely by the beast, and is subsequently praised by the Perfected Man Yuanyang (who has now revealed his true identity) and his attending Immortal throngs for having successfully passed the test.

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[66]See *Yuanyang jing* 2/21a-b. See Plate 295. The matching portion to this passage is found in the *Nirvanasutra*'s 13th *juan* (Taisho Canon vol.12 p.692 bottom).

[67] See *Yuanyang jing* 2/23a. See Plate 296. This matching *Nirvanasutra* passage is found in Taisho Canon vol.12 p.693 top.

Also of interest is a passage in the tenth juan of the *Yuanyang jing* (also borrowed from the *Nirvanasutra*) where we find the following words spoken by the pious men and women of a certain Land of Pulin towards the Primordial Heavenly Worthy[68]:

> Now, due to being benefited by the radiance and karma power (*yeli*)[69] of the Great Vehicle of [you,] the [Primordial] Heavenly Worthy, each of us blame ourselves. We see that our bodies are like four poisonous snakes. This body always [ends up] getting eaten by the countless worms. This body is a smelly and filthy prison of greed and desire. This body is as repulsive as a dead dog. This body is impure and its nine orifices are always outflowing.[70]

Extremely negative descriptions of the body such as the above, whether they occur in Buddhist or Daoist scriptures, are by no means meant to say that one ought to intentionally injure and kill the body. Their purpose is to instill an attitude which places a priority upon the quest for enlightenment which exceeds that put upon all else that the adept may cherish, including his very life. By reflecting upon how impure and disgusting the body is, the adept is supposed to strengthen his resolve to some day achieve liberation from it. Nevertheless, ideas such as these which certain Daoists in the late Six Dynasties Period had come to subscribe to the point where they would incorporate them into their own writings, expressed a low esteem for the human body that was dangerously close to what is expressed by the "infidels" in the *Yuqing jing*.

It must thus be acknowledged that the heresy expounded by the *Yuqing jing*'s "infidels", which maintains that the body must be destroyed in order to eliminate confusion and achieve liberation, could well have been adhered to by certain Daoists as a sheer result

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[68]The Buddha, in the text of the *Nirvanasutra*.
[69]The power of deeds from past incarnations to bring about effects in present and future incarnations.
[70] *Yuanyang jing* 10/6b. See Plate 297. The matching portion of the *Nirvanasutra* is found in the 1st *juan* (Taisho Canon vol.12 p.606 bottom).

of how they had come to understand the teachings of their own religion. It is in this sense interesting that in Chapter Four (Prefatory Chapter to the Precepts of Compassion), the emergence of heresy in the world is attributed to some of the "less profound truths of the Daoism" (the form of Daoism taught to the "barbarians", i.e. Buddhism) being misinterpreted. The exposition of this theory comes from the mouth of the Golden Perfected of the Red Jade Palace, the Later Age Sagely Heavenly Worthy of the Heaven of Jade Purity during a conversation with a throng of youths from the Snowy Mountains[71] who called themselves Immortals and who had studied under a certain "ancient master":

> Good men, as for your saying that you encountered an ancient master and obtained conversion and salvation, [this] ancient master was my disciple. I made him evangelize in the frontier regions, expounding the [doctrines] of the Three Vehicles, [in order to] make the masses achieve extinction and deliverance (*miedu*) so that they could cultivate their fruits for later times. [This was] because those lands were hard to convert. The people had no harmonious *qi*. [Because they were the] seeds of the miscellaneous livestock (people destined to rebirth in animal form?), they were intellectually and mentally deficient. They drank blood and ate fur and were violent and unrestrained. [The ancient master] thus performed miracles and preached extensively using metaphors in order to open up enlightenment for people of inferior capacities. Doctrines such as these [which the ancient master expounded] do not fathom the ultimate principles, but merely conveniently reveal forms and traces. After the master left [the world], he pulled back his traces and returned to the origin. The forms and traces [that he had revealed] gradually dissipated. Even though some of them have barely survived, they are full of mistakes. Some people proclaim

[71] This probably refers to the Himalayas.

> themselves to be Immortals or profess to be the god Brahman[72]. Some of them sit silently in empty rooms. Some of them burn their bodies and kill themselves. Some of them fall off tall cliffs. Some of them make offerings to fire and water. Some of them make statues of heavenly beings. [They have] various kinds of god-images with three faces and a thousand arms. They slaughter [sacrificial victims] and carry out their ritual worship. The crowds of worshippers in carrying out their worship, yell out and seek extinction (death). Some of them clearly see images of light. Ways such as this are called fallacies. Even though they have scriptures and texts, they do not have the true doctrines. Wickedness and orthodoxy are intermingled so that they cannot acquire the Dao.[73]

Set forth here is a version of the infamous *huahu* legend[74] which claimed that Buddhism was a derivative and less profound version of Daoism suited for indoctrinating the intellectually and morally inferior "barbarians", based on the claim that it was founded by Laozi when he traveled to the western regions or that the Buddha was the disciple of Laozi. The legend served to deride Buddhism and assert that the doctrines that Daoism had borrowed from Buddhism were not borrowed, but were actually part of Daoism to begin with. The "Three Vehicles" is a clear reference to Buddhism, as it is a Buddhist term

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[72]In Ancient Hinduism, this refers to the god that personifies the source of all existence. In Buddhism he is one of the gods that protects the Buddhist religion.

[73] *Yuqing jing* 1/30a-b. See Plate 298.

[71] The origins of this legend date back the Latter Han or at least the Three Kingdoms period, as early versions of it can be found in the *Houhan shu* and the *Sanguo zhi*. According to a Buddhist source (*Chu sanzang jiji*) a Daoist priest named Wang Fu forged a *Huahu jing* during the reign of Western Jin Emperor Hui (291-307 A.D.). The legend is narrated in various sources with a considerable range of variation, particularly concerning who the Buddha was. Some versions say that he was none other than Laozi, some say that he was Laozi's disciple Yin Xi, and others say that he was a once vainglorious king who was converted by Laozi only after trying to unsuccessfully burn him to death. See Kusuyama Haruki, *Rooshi densetsu no kenkyuu* pp.437-472. Kubo Noritada has proposed that the first fabricators of the legend, contrary to what is generally assumed, were Buddhists who had hoped to facilitate the growth of their religion in China by identifying their Buddha with a figure (Laozi) that was highly familiar to the Chinese people. See *Chuugoku shuukyoo ni okeru juyoo, hen-yoo, gyoo-yoo* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1979) pp.6-24.

which refers to the three types of enlightenment for people of three different levels of capability.[75] The "ancient master" apparently refers to Laozi (who is perhaps also to be identified with the Sakyamuni Buddha), a speculation which can be supported based on the fact that the famous and widely quoted Daoist scripture, the *Xisheng jing*[76] (the authorship of which is estimated by Livia Kohn as after the middle of the 4th century and before the 6th century[77]), opens with the passage, "Laozi ascended to the West to open up the Dao in India. He was called Master Gu (*gu xiansheng*, "the ancient master"); skilled at entering non-action", and also includes the passage, "Laozi said: Xi[78], I tell you once again, Master Gu is myself."[79] Thus it is apparent that *gu xiansheng* or the "ancient master" (rendered by Livia Kohn as "Master Gu") was a name referring to Laozi in his identity that he putatively took on in India, according to *huahu* legends propagated by Daoists at the time. According to our passage here from the *Yuqing jing*, the doctrines that he taught in the frontier regions were teachings of a lower level; mere "forms and traces" of the ultimate truths of Daoism, which could enable the ignorant "barbarians" to achieve "extinction and deliverance" or *miedu*. Unclear here is the meaning of *miedu*. As was discussed in Chapter Seven, *miedu* ,which in Buddhist texts refers to the liberation that constitutes Buddha-hood, in the Lingbao scriptures refers to a form of "deliverance" ranking below ascension and "liberation from the corpse", the main benefits of which were the evasion of the damnation of the soul and the decaying of the corpse, and eventually the attainment of resurrection. Whether such is the exact meaning of *miedu* here is unclear. Possibly,

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[75]The Three Vehicles are: 1) *Sravaka-* Those who after being taught the doctrines train for their own enlightenment and become arhats after a long period of time. Practitioners of the Small Vehicle. 2) *Prattyekabuddha-* Those who achieve enlightenment solely on their own. This refers primarily to those who lived and became enlightened prior to the emergence of the historical Sakyamuni Buddha. 3) *Bodhisatva-* Those who achieve enlightenment through the doctrines of the Great Vehicle and who compassionately stay in the world to help others attain enlightenment.

[76]Two annotated editions are found in the Daoist Canon, one is a combination of five early commentaries (HY726/TT449-450) compiled by Chen Jingyuan of the Northern Song, and the other (HY666/TT346-347) is by Northern Song Emperor Huizong (r. 1101-1126).

[77]See Livia Kohn, *Taoist Mystical Philosophy: The Scripture of the Western Ascension* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), p.79.

[78]This refers to Yin Xi, the disciple to whom Laozi putatively first transmitted the *Daode jing*.

[79]Translations are by Livia Kohn. See *Taoist Mystical Philosophy: The Scripture of the Western Ascension* p.235 and p.255.

"later times" (*houshi*) refers to later reincarnations, and hence *miedu* refers to the avoidance of a bad reincarnation and an auspicious rebirth into a human existence. Whatever the case, the usage of *miedu* here is consistent with that in the Lingbao scriptures in so far as it is perceived as a good, yet less than ideal mode of "deliverance". The doctrines of the "Three Vehicles", in other words, are not heresies, but are lower Daoist truths which bring about *miedu*. Thus, the above passage claims that the heresies that glorify death are misinterpretations of these "lower truths of Daoism" which arose in foreign lands after the "ancient master" or Laozi had left. Reflected thus is an apparent awareness of the fact that certain doctrines of the Daoism (albeit its "forms and traces") had in them the latent danger of provoking a misguided asceticism that devalued human life when misinterpreted, although here the origination of the heresy is attributed solely to foreigners.

According to the Heavenly Worthy, the propensity of foreigners to misinterpret doctrines stems from their inherent inferiority which he further explains as follows:

> [As for] your lands over there, the *qi* of the land is *yin* and evil, and thus the people that it produces are also the same way (*yin* and evil). Why is this? These are called the mixed species living masses of the direction of metal (west). Having been born in these regions, they have not heard the correct doctrines, and have only heard the metaphorical tenets of the Three Vehicles. They do not know of the Secret Storehouse of the Great Dao; the Sudden [Enlightenment] Teaching of Phoenix Colors of the Heavenly Books, Cloudy Seal Scripts and Dragon Chapters [which is the] method of accomplishing Perfection and entering into marvelousness while in the living body.[80]

[80] 1/31a-b. See Plate 299.

Of vital importance here is the notion that this highest level of doctrine and practice contained in the most sacred and secret books of Daoism has the capacity to enable the adept to attain Perfection in the here and now, within the living flesh; an ideal that is sharply contradicted and undermined by the heresy of seeking salvation through the destruction of the body. In response to the words of the Heavenly Worthy, the text tells us, the youths from the Snowy Mountain, weeping and kowtowing until blood flowed from their foreheads, replied with the following humble request:

> The living masses of those lands [from where we come] are rancid and putrid as they reside in malodorousness. We cannot hope to attain ascension and deliverance in this very body and join in a relationship with the Dao. We wish to be [re]born in China, the nation which possesses the Dao. We only wish for [you] the Heavenly Worthy, in your heart of great compassion, to bestow upon us the various methods of retreats, precepts and mighty rituals.[81]

Thus the text tells us that the youths proceeded to embark upon the proper path of salvation by learning the Daoist curriculum of precepts and ritual piety which serves to condition the mind and body so that one can progress to the level where transmission of the highest secrets can some day (albeit probably in another lifetime) be possible.

The youths from the Snowy Mountains represent Buddhists who have at least managed to a certain degree to uphold the integrity of the "forms and traces" taught by the "ancient master." They are in this regard much better than the "infidels" who are derided throughout the *Yuqing jing*. We thus find them swayed relatively easily towards repentance and conversion. But how about those who have sunk into blasphemy and heresy? Does the *Yuqing jing* acknowledge any hope for them?

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[81] 1/31b. See Plate 300.

The answer is that there is hope, albeit only after a very painstaking process. This notion is illustrated in Ch.8 ("Chapter on Penetrating the Dark and Obscure"). There (on 3/19a-27a) we are told about the time when the Heavenly Worthy, while residing in his Cloud Palace in the Heaven of Jade Purity was visited by a horde of demons who called themselves "gods of the clouds and mists, divine kings of the Four Heavens and gods of the Eighty Heavens of the Four Directions of [Mt.] Kunlun" and who all possessed the "32 marks, 80 good signs and 18 divine powers". The text also states that the earth shook when they walked, their bodies produced water and fire and they emitted light rays from between their eyebrows. Naked and barefooted, they came and paid their respects towards the "cloudy gates" from afar by kneeling and pressing their hands together in a "barbarian" manner. The Heavenly Worthy, however, knew instantly that they were "infidels" (from this point on, the text refers to them merely as the "various wicked ones" or the "various devils" and thus ordered one of the "minor Immortals" in his service to entertain their inquiries. The demons, upon seeing the Immortal, recited the following *gatha* :

> We live in dark and steep mountains.
> We are venerated throughout the Three Realms.
> From early on we have heard the peerless Dao.
> Riding on mist, we entered the cloudy gates.
> This is called the heaven among all heavens.
> Why do we hope to be formless Immortals?
> If the five emotions[82] are no different from those of the world,
> And the spirit-consciousness has not yet transcended,
> Even if one lives on the cloud palace,
> How can one not have causes for birth and death?"[83]

The meaning of the above *gatha* is difficult to grasp. In it the demons start out by stating that they are greatly venerated throughout the Three Realms of *samsara.* The rest of the verse could be interpreted as a presumptuous expression of doubt as to whether the lofty beings in the Cloud Palace themselves are beyond liability to death and re-birth. On

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[82]Joy, anger, sadness, enjoyment, resentment.
[83] 3/19b. See Plate 301.

the other hand, it may be better interpreted as a humble expression of their wish transcend *samsara.*

Anyway, immediately after reciting the *gatha*, the texts tells us that they were humbled by a minor Immortal who revealed before them his "marks"[84] and divine powers, emitting light rays from all of his hairs and pores and causing the sky and the ground to shake violently. As they witnessed this, the demons trembled and perspired profusely in horror, while their own bodily radiances completely disappeared. The Immortal then proceeded to rebuke them for all of their wrongdoings committed within the world. The wrongdoings included vainly assuming the identities of gods and holy men, eating meat, committing lascivious acts, and teaching people improper methods of meditation which caused them to see "luminous apparitions". They were further rebuked as follows for teaching heretical doctrines:

> Furthermore you say that the various deeds and methods are all impermanent and also say that body[85]cannot be destroyed. Sometimes you say that death and extinction is the method of ultimate enjoyment, causing people to kill themselves and mutilate their bodies so that they can transform their ordinary bodies into diamond bodies[86]. Or sometimes you say that there is a world in another place that is the [world of] utmost enjoyment [where] your body produced through transformation sits on the lotus flower and is clothed naturally, and that by leaving the body of flesh you eternally cut off [the cycle of] birth and death. You various devils in your minds incorrectly compare the annihilation of the impure material to the [attainment of the] diamond [body].[87]

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[84]Physical traits that identify a saint as a superhuman being.
[85]It is unclear what or whose body "that body" refers to. This passage here either means that the demons expounded their own false theory on how an immortal body can be attained, or that the demons claimed that they, unlike anyone else, had indestructible bodies.
[86] This refers to the Dharma Body of the Buddha that is indestructible like a diamond.
[87] 3/20b. See Plate 302.

The Immortal thus told the demons that because of their sins they were unqualified to "see the Dao" (which meant, among other things, that they could not be granted a direct audience with the Heavenly Worthy). The demons immediately came to feel intense remorse which they expressed in the following way:

> At that time the devilish hordes heard what the Immortal said, all of which responded to their hearts (moved them). At once they wailed and sobbed bitterly, regretting their mistakes and blaming themselves. They hopped about hitting themselves until blood flowed from their entire bodies. They pulled out their sideburns and scalp hair as though they were picking out weeds. Tears came from their eyes and [all] five [parts of their] bodies [88] trembled. They bared their shoulders[89] in seeking pity. Bowing their heads to the divine feet [of the Immortal], their cheeks were hollow with sorrowful distress.[90]

Thus their propensity for excessive bodily mortification is apparent even in the way in which they express their remorse. The Immortal thus told them that repentance only requires a change of heart, and that they must not harm their bodies in the process. However, the text tells us that at this point the demons, because they were sincerely remorseful, had managed to win the sympathy of the Heavenly Worthy in the Cloud Palace, who signaled from afar to the Immortal by emitting a purple light from his eyes.

The demons then tried to curry divine favor by offering lavish gifts to the Heavenly Worthy, only to be told that their treasures would only defile the Cloud Palace and that the Heavenly Worthy "values people's heart-treasures". To this the demons replied, "Bodies of flesh from the Realm of Desires contain no treasures in the heart". To this the Immortal

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[88] This refers to the head and the four limbs, or it can also refer to the head, neck, torso, arms and legs.
[89] This refers to the customary way in which Buddhist monks wore their robes.
[90] 3/22a. See Plate 303.

汝身无宝何不施心

replied, "If your bodies contain no treasures, why not give your hearts?" The demons, in their now familiar ignorant and morbid manner, took these words literally. One of them, 梵王
who called himself the "Brahman King" borrowed a sword from the Immortal, cut open his own belly, and took out his five viscera so that he could show his heart to the Immortal. Immediately after this, the rest of the demons started to try to do the same thing. The Immortal restrained them and explained that by "give your hearts", he merely meant for them to abandon their false views and concentrate their minds upon seeking the Great Dao. He then laid his hands on their self-inflicted wounds and instantly healed all of them. Thereupon the demons all expressed the wish to be taught the Way of Perpetual Life and No Death. One of the demons then described as follows the limitations which exist upon the benefits to be found in the methods of the profane world:

> The living masses of the lower realm do not hear the proper doctrines, but [instead] practice the four *ruyi* [91]. Even if they are able to maintain their life spans, they cannot surpass 80,000 Great Kalpas and will later be reborn back into the Realm of Desires. I have already been living for over 70,000 kalpas, yet am always in fear of my impermanence (death). [We all undergo] birth, aging, illness and death. These methods [of the lower realm] have their limitations. One cannot exit the Three Realms. One cannot exceed five Penetrations. One cannot evade birth and death.[92]

Thus even this most long-lived among worldly beings expresses the need to seek the only teaching that bestows true eternal life. Unfortunately, the Immortal has to tell him that his wish cannot yet be granted, and for the following reasons:

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[91]This is a Buddhist term that refers to four thing through which one can attain supernormal abilities: 1) *chanda*- The desire to excel at the practice of meditation that brings about supernormal powers. 2) *citta*- Resolving to excel in meditation and attain supernormal power. 3) *virya*- Striving hard to excel in meditation and attain supernormal power. 4) *mimamsa*- Achieving supernormal power through thorough and insightful contemplation.

[92] 3/24a. See Plate 304.

> The Way of Perpetual Life is not to be heard by ordinary beings. You infidels wish to seek perpetual life, [but] I am afraid that your *qi* of your accustomed ways (*xiqi*)[93] is deep and heavy, and your roots of karma (*genye*)[94] are firmly formed. You are also very advanced in age. Your marrow and brains are empty and depleted. Your bodies and minds have sunken into filth. Your bodily fluids are dirty and stagnant. Furthermore you have deceived and confused the people of the world. The list of your sins has already been established. The Three Dignitaries[95] hold you guilty for your wickedness, and the Five Monarchs have brought your misdeeds to attention. If you wish to seek deliverance, it will truly be extraordinarily difficult.[96]

The Immortal then tells them that if they are to have any hope at all, they must first gain the approval of the Heavenly Worthy of Great Compassion. Taking to heart what they had been told, the demons did as follows:

> The entire throng, at the outside of the cloudy gates, worshipped the Heavenly Worthy from afar, burning incense and proclaiming their wishes for seven days and seven nights. They kowtowed and prostrated themselves in order to seek a response. These various infidels, at high noon suddenly smelled a divine fragrance which permeated their noses and entered into their hearts. In their hearts they rejoiced, and their confusion was eliminated. Inside, they felt no hunger nor thirst. Their sight and their hearing became twice as clear as it was when they first came forth. These

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[93]This is a Buddhist term referring to the latent momentum of karma from ways of thinking and activity that have become routine and compulsive.
[94]Buddhist term. Refers to past sins which bring about bad retribution.
[95]This probably refers to the Daoist Three Officials. See Chapter Six ft. nt.61.
[96] 3/24a-b. See Plate 305.

> various infidels snapped their fingers and looked at each other, and remarked at how their bodily skin complexions had taken on a moist luster. At that time, the Immortal in his heart understood that the Heavenly Worthy had taken pity on the various Infidels. These various infidels, in their hearts also sensed [that the Heavenly Worthy had taken pity on them]. With joy in their bosoms they were left speechless, and simply bowed and gave thanks, visualizing the Perfect Monarch of Great Compassion. Again for seven days and seven nights they bowed and knelt by the cloudy gates.[97]

The text (p.25a) tells us that the Immortal then proclaimed to the demons that they had "obtained the Power of the Dao" (*de daoli* 得道力). This was because they were finally able to take the correct approach to correcting their faults and seeking immortality. In seeking the Heavenly Worthy's mercy, they prostrated themselves and worshipped non-stop for numerous days and nights in hope that doing so would bring forth a positive sign. It should be noted here that they engaged in a very spiritually and physically demanding deed, and yet in doing so did not harm their bodies in any way. To the contrary, the results of their efforts included the attainment of a healthy body with sharper sense organs, impervious to hunger and thirst. The days and nights of religious rapture and obliviousness to bodily concerns enhanced the well-being of their bodies because they had directed their faith and reverence toward the sole entity (the Dao, or the Heavenly Worthy who personifies it) that can generate the Power of the Dao that makes eternal life possible.

However, our text tells us that obtaining of the Heavenly Worthy's approval and the Power of the Dao is but the first essential step in the quest for Perfection, as is indicated by the following words of the Immortal:

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[97] 3/24b-25a. See Plate 306.

> You have obtained the Power of the Dao. Now that you have extended your life, for what must you be worried? But still, because your bodies have been dusty and dirty for such a long time, you are not yet worthy of seeing the Heavenly Worthy of Great Compassion and are not yet worthy of receiving and wearing on your person the Most High Essentials of the Dao. You and your disciples must return to the Realm of Desires and carry out a retreat for three kalpas in order to purify and refine your bodies and minds. After doing so, you can come and be close to the Heavenly Worthy.[98]

The text goes on to tell us that two Immortal Youths arrived upon the scene, and after reciting a poem, elaborated as follows on what the Immortal had said:

> The *qi* of the people of the two realms of Form and Desire offends Heaven. Why must you stagnate [there]? After you observe the retreat for three kalpas, the fragrance of the precepts will wash away your defilements. You will return to what is proper and will get rid of what is wicked. Eating the harmonious [*qi*] and ingesting pills (or cinnabar?) you will eliminate this devilish *qi*. Your body will become pure and clear, fragrant and immaculate within and without. You should then come back up [to the Cloud Palace]. The Heavenly Worthy of Great Compassion has already given his mysterious assistance. Fragrant radiance has pervaded and illuminated; eradicating your bad roots and extending your life spans so that you will not die young.[99]

Thus what the converted demons are now faced with is a lengthy and intense process of purifying and refining the body through a perpetual retreat (*changzhai*). What austerities

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[98] 3/25b. See Plate 307.
[99] 3/26b-27a. See Plate 308.

this would involve will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter. However, it is apparent here that the process involves constant self-discipline through the observance of precepts, as well as certain dietary practices that include fasts sustained by non-ingestion and ingestion methods.

Thus a clear distinction is made in the *Yuqing jing* between the religion of the "infidels" and the religion of the Dao. "Infidels" do not understand the importance of purifying and strengthening the body, and thus readily resort to practices that harm the body. Daoism requires the practicing of austerities, but the austerities actually enhance the well being of the human flesh. This contrast is presented most clearly in Ch. 17 ("The Chapter on the Dao Converting the Four Barbarian Peoples"). This long chapter is about events that took place in a nation governed by a righteous and pious sage-king name Chongguang, who was in fact an earthly manifestation of a Superior Perfected Being of the Heaven of Jade Purity named Baoguang, who had taken on a human form by being born to a queen after a miraculous conception. The text states that the nation was once invaded by bloodthirsty barbarian troops who had heard that the it possessed no troops nor weapons, thus assuming that it could be easily conquered. But before they even arrived at its borders, they were afflicted with contagious diseases which wiped out three-tenths of their troops. They initially retreated, but then tried to re-organize their assault, whereupon the epidemic arose in their own home lands, killing eight-tenths of the population and showing no signs of abating. Many of the "barbarians" contemplated human sacrifice as a means for begging the gods of heaven to end the epidemic. However, one of the wiser men among them suggested that the way to expiate the guilt that they bore was to pay their apologies to the sage-king, who was obviously the favorite in the eyes of Heaven. Thus 125 "barbarian" generals with an entourage of 84,000 strong came to the virtuous nation bearing lavish gifts. Thereupon they demonstrated their remorse before the king by cutting off their noses, pulling out their hair and beating themselves until their bodies were covered with bruises. The king, however, refused their gifts and informed them that he personally

harbored no grudge nor pity towards them, and that their agonies were caused only by their own doing. Desperate and unable to understand what they were being told, the "barbarians" contemplated suicide as a means of satisfying the king and ending the epidemic. The king then informed them that the way to seek blessings was not through material offerings nor self-torture, but rather through "serving the Dao with an empty heart". In regard to their contemplating suicide, the king stated as follows:

> Why, in seeking blessings do you contrarily[100] annihilate your body? The annihilation of the body is not to be called a 'blessing'. Why do you barbarians want to annihilate your bodies? The body is the basis of blessings. Why should you annihilate it? To annihilate the body is to be called 'annihilating blessings'. Also, the body is the basis of the Dao. To annihilate the body is to be called, 'annihilating the Dao'. It is not the annihilation of sins. Those who annihilate their sins do not annihilate their sins by relying on their blessings (by sacrificing their blessed bodies). Those who seek blessings do not bring about their blessings by committing sins.[101]

Thus the king clearly articulates the belief that in the seeking of blessings, and of the Dao itself, it is essential for the human body to be kept intact. The barbarians, however, did not yet understand what they were being told, and asked to be told more about the religion of the Dao. The king replied with a somewhat lengthy discourse, at the end of which he summed up the essentials of the religion as follows:

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[100]There is apparently a textual corruption here, as the character *er* is a mistranscription of *fan*, which would fit more logically into the text and which is found here in the version of the text in the *Daozang jiyao* (vol. 30 p.24a).

[101] 7/7a-b. See Plate 309.

> The Most High Ultimate Dao begins with the perpetuation of life as its basic tenet. Immediately within this body one makes the Dharma Body. [The Dao] regards compassion and impartiality as vital. It makes the softness and flexibility that withstands humiliation its function. It regards the giving of grace to things through skillful means as its benefit. It takes non-action and vacuous plainness as serenity. It takes the unimpeded perfection of wisdom as its penetration. It takes the observation and illumination by means of the Dao-Eye as its understanding. It takes vastness and tolerance towards things as its vacuity. It regards the body being able to follow the spirit as non-being. It regards non-doing as self-so-ness. It regards formlessness as perpetual life.[102]

The above statement makes it clear that the perpetuation of life is a fundamental concern of the Daoist religion. This is because the achievement of the ultimate goal, which is described here as the obtaining of the "Dharma Body", is to be realized within the living flesh. However, as is the case in the Lingbao scriptures (see pp. 422-427), what ultimately happens to the body is made ambiguous by statements that equate formlessness with perpetual life. Taken literally, this would mean that the Immortal no longer possesses a body of flesh, which seems to contradict the ideal of bodily immortality, as well as the notion of "obtaining the Dharma Body within this Body". The statement ,"it regards the body being able to follow the spirit as non-being", which is itself highly ambiguous, seems to hold the clue to understanding the apparent contradiction. It perhaps means that somehow the body is transformed into a formless state and accompanies the spirit into an eternal life that is equated to non-being. The understanding of the author seems to be that such a transformation is a means of perpetuating the body and is something entirely different from, even antithetical to the annihilation of the human body.

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[102] 7/8b-9a. See Plate 310.

After this explanation by the sage-king, the text tells us (rather unsurprisingly) that the "barbarians" could not fully comprehend what they were told. The narrative then continues by describing how the king summoned forth a certain Grand Master of the Cold Forest (who was actually an avatar of the Most High Lord of the Dao) along with all family-leaving Daoist monks (*chujia daoshi*) of the nation, who performed a ritual of purification and repentance for seven days and seven nights on the behalf of the various nations of the frontier regions, the result of which was the ending of the epidemic. All of the nations then sent envoys to express their gratitude. All of the citizens of the blessed nation itself also came forth to pay their respects to the Great Master. Then, with the sponsorship of the sage-king, a grand festival was staged. While the monks sang hymns and circumambulated, the Grand Master assumed his seat on a high platform and revealed his true countenance as the Most High Lord of the Dao. The sage-king then, at the orders of the Most High Lord of the Dao, burned incense, "bowed from afar to the Heavenly Worthy of Great Compassion in the Cloud Palace" and pronounced ten wishes.[103] This immediately evoked a whole variety of miraculous divine responses which included among other things[104] the resurrection of buried corpses and the blooming of flowers from once-withered trees and plants. The Heavenly Worthy of Great Compassion himself, together with his sacred throngs, then appeared in the sky above the eastern walls of the nation, at a remote distance that made them visible to the ordinary naked eye only as a murky purple radiance amidst a bright mist. The Grand Master then produced a duplicate of his Perfect Form (*zhenxing*), which ascended and entered into the clouds to with the Heavenly Worthy. The text then states:

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[103] The ten wishes were: 1) That the doctrines of the Dao with spread and pervade. 2) That all will be able to understand the Dao. 3) That *hun* souls in the nether world will be released from their damnation. 4) That wandering souls of the dead that have no support (descendants to make offerings to them) will obtain rebirth. 5) That peace will prevail and crops will be plentiful throughout the world. 6) That subjects will be loyal and sons will be filial. 7) That all enmities and conflict in the world will be brought to reconciliation. 8) That all embryos and seeds in gestation will be safely born and reared to maturity. 9) That all diseases will be healed. 10) That all living beings will be provided with abundant food and clothing. See 7/12b.

[104] The text also describes how flowers and sweet dew came raining down, the earth trembled, Immortal music filled the air and unicorns and phoenixes appeared.

> Within the great assembly, [all] humans and non-humans became silent and motionless. With their hearts never becoming weary, they joyfully gazed up and enjoyed the Perfect [Forms] by observing their countenances. They devoted their hearts and concentrated their thoughts without even sensing that they had bodies. For nine days and nine nights they remained serene without hungering nor thirsting. Their bodies and minds were motionless.[105]

So here again we find it described how those who devote their minds entirely to the Dao as it is personified in beings such as the Heavenly Worthy of Great Compassion and the Most High Lord of the Dao, can enter into an ecstatic rapture during which they are impervious to the body and its ordinary needs (such as the need for food, drink and rest), presumably because they have become imbued with the Power of the Dao. Unfortunately, according to our text, the "barbarians" still had not overcome their chronic ignorance, and thus upon witnessing the scene before them, became terrified and overwhelmed with feelings of guilt, and proceeded to pull out their hair, slice off their noses, and strike their bodies. They also harbored the desire to give their bodies to Dao as sacrifices by gouging out their eyes, chopping off their heads or burning their bodies. The sage-king promptly rebuked them for defiling his nation with the vulgar ways of their nation and reminded them that the Dao cannot be sought by means of the annihilation of the body. He then elaborated as follows concerning the importance of "completing" 全 the body:

> If you want to hear the Dao you must complete your sense of hearing. Do not listen to the Dao by listening with your ears. If you want to see the Dao, you must complete your sense of sight. Do not look at the Dao with eyes that are defective and damaged. If you want to practice the Dao, you must complete your life. Do not practice the Dao by annihilating life. If

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[105] 7/13b. See Plate 311.

> you want to practice the Dao, you must first complete your body. Do not practice the Dao with a body that is deficient and which violates. If you want to embrace the Dao, you must eliminate the ten evils[106]. You must not practice the Dao after entertaining thoughts of committing the five deadly sins[107]. You now must understand that those whose lives are not completed, are not worthy of hearing the Dao. Those whose bodies are not completed are not worthy of studying the Dao.[108]

"Completing" here means to make something "complete" by realizing its full capacity and potential. In terms of the human body it means both to live out one's life span and to train and improve the body into the best condition possible. Thus the king is telling the "barbarians" that in order to worship and practice the Dao, they must take care of their bodies and not allow their life spans to end prematurely. At the same time, they must work to improve the quality of their bodies and their functions so that an understanding and direct experience of the Dao are possible. The clear implication here is that the "barbarians", due to their inferior composition of mind and body, as well as their accumulated guilt from past sins, possess "incomplete" bodies that need to be "completed". To try to seek the Dao by damaging such bodies any further is thus a seriously mistaken approach.

The king then told the "barbarians" that even though they were not yet worthy of seeking the Dao, the merit that they had just gained by seeing the Heavenly Worthy from a distance would enable them to be reborn 10,000 kalpas later as citizens of the blessed kingdom. He added, however, that from that day on they had to "complete their bodies" and that they would eternally lose all hope if they ever engaged in bodily mutilation again. Upon being told this, the "barbarians" made the following admission:

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[106]A Buddhist term which refers to 1) killing, 2) stealing, 3) lechery, 4) lying, 5) eloquent deception, 6) slander, 7) double-talking, 8) greed, 9) wrath and 10) ignorance.

[107]Buddhist term referring to 1) the killing of one's own mother, 2) the killing of one's own father, 3) the killing of a holy man, 4) harming the body of the Buddha and 5) causing schism and destruction of the religious organization.

[108] 7/14a-b. See Plate 312.

> Our custom is to mutilate the body and annihilate life. We cremate bodies and turn bones into ashes. As the wafting smoke rises, we call it 'ascension into heaven'. Sometimes we abandon corpses in the deep water and call them 'water immortals'. Sometimes we abandon the corpses in the forests and fields and feed them to the birds and beasts. We do not value salvation in the living flesh nor toiling through a perpetual existence.[109]

To this the king replied as follows:

> You barbarians regard lengthy existence as laborious, and regard your hair and skin as burdensome. The doctrines of our Great Nation regard [the cycle of] birth and annihilation as a burden, and therefore seek the way of perpetual existence and non-[re]birth. Ascending into formlessness, we feel no [more] confusion. We do not avoid labors and burdens by mutilating the body and annihilating life. Rather, without [even] blowing on our burdens, our burdens disappear on their own. You barbarians do not abandon your wicked thoughts and you accommodate infidel ways. Without eliminating the ten evils you complacently remain amidst [the cycle of] birth and death. You do not expel the three poisons and you have human bodies with beastly hearts. You are unworthy of seeing the Dao. Do not defile our great nation with your barbaric doctrines.[110]

Thus it is clearly demonstrated how the orthodox Daoist perspective is one that affirms life in the living flesh and seeks to extend it while somehow at the same time achieving ascension into a formlessness that transcends *samsara*. The heresy, described

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[109] 7/15a. See Plate 313.
[110] 7/15a-b. See Plate 314.

here as a general trait of foreign religion, views life in the body as burdensome, and seeks to terminate it, and by doing so keeps people forever trapped in the cycle of successive lives and deaths. A complete repentance and renunciation of the heresy is mandatory before the quest for salvation can begin. Unfortunately, in the above story, the guilt and impurity accumulated by the foreigners from their practice of heresy is so profound that they must train for an inconceivably long period and become reborn in the blessed kingdom before true salvation is possible. The implication of the story, assuming that the blessed nation depicted is an allegory for China, is that non-Chinese people, by sheer fault of their ethnicity, are unable to attain Perfection without first being reborn as Chinese. However, while the author of *Yuqing jing* is thus again clearly xenophobic, the impression that one gets is that the "adversary" that he seeks to discredit through his tales is not foreigners nor their religions, but rather the above-described heretical doctrine itself, which actually existed among Chinese people as well, some of whom were practicing Daoists. The author seems to be fighting to support the life-affirming soteriology that he regarded as Daoist orthodoxy, and appeals to the xenophobia of other Chinese and Daoists by labeling all supporters of the antithetical viewpoint as "barbarians", and "infidels".

Anyway, based on this orthodoxy expounded in the *Yuqing jing* , any ascetic practice that harmed the body or brought premature death was heresy. However, the correct pursuit of Perfection promoted in the *Yuqing jing* itself required severe asceticism.

B. Orthodox Asceticism

Good summaries of the austerities that are to be practiced in the correct pursuit of Perfection are found in the following statements of divine beings made before divine assemblies:

> The Heavenly Worthy said, "Those of latter [day] learning who cultivate my Great Dao, when you are first beginning to study and have not yet realized

results, you should be compassionate and should withstand humiliation, extending your kindness even to those creatures that wiggle and squirm. Your filial piety should extend to all. Wear a single-layered garment and eat coarse food that is rough, clean, fragrant and pure. Burn incense and engage in worship and prayer diligently in the morning and evening. Be exacting in [disciplining] your behavior. Always restrain yourself from wickedness. Do not strive nor compete [against each other]. Reside idly amidst vacuous serenity, singing and reciting the precious scriptures. With a soft voice and even breath make your body and mind controlled and relaxed. Avoid thinking miscellaneous thoughts, and devote your mind to the contemplation of the Dao. If you [still] have something which you rely upon (need nourishment?), dine on and imbibe the marvelous *qi*. Expel the old and bring in the new. Eat the various miraculous fungi, divine talismans and sacred waters. Hide yourself and avoid the world. Do not be involved in human affairs. If you cultivate and study like this, in less than a year divine spirits will be at your service and the various poisons will not harm you. Your old illnesses will be gotten rid of and your countenance will become youthful once again. Your vigor and strength will become like that of a man in his prime. Naturally seeking many blessings, your body and mind will be tireless. I guarantee that a person like this will be able to complete the Perfect Dao."[111]

[The Perfected Youth said,] "Gentlemen of superior learning silence themselves amidst the forests and valleys and hide themselves amidst secluded mountains. They set up their dwellings against cliffs and forever

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[111] 10/18b-19a. From Ch.20 "Chapter on the Seal of the Doctrines." This passage is also preserved in Pelliot 2385. Minor textual differences are noted on plate. See Plate 315.

separate themselves from the world of people. They cleanse and refine their bodies and spirits, investigating and savoring the ultimate methods. They gather and ingest good medicines. When they run out of clothing and food they do not seek to obtain them from others. They wear grass [clothing] and eat air to sustain their livelihoods. It is not that people like this disdain food and clothing and hate[112] satiation and warmth. [It is because they] wish to distance themselves from bad people and disassociate themselves from them, for fear that they might destroy their good roots. Therefore they earnestly avoid the [potential] harm. [When you] enter the famous mountains, the most excellent discourses and the Great Dao are to be found everywhere. Amidst people there are many difficulties which prevent you from devoting your heart. As the years and months pass by easily (swiftly), your life becomes hard to sustain. When impermanence (death) suddenly arrives [upon you], what use will it be if you repent [only then]?"[113]

The above two passages prescribe an eremitic lifestyle that entails strict discipline of both mind and body. The adept is to live in seclusion in the wilderness in order to distance himself from all worldly distractions and limit himself to only the most meager of clothing and food. The notion of having or not having "something which you rely upon" seems to refer to whether or not one still needs nourishment, as is suggested by the way in which the adept is advised to practice the methods of imbibing *qi* and expelling and retaining, as well as to employ divine talismans, divine fungi and sacred water, all of which were, as we have seen, commonly used as means for staving off hunger as the adept attempted to eat absolutely as little as possible (on this matter of being "reliant" or "unreliant" see also pp. 601-603). That this regimen of intensified self-discipline is supposed to bring about

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[112] I think there is a textual corruption here, and that the character 土曾 is a mistranscription of 小曾.
[113] 8/22a-b. From Ch.18 "Chapter on Desolate Dwelling". See Plate 316.

tangible results that include a heightened capacity for mystical experience and the strengthening and rejuvenation of the body, is clearly indicated in the first passage which claims that such results are to be had within a year.

The second of the above two passages is found in chapter 18 ("Chapter on Desolate Dwelling") which deals extensively with the theme of mountain dwelling, and consists of lessons bestowed by divine beings upon kings and ministers of various nations in a certain World of Great Vastness[114]who had abandoned all of their worldly power and wealth in order to "leave the family" and become Daoist monks. In this chapter there is also a section (8/9b-10b) in which a Perfected Youth gives some more specific instructions to the various ministers of the nations regarding what to do and what not to do when pursuing the life of a mountain dweller. There it specifies that hermit monks should live in small groups of three to five people who are of "like aspiration" (*tongzhi*), and that "superior gentlemen" (*shangshi*) should not live in groups of more than two or three people. This is because a group any larger would create too much "noise and commotion" that would serve as a distraction. Any mingling between opposite sexes as well as any talk or thoughts about vulgar and wicked matters are proscribed, as they bring dire consequences upon the bodies of the monks:

> Although they live in the mountain forests, they will not be single-minded. In filth and scum they will mingle their fluids and they will go about in their wicked ways. Their marrow and brains will dry out, their teeth will decay, and they will lose their eyesight.[115]

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[114] The character *tang* which I translated as "vastness" is probably an allusion to the reign of the legendary sage emperor Yao (whose surname was Taotang) . The implication thus seems to be that the World of Great Vastness is a world where morality, wisdom and good government prevail. If the *Yuqing jing*, contrary to my estimation, dates as late as the Tang Dynasty, it is possible that *tang* here alludes to the Tang Dynasty.

[115] 8/10a. See Plate 317.

The depletion of bone marrow, thought to be produced and stored in the brain, was traditionally believed to be caused by the emission of seminal fluid from the body.[116] Contact between the sexes is therefore proscribed partly because of the mental distraction that it causes, but also because of the loss of semen or *jing* caused by ejaculation that depletes the brain of bone marrow. Thus shortly later on, the text enumerates among other proscribed things, "the yin route (penis) accumulating leakages". The text also warns against bodily uncleanliness (reluctance to bathe), nakedness (this constitutes disrespect towards the sun, moon and stars), slothfulness and oversleeping, the eating of meats and spicy foods, the drinking of liquor, urinating while facing the north, speaking in loud voices and giving vent to excessive anger or joy. Along with the corruptive effects upon the body, the text states that misconduct in all of the above matters causes the adept to accumulate sins and become susceptible to temptation and delusion at the hands of demons, while becoming completely unable to contact sacred beings.

As was briefly alluded to earlier, in chapter 18 (8/20b-21a) we find enumerated (from the mouth of a Perfect Youth) the names of certain mountains which are deemed as particularly good places for training. Essentially what makes these mountains good places for training is the alleged presence of sacred and immortal beings who can transmit secret lessons and scriptures to those who are virtuous and fortunate enough to encounter them, as well as a high quality of *qi* in the soil which produces efficacious herbs and minerals, and stream water that has extremely salubrious effects on the body. Mt. Wangwu, which is exalted as the best mountain in China, is described as being particularly abundant in deer bamboo and the *zhu* plant (*atractylodes macrocephala*). As the reader will recall, deer bamboo appears prominently in various recipes in the *Wufu xu* which are designed to help the adept subdue his hunger. On the other hand, in its typically sinocentric way, the text tells us that mountains in foreign regions are bad and dangerous environments for training:

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[116]See for example, Chapter Six p. 295. Another good example is Wuchengzi's commentary to the *Huangting neijing jing* (*Yunji qiqian* 11/50a): "For long life you must be absolutely careful about the emergencies of the bedroom." 長生至慎房中急
Comment: "If the *qi* is lost and the fluid leaks, the brain of marrow will dry out."
氣亡液漏、骨髓腦枯竭

> [As for] the various mountains of the frontier nations, their soil contains many poisons and epidemics. Coldness and heat are irregular, and the *qi* from the earth harms people. There are also many spirits and monsters.[117]

While the *Yuqing jing* thus recommends for its readers an austere life of training amidst the great mountains of China, it also provides on 8/21b an alternative approach for people (primarily women or people of frail health) who are unable to withstand severe hardship. The text attributes this inability more specifically to the fact that in such people, "perfect *qi* has not yet permeated, and filthy impurities have not yet disappeared"[118], as well as the fact that they have not yet found a good teacher. Such people are told to simulate secluded mountain conditions by setting up for themselves a secret chamber with multi-layered sound proof walls within which they are to confine themselves and engage in a regimen of contemplation, prayer, confession and worship twelve hours per day. They must entirely avoid mingling in human affairs, and must observe all of the proscriptions which apply to mountain dwellers.

The ideal of disciplined mountain dwelling and the rewards that are to be gained from it are well illustrated in a story narrated by a Perfect Youth in Ch.18 (8/15a-16a). The story is about five men who trained together on Mt. Fulong. The narrative describes their training as follows:

> [There they] lived together for a number of years, ingesting the *zhu* plant and eating pine [seeds and/or needles]. They did not understand the methods of the curriculum and had never seen the true scriptures. As the years accumulated, they toiled and suffered, but their hearts never slackened. They did not mingle with the dusty and secular, nor did they

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[117] 8/21a-b. See Plate 318.

[118] 真氣未布.穢濁未消

> seek worldly benefits. They always wore grass garments. For twelve hours each day they worshipped the heavens above, wishing and begging for salvation, and for perpetual life and non-death. They did so for 46 years.[119]

The narrative goes on to describe how the "Upper Realm of Mystery" (*shangxuan*) took pity on them and sent down the Divine Youth of the Sun Palace to administer five trials upon them (which are highly reminiscent of the trials that Zhang Daoling subjects his disciple to in the *Shenxian zhuan*). For the first trial, the Divine Youth transformed himself into a beautiful young woman and took up lodging during a nine day-long blizzard with the five men. During the whole time, the five men picked herbs to feed her and built fires to keep her warm, treating her like they would treat a daughter and never giving rise to any lustful thoughts. For the second trial, the Divine Youth transformed into a bandit who killed a deer (actually, a miraculously fabricated semblance of a deer, since sacred beings do not kill) and left it lying by the hut of the five men. The five men, upon seeing it, wept and promptly buried it. They thus showed that they were compassionate towards living creatures and had no desire at all to cook and eat animal flesh. The third trial came when the five men, while out picking herbs, discovered a pot full of gold and silver which they simply left alone and paid no further attention to. For the fourth trial, the Divine Youth turned himself into a poor and sick beggar and visited the five men. The five men thereupon housed and fed him for a thousand days. Finally, for the fifth trial, the Divine Boy transformed into a flock of over thirty tigers and ten giant snakes which growled, hissed and snarled at the five men, who remained calm and relaxed the entire time.

As soon as they had passed the fifth trial, the sun and moon became motionless for 14 days as ice melted, flowers bloomed and thunder crashed in spite of the fact that it was the middle of winter. Heavenly writing appeared in the skies and all of creation sang out

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[119] 8/15a-b. See Plate 319.

the "subtle and marvelous sounds of the doctrine" and praised the five men. Thus the text states:

> At that time, the five men fetched and imbibed the subtle sounds. [Their thus succeeding in their quest] was all due to the fact that their minds and bodies were soft and supple and their meritorious power was incomparable. Their 100 [bodily] passages were strong and healthy and their six bowels were regular and harmonious. Their hearing and sight were clear and their spirit-consciousness was concentrated on the mysteries. Without going against the four seasons and without contradicting the five phases they entrusted themselves to the eternal Dao and distanced themselves from empty delusions. Because they adeptly employed equilibrium and harmony they were able to be without diseases. Wicked devils were eliminated and subdued and their true correctness was renewed daily.[120]

Thus we have illustrated an example of how a life of wilderness seclusion that requires "toiling and suffering" and unwavering faith could enable an adept to be equipped with the physical and mental capabilities required for overcoming various trials and earning the sympathetic intervention of gods and Immortals.

Unfortunately, the strivings of mountain-dwelling Daoists did not always bring about the desired results. This issue is also addressed in Ch.18 (8/11a-12a). There, the ministers of the World of Great Vastness, after having been instructed on the objectives and proscriptions of mountain dwelling, make the following request to their instructor, the Perfected Youth:

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[120] 8/16b. See Plate 320.

> We have also heard people of the world insult the Great Dao saying, "People who study the Dao cannot avoid birth and death (*samsara*)." They [in such a way] are constantly setting forth flippantly their worldly theories and offending the Perfect Lord. We wish for you to resolve our doubts and eliminate out disillusionments.[121]

To this, the Perfected Youth replied by telling a very interesting story:

> Good men, what you speak of are the wild utterings of foolish people. They are not the theories of utmost sacredness. Why is this? A long time ago there were three brothers, a group of ignorant fools, who had overheard that gentlemen of utmost accomplishment evaded [the] hazards [of life in the ordinary world] by taking refuge in mountain forests, [and that] by supping from the mysterious current and savoring the sweet dew, their bodies and spirits never perished and their complexions became like children, and that for hundreds and thousands of kalpas they have existed perpetually. Without knowing the subtleties of the ultimate methods [nor the] vacuous plainness and mysterious wonder, the three brothers, in accordance with the deficient insights of their teachers thereupon studied immortality. The first, eldest brother, whose name was Mingzi bore holes into an overhanging boulder and cast some iron to make chains. With [the chains] he suspended a couch in mid-air, upon which he sat, without ingesting anything. He died of starvation and dehydration. The second eldest brother, whose name was Dahun, boarded a raft and entered the sea. He immediately was met with a great storm and finally drowned. The third brother, whose name was Chunsheng, in attempting to avoid death entered deep into a stone cavern where he was devoured by a venomous dragon. Since then, common folk

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[121] 8/11a. See Plate 321.

> have passed on [the story of this incident] which became recorded in writing and got to be a well known story. Without ever fathoming the profound doctrines they thus came to say that the study (training) of the gentlemen of utmost accomplishment is the same as what is described in this legend.[122]

Thus the story describes how certain seekers of immortality, in their excessive zeal and lack of proper guidance, ended up dying prematurely, and how people in society came to draw the conclusion that the pursuit of immortality through austere training was altogether futile. The standpoint of the author of the *Yuqing jing* is that the quest of the Dao, if carried out properly, does produce tangible and positive results in extending the life span and rejuvenating the body. While secluded mountain dwelling and austere dietary regimens are promoted in the *Yuqing jing*, the claim here is that the eldest brother starved and thirsted to death because he tried to stop eating without carrying out any of the prescribed techniques. Perhaps the above story is included in the *Yuqing jing* because Daoism, in the author's contemporary environment, was at times made the object of criticism and skepticism due to known incidents where overly zealous ascetics within the Daoist fold died prematurely because of their austerities. The story seems to be an attempt to disassociate religious Daoist orthodoxy from such failures of adepts by attributing them to the isolated folly of misguided individuals, rather than to any fallacy of Daoism itself.

The notion that proper tutelage under a worthy master will produce great results and that the pursuit of immortality must entail an austere and world-renouncing approach, is demonstrated in yet another story (8/16b-19b) narrated by the Perfected Youth. According to this story, there were two brothers who, when they were only sixteen and fourteen years old respectively, were told by their mother to leave home and each go on a journey in search of a teacher. The older brother, named Yun, found for himself a teacher on Mt. Chang who was 901 years old and was "poor and lowly, regarding only the Dao and its

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[122] 8/11a-b. See Plate 322.

inner power as being blessed and noble."[123] The younger brother, named Yu, assumed apprenticeship under a teacher who "was wealthy and noble, possessing much wealth and treasure, and was knowledgeable in worldly matters."[124] Sixty-seven years later, the brothers met again for the first time. Yun had become more youthful-looking than ever before, while Yu had become decrepit as might be expected at his advanced age. Yun recognized Yu nonetheless, but Yu, whose eyesight was failing him, could not recognize Yun. Instead, suspecting that Yun was an assassin, Yu assaulted Yun with his sword, but the sword went through Yun's body as it would through thin air, without injuring him the least bit. Yu finally recognized his brother and came to realize that he had failed in his selection of a teacher, and thereupon traveled to a foreign land where he became the disciple of an "infidel" living alone in poverty. After serving his new master for six years, Yu tried to return to his homeland, but died of exhaustion during the journey, and was eaten by the birds and beasts. The story then says that Yu has been undergoing reincarnations ever since as a practitioner and propagator of "infidel" religion who perverts the masses with death-exalting doctrines as the world approaches its eventual and inevitable demise at the end of the kalpa. Yun, on the other hand, taught his methods to his very elderly parents, who after 1000 days of training, regained their youth. The three of them subsequently entered the Hill of the Jade Wheel where "they drank the golden essence" and "ate jade fungi". As a result, they obtained the ability to fly, and ascended into a state of formlessness in which they exist eternally.

Yu fails in the above story at first because he chooses a teacher who adheres to and teaches worldly values. His second master is an ascetic, but is also a "infidel" whose methods are ineffective for perpetuating life. Yun, because he chose an ascetic Daoist as his teacher, remains forever youthful and achieves heavenly ascension and eternal life.

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123 貪賤. 唯富貴道德.

124 富貴. 多饒財寶. 善明世事.

In the *Yuqing jing*, it is maintained that a worthy Daoist and a practitioner of false doctrines can ordinarily be distinguished by certain traits:

> [As for] those who study the Dao and obtain the Power of the Dao, ordinary men do not recognize them. However, if you look at their bodies, [you will see that] even though they are not plump, their complexion is good and they are strong. Their bodies are light and marvelous and their skin tone is moist and lustrous. Their hearing and sight are unimpaired and they move and walk lightly. Morning and evening (day and night?) they do not sleep, and their bodies have no scars nor blemishes. Their forms and countenances are fresh and clean, and the echoes of their voices are pure and moist. People like this can be said to have obtained the Power of the Dao. If they do not backslide in their training, they will certainly be able to evade [the cycle of] birth, aging, sickness and death.[125]

> Good men, [you should] know [about the following traits of] men of the wicked way. Firstly, they eat meat. Secondly, they revel in lechery. Thirdly, [they have] the *qi* of bad diseases. [They have] boils, tumors, itches, leprosy, biliousness or are hunchbacked. They have lost their natures (sanity?) from practicing wickedness. They have bowel obstructions in their lower bellies. Their complexions are haggard and dry. Their noses and ears are dried out. They ache all over. They are short of breath and their fluids have dried out. They have no moisture. They indulge in slumber and tread upon impurity. They do not forget birth and death (?). Their bodies and countenances are grimy and greasy and their

[125] 10/17a-b. See Plate 323. Also preserved in Pelliot 2385.

> body odors stink. They defecate and urinate wherever they please[126] and are fond of discussing wicked matters. They hasten and compete and wreak commotion endlessly without tiring. Their flesh is massive and their bones are small. Their views are shallow and they by nature have no benevolence nor compassion. Their hearts are unfilial and disobedient. People such as this will certainly not obtain the Dao. They are to be called, 'bodies that have outflowings' and are also called 'damaged and defective bodies'. Even if they had the *qi* of the Dao, they could not save themselves. Even less could they save others.[127]

Thus the text tells us that a good Daoist is to be recognized by his impeccable health that is reflected by his ruddy complexion, superior strength, agility and endurance. This is the result of thorough discipline of mind and body, particularly in how the adept restricts his diet, sexual activity and amount of sleep. The austerity of his diet is reflected in the thinness of his body, which to ordinary people may appear to be a sign of bad health. However, such a person has, through his rigorous discipline, obtained the Power of the Dao (*daoli*) , and has embarked upon the path towards Perfection.

"Infidels", on the other hand, are prone to bad health because of their undisciplined lifestyle which is characterized by their fondness for meat and sexual activity. The phrase, "their flesh is great and their bones are small"(*rou da gu xiao*), probably means that they tend to be of a heavy physique that lacks the strength and toughness that can only be obtained through discipline. Their bodies have not obtained the power of the Dao and are described as being damaged and defective, thus unable to engage in the quest for Perfection. Now, as has already been discussed, there is hope for "infidels" who possess damaged and defective bodies, provided that they repent and convert to Daoism, and learn to train and worship by the proper methods through which the Power of the Dao can be

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[126]The text of Pelliot 2385 here reads, ".....defecate and urinate facing the north."
[127] 10/17b-18a. See Plate 324. Also preserved in Pelliot 2385.

obtained. This hope is hinted at ever so subtly in the second passage quoted above in the phrase, "even if they had the *qi* of the Dao". This phrase entertains the possibility that even "infidels" could possess the *qi* of the Dao, which if utilized properly, could bring about Perfection. Actually, there ought to have been no doubt whatsoever that "infidels" possess the *qi* of the Dao, based on a lengthy discussion found elsewhere in the *Yuqing jing* concerning the qi of the Dao and how to utilize it. The discussion, quoted below, is found in the 20th chapter ("Chapter on the Seal of the Doctrines") and occurs within a reply made by the Heavenly Worthy of Great Compassion to his interlocutor Baoxiang, who had asked how one could become "unreliant" through the imbibing of the "marvelous *qi* of the Dao":

> [As for] the marvel of the *qi* of the Dao; its method is absolutely divine. The myriad phenomena of Heaven and Earth are produced by the primal *qi*. Never has there been a single object which obtained spiritual freedom and independence (*zizai*)[128] by means other than by the primal *qi*. [Those who have obtained free will], in rising, sinking, flying and running, travel by riding on the *qi*. If you obtain the *qi*, you will survive. If you lose the *qi*, you will perish. Those who [thus] survive cannot obtain death. Those who [thus perish], cannot obtain life.
>
> In *qi* there is the pure and there is the turbid. In affairs there are the inauspicious and auspicious (*pitai*)[129]. The imbibing of pure *qi* makes people live. The employing (ingestion) of turbid *qi* kills people. Pure *qi* rises and turbid *qi* sinks. Pure *qi* makes up the sky and turbid *qi* makes up the earth. The marvelous *qi* of the perfect essence is called 'pure *qi*'. Lumps of grime and stagnant impurities are called 'turbid *qi*'. The way of

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[128]Buddhist term. The standard translation for the Sanskrit word *isvara*. The text of Pelliot 2385 here reads, "...which produced themselves (*zisheng*) by..." In this instance, the Dunhuang text appears more coherent and accurate than the Daoist Canon text.

[129]*Pi* and *tai* are each hexagrams from the Book of Changes, the former being inauspicious and the latter auspicious in their connotations.

death is dark and turbid like the muddy waters. The Way of Life is completely clear, like clean water. People are like fish. *Qi* is like the water [that fish live in]. If the water is turbid, the fish will become emaciated. If the *qi* is dark (confused, defiled?), people become ill.

Good men, the wills of the living beings in later ages are very recalcitrant. Their confusion hastens as they seek the things that they desire. [In their] emotional natures they rejoice and get angry. They are violently unruly and adamant. This is all [a manifestation of] the *qi* of death. Benevolence, compassion, filial piety and obedience, gracefully[130] and gradually discerning, harmoniously rejoicing in moderation and propriety; these are all [manifestations of] the qi of life.

Forget your body and merge with the Dao, without feeling the various burdens. The various transformations should not pass through your vision. The thousand resonating sounds should not pass through your ears. In your movements your should be like non-being. In resting you should be like vacuity. Always concentrate upon the pure *qi* flowing into the dual gateways (nostrils?) and dispersing and spreading throughout the wefts and woofs of the body. [When it] goes like clouds to the gateway of heaven (mouth?), softly exhale half of the *qi*. With your mind concentrate on [the other] half of the *qi* circulating [throughout the body]. At the dual gates do not let the *qi* spill out. In the morning dine on the purple flowers. In the evening savor the yellow *bo* [131](*Ligusticum acutilubum*)plants. The methods [referred to by expressions] such as these are the imbibing of the *qi* of the sun and the stars. If you employ my astral *qi* , you will survive to see the Great Peace. Take enough to be satiated. There is no ordained

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130 安庠 seems to be a mistranscription of 安詳

131 The character 孳 could be a mistranscription of the character 蘖 which refers to sprouts which grow out of tree stumps.

> limit. Hereby, your wefts and woofs [of your body] will flow and interpenetrate, and your hundred passages will be controlled and relaxed. Your complexion will be beautiful and your hair will be black. Your energy and strength will be twice the ordinary. For the preservation of your body and the fulfilling of life, nothing comes before this way. This way is the doorway and window for the saints of later times. It is the pivotal mechanism for the study of Perfection.[132]

Because the *qi* of the Dao, which is equated here to primal *qi* (*yuanqi*) and pure *qi* (*qingqi*) , is the essential life-sustaining force in the universe, the possession or lack of which determines life or death, it naturally follows that all living creatures by definition possess it and have access to it. According to the above text, it is most readily available in air that we breath (the pure *qi* that forms the skies). Turbid *qi*, i.e. the various forms of solid and liquid matter which settle upon the earth, contrarily have the capacity to "kill people" and to corrupt them morally. The text thus discourages the employing of the turbid *qi*, which is likely tantamount to an injunction against nourishing the body on ordinary food and drink. The object is apparently to become "unreliant" (*wudai*) on food and drink and to nourish the body on air, which is the "marvelous *qi* of the perfect essence" by means of the prescribed methods. The methods, then, include the meditative respirational technique described here in some detail, together with the techniques of imbibing astral nourishment which we have examined in previous chapters. The respirational technique involves going into a concentrated meditative state where the adept "forgets his body" and "merges with the Dao", disregarding all external stimuli and turning his attention completely inwards towards his own breathing. While breathing, the adept tries to make the air that comes into his nostrils permeate and fill the entire body. From his mouth he exhales only half of the inhaled air, while the rest of it is to be retained

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[132] 10/15b-16b. See Plate 325.

permanently. In the morning and evening the adept "satiates" himself on astral nourishments, which, as the reader will recall, more concretely involves visualizing heavenly bodies and swallowing air and saliva. The text here indicates that the amount to be swallowed is indefinite, and based solely upon what it takes to satisfy the adept's hunger. The text makes it clear that the practice of these methods of breathing and swallowing is indispensable for the training of any adept.

Another noteworthy discussion of the techniques is to be found on 8/19b-20a amidst instructions from the mouth of a Perfect Youth addressed to all adepts of future ages in the World of Great Vastness. In these instruction, the Perfect Youth starts out by emphasizing that all adepts who seek ascension through secluded mountain dwelling must be "pure and immaculate" in their conduct. He also remarks that they can easily come into communication with the divine if they are compassionate and obedient. He then states:

> Immaculately maintain your divine chambers (places in the body where gods reside) day and night without sleeping. Polish and wipe a clear mirror nine *cun* (about 27 cm) in diameter without letting it have scratches on it and suspend it in front of you before your eyes. Use it to observe the spirits and apparitions [in your midst] and discern their falseness or trueness. Open up (look into) your Hall of Light and beckon from afar the two radiances (the sun and moon). Each morning and evening chew on their respective subtle mists. Within your secret chamber you can [carry out the method] seated or lying down, depending on which is convenient to you. You need not [limit yourself to either] one [of the two options]. Pick and imbibe the light and marvelous [qi]. Exhale and inhale in a balanced and harmonious manner, which is neither slow nor rapid and neither rough nor delicate. Like a baby who drinks his mother's milk, suck endlessly and subtly. Take what is of like kind and pull the string, making it unending, unstrained and effortless, like the hidden trickle of an obscure spring.

> Inwardly and outwardly calm down and relax. With your hundred passages not hastening, forget all striving and competing. Be in dark oblivion and blind silence, as though you had no ears and eyes. Without looking and listening employ your auditing and observing. Hereby your dusty defilements will be erased and submerged and the Dao and its inner power will be clear and prominent. Your gods of life will be nurtured within. Harmonious *qi* will be regulated and pervasive. Your existing, perishing , leaving and staying will be managed and carried out according to your will. Your way to life will for once and for all be solidified, and you will be unable to die even if you wanted to.[133]

Described first here is the internal visualization of various gods of the body which brings about mystical encounters with the gods, as well as evil spirits. Probably because the adept is trying to induce such mystical states of consciousness, sleep is shunned. Interesting here is the employment of the mirror to distinguish the evil spirits from the good ones. The belief that the true identity of a wicked spirit in disguise can be revealed by reflecting its image in a mirror is also conveyed in the *Baopuzi* [134], where practitioners are advised to carry mirrors with them into the mountains where evil spirits may confront them. Again endorsed here is the eating of astral (stellar and lunar) essences (described as "mists") in the morning and evening. The process of summoning forth the sun and moon and their nutrients involves a visualization which "opens up" the Hall of Light (*mingtang*), which refers to one of the "divine chambers" thought to exist inside the head behind the eyes. The method being alluded to here could well be the Mingtang Xuanzhen method

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[133] 8/19b-20a. See Plate 326.

[134]There it states that all kind of creatures, when they reach a very old age, become able to disguise themselves in human form and frequently perform mischief and malice upon people. However, when their forms are reflected in mirrors, their true identities become revealed. Benevolent divine beings, on the other hand, will continue to appear in human form when looked at in a mirror. Thus adepts, when entering the mountains are told to carry with them mirrors of nine *cun* or more in diameter in case they encounter anybody. See *Baopuzi neipian* (HY1177/TT868-870)17/2a-b.

endorsed in the Shangqing texts (see Chapter Six pp. 374-377).[135] Throughout the rest of the passage it is difficult to precisely understand what is being described. It essentially seems to be telling the adept to regulate and relax his breathing while constantly drinking his own saliva in a fashion that emulates a suckling infant. Again, here, the adept is told to enter into a calm mental and physical state not deluded by ordinary sense perception and to observe and discern things through another kind of vision and hearing which come from turning the mind inward rather than outward. As the methods described here probably involve both fasting (since as we have seen, methods for eating "astral essences" or "mists" generally involved fasting) and sleep avoidance, they are of an extremely strenuous nature, at least when practiced by any adept who has not achieved a high level of endurance through sustained practice. Certainly, in actual practice, sleep avoidance and fasting were carried out temporarily over a set number of days, rather than permanently, and modest amounts of certain foods or drugs would have been eaten so as to avoid total starvation.

Yet, to actually become able to survive only by eating air and to possess limitless physical endurance was a goal that was to be aspired to, and the methods of training were intended to strengthen and transform the body so that it could have the capacity to do so. Interesting in this regard is the narrative regarding the birth and childhood of the aforementioned sage-king Chongguang found at the beginning of Ch.17. In this story, which is undoubtedly inspired to a certain degree by legends about the birth of the Buddha, we are told that the Superior Perfected Being Baoguang transformed himself into rays of sunlight and entered into the womb of the queen of the blessed nation through her mouth. The queen became pregnant and later gave birth to a baby boy through the left side of her

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135 A description of what may be the precise method alluded to here can be found in *Yunji qiqian* 33/10b-11a in the *Sheyang zhenzhong fang* , compiled by the great physician Sun Simiao of the early Tang Dynasty. In this method (described in a quote from the mouth of Pengzu), the adept, who is "observing a pure retreat and abstaining from food", visualizes either the sun or the moon (depending on whether it is day or night) shining inside his mouth, and sucks on the "liquid of the light rays" that issues from them. When the adept is not feeding off their rays, and simply wants to visualize them, he is to "return" them to the Hall of Light where the sun and moon combine and connect their *qi* with that of his left and right eyes respectively. In other words, it seems likely that our passage quoted above is telling the adept to bring the solar and lunar essences into his mouth by opening up his Hall of Light where he keeps his internal sun and moon.

torso. The baby was soon designated as crown prince and named Chongguang. The baby was taken care of by five different nannies. The text states as follows regarding the extraordinary eating habits of the baby:

> Sometimes, when [a nanny] would carry [Chongguang] out from his sleeping quarters and the child saw the sun in the sky, he would always look up and smile, emitting a purple light which conjoined up above with the mouth of Heaven. Sweet dew in the form of a cord would pour down into the mouth of the child.[136]

The narrative goes on to tell us that this child, nurtured by nutrients from the sky, at age three began to speak and walk, and developed a fondness for sitting in solitude. By age seven he had developed a wide range of extraordinary physical attributes. His body emitted a radiance which would permeate an entire room. To mention a few more of these attributes (the list of them encompasses a whole page), his nose and ears were five *cun* (about fifteen cm) in length, his fingers were six *cun* (about eighteen cm) in length, his navel was round and deep, and his penis had a "hidden bone" (meaning perhaps that it was always erect due to his great abundance of *jing*). Most interestingly the text states:

> His bones were blue and his marrow was white. His five viscera [were like] lotus flowers. He had a purple stomach and had muscles for intestines. When eating he could not complete (digest?) grains.[137]

Thus the understanding seems to be that because the boy was nourished on celestial substances and never needed solid food, his intestines had transformed into muscles and he could not digest solid food. As the reader can recall (see Chapter Three p. 151), the *Wufu*

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[136] 7/2b. See Plate 327.
[137] 7/3a. See Plate 328.

xu (3/17a) states that the adept who fasts and "drinks from the spring" transforms his intestines into muscles. Thus the marvelous body of the boy described here, while it is a description of an imaginary superhuman being, also seems to describe a physique which adepts could in theory attain through the imbibing of astral essences. The ultimate ideal, however, went beyond attaining extraordinary physical attributes and involved an entry into a state of formless non-being. As has already been discussed, this was not to be realized by destroying the flesh and releasing a non-corporeal soul substance, but was to be accomplished by making the body go into non-being together with the spirit. In Ch.6 ("Chapter on the Skillful Means of Compassion") is found a passage where the Heavenly Worthy expounds this ideal in conjunction with the primal *qi* :

> Good men, you now must know that the Way of the Primal *Qi* originates from the Heavenly Worthy of Vacuous Non-being who was born spontaneously amidst empty space. Existing perpetually, he produces the primal *qi*. The primal *qi* produces the Great Ultimate. The Great Ultimate produces heaven and earth. Heaven and earth produce the myriad things. Good men, the wonder of the way of the primal *qi* is like this. Therefore the Great Dao is nameless and the primal *qi* is formless. Because it is nameless its movings and functionings are limitless. It flows and transforms in 10,000 transformations. Objects sentient and non-sentient are all born endowed with the Dao. People treasure their primal *qi* and are thus able to exist for a long time. Primal *qi* makes one's spirit and *qi* merge together and be able to enter into formlessness and merge in Perfection with the Dao.[138]

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[138] 2/10b-11a. See Plate 329.

The above passage does not specify what the adept does in carrying out this "way of the primal *qi*" and "treasuring his primal *qi*". But as the adept perpetuates the life of his body, the primal *qi* becomes the agent that brings about a union of spirit and *qi*, the former referring to the adept's cognitive capacities and the latter referring to the *qi* of his body, which makes it possible for the adept to enter into formlessness and merge with the Dao.

A more concrete description of what was thought to happen to an adept at the most advanced stage of training where the merger with non-being takes place, can be found in Ch.15 ("Chapter on Zhaoling"). There it is described how a Superior Immortal from a certain Nanchang Palace named Zhaoling, together with his 15,000 attendants visited the Cloud Palace in the Heaven of Jade Purity and witnessed marvels of a kind that they had previously never known. Zhaoling himself was a highly exalted adept who had long since "been delivered from his ordinary body" and possessed the Power of Compassion, the Six Penetrations, an endless life span and the ability to fly and travel to any realm that he pleased. However, knowing that there were still higher levels of attainment to be achieved, Zhaoling visited the Heavenly Worthy and stated his wish to "observe the subtle and marvelous ultimate method of the Superior Dao". To this the Heavenly Worthy responded by saying that the Dao itself, being ineffable, has no subtleties or marvels that can be observed. But nevertheless, the Heavenly Worthy told Zhaoling that if he wanted to observe what was marvelous, he should go to a place located northeast of the Cloud Palace. There he was to find and observe the following:

> Amidst the great vacuity there are three Superior Perfected Beings in the empty space there cultivating the Most High Dao. They are now in the Great Samadhi of the Concentrated Spirit, and presently have already undergone 900 million great kalpas. Next they will enter into the Great Samadhi of the Forgetting of the Body for 800 million great kalpas. Next they will enter into the Great Samadhi of the Six Vacuities for 700 million

> great kalpas. Next they will enter into the Great Samadhi of No Obstructions for 600 million great kalpas. Next, they will enter into the Great Samadhi of Great Vacuity for 500 million great kalpas. Next they will enter into Penetrating Wisdom for a million great kalpas. Next they will enter into Living Wisdom for a hundred thousand great kalpas. In the future they will descend and observe the 37 heavens and then travel to the ordinary realm and each take the title of 'the Saint of Later Times, the Heavenly Worthy of Great Peace. Employing their entourage of countless numbers, they will preach the doctrines of non-action and deliver the living masses. Those who accomplish the Dao at this time will be as numerous as particles of dust and sand.[139]

Thus it is described how these great adepts achieve their Perfection through successive states of meditative concentration sustained non-stop over inconceivably long periods of time. The text goes on to say that Zhaoling and his entourage did as they were told by the Heavenly Worthy, and went to observe the three Superior Perfected Beings. The following was what they saw:

> From a distance they saw the Three Perfected amidst the empty space, vaguely and obscurely amidst purple clouds, mist-like above the bright mists. Red mists formed wefts and yellow essences formed their couches. Three *qi* congealed their fluids. [From the] two radiances [they] took the rays into their mouths. Great vacuity was their window and vacuous surroundings were their windows. [At a state] prior to the beginning of conception at the beginning origins of the primal chaos, they imbibed *qi* and stored what was perfect. Serenely and speechlessly [they were in] balanced

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[139] 6/3a. See Plate 330.

> vacuity that was devoid of appearances. [In a state] before the myriad transformations had formed their roots, they had emptied and calmed their miraculous bodies. The five flowers[140] were spread about secretly, and their Three Palaces (elixir fields?) nurtured Perfection. In their Six Storehouses (bowels) they solidified their spirits. Their three *hun* souls did not float, and their seven *po* souls did not wander. Their divine essence was motionless and their perfect qi did not flow out. Calmly content and like a clear stream, there was nothing they experienced or sought.[141]

The text goes on to say that Zhaoling and his entourage knelt down and watched the Three Perfected and were so taken by the wonders before their eyes that they kept watching for countless kalpas without even noticing the passing of time and "not noticing that they [had] bodies" (*bujue you shen*) . As they thus watched, the Three Perfected underwent the following transformations:

> Suddenly, they could not see the Three Perfected illumined in their mist-tent. They could not tell where they went. After a long while the empty tent suddenly disappeared, leaving behind only a light-*qi* which glimmered faintly. Again, after a long while, they suddenly saw the Three Perfected emerge from vacuity and enter into non-being, disappearing and appearing continuously. Exhaling and inhaling the winds and clouds, they combined and separated alternatingly. After a long while, they darkly disappeared and their combining *qi* was all gone. Again, after a long while, a holy wind shook [in the] eight [directions] and divine *qi* extended to the limits of the four [directions]. [The air that they] blew out merged together as they

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[140]The meaning of this is unclear, but perhaps related to the eating of the "Five Sprouts" and the belief that the adept makes five "sprouts" or "fungi" grow in his five viscera.

[141] 6/3b. See Plate 331.

> manifested and hid themselves intermittently. Again, after a long while, they were motionlessly produced. They effortlessly took shape.[142]

The text then states that Zhaoling watched until the Three Perfected finally entered the final stage of Life Wisdom, upon which the Three Perfected noticed Zhaoling and felt sympathetic towards him. They thus encouraged him by reminding him that he, like them, was "endowed with the same single Dao", and that he too could emulate what he had just witnessed by just doing as follows:

> Why not entrust your spirit and *qi* to the obscure and hazy space? Entrust your spontaneity to the threshold of being and non-being. According to the situation, merge or separate. Change according to the cycles. Obliviously float in vacuity. With your body not residing in a permanent place, exist amidst formlessness. Erase your voice and cleanse your thoughts, vastly like perpetual vacuity. Darken your spirit in the place of non-being. Reflect upon vacuity and illuminate emptiness. Imbibe qi and store what is perfect. Mingle the numinous roots of the purple essence. Darkly solidify your *po* soul in the cloudy chamber. Eliminate the light dust from the Great Beginning. Breath the primal harmony from the vault of heaven. Allow things to be produced on their own. Follow what is Perfect into darkness and brightness. Light and young, at the edge of the cloudy cliffs, you will be able to be motionless and yet constantly moving. Inside the house you will be empty but already established(?). Always be like an unborn infant. Do not listen, do not look. If you follow these (your external senses of sight and hearing), you will have emotions. Do not let go and [yet] do not

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[142] 6/4a. See Plate 332.

> grasp. Without being full nor empty, cease to exist and yet be limitless. This is what is called "identification with the darkness [of the Dao]."[143]

In sum, from the above account we can see that the attainment of the highest Perfection was thought to be accomplished through endless and deeply concentrated meditation in which the adept is in a trance state of complete identification with the timeless and ineffable Dao. The body of the adept never ages, nor does it get tired and hungry because during the entire time he "imbibes the *qi* and stores what is Perfect". All essential components of his body, such as his internal gods, soul substances[144], *qi*, *jing*, are perfectly retained and preserved within the vital organs and "divine chambers". Eventually, this leads to a stage where the body becomes formless. The adept is, however, also able to return to a corporeal state at will, as well as also being able to manifest himself in the form of light or wind.

To what degree all of this was literally believed to be possible is difficult to say. How literally passages such as those above were interpreted likely varied from believer to believer. While the final transformation of the immortal body into formless non-being was probably never actually witnessed by anybody, it is probable that advanced adepts did at times subjectively experience states of mystical union with non-being, from which they would return to an ordinary state of consciousness. Some people probably understood the notion of transformation as a metaphor for the mystical union attained in meditation. Others perhaps understood such meditative trances as signs that transformation would take place eventually when their destiny and life span as an earthly and corporeal being had been lived out.

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143 6/5a-b. See Plate 333.

144 On 6/11b-12a the Heavenly Worthy is quoted describing three basic soul substances possessed by all human beings. First of all there is the *shen* which resides in the heart and is good and guiltless (and perhaps thus immortal) by nature, and does not "follow" the body when the body commits evil acts. The *hun* soul and *po* soul, when a person does evil, serve the function of traveling up to the heavens and reporting the sins on the days of the Three Origins and Eight Seasonal Transitions, as a result bringing punishments and premature death to the person. Thus people are encouraged to be virtuous so as to prevent the *hun* and *po* souls from leaving the body.

Whatever an individual adept's understanding may have been, we can see that the union with Non-being or the Dao was supposed to be accomplished primarily through the lengthy and tireless practice of meditation and fasting, ideally sustained by techniques of breath control and air swallowing. The more determined one was to accomplish it, the more likely one was to reject food and shun sleep for the purpose of experiencing the most excellent meditational trances which, if they were not the final goal itself, at least constituted a foretaste and guarantee of it.

While the effort on the part of the adept was supposed to play a large part in bringing about the miracle of Perfection, the *Yuqing jing* also tells us that the adept is ultimately indebted to the Dao and the divine beings that themselves have merged with it and personify it. As can be recalled (see p. 608), the text tells us that the perfect *qi* which the adept uses to nourish himself is produced by the Dao or its personification, the Heavenly Worthy of Vacuous Non-being. At the end of Chapter 15, it is described how Zhaoling and his entourage returned to their residence at the Nanchang Palace where they were to complete their training. There, every day at sunrise, a triple-colored ether would descend upon their midst from the east, which they would "fetch and swallow" ninety times. After 30 years of doing this, the "miraculous *qi* " came to permeate their bodies to the point where they emitted blue, red and white light rays from their heads. 20,000 *kalpas* later, they saw the Three Perfected seated amidst the tri-colored ethers. The Three Perfected then emitted a radiance from their bodies, and all the Perfected Immortals rejoiced amidst the light for a thousand kalpas as their bodies were rejuvenated more and more. Thus Zhaoling and his entourage were nourished, empowered and enraptured by the *qi* and light that emanated from the very bodies of the divine beings that had instructed them and who themselves used to be adepts who had pursued Perfection.

The most vivid description of how a Heavenly Worthy can enrapture and rejuvenate adepts is found in the eleventh chapter ("Chapter on the Lower Origin") where it is

described how the Heavenly Worthy of the Various Marvels traveled down to the "lower world" in order to save living beings through mighty rituals. The description is as follows:

> The Heavenly Worthy gazed for a long time and was pleased that the masses knew well in their hearts how to incline toward the Dao. He thereby showed his golden face and revealed the doctrines. His mouth smiled pleasantly and perfect light in 10,000 transmutations flowed out from his golden lips. All [living beings] throughout the worlds of the ten directions saw his Perfect Form amidst the light, and leaped about unconsciously and obliviously. Humans and non-humans directed their thoughts and concentrated their minds as the perfect light entered their hearts and eyes. For three days and three nights they were motionless and they felt no fatigue. Also, amidst the perfect light they each saw their *hun* and *po* souls circling about the Heavenly Worthy. After a short while they (the souls) transformed into infants and entered [back] into their (the worshipers) bodies. Each of them sat in their Storehouses (bodily organs) calmly and motionlessly. Each of them (the worshipers) felt their bodies transform into children of beautiful complexions with black hair. The power of their *qi* was like clouds. At that time the various dead souls drank the *qi* of harmonious life, and all took on human form, reverting to the Perfect and returning to the womb. Numinous demons repented as the virtue of the Dao took over their hearts. The spirits of the land and water waded up to their waists in the radiance and brought their numinosity to its fullest. Eggs and embryos in gestation all obtained security together with their mothers. They all came to contain the proper *qi*. On the day of birth they all came to completion in accordance with their natures. In flying and running they were light and agile, and nobody suffered premature death. Chronic and

> new diseases were all healed. Insects no longer bit, and poisonous weeds and trees were eliminated.[145]

Here we see that by entrusting their hopes in the Dao, people can be imbued with a force which enraptures and rejuvenates them as they remain impervious to bodily fatigue. In the state of rapture their souls leave their bodies and encircle the Heavenly Worthy, and a miraculous transformation into a state of infancy takes place. As can be recalled, this phenomenon of reverent rapture in the presence of the Heavenly Worthy is also mentioned in the passages that I quoted on pp. 578-579 and p.585. There also, the enraptured are described as being impervious to fatigue and hunger for extended periods. In the above passage, it is also described how the *qi* emanating from the Heavenly Worthy revives the souls of the dead, brings demons to obedience, enables new life to be safely born, and eliminates the hazards of the diseases, beasts and poisons of the world. The phenomenon described here is apparently an allegory for what happens at periodic retreat (*zhai*)rituals, which in the Lingbao tradition typically were carried out continuously over a multiple and odd number of days and nights(See Chapter Seven pp. 476-481), during which clergy and laity observed austerities of varying intensity according to their endurance. The benefits sought through invoking the highest Daoist deities in such a way were wide-ranging, including benefits such as the re-incarnation of lost souls into human bodies, the eradication of evil and misfortunes from the world in general, as well as the promotion of the spiritual and physical progress of the participants themselves. As we saw in Chapter Seven, in the Lingbao tradition the ascetic life was seen as a personal and perpetual retreat through which the adept puts himself in a never-ending communion with the Dao. This promotion of the ascetic lifestyle as a "perpetual retreat" is also to be found in the *Yuqing*

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[145] 4/19b. See Plate 334.

jing. In the thirteenth chapter we find the following instructions regarding the carrying out of the retreat:

> The Heavenly Worthy proclaimed as follows to the gentlemen of the future who study Perfection:
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> "Practice my Way of the Eight Seasonal Transitions (carry out a retreat on the equinoxes, solstices and the first days of each season) to establish merit and train yourselves. Your body must not trespass and your will must not wander into wickedness. You must always observe retreats and ordinances in seeking ascension and deliverance. Discipline yourself from beginning to end and always give as alms what is needed. Diligently with an earnest heart, always as if you were rescuing [people from] a fire, be diligent and do not slacken in all that you do. In moving and breathing, without forgetting, always be mindful of the Way of your Master (*shidao*)[146], as if it is before your eyes. Alone in the dark forests forever cut yourself off from human affairs. Worship and pray for twelve hours a day in seeking a secret coming-together [with the Dao]. [Carry out the retreat] continuously and subtly without getting excited and without quitting. When your merit is fulfilled and your deeds are accomplished, you will meet together with the Perfected. One day before each Seasonal Transition arrives, practice the Dao (*xingdao*)[147] through prostrations and prayers. Express whatever is on your mind. Your *qi* will combine with the incense smoke and will be smelled (given heed) up above throughout the twelve hours. In your moving and stopping [you must] conform with the standards of conduct.

[146]In a Buddhist context, this refers to the Way or teachings of the Buddha who is the Master.
[147]This is a standard term referring to a routine of ritual worship and scripture recitation.

> Sit silently and meditate concentratedly for three days and three nights. Make your nine generations of ancestors who have accumulated sins, ascend. Repent of the worst sins that you have committed. Above for the emperor, and below for the households among the common masses that venerate the Dao, contribute your strength and merit for their rescuing. Contribute to the retreat feast and together [with your fellow faithful] make your petitions. On this day (of the periodical communal retreat), your sincerity will have no place where it will not reach. The Dao will have nothing which it does not hear. Gentlemen who embrace the Dao, diligently practice this. The perpetual retreat of the superior gentleman [is carried out] not only at this time (during the communal retreat). He constantly prays for ascension and deliverance, his mind never ceasing to do so for even one moment. His body is cut off from external wanderings, and his will does not seek [things] wickedly. Protecting his life, he obtains life. How could he any longer have anything to be sorrowful about?"[148]

In sum, the serious adept's quest for Perfection is to be understood not only as a process where the adept refines his prowess in the techniques of meditation and fasting, but also as a constant endeavor to invoke the divine entities which can empower him in his otherwise impossible quest. A completely self-reliant approach to the mastery of techniques, if devoid of faith and devotion to the Dao is deemed as doomed to failure, since the adept has failed to utilize the *qi* of the Dao and the obtain the Power of the Dao, without which ultimate salvation is impossible. For this reason, the individual adept needs the institutionalized Daoist religion. He needs to train and study under a qualified Daoist master and he needs to know how to worship and pray to the Dao in the proper way. Even if his intentions are good, an adept who attempts to seek immortality through austerities

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[148] From the "Chapter on the Eight Seasonal Transitions" 5/5b-6a. See Plate 335.

without guidance from and participation in the institutionalized Daoist religion is deemed liable to suffer the same fate as the aforementioned brothers Mingzi, Dahun and Chunsheng (see pp. 596-597).

Conclusion

In the preceding pages we have examined how, in the *Yuqing jing* , certain kinds of austerities are rebuked bitterly as heresy, while others are promoted as integral components of the quest for Perfection. The attacks against heretical asceticism occur almost exclusively within depictions of the doings of "infidels" participating in "wicked religions", the origin of whose ways are attributed to demons and/or "barbarians". Descriptions of good ascetic practices occur within instructions for worthy adepts spoken by the Heavenly Worthies and other Perfected beings residing in the Heaven of Jade Purity. Descriptions of the deeds and accomplishments of divine beings also demonstrate certain ideals to be aspired to through austere training. From the evidence that we have examined, two basic criteria stand out as essential for determining whether an ascetic practice was proper or improper. First of all, any method of training, however austere or excruciating, was not supposed to ultimately harm the body in any way, let alone cause death. Indeed, even the most difficult of austerities, if carried out properly, were supposed to make the body healthier. Secondly, the austerities had to enable the adept to have access to the Power of the Dao, which could make the miracle of ascension and union with the Non-being possible.

The first of the above two criteria is directly linked to the role held by the human flesh within the orthodox and definitive Daoist soteriological scheme conceived of by the author of the *Yuqing jing* . This soteriological scheme maintains that human life can be extended limitlessly, and that the most exalted state of existence which is an ascension and merger

into formless non-being, is accomplished not by destroying the body but by transforming it so that it also, along with the spirit, can ascend and merge with the Dao. Heretics, then, are those who conceive of an eternal life of the spirit alone, which one can proceed to only after the flesh has perished so that the spirit entrapped in it can escape. According to the *Yuqing jing*, such people deny the value of maintaining the body and perpetuating life while exalting death as something worthy and desirable, thus committing suicide or engaging in austerities which irreversibly harm and weaken the body. Thus we find the "infidels" depicted as engaging in self-flagellation and mutilation, or as jumping off cliffs, drowning themselves or burning themselves. Good Daoists, on the other hand, place utmost value on making the body healthy. Austerities engaged in by them consist primarily of the intensive and extended practice of fasting (ideally sustained primarily or even exclusively through respirational and air-swallowing techniques) and meditation (which often entailed the shunning of sleep), preferably carried out in seclusion in the wilderness where all worldly pursuits and comforts are shunned. While their austerities are indeed strenuous, they by no means cause ultimate harm to the human flesh. If they do, it means that the methods are being carried out incorrectly. Practiced properly, the methods are supposed to bring about very tangible results in the form of improved health and long life.

The second of the two criteria is linked to whether or not one's faith is correct. Success in the quest of immortality and ascension is not possible through the individual's effort alone. He must become nourished, empowered and transformed by the *qi* of the Dao and the Power of the Dao. His very ability to endure the austerities is supposed come from tapping into the Dao as a source of power. Thus as the adept fasts, he is supposed to feed off the *qi* that is benevolently sent down to him by the Dao, or the compassionate Perfected beings that personify it. When he meditates over long hours, he seeks to experience the ineffable Dao to the point where he "forgets his body" and is impervious to hunger, thirst and fatigue as he basks in the rapture amidst the radiance and fragrance of the Dao. However, the first step towards coming into contact with the Dao is to put one's faith

entirely in the Dao. This means that one must repent of one's sins and renounce all false gods and doctrines which one may have believed in previously. One must learn to worship and pray to the Dao correctly, and do so constantly. By doing so, one can win the Dao's sympathy and become empowered by it, as was the case with the demons depicted in the passage quoted on pp. 578-579. More concretely, this means that one must affiliate oneself with the Daoist religion, since it is the sole custodian of the proper teachings and rituals which can bring humans into communion with the Dao. Individual effort devoid of this affiliation and guidance will probably fail. Affiliation with other religions is bound to bring about failure since other religions are deemed as either demonic in their origins or as less profound derivatives of Daoism which have become increasingly prone to heresy as the world approaches the apocalypse. In other words, the texts asserts that even when non-Daoists engage in austerities more or less similar to those of the Daoists (e.g. fasting, celibacy, lengthy meditation, mountain dwelling, self-imposed poverty), their efforts are bound to be in vain because they lack the proper faith through which they can be empowered by the Dao. It should also be pointed out that the *Yuqing jing* accuses non-Daoist ascetics of engaging in their austerities out of the vain and greedy motive of obtaining supernormal powers and winning many followers so that they can "feed off of them" and commit lewd acts with them. Daoist ascetics, on the other hand, are claimed to be clearly morally superior as their austerity constitutes a complete renunciation of worldly benefits which also entails the altruistic objective of benefiting and saving others.

While the above conclusions can be made regarding what the author of the *Yuqing jing* regarded as proper and improper asceticism, our discussion has also raised some other intriguing questions. Most intriguing is the issue of why the author was compelled to write his lengthy and numerous descriptions and criticisms of the "infidels" and their ways. His hostility towards foreigners and their religions is certainly understandable as a reflection of the acrimonious rivalry that existed during his lifetime. Although such may be the case, the author's rantings against "infidels" were probably more didactic than polemical in their

purpose, and were more of a response to internal doctrinal conflicts than to external conflicts with rival religious groups. The conflicts really originate in the paradoxes and contradictions that existed between the ideals of bodily immortality and transcendence that had been simultaneously embraced by Daoists since ancient times. The extensive interaction with Buddhists and the full scale incorporation of its doctrines had further aggravated the problem and had likely increased the number of those Daoists who tended to emphasize the goal of transcendence at the expense of the goal of bodily immortality. Thus the author may have been writing in response to a situation where ascetic abuses were rampant among a certain segment of Daoists, or where isolated incidents of such abuses were giving the religion a bad name. The *Yuqing jing* sets forth in its soteriological scheme a means by which transcendence can in theory be realized without compromising in the slightest way the objective of bodily immortality. Coherence with this soteriological scheme is intended to serve as a standard by which the orthodoxy of a belief or practice can be ascertained. Who the author of the *Yuqing jing* was, and how influential and prevalent his views were among Daoists in general of his time is uncertain. But the*Yuqing jing* is a text of great importance in that it addresses at considerable length a doctrinal issue that was, and always will be of critical importance; the role of the flesh in the quest for Perfection. The view it expounds as the orthodox Daoist perspective, namely that the flesh is of utmost value, prevails to this day as the most definitive trait of Daoism that sets it apart from other salvation religions.

CONCLUSION

Throughout roughly the first six centuries of the common era, severe asceticism was always an important ideal within the religious Daoist tradition, especially for serious and advanced adepts. As new beliefs and practices were conceived within the tradition or adopted from the outside over the course of time, the importance of severe asceticism was largely reinforced by new elements which supplied further motivation and justification for it. Full-time seekers of immortality came to increasingly bear and share a self-conscious affiliation to the institutions and doctrinal systems of the religion we call "Daoism", which accommodated to a large degree modes of religiosity that were not ascetic. Yet, severe asceticism found itself a solid place in the religion's hierarchy of methods and practices at the level directed at the most ambitious adepts who sought immortality in its most exalted forms. Inevitably, some of the new beliefs also created contradictions and tensions with the older beliefs and the practices they ordained; however, a conscious and concerted effort was made to retain the old beliefs and practices in ways coherent with the new beliefs.

From the latter part of the fourth century (when the Shangqing scriptures were written) and throughout the Northern-Southern Dynasties Period, severe ascetic practices continued to be required or recommended for Daoists, especially the most advanced and serious ones. As was the case in earlier times, prominent severe ascetic practices included fasting, celibacy, sleep-avoidance, wilderness seclusion and self-imposed poverty. Many of the specific methods practiced were either the same as those of earlier times, or adaptations and elaborations of earlier methods. Essentially, the motives for severe asceticism can again be generalized as (1) the strengthening and transformation of the body, (2) contact and participation with what is sacred and transcendent and (3) disdain and fear of the world and society. However, the specific soteriological and cosmological beliefs within which these three motives found their justification changed considerably, in a way which intensified the inherent tension between the two primary soteriological objectives,

longevity (addressed in motive 1) and transcendence (addressed in motives 2 and 3), by providing the latter objective with theoretical bases by which it could be realized without being concerned with the former objective, and creating a greater possibility for ascetic abuses (harming and killing of the body) to be carried out and condoned.

We shall now review how each type of severe ascetic practice was endorsed in the texts that we examined in Part Two. In the Shangqing texts, fasting methods are described and promoted in an amazing variety. Emphasized is the complementary quality of the ingestion and non-ingestion methods. Although the ability to "avoid grains" exclusively through non-ingestion methods (in which astral imagery predominates) is still regarded as commendable, a strong awareness is apparent of the unfeasibility and danger of most adepts attempting to do so. Noteworthy also is that while the medicinal recipes examined do purport to facilitate fasts, fasting in turn serves to enhance the effects of the medicines, for which there are high hopes. In other words, compared to what is expressed in the *Zhonghuang jing*, less hope is put in the fast on its own for strengthening, transforming and perpetuating the body. This tendency to invest comparatively higher hope in medicines and lesser hope in the fast itself is likely not so much a reflection of a new trend, as it is of the diversity that had always existed among practitioners in terms of the precise results they sought from their fasts. The Shangqing texts, by incorporating the fasting methods inherited from previous immortality seekers, have preserved information on ancient fasting methods which otherwise may not have survived up until today for our scrutiny. What probably does reflect a trend new to the times is the tendency of the Shangqing texts to see fasting not so much as a ends in itself for longevity/immortality, but more as a means of conditioning and qualifying the adept spiritually and physically for the transmission of great scriptures such as the *Dadong zhenjing*, as well as for contact with divine beings.

In the Lingbao scriptures (excluding the *Wufu xu*) we do not find ingestion fasting recipes, but we do find descriptions of some non-ingestion methods which, as is the case with those of the Shangqing movement, employ imagery predominantly astral. The

methods of the *Chishu zhenwen* and *Chishu yujue* are largely embellishments of the methods of the Wufu xu, which serve to associate the methods with the mythology surrounding the Perfect Writs and the Primordial Heavenly Worthy and convey the notion that the adept is empowered daily by the very creative force of the universe. In the Lingbao scriptures, fasting is described as serving functions such as purifying the body, killing the Three Worms and activating the countless bodily deities who propel the body towards the heavens. Fasting is also vital as a component of the retreats (personal and communal). Intense fasts were carried out on designated retreat days and had the purpose of evoking divine sympathy and procuring blessings for oneself and others. Since repentance for sins was also a major objective of retreats, it is possible that for some, the fasts carried out during retreats bore the meaning of self-punishment and an expression of remorse, much as was the case with the prostrations, self-slappings and smearing of soot. Adopted from Buddhism as a daily rule for full-time adepts was the post-noon fast. Also due to Buddhist influence, vegetarianism came to be based on the ethic of non-killing as well as physiological considerations.

The *Yuqing jing* places high esteem upon non-ingestion techniques a means for becoming "unreliant." One needs to be "unreliant" on solid foods because they are "filthy *qi*", and should practice techniques by which one can satiate and nourish oneself on pure or primal *qi* (present in the air) which is the cosmic creative force that emanates from the Dao/Primordial Heavenly Worthy, and which can imbue one with the Power of the Dao. The story about Perfected Man Zhaoling witnessing the marvels of the Three Perfected Beings conveys the belief that a transformation of the body into something radiant, ethereal and freely transmutable is achieved through sustained states of progressively deeper meditative concentration, during which one "imbibes the *qi* and stores what is Perfect." At the same time, an awareness of the danger of total fasting being practiced by those not properly trained and prepared is reflected in the story of the three foolish brothers Dahun, Mingzi and Chunsheng.

In sum, fasting in its various forms was emphasized as much if not more than ever before during the Northern-Southern Dynasties period. In the Shangqing and Lingbao texts it takes on various purpose aside from just the purification and transformation of the body, and it seems at times that less faith is put in the transformative efficacy of fasting itself, while more hope (especially in the Shangqing texts) is invested in the help of divine beings sympathetic to those who strive bitterly. The *Yuqing jing*'s attitude appears more confident in the inherent power of the fast and the primal *qi* itself.

An austerity much less attested to than fasting, but which nonetheless served an important role particularly in the endeavor to encounter divine beings, was sleep-avoidance. Especially when combined with fasting, this perhaps serves to create a state of mind which induced visions. While shunning sleep adepts would meditate constantly, visualizing bodily deities which they hoped to make visible and to activate. This practice, which as we saw in Chapter Four is described in the *Huangting neijing jing*, is not described as frequently nor as clearly in the texts examined in Part Two. However, we did examine one passage (see p. 604) from the *Yuqing jing* which clearly prescribes it, and it was also speculated that it was carried out during the Lingbao retreats and may be alluded to in the *Ershisi shengtu jing*. While not clearly stated as such in the materials examined, it is likely that adepts who engaged in the visualizations endorsed in the Shangqing texts would have at times shunned sleep, since encounters with divine beings were fervently desired. Noteworthy therefore is the fact that the passage in the *Yuqing jing* prescribing sleep-avoidance also endorses the Shangqing school's Mingtang Xuanzhen method, or something similar to it. Also of note is that the *Yuqing jing*, in describing the characteristics of those who have attained the "Power of the Dao", cites the capacity to go without sleeping day and night.

As is indicated in the *Daoxue zhuan* and the *Yuqing jing*, which both make frequent use of the word *chujia* in describing Daoist clergy people, celibate monasticism based upon the Buddhist model was probably adopted by Daoists some time during the Northern-

Southern Dynasties period, although it is unclear exactly when this happened and what percentage of Daoists were monastics. The Shangqing texts' endorsements of celibacy do draw partially on Buddhistic ideas of eliminating *karma*-producing desires, but are based even more on ancient indigenous concerns such as the retention of *jing* and the inducing of visions of beautiful divine women (which possibly had to do with the sublimation of sexual desire). Also to be found are rigid proscriptions of sexual intercourse based on alleged dangers incurred when carrying out specific vizualizational techniques (such as the Way of the Black and White) or ingesting a certain substance (e.g. hollow azurite, cinnabar, the Pills of the Four Protectors). In this sense, the Shangqing texts' endorsements of celibacy are interesting not as evidence of foreign impact, but rather as testimony to the important role of celibacy within ancient indigenous techniques, and the horror of sexual intercourse held by some adepts in pre-Buddhist times.

The Lingbao scriptures adopt the Buddhist transmigration theory as the basis of their ethics, and therefore it appears likely that their precepts urging the severing of lust, the avoidance of contact with the opposite sex, along with the precept forbidding marriage (found among the Precepts for Monitoring the Body) are based largely on Buddhistic ideas. The existence of such precepts suggests the possible existence of a segment of Lingbao adherents among whom celibacy was not a matter of mere prudence and choice but was required and expected, i.e. monks and nuns (the possibility of the existence of the latter is also suggested by the story of Aqiu Zeng). Thus the Lingbao scriptures may have been authored within a context where Daoist monastic institutions already existed, even though the word *chujia* is not to be found in the texts.

Now, while the *Yuqing jing* uses the word *chujia*, the cenobitism it endorses for serious adepts is not one in large monasteries, but rather in small isolated mountain-dwelling groups of three to five people (or even better, two to three people). The story of the brothers Yun and Yu reflects how the author regarded an indifference to worldly riches and a livelihood of self-imposed poverty as a definitive trait of any worthy Daoist master.

The shunning of society and worldly goods is also greatly emphasized in the Shangqing and Lingbao texts, and is an expression of both an antipathy to the world and society and an affection towards the sacred and transcendent. The former sentiment appears more prominently in the Shangqing texts and the Yuqing jing. One passage we examined from the *Yuqing jing* (see pp. 589-590) clearly states that the reason for why one must live in the wilderness and "eat air" and "wear grass" if necessary is to avoid at all costs becoming morally corrupted by contact with secular folk. In the Shangqing texts, the antipathy towards worldly people is expressed even more strongly, as they are described as "secular corpses" whose bodies contain demonic forces which are contagious and can infect the adept. The Shangqing texts, Lingbao texts and the *Yuqing jing* all subscribe to the notion that the world is doomed to imminent destruction. It is disparaged as a decrepit and corrupt place overrun by demons and human immorality. Even when the evil influences of immoral people had been successfully withstood, it was believed that the advanced adept had to be prepared to fight off the temptations of demons, led by Demon Kings who out of vanity and envy attempted to keep capable adepts trapped in the world and under their influence.

The Lingbao scriptures differ from the Shangqing texts and the *Yuqing jing* in that the primary response towards the ills of the world and society they put forth was not to isolate oneself but was rather to altruistically strive to make the best of the situation by indoctrinating and bringing salvation to as many people as possible. In the Lingbao scriptures, mountain-dwelling seems to have been not so much an expression of disdain or fear of society, as it was a positive means of better focusing and conditioning oneself for communion with the Dao. While this type of isolation was recommended in certain stages of one's religious progress, an adept who isolated himself completely for the purpose of his own salvation was considered selfish and less worthy that those who went out into the world to propagate the religion and alleviate the suffering of living beings. (The *Yuqing jing* is strongly influenced by the Lingbao doctrines and does carry on the theme of

universal salvation. Yet, it oddly conveys a morbid hatred for the evil people of the world, and at times one senses that it takes pleasure in the demise of the wicked.) Poverty was also extolled as a virtue (and required in the Precepts for Monitoring the Body) in the Lingbao scriptures, and served the purpose of severing all worldly attachments so that one could "love only the Dao" and consequently "obtain the love of the Dao."

Despite the fact that the perpetuation of the body continued to be a central goal of Daoism and a primary motive for its asceticism, the paradoxical state of affairs persisted where indifference towards physical danger and death was considered a saintly attribute (in the Lingbao tradition, this virtue also came to entail qualities of altruism and martyrdom). Furthermore, certain methods endorsed, i.e. those aimed at achieving the liberation of the corpse (*shijie*), were tantamount to religious suicide. The Shangqing texts particularly affirm such methods, as past adepts who carried them out are exalted, and instructions concerning the taking of toxic medicines are given. As Strickmann has pointed out, Xu Hui and Zhou Ziliang (a disciple of Tao Hongjing) may well have died by carrying out such methods. While the Lingbao scriptures do not so clearly affirm such methods, it appears that Lingbao adherents likely condoned them, based on the fact that liberation of the corpse is recognized as the next best mode of salvation to ascension in broad daylight. Such methods are affirmed or condoned because they in theory bring about not death, but a feigning of death, and hence do not constitute an intentional harming of the body. (However, as was also speculated in Chapter Four, certain individuals could have resorted to such methods out of a suicidal state of mind.)

In Chapters Seven and Eight, it was discussed at length how new developments in Daoist doctrines, especially the adoption of the transmigration theory and the equating of immortal ascension to the liberation from *samsara*, combined with the ever-present indigenous impulse seeking transcendence, apparently engendered attitudes among some which affirmed or condoned the intentional harming and killing of the body. Attested to in the *Yuqing jing* is the apparent existence of a "heresy" maintaining that immortality is

attained by the spirit alone, and that the flesh is nothing but a hindrance to eternal life and liberation. The *Yuqing jing* attacks this view bitterly, and upholds the value of the human life and the vital role of the human body in the quest for salvation (while at the same time still equating the final goal to liberation from *samsara* and a merger with the original Non-being). The intriguing question is how widespread the "heresy" was among Daoists, and if and how frequently it led to actual abuses of the body. No conclusive answer can be made to this question based on evidence gleaned so far, but the adamant stance taken by the *Yuqing jing* is hard to comprehend if the "heresy" and the ascetic abuses were not real problems. The story of Zhang Min (in the *Daoxue zhuan*) who was willing to starve to death out of the belief that he could just as well resume his training in his next rebirth, may represent an actual example where the dangers of the "heresy" materialized. In Chapter Four it was mentioned, based on a passage from the *Zhouyi cantongqi*, that there may have existed the problem of well-intentioned yet overly zealous adepts inadvertently abusing their bodies by engaging in fasting and sleep-avoidance excessively and incorrectly. That the same problem persisted or re-emerged during the Northern-Southern Dynasties is hinted at in the *Yuqing jing*'s story about the three foolish brothers. Again, we unfortunately lack sufficient evidence to verify whether such a problem existed and how serious it was.

Now, in the introduction, in dealing with the issue of why severe asceticism could occur in a culture regarded as generally worldly and life-affirming, and which differed so fundamentally in its cosmological and physiological assumptions from other cultures which produced strong ascetic traditions, I offered the basic explanation that a diversity in individual temperament exists in any cultural or religious group, and that severe asceticism is the most powerful expression of the fervent religious temperament which desires redemption and transcendence.

So what exactly is the temperament of an ascetic? William James, in *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*, has made some observations concerning

this very issue. James states that "ascetic" conduct originates from "diverse psychological levels" which he identifies as follows:

(1) Organic hardihood; a disgust with too much ease.
(2) A love of purity; "shock towards whatever savors the sensual".
(3) A love for the Deity one serves[i.e. the god(s) one worships, or the higher ideal that one seeks through asceticism], and a joy in making sacrifices in Its service.
(4) Pessimistic feelings about one's self combined with doctrines about expiation. The feeling that one is carrying out penance now to avoid worse consequences later.
(5) Obsessions or fixed ideas which must be worked off before one can feel right (psychopathic cases).
(6) Perversion of bodily sensibility in which normally pain-giving stimuli are felt as pleasure.

James goes on to discuss, using as illustrations the written testimonies of specific ascetics or people directly associated with them, how the six psychological levels work in varying degrees in various people (generally more than one of them operate in a single individual).[1] Unfortunately, we cannot sufficiently test James' observations on the ascetics of early Daoist religion, since we have no access to the types of source he did (personal testimonies of the ascetics themselves). From the scriptures we can know what types of ascetic behavior and methods were prescribed and can know to a certain degree the mentality of the authors; yet we cannot get into the minds of those largely anonymous individuals who actually persevered in the practices. Hagiographies are interesting for how they describe actions and sayings of individual ascetics. Unfortunately, the depictions often reflect more the attitudes and idealizations of the hagiographers. If I was to speculate

[1]See William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (New York: Modern Library, 1902) pp. 291-304.

nonetheless, I would first guess (out of common sense) that while all six psychological levels were operative among Daoist ascetics in varying frequency and degrees, (5) and (6) were considerably less so, since they do represent abnormalities. Another guess I would make is that (1) was probably a very strong factor, perhaps more so than in the asceticism of other religions. Daoism always sought the strengthening of the body, and advanced adepts would have naturally found a degree of self-assurance in their physical ruggedness. An excellent case in point is the *Yuqing jing*'s description of the characteristics of those who have obtained the Power of the Dao, contrasted with those who follow wicked ways. (2) and (3) probably operated simultaneously in various proportions according to the individual as one observed strict precepts, resigned oneself to poverty and went into the wilderness. In regard to (4), James observes, "The hopelessness of Christian theology in respect of the flesh and natural man generally has, in systematizing fear, made of it one tremendous incentive to self mortification."[2] This same observation would not hold true for Daoism where the flesh and human nature are not disdained as fundamentally evil; they are only regarded as defiled and confused through bad behavior and bad influences. Hence the individual adept, with confidence in the latent purity and goodness within him can proceed to take it into his own hands (aided in varying degrees by sympathetic divine beings) to correct the problems, rather than tremble in fear of divine wrath. Still, many adepts may have felt a strong sense of disgust and despair towards the filthiness, weakness, greed and lust of their bodies and minds in their untrained, unredeemed states, and in this sense may have been driven by pessimistic feelings about themselves. Probably the context where the pessimistic feeling were at their most operative in generating austerities would have been at retreat rituals, as is best indicated in petitions such as those cited on p. 229 and p. 482.

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[2]See James, p. 296.

Finally, I would like to bring this study to a close by citing the following comments by James which I regard as highly instructive in regard to why severe asceticism was able to, or rather had to, manifest itself in Daoism and in China:

> For in its spiritual meaning asceticism stands for nothing less than for the essence of the twice-born[3] philosophy. It symbolizes, lamely enough no doubt, but sincerely, the belief that there is an element of real wrongness in this world, which is neither to be ignored nor evaded, but which must be squarely met and overcome by an appeal to the soul's heroic resources, and neutralized and cleansed away by suffering. As against this view, the ultra-optimistic form of the once-born philosophy thinks we may treat evil by the method of ignoring.....
>
> No such attempt [i.e. ignoring] can be a general solution of the problem; and to minds of a somber tinge, who naturally feel life as a tragic misery, such optimism is a shallow dodge or mean evasion. It accepts, in lieu of a real deliverance, what is a lucky personal accident merely, a cranny to escape by. It leaves the general world unhelped and still in the clutch of Satan. The real deliverance, the twice-born folk insist, must be of universal application. Pain and wrong and death must be fairly met and overcome in higher excitement, or else their sting remains unbroken. If one has ever taken the fact of the prevalence of tragic death in this world's history fairly into his mind--freezing, drowning, entombment alive, wild beasts, worse men, and hideous diseases--he can with difficulty, it seems to me, continue his own career of worldly prosperity without suspecting that he may all the while not be really inside the game, that he may lack the great initiation.

[3]James frequently categorizes religious individuals as "once-born" or "twice born." The "once born take a positive view of the world as it is and rejoice in the goodness of their deity. The "twice born" are acutely aware of the negative things and slow to acknowledge the good and pleasant things, and regard redemption as essential.

> Well, this is exactly what asceticism thinks; and it voluntarily takes the initiation.[4]

Evil, tragedy, suffering and death were (and are) realities in China as much as they are anywhere else. The fact that not all Chinese were "once-born" optimists who chose to ignore the "real wrongness" is attested to by the severe asceticism in early Daoist religion. Many Daoist adepts could not but acknowledge the wrongness in their world and within the human condition. To them, the quest for eternal life was not a perpetuation of life's joys that could be realized in total evasion of life's miseries; it was a bitter struggle for redemption, a courageous head-on battle with on the forces of evil, suffering and death existing in the world and in their own bodies, which had to be confronted and defeated before they could be transcended and left behind.

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[4]See James, pp. 354-355.

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HY861/TT578 *Xiandao jing* 顯道經

HY872/TT580 *Huangting dunjia yuanshen jing* 黃庭遁甲緣身經

HY983/TT618 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyi wuqi zhenjing* 三一五氣真經

HY1004/TT628 *Zhouyi cantongqi jie* 周易參同契解

HY1010/TT637-640 *Zhengao* 真誥

HY1026/TT677-702 *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤

HY1093/TT *Taiping jing* 太平經

HY1093/TT746 *Taiping jing chao* 太平經鈔

HY1103/TT758 *Taixuan zhenyi benji jing* 太玄真一本際經

HY1106/TT758 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing suyuan jing* 本行宿緣經

HY1107/TT758 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing yinyuan jing* (*Benxing yinyuan jing*) 本行因緣經

HY1114/TT759 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing* 昇玄內教經

HY1117/TT760-761 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 三洞奉道科戒營始

HY1119/TT761 *Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe* 陸先生道門科略

HY1122/TT764 *Daodian lun* 道典論

HY1124/TT765 *Shangqing daolei shixiang* 上清道類事相

HY1130/TT768-778 *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要

HY1131/TT780-782 *Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊

HY1177/TT868-870 *Baopuzi neipian* 抱樸子內篇

HY1196/TT876 *Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經

HY1238/TT992-995 *Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄

HY1301/TT1022-1024 *Taishang dadao yuqing jing* (*Yuqing jing*)

太上大道玉清經

HY1302/TT1025 *Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing* (*Ciyi jing*)

洞真高上玉帝大洞此誼一玉檢五老寶經

HY1303/TT1026 *Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing*

洞真太上素靈洞元大有妙經

HY1319/TT1030 *Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing*

洞真太乙帝君太丹隱書洞真玄經

HY1321/TT1030 *Dongzhen taishang zidu yanguang shenyuan bianjing*

洞真太上紫度炎光神元變經

HY1333/TT1032 *Taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing* (*Xiaomo jing*)

太上說智慧消魔真經

HY1345/TT1038 *Shangqing gaoshang miemo yudi shenhui yuqing yinshu* (*Yuqing yinshu* 1) 上清高上滅魔玉帝神慧玉清隱書

HY1347/TT1038 *Shangqing gaoshang jinyuan yuzhang yuqing yinshu* (*Yuqing yinshu* 2)

金元羽章玉清隱書

HY1349/TT1039 *Shangqing jiutian shangdi shu baishen neiming jing*

九天上帝咒百神內名經

HY1353/TT1039 *Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajie wen*

智慧觀身大戒文

HY1365/TT1042 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* (*Jiuzhen zhongjing*)

太上帝君九真中經

HY1387/TT1049 *Dasheng miaolin jing* 大乘妙林經

HY1393/TT1050 *Shangqing taiji zhenren shenxian jing*

太極真人神仙經

HY1394/TT1050 *Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jing* 長生胎元神用經

HY1396/TT1051 *Dongxuan lingbao ershisi shengtu jing* (*Ershisi shengtu jing*) 二十四生圖經

HY1400/TT1052 *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke* (*Mingzhen ke*) 長夜之府九幽玉匱明真科

HY1419/TT1056 *Daozang quejing mulu* 道藏闕經目録

HY1427/TT1059 *Dongxuan lingbao yuqingshan buxu jing* 玉京山步虛經

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Chapter One Glossary

Baopuzi 抱朴子
Baopuzi neipian 抱朴子内篇
Baopuzi waipian 抱朴子外篇
badou 巴豆
bigu 辟穀
Bowu zhi 博物志
Cainü 采女
Cao Cao 曹操
changpu 菖蒲
Changsangzi 長桑子
Chen Anshi 陳安世
Chuci 楚辭
Chuxue ji 初學記
Daoshu 道樞
Daozang jinghua lu 道藏精華録
Daozang quejing mulu 道藏闕經目録
Dongfang Shuo 東方朔
Fan Dezhao 范德昭
Fei Changfang 費長房
Feng Heng 封衡
fuling 茯苓
"Fushi pin" 服食品
Gan Shi 甘始
Gaoyi 高邑
Ge Hong 葛洪
Ge Zhiquan 葛稚川
Gouyi 鉤翼
Gu Chun 谷春
Gu Qiang 古强
Guang hanwei congshu 廣漢魏叢書
Guo Pu 郭璞
Han shu 漢書
Han Zhong 韓終
Hao (county) 鄗
Hao Guangning 郝廣寧
Hua Ziqi 華子期
Huainan zi 淮南子
Huandi 桓帝
Huang Jing 黄敬
Huang Yuanqiu 黄阮邱
Huangdi 黄帝
huangjing 黄精
Hugong 壺公
Jian Keng (i.e. Pengzu) 籛鏗
Jiao Xian 焦先
Jie Xiang 介象
Jin (dynasty) 晉
jing (essence) 精
Jingqiu (county)
Jiuhua jing 九華經
juan 卷
Julu 鉅鹿

Kong Anguo 孔安國
Kong Yuanfang 孔元方
(Mt.) Kongdong 崆峒山
Laozi 老子
Laozi huahu jing 老子化胡經
Li A 李阿
Li Babai 李八百
Li Yiqi 李意期
Liangmu 梁母
Lienü zhuan 列女傳
Liexian zhuan 列仙傳
Liu Gen 劉根
Liu Xiang 劉向
(Mt.) Longmei 龍眉山
Lü Chunyang 呂純陽
Lu Jia 陸賈
(Mt.) Luofu 羅浮山
Maojin kan 毛晉刊
Maonü 毛女
Muyu 木羽
Nanhe 南和
Ningfengzi 甯封子
Nü Ji 女几
Nü Wan 女丸
"Pinjian pin" 貧俭品
Pei Songzhi 裴松之
Pengzu 彭祖
qi 氣
Qin Gao 琴高
(Mt.) Qingcheng 青城山
Qiong Shu 邛疏
"Qizhen pian" 契真篇
Quyi 曲邑
Quzhou 曲周
Rongchenggong 容成公
Sandong zhunang 三洞珠囊
Sanguo zhi 三國志
Shangqiu Zixu 商丘子胥
(Mt.) Shaoshi 少室山
She Zheng 涉正
Shenxian zhuan 神仙傳
Shiji 史記
shigui 石桂
shijie 尸解
shizhongru 石鐘乳
Shu (region) 蜀
Shuoyuan 說苑
(Mt.) Song 嵩山
(Mt.) Songgao 嵩高山
Sun Deng 孫登
Taiping guangji 太平廣記
Taiping yulan 太平御覽
Taiqiu 太丘
tang 碭

tianmendong 天門冬
Wang Chang 王長
Wang Fu 王浮
Wang Yi 王逸
Wang Xuanhe 王懸河
Wei (dynasty) 魏
Wei Boyang 魏伯陽
Wei lüe 魏略
Wen Bin 文賓
Wendi 文帝
Wenxuan 文選
Wo Quan 偓佺
xianren 仙人
Xiaofu 嚳父
Xiuyanggong 修羊公
Xunzi 荀子
Xinxu 新序
Xinyu 新語
(Emperor) Yao 堯
Ying Shao 應劭
Yinsheng 陰生
Yinxi 尹喜
Yiwen zhi 藝文志
Yongcheng jixian lu 墉城集仙録
Youbouzi 幼伯子
yu (flute) 竽
yuanqi 元氣
(Mt.) Yuntai 雲臺山
Yuzi 玉子
Zeng Cao 曾慥
Zhang Daoling 張道陵
Zhang Hua 張華
Zhang Zhen (i.e. Yuzi) 章震
Zhao Ju 趙鞫
Zhao Sheng 趙昇
Zhenxian tongjian houji 真仙通鑑後集
zhi 芝
(Mt.) Zhongnan 終南山
zhongrushi 鐘乳石
Zhouyi cantongqi 周易參同契
zhi 芝
Zhixuzi 赤須子
zhu 朮
zhuo 涿
Zhuangzi 莊子
(Emperor) Zhuanxu 帝顓頊

Chapter Two Glossary

Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾

chou 丑

cun (measurement) 寸

Dari jing shu 大日經疏

ding 定

Dadong jing 大洞經

Dadong xuanjing 大洞玄經

Daode jing 道德經

Daoji tuna jing 道基吐納經

Dongshen bu 洞神部

Dongshen jing 洞神經

Dongshen mingzang jing 洞神明藏經

Dongshen xuanjue 洞神玄訣

Dongxuan jing 洞玄經

Dongyuan jing 洞元經

fuling 茯苓

fuqi 服氣

gengshen 庚申

gouqi 枸杞

Huangchangzi 黃裳子

Huangting neijing jing 黃庭內景經

hun 魂

Jiaoling ke 敎令科

jiazi 甲子

jingqi 精氣

jingding 靜定

Jiutian shenjing 九天神經

Kunkang 混康

Laozi yuli zhenjing 老子玉曆真經

Laozi zhongjing 老子中經

li 里

Lingyuan 靈元

na 納

Nan jing 難經

Peng Jiao 彭矯

Peng Ju 彭琚

Peng Zhi 彭踬

po 魄

Qin Yueren 秦越人

rulaizang 如來藏

Rulaizang jing 如來藏經

Sanzhen jing 三真經

shi (double hours) 時

shi (measurement) 尺

Shi Tai 石泰

Shuangling 爽靈

Taiguang 胎光

Taiguang jing 胎光經

Taihua shoushi jing 太華受識經

Taihuang jing 太黃經

Taiji 太極

Taiming wuwei jing 太明五緯經

Taiping yulan 太平御覽
Taiqing zhonghuangzhenjing 太清中黃真經
Taishang lingbao wufu xu 太上靈寶五符序
Taishang shengxuan jing 太上昇玄經
Taiwei 太微
Taiwei lingyin shu 太微靈音書
Taiwei xuanjing 太微玄經
taixi 胎息
taizang 胎藏
Taizang lun 胎藏論
Tuna jing 吐納經
tu 吐
wogu 握固
wu 午
Wuchengzi 務成子
Wufu xu 五符序
wuji 戊己
"Xialuan pian" 遐覽篇
Xisheng jing 西昇經
Xuanguang Yunü 玄光玉女
xun (ten days) 旬
Yizu jing 義足經
Youjing 幽精
Yuanyang Zidan 元陽子丹
Yuli jing 玉曆經
Yunji qiqian 雲笈七籤
Zeng Cao 曾慥
zhang (measurement) 丈
Zheng Yin 鄭隱
Zhenyan 真言
Zhi Qian 支謙
Zhonghuang jing 中黃經
"Zhonghuang pian" 中黃篇
Zhongji Huanglao 中極黃老
Zhongtian yujing 中天玉經
Zhu Fahu 竺法護
Zhugong yuli 珠宮玉曆
zi 子
zizai 自在

Chapter Three Glossary

Bao Jing 鮑靚
Baoshan 包山
bing 丙
changpu 菖蒲
Chengyi (the Jade Girl) 承翼
chifan 吃飯
Chisongzi 赤松子
Chiyou 蚩尤
chuizhu 垂珠
Daodian lun 道典論
Dayou jing 大有經
dihuang 地黃
ding 丁
Dongshen badi miaojing jing 洞神八帝妙精經
dou (measurement) 斗
(Mt.) Emei 峨嵋山
fangshi 方士
Feigui 飛龜
Fengsu tongyi 風俗通義
Fu Bochang 傅伯長
(King) Fucha 夫差
fuling 茯苓
ge (measurement) 合
Ge Xuan 葛玄
geng 庚
gouge 苟格
goumian 鉤勉
(King) Gouqian 勾踐
(King) Helü 闔閭
Hetu yincun fu 河圖隱存符
Hua Ziqi 華子期
huai (tree) 槐
Huangchangzi 黃裳子
huangjing 黃精
Huangren jing 皇人經
Huangren sanyi jing 皇人三一經
Huangting neijing jing 黃庭內景經
Huangting waijing jing 黃庭外景經
Huang Qing 黃軽
Huolin 霍林
(Mister) Jiaoli 角里先生
jia 甲
jiazi 甲子
jin (measurement) 斤
(Mister) Jinghei 京黑先生
Jiujiang 九江
Jiutian zhenjin wen 九天真金文
Jiutian zhenling jing 九天真靈經
juanbai 卷柏
jusheng 巨勝
keju 可沮
(Emperor) Ku 帝嚳

(Mt.) Lao 勞山
Laojun 老君
Laozi taizhong jing 老子胎中經
Laozi rushan lingbao wufu 老子入山靈寶五符
liang (measurement) 兩
Lingbao 靈寶
Lingbao jing 靈寶經
Linbao wufu tianwen 靈寶五符天文
Lu Xiujing 陸修靜
majian 馬箭
mianzhu 甂竹
(Mt.) Miao 茆山
Pingheng 平衡
Pingheng an 平衡案
(Mt.) Qian 潛山
qingzhai 清齋
ren 壬
Sanhuang wen 三皇文
Santian zhenbao fu 三天真寶符
Sanyi jing 三一經
Shangqing daolei shixiang 上清道類事相
shen 申
shen 辰
shen (incense) 沈
sheng (measurement) 升
Shenxian shiqi jingui miaolu 神仙食炁金匱妙錄
Shu jing 書經
shujiao 蜀椒
Sun Quan 孫權
Taihang (mountain range) 太行
Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyi wuqi zhenjing 太上洞玄靈寶三一五氣真經
Taishang lingbao wufu xu 太上靈寶五符序
Wei (apocrypha) 緯
weirui 蒇蕤
weixi 威僖
wu (stem) 戊
wu (branch) 午
Wu (kingdom) 吳
Wufu xu 五符序
Wushang biyao 無上秘要
Wuyue zhenxing tu 五嶽真形圖
Xia (dynasty) 夏
xian (artemisia) 蒨
xianren yuliang 仙人餘粮
Xianyin lingbao fang 仙隱靈寶方
Xiao jing yuanshen qi 孝經援神契
xu 戌
xunlu (incense) 薰陸
yangkuo 羊括
yege 野葛
Yiluo feigui 伊洛飛龜
yin 寅
Ying Shao 應劭

(King) Yu 禹

Yuankang (reign era) 元康

Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu 元始無量度人上品妙經四註

Yue (kingdom) 越

Yue Zichang 樂子長

"Yugong" 禹貢

yunmu 雲母

zexie 澤瀉

zhanglu 章陸

Zheng Yin 鄭隱

Zhengji 正機

Zhenyi wuya fa 真一五芽法

zhi 芝

Zhongji Huanglao 中極黃老

zi 子

(Mt.) Zi 茲山

Zidan 子丹

Chapter Four Glossary

Baisu Yunü 白素玉女
(Mt.) Baitu 白土山
(Emperor) Chengdi 成帝
Chigui Yunü 赤圭玉女
Chuxue ji 初學記
Dadan zhizhi 大丹直指
Dongxian zhuan 洞仙傳
fenfen 紛紛
Fuqi jingyi lun 服氣精義論
Guo Wen 郭文
Huangsu Yunü 黃素玉女
Huashu 華胥
jiao 醮
jie 戒
Jing Fang 京房
Jingdian shihwen 經典釋文
Jinque Housheng Dijun 金闕後聖帝君
Liangqiuzi 梁丘子
Lingshu ziwen 靈書紫文
lu (register) 籙
Qingyao Yunü 青腰玉女
Qiu Changchun 邱長春
she 社
Taiping Dao 太平道
Taiping dongji jing 太平洞極經
Taiping jing 太平經
Taiping jing chao 太平經鈔
Taixi jingwei lun 胎息精微論
Taiping qingling shu 太平清領書
Tianguanli baoyuan taiping jing 天官歷包元太平經
Wang Bi 王弼
Wei Boyang 魏伯陽
Wei Boyang neijing 魏伯陽內經
Wuxiang lei 五相類
Xiandao jing 顯道經
Xu Kai 徐凱
Xuanguang Yunü 玄光玉女
Xuanjing zhang 玄鏡章
Yu Fan 虞翻
Yunji qiqian 雲笈七籤
Zhang Jue 張角
Zhouyi cantongqi 周易參同契
Zhouyi cantongqi jie 周易參同契解
zhu 朮

Chapter Five Glossary

Aijing 愛靜
Baocheng County 褒城縣
Baxi 巴西
Bo County 栢縣
Changnian 長年

changzhai 長齋
Chen Baoguang 陳葆光
Chen Guofu 陳國符
Chen shu 陳書
Chongguang 崇光
Chu Boyu 褚伯玉
chujia 出家
Chuxue ji 初學記
Dajian (reign era) 大建
Dantu 丹徒
Danyang 丹陽
Daochong 道沖
Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi 道德真經廣聖義
Daozang yuanliu kao 道藏源流考
Deng Yuzhi 鄧郁之
Deyang 德陽
Dongxian zhuan 洞仙傳
Dongfang Shuo 東方朔
Donghai 東海
Dongqian 東遷
Dongxiang Zongchao 東鄉宗超
Dongyang Valley 東陽谷
Du Guangting 杜光庭
Duan jiurou wen 斷酒肉文
Fan Chai 范粲
Fan Xin 范欣
Fang Qianzhi 方謙之
Fozu tongji 佛祖統紀
Fucheng 富城
Gaomi 高密
Gaoping 高平
Guang hongming ji 廣弘明集
Guo Wen 郭文
Hang County 杭縣
Henei 河內
Huaixian Guan 懷仙館
Huan Wen 桓溫
Huo (mountain) 霍山
Huoqiu County 霍丘縣
Ji Huiyan 嵇慧琰
Ji Region 冀州
Jing County 涇縣
Jiao County 膠縣
jie 戒
jijiu 祭酒
Jin'an 晉安

Jingchu 靜處
jingshe 精舍
Jingzhou 荊州
Jinxiang County 金鄉縣
Jurong 句容
Kang Hou 抗侯
Kong Gui 孔珪
Kong Lingchan 孔靈產
Kuaiji 會稽
Langye 瑯琊
Langzhong 閬中
lao 醪
li 醴
Li Dong 李東
Li Fang 李昉
Liang Emperor Wu 梁武帝
Liang shu 梁書
lijia 離家
Lin'an 臨安
Lingbao 靈寶
Linyi County 臨沂縣
Liu Ningzhi 劉凝之
Liu-Song (dynasty) 劉宋
Longxi 隴西
Lu Xiujing 陸修靜
Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe 陸先生道門科略
Lujiang 廬江
Ma Shu 馬朮區
Maolun 茂倫
Maoshan zhi 茅山志
Meng Daoyang 孟道養
Mengwei 盟威
Minhou County 閩侯
Murong 慕容
Nanbeichao 南北朝
Nakajima Ryuzo 中嶋隆藏
Nan shi 南史
Nanhai 南海
Nanjun 南郡
Nanyang 南陽
Ozaki Masaharu 尾崎正治
peng 蓬
Peng Chu 彭初
Pingchang 平昌
Pubu (mountain) 瀑布山
Qi (dynasty) 齊
Qiang 羌
Qiantang 錢塘
Qianzou 黔陬
Sandong jingshu mulu 三洞經書目錄
Sandong qunxian lu 三洞群仙錄
Sandong zhunang 三洞珠囊
Shan (mountain range) 剡

Shangqing 上清

Shangqing daolei shixiang 上清道類事相

Shanyin 山陰

shejia 捨家

shifang tianzun 十方天尊

Shihe 士和

Shilei fu 事類賦

shu 术

Shuang Xizu 雙襲祖

Shuang Zibian 雙子辯

shushi 蔬食

Sizhou 司州

Taishang dadao yuqing jing 太上大道玉清經

Taishang shifang yinghao tianzun chan 太上十方應號天尊懺

Taiyuan (reign era) 太元

Taiping yulan 太平御覽

Tao Dan 陶淡

Tao Hongjing 陶弘景

Tianmu (mountain) 天目山

Tianjian (reign era) 天監

Wan Chong 萬寵

Wang Dao 王導

Wang Jia 王嘉

Wang Jian 王建

Wang Songnian 王松年

Wang Xuanhe 王懸河

Wenju 文舉

Wenxuan 文選

Wu Shu 吳淑

Wuxing 吳興

Xianbei 鮮卑

Xianyuan pianzhu 仙苑編珠

Xiaoyuan 孝元

Xiao Zheng 蕭貞

Xincheng 新城

Xinye 新野

Xu Hui 許嵩羽

Xu Jian 徐堅

Xu Lingqi 徐靈期

Xu Mai 許邁

Xu Mi 許謐

Xuanda 玄達

Xuanpin lu 玄品錄

Yan Jizhi 嚴寄之

Yan Xuanzhi 閻玄之

Yanling 焉陵

Yao Chang 姚萇

Yilun 逸倫

Yingchuan 潁川

Yiyang Jun 義陽郡

Yongming (reign era) 永明

Yu Chengxian 庾承先

Yuan 援

Yuanchu 元璩
Yuanhui (reign era) 元徽
Yuanjia (reign era) 元嘉
Yuanyou 遠遊
Yuhang 餘杭
Yunmeng (mountain) 雲夢山
Yunming Zheng 云名正
zhai 齋
Zhang Daoling 張道陵
Zhang Min 章旻
Zhang Xuanche 張玄徹
Zhang Ze 張澤
Zhao Commandery 趙郡
Zhaozhen Guan 招真館
Zhengao 真誥
Zhijiang County 枝江縣
Zhi'an 志安
Zhongxu Daguan 冲虛大館
Zhongyuan 仲遠
Zhou Ziliang 周子良
Zhoushi mingtong ji 周氏冥通記
Zhuge Le 諸葛緑林
Zinian 子年

Chapter Six Glossary

Baishisheng 白石生
baizhu 白朮
bajie 八節
Baojian jing 寶劍經
(Lord) Baoming 保命君
Bocheng 柏成
(Mt.) Bozhong 嶓冢山
changpu 菖蒲
Chen Anshi 陳安世
Chisongzi 赤松子
Chou Jizi 仇季子
chushenwan 初神丸
Ciyi jing 此位一經
Dachi 大赤
Dadong zhenjing 大洞真經
dansha 丹砂
Dantu County 丹徒縣
Daoji 道迹
daoyin 導引
dashen 大神
Deng Boyuan 鄧伯元
Deng Yu 鄧郁
Dengzhen yinjue 登真隱訣
Diao Daolin 刁道林
dihuang 地黃
Dijun 帝君
Dinglu jun 定錄君
dixia zhuzhe 地下主者
dongfang 洞房
dongtian 洞天
Dongzhen gaoshang yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing 洞真高上玉帝大洞此位一玉檢五老寶經
Dongzhen taishang suling dongyuan dayou miaojing 洞真太上素靈洞元大有妙
Dongzhen taishang zhihui xiaomo jing 智慧消魔經
Dongzhen taiyi dijun taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing 太一帝君太丹隱書洞真玄經
Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始
Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu 真靈位業圖
dou 斗
Du Jingchan 杜京產
Fan Yaochong 范幼沖
fangfeng 防風
(Blue Boy of) Fangzhu 方諸青童
Feng Yanshou 馮延壽
feichang 非常
feixian 飛仙
(Mt.) Fengdu 豐隆都山
fu (star) 輔
(Mr.) Fu 傅先生
Fufeng 扶風

fuling 茯苓
gancao 甘草
(Mt.) Goshi 綰侯氏山
Gu Huan 顧歡
gui (Saigon cinnamon) 桂
Hancheng County 韓城縣
Hao Jicheng 皓季成
heng (star) 衡
hu 斛
Hu Shi 胡適
Hua Qiao 華僑
huangchi zhi dao 黃赤之道
huanglian 黃連
huangshu chijie zhi fa 黃書赤界之法
Huangguanzi 黃觀子
Huangting dunjia yuanshen jing 黃庭遁甲緣身經
Huangyan County 黃巖縣
Huayang 華陽
Huayang yinju xiansheng benji lu 華陽隱居先生本起錄
Hui County 輝縣
huozao jiaoli 火棗交梨
Jian jing 劍經
Jiankang 建康
(Mt.) Jiao 焦山
"Jie chengfu jue" 解承負訣
jiji 既濟
jin 斤
jindan 金丹
jing (scripture) 經
jing (*vitex negundo*) 荊
(Mt.) Jing 荊山
jingshen 精神
jingqi 精氣
Jingyang County 涇陽縣
(Mt.) Jinhua 金華山
Jinque Dijun 金闕帝君
jishexiang 鷄舌香
Jiuhua Zhenfei 九華真妃
Jiuzhen zhongjing 九真中經
jue 訣
Jurong 句容
kuxing 苦行
Laojun 老君
li 里
Li Fanghui 李方回
Lingyang Ziming 陵陽子明
Liu Fenglin 劉奉林
Liu Shaoweng 劉少翁
Long Bogao 龍伯高
longgu 龍骨
Lü Chengzi 閭成子
(Mt.) Luofeng 羅酆山
Lupigong 鹿皮公
maimendong 麥門冬

(Mt.) Mao 茅山
Mao Gu 茅固
Mao Zhong 茅衷
Mian County 沔縣
Mingdi 明帝
mingtang 明堂
Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue 明堂元真經訣
Mo Qiu 墨秋
nanzhu 南燭
neizhuan 內傳
niwan 泥丸
Peijun 裴君
(Mt.) Qiao 橋山
qingjing ganshi xunfan 青精干石飡訖飯
qingmuxiang 青木香
Qingwei 清微
Qingwu Gong 青烏公
Qingxu zhenren Wang jun neizhuan 清虛真人王君內傳
qugu 去穀
renshen 人參
Sansu Yuanjun 三素元君
Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穗
Shan 剡
Shangqing 上清
Shangqing gaoshang jinyuan yuzhang yuqing yinshu 上清高上金元羽章玉清隱書
Shangqing gaoshang miemo yudi shenhui yuqing yinshu 滅魔王帝神慧玉清隱書
Shangqing jiutian shangdi zhou baishen neiming jing 九天上帝咒百神內名經
Shangqing mingtang yuanzhen jingjue 明堂元真經訣
Shangqing taiji zhenren shenxian jing 太極真人神仙經
Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing 太上帝君九真中經
Shangqing wozhong jue 握中訣
Shijing jinguang zangjing luxing jing 金光藏精錄形經
Sima Jizhu 司馬季主
Sishi-erzhang jing 四十二章經
(Mt.) Songgao 嵩高山
Sun Youyue 孫遊嶽
Taiji 太極
Taiji zhenren feixian baojian shangjing 太極真人飛仙寶劒上經
"Taiji zhenren fu suji yunya shangfa" 太極真人服四極雲牙上法
Taiji zhenren qingjing ganshi xunfan shangxian lingfang 青精干石飡訖飯上仙靈方
Taiqing 太清
Taishang Daojun 太上道君
"Taishang jushengyu zhu wushiying fa" 太上巨勝脂煮五石英法
Taishang Laojun 太上老君
Taishang mingtang xuanzhen shangjing 明堂玄真上經
Taishang yupei jindang taiji jinshu shangjing 玉佩金璫太極金書上經

Taisu zhuan 太素傳
Taiyi 太一
Taiyi Dijun 太一帝君
Taiyi dongzhen xuanjing 太一洞真玄經
Taiyi Siming 太一司命
taiyi sizhenwan 太一四全真丸
taiyi yu yuliang 太一禹餘糧
Tao Hongjing 陶弘景
Tao Yi 陶翊
Taokang 桃康
Wang Bao 王褒
Wang Qiao 王喬
Wang Shilong 王世龍
Wang Xuanfu 王玄甫
Wang Youying (Madame of the Cloudy Forest) 雲林右英王夫人
Wang Zhongfu 王仲甫
Wei Huacun 魏華存
(Mt.) Wieyu 委羽山
Wu Guang 務光
Wushan County 巫山縣
"Wushi jie chengfu fa" 五事解承負法
xianren 仙人
xiaofa 小法
Xiaomo jing 消魔經
Xiayang 夏陽
Xin Xuanzi 辛玄子
Xin Yin 辛隱
Xu Hui 許翽翊
Xu Mi 許謐
xuanbai zhi dao 玄白之道
Xuanmu 玄母
Xuanmu bamen jing 玄母八門經
(Madame) Xuanqing 玄清夫人
xunfan 飻迅飯
xunluxiang 薰陸香
Yang Xi 楊羲
Yanshi County 偃師縣
yaoli 藥力
Yin Qianzi 尹虔子
Yixian Palace 易遷宮
Yuanfu 元父
Yuanshi Tianzun 元始天尊
Yupei jindang jing 玉佩金璫經
Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豐
you (hour) 酉
You Region 幽州
yunxiayi 雲霞衣
Yuqing 玉清
Yuqing Xiaomo Dawang 玉清消魔大王
Yuqing yinshu 玉清隱書

zengqing 曾青
Zhang Shisheng 張石生

zhantangxiang 詹糖香
Zhao Chengzi 趙成子
Zhao Kangzi 趙康子
zhendanggui 真當歸
Zhengao 真誥
Zhenji 真迹
zhenren 真人
zhichongwan 制蟲丸
Zhongbu County 中部縣
Zhongshan 中山
Zhou Yishan 周義山
Zhuling 朱陵
zhuyu (root) 茱萸根
(Madame) Ziwei 紫微夫人

Chapter Seven Glossary

Aqiu Zeng 阿丘曾
Baiyuan 白元
bajie 八節
bajing 八景
banan 八難
bawei 八威
Baopuzi 抱朴子
bojia 搏頰
cang 倉
changle she 長樂舍
changzhai 長齋
(the world of) Chanli 禪黎世界
Chiming 赤明
Chiwu (reign era) 赤烏
chizhai 持齋
Chongxuan 重玄
da futang guo 大福堂國
dafan 大梵
danye 丹液
Dao Sheng 道生
Daojun 道君
Daye (reign era) 大業
Dongxuan 洞玄
Erjiao lun 二教論
ershisizhen sanbu bajing 二十四真三部八景
fa 法
falun 法輪
famen 法門
fashi 法師
fuyu 服御
Ge Chaofu 葛巢甫
Ge Xuan 葛玄
gengshen 庚申
genshi kei 元始系
gongguo 功過
Guangmiaoyin 光妙音
guanqi shenshen 關啓身神
guanshen dajie 觀身大戒
gui 歸
Heshanggong 河上公
Housheng Lijun 後聖李君
hua 化
Huiguan 慧觀
hun 魂
jiayin 甲寅
jiazi 甲子
jie 戒
jingzhai 靜齋
jiuyou 九幽
Kaihuang 開皇
katsu shi kei 葛氏系
Kobayashi Masayoshi 小林正美

koutou 叩頭

(Mt.) Laocheng 勞盛山

Lingbao 靈寶

Lingbao chishu wupian zhenwen 靈寶赤書五篇真文

Lingbao chishu wuqi xuantian heidi zhenwen 靈寶赤書五氣玄天黑帝真文

Lingbao jingmu 靈寶經目

Lingbao shenxian tu 靈寶神仙圖

"Lingbao zhongmeng mulu" 靈寶中盟目錄

liuhe 六合

liutong 六通

Longhan 龍漢

Longshi nü jing 龍施女經

Lu Xiujing 陸修靜

Meng Zhizhou 孟智周

Miaozhen jing 妙真經

miedu 滅度

niwan 泥丸

po 魄

qingdi gui mo 青帝鬼魔

qiongchang 窮腸

(Mt.) Qionglong 穹隆山

Sandong fengdao kejie yifan 三洞奉道科戒儀範

Sandong jingshu mulu 三洞經書目錄

sanshen 三神

Santian neijie jing 三天內解經

sanzhen 三真

sejie 色界

senkoo kei 仙公系

Seng Rui 僧叡

Seng Zhao 僧肇

shanxue 山學

Shanghuang 上皇

shangsheng 上聖

shen (body) 身

shen (spirit) 神

sheng 生

shenzutong 神足通

Shi Daowei 釋道微

shi-er kecong jie 十二可從戒

shijie 尸解

shiku 十苦

shuang 孀

Siming 司命

Song Wenming 宋文明

sumingtong 宿命通

tanian 他念

taxintong 他心通

Taishang Daojun 太上道君

Taishang Gaosheng Daojun 太上高聖道君

Taiwei Tiandi 太微天帝

Taixuan 太玄

Taiyi 太一

Taiyi Gaoxian Tianwang 太一高仙天王

tian 天
tian-ertong 天耳通
(Mt.) Tiantai 天台山
tianyantong 天眼通
Tongmen 通門
tuna 吐納
tutanzhai 塗炭齋
wang 王
Wang Gongchao 王公朝
Wang Gongqi 王公期
wuloutong 無漏通
wusejie 無色界
Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi,
wushang zhai 無上黃籙大齋立成儀
無上齋
wushen 五神
wuxian 五仙
Wuying 無英
Xiaodao lun 笑道論
Xisheng jing 西昇經
xianqing 仙卿
xianzhe 賢者
xin (mind) 心
xing (bodily form) 形
Xu Laile 徐來勒
(Master) Xuanhe 玄和
Xuanmen dalun 玄門大論
Xuanmen dayi 玄門大義
xuanye 玄業
xuanying 玄膺
xuhuang 虛皇
yaoge 謠歌
yimao 乙卯
yinyuan 因緣
Yixi (reign era) 義熙
Yuanshi Tianzun 元始天尊
yujie 欲界
Yuluoqiao 鬱羅翹
zhai 齋
zhaitang 齋堂
Zhang Daoling 張道陵
Zhang Lu 張魯
Zhang Tai 張泰
Zhendingguang 真定光
Zheng Ren-an 鄭仁安
Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠
"Zhaitan anzhen jingmu" 齋壇安鎮經目
Zhi Qian 支謙
Zhihui shangpin shijie 智慧上品十戒
Zhu Falan 竺法蘭
zibo 自搏
zuoqi 坐起
Zong Jingxian 宗竟鮮

Chapter Eight Glossary

Bajie pin 八節品
Baoguang 寶光
Baqie 跋伽
Benqi pin 本起品
bo (plant) 檗
Bosi 波斯
bujue you shen 不覺有身
(Mt.) Chang 常山
Changshan (County) 常山縣
changzhai 長齋
Chen Jingyuan 陳景元
Chongguang 重光
Chu sanzang jiji 出三藏記集
chujia 出家
chujia daoshi 出家道士
Chunsheng 蠢生
Cibei fangbian pin 慈悲方便品
Cibei jie xupin 慈悲戒序品
Dahun 大閽
Dai (County) 代縣
Daluo 大羅
(Mt.) Danhuo 丹霍山
Dao hua siyi pin 道化四夷品
Daozang jiyao 道藏輯要
Daban niepan jing 大般涅槃經
daoli 道力
Dasheng miaolin jing 大乘妙林經
Dezheng 德正
Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始
Duyang zabian 杜陽雜編
(Mt.) Fanghu 方壺山
fangsheng 放生
fashen 法身
Fayin pin 法印品
(Mt.) Fulong 伏龍山
Gaochang 高昌
genye 根業
gu xiansheng 古先生
Guoqu xianzai yinyuan jing 過去現在因緣經
Houhan shu 後漢書
houshi 後世
huahu 化胡
huangrong 荒戎
Huizong 徽宗
hun 魂
Juheduo 居和多
kuxing zhe 苦行者
Luobi 羅比
(Mt.) Luofu 羅浮山
jing 精
jingshuang 精爽

Mei (County) 郿縣
miedu 滅度
mingtang 明堂
Mingwei zhenren weiye pin 明威真人戚邪品
Mingzi 寘子
Nanchang 南昌
pitai 否泰
po 魄
qingqi 清氣
qixian 棄賢
rou da gu xiao 肉大骨小
ruyi 如意
Sanguo zhi 三國志
Sanyuan baojing liutong pin 三元寶經流通品
Shangqing sanzhen zhiyao yujue 上清三真旨要玉訣
shangshi 上士
shangxuan 上玄
Shangyuan pin 上元品
Shanxiu 善修
shen (spirit) 神
Shengui (reign era) 神龜
Sheyang zhenzhong fang 攝養枕中方
shidao 師道
Shijie pin 世界品
Shuo jieke pin 說戒科品
sizhong rentian 四種人天
Su E 蘇鶚
Sun Simiao 孫思邈
(Mt.) Taibai 太白山
Taishang dadao yuqing jing 太上大道玉清經
Taishang dongxuan lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing 太上洞玄靈寶昇玄內教經
Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing 太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經
Taishang lingbao yuanyang miaojing 太上靈寶元陽妙經
Taishang yisheng haikong zhizang jing 太上一乘海空智藏經
Taiwudi 太武帝
Taixuan zhenyi benji jing 太玄真一本際經
tang 唐
taotang 陶唐
Tianbao (reign era) 天寶
tianshen 天神
(Mt.) Tiantai 天台山
(Mt.) Tiewei 鐵圍山
Tong youwei pin 通幽微妙品
tongzhi 同志
waidao 外道
Wang Fu 王浮
(Mt.) Wangwu 王屋山
Weimo pin 威魔品
wudai 無待
Wudi 武帝
Wuling 武陵
(Mt.) Wutai 五臺山

xiang 相
Xiangyang (County) 襄陽縣
xianren 仙人
Xiayuan pin 下元品
xingdao 行道
xiqi 習氣
Xisheng jing 西昇經
Yangcheng (County) 陽城縣
Yanzhi 焉耆
yeli 業力
yin qi 陰氣
Yin Xi 尹喜
Youxi pin 幽棲品
Yu (foolish younger brother) 遇
Yuandui pin 緣對品
yuanqi 元氣
Yuanyang jing 元陽經
Yuqing jing 玉清經
Yun (wise elder brother) 運
Yuqing shangyuan jie pin 玉清上元戒品
Yuqing xiayuan jie pin 玉清下元戒品
Yuqing zhongyuan jie pin 玉清中元戒品
Zengcheng (County) 增城縣
Zhaijie pin 齋戒品
Zhaoling pin 昭靈品
Zhengyi mengwei zhi dao santian zhengfa 正一盟威之道三天正法
Zhenhai (County) 鎮海縣
zhenxing 真形
(Mt.) Zhongnan 終南山
Zhongyuan pin 中元品
Zhucheng (County) 諸城縣

THE LINGBAO SCRIPTURES

(Based upon Lu Xiujing's catalog reconstructed by Ofuchi Ninji)
Below each title from the catalog are listed the extant texts thought to correspond to them along with the abbreviations of their titles which I have employed in Ch. 7.

1. *Taishang dongxuan lingbao wupian zhenwen chishu* 太上洞玄靈寶五篇真文赤書

HY22/TT26*Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing* (*Chishu zhenwen*)

2. *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yujue* 元始五老赤書玉篇真文天書經 太上洞玄靈寶玉訣

HY352/TT178*Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* (*Chishu yujue*)

3. *Kongdong lingzhang* 空洞靈章 太上洞玄靈寶赤書玉訣妙經

Pelliot 2399*Taishang dongxuan lingbao kongdong lingzhang* 太上洞玄靈寶空洞靈章

4. *Shengxuan buxu zhang* 昇玄步虛章

HY1427/TT1059*Dongxuan lingbao yuqingshan buxu jing* 洞玄靈寶玉京山步虛經

5. *Jiutian shengshen zhang* 九天生神章

HY318/TT165*Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經

6. *Ziran wuzheng wen* 自然五稱文

HY671/TT352*Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wuzheng fu shangjing*

7. *Zhutian neiyin yuzi* 諸天內音玉字 太上無極大道自然真一五稱符上經

HY97/TT49*Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 太上靈寶諸天內音自然玉字

8. *Zhihui shangpin dajie* 智慧上品大戒

HY457/TT202*Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui zuigen shangpin dajie jing* (*Zuigen dajie jing*) 太上洞玄靈寶智慧罪根上品大戒經

9. *Shangpin dajie weiyi ziran* 上品大戒威儀自然

HY177/TT77*Taishang dongzhen zhihui shangpin dajie* (*Zhihui shangpin dajie*)

HY454/TT202*Taishang dongxuan lingbao shangpin jie jing* (*Shangpin jie jing*) (for some reason not mentioned by Ofuchi as corresponding to the 9th entry) 太上洞真智慧上品大戒 太上洞玄靈寶上品戒經

10. *Jinlu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenyi jing* 金籙簡文三元威儀自然真一經

Not extant as an individual work.

11. *Mingzhen ke* 明真科

HY1400/TT1052*Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke* (*Mingzhen ke*) 洞玄靈寶長夜之府九幽玉匱明真科

12. *Zhihui dingzhi tongwei* 智慧定志通微

HY325/TT167*Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing* (*Dingzhi tongwei jing*) 太上洞玄靈寶智慧定志通微經

13. *Benye shangpin* 本業上品

Pelliot 3022*Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen duren benxing miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶真文度人本行妙經

14. *Falun zuifu* 法輪罪福

HY346/TT177*Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* (*Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing*) 太上洞玄靈寶真一勸誡法輪妙經

HY348/TT177*Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo quanjie falun miaojing* (*Xuanyi quanjie falun miaojing*) 太上玄一真人說勸誡法輪妙經

HY455/TT202*Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo santu wuku quanjie jing* 太上玄一真人說三途五苦勸誡經

HY347/TT177*Taishang xuanyi zhenren shuo miaotong zhuanshen ruding miaojing* 太上玄一真人說妙通轉神入定妙經

15. *Wuliang duren shangpin juan* 無量度人上品卷

HY1/TT1*Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* (*Wuliang duren jing*) 靈寶無量度人上品妙經

16. *Zhutian lingshu duming jing* 諸天靈書度命經

HY23/TT26*Taishang zhutian lingshu duming miaojing* (*Zhutian lingshu duming jing*) 太上諸天靈書度命妙經

17. *Miedu wulian shengshi* 滅度五練生尸

HY369/TT181*Taishang dongxuan lingbao miedu wulian shengshi miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶滅度五練生尸妙經

18. *Sanyuan pin jie* 三元品誡

HY456/TT202*Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pin jie gongde qingzhong jing* (*Gongde qingzhong jing*) 太上洞玄靈寶三元品戒功德輕重經

19. *Ershisisheng tu* 二十四生圖

HY1396/TT1051*Dongxuan lingbao ershisisheng tu jing* (*Ershisisheng tu jing*) 洞玄靈寶二十四生圖經

20. *Wufu jing xu* 五符經序

HY388/TT183*Taishang lingbao wufu xu* (*Wufu xu*) 太上靈寶五符序

21. *Taiji yinzhu baojue* 太極隱注寶訣

HY425/TT194*Shangqing taiji yinzhu yujing baojue* (*Taiji yinzhu baojue*) 上清太極隱注玉經寶訣

22.*Zhenwen yaojie* 真文要解

HY330/TT167*Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen yaojie shangjing* 太上洞玄靈寶真文要解上經

23. *Zhenyi ziran jingjue* 真一自然經訣

Pelliot 2356*Zhenyi ziran jingjue* 真一自然經訣

24. *Fuzhai weiyi jue* 數齋威儀訣

HY532/TT295*Taishang zhenren fu lingbao zhaijie weiyi zhujing yaojue* (*Zhaijie weiyi jue*) 太上真數靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣

25. *Xiaomo zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin* 消魔智慧本願大戒上品

HY344/TT177*Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin jing* (*Benyuan dajie jing*) 太上洞玄靈寶智慧本願大戒上品經

26. *Xiangong qingwen jing* 仙公請問經

Stein 1351*Taiji zuoxiangong qingwen jing shang* 太極左仙公請問經上

HY1106/TT758*Dongxuan lingbao benxing suyuan jing* 洞玄靈寶本行宿緣經

27. *Zhongsheng nan* 衆聖難

HY1107/TT758*Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing yinyuan jing* (*Benxing yinyuan jing*) 太上洞玄靈寶本行因緣經

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HY816/TT568
洞神 方法類 尽上

中華民國五十一年五月藝文印書館影印

太清中黃真經釋題

畫一

中黃經亦曰胎藏論胎藏論者九仙君黃真人所集也真人常觀察元炁浩然凝結成質育之以五藏法五行以相應明之以七竅象七曜以昭晰其識潛萌其神布行安魂帶魄神足而生形神相託神形相成口受外味以忘識身受內役以喪精神離形以散壞形離神以去生殊不知皮肉相應筋骨乃成肝合筋以外心合脉以外色脾合肉其外唇肺合皮其外毛腎合骨其外髮鹹傷筋苦傷骨

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甘傷肉辛傷氣酸傷血故聖人曰先除慾以養精後禁食以存命是知食胎炁飲靈光不死之道返童還年此蓋聖人之所重也且夫一士專志下學而上達一夫有心覩天道之不速學而無至謂之愚不學不知謂之蒙然三蟲未去于踐荊棘之田當三蟲已亡自達華胥之國顯彰雲路備述胎仙知聖行之根源辯仙官之尊位至於霞衣羽服玉館天廚蓋爲志士顯聊泄天戒非人妄告殃爾明徵審此聖門必登雲路慎無傳於淺學撰莫示於斯文慢而折神輕言損壽若非志士無得顯言總一十八章列成一卷號曰胎藏中黃經皆以篇目相銜文句相繼義精於成道言盡於養生行顯意直事具文切食炁之理備載歸天之道悉成授筆録章列篇於後

太清中黃眞經卷上

九仙君誤

中黃眞人註

內養形神章第一

內養形神除嗜慾

內養形神除嗜慾者乃無相之眞形也太上言眞道養神偽道養形將雲谷元神入於天谷之中容固根源養之耳大洞所言人有三十九關斬天谷穴乃是第一關也太上曰若守我在於死忘之關今七祖枯

骨皆有生炁故言內養形神除嗜慾也洞元經云修養之道先去於嗜慾內合於五神次當絕粒心不動搖六腑如燭常修此道形神自定

專修靜定身如王

神與物交心似太虛安鎮本根自然靜定夫人心起萬端隨物所動常令靜居不慾與衆混同內絕所思外絕所慾恒依此道元炁自足

但服元炁除五穀

世人常以五穀爲肌膚不知五穀敗身之有餘今取春三月浮理一室設机案建以厚暖牀蓆案上常焚名香至夜半一炁初生之時乃靜心神嘗叩齒三十六通以兩手握固仰卧瞑目候常喘息出時合口鼓滿依法咽之入腹當覺作聲以鮑爲度氣則更咽但當坦然服之無所畏懼炁入之後如覺口乾則服三兩啜胡麻湯此物能養炁潤腹其湯法取上好白勝三大升去皮九蒸九曝又取上好茯苓三兩細所爲

末先下巨勝末煎三兩沸次下茯苓末又煎數沸即入少許酥蜜遇渴時飲一兩盞佳不惟止渴兼能止思食之念或服四時枸杞湯時飲一兩盞亦善其咽炁自然得通暢但覺腹中安和咽炁自當流滑即一切湯水自然不要喫漸通妙理但能服炁攻盤於腹腸糞自盡如入湯水直至臍下初服炁者如覺小便黃赤勿怪也心胷躁悶亦無爲懼但心定不移自達妙理若不絕湯水雖腹腸中滓盡終不得洞曉是非

若要絕水穀只在自看任持亦不量時限遠近亦有一月或五十日亦有一百日但絕其湯水者三丹田自然相次停滿三十日下丹田滿六十日中丹田滿九十日上丹田滿下丹田炁足藏府不飢中丹田滿者炁滿體無虛羸上丹田滿者凝結容色殊光肌膚充盛三焦平實永無所思神凝體清方曉是非下丹田滿者神炁不泄中丹田滿者行步超越上丹田滿者容色殊麗既得三部充實自然身安道泰乃可棲

心聖境龍息胎仙此為專炁之妙門求仙之上道也若或食或斷即令人志敗好食諸味難遣穀炁此者龍衰炁之所疾求仙之大病也經云鹹美辛酸五藏病津味入牙脊心鏡致令六府神氣衰百脈九竅不靈聖人能堅守禁絕諸味者德者九十日三丹田凝實百日內觀五藏三百日鬼惟不藏形陰神不敢欺千日名書帝錄形入太微矣

必養寥天得真錄

凡飛錬上昇為下天仙官若存想無為炁神修三一之道者得上天仙官若真子服胎息成者得寥天昇其錄千乘萬騎迎子當養中天真尊之位

百日專精食炁足

謂三丹田炁足也凡食炁吞霞言是休粮萬非旦夕之功先以德行護身次以除陰賊嗔怒此學道之志也陰賊未除三蟲不去或行非教之事不復成矣故太微玄章云除嗜慾去貪嗔安五藏神足矣

慮能牽者乎

爲有三蟲鎮隨子尸鬼坐待汝身死何得安然不驚畏

三尸之鬼常欲人早終在人身中求人罪狀每至庚申之日上白司命若無驚懼不早修鍊形神絕制五味使人年敗炁衰形神枯悴空有松筠之志無復成矣一朝命絕悔將何及者乎

勸子將心捨凡事

服炁大要者須靜持心神止捨煩務使三尸自滅神炁而行自然通達五神獲安妙理也

超然自得煙霞志

能清靜神炁則志自潛明超然洞悟有煙霞之景在乎目前

煙霞靜志章第四

煙霞靜志通神奧

若得水穀炁除自然諸脉洞曉五藏靈光化生縱捨自在深奧故不可測也靈光者乃神炁也

食氣玄微章第二

食氣玄微總五事

夫言玄微者乃無爲玄妙之理言五事者但學絶粒則魂魄變改三尸動揺者也

大關之要莫能知

夫人内行未成不知諸魔相違謂言道法無效蓋不達眞理也若是先具内行仁德只服津液尚有安和況於服氣之哉

一者初服力尚微

凡初服氣爲有滓滯直至一七二七日以

[illegible]

以爲訐緣元炁未達腹胃中所以[illegible]

但咽炁使漸通流日勝一日但當堅志守一候下丹田滿足頓無飢渴假令未達皮膚容色黃瘦亦勿以爲畏後當悅澤矣如不專志兼食行則用力無效也亦愛數敗則此爲不具内行之人則如此也若但有愛緣牽心自使敗

但當堅志守一候

一候者乃下丹田炁住漸至滿足則是也

既下丹田炁足永無飢渴若長力微瘦黃者不能修也若穀水絕則日大自然悅懌自下來也

要子將心運守之

太玄經曰凡休糧諸門甚多學道至近須九年以下無成者也唯有服炁堅守百日禁諸湯水子心不動三尸自除永無敗矣只為學者浮心未定居二疑之端使心神動搖三尸屏起百思既至心跡難歸雖服炁易為退敗猶預必不靈聖者也

二者穀存子何別炁則難停而易洩

夫體服炁欲速達五藏可除湯水菜物禁斷四十九日使小腸滓盡穀炁自絕咽炁自得通流亦有不成者多為學人心容變易或食或止故自敗矣若少食諸味則難達穀炁若要用炁使內藏分明當服此元炁五十日百物不食閉目內想脾藏中炁從心起散於四肢仰卧叱曰

中央戊己內藏元炁黃色力堅運之可理丹陽莫醉朱雲莫議得達四肢黃雲大起

每至五更雞初鳴時常候莫令參差如此二十七日內見脾藏中炁鬱鬱如黃雲透於四肢後當使此炁滅燭吹火百步外使之如大風起可以興黃雲閉彼形人無見者若不依五更初及不堅守或少一日無效矣此者中黃閉炁之法也

或則體弱而心虛或則藏虛而力劣用炁未達四肢當有虛弱之證但堅守志勿以為恐矣故大洞經云守之如初成道有餘者矣

三者上蟲居腦宮

洞神玄訣云上蟲居上丹田腦心中是也其色白而青名曰彭琚使人好味嗜慾癡滯學道之人宜禁制之假令未絕五穀常行此心持念一年之外上尸自終亦有成矣人不知玄真空絕五穀若不除貪欲之心者焉得三尸蟲滅矣

萬端喜來搖子心常思飲膳味無窮想起心生益病容

夫學道者若不得內行扶持身心却反為

三尸蟲所感亂也

四者中蟲住心官

洞神玄訣云中蟲名彭質其色白而黃居中丹田使人貪財賄好喜怒濁亂真炁令三尸變易七魄流蕩故洞玄經云無喜無怒三蟲大懼不貪不欲和炁常足坐見元陽萬神來集者也

道子魂夢神飛揚或香或美定無方或進或退難守常精神恍惚似猖狂令子坐敗想儉糧子若知之道自昌

怡然不易其道自常矣

五者下蟲居腹胃

下尸其色白而黑名曰彭矯居下丹田使人愛衣裳躭酒色學道之人當心識內安堅持制之尸鬼無能為也及無敗矣

令子淡泊常無味

常守淡泊三尸自滅三尸既亡者永無思慮矣

靜則心猿多感思撓則心煩怒多起

夫初服炁未通被三尸蟲攪亂或則多喜

怒或則多悲思或耽嗜欲滋味者也

使人邪亂失精理子能守之三蟲棄

太上昇玄經云若服炁絶食堅心經一月一蟲自去二蟲無託人能但服炁堅心守之三十日上蟲死六十日中蟲死九十日下蟲死百日心不移則自然身體康健精神清矣永無退敗若或食或斷令人志敗徒勞而無效當守持之

得見五芽九真炁

五芽者乃五行之正炁生於五藏之中九

真者爲九天之道也此五炁成還應九天所以五藏之炁名九天也元炁成當自然得明五行之炁驅使無不通者也

五芽咸惡章第三

五芽咸惡辛酸味

若五味不絶五藏靈炁不生終不斷思欲之想亦可止思欲之念及絶水穀外味之物則何慮不生五炁五炁既生則五情易暢五藏既滿元炁自凝元炁既凝五神自見五神既見備曉人間好惡是何世俗之

令子坐知生死道

若能制絶諸味百日之後無不知矣自得衆靈潛伏生死之路備覩機覽天外陰司之道恒知者也

蒸筋暴骨連諸關握固潛通百竅間

謹按胎息至理經云凡服炁五十日假令未絶水穀每過日色清明時景朗耀於正午之時當入靜室厚施軟褥牀蓆散髮低枕握固於兩脇之傍叩齒七通端心瞑目似覺微悶則須用力閉炁握固使漸漸筋

脉舒開靈炁潛通骨肉之間津汗潤澤於皮膚之內但當數數運用自得顏色悅懌炁力兼倍髮如沐漆髭若青絲如不解閉炁錄形運用元炁通流潤澤於皮膚之上終不得自在若炁行通於毛髮之間自然覺髮跳躑若不得此法雖絶粒長生亦同凡碌草木無精光者也

百竅關連總有神

百竅通於百穴百穴通於百脉眼上有二

穴通於肝脉肝脉通於心故心悲而淚腭上二穴通於鼻脉通於心脉故心悲則鼻酸鼻脉復通於腦脉故腦熱而鼻乾洞神明藏經云百脉通流百竅相生百關相鎖百節相連故一穴閉而百病生一脉塞而百經亂故服炁無疾諸脉自通道人不死乃胃腹中無物停留也鑒察吉凶百神歸集於體寒熱不近元炁調伏於身衆毒不干五藏靈神固護猛獸不搏土地常自衛持隱顯自在骨肉合於玄牝去留無滯無

所不通自然達於真道何處不契通於聖智哉

由子驅除歸我身

百關九竅皆有神宅也藏腑無邪炁所生則萬神歸集邪炁即穀炁是也若正炁流行所有瘡痕點黶客炁自然消滅者也

恬然得達自明真

故得洞鑒昭然足辨邪正之類

自明真道永長存

致形神於不死之門昇子身於九天之上

長存之道章第六

長存之道因專志
精專用意則可通於聖理
返荷三魂知不死
炁通之後當自荷形神明不死之路者也
何物爲寬七七裏
服炁滓盡後絶水穀最功者在四十九日
漸當百脉洞達返照如燭俗心頓捨五藏
恬然若不堅持前功併棄再理何可終不
成道而矣

堅然慎守酸鹹味
食諸味者難遣穀炁

鹹美辛酸章第七

鹹美辛酸五藏病津味入牙昏心境
但是五味入牙皆通於兩眼之穴散霑於
百脉之内使穀炁堅實藏府停留若求速
達者尤宜卓然斷絶也
致令六腑神炁衰百骸九竅不靈聖
爲神炁不凝丹田之中靈光不照於藏府
之内也

子能慎守十旬中諸脉洞然若明鏡
使功滿十旬於者神炁自當凝實靈光煥
耀如燭無不洞達者也
六腑明神不隱藏與子語言說心境
五藏神自見也
滯子神功去路難大都穀實偏爲病
若穀炁不除終不見幽玄至理也若能絶
穀水有自達玄境也
穀實精華章第八
穀實精華與靈陽經羅六腑脅諸脉

穀實精華化爲涎膜經羅五藏六腑關節
筋脉故不可得知但是服炁之人經五十
六十日後見腸胃中滓壷將謂更無別物
不知穀炁精華殊未出也所以有思食慮
散之意反變情切心懸不可堪忍亦爲尸
鬼所動之禍也自後但有物出如膿如血
或若壞腸脂或若雞鴨糞此乃穀炁欲出
有此狀也後更三二十日又有異物出如
涎如膜此則穀實精華之狀也若先曾兼
食服炁或斷或紀或修聲上經歷歲餘一

旦頓絕還效便成若無諸狀候亦不悋也
但無穀炁則炁通達百脉洞明返照如燭
大洞經云初服炁之人亦覺腸中滓穢盡
只見所食湯水旋於腸中胃腹内更無別
物不知穀炁自出也若穀炁絕盡則更無
所思想念形神恬然藏腑安泰自無思慮
寂寞瘦弱等疾也若過有寂寞羸弱不可
懼而退生及不進之憂必審而思之無得
退也若能頓絕湯水三十日以來稍生絲
毫疑慮不一之心退志不能堅守者永無
成矣有似穿井及泥見水而不取也苦哉
痛哉大苦哉大痛哉
元炁不返何所修乎心未達焉能測
穀炁不除於藏府之間元炁不降於丹田
之内故道有昧然不知神功在近者也愼
之

可惜玄宮十二樓那知返作三蟲宅
若不修錬形神身中宮室皆為三蟲之窟
宅也

三蟲宅居章第九

三蟲宅居三部裏
此三蟲常在三丹田中也
子能運用何憂死
但依聖人之言用心修持何慮殃累之患
所及也
慄然蓼蓼常居此
元炁常引內炁既周流於身中則上下通
和却復三丹田之內也
自辯元和九仙炁
救實之炁既盡則元和之炁自然辯識者

也

九仙真炁章第十

九仙真炁常自靈三蟲已死復安寧
大洞玄經云三尸既亡神炁自昌百日之
內可以驅神及照五藏元炁使之如神聖
者也若居世遊隱法具在胎息章中說也
由子運動呼吸生
神炁若足呼吸運動興雲起霧自然得隱
化無滯無碍也
居在丹田內熒熒

服炁成者丹田炁自平實可上昇下遊三丹田中凝納若雞子炳煥如燭光照數里無不耀赫為丹田神炁之妙此也

筋骨康強體和平

三光經云鍊髓如霜易骨如鋼服之千日力倍於常復能日行千里奔馬不及如神者矣

靈識恬然自暢情思逸神高心彩明

食炁既實者心神常自暢悅情高思逸素賤人間者也

卻聞五味氣膿腥

視五味見滓穢視五香聞膿腥尋苗見根道功成者故有是聞自然如此為天炁達於自身者也俱有此見也哉

肌膚堅白筋骨清

胎息章中自有鍊骨法具載也

地府除籍天録名坐察陰司役神明內合胎仙道自成

服炁成者當自察知陰府役使神明若入胎息至於百息者當身入異境地籍除名

服至千息者三天録位魂遊上境也

太清中黄真經卷上

太清中黄真經卷下　　盡二

胎息真仙章第廿一

胎息真仙食炁得却閉真炁成胎息

服炁經云一百日五臟靈踈方可入胎息准九天神經云先須密室無風厚軟氊蓆枕高四指方與身平用一志人同心道侶捐捨凡心握固仰卧情無所得物無所牽靈炁漸閉心識怡然初閉經十息至十五息二十息百息只覺身從一處如在房中只要心不動移凡一日一夜十二時都共

一萬三千五百息故太微帝玄經云炁絶曰死炁閉曰仙魄留守身魂遊天上若閉炁至百息魂神當見其魄者緣是陰神魂者陽神且陰神常欲人死不欲人生其神七人衣黑衣戴黑冠乘黑車而神經云爲之玄毋此神是陰尸之主若見此神子當謹心存念呪曰

玄毋玄毋吾尸之主長骨養筋莫離屍去吾與魂父同遊天去

次當見魂父有三人各長一尺五寸衣朱衣戴朱冠持朱幢當引上元官見諸腦神百餘人出于身當見三丹田中元炁如白雲光照洞達于當謹呼三魂名一曰爽靈二曰胎光三曰幽精

得此三魂陽神領腦官諸神萬萬千千引于元神遊於上天當出之時但覺身從炁房中出當見種種鬼神形容之狀或偉大者數丈或微小者如雀或披髮若亂蓬或閉眼如張當緣爲上界之道皆是鬼神之道路子但當安心定志勿生怖畏自達

安境如一切無所見者最爲上也但黑白分明是善相也所以須要得良友相伴相助緣元炁上與魂神相應切慮定息之時別有所見心則不安元炁當自口鼻中出則故子身不得去也但一夕之中令傍人或自記喘息數至千息子當與三元神同遊上界也其道當成其道既成之後不得微有泄漏神理最爲上妙大忌大忌大慎之大慎之不可有漏泄於人也但不顧於物不生異心鬼神及魔自伏其德

羽服霞彩何所得皆從五藏生雲翼

鍊形上昇自化成五色羽衣中天羽經云輕輕狀蟬翼燦燦光何極蟬爲飲露食炁而故生羽翼人服元炁而天衣下凝於體則可知也

五藏真炁章第十二

五藏真炁芝苗英

太華受識經云元炁含化布成六根吉凶受用應行相從內炁爲識胎炁爲神子能胎息還嬰返魂也五藏之始先布於水內

有六府外應六根

肝主東方其色青

太明五緯經云肝主於木生於水尅之於土來自東方其色青蒼受之於陽潛伏此炁千息生光但常用炁未至胎息當存想青炁出之於左脇但六時思之不輟自子時常隔一時思之至五十日當見此炁如青雲用此炁可理一切之人熱疾時行癰腫疥癬及瘦但觀前人疾狀量其淺深想此炁攻之無不愈應如觀前人患肝經之病面色枯悴則稍難理之不可治也

子但閉固經千息青色周流色自然成胎息經云千息色青內自凝結者也

心主南方其色赤服之千息赤色出

太明五緯經云心主於火生之於木尅之於金來自南方其色赤受之於朱陽爲夏天也潛伏千息當出心堂常服炁未至胎息者常以午至午時想赤炁自心存如雞子許漸漸運赤炁從頂而出出者自散存之咒曰

南方丙丁赤龍居停陰神避位陽官下迎
思之即至用之即靈
自此三呪之常行此炁勤誠存想五十日
不闕當有赤炁如火光自見用此炁可理
諸人一切冷病使炁攻之即瘥愈而矣如
患人面色帶青者乃陰炁不可治也凡存
呪想神炁法者並忌他人知之

肺主西方其色白服之千息其色極

太明玉綍經云肺主於金生之於土尅之
於木來自西方其色白澄淨微芒潛伏千

息光明洋洋常服養至丑時存想肺間有
炁狀如白珠其光漸大上注於眉間存之
呪曰
西方庚辛太微玄真內應六腑化爲肺神
遊於丹田調護我命用之神仙急急如律令
存念一遍如此四十九日肺中有炁如白
雲自出此炁可照地下一切寶物及察人
之善惡示表如裏如不存想此法服炁三
年方見五藏內事此緣不具真行使用不
辨相尅相生如寒用心氣緣是火炁如熱

用腎炁緣是水炁不達此用炁則亦無効也九炁經中亦不言炁法寥廓尚秘況是人間者也

脾主中央其色黃服之千息其色昌

太明五緯經云脾主於土生之於火魁之於水來自中方其色黃閉服千息但當一日一想不限時節亦無呪法其脾藏存之四十九日自見此炁脾中而出已後可將身隱入墻壁無所礙也

腎主北方其色黑服之千息其色得

太明五緯經云腎主於水生之於金魁之於火來自北方其色黑伏之下元主持命房內有真白守之不忘此五藏神炁但至五更初各存想炁色都於頂上不必一一別存想兼不用呪法亦得只是校遲百日後其色已成立可用驗也

驅役萬靈自有則

服炁心志兼持內行內外相扶元炁充滿五藏及丹田之中至周年之後應是世間鬼怪精魅及土地神祇並不敢藏形所在

之處地界神祇自來拜迎常隨衛道者陰司六籍善惡之事俱得知委然亦不可便將驅使緣未具三天眞籙慮有損折若入胎息得昇身訣者但要遊人間當依此經尸解法自然遊世即無遮碍而已不爾未可忘道也若不務此術者但務化人而已自他俱利者也

乘服彩霞歸太極

胎息伏陰經云內息無名內行相成若不持戒行未入胎息豈得合神若人未入胎息如要遊人間者可行尸解之術太微靈隱言曰凡人未入胎息及已入胎息者要遊人間俱可行尸解之術隨物所化故有託衣衾所化者常以庚辛日取庚時於淨室中所卧床頭須設机案焚名香一鑪下著柱者龍杖及履鞋等物盡安置於頭邊身不解衣衾及以衾蓋之首西而卧自念身作死人當暗念此呪七遍呪曰

太一玄冥受生自靈七思七召三魂隨迎代余之身掩余之形形隨物化應化而成

急急如律令

呪畢此法存念一食之間但當依尋常睡卧如修之日存念之起輙不得與外人語言忌之若與人言者其法不成如此常行四十九日漸漸法成既成之後或要作則不問行住坐卧暗念此呪七遍隨手捉物自身便去衆人只見所執者之物化爲已身身將已死矣後却見物還歸本形此法即可以下界避難助身不可爲非道之事大須慎護其法大須隱默若卧在牀上但以被覆其身隱化者暗念呪一遍便却去他人只見所卧衾被是彼形死屍却不見衣衾法成大忌財色留心神明誅折也

太極真宮章第十三

太極真宮住碧空絳闕崇臺萬萬重玉樓相侑列危峯

上界宮館生於窈冥皆五色之炁而結成下界土地皆是水炁横凝而扶住故不得自在不得堅長不得平正上界以八珍爲土地七寶爲用器至於宮殿七珍合成有

自然不運之力無大興動用之功上界以七珍精炁爲日月下界以陰陽純炁爲日月下界言一年三百六十日是上界一日十二時也太微玄經云不食土地精生居太一城此爲形神俱得去也

瑤殿瓊光彩翠濃紅雲紫炁常雍容玉壁金檻內玲瓏

玄宮玉堂經云白玉爲壁黃金爲柱青珊爲樑紅玉爲床爲七珍羣彩煥爛光徹內外無礙千閣萬樓互相影對大仙真人猶居此之外者也

鳳舞鸞歌遊詠中

上界有天鳳之舞鸞鳴雪之歌皆是曲名者也

玉饌金漿任意從

九宸玄厨經云一日十進九霄之饌七獻八瓊之漿一日十進七獻酒也

九炁真仙位列崇

服胎息成者得列九真上仙矣

九炁真仙章第十四

九炁眞仙衣錦衣綃縠雲裳蟬帶垂
眞君衣瓊文錦蟬翼之衣者也
天冠搖響韻參差
冠搖衆珮響亮五音之韻爲自然也
九文花履錦星奇
九文錦爲履其花零亂如衆星攢壁者也
却佩霓裳朝太儀
霓裳仙官朝服也初得仙皆朝太儀眞君
九天之主也
十方彩女執旌麾百靈引駕玉童隨前有龍

悟後虎旗
前朱雀後玄武左青龍右白虎皆是百靈
之數也
羽服飄颻八炁吹
八炁乃八方之正炁也先治道路而矣
更上寥天入太微
太微九天都在第五天金星輪朱華宮轄
日月五星神宿行運之時亦管下界生死
之籍奏聞太微凡此官吏曾署約四十萬
局衆大數也

太微玄宮章第十五

太微直上寥天界動靜風調鳴竽籟

太微上界所有風搖皆如笙簧之韻極樂之所自然如此

殿閣穹崇何杳隗

杳隗謂虛峻極也殿閣重數甚多橫壯充麗而矣

壽永衣輕人體大九天各各皆相倍

九天羽服儀仗各相次加倍羽衣轉輕人體轉大彩翠鮮華日月轉邁長遠也

是謂因心得自在

因心運身得出三界也

靜理修真爲聖人九行空門列其載

夫九行者道人之窟宅也動息住持不離其內一者爲以慈愍爲衣二者以止捨爲食三者以正心爲乘四者以專志爲財五者以謙下爲牀六者以順義爲器七者以懃慧爲窟八者以修空爲宅九者以陰施爲業修道之子不持此九行去道至疎遠矣

九行空門章第十六

九行空門至眞路大道不與人爭怒動息能持勿暫停陰神返照神常助

持心不息其道易成

諸行無心是實心因心運得歸天去

無心之心因心運心道雖無心還因心有除垢無心是謂眞

衆事四垢無事曰除除心止念萬行歸余也

自隨胎息入天門

胎息以善行爲要機以無念爲至路者也

玄元正理內藏身無曲潛形體合眞

洞玄經云心無曲萬神足

三部清虛元炁固六腑翻成百萬神

三元靜則六腑調眞炁歸則萬神應二理相合五藏六府諸神共有百萬之餘自然顯現相和應也

六腑萬神章第十七

六腑萬神恒有常

五藏六腑百關九節有神百萬若日常清

淨修之則當自見矣

大腸之中主肺堂

腑爲首三焦之主也

元和淨理穀實盡

但以元炁攻運何慮穀炁之不去

中有靈神自隱藏

藏腑既淨萬神自藏故大明經云大腸主肺也鼻柱中央爲腸重一十二兩長一丈二尺廣八寸在臍左邊曲疊積一十二盤貯水穀一斗二升主一十二時內有神各具本色衣冠一十二人若除水穀炁盡元炁自足其神當見各於本時遞相護衛修道之子者也

腎腑當明內宮女外應耳宅爲門戶

內神經云精主腎腎爲後宮內宮列女主腎耳之宮承炁於耳也左腎爲壬右腎爲癸循環兩耳門中有神五百人內有元神守之都管兼主志智凡人好嗔怒則傷腎腎傷則失志失志則喪道之本也元神亦散修行之人大忌嗔怒道成則內神當見

於人衛道者也

膀胱兩腑合津門氣海循環爲要路

膀胱是兩腑爲津門腎合於膀胱乃受津之府上應於舌根也津液往來常潤澤肌體舌岸以應兩膀胱炁少則不潤服炁之人常欲少語以養津液故語多則口乾口乾則難用炁也中有神三百六十人以應一年之數炁成當見其神常抱無貪之行故道者不貪志合神理大洞昇玄經云行合神見道成歸天此神人行胎息卽自出

常以護衛人道道也

子當得見內神彰終身不泄神常助

終始不泄天神助子

勿泄天機章第十八

勿泄天機子存志凡是天章無輕示

凡遇天經子莫輕泄當志慎之

三十三篇世絕知況復中黃秘中秘

道有胎光經三十三篇禁絕不許妄傳況茲中黃靈句秘之特重慎之慎之者矣

先禮三真玉仙使然後精心覩文字

教令科云欲開示三眞等經先須擇甲子日淨室焚香心存南華眞人念九天眞聖三天眞君同開作證首東作禮四拜方許開示然後云某爲求道輙開九天大聖眞文傳示一遍故得百靈同助身歸太无名入天戶不得示於三人切忌容易泄漏若不依經教妄開示者及如覩常文必有殃責非淺獲過不輕矣

違教身罹非橫殃子孫受禍當須忌

餘殃明罰世世子孫受禍大忌大忌

太清中黃眞經卷下

Daoji Tuna Jing passage

道士修身吐納休糧一旬精氣微熱顏色萎黃二旬之時動作眩冒支節悵悵大便微難小便赤黃或時一利前漬後剛前至三旬身體消瘦重難以行四旬之時顏色轉悅心志安康五旬之時五藏和調精氣內養六旬之時體復如故機關調良七旬之時心惡諱諠志願高翔八旬之時恬惔寂寞信明術方九旬之時榮華滑澤音聲煥章十旬之時精氣皆至其效日昌修之不止年命自長三年之後炙瘢除減顏色有光修至六年髓填腦實豫知存亡經歷九年役使鬼神號曰真人上佐上皇與天同壽與日合光傳非其人身受其殃

Tuna Jing passage

絕穀不食元神之道也初服氣一日二日之時穀氣未定顏色鬱黃三日之時穀氣去精氣來四日五日之時精氣陰陽和調六日之時精神安定耳目聰明行步便利日已堅彊七日之時常欲輕舉至道之故夢寤髣髴上通神明八日之時神行八極能默然安為口中自甘志骨自彊九日之時精神倫形弱者彊神氣日堅固不行自遠不來自近顏色日悅十日之時諸神來至門皆闕王女侍從左右輕舉若鳶雲中微翔道以得矣

1

廬墓二年

歲甲午秋乃入磻溪穴居日乞一食行一簑
人謂之簑衣先生晝夜不寐者六年復隱隴
州龍門山苦行如磻溪時

2

此之後往來於登寧之間夜則歸於雲
光洞口偏翹一足獨立者九年東臨大海未
嘗昏睡人呼爲鐵脚先生丘真人贊之曰九
夏迎陽立三冬抱雪眠如此鍊形九年而入
於大妙

3

先生往來河北乙未歲乞食於沃州方悟
重陽密語渙然開發遂往橋上默然靜坐饑
渴不求寒暑不變人饋則食不饋則否雖有
人侮狎戲笑者不怒也志在忘形如此三年
人呼爲不語先生一夕天色昏冥偶醉者過
以是蹴先生於橋下默而不出者七日人不
知者以爲先生何往忽值客官乘馬將過而
馬驚躍捶之不進客遂墮馬問左右曰橋下
必有怪事不然何吾馬之驚也命左右往視
之則一道者奄然正坐問之則不語以手畫
地曰不食七日矣州民聞之爭往饋食焚香
請出但搖手不應只於橋下復坐三年水火
顛倒陰陽和合九轉之功成矣

4

「とにかく、現段階では」

……道教とは、古代の民間の信仰を基盤とし、
神仙説を中心として、それに道家、易、陰陽、
五行、讖緯、医学、占星などの説や巫の信仰
を加え、仏教の組織や体裁にならってまと
められた、不老長生を主な目的とする
呪術宗教的傾向のつよい現世利益的な
自然宗教だ……「という定義ができよう。」

焦先者、字孝然、河東人也。年一百七十歲。常食白石、以分與人、熟者如芋、食之。日日入山、伐薪以施人。先自村頭一家起、周而復始、負薪以置人門外、人見之、舖席與坐、爲設食、先便坐、亦不與人語、負薪來、如不見人、便私置於門間、便去。連年如此。及魏受禪、居河之湄、結草爲庵、獨止其中、不設牀席、以草褥藉坐。其身垢汚濁如泥潦。或數日一食。行不由徑、不與女人交游。衣敝、則賣薪以買故衣著之。冬夏單衣。太守董經、因往視之、又不肯語、經益以爲賢。被遭野火、燒其庵。人往視之、見先危坐庵下、不動。火過庵燼、先方徐徐而起、衣物悉不焦灼。又更作庵。天忽大雪、人屋多壞、先庵倒、人往、不見所在、恐已凍死、乃共拆庵求之。見先熟臥於雪下、顏色赫然、氣息休休如盛暑醉臥之狀。人知其異、多欲從學道。先曰、我無道也。或忽老忽少、如此二百餘歲。後與人別去、不知所適。所謂者、竟不得一言也。

孫登

孫登者、不知何許人也。恒止山間、穴地而坐、彈琴讀易。冬夏單衣、天大寒、人視之、輒被髮自覆身、髮長丈餘。又雅容非常、歷世見之、顏色如故。市中乞得錢物、轉與貧下、更無餘資、亦不見食。

陰生者長安中渭橋下乞兒也。常止於市中乞。市人厭苦以糞灑之。旋復在里中衣不見汚。如故長吏知之、械收繫著桎梏而續在市中乞。又械欲殺之、乃去灑者之家室自壞殺十餘人。故長安中諺曰、見乞兒與美酒以免破屋之咎。

黃敬、字伯嚴、武陵人也。少讀誦經書、仕州爲部從事。後棄世、學道於霍山。入十餘年、復入中岳、專行服氣、斷穀、爲吞吐之事。胎息內視、召六甲玉女、吞陰陽符。又思赤星在洞房前、轉大如火、周身。至二百歲、轉還少壯。

玉子者、姓章、名震、乃師長桑子、具受衆術、別造一家之法。著道書百餘篇。其術以務魁爲主、而精於五行之意。演其徼妙、以養性治病、消災散禍。能起颶風、發屋、折木、作雷雨雲霧。能以草芥瓦石爲六畜龍虎、立成。能分形爲百千人。能涉江海、含水噴之、皆成珠玉、亦不變。或時閉氣不息、舉之不起、推之不動、屈之不曲、伸之不直、或百日、數十日乃起。

商丘子胥者高邑人也好牧豕吹竽年七十

不娶婦而不老邑人多奇之從受道問其要言但食木菖蒲根飲水不饑不老如此傳世見之三百餘年貴戚富室聞之取而服之不能終歲輒止懆慢矣謂將復有匿術也

10

11

涉正字玄眞巴東人也說秦始皇時事了了似及見者漢末從二十弟子入吳莫有見其開目者有一弟子固請之正乃爲開目目開時有晉如霹靂而光如電照於室宇弟子皆不覺頓伏良久乃能起正已復還閉目正道成莫見其所服食施行而授諸弟子皆以行氣絕房室及服石腦小丹云

12

第一試昇到門不爲通使人罵辱四十餘日露宿不去乃納之第二試使昇於草中守黍驅獸暮遣美女非常託言遠行過寄宿與昇接牀明日又稱脚痛不去遂留數日亦復調戲昇終不失正第三試昇行道忽見遺金三十餅昇乃走過不取第四試令昇入山採薪三虎交前咬昇衣服唯不傷身昇不恐顏色不變謂虎曰我道士耳少年不爲非故不遠千里來事神師求長生之道汝何以爾也豈非山鬼使汝來試我乎須臾虎乃起去第五試昇於市買十餘匹絹付直訖而絹主誣之云未得昇乃脫已衣買絹而償之殊無怪色第六試昇守田穀有一人往叩頭乞食衣裳破弊面目塵垢身體瘡膿臭穢可憎昇愴然爲之動容解衣衣之以私糧設食又以私米遺之第七試陵將諸弟子登雲臺絕巖之上下有一桃樹如人臂傍生石壁下臨不測之淵桃大有實陵謂諸弟子曰有人能得此桃實當告以道要於時伏而窺之者二百餘人股戰流汗無敢久臨視之者莫不却退而還謝不能得昇一人曰神之所護何險之有聖師在此終不使吾死於谷中耳師有教者必是此桃有可得之理故耳乃從上自擲投樹上足不蹉跌取桃實滿懷而石壁險峻無所攀緣不能得返於是乃以桃一一擲上正得二百二顆陵得而分賜諸弟子各一陵自食一顆一以待昇陵乃以手引昇衆視之見陵臂加長三二丈引昇

13

眞人養三尸於齒牙所以爲之者長存閉之者壽多漱神津於元首合淳氣而弗華於是迴陽光之西傾還昊日於東陵却衰枯之絕煙反童稚而方升爾乃鳴鼓雲池勃鬱而龍騰友眞人以論好與靈仙而高登其德洪矣焉有能勝大哉靈寶玄滋長生由五氣之興

14

取青牙法鷄鳴。呪畢舌料上齒表。舐脣
漱口。嚥之三。朱丹呪畢。舌料下齒表。舐脣
漱口嚥之三。中央戊己視畢。反舌刺玄膚。
舐脣。嚥之三。明石呪畢。以舌料齒上。舐脣
漱口嚥之三。一嚥叩齒二七。玄滋呪畢。以
舌料舌下。鼻内氣嚥之三。謂飲食自然胎息
之道。一嚥皆使玉水滿口。

15

常飲其泉。叩玉却食。還返童顏。百邪遠迸。
役使群神。長生久視。延年億千。目方徹視。
腸化爲筋。

16

食真一不休吞華池不息內氣長閉不倦者即得道而絕粒矣不復移月而成也夫玄古之人所以壽考者造有之間不食穀也大有音曰五穀是刳命之鑿腐臭五藏致命促縮此粮入口無希久壽汝欲不死腸中無滓汝欲長生當令藏氣潔清挹身華漿與天相迎玉水在口天人同壽也

17

天生萬物人為貴人一身形包含天地日月北斗璇璣玉衡五嶽四瀆山川河海風伯雨師靈星社稷麒麟鳳凰龍虎玄武五穀桑麻六畜牛馬鳥獸魚鼈龜鼉竹木百草無所不法也亦立天子置三公九卿二十七大夫八十一元士亦布九州百二十郡千二百縣萬八千鄉三萬六千亭十八萬堠亦有宮闕家宅門戶井竈釜甑粳粮黍稷諸神可飲食者人而知之即可長生也

18

常思兩乳下有日月、日月中有黃精赤氣、來入絳宮、復來入黃庭紫房中黃精赤氣填滿太倉中、赤子當胃管中、正南面坐、飲食黃精赤氣、即飽矣、百病除去、萬災不干。兆常思存之、上為眞人、

19

眞人絶穀方

取巨勝二斗大椒五升去黑皮訖合擣二物下篩初服五合日三漿水無在亦可蜜丸服如雞子一枚日四漸自不飢荒年亦可但服此藥便當絶穀矣渴但飲水勿食他物食他物便飢也能令氣力百倍寒暑不侵百病悉愈神仙自致矣

眞人絶穀餌巨勝法

取巨勝一斛蒸令熱氣周達便曝之一日凡九蒸九曝合用九日訖擣下篩和以白蜜服如雞子一枚日三久久食穀自少服之百日百病自愈洗水不著身服之一年玉女侍衛若急用者亦可一日三蒸三曝三日凡合九蒸九曝便可用矣天陰者皆須日出用一斛加茯苓三斤合擣蜜和服如上法得力益速能補精髓漸漸自不飢渴則飲水

20

21

眞人輕粮辟穀不食方

巨勝一斗二升取純黑者茯苓二十四兩澤瀉八兩治三物萬杵以水服如彈丸日三遇食可食無食復取百物食之無所禁

麴十斤米三斗加天門冬成末一斗漬草陸六日便齎服五日食減二十日穀絶腸肥財容氣息諸蟲皆去耳目聰明瘢痕皆滅以月宿與鬼日加丁時取商陸服如棗(九)日三遍士恒種此藥草於靜室之園使人通神

22

人能棄去榮華修守清靜以常無爲求諸玄妙服食此草四時不廢可致延年若能棄世俗幽居名山服食此草可與天地相望衆神集會太一候迎上升天府下遊崑崙可與天地終始者也

23

以二月八月取根刮去毛熟洗細切一斛煮以水六斗炊大令和旦至夕藥熟出使寒手接之使碎酒盡釀得汁還竭令可丸取滓乾末納釜中令和藥成服如雞子者日三可絶穀不食不寒不暑行及奔馬百病自愈人能絶房內則不老壽無期至仙人不絶房內止可壽二百歲耳

24

用大豆十分蔵漿三分澤瀉一分飛英一分藁本葉半分凡五物治下篩和以棗脂丸如李子日吞三食棗二十一枚可終身無食若無棗常飲玉漿泉

25

鴻光者雲母也千秋者卷栢也生於山石

26

之間萬歲者澤瀉也慈墨者覓實也凡以松脂如雞子旦暮服一丸令人長存不飢渴

27

眞人四物却穀散

用茯苓屑三分乾地黃屑一分胡麻屑一分天門冬屑一分胡麻火熬之凡四物治合搜以食蜜日服方寸匕（方二）漿水酒爲服之三十日（十二）氣力有異百日倍一年後氣色如雲夢與神遊三年骨騰肉飛

28

神仙服食青粱米方

取青粱米一斗淘汰之漬以醇酒三日蒸之無令漏也百蒸百露無令見日善密藏之韋囊中即欲入山遠行一飡之足支十日不食十日復一飡足可四十九日不食四十九日復一飡可四百九十歲爲一即一方宜玄粱米一方云三斗

29

又方

取青粱米一斗赤石脂三斤并合以水漬之財足置温處二三日令上生衣擣而丸之大如李子日食三丸令人不飢渴即飲水可以遠行千里以上不飢渴矣

30

又一方 永二 二十八

取稻米淘沃之百蒸乾擣日一飡以水三十日後飲一杯可終身不飢日行三百里

31

服食粳米散方

粳米一斗酒五斗凡二物漬之盡酒止出稍食之渴飲水可三十日後盡更作如前法

32

休粮方

以粳米黍米小麥大豆麻子各五合豆熬而末之共和白蜜一斤煎一百沸投冷水中丸如李子一頓吞盡此一劑可終身不飢諸物皆各治之唯熬豆耳

33

絶穀之法計
飽飯不過十二食日減一餐訖十一日減十
一餐餘有一餐分半減之訖十八日盡矣腸
中雖空故有穀炁正坐隨王所在舒手持炁
仰頭引炁仰頭咽之安徐細意導炁下入胃
管腹中立鳴凡九上九下腹因大飽定心勿
躁即真炁不導邪炁中入即不佳矣十二日
形體輕便十八日道小成二十七日道中成
三十六日道大成八十一日頭面有光百二
十日其道備矣元炁大定仍是真人也

34

樂子長舍棗核方 二十九
長生之道常舍一棗核如兒乳汁久久及液
滿口三分嚥二餘一口與氣俱入名曰還精
周而復始如循環絶穀之時五日小極頭眩
須臾復止十四日復頭眩須臾復止二十一
日之後氣定欲食便食不欲食自息絶穀之
時禁交接可食少棗脯飲酒無過一升男女
同法

35

以三月中殺牛煎取脂一斤半水銀一斤半
錫一斤半於山中窓地齋一月乃於銅器中
煎錫錫消納水銀及脂都合同九之服如大
豆三九日三服服之九日凡八十一丸忽然
尸解蛇蛻而去

36

是非歷藏法內視有所思履斗步罡宿六甲次日辰陰道厭九一濁亂吾元胞食氣鳴腸胃吐正吸外邪晝夜不臥寐晦朔未嘗休身體日疲倦恍惚狀若癡百脈鼎沸馳不得清澄居累土立壇宇朝暮敬祭祠鬼物見形象夢寐感慨之心歡而意悅自謂必延期遠以天命死腐露其形骸舉措輒有違悖逆失樞機諸術甚眾多千條有萬餘前卻違黃老曲折戾九都

37

百穀之實土地精五味外美邪魔腥臭亂神明胎氣零那從反老得還嬰三魂忽忽魄靡傾何不食氣太和精故能不死入黃寧

38

或問道人生從小至大以穀自長何為絕穀乎老子曰穀雖生人長大不欲使人食之至老老死皆由於穀矣

39

道以精為寶施與則生人人留則生身生身則永度世仙位也生人即功遂而身退隱也俗以為劇何況忘施而廢棄損不學多故廢老而命墜也

40

老君曰精者血脉之川流也精去則枯老是以寶之也人以身為國神為君精為臣氣為民常行愛精此要道也

41

長生道精為寶精者人之所由生也精為寶故曰道也一日之道朝飽暮饑一月之道不失盛衰一歲之道夏瘦冬肥百歲之道萬穀食粟千歲之道孤男無女是謂長生久視莫有能數也

42

或問道欲習精思不欲絕穀可不老子曰食穀滿腹腐溝盛糞神不居形但道不止久久自不飢

43

請問胎中之子不食而炁者何也

天道迺有自然之炁迺有消息之炁凡在胞中且而得炁者是天道自然之炁也及其已生噓吸陰陽而炁者是消息之炁也人而守道力學反自然之炁者生也守消息之炁者死矣故夫得真道者乃能內炁外不炁也以是內炁養其性然後能反嬰兒復其命也故當習內炁以內養其形體

44

或問道氣出入常從何來老子曰氣出丹田者人之命門元氣之本根五臟得之以鮮明精氣之所出入也

45

或問道氣生丹田出入何臟老子曰吁入肺心吸入腎肝吁吸相逢交會太倉三焦和引拘制鬼鬼自然之氣道之命長審而行之必為真人

46

或問道氣男女同法不老子曰丈夫精者二三日得氣婦人精者四五日氣通則有所聞見道之證驗精氣之大効

47

或問息得時何以爲驗老子曰氣初至時腸鳴脉動手足痛氣之故也

48

或問氣至身何如老子曰氣至身身漸寒欲驚安心定志無使之驚聽氣之所爲也

49

老子曰合道不言得無文之眞頭髮茂盛得道之根手足汗氣充盈晝夜不卧日月合光不飢不渴龜龍胎息冬温夏涼

50

或問道常道氣可絶穀不老子曰將欲度世離俗急當絶之以氣息久久不飢不渴道之大要

51

或問道行氣有晝夜不老子曰晝存氣府夜存神宮氣府者名曰丹田神宮者名曰明堂

52

晝不存氣府元氣不行夜不存神宮目不觀神

心神丹元字守靈肺神皓華字虛成肝神龍煙字含明腎神導煙主濁清腎神玄冥字育嬰脾神常在字魂停膽神龍曜字威明六腑五臟神體精皆在心內運天經晝夜存之自長生

730

53

或問道成後可得入房室不老子曰欲得飛仙度世勿入房室不欲度世者百日之後可自恣矣

54

第一之要先求

長生第二之要當求藏形第三之要當避世榮解此三要道乃成長生以得游於華嶽藏身以訖天食其祿棄榮去祿天致金玉

55

神人語，眞人內，子已明也，損子身，其意得也。其外理自正，瞑目內視，與神通靈。不出言，與道同，陰陽相覆天所封。長生之術可開哞，子無強腸宜和弘，天地受和如暗擊。欲知其意胞中童，不食十月神相通。

56

紫清上皇大道君太玄太和俠侍端化生萬物使我僊飛昇十天駕玉輪晝夜七日思勿眠子能修之可長存積功成鍊非自然是由精誠亦守一內守堅固真之真虛中恬淡自致神

57

或問道所見怪何物爭老子曰道數十日有白頭老嫗從一女子常侍左右有頃去忽不知所在是其怪也

731

58 或問道見怪手足擾口妄言瞑目顧念田不老子曰專心一意瞑目念田行氣如故勿醉勿疑久久怪自休

59 或問道常瞑目念田何容見怪老子曰意未專志未定則見怪無自是無恐起爲他事無與之語與之語則將人俱去矣

60 或問道未至時手足擾口妄言豈故爲之將自然乎老子曰是自然氣之所爲非邪所教或問道手足擾口妄言不止云何老子曰遠者二時近者一時氣定意專則自休矣

61 或問道見怪者告人已不老子曰告人者神後不復來怪者眞人之媒驛勿罵呵跫爲善

62 隱景藏形與世殊含氣養精口如朱帶執性命守虛無名入上清死錄除三神之樂由隱居倏欻遊遨無遺憂羽服一整八風驅控駕三素乘晨霞金輦正位從玉輿何不登山誦戒書鬱鬱窈窈眞人墟入山何難故躊躇人間紛紛臭如帑

63 或問道求度世欲止民間成可不老子曰民間多欲令意不專入山潛處守志自然功滿形變則得長生

64

飢、災害並起。三合之歲、陰陽隔并、感天動地、害氣流行、豐行則傷穀、中人卽疾疫、中穀卽飢貴。兆汝居其間、不能自生也。可不努力勉時學道哉。當期之世、水旱蝗蟲五穀飢貴、兵革並起、人民疾疫、道路不通、負老提幼、散流他方、其父母妻子兄弟、哀氣內發、摧肝絕腸、畧爲奴婢、不知縣鄉。於期乃欲學道、豈不晚哉。豈不魄哉。吾深戒子、存神作丹、早自防。卽遭亂世、遠去深藏。聖主明世、道可照而行也。故天地之會、四十五歲一小貴。九十歲一小飢。一百八十歲一大貴。三百六十歲一大飢。五百歲、賢者一小聚。千歲、聖人一小聚。三千六百歲、聖人大會。萬八千歲、眞人一小出治。三萬六千歲、至極仙人一出治。三百六十萬歲、天地一大合、元氣溟涬、濛鴻元形、人爲萬物、不知東西南北、人化爲禽獸、禽獸化爲人、眞人乃在元氣之上、仙人乃在絕域元崖之際、道人隱居、可以貴重也。

三合之歲、水旱兵

65

天下人本生受命之時，與天地分身，抱元氣於自然，不飲不食，噓(三)吸陰陽氣而活，不知飢渴，久久離神道遠，小(三)小失其指意，後生者不得復知(三)言，眞道空虛(三)，日流就僞，更(三)言生飢渴，不飲(三)不食便死

貧儉品

道學傳第四云范豺者巴西閬中人也或作儕字容止都雅不言先見不說禨祥閑恬無欲終日默然結絡敗布以繩爲網披苫纔得蔽形冬夏徒跣脚不皴裂四時無寢骫音肌若處子美姿顏應接恒笑衆咸敬而安之又以宋太元十四年到荊州居于南郡枝江縣之富城洲尾巴芒中亦有屋宇不障風霜以桑柴爲牀束藁插其間有一空簞一瓦瓶裝擔枕倚以卧或有十日荷擔乞食口絶粳粱醪醴滋味果實唯麤粟飯菜羹食一升許便過旬日也行甚駛語甚急自非精意聽受畧不可解恒小坐恭敬不以高卑易心不與俗中榮貴人語恒閉眼不聽聲樂恒卧而獨語人問之輒云王建武來俄又作餘端應對不可尋檢也又云生資一毫悉無簞瓶悉空也又云遥視其衣服雜色敗布帽又數十年故物殊覺不淨既至甚香潔也

修太平無爲之道臨目噓漱項有五色光起

68

第五卷又云劉凝之字志安小名長年南郡枝江人也王公贈遺一無所受家財事業悉分與弟姪出於高業之中而爲環堵之室非力作不取也夫妻齊操能以苦節自安不拘小節常與妻共取茭車入市門隨物貴賤而賣之周食餘便以乞人雖復荒年絕粒不革其操妻梁州刺史郭詮女遣送豐華凝之悉分贍親屬以盡爲限婦亦無恪心也又云性好山水乃携妻子跨崖越嶺爲小蓬室妻子皆從不知所終也

69

第十六卷云孔靈產字靈產會稽山陰人也遭母憂居喪以孝聞讓酌珍羞自此而絕饘蔬布素志畢終身父在京師未之知也後出都定省見有毀瘠父惻然命廚精饌賜與同味即奉慈訓勉彊進口而嚥遂以成疾父以仁也天性不可移不復逼也

70

第十八卷云鄧郁之字玄達南陽新野人也隱南嶽行則獨往居無常室寒暑唯著幣衲喪不結髮髮長則剪之齊永明時人也

71 第十卷云東鄉超宗字逸倫高密黔陬人也幼而離俗不涉婚宦立行精懇人所不堪日中而餐餐止麻麥門人舂屬皆慕蔬者所處精麤鮭味不進也

72 第十一卷云張澤字士和吳郡吳人也專心道法沈浮世也隨時語默居貧守約處之無悶也

73 嚴寄之字靜處丹陽句容人也捨家入道茅食布衣體無寸帛也

74 庾承仙字崇光潁川鄢陵人也明老莊至行清儉布衣莞席長齋蔬食四十餘年恒以講說為務也

75 孟道養字孝元外名援平昌人也為性慈仁布衣周身蔬食充口此外蕭然執行精勤未嘗殆倦行道禮拜不避寒暑也

76

奉道精進。元嘉十四年。於精思所。忽覺額上慘痛。搔之。得寶珠九枚。即汎以清水。輝耀竟室。

77

居衡山之陽。採藥服食。受天師化民之道。夫妻並共佩帶。救物災危。亟有神驗也。

78

曾謂同僚曰。時難再得。乃遣棄妻子。脫落營務。專精教法。不捨寤寐。

79

隱雲夢山修道。暫下尋藥。經過故鄉。停家數日。女忽暴病。命在旦夕。家人固請救治。先生歎曰。我本委絕妻子。託身玄柱。舍之還家。事同逆旅。豈復有愛著之心。於是拂衣而出。直逝不顧。去後一日。女病即愈也。

80

伯玉少有隱操。寡嗜欲。年十八。父爲婚。婦入前門。伯玉從後門出。遂往剡。居瀑布山

81

女冠宋玉賢會稽山陰人也既稟女質厥志不自專年及將笄父母將歸許氏密具法服登車既至夫門時及六禮更著黃布帬褐手執鵲尾香鑪不親婦禮賓主駭愕夫家力不能曲棄放還本家遂成出家也

梁武帝三教兼

82

[illegible]於是館中法衆莫不菜蔬私有犯觸即加斥遣乃至廚醮不血味遠近嗟稱獨為清素也

83

昇壇之夜祁寒酷烈旻露左手執燭至曉不懈每趨人法事躬親下役掃除穢濁盡其方用暑必讓帷帳寒則推衣被也

84

方謙之字道沖冀州趙郡栢縣人也外身濟物齋則六時六時必十方懺世中罕能隨者乃多獨而行道臨當壽終廢齋七日而亡也

738

85

孟道養字孝元外名援平昌人也立性慈仁全以賑施為務饑年多餓死常作食餉之每恨貧乏施與不得稱心也

86

與鄉人張貴孫講說貴孫忽感風病不能起居屏棄學事躬自料理出入穢器瞻視飲食涉於三年不以為累時人服其義烈也

87

張玄徹字文舉司州義陽郡人也梁末大亂相隨入東緣糊口略存性命而恒與諸饑人共器煮食徹性仁讓不處他先常推鐺火使人前用雖有升合熟食每居後日日如此轉就困弊因之羸瘦一旦而終由其後已先物故遂再其生也

88

郭文字文舉河內人也得疫病危困不服藥云命不在於藥也不食二十餘日亦不消瘦後卒殯于餘杭臨安縣

89

(沒)

第十六卷云閩[illegible]愛[illegible]廬江潯陽[illegible]也年[illegible]五六服食絕穀初猶食麪後唯食麪也

90

入新成道山。服苣藤斷穀。常服氣一氣千餘息。

91

高平閻玄之。瑯琊彭初。皆就遠遊受業。遠遊曰。閻君可服氣以斷穀。彭君宜須藥以益氣。遂教彭以餌朮。

92

第三卷又云。王嘉字子年。隴西人。在東陽谷口鑿岸為穴而自居。不食五穀。不衣華麗。清虛服氣。不與世交。姚長慕容迎之。不應也。

93

諸葛綝。字茂倫。瑯琊人也。奉道清潔。每絕穀。

94

褚伯玉。字元璩。吳郡錢塘人也。隱霍山。鍊液餐霞。積年絕粒也。

95

[illegible]

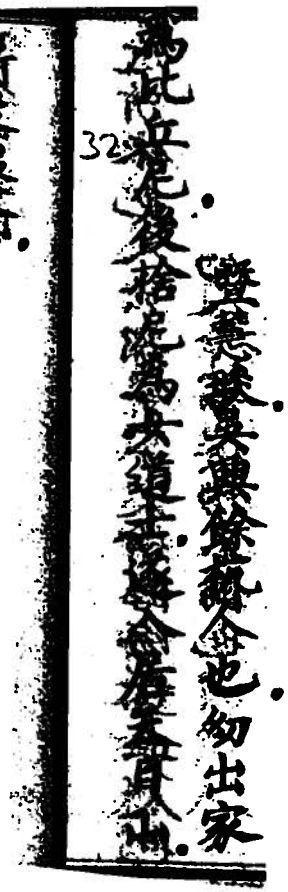
96

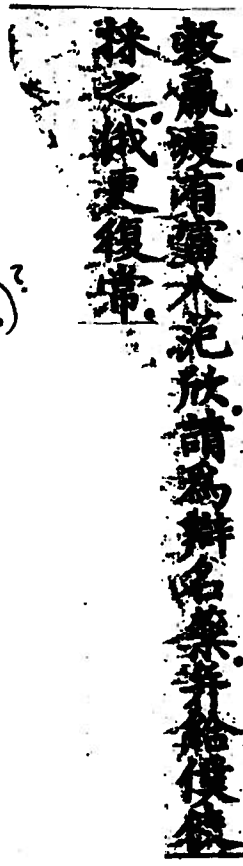
子辯者。梁時人也。斷穀休粮。長齋苦行。出廣州布化。南海稱為主人也。

雙

740

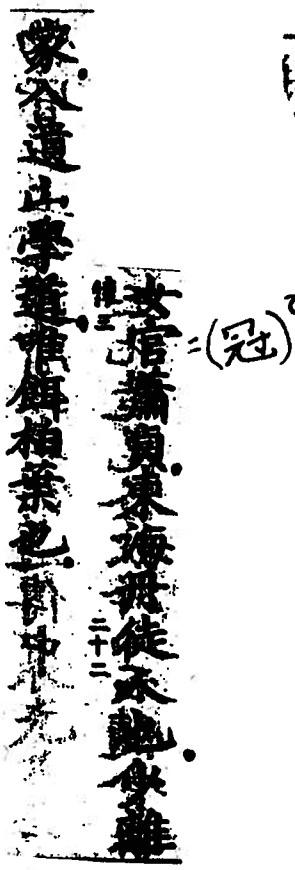
97



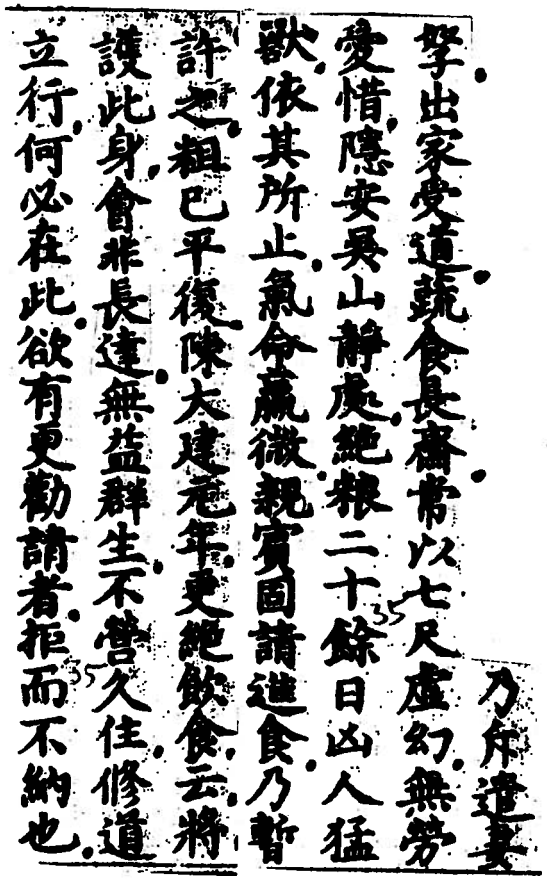


[illegible]也。幼出家
為比丘尼。後捨尼為女道士。[illegible]
斷穀服食。

98



[illegible]祖。字仲遠。梁時人也。初斷
穀羸瘦。有富人范欣。請為辯名藥。并給僕役
採之。俄更復常。



99

女官蕭貞。東海丹徒人也。少離
家。入道山學道。唯餌柏葉也。[illegible]

100

乃斥遣妻
孥。出家受道。蔬食長齋。常以七尺虛幻。無勞
愛惜。隱安吳山靜處。絕粮二十餘日。凶人猛
獸。依其所止。氣命羸微。親賓固請進食。乃暫
許之。粗已平復。陳大建元年。更絕飲食。云將
護此身。會非長達。無益群生。不營久住。修道
立行。何必在此。欲有更勸請者。拒而不納也。

101

隱於天台中峯二十年。樵人見之在重巖之下。顏色怡怡。左右惟有松屑二裹。

102

弱齡斷酒。終老手不執杯。雖有疾病。不服湯藥。未嘗鍼灸。任命安危。外身濟物也。

103

又云修靜

素有氣疾。齎藥入山。別處一室。俄而爲火所燔。弟子欲撲滅之。先生曰。不須救。此是冥道不許吾持藥耳。吾病行當自差。少日而瘳也。

104

盟威法師。不受錢。神不飲食。謂之清約。治病不針灸湯藥。唯服符水首罪改行章奏而已。

105

病甚。求還山。欲枕安尸。不令人殯葬。寵不聽。不食二十餘日。亦不瘦。寵問曰。先生復可得幾日。文三舉手。果以十五日終。

106

南嶽鄧先生名郁，荊州建平人也。少而不仕，隱居衡山極峻之嶺，立小板屋兩間，足不下山，斷穀三十餘載，唯以澗水服雲母屑，日夜誦大洞經。梁武帝敬信殊篤，爲帝合丹，帝不敢服，起五嶽樓貯之供養，道家吉日，躬往禮拜。白日，神仙魏夫人忽來臨降，乘雲而至，從少嫗三十，並着絳紫羅繡桂襦，年皆可十七八許。色豔桃李，質勝瓊瑤，言語良久，謂郁曰：「君有仙分，所以故來，尋當相候。」至天監十四年，忽見二青鳥悉如鶴大，鼓翼鳴舞，移晷方去。謂弟子等曰：「求之甚勞，得之甚逸。近青鳥既來，期會至矣。」少日無病而終。山內唯聞香氣，世未嘗有。

107

[illegible]精之妙覺絕萬
2 累之近想而至何彰於[illegible]絕跡[illegible]於無[illegible]
[illegible]餐足於山澗[illegible]誠[illegible]於遠近

108

3 秀玄栖標者，雖山河崩潰而不眄，志道存眞
者，雖寒熱飢渴，猶不護此一往之至也。精散
於虛，魂遊萬涂，或因風怒投閒，或捧魁蹤結
痾，將一切撥之而勿[illegible]矣。

109

仙人一日一夕行千事，初
不覺勞，明勤道之至，生不可失矣。

110

方諸青童見告曰：人爲道亦苦，不爲道亦苦，
惟人自至至老，自老至病，護身至死，其苦無
量，心惱積罪，生死不絕，其苦難說，況多不終
其天年之老哉。爲道亦苦者，清淨存其眞，守
玄思其靈，尋師轗軻，履試數百，勤心不墮，用
志堅審，亦苦之至也。

111

既已稱仙其體理自堪勞。此謂當仙之人耳。凡始學既未甚貞強。其質自易為劬倦。

112

西城王君告曰。夫人離三惡道得為人難也。既得為人。去女為男難也。既得為男。六情四體完具難也。六情既具。得生中國難也。既處中國。值有道父母國君難也。既得值有道之君。生學道之家。有慈仁善心難也。善心既發信道德長生者難也。既信道德長生值太平壬辰之運為難也。可不勗哉。

6½

744

113

靜覩天地念飛仙，靜覩山川念飛仙，靜覩萬物念覆載慈心，常執心如此，得道也。人生者，如幻化耳，寄寓天地間少許時耳，若攝氣營神，苦辛注真，將得道久，道成則同與天地共寓在太無中矣，若洞虛體無，則與太無共寄寓在寂寂中矣，能洞寂者，則視之不見，聽之不聞，死生之根易解，久長之年易尋，尋之可得，解之可久。

安六 九

114

方諸青童君曰：人之為道，能拔愛欲之根者，譬如掇懸珠，一一掇之，會有盡時，稍去外惡，會有盡時，盡則得道矣。又近喻，牛負重行泥中，疲極不敢左右，願趣欲離泥以蘇息，道士愧情悠甚於彼泥中，直心念道，可免衆苦，亦得道矣。

115

財色之於己也，譬彼小兒貪乃刃之蜜，其甜不足以美口，亦即有截舌之患。

愛慾之

116

大者莫大於色，其罪無外，其事無赦，賴其有恭，若復有二，普天之民，莫能為道者也。

745

117

玄清夫人告曰夫人係於妻子寶宅之患甚於牢獄桎梏牢獄桎梏會有原赦而妻子情慾雖有虎口之禍（有此一畀乎寫淡無此十九字恐是脫漏）已猶甘心投焉其罪無赦

118

東海小童口訣道士求仙勿與女子交一交而傾一年之藥力若無所服而行房內減算三十年

119

夫學生之夫必夷心養神服食治病使腦宮填滿玄精不傾然後可以存神服霞呼吸二景耳若數行交接漏泄施寫者則氣穢神亡精靈枯竭雖復玄挺玉籙金書太極者將亦不可解於非生乎在昔先師常誡於斯事云學生之人一接則傾一年之藥勢二接則傾二年之藥勢過三以往則所傾之藥都亡於身矣是以真仙之士常慎於此以為生生之大忌

女仙人劉綱妻口訣求仙者勿與女子三月九日六月二日九月六日十二月三日

是其日當入室不可見女子六尸亂則藏血擾殯飛越三魂失守神彫氣逝積以致死所以忌此日者非但塞遏淫泆而已將以安女宮女官在申男宮在寅寅申相刑刑殺相加是日男女三尸出於目珠瞳之中女尸招男男[illegible]招女禍害往來[illegible]雖人不自覺而形露已損由三尸戰乎眼眶流血於[illegible]也子至其日雖至寵之女子親近之念婦醫不可相對我先即[illegible]此道而仙矣[illegible]至親無心者矣

尤禁六畜肉五辛之味當別寢處靜思尤忌房室房室即死此道與守一相似但為徑要以減之耳（謂徑要省畧故為減耳）忌房室甚於守一守一之忌在於節之耳

122

黃赤之道，混氣之法，是張陵受教施化，爲種子之一術耳，非眞人之事也。吾數見行此而絕種，未見種此而得生矣。百萬之中，莫不盡被考罰者矣。千萬之中，誤有一人得之，得之遠至於不死耳。張陵承此以教世人耳。陵之變舉亦不行此矣。爾愼言濁生之下道，壞眞霄之正氣也。思懷淫慾，存心已觀而以兼行上道者，適足明三官考罰耳。所謂抱玉赴火，以金棺葬狗也。

=色

123

夫黃書赤界，雖長生之祕要，實得生之下術也。非上宮天眞流斬晏景之夫所得言也。此道在長養分生而已。非上道也。有懷於淫氣，兼以行乎隱書者，適足握水管之筆，鳴三官之鼓耳。玄挺亦不可得，恃解謝亦不可得賴也。要而言之，貞則靈降，專則神使矣。

124

夫眞者都無情慾之感，男女之想也。若丹白存於胷中，則眞感不應，靈女上尊不降矣。

125

夫眞人之偶景者，所貴存乎匹偶相愛在於二景，雖名之爲夫婦，不行夫婦之迹也。是用虛名以示視聽耳。苟有黃赤存於胷中，眞人亦不可得見，靈人亦不可得接，徒劬勞於執事，亦有勞於三官矣。

126

然穢思不豁，鄙宏
內固，淫念不漸，靈池未澄，將未得相與論內
外之期，況二景之交耳

127

當勤思用苦研
甄靈微，然後道乃來，百真乃濟也，自不能抱
心至行，苦味幽求者，徒自咎矣，何所望哉

128

先生自寄神烝，投景東林，沐浴閑丘，年我同
志，每東瞻滄海，歎逝之迅，西眄雲涯，參興內
發，芳鬢故鄉，夢何壘壘，將欲身返歸塗，但矯
足自抑耳，於是靜心一思，遙憑靈虛，登巖崎
嶇，引領仰玄，冥志扉上，遊雲竦真，始覺形非
我質，遂亡軀遂神矣，浪心飈外，世路永絕，足
樂幽林，外難一塞，建志不倦，精誠無廢，遂遇
明師，見受奇術，清講新妙，玉音洞靈，吐納平
顏，鍊魂保骨，沖氣爽泯，無復內外也

129

有一人，好道而不知求道之方，唯朝夕拜跪
向一枯樹，輒云，乞長生，如此二十八年不倦，
枯木一旦忽然生華，華又有汁，甜如蜜，有人
教令食之，遂取此華及汁，並食之，食訖即仙
矣，如是用心精誠之至也，枯木尚能生紫華

昔

灌甘津

749

130

玄子少好道，遵奉法戒，至心苦行，日中菜食，鍊形守精，不遘外物，州府辟聘，一無降就，遊山林，棄世風塵，志願憑子晉於緱岑，侶陵陽於步玄，故改名為玄子，而自字延期矣。不圖先世之多愆，殃流子孫，結眚刋於帝簡，運沉逮於後昆，享年不永，遂沒命於長梁之津，西王母見我苦行，酆都北帝愍我道心，告勑司命，傳檄三官，攝取形骸，還魂復真，使我頤胎，位為靈神，[illegible]近得度名南[illegible]定策朱陵，藏精持時，方列為仙。

131

夫形神雖精苦於生，生而七世有罪而不解者，已亦必無仙冀也。

132

有劉奉林者，是周時人，學道在嵩高山，積四百年，三合神丹，為邪物所敗，乃行徙入委羽之山，能閉炁三日不息，於今千餘年矣，猶未升仙，猶是試多不過，道數未足故也。此人但服黃蓮以得不死耳，不能有所役使也。

133

人學道，譬如萬里行，比造所在，寒暑善惡，草木水土，無不經見也，亦試在其中也。

750

134

真人隱其道妙而露其醜形或衣敗身悴狀如癡人人欲學道作此試人卒不可識也不識則爲試不過汝恒當慎此也

135

特天陰雨忽有幾人著故布單衣巾黃巾諸君車後當戟君禮而問之不答君下車以戟之康子李成並大怒可問何等人而上吾車乎君乃陳論逆聽俱戟君自徒行在後顏無變色寄戟人自若亦不以爲怒也將至佛圖乃曰吾家近在此乃下車奄然失之

136

昔問成子少好長生好學道四十餘年後入荊山中積七十餘歲爲荊山山神所試成子謂是真人拜而求道而爲大蛇所嗟殆至於死賴悟之速而存太上想七星以訶之因而得免後復爲邪鬼所惑失其左目遂不得道而絕山中子當慎此之試恒存於師也猶是成子用志不專頗有邪心故也

137

世有下土惡强之鬼多作婦女以惑試人

138

赤松子學

道未得之時，乃於金華山中忽得疾病困篤，經一十六年，雖復思真存精，而所苦不愈。松子當此之時，故自平心求道，研神守靜，初不以困病爲悲感，以生死爲視聽也。所謂六天靈鬼，以病亂真，或上人教耶使疾，但志欲壞真心，視履水火正與不正也。乃爲病試者矣。松子既清齋扶疾，誦智慧諷消魔品三千遍，則所疾都愈，心開神朗，有愈於未病之時也。

139

蓋

夫病者，一以試心誠，二以下尸濁，三以消不正，四以練塵穢，若平心堅向，情志愈造求道，守神希期玄教者，則疾可須臾而散矣。若惑疾亂心，守懃不固，情遊雜向，誠有苟勉者，則疾可終朝而考矣。

140

玉清神霄王曰：凡鬼魔巧便變化萬端，或沉或浮，或見或亡，或聚或隱，或藏或形，或氣或死，或生，或飛雲中，或治空洞，五色恍惚，无有常形，如此皆承六天之運，受會於三天，在其度之內，故得肆其兇醜，高上亦以後學多巧，民心不純，洎害繁生，惡逆滋彰，故容之以威民，使協真以罰非，役之以兼考官，故不滅其根種也。若使運終數訖，則其氣自消，民心自然而純，學者自然成仙也。

141

常欲敗人之學，惡人得仙，得仙便成大魔王之上真，故學常爲大魔王所試，多有不過，皆是大魔所敗。

大魔王

142

大魔王衣玄文之裘，頭戴橫天之冠，腰帶龍頭之劍，常乘羽輪之車，飛行雲中，常作謠歌，有三千言，亂敗於後學。

143

凡後學成仙，消魔大王皆使大魔王保舉列言，然後乃得飛行上清。

144

魔試既滅，真靈尅降，得見真形，便白日飛騰，上昇玉清之宮。

145

今六天之橫縱，而太平之微薄，靈不足以助順，適足以招羣奸，所以神光披越，而邪乘正任矣，高齡之無德久矣，鬼訟之紛錯積矣。

146

是今時所要，末世多疾，宜當服御耳。

147

玄風泯絕，埃氣彌氛，弘猶淪喪，澆僞滋起，馳驟之徒，替真於崖分之外，躁競之羣，饕利於形名之肆，擅智生流蕩之患，希求致矜伐之累，乖常適於所適，離至當於非當矣，名身孰親，道家良鐵（謂應作箴字）履淹者，守一之至戒。

昔

148

陳安世口訣道士結頭理髮及飲食施履屐
枕褥勿令非道士者見其理髮干其飲食動
其履屐用其枕褥彼俗尸魄形中之鬼來侵
我神也所以道士棲山林而幽身者皆欲遠
茲囂穢絕放人間之業是恐外物凡百犯其
性命也祕之（陳出神仙傳）

149

[illegible]世有功在三官流連後嗣或易世[illegible]
氏更生者此七世陰德根葉相及也

150

兆有此經必行其文
常當靜隱絕室散香拂塵神棲冥林避遠人
間幽寂遺事去累納真豁心忘爭委順洞根
獨處幽房絕穀去卒淡味上霄吐液茹津單
景遺偶冥躬三魂長修苦行過中不餐苦齋
三年乃得受讀大洞真經

151

若傳授弟子當先前後告齋各一
百日又清齋一百日乃得付之中齋七十日
下齋三十九日苦行而相傳授焉不審其人
無齋而傳付者經師當死受者失兩目焉齋
不苦切經師當病受者失口焉

754

152

在人間學生唯當服藥子不斷穀則大洞未可得聞斷穀之法世自有方

153

夫斷穀不必長生必須斷穀者蓋以遲修靈妙息有休粮之累服御藥石求易効之致太一洞真云經云子既不能服食去穀清腸

154

研真者且當節諸臊穢血腥雜食葷菜之菜一爲笑絕者可以度生命之長也

155

君曰食慎勿使多多則生病飽慎便卧卧則心蕩心蕩多失性食多生病生病則藥不行欲學道者慎此未服食時也

156

若食穀不死日中無影下仙也

157

君曰飲食不可卒斷但當漸減之耳十日令減一升則半年便斷矣

158

登真隱訣第四云服雲牙可修真一之道守元嚥液若似饑當食麵物以漸遣穀却粒不得一日頓棄所謂損之又損之以致於無爲也

159

清虛眞人王君

內傳云太極眞人曰夫受生氣於五穀者結胎育物必抱穀氣之流精也合眞萬化亦陶五穀之玄潤也若子寄形於父母將因所生而攝其生矣不緣所生之始本而頓廢其所因者未曾不枯竭於偏見斷年命以凋傷乎皆宜因其所由順其津源凝滌而和微而散根使營衛易鍊於日用六府化穀於毫漸矣故因穀者乃用生之良術緣本以去本者乃攝明之妙跡耶

160

因穀以斷穀化六府於毫漸

夫丹誠而蔬

161

倫者亦奚用東隣之太牢哉乃可加以五雲水桂木根黃精南燭陽草東石空青松柏脂實巨勝茯苓並養生之具將可以長年矣

162

斷穀入山當煑食白石昔白石子者以石爲粮故世號曰白石生此至人也今爲東府左仙卿煑白石自有方也白石之方白石生所造也又善太素傳所謂白石有精是爲白石生也此方在世

163

太素眞人顧別書字受而服之求其釋注於太極帝君

164

登眞隱訣第七云服五石者亦能一日九食而閒流淳亦能終歲不饑還老反嬰遍食則食不食亦平眞上僊之妙方斷穀之奇靈也

165

服五石鎮五藏者暫死白骨如玉七魄營侍三魂守宅三元歡息大神內閑外注皮肉假來附身故並應散朽但使藏府不壞色狀如生骨髓不枯筋腦相注魂魄鎮守三宮鬱然太神關不輪遊燃變恒內閑於洞房須當生之日乃復周濾也或四七年二十年十年三年隨意而出當生之時即便收血育肉生津成液復質成形乃勝於昔未死之容貌眞人鍊身於太陰易貌於三官此之謂也 [illegible]

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[illegible]

或和茯苓，或以蜜和南燭，或雜松柏葉也

167

太極真人青精𩛿飯方，按彭祖傳云，大宛有青精先生，能一日九食，亦能終歲不飢，即是此矣，真上仙之妙法，斷穀之奇靈也。

168

太極眞人青精干石䬪飯上仙靈方也法云此草有青精之神而鬼畏乘青以爲干餘歲[illegible]秀非下法也豫章西山青米吳越青龍稻米是也青米理虛而受藥氣南燭草木搗取汁以浸青龍之米作藥服之

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176

子少知還陽精髓不泄又知導引服炁吞景咽漿不復須陰丹內術補胎之益也然猶三蟲未壞三尸未死故導引服炁不得其理可先服制蟲細丸以殺穀蟲蟲有三名一名青古二名白姑三名血尸謂之三蟲三蟲在內令人心煩滿意志不開所思不固失食則飢悲愁感動精志不至仍以飲食不節斷也雖復斷穀人體重滯本本淡悶所夢非真顛倒謊錯邪俗不除皆由此蟲在內搖動五藏故也

177

附子五兩麻子七升地黃六兩朮七兩

茱萸根大者七寸桂四兩雲芝葵五兩

凡七種先取菖蒲根者濃作酒使清淳重臭一斗半以七種藥㕮咀內罌中漬之亦可不用㕮咀三宿乃出曝之令燥又取前酒汁漬之三宿又出曝之須酒盡乃止曝令燥內鐵臼中搗之下細篩令成粉取白蜜和之令可丸以平旦東向初服二丸如小豆漸益一丸乃可至十餘丸也治腹內脹實上炁心胷結塞益肌膚令體輕有光華盡一劑則蟲死蟲死則三尸枯三尸枯則自然落矣亦可數作不限一劑也然後合四鎮丸加曾青黃精各一兩以斷穀

178

義前所得分者即服日日為常不正聞有他異唯覺初時作六七日聞頭腦中熱腹中校沸耳其餘無他想或漸有理

179

服藥之後禁見死屍臭氣食五辛及一切肉初服時當食麵棗栗久久自不復食若无麵者大麥亦佳無二麥當食米米令藥氣遲行耳大都無害今已得仙道者猶服之服四鎮圓而食穀者後不復生百病此要道也

180

欲合此藥先禁戒七日永不得入房室

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鹿皮公吞玉華，而流虫出戶，仇季子咽金漢，而臭聞百里，黃帝火九鼎於荊山，尚有橋領之墓，季主服雲散以潛升，猶頭足異處，墨秋咽虹丹以投水，寧生服石腦而赴火，務光剪韭以入清冷之淵，栢成納氣，而腸胃三腐，諸如此比，不可勝記，微乎得道，趣舍之迹無常矣。

182

此諸君並已龍奏靈阿，鳳鼓雲池矣，而猶尸解託死者，欲斷以生死之情，示民有終始之限耳，豈同腐骸太陰，以肉餉螻蟻者哉，直欲遏違世之夫，塞俗人之願望也。

183

伯高後從仙人刀道林，受服胎炁之法，又常服青飢方，託形醉亡，隱處方臺，師定錄君也。

184

霍山中有學道者鄧伯元王玄甫，受服青精石飯，吞日丹景之法，用思洞房，已來積三十四年，乃內見五藏，其中夜書。

185

華陰山中有學道者姜處子張石生李方回，並晉武帝時人，授仙人管成子蒸丹餌朮法，俱服，得延年健行，又受蘇門周壽陵服丹霞之道，行已五十年，精心內視，不復飲食，體骨輕健，色如童子。

186

夫學生之道，當先治病，不使體有虛邪，及血少腦減津液穢滯也，不先治病，雖服食行炁，無益於身。

187

腦宮虧減，筋液不注，靈津未溢，雖復接景飡霞，故未為身益。

188

能行此斷穀，又賢乎青精矣，却粒之上道也，然至須靜淡無事，專修積年以取益耳，若兼之以雜業，恐非氣力所堪，自不及食餌相資表裏交益矣，亦視人四體虛實彊羸老少之殊，不得一槩更盡用也。

189

雲矛者五老之精氣，太極之霞煙，故採暉景之鋒，以充六液之和，洞微冥感，萬神來降。

190

真人挹五方元晨之暉，食九霞之精，所以神光內曜，朱華外陳，體生玉映，形與氣明，行之十年，四極老人，中央元君，降下於子，一合乘雲駕龍，白日登天。

无
明堂元真經缺text：無

191

況學者方極心注玄精研道根穢累
訟於胷中真正存乎三宮採五晨之散暉服
六醴之霞將又九天之奇寶吐秘靈之秘言
龍躍發曜明光七煥味三華於皓齒取飲液
於脣鋒內鍊六府開聰徹明呼吸天元魂魄
練彩朝玄使元以至於靈悠悠十年末乃五
神來降將何足多稱

192

此玉經上訣致五老之道絕穀去月面華生
塵寒暑不避灾苦无傷神仙精明延年進紀
益壽一萬萬限之期當得九琳玉液八瓊飛
精則合終二景天地同符

193

東方青牙紫雲流霞三素徘徊玄霜玉羅服
食晨暉飲以朝華

194

常服日月之精華者欲
得常食竹筍竹筍者日華之胎也一名太明
欲食松葉也松者木之芳也欲服日月當
食此物氣以感運也

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195

范幼沖遼西人也。受胎化易形。今來在此。恒服三氣。三氣之法。存青炁白氣赤氣。各如綖。從東方日下來。直入口中。挹之九十過。自飽便止。爲之十年。身中自有三色氣。遂得神仙。此高元君太素內景法。旦旦爲之。臨目施行。視日益佳。其法鮮而其事甚驗。許侯可爲之矣。范即是華陽中監也。事在第四卷

196

東卿司命曰。先師王君。昔見授太上明堂玄眞上經。清齋休粮存日月在口中。晝存日。夜存月。令大如環。日赤色有紫光九芒。月黃色。有白光十芒。存咽服光芒之液。常密行之無數。若不修存之時。令日月還住面明堂中。日居左。月居右。令二景與目童合炁相通也。此道以攝運生精。理和魂神。六丁奉侍。天兵衛護。此上眞道也。

197

季偉昔長齋

三年。始誠竭單思。乃能得之。於是神光映身。然後受書耳。

兩眉間

却入左有明童真君右有明女真官中有明鏡神君此三君共治明堂宮腰帶四玉鈴口銜玉鏡鈴並赤玉也若道士恐畏存三神使鳴玉鈴使聲聞太極使吐鏡光令萬丈存見此三君口吐赤氣使灌兆口則千妖伏息萬鬼滅形若道士饑渴吸而嚥之須臾吐赤氣使灌兆口因吸而嚥之須臾自飽也

太極左仙公於天台山靜齋投罪燒香懺謝思眞念道一百日中神明髣髴於空玄之上雲亭煒燦若存若亡或分或集曲映齋堂仙公自覺苦徹遐感天眞於是研思玄業志勵殊勤齋未一年（十九）遂致感通上聖

子

積劫念行損身救物開度有生惠遠草木託身林阜守情忍色恭禮師宗存弗厭極苦志篤

子

轉輪生死與善結緣歷劫積稔代代不休棄榮委祿投身幽阜饑寒嶮嵐念道不言欽仰師寶恒如對神仁和心柔坐起欣欣長齋苦思時不虧閒精感遐徹故名標上清

子

七世有惠割口救窮仁及鳥獸福流後代澍灑子身子又積勤躬奉師寶寒不思裘饑不爽口艱苦林岫注心不替紫藏納眞項生奇光致高上曲降

下官等學道

彌歷積稔于今六百甲子矣而尚散跡於山林間師等始學道幸早披錫爲太極左仙公登玉京入金闕禮无上虛皇不審夙因作何功德爰受天職致此巍巍三界壇鄭所仰願爲啓說宿命所由因緣根本也

夫一氣由虛无而生。二儀由一氣而分。清者爲天。濁者爲地。人受中氣而生。與天地參爲三才。初无凡聖之異。壽夭之殊。混混沌沌。不假修爲而道自居。既而混沌既鑿。大朴既散。人事錯錯。而道違矣。子曩前世學道受經。少作善功。唯欲度身。不念度人。唯自求道。不念人得道。不信大經弘遠之辭。不務齋戒。不尊三洞法師。好樂小乘。故得地仙之道。然亦出處由意。去來自在。長生不死。但未得超陵三界。遊乎十方。仰瞻太上玉京金闕耳。子欲使法輪速昇飛行上清。諸天者當更立功。救度國土民人。災厄疾苦。大功德滿。太上錫迎子矣。是以彭祖八百歲。安期生千年。白石生三千齡。故遊民間。皆坐其前世學法小功德薄故也。乃有萬餘歲在山河中。猶未昇天。子但數百歲。何足爲久耶。夫仙人窮於山林。行陰德而昇仙。及尸解託形者多顯迹於世。國人所稱。名書經傳者少矣。

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太極眞人曰學昇仙之道當立千二百善功。
終不受報立功三千白日登天皆濟人應死
之難也施惠其人尤善矣學道當令衆行合
法廣建福田發大慈之心動靜常起道意能
如是也吐納服藥佩符讀經精思終身不倦
者豈有不得仙乎人無此德服藥佩符讀經
齋戒故終命而不驗矣學士明思要言。

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夫學道脩德以善功為上然後當齋戒吐納
元和挹激流霞五華之英也學道不勤脩
善功齋戒亦徒勞於山林矣。

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一者願捨身肉飼餓禽獸二者願身八脂澤
燒燈續明三者願施力輸功濟人負重四者
見貧窮裸露願惠食濟水五者值遇病人願
施湯藥六者見人所要願濟時須七者憂苦
之人隨事令喜八者獄囚殺戮身願代刑九
者懷孕婦人早願分解十者邊疆征鎮早得
歸還。

208

吾開法輪十善上品感使十
方諸天人皆去十惡諸塲其有如是行十惡
者爾莫從之行其中唱言快樂者爾宜避之
言其欲來害者爾但當一心念誠業存眞而
受之殺其理自不能有害我身此即轉成无
上至眞者乎其人自當殺報也。

天尊爾時三日三夜閉天光明使光不照聚柴高地二百丈許天尊坐於柴上以火自燒大猛光照四方朗明諸國男女遥見天尊坐在火上無緣得往披陳其心天尊欲觀其心因告來者欲得長壽當入火中就我受法其有至心好慕大法者有七萬二千四百五十人投身赴火皆至道前天尊即於火中授其經法隨入隨授身並得度隱形而去餘不入者有四十萬人遥見入者身不得出皆云燒死於是便退各還本土預是入火受度之人皆先已至家其不入者皆在後至既還相見方懷悦歎悔之無及受度之人皆得長壽身不痛苦形不衰老年皆三萬歲終訖而死

天尊上人求道積久彌劫歷稔故以得仙公之位諒有由矣我等今盡見宿世所行功薄受經少那責求高仙乎於此當念更受大洞經慕道勤行慈心度諸困厄以冀昇天之道矣

我无所不履非筆札所載勤苦難說矣始蒙今報也

天師本行所歷求彌劫勤苦齋戒讀經弘道大度高範玄真耽味希微轉輪求道尤過於吾

213

上士勤尚，廣開法門，先人後身，救度國王，損口極之裸形衣寒，仁及鳥獸，惠速有生，恭師奉法，恒如對神，長齋苦思，精研洞玄，吐納炁液，心厭意勤，割棄色累，萬想都泯，情和炁柔，人神並歡，如此之行，一滅一生，志不退轉，尅成上仙，三師備足，身登太極，位加仙卿，

214

中士篤好，志慕在玄，開度一切，度厄解患，施功布德，建立福田，君親忠孝，柔智懷仁，願樂三寶，晨夕修研，虛心有道，口味靈篇，燒香散華，洞入道門，餐不念飽，衣不慊寒，苦不為倦，樂不為懽，勞不怠懈，困而殊勤，衆行並備，三滅三生，意志審固，尅得飛行，上遊太清，補九宮真人，

215

下士修身，斷情忍色，服御養神，速棄榮麗，棲翹幽林，愛山樂水，耽翫靜真，淡泊守固，絕穀休粮，長齋念道，過中不味，端坐則與師寶相對，出入則與鳥獸為羣，孤旅巖穴，獨景空山，思不慕歸，悲不悼形，契闊林澗，切相擬餐，面有餓容，心如懷丹，艱苦備嬰，恒有和顏，見試不恐，心靜神安，如此之行，上感虛皇，九滅九生，志願不退，執固殊堅，尅能變化，乘空飛行，遊宴五嶽，逍遙太無，從此而進，位至高仙，

死而復生，幽而復明，天地運轉，如車之輪，人之生滅，如影隨形，故難終也。（門二）氣氣相續，種種生緣，善惡禍福，各有命根，非天非地，亦又非人，正由心也。心則神也，形非我有也，我所以得生者，從虛無自然中來，因緣寄胎，受化而生也，我受胎父母，亦非我始生父母也，我真父母不在此也。

父母愛重，尊高無上，今所生父母，是我寄附因緣，稟受育養之恩，故以禮報而稱為父母焉，故我受形，亦非我形也，寄之為屋宅，因之為營室，以舍我也，附之以為形，示之以有無，故得道者，無復有形也，及我無身，我有何患，所以有患者，為我有身耳，有身則百患生，無身則入自然，立行合道，則身神一也，身神並一，則為真身，歸於始生父母而成道也，無復患也，終不死也，縱使滅度，則神往而形不灰也，終身歸其本，不相去也，身犯百惡，罪竟而死，名曰死也，死則滅壞，歸於寄胎父母，罪緣未盡，不得歸於真父母也，神充塗役，形成灰塵，灰塵飛化而成爽也，魂神解脫，則與爽混合，故魂爽變化合成一也，而得更生，還為人也，形神相遭，終不相去也，如此善惡，身各有對，

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有身憂其勤勞，念其飢寒，觸情從辱，則遇禍患。

使吾無身，體道自然，輕舉升雲，出入無間，與道通神，當有何患。

要訣當知。

218

三界之中，三世皆空，知三世空，雖有我身，皆應歸空，明歸空理，便能忘身，能忘身者，豈復愛身，身既不愛，便能一切都無所愛，唯道是愛，能愛道者，道亦愛之，得道愛者，始是反真。

219

夫道无也，彌絡無窮，子欲尋之，近在我身，乃復有也，因有以入无，積念以得妙，萬物芸芸，譬於幻耳，皆當歸空，人身亦然，身死神逝，諭之如屋，屋壞則人不立，身敗則神弗居，當制念以定志，靜身以安神，寶炁以存精，思慮兼忘，冥想內視，則身神並一，身神並一，近為真身也。

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人身中亦有三宮六府百二十關節三萬六千神。人身行惡。身神亦奏之三官。人身行善則度其仙名。生死罪福。莫不先由身神。影響相應。在乎自然也。人稟氣而生。氣結成神。人能養氣神則長在。內思守眞。眞不離身。有得太玄延生之符。三萬六千神則結氣而見形。共舉人身白日登天。馳騁雲駕。昇入虛空。喪精失氣。萬神奔落。神遊氣散。空屍形亡也。

221

棄色斷情。長齋持戒。晨夜誦經。不倦時刻。惟道自營。

222

修行經教。吞精咽炁。恬無倦怠。持齋服御吐納。

223

生世鍊眞。服御神丹。五石鎭生神室五官。功徹德俠。運未昇天。身受滅度。而骸骨芳盈億劫不休。須臾返形。便更受生。還爲人中。智慧聰達。逆知吉凶。運通徹視。役使鬼神。輪轉不絕。克得受書。爲九宮眞人。

224

運應滅度。託命告終。死於北戎之阿。暴露靈屍二十餘年。形體不灰。光色鮮明。無異生時。

(continued on next page)

龍漢之年。我出法度人。其世愚聾。不知法音。唯用純朴。無有惡心。不識禮義。無有君臣。不識宿命。不知因緣。次法訓喻。漸入法門。專心信向。無為罪根。命皆長遠。不有夭傷。我過去後。天地破壞。無復光明。男女灰滅。淪於延康。幽幽冥冥。億劫之中。至赤明開光。天地復位。我又出世。號無名之君。出法教化。度諸天人。其世男女。行有精麤不等。一心有信向者。皆得長年。有生嫉害惡逆不忠。皆夭壽命。便有罪福因緣之根。我過去後。一劫交周。天地又壞。復無光明。幽幽冥冥。五劫之中。至開皇元年。靈寶負文開通三象。天地復正。五文煥明。我於始青天中。號元始天尊。流演法教。化度諸天。始開之際。人民純朴。結繩而行。混沌用心。合於自然。皆得長壽。三萬六千年。至上皇元年。心漸頹壞。恐至洞落。正法不全。故國國周行。宣授天文。咸令入法。成就諸心。半劫之中。命漸凋落。壽得一萬八千餘年。我過去後。天運轉促。人心破壞。更相謀逆。嫉害勝己。爭競功名。不信經法。疑貳天真。口是心非。自作一法。淫祀邪神。殺生祈禱。迷惑不專。更相殘害。自取夭傷。命不以理。壽無定年。致有罪錄。惡種展轉。五道八難之中。沈淪三徒。莫知命根。冥冥長夜。億劫無還。流曳塗炭。

甚可哀傷。今當相告。治身之戒。功德報應。罪惡之對。生死命根。便可諦受。慎行勿忘。廣宣開度。普示天人。咸令男女歸身法門。持戒修齋。遠諸惡源。使生死歡泰。得道自然。

元始智慧三品之律。撰為觀身大戒。合三百首。自非上仙之德。身洞三清。體入自然。莫能奉之。末世男女。心當破壞。行漸怠縱。並懷疑貳。趣競萬端。守真者少。必當不能宗承觀身。既不遵奉。必致大殃。今撰上品十戒之律。可以度人。廣加開化。令入法門。

一者。不得嫉妒勝己。抑絕賢明。

二者。不得飲酒放蕩。穢亂三宮。

三者。不得淫犯他妻。好貪細滑。

四者。不得棄薄老病。窮賤之人。

五者。不得誹謗善人。毀攻同學。

六者。不得貪積珍寶。弗肯施散。

七者。不得殺生祠祀。六天鬼神。

八者。不得意論經典。以為虛誕。

九者。不得背師恩義。欺詐新學。

十者。平等一心。仁孝一切。

228

六者宗親和睦無有非親
七者見人善事心助歡喜
八者見人有憂助為作福
九者彼來加我志在不報
十者一切未得道我不有望

229

若逼世累不盡心十者
九八七六乃至於五擇其能者然五戒之福
福亦難稱

230

一者心不惡妬無生陰賊檢口慎過想念在
法
三者守貞讓義不婬不盜常行善念損
己濟物四者不色不慾心無放蕩貞潔守慎
行無黠污

231

五者信向
玄妙尊奉經訣晨夕念誦無有怠倦六者不
務榮華斷俗因緣專心定志所營在法
十者潔身持戒修齋建功廣救群生
咸得度脫

太極眞人曰夫學道之人也先孝於所親忠於所君慇於所使信於所友言而可復諫惡揚善無彼無此吾我之私不違外教能事人道也次絶酒聲色嫉妒殺害奢貪驕怠也次斷五辛肥生滋味之肴也次令想念兼冥心觀清虛也次服食休粮奉持大戒堅質勤志導引胎息吐納和液修建功德忍人不能忍行人不能行居人不能居衣人不能衣食人不能食守人不能守也道行如此乃可鎮以靈藥餐於雲芽尸蟲沉落穢漏消滅三宮滌盪五臟安閑矣將長齋久思靜詠洞經耽味衆妙兼以丹液也能如是者豈有不得昇仙之道乎

一者眼無廣瞻亂諸華色亡睛失瞳視物目眩於其眼根能制光明仙人出現於世

二者耳無亂聽混於五音傷神敗正惡聲啼吟於其耳根能制音樂仙人出現於世

三者鼻無廣豐勿俱雜氣臭腥氛亂傷神動意於其鼻根能制香憒仙人出現於世

四者口無貪味脂薰雜類六腑犯違五臟胖肺於其舌根能制法喜仙人出現於世

五者無慾搖情身不受觸精氣乃安守心自最於其觸根能制定慧仙人出現於世

六者心無變亂意不攀緣本性空寂湛然能堅於其諸緣能制法門仙人出現於世

234

洞清洞微是爲六通無所不通也六情恬爽神自歸也一自生也精自固也壽命長遠終不死也

六通智慧者洞視(同)聽洞空洞虛(一洞)

235

See Next Several pages

236

元始天王曰大洞真經誦詠之萬遍雲駕下迎靈寶洞玄經有度劫之文其人修之而或不仙及金丹靈液不成何也故由不得修奉智慧觀身戒耳故是戒衆妙之妙威神極尊金華仙人九百立侍燒香焉是真祕之道不傳於文當誦習而已夫學道不受此戒終不成仙或造業隨於聲色或始勤末懈或入山居家爲衆魔所試敗或生異念疑惑真經或還從俗无復道心或輕慢師友毀辱同學或卒發狂癡性氣倒錯或貪財愛色反薄三寶或家道轗軻悠對悉會或惡夢亂想精神愁悶皆由無大戒以攝其心神三毒浮尸校詐五府是知斯患也魔王不削泉曲死名三界不過仙品也

十五

For the 觀身大戒
I have put a ☆ by each entry translated

保言晃晃金剛軀超超太上前智慧生戒根
真道戒爲主三寶由是興高聖所崇受汎此
不死舟倏欻濟大有當此說戒時諸天來稽首
道學不得殺生暨蠕動之蟲
道學不得教人殺生暨蠕動之蟲
道學不得飲酒
道學不得教人飲酒
道學不得綺語兩舌不信
道學不得教人綺語兩舌不信
道學不得淫犯百姓婦女

道學不得教人淫犯百姓婦女
道學不得竊盜人物
道學不得教人竊盜人物
道學不得嫉賢妬能
道學不得教人嫉賢妬能
道學不得背師恩愛
道學不得教人背師恩愛
道學不得不忠其上
道學不得教人不忠其上
道學不得罔其下

道學不得教人罔其下
道學不得欺誑同學未解之人
道學不得教人欺誑同學未解之人
道學不得輕慢弟子
道學不得教人輕慢弟子

道學不得口善心懷陰惡
道學不得教人口善心懷陰惡
道學不得說人過惡
道學不得教人說人過惡
道學不得重積七寶不散施四輩

道學不得教人重積七寶不散施四輩
道學不得樂人錢財雜物爲已重擔
道學不得教人樂人錢財雜物爲已重擔
道學不得畜刀仗兵器
道學不得教人畜刀仗兵器
道學不得養六畜
道學不得教人養六畜
道學不得金銀器食飲死厚葬骸骨
道學不得教人金銀器食飲死厚葬骸骨
道學不得貪樂榮禄

道學不得教人貪樂榮禄
道學不得燒敗世間寸寸之物
道學不得教人燒敗世間寸寸之物
道學不得以世間堪食之物投水火中
道學不得教人以世間堪食之物投水火中
道學不得貪世滋味
道學不得教人貪世滋味
道學不得貪食五辛
道學不得教人貪食五辛
道學不得為草書

道學不得教人為草書
道學不得以麤物易人好物
道學不得以教人麤物易人好物
道學不得知預軍國事物
道學不得教人知預軍國事物
道學不得設權變謀
道學不得教人設權變謀
道學不得無故見天子王侯
道學不得教人無故見天子王侯
道學不得干知天時指論星宿

道學不得教人干知天時指論星宿
道學不得以火燒田野山林
道學不得教人以火燒田野山林
道學不得無故摘衆草之花
道學不得教人無故摘衆草之花
道學不得親近惡人
道學不得教人親近惡人
道學不得無故伐樹木
道學不得教人無故伐樹木
道學不得人中多語繩預流分

道學不得教人人中多語言參預流分
道學不得人中獨食
道學不得教人人中獨食
道學不得預世間婚姻事
道學不得教人預世間婚姻事
道學不得習世間妓樂
道學不得教人習世間妓樂
道學不得泄人陰惡私鄙
道學不得教人泄人陰惡私鄙
道學不得妄求窺人書疏

道學不得教人妄求窺人書踈
道學不得與女人獨語獨行
道學不得與女人同行行必有宗
道學不得與女人同座男女羣居
道學不得與女人同食交錯衣物
道學不得親教女人
道學不得說人祖宗善惡
道學不得面譽世人
道學不得以妻業投淵池江海中
道學不得教人以妻業投淵池江海中

道學不得親宗族
道學不得踈異姓
道學不得教人落子傷胎
道學不得教人離別家室
道學不得因恨報怨
道學不得淫愛弟子
道學不得妄聚集人衆
道學不得教人妄聚集人衆
道學不得投書讚世人
道學不得教人投書讚世人

道學不得自貴☆
道學不得教人自貴
道學不得自驕
道學不得教人自驕
道學不得自是用性
道學不得教人自是用性
道學不得妄多忌諱
道學不得教人妄多忌諱
道學不得希望人物
道學不得教人希望人物

道學不得塲陂池
道學不得教人塲陂池
道學不得評論師友才思長短
道學不得輕慢經書訾毀法言
道學不得教人輕慢經書訾毀法言
道學不得薄賤老病☆
道學不得教人薄賤老病
道學不得棄薄乞人☆
道學不得教人棄薄乞人
道學不得恃威勢以凌世間

道學不得教人恃威勢以淩世間
道學不得阿黨所親
道學不得教人阿黨所親
道學不得與父母別門異戶
道學不得教人與父母別門異戶
道學不得嗔恚弟子
道學不得嗔責世人
道學不得罵人爲奴婢畜生
道學不得墨奴婢面傷其四體
道學不得憶念過失

道學不得教人伺人過失
道學不得欺告煩擾世間
道學不得爲世俗人作禮主
道學不得爲人圖山立宅
道學不得占知世間吉凶
道學不得教人占知世間吉凶
道學不得去就背向
道學不得教人去就背向
道學不得與世人羣處
道學不得無故見貴人

道學不得乘車載馬
道學不得奪人所欲
道學不得馳騁流俗求競世間
道學不得慶弔世間求悅衆人
道學不得掩他人之功名爲已德
道學不得卧寢金寶雕牀
道學不得與名人飲食好惡
道學不得驚懼百姓妄說衰厄
道學不得驚懼鳥獸促以窮地
道學不得妄鷩怖老小

道學不得輕凌官長有司
道學不得預世間論議曲直
道學不得施惠追求
道學不得遊遨无度
道學不得妄登高樓
道學不得籠飛烏走獸
道學不得塞井及溝池
道學不得快人家喪禍
道學不得以辣横人行道
道學不得教人以辣横人行道

道學不得祠祀神祇
道學不得教人祠祀神祇
道學不得向神鬼禮拜
道學不得教人向神鬼禮拜
道學不得裸形三光妄呵風雨
道學不得換舉人物不還債主
道學不得折割人財
道學不得勸人爲惡事
道學不得禁人爲善事
道學不得諸天[illegible]

道學不得違歲六齋月中不齋
道學不得違經教科戒禁律
道學不得爲人作辭訴
道學不得唱論人惡
道學不得信人言以恚世間
道學不得笑人頑闇貧窮
道學不得以意增減經戒
道學不得傲慢三寶輕忽天人
道學不得勸人謀反君長師父
道學不得勸人不孝父母兄弟

道學不得矯稱自號爲真人
道學不得信用外道雜術邪見不真
道學不得衣物盈餘
道學不得强人道學
道學不得无經託學欺詐人神

右觀身戒從第一戒至一百八十上仙之道名玉清智慧下元戒品

道學不得望人禮敬
道學不得竊寫人經戒
道學不得染飾衣裳

道學不得身不潔淨上高座讀經
道學與人同行當讓人以前
道學與人同學更執爨供養
道學與人同學冬執瓶供水
道學與人同食當食其麤及菜
道學與人同食當食正已前
道學與人同學當敬先勝已
道學與人同學住當任人處分
道學與人同學當念教不解
道學與人同學當請問先進

道學人施惡於己已受惡不得有怨☆
道學不得懷怨恚報於人☆
道學與女人共語不得正視面容含笑相對
道學與女人同渡水不得正眼看之
道學失物不得疑似同學及衆人
道學失物當委運自悔多罪
道學多災病當恭已自責念改往修來
道學當忍人所不能忍
道學當割人所不能割
道學當永人所不能永

道學當食人所不能食
道學當學人所不能學
道學當容人所不能容
道學當受人所不能受
道學當斷人所不能斷☆
道學無經業精神浮散真想不通
道學身不潔淨魂魄離人☆
道學有心則天真高逝魔官不服☆
道學有家則三毒不滅三真不居☆
道學有身則衆欲不去精思无應☆

道學有虛心靜寂寞與真對☆
道學當安玄泉不使妄動生元☆
道學當滅識藏見然後真人見☆
右觀身戒從第一至二百一十六無上正
真之道名玉清智慧中元戒品

道學當念菜食為常
道學當念先度人後度己身
道學當念居山林幽靜精思
道學當念安貧讀經行道無倦
道學當念燒衆名香流芳諸天
道學當念在贊衆聽受妙旨
道學當念請受三洞寶經勤身供養
道學當念立功度人終劫不倦
道學當念報師友本德終劫不忘
道學當念國中清淨王化太平無有不道
道學當念隣國有道各守境界
道學當念呪願百姓令常安全
道學當念萬物為先不得道已☆
道學當念遠鬼神不敬不慢☆
道學當念遠在術禁忌之道

道學當念遠聲色歌儛之術☆
道學當念遠卒效鬼神妖妄之人☆
道學當念崇本守真
道學當念口不違心心不負形
道學當念无疑惑聖文損益科法
道學當念无求无欲
道學當念清白守貞
道學當念心无異想唯空唯寂
道學當念家家安寧咸無苦痛咸行消
道學當念世間愛厄之人罪緣苦惱

道學當念天子聖明弘道皇家日盛
道學當念主相弘輔常保有道
道學當念天地日月風雨霜雪以時
道學當念父母養我因緣
道學當念七祖父母咸昇天堂☆
道學當念我師早得昇度☆
道學當念我同學未測道源淵與典章
道學當念同志轉相教導令入正道
道學當念不違其口所誦之文
道學當念視人父母如己父母

道學當念視人子過已子
道學當念視人身過已身
道學當念視人傷人痛過已身
道學當念視人辱惡過其已身
道學當念我宿命因緣根斷
道學當念我胎根已絕不復世生同緣種親
道學當念我生樹已枯神合太无无數之劫
體道合真
道學當念三塗路塞地獄長休
道學當念中食養神棄諸已

道學當念慎太法常存三宮真人子丹
道學當念觀世和光不驕於俗
道學當念持三寶經戒常誦不輟
道學當念存雌一誦大洞經妙若對神
道學當念登仙度世乘雲駕龍
道學當念欲見師友同學之人
道學當念見真人道士修行法事
道學當念見聖王治世海外稽首乘風向化
道學當念食天厨自然之膳無飢渴之想
道學當念與天真共對澹然無爲

道學當念使仙童玉女
道學當念東遊青林東華
道學當念南遊太丹南華
道學當念西遊安養西華
道學當念北遊碧羅北華

道學當念遊東北方救百姓男女授其勸戒
度入東北之門使得入無爲之場
道學當念遊東南方救百姓男女授其勸戒
度入東南之門令得與道爲因
道學當念遊西南方救百姓男女授其勸戒

度入西南之門令得入無爲之道
道學當念遊西北方救百姓男女授其勸戒
度入西北之門當得昇入至真之場
道學當念遊遨留秦閥臺崑崙
道學當念遊志齋堂講肆聖道敷釋淵賾
道學當念遊上清金闕禮見真人太上
道學當念遊玉清七寶宮禮三元天尊
道學當念遊玉清丹霞宮禮太上二十四高聖
道學當念遊太上玉京七寶流霞瓊蔭蓋玉林禮
太上天尊十方大聖終劫復始

道學當念遊紫雲宮禮洞真三十九高聖
道學當念遊三十六天黃金宮禮天帝君
道學當念遊九天黃金暉宮禮无上至真
道學當念遊諸天宮宅與真人問道論經
道學當念遊六天七寶宮觀化大魔王見我
符籍以入仙品示離泉曲簿
道學當念遊日月宮殿光明煥赫禮見日月
王飲以日月華金液之漿
道學當念遊大梵天流景宮禮四天帝王聽
諸天誦詠霄絕雅妙

道學當念遊諸天七寶林反生靈香流芳逆
風聞三千里外師子飛龍鳴嘯其羽
道學當念遊諸天浴池安座蓮華之上香潔
自然流汨諸天池百千池皆如一處人人快樂
道學當念遊諸天聽諸天妓樂无世間之想
道學當念遊十方外天禮大聖象无上正真人
道學當念遊下方无極金剛天宮禮諸元老
真人
道學當念遊天地名山隱宮洞室禮聖衆先
得道人

176 道學當念以心為道終无邪見異念當令心虛意泰
不思心不慮安思心空寂
道學當念心隱祕天真名諱不出我口

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太極真人曰。夫學真仙。白日飛昇之道。皆以齋戒爲立德之本矣。靈寶經有大法。正月三月五月七月九月十一月。是歲六齋。月一日八日十四日十五日十八日二十三日二十四日二十八日二十九日三十日。名爲月十齋。長齋久思。以期凌虛之道也。故靈寶無上齋。皇老天尊大聖常奉修不倦。而況道士仙人。可不勉慕之乎。

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太極真人曰。夫學道以齋戒爲本也。誦經必齋。校經必齋。書經必齋。書符必齋。合藥必齋。作金丹必齋。精思必齋。詣師請問必齋。禮拜必齋。受經必齋。救疾消災必齋。致真人必齋。齋者太上所敬重。老君所營護。諸聖所倚賴。

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太極真人曰。夫人清齋久靜。精思眇玄。誦經悔罪。燒香禮拜。將見飛天人矣。仙童玉女降於子室矣。或聞室中爲稱善。或光景照身。或聞金玉之響。八音之聲。皆子道欲成也。勤之勤之。太上不負子矣。

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太極真人曰齋時皆心注玄真永無外想想念在經師先思三一在宮室安居分明具三魂七魄太一鎮泥丸中如迴風帝一法然後與兆俱齋聽經口受心存則三尸亡走邪氣滅去內外受真如此近仙矣傍吐納導引和液行上諸妙道天真恐必降子也上士得道於室內矣雖處巖穴而外想一毫不絕亦徒勞損力爾學道唯心盡心盡仙人當下觀試之也子善詳察之焉

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道士遠絕人跡靜棲名山修是長齋獨處幽谷則不復選法師唯心與口談矣人間修是齋道士服食五穀斷無所餌則已若服藥物正中服之也過中聽飲清飲而絕食平旦飲粥日中菜食齋限竟解齋如設大廚狀唯宜潔淨爾菓隨時珍當先行香祝願也願齋主昇仙度世

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建齋極可食乾棗鹿脯腊是生鮮之物一不得享也

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天尊言道尊法妙人身亦貴故道閑法遺誡經文以度人身人身既度上與道同冥為精行持齋奉誡夷心靜默志念分明一意皈向專想不二滌蕩六府過中不味內外清虛每合自然

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我自所得元精之和爲胞胎之元，即清虛降四體之氣，不復關外也。

久爲嬰童，與道混合爲一也。

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行道千日，心盡於玄，必能降真人見聖得道也。

晝夜六時禮拜，三時中讀，三時思身中神。

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抱朴子曰：洪意謂大齋日數多者，或是貴人，或是道士，體素藏弱，不堪日夕六時禮拜，愚欲晝三時燒香禮拜，夜可閉也，爲當講法義而已，能六時燒香者，自當全法爾，恐人未得道氣力極弱，但欲一日一夜齋，此可六時行道也，學者其善詳用焉。

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若非山學道士，居家修經者，豈能長齋久思哉，要當應齋，少可十日九日七日三日一日行道矣。

夫屈折禮拜。叩頭自搏。以施遜謝之辭。而心丹意盡。精誠苦到。自然感徹。身體疲弊。不任掌曳。自可心拜於天眞。無煩於屈折。苟外飾而心怠。亦勞形於禮拜爾。信向之士。心口相應。捻香感願。已徹諸天。生死罪對。靡不散釋。然此功德甚重。三界所稱。福德巍巍。難可載焉。

大法師於中央。披頭散結。依訣塗炭。六時請謝。中庭行事。若清信男女。佐國祈請。當於門外。散髮塗炭陳情。春則九日九夜。夏則三日三夜。秋則七日七夜。冬則五日五夜。四季則十二日十二夜。

今故立齋。披心露形。引求自剋。爲國謝殃。

臣等蟲蟻臭穢。至微至賤。謬藉宿慶。生値大化……

塗炭齋者。事起張魯。驢輾泥中黃土塗面。摘頭懸㉓柿埏埴使熟。至義熙初㉔有王公㉕朝省去打拍。吳陸修靜猶泥額。反縛懸頭而已。資此度厄何癡之甚

黃土

泥面。驢㉛驢泥中懸頭著拄。打拍使熟。自晉義熙中。道士王公期除打拍法。而陸修靜猶以黃土泥額。反縛懸頭。如此淫祀衆㉜淫同笑。

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天王口吐洞玄內觀玉符以授於君使清齋千日五香熏體東向服符子形神備見自當洞達諸疑頓了李君稽首奉承教旨具依天儀長齋千日東向服符三八景神並見身中

金書玉字二十四圖空中而明

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神仙五嶽真形圖　上部第二真炁

妙哉元始道　五靈敦真文　上開龍漢劫
煥爛三景分　十部飛天書　安鎮五帝神
靈嶽承玄宮　鬱勃吐寶雲　上有不死炁
植牙練五仙　玉芝玄中渙　體潔自然熏
精思高靈降　交游上帝君

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神仙六甲通靈圖　上部第四真炁

靈宮飛天女　六真宴常湯　抱日負明月
仰躡三晨光　通靈究幽微　洞觀朗十方
招致自然廚　五芝六府昌　變化鍊萬神
分形改正容　乘虛步玄都　高奔入空洞
時降金霄人　徉襟三素房　携契策飛蓋
逍遙昇玉京

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神仙通微靈化圖　中部第一真炁

大道妙無像　運炁凝高玄　結空自然生
靈化表三神　朝引五星精　中喻日中津
夕餐黃月華　寢卧煉五仙　變景隨空化倏忽立自然

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神仙九變圖　中部第三真炁

妙化因空感　專思通至靈　上食九天炁
導引五雲精　三日練萬神　一日九變形
脫身遊九域　遨戲三界庭　乘景望太素
靈風迴綠軿　飛煙繞十絕　黃旛召萬靈
諸天降羽儀　鬱鬱入太清

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神仙常存圖　中部第四真炁

默念招幽真　專靜神自歸　漏盡外應消
正炁自夷微　積感妙真降　六府生光輝
玄會空相和　萬神應響齊　八景扶雲蓋
煥落迅羽儀　載我大梵外　逍遙乘空飛

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神仙守一養身圖　中部第五真炁

導引九天炁　摩手慰身形　遏斷邪魔逕
瑩飾練光明　鳳翔通真炁　龍超制萬靈
辰旦衆真會　養身覺神生　淡泊還守一
靜思正炁庭　神備景自飛　高昇入上清

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神仙守神合景圖　中部第六真炁

泥九置鬼營　中元抱一宮　丹田三靈府
混合百神王　三關統九天　呼噏日月光
五星與玄滋　流演六胃充　靜思萬炁歸
神安形亦芳　三部八景真　携我入太空
長居天地劫　無始永無終

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神仙寂嘿養精守志圖　中部第七真炁

清朝餐五星　專思守泥丸　正中嚥日光
嘿念絳府熏　黃昏導月精　灌溉丹田君
三真生一景　變化形自分　一見萬神歸
攝炁景高奔　上登日月宮　出入觀八門
龍漢無終劫　妙哉靈寶文

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芝英玉女圖　中部第八真炁

飄飄散靈炁　芝英隨風廻　諸天灑香華
日月灌靈暉　玉女檠金槃　粲粲乘空飛
仰思真顏降　嚥芝五神開　導引光明徹
萬劫體不衰

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神仙六陰玉女圖　下部第一真炁

靈飛秀太極　玉女翠朱瓊　窈窕飛空出
飄飄乘虛生　玄妙自然炁　六陰安常形
遐念希良會　仰盼降六丁　携景金房內
嬿婉娉精誠　玄感自相求　豈期形與名
變化因欵發　應響神自靈

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神仙導引圖　下部第三真炁

鬱鬱五雲芝　玄暉吐玉光　凝津洞靈府
徘徊日月宮　五色理高真　流精灌十方
呼吸不覺疲　飛天並金容　導引餐靈无
玄哺六胃充　精思易致感　安坐觀空洞

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八景上真鎮在人身中上元
宮中致上元生炁精心內思八年八真見形
千乘萬騎運致景雲載人上昇

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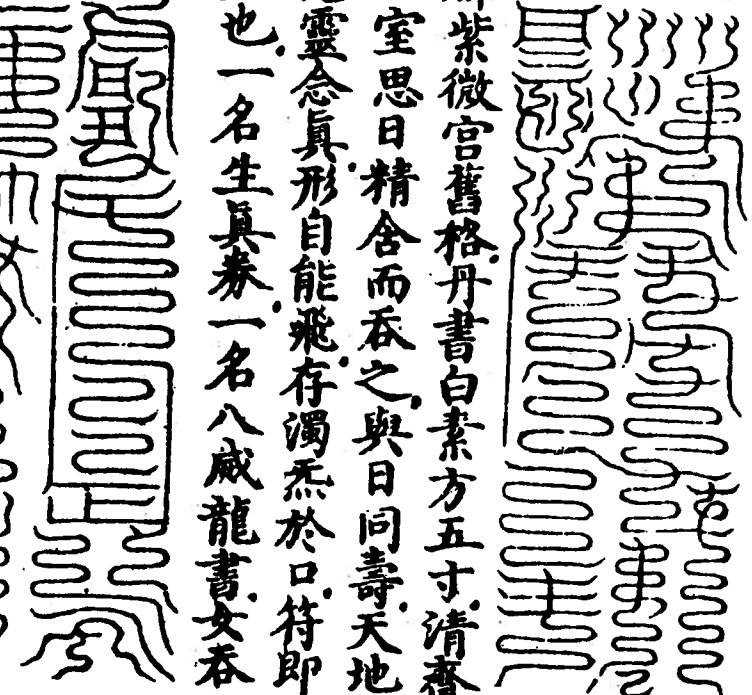

玄都紫微宮舊格丹書白素方五寸清齋百
日入室思日精含而吞之與日同壽天地俱
存思靈念真形自能飛存濁炁於口符即出
而死也一名生真券一名八威龍書女吞此符後生爲男身

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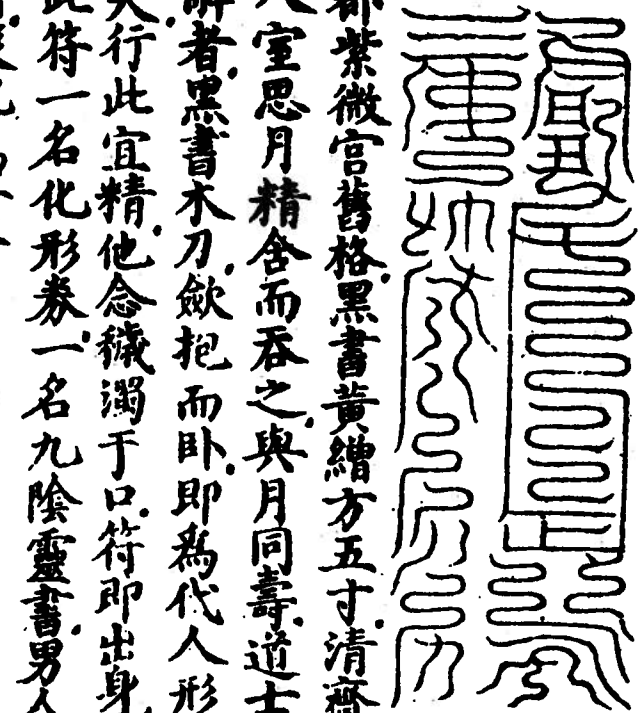

玄都紫微宮舊格黑書黃繒方五寸清齋百
日入室思月精含而吞之與月同壽道士欲
尸解者黑書木刀斂抱而卧即爲代人形而
死矣行此宜精他念穢濁于口符即出身即
死此符一名化形券一名九陰靈書男人吞
此符後化爲女子

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此二符陰陽二氣日月之精自不精身苦志
愼輕服御惟清齋合式即能無窮

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元始赤書五篇真文生於太空之中。天地未光，開闢未明，潛結元根，三景成立，五氣行焉，五色分彩，煥照五方，置以五帝，運以陰陽，輪轉九天之紐，運明五星之光，殖地五嶽以安鎮，澳人五府以養神，是以至真之人，常依陽光之始明，上導九天之和氣，下引玉泉之流芳，致元精於太極，招五帝於靈童，漱之者不衰，存之者無窮，迴萬劫而更始，保五牙於顏容，實靈寶之妙訣，恢萬聖之宗也。

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生於元始之先，空洞之中，天地未根，日月未光，

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元始五炁，常以雞鳴，上會靈寶玉京玄都上宮，陽光初明，散元始之暉，流觀諸天，其氣鬱鬱，其暉熏熏，精如月珠，光如紫雲，五氣運轉，如車之輪，上御九天之關，中固五帝靈山，下注學士五牙之根，上宮衆聖，大智真人，皆以其時，餐食其暉，仰咽其精，與天相承，致得無窮，

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後聖道士，休粮長齋，五嶽絶塵，人間遠思，清真者，得日日服日根之霞，吞太陽之精，則立覺體生玉澤，面有流光，位為玉皇，

中央王實元靈元
老君姓通班諱元氏字含樞紐形長一尺二
寸頭冠黃精玉冠衣五色黃羽飛衣駕乘黃
龍玉輿建黃旗(九二)從神戊巳儋老之官十二萬
人從十二炁黃天中下來降室內須臾化生
黃炁勃勃如景雲之吐暉灌覆己形從口中
而入直下脾府又思土星煥明中天光照我
身皆使分明

中黃嵩山元炁徘徊上有元老總統四垂參
駕黃龍五色羽衣運導九天轉輪璇璣煥明
土星流光散暉玉英芳芝充溢四肢陶灌我
身脾府鮮開養牙餐精萬神總歸檢魂制鬼
仙錬八威表裏洞明長生不衰通真達靈昇
入太微

右十六字則中央黃天之名導引黃帝十
二炁服食黃牙皆赤書白紙上存思訖頃
而服之則上引元炁於九天下注玄膺於
妙門太倉氣粮而自充脾胃不澡而自熏
黃老應響以玄和靈童披襟而告文黃素
運走給命東西妙哉玉訣為萬仙之端

上餐
朝霞服引木精固養青牙保鎮朽齡肝府充
溢玉芝自生

此五帝靈童與元始五老同生主五篇真文上統九天之炁下領五嶽中主人五藏引矛之精補養人身服食五牙不知此神終而無感徒勞疲懃

行之八年仙官下降王女侍衛身生光明照映十方出入遊行五帝猶肯三界司迎此位唯三天上真之號

閉眼思東嶽泰山青帝君姓玄丘諱目陸形長九寸九分頭戴青玉通天寶冠衣青羽飛衣駕乘青龍從青腰玉女十二人從東方來降兆室良久青帝君化為嬰兒始生之狀在青炁之中隨炁從兆口入徑至肝中思心生赤炁以灌繞肝府青赤二炁混沌相著如慶雲之昏煙覺肝中熏熱便九咽仰呪曰

道士隱學書青帝赤書真文置東方則東嶽仙官至長齋百日精思靈寶尊神則天真下降給青腰玉女九人取東嶽神仙芝草不死之藥青帝鬼魔遠舍九萬里一方凶劫惡獸妻婺皆不生害心反善仁人長齋修行二十四年身得神仙但佩此文亦得尸解轉輪成仙

282

天魔身者，皆是前生持戒布施，勇猛精進，不免嫉妬勝己，故斯報也。

宗君曰，

283

少微曰，玉清隱書云，五帝魔王，各帶虎頭鞶囊，領官屬三萬八千人，與天同生，常惱亂學人，不欲成道，又自矜與諸天上帝齊其聖功，後因龍漢開圖，乃服於元始之化，

284

道言，夫受靈寶上法，致神明來降，存念響達，與天眞交會，宜先分別鬼魔形象，遏塞干試，魔精既伏，存思自感，神明易致。

285

三元開明，迴轉天常，運推數極，百六乘綱，大劫交會，萬妖爭行，北酆不拘，放逸鬼宗，群魔縱肆，祅閉天光，上帝有命，普告十方，演明天魔，法教開張，正道治民，掃除不祥，有何小妖，群聚爲場，赤書玉文，檢攝鬼鄉，北酆三官，明速傳行，千魔束爽，萬鬼送形，流鈴交煥，激氣太陽，金虎四邀，天丁捕亡，大小齊到，不得匿藏，元始所告，列奏上宮。

286

大運將期，數終甲申，洪流蕩穢，凶災彌天。

道言。天地大劫之交。洪水四出。蕩穢除惡。萬無遺一。當此之時。天地冥合。人民漂流。無復善惡。唯有志學之士。得靈寶眞文。大劫小劫之符。乃可乘飛羽而高觀。登靈嶽而浮翔。當此之時。神人自當使蛟龍爲通路。開水徑以渡身。河伯伺迎。不罣津梁也。

又天帝推校
應運令下化度衆生侍從天尊往四天下教
化諸國布散道氣何以故爲延此劫火氣之
災法行道教以鎮陽九之禍使火精消滅至
後劫天地崩壞人民福盡法當不救運數之
極自然如此水劫之初吾道大行三十七萬
年中人民淳朴以後漸漸大道不行陰氣轉
盛人民僥倖造營空冢多起廟舍遍於世界
男女邪心修習滅法不依儀格叫呼求死或
入火坑或投深淵自割自截羣聚行道歌讚
悲泣或入空冢默然而坐或抱死尸或恭敬
枯骨或以糞穢爲壇或以香尼塗地或以不
敬父母種種苦行或噉食穢惡無種不爲終
不能得正真之道人心偏側父子無義於邪
教中徒黨興盛大水劫前有小水劫十年始
歇從此之後四千年內於邪教中應有兵革
更相謀害或稱國王或得十日百日還復自
滅父子無禮以强凌弱同姓骨肉自相婬亂
雖有人身而無人心凶險馳競不相信用若
此時至邪道漸興陰氣極盛非久之間漂流
沉溺人化爲魚蛟龍噉人當此之際法應搜
選種民置之福鄉子當勤苦晨夕勿懈是謂
大道弘之在人我命在我由人攝持心正則
道應從邪則禍來好殺還自伐應當行大慈

=泥(?)

明威大真逆

紀後劫偏邪之道邪起陰氣濁惡之世便即易興淳朴既喪澆淳競作下界四天自號神王如此之魔名爲天神濁惡之世遍於下土四天之下山林石精附着生人皆相放傚自號仙王并及六天故氣之影共爲羣黨交流散釋隨世立名背道之人供食祈福妊人精氣食人血脉減人年命人不自知人人身中亦能令人惡生愛死如是諸鬼入汝身中子息繁育精氣强梁交通生人亦影鬼女亦能令人辨諸空義妬媚生道若有男女修學生道是諸惡鬼競來侵害欲人死亡取其魂神共作傳侶以是義故憎惡生道後學之人身得成道邪影惡黨服事驅使不得自在以是因緣學道之人須應明知外道邪疾預曉明威之法揮割祟保護形神

往昔大劫之初戎山之精化作人身體備衆相行世教化聚徒八萬教之事火及觀氷法一十二年吸人精氣人皆失正邪觀已成爾時諸人同心受死各入衰草又手跪坐脫衣解纓雇人燕火衰草威然一時燔傷八萬餘人毛焦皮裂疱汁崩潰手脚拳縮奉屈盤地苦通悔恨不能出聲爾時山精彈指讚歎而作是言有生之類終歸磨滅煩惱之身

Cont. on next page

百毒營室，應速遠離，求早度脫，當滅此身以求法身，嫌火毒烈，當赴深淵，爾時山精說此語已，八萬餘人，匐匐赴水，風浪所漂，涇族吞噉，河靈執其魂魄，水府役其精爽，徒謫困苦七千餘年，于今未休，一旦被邪，生死不離，爾時戎山之精，誘殺凡俗，自知有罪，上懼大威，深藏石中，春遇雷神，霹而出之，驅使從龍，日夕辛苦，不得自在，如此强精欲揮之法，可使雷公，馘而裂之。

爾時，復有西南金方鐵圍之山精，化爲人，出世教化，其法遍滿，荒戎之中，百國之內，流變五百餘種，其名外道，奉事衆象，天地日月星辰，風水金木，鑪火城堡道路，種種苦行，變易衣服，及改形貌，立像供養，木葉書經，殘損形貌，披服戎衣，受持禁祝，入城乞求，皆各自言，此爲勝果，齋祭血味，祝號天王，或稱梵師，專事烹宰，奉獻天神，望求多福，邀世財利，各各自言，能施我者，得福無量，如是外道，附着人身，悲啼叫呼，自拔頭髮，踊身自撲，受死求滅，或默坐闇室，諦觀光相，言覩大聖，或見一切罪福之相，凡夫聞之，競來布施，捨諸珍寶，妻子奴馬，城邑田宅，或捨身命，頭目髓腦，心無所恡，是諸外道，教其愛死，輒見死者，歌頌讚歎，棄尸荒野，名曰生天，合衆禮拜

Cont. on next page

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291 (cont.)

歡喜歎言大士高人厭世求度身充禽獸塊識生天煩惱不繼豈不樂哉是諸外道苦行之法然大火聚而作是言若有善男子善女人能入火聚燔燒其身是名第一大士得離煩惱證無上果獲得長樂無垢之地得登長樂不動之地是諸外道讚言大士勇健德力無比能爲世間作大利益愚人見之競燒其身當爾之時外道遊精飛空歌讚作衆妓樂令其甘愜一百戎域數十年中過半傷殘被此外道作法誘道

292

察彼諸仙人之行。或有以草而爲衣者。或以樹皮樹葉以爲服者。或有唯食草木花果。或有一日一食。或二日一食。或三日一食。如是行於自餓之法。或事水火。或奉日月。或翹一脚。或臥塵土。或有臥於荊蕀之上。或有臥於水火之側。太子既見如此苦行。即便問於跋伽仙人。汝等今者修此苦行。甚爲奇特。皆欲求於何等果報。仙人答言。修此苦行。爲欲生天。太子又問。諸天雖樂。福盡則窮。輪迴六道。終爲苦聚。汝等云何修諸苦因。以求苦報。

293

自餓法投淵赴火自墜高巖常翹一脚五熱炙身。常臥灰土棘刺編椽樹葉惡草牛糞之上、衣麁麻衣塚間所棄糞掃氈。褐欽婆羅衣麋鹿皮革芻草衣裳。茹菜噉草藕根油滓牛糞根果。若行乞食限從一家。主若言無即便捨去。設復還喚終不迴顧。不食鹽肉五種牛味。常所飲服糠汁沸湯。受持牛戒狗鷄雉戒。以灰塗身長髮爲相。以羊祠時先呪後殺。四月事火七日服風。百千億花供養諸天。諸所欲願因此成就。如是等法能爲無上解脫因者。無有是處。

294

後學之士欲滅異道當修
正一之法具大威神而降伏之以大道妙氣
生神真威而擯落之外道凡形自然歸化外
道精靈亦自消滅後學之生欲滅此邪善用
火鈴之道邪即須亡此諸外道雖求勝果終
不能得滅命之道非得真也此名行尸邪偽
之道大道法中亦有此人人心流動身行不
正邪神任之亦名外道如此之人不辨真偽
清濁不分自來邪鬼心既偏僻大道不行媚
精入心惡聞生道

295

汝但具足說此
偈頌我聞偈頌已當以此身奉施供養猛獸
我設命終如我之身無有所用當為惡蟲之
所噉食而復不得一分之福我今為求无上
正真大道之果捨不淨身以易淨身

296

願令一切慳貪之人悉皆見我捨離此身若
有愛惜有嗔嘖者亦令見我為一偈頌捨於
身命如棄糞穢

297

今藉天尊大乘光明業力各自呵責
自觀已身如四毒蛇是身常為无量諸蟲之
所噉食是身臭穢貪欲獄縛是身可惡猶如
死狗是身不淨九孔常流

善男子
汝等所言遇古先生身得化度古先生者是
我弟子今其教化邊地說三乘滅度衆生修
後世果以彼土難化人無和氣雜畜之種心
性不具飲血茹毛强梁自任故作神變廣說
譬喻開悟下根如此之法不盡至理權示形
迹先生去後攝迹歸本形迹漸滅縱有存在
者多紕繆或自歸仙人或自稱梵天或默坐空
室或燒身自滅或墮落高巖或供養火火或
作天人形像三面千手種種神像屠殺祭祀羣
聚行道叫呼求滅或諦觀光相如此之法名
曰訛謬雖有經文無有實法邪正混雜不能
得道

汝彼國土地氣陰惡所
生人民永復如是何以故此名金方雜類衆
生生此邊地不聞正法唯聞三乘譬喻之說
不知大道秘密之藏天書雲篆龍章鳳彩頓
教成真生身入妙之法

彼土衆生腥臊臭
處豈圖即身而得昇度與道結緣奚得身來
生中國有道之邦唯願天尊大慈之心賜我
等衆齋戒威儀之法

301

我在幽仞山三界之所尊夙聞无上道乘霧
入雲門是謂天中天何期无相仙五情不異
世神識未超然雖處雲宮上爲无生死緣

302

復說諸行法皆无常又言其身不可毀
壞或說死滅爲極樂法令人自殺刖截其身
速得轉凡軀成金剛體或說他方世界極樂
化生身坐蓮花衣食自然離此肉身永斷生
死汝諸魔等以厌滅穢質窮比金剛

303

爾時魔衆聞仙人言皆應其心一時悲苦號
咷哭泣悔過自責踴身自撲過體流血拔脫
鬚髮如婦穢草兩眼淚流五體戰慄稽首求
哀頂禮神足顧賴憂苦

304

界衆生不聞正法修四如意縱能駐壽不過
八萬大劫後還退墮翻生慾界我今已壽七
萬餘劫恒憂无常生老病死此法有限不出
三界不越五通不免生死

305

長生之道非凡所聞汝等外道欲求長生恐汝習氣
深重根業結固年又老耄髓腦空竭形神沉
濁津液穢滯又復誑惑世人罪目已結三司
剌奸五帝糾過汝欲求度殊成大難

下

306

闔衆於雲門外遥禮天尊，焚香願念七日七夜，叩頭拜伏，以求報應，是諸外道，正中之時，忽覺神香洞薰鼻根，流入其心，心中歡喜，煩惱消除，內無飢渴，耳目聰明，倍於初來，是諸外道，彈指相顧，互言其身膚容潤澤，爾時仙人心知天尊慈諸外道，是諸外道心亦自覺內懷歡抃，不敢出言，但以禮謝，遥心想念大悲真帝，又復七日七夜，拜跪雲門，

307

性命，當於何憂，但以汝身塵濁日久，未堪親見大悲天尊，未堪稟佩无上道要，汝等徒衆，且還慈界，退齋三劫，澄鍊身心，然後更來親近天尊，

汝得道力已績

308

慈二界人氣，千天何爲淹留，且當退齋三劫之後，戒香薰濁，歸正除邪，飡和服丸，消此魔氣，形體清明，內外芳潔，當更上來，大悲天尊已施玄祐，香光薰曄，消汝惡根，加汝壽命，求

色

无傾天

309

云何求福二

滅汝身，夫滅身者，不名爲福，云何戒狄自欲滅身，身爲福本，云何滅之，諸滅身者，名之滅福，又身爲道本，諸滅身者，名之滅道，非滅福也，諸滅福者，不恃福以滅福，諸求福者，不因福而致福，

310

無上至道以自
長生爲宗。即此之身而爲法身。以慈悲平等
爲重。以忍辱柔弱爲用。以方便惠物爲利。以
無爲虛白爲寂。以智度無礙爲通。以道眼觀
照爲達。以弘廣容物爲虛。以形能隨神爲無。
以無作爲自然。以無形爲長生。

311

大會之中。人
及非人。默然不動。心無疲猒。歡喜仰視。樂真
觀相。傾心注念。不覺有身。九日九夜。寂無飢
渴。身心不動。

312

汝欲聞道。應全耳根。不以耳聽而聞道也。
汝欲見道。應全眼根。不以敗壞之眼而見道
也。汝欲行道。應須全生。不以滅生而行道也。
汝欲行道。先全汝身。不以缺犯之身而行道
也。汝欲懷道。應除十惡。不以五逆之心然後
行道。汝今當知。生不全者不足聞道。身不全
者不足學道。

313

我之同俗。殘形滅生。燒
身粉骨。浮煙上騰。謂之昇天。或棄尸深水。謂
之水仙。或棄尸林野。以飴禽獸。不責生身受
度。勞於長存。

汝戎狄等以長存爲勞以髮膚爲
累我此大國之法以生滅爲累故求長存無
生之道昇入無形不覺煩惱不以殘形滅生
以遠勞累亦不吹累而累自消亡汝諸戎等
不捨邪心具足外道不除十惡樂處生死不
遣三毒人形獸心不足見道勿以戎狄之法
穢我大邦

天尊曰後學之子修吾大道初在學地未證
果前慈悲忍辱恩流蠢動孝及一切單衣菲
食蔬素芳潔燒香禮願晨夕慇懃精密其行
恒慎凶惡不馳不競宴處虛寂吟詠寶經微
聲平氣身心調柔忌諸雜想專心念道如有
所待餐服妙氣吐故納新茹諸靈芝神符聖
水幽身避世不交人事如此修學未踰一年
神靈給使衆毒不害舊疾銷除顏貌反嬰氣
力丁壯自求多福身心無猒我印此人克成
眞道

浪 P.2385
白 P.2385
勤 P.2385
晏 P.2385
剋 P.2385

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上學之士銷

聲林壑絕跡幽山結宇依巖永離人世澡練形神研味至法採服良藥衣粮窮盡不假外求披草服氣支持性命如此之人非鄙衣食增惡飽暖志遠惡人不與交好恐其能壞善根故深避患入諸名山至論大道無所不在人間多難不得專心歲月易流身命難保無常忽至求悔如何

317

雖居山林心志不一穢垢通津邪風往來髓腦枯竭牙凋喪明

318

邊邦諸山地多毒厲寒熱不調地氣損人又多精魅

同居

319

數載服木飡松不解科法不見真經積年勤苦心不懈倦不交塵俗不求世利常服草衣一日六時朝禮上天願乞濟度長生不死如是積四十六年

320

爾時五人採服微音皆以心體柔軟德力無比百關強健六府調和耳目聰明神識凝玄不違四時不逆五行歸依常道遠離虛妄善用中和故能无病妖魔消伏真正日新

817

321

復聞世人誹謗

大道而作是言云學道之人不免生死輙以輕陳世說干忤真君願爲決疑消除憂慮

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善男子汝所云者愚人狂言非至聖說何以故往昔之時有愚癡之黨兄弟三人竊聞至士避害棲庇山林斟酌玄流咀嚼甘露形神不灰色如童子億百千劫緜緜長存不知至法精微虛白玄妙而兄弟三人自師短見便學不死第一大兄名曰冥子穿鑿懸嵒冶鐵爲鏁繫以一牀空中而坐無所服御飢渴而死其第二弟名曰大閽乘筏入海卒遇大風遂至沉溺其第三弟名曰蠢生自計避死深入石穴忽彼毒龍之所吞噬在後凡庸相承不絕因以書記而爲盛談不達深義便謂至人學同於此傳說

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諸學道之子得道力者凡夫不知但觀其形雖不肥腯色正力强身體輕妙皮容潤澤聽察不掩行步輕便晨夕不睡身無疵癘形貌鮮潔聲響清潤如此之人名得道力進修不退定得免脫生老病死

P.2385 兒

聡 P.2385

P.2385 胎

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善男子，汝知邪道之夫，第一血食，第二躭婬，第三惡疾氣，腫瘡疣疥癩疸瘻，習邪失性，水腹癥瘕，顏色焦乾，耳鼻枯燥，處處疼痛，氣喘液竭，無有津潤，貪睡履污，不忘生死，形容垢膩，體氣臭處，所向便利，好講惡事，馳競奔躁，積聚無猒，肉大骨小，瞻視淺近，性無仁慈，心不孝順，此等色人，定不得道，此名有漏之身，亦名敗壞之身，假有道氣，不能自度，況能度他。

北 P.2385

道氣之妙，其法至神，天地萬象，元氣所生，未有一物不由元氣而得自在，昇沉飛走，乘氣而遊，得氣則存，失氣則亡，存者不可得死，亡者不可得生，氣有清濁，事有否泰，

自生 P.2385

得 P.2385

服清氣者活人，御濁氣者殺人，清氣上浮，濁氣下沉，清氣為天，濁氣為地，真精妙氣，謂清氣也，凝黷穢滯，謂濁氣也，死道昏濁如濁水也，生道澄徹如清水也，人猶魚也，氣猶水也，水濁則魚瘦，氣昏則人疾，善男子，下世衆生，志多勃逆，煩惱奔躁，求諸可欲，情性喜怒，狼悷憤烈，皆死氣也，仁慈孝順，安庠徐審，和悅中雅，皆生氣也，忘身冥道，不覺衆累，萬化不過目，千響不經耳，所動如無，所止如虛，恒存清氣，流入雙闕，散適經緯，遍體雲行，天闕微

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呼出一半氣心念半氣循環雙關令不馳散
朝餐紫華夕味黃蘗如此之法是服日晨氣
用我晨氣保見太平取飽爲度無正限也於
是經緯流通百關調柔色美髮黑氣力倍常
存身全生莫先此道此道是後聖之户牖學
真之樞機

P.2385 辟言

復曰晨氣

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持神室晝夜不睡瑩拂明鏡徑九寸令無瑕
翳懸對目前以鑒精魅辨其僞真開闢明堂
遐招二景隨以晨夕互咀精霞密室坐卧任
其便所不必一也採服輕妙呼吸中和不緩
不急不簾不細猶如嬰兒飲其母乳綿綿微
吸取類引絲使不斷絕不勤不勞如幽泉之
潛澍內外靜息百關不躁忘所馳競冥昧泯
默如無耳目不以視聽用其聽察也於是塵
濁消沉道德明顯生神內養和氣調暢存亡
去留隨心攝運生道一固欲死不可得也

淨

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或抱

出寢幃兒見天日常以仰笑口出紫光上連
天口甘露如繩直注兒口

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青骨素髓五藏蓮花紫胃筋腸食不全粒

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善男子，汝今當知，元氣之道祖於虛無天尊，空生自然，綿綿長存，化生元氣，元氣生太極，太極生天地，天地生萬物，善男子，元氣之道，其妙如此，故大道無名，元氣無形，以無名故動用無極，流變萬化，有情無情，稟道而生，人寶元氣故能長存，元氣爲神與氣合并，能入無形，與道合真。

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太虛之中有三上真，在彼空中修無上道，今入凝神大定，于今已經九億大劫，次應入忘形大定，八億大劫，次應入六虛大定，七億大劫，次應入無礙大定，六億大劫，次應入太虛大定，五億大劫，次應入洞惠，百萬大劫，次應入生惠，十萬大劫，當來應下觀三十七天，次遊凡境，俱號後聖太平天尊，將諸侍從億億萬衆，說無爲法而度衆生，此時成道，數如塵沙。

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遙見三真，在於空中，窈靄溟漠，依俙紫雲之內，霏微於明霞之上，丹霄結緯，黃精爲牀，三氣凝液，二景銜芒，太虛爲牖，虛境爲窻，胚胎未始，混沌初元，服氣藏真，寥寂無言，冲虛絕象，萬化未根，空湛靈軀，五花潛敷，三宮育真，六府凝神，三魂不浮，七魄不遊，神精不動，真氣不流，恬淡瀅渟，無所經求。

倏欻之間不見
三真霞帳所明不測所之良久之間欻亡空
恨唯存光炁朧朧而然又良久之間忽見三
真出虛入無或亡或存呼吸風雲乍合乍分
良久之間冥然絶影合氣都亡復經良久靈
風八震神氣四衝吹噓交扇顯晦不恒又良
久之間不動而生不營而成

子何
不任神氣於忽恍之間委自然於有無之際
隨會合離縱遷推移欻恍浮虛體不常居存
於無形銷聲滌慮曠若長虛寞神無處鑑虛
映空服氣藏真混紫精之靈根嘯凝眄於雲
房泯輕塵於太始息元和於昊穹任物自生
從真晦明輕乎雲崖之端能不動而常行宅
中虛而已立恒如嬰兒之未孩不聽不窺隨
之有情不釋不取不滿不空泯而無際是謂
玄同

天尊凝視良久，喜諸羣微心知向道，乃開發金顏，而啓法口怡然微笑，萬變真光，流出金吻，十方世界皆於光中洞觀真相，欣喜踊躍，不覺自失，人及非人，悉皆傾想注念，真光入其心目，三日三夜，停然不動，亦無勞極，又於真光之中，各各見其魂魄圍繞天尊，須臾之頃，變成嬰孩，入其身中，各坐府內，湛然不動，自覺其身改爲童子，色美髮黑，氣力如雲，時諸死魂，飲和生氣，悉成人形，反真復胎，靈魔變節，道德成心，地水之神，半身沐光，以極其靈，胎外潛胞，隨母獲安，皆含正氣，開剖之日，順性成就，飛走輕利，無諸夭傷，積疾新病，登即痊除，羣蟲不螫，毒草樹滅，