

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF THE BUDDHIST AND RU
TEACHINGS IN LI DAOCHUN'S (fl. ca. 1288) WONDROUS WAY OF
PEERLESS ORTHODOX TRUTH

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Abstract

This study examines of the way of cultivation taught by Li Daochun (fl. ca. 1288) and preserved by him and several of his disciples in two lengthy works: *Qingan yingchan zi yulu* (*Dialogic Treatise of Master Qingan yingchan*) and the *Zhonghe ji* (*Anthology on the Centre and Harmony*). Li describes his teaching as the “Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth” and claims that great teachers have transmitted it wordlessly down through the ages. Further, it lies at the heart of the Three Teachings: Buddhist, Ru literati, and Daoist. This “Wondrous Way,” being fundamentally beyond words, simultaneously exists outside the confines of the “Three Teachings.” It is well known among scholars studying the many varied facets of what is referred to generally as “Taoism” that teachers such as Li Daochun, who described themselves as Golden Elixir (*jindan*) adepts, also represented themselves as unifiers of the Three Teachings. It has often been noted that Golden Elixir texts show evidence of influence from Buddhism, (Chan Buddhism in particular) and from ideas associated with the way of personal cultivation taught by Confucius and Mencius, and later reinvented by Ru literati of the Song and Yuan dynasties and, at the close of the thirteenth century, unified by Zhu Xi (1130-1200) under the designation “Daoxue” (Teaching of the Way). Employing translated material from the two texts mentioned above, this study enriches these observations with greater detail concerning the precise nature of the influences, both in terms of their provenance and the way in which Li has reinterpreted and incorporated these “Teachings” into his way of cultivation. This added detail sheds light on what Li thought the labels “Buddhist Teaching” and “Ru Teaching” represented. By examining exactly how these teachings were adapted to Li Daochun’s “Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth” insight is

also gained into Li's formation of his own identity. He demonstrates a high degree of facility with a variety of Buddhist doctrines and the Daoxue approach to cultivation as he uses his impressive understanding to mould the "Teachings" to his own purposes.

Ultimately, Li's project of "unification" rests on his efforts at recreation.

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Chapter 1: An Introduction to Li Daochun and His Historical Circumstances

1.1 The Subject and Purpose of this Study

The subject of this study is the way of cultivation taught by Li Daochun 李道純 (fl. ca. 1288) and described by him and several of his disciples in a collection of nine texts. They comprise more than twenty *juan* and cover a variety of subjects. Included are three lengthy works: The *Zhonghe ji* 中和集 [*Anthology on the Centre and Harmony*] (TY 248, DZ 118-119)¹ in six *juan*, the *Qingan Yingchan zi yulu* ²[*Dialogic Treatise of Master Qingan yingchan*] (TY 1050; DZ 729), also six *juan* in length, and the *Daode huiyuan* 道德會元 [*Corpus on the Way and Virtue*] (TY 694; DZ 387), which is divided into two parts (*shang* 上 and *xia* 下) according to the division of the *Daode jing* into forty-four sections on the Way (*dao* 道) and thirty-seven on virtue (*de* 德). The remaining six texts are much shorter: The *Quanzhen jixuan biyao* 全真集玄必要 [*Collected Secret Essentials of Complete Reality*] (TY 250; DZ 119), *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing zhu* 太上老君說常清靜經註 [*Commentary on the Most High Lord Lao's Explanation of the Scripture on Constant Clarity and Stillness*] (TY 749; DZ 532), the *Taishang*

¹ TY refers to the text number in the *Daozang tiyao* index to the Taoist Canon. Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 and Zhong Zhaopeng 鍾肇鵬, eds. *Daozang tiyao* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1991). DZ refers to the volume (*ce* 冊) number of the of the 1976 reprint of the *Zhengtong daoang*. Chinese characters and translations will be provided for titles only on their first occurrence. Titles with *Daozang* reference numbers, characters, and translations can be found in the bibliography.

² Hereafter, *Yingchan zi yulu*.

shengshuo xiaozai huming miaojing zhu 太上昇說消災護命妙經註 [Commentary on the Explanation of the Peerless Ascendant Mystery of the Wondrous Scripture of Extinguishing Calamity and Preserving Life] (TY100; DZ 50), the *Taishang datong jingzhu* 太上天通經註 [Commentary on the Scripture of the Most Elevated Understanding] (TY 105; DZ 54), the *Wushang chiwen tonggu zhenjing zhu* 無上赤文同古真經註 [Commentary on the Ancient True Scripture on Penetrating the Ancient of the Peerless Crimson Civil]³ (TY 107; DZ 54), and *Santian yisui* 三天易髓 [Marrow of the Changes in the Three Realms] (TY 249; DZ 119). Altogether these last six texts comprise a total of fifty-nine pages.

No attempt is made here to describe and analyse all of these works. Instead the focus is on six translated sections from two of the above texts. Most of the material translated in Chapter Two is from the *Yingchan zi yulu* and represents roughly half of that text. The first and second *juan* are translated in their entirety and two lengthy sections are translated from the sixth and final *juan*: The first opening nine-page section of *juan* six, is titled “Elucidating Doubts Concerning the Yellow Centre” (黃中解感). The second, seven-page section is comprised of three sets of heptasyllabic verses devoted to descriptions of the Three Teachings. The opening pages of the *Zhonghe ji*, which contain four diagrams with commentary, were also translated, as well as one section titled

³ The significance of this title is far from transparent. Li Daochun’s commentary on the title of this text sheds light on its meaning: *Chi* 赤 refers to the vacuous *qi* of empty nothing (赤者虛無空氣也). *Wen* 文 refers to lustrous universal brilliance (文者煥然普照也). *Dong* 洞 and *gu* 古 are defined as “observing” (*guan* 觀) and beginning (*shi* 始) respectively. The characters *wu* 無 and *shang* 上 (combined to mean “peerless”) are said to exhaust the meaning of the entire scripture. A lengthy description explains that these two characters refer to absolute emptiness without sound or form and to the true understanding that comes forth from it. This level of understanding is the perfect and highest vehicle reflected in the legacy of all former teachers of the Three Teachings. *Wushang chiwen tonggu zhenjing zhu*, 1a-2b. Based on this commentary the title means something like “A Commentary on the True Scripture of Peering [into] the Beginning [that is] the Lustrous Universal Brilliance of the Vacuous *Qi* of Empty Nothing.”

“Names and Words Beyond the [Three] Teachings” (教外名言) from the sixth and final *juan* of that text.

These sections were chosen as the primary focus because they are helpful in answering two questions that this study is intended to address: Firstly, what does Li Daochun mean by the “Three Teachings?” There are no objectively determinate “Three Teachings” out there in the world rather they are categories that require construction. How has Li constructed them? What is “Buddhism” for Li? What is the *Ru* 儒 teaching? Secondly, how do they relate to the Way as he is teaching it? How does he incorporate these “teachings” into his own soteriological enterprise? By trying to answer these simple questions it is hoped that some light can be shed on how Li understands his own place relative to those categories. The above mentioned six sections of text were chosen as the primary focus because they provide useful insights from which tentative answers might be put forward for consideration.

1.2 An Overview of Translated Sections

This brief summary, of the translated sections comprising Chapter Two is intended to orient the reader rather than providing a detailed discussion of the material. More detailed analysis of the text is found in the annotation accompanying the translation and in chapters three and four where the place of Buddhist and *Ru* teachings in Li’s work is considered.

The first section from the first *juan* of the *Zhonghe ji*, titled “The Principle Teaching of the School of Mystery” (*Xuanmen zongzhi* 玄門宗旨), opens with an empty

circle representing the “Supreme Ultimate” (*Taiji* 太極). Li points out that each of the Three Teachings regard tranquil stability (*jingding* 靜定) as paramount. He claims that what each refers to in their respective teachings is the Supreme Ultimate. This theme of tranquility is elaborated on through three subsequent diagrams with their respective commentaries.

The second section from the sixth *juan* of the *Zhonghe ji*, “Names and Words Beyond the [Three] Teachings” (*Jiaowai mingyan* 教外名言) reflects on each of the “Teachings” in turn to consider how they view the world as ultimately without form. By awakening to the fundamentally formless nature of existence insight can be gained into the nature of transformations embodied in the world. Such awakening permits one to step outside the flow of transformation and so not to “go along with things.” In this way one can become a perfected individual existing beyond the cycle of birth and death.

Next, the first *juan* of the *Yingchan zi yulu* is comprised of a series of conversations between Li and some of his disciples. The first few pages focus on Buddhist ideas and begin with comments on the *Heart Sutra* for which Li has great praise, comparing it to the *Daode jing* and noting that the truth it contains is beyond words. The tone of some of the later conversations is very lively and includes several exchanges concerning various koans. The conversation then turns to questions pertaining to the *Daode jing* and the answers involve some discussion of inner alchemy theory and the hexagrams of the *Zhouyi* 周易 (*Changes of the Zhou*). The subsequent discussion, which is focussed on inner alchemy theory, blends references to Classics such as the *Zhongyong* 中庸 (*Doctrine of the Mean*), *Mengzi* 孟子 (*Mencius*) and the *Zhouyi* with those from the *Daode jing* with minimal use of Buddhist terminology. The first *juan* concludes with a

series of exchanges between Li and his disciples on inner alchemy procedure with a brief question and answer exchange on the *Daode jing* being the point of departure for the ensuing discussion.

The title of the second *juan* is “Mind-essentials of the Way and Virtue” (*Daode xinyao* 道德心要) and it includes discussion between Li and some of his disciples on each of the eighty-one sections of the *Daode jing*. The discussions appear to have taken place on the occasion of Dingan Chao Daoke’s 定庵趙道可 receiving of Li’s commentary on the *Daode jing* entitled *Daode huiyuan*. The opening of the *juan* states:

When Qingan gave his *Corpus on the Tao and Virtue* to Daoke all the disciples together were saturated with the Dharma-milk and gathered together points on the scripture that is beyond words. Presently [our teacher] commanded all of [us] gentlemen to gather together an anthology on [these] transmitted sayings [so that they would be] complete in a single chapter and to distribute [it in our] associations with like-minded scholars so that [their] minds may be guided towards innermost comprehension.⁴ Therefore [the title of this single chapter summary] is “mind-essentials.”⁵

The style of repartee is often strikingly similar in tone to that found in the *Linji lu* 臨濟錄 (*Recorded Sayings of Linji*)⁶ with strange turns of phrase, gestures, shouting, and silence all employed as answers to the master’s questions and cajoling. The second *juan* closes with Li challenging his disciples to compose couplets; the first round on the Way and Virtue and the second on the substance (*ti* 體) and function (*yong* 用) of a candle. The

⁴ “Innermost comprehension” is a translation of *yihui* 意會. *Ciyuan*, 618, s.v. 意會. See the fourth definition.

⁵ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.1a.

⁶ *Linji lu*, T47/1985. References are to the *Taishō Tripitaka* and include first the volume number and second the text number. Additional numbers when included refer to specific pages.

challenge closes with Li's request that they each compose a "speechless" (*wushuo* 無說) couplet on the substance and function of the candle. No one had a response to this request.

The sixth *juan* opens with "Elucidating Doubt Concerning the Yellow Centre" (*Huangzhong jiegan* 黃中解惑), a conversation between Li and his disciple Dingan. Dingan poses a number of questions but the bulk of the section is comprised of Li's lengthy responses to the disciple's questions. Li's explanations concern the Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth (*wushang zhengzhen zhi miaodao* 無上正真之妙道), which he explains from the standpoint of the Golden Elixir (*Jindan* 金丹) though he states that it is also explained by the other two teachings with reference to the Supreme Ultimate and Complete Enlightenment (*yuanjue* 圓覺). Li gives an account of the Golden Elixir that discounts the validity of various physical exercises and the preparation of substances using herbs or metals. As an inner alchemist he explains that the ingredients for individual liberation are to be found within the body. Li provides numerous explanatory passages concerning the Golden Elixir and in doing so draws on one of the foundational texts of inner alchemy, the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 [*Chapters on Awakening to the Real*] (TY 262, DZ 122-131 *juan* 26-30), attributed to Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (d. 1082?).⁷ He also refers to the *Jindan sibai zi* 金丹四百字 (*Four Hundred Characters on*

⁷ The reference numbers included here are to the *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 [*Ten Compilations on Cultivating Perfection*] edition of the *Wuzhen pian*. All subsequent references to this work are to this edition unless otherwise stated. Two published translations of this text are Thomas Cleary, *Undersanding Reality: A Taoist Alchemical Classic* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987) and Isabelle Robinet, *Introduction à l'alchimie intérieure taoïste De l'unité et de la multiplicité* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1995). An annotated translation of this text drawing on commentaries of all the *Daozang* editions is Paul Crowe, *An Annotated Translation and Study of Chapters on Awakening to the Real (ca. 1061) Attributed to Zhang Boduan (ca. 983-1081)* (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1997). Zhang Boduan has been held up by tradition as one of the patriarchs and founders of the Southern Lineage (*Nanzong* 南宗) of inner alchemy. The most recent and comprehensive work on this lineage is Lowell Skar, *Golden Elixir Alchemy: The Formation of the Southern Lineage and the Transformation of Medieval China* (Ph.D. diss.,

the Golden Elixir (TY 1070; DZ 741), the *Zhouyi*, and the *Daode jing*. During the discussion Li reminds his student that the theory being explained is a complex of metaphors and that the process occurs naturally without the artifice of the mind. In the end “Golden Elixir” is merely an expedient name, as it has no form.

The sixth *juan* closes with three sets of verses; one on each of the Three Teachings. These verses provide insight into Li’s understanding of what each of the three labels: *Ru* 儒, *Shi* 釋, and *Dao* 道 refer to. The verses demonstrate perhaps more obviously than any other section in either the *Yingchan zi yulu* or the *Zhonghe ji* the degree of familiarity Li has with the language of the texts associated with each of the Three Teachings.

1.3.a Li Daochun

Very little is known concerning the details of Li’s life. His style name (*zi* 字) was Yuansu 元素 (Original Purity) and his sobriquets (*hao* 號) were Qingan 清庵 (Pure Retreat) and Yingchan zi 瑩蟾子 (Master Bright Moon/Toad). His dates are unknown but he appears to have been active during the 1280’s and 90’s. In his preface to the *Qingan yingchan zi yulu* Li’s disciple Heian Guangchan zi 嘿庵廣蟾子, comments on the occasion of his meeting with Li on Mt. Mao (茅山): “The time when I bowed and encountered the master’s discussion of important points was the year 1288 (*wuzi* 戊子)

University of Pennsylvania, 2003). See also Judith M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature. Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, China Research Monographs, 1987), 173-179.

during the season of the great rains of summer's end.”⁸ There seems to be a measure of uncertainty concerning the location of his home region. The opening of each *juan* 卷 in the *Zhonghe ji* identifies Li as a native of Duliang 都梁 while some have identified him as an Yizhen 儀真 (Jiangsu) native.⁹ By the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) there was a Duliang mountain 都梁山 located at the southern end of lake Hongze 洪澤湖 (roughly 120km north of Nanjing).¹⁰ Yizhen, also known as Zhenchuan 真川 during the Yuan,¹¹ was located on the north shore of the Yangzi river only 100km South East of Duliang mountain 都梁山 and roughly 30km upriver from Nanjing. During the Yuan, Duliang would have been within the boundaries of Huaian circuit (Huaian lu 淮安路) while Yizhen would have fallen within the jurisdiction of Yangzhou circuit (Yangzhou lu 揚州路). Details concerning Li's life are very sparse. Entries in local gazetteers are almost entirely restricted to providing lists of works associated with him. One exception is a brief account in the Huizhou district gazetteer, which provides a very concise story listed under the name of one of Li's disciples named Zhao Ding'an 趙定庵 also know by the name (*ming* 名) Daoke 道可. As the passage is relatively brief it is translated in full below:

⁸ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1b.

⁹ Boltz, *Taoist Literature*, 179, and Fabrizio Pregadio and Lowell Skar, “Inner Alchemy (Neidan)” in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 480. Both seem to imply that Li was an Yizhen 儀真 (Jiangsu) native. According to the *Yizhen xianzhi* (*Yizhen District Gazetteer*) Li was a Duliang native. *Gujin tushu jicheng*, 395.44437. Note: In all references unless otherwise stated, numbers before the period refer to the *juan* number and those after refer to the page number. Li is also listed in the *Fengyang Prefectural Gazetteer* (*Fengyang fuzhi* 鳳陽府志) though no mention is made of his home. *Gujin tushu jicheng*, 286.62677. Further gazetteer references are provided in Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo daojiao shi*, vol. 3 (Sichuan: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1988), 367.

¹⁰ During the Yuan this mountain was known as Tortoise Mountain (Guishan 龜山). *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, vol. 7, *Yuanming shiqi*, ed. Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1992), map 15-16.

¹¹ *Diming dacidian*, s.v. 儀真縣, 1146.

Zhao Ding'an of the Yuan dynasty: His name was Daoke 道可 and he was formerly a native of Liaozhou 遼州 (East central Shanxi). He held successive positions as Valorous General-in-chief (Dajiangjun 大將軍)¹² and Brigade Commander of regular troops (*Guanjun zongguan* 管軍總管).¹³ He caught a disease of the lungs. "Old soldier" (*laozu* 老卒) Qing'an 清庵 [whom he] called Dedao 得道, one evening [came to] ask about Zhao's health.¹⁴ He requested that the female attendants be sent away. [They then] loosened their robes and sat down cross-legged and back-to-back until dawn and the disease was healed. Daoke was moved to reverence and Qing'an became his teacher. [Zhao] handed over his seal of office to his subordinate, Daming 大明. He cast aside his home and went cloud-wandering.¹⁵ People did not recognize that he had been a prominent official. One day an actor in the marketplace saw him, respectfully greeted him and said, "For what reason is the young gentleman here?" Daoke departed without turning his head [to acknowledge the question]. Suddenly he addressed a disciple saying, "I must leave!" He sat down cross-legged and, chanting verses, departed.¹⁶

This story indicates that both Li and his disciple had found employment in the military.

This was not uncommon during the Yuan dynasty when educated Chinese were often denied higher-level bureaucratic positions. The examination system, abolished by the Mongol rulers, was not available as a route to career advancement until its token and temporary reinstatement in 1313. The Mongols preferred the *yin* 蔭 system of advancement perhaps because it favoured a closed, and therefore more easily controlled avenue into government, an avenue only occasionally open to Han Chinese.¹⁷ Many literate northern Chinese had to settle for humble positions as clerks or as military

¹² Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985; reprint, Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1995), s.v. 大將軍, 5897. Note: Dictionary references will provide both the characters and page numbers.

¹³ Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, s.v. 管軍總管, 7110.

¹⁴ Thanks are owed to Roberto Ong for his suggestion concerning the translations of *fou* 否 in this sentence.

¹⁵ *Yunyou* 雲遊 means to wander freely as the clouds move across the sky. *ZHDJ* (hereafter *ZHDJ*), s.v. 云游, 495.

¹⁶ *Huizhou fuzhi*, vol. 7 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe youxian gongsi, 1975), 8.2393-2394.

¹⁷ F.W. Motte, *Imperial China: 900-1800* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), 490-91.

personnel.¹⁸ As Qing Xitai indicates the familiar reference to Li Daochun as “Old Soldier” suggests that he was probably quite advanced in years for the post he had assumed.¹⁹ According this brief anecdote Li made a powerful impression on his Brigade Commander and future disciple through his demonstration of a powerful *qigong* 氣功 healing method. The closing of the story is somewhat ambiguous as the term *shi* 逝 can mean either “to depart” or “to die.” The ability to sit down cross-legged prior to death would indicate great composure and would imply a high level of cultivation. The announcement by Zhao that he was about to “depart” would also testify to his level of spiritual attainment. Zhao became one of Li’s most advanced disciples and compiled a set of conversations on the eighty-one sections of the *Daode jing* included in the translated material comprising Chapter Two. In the second year of *Dade* 大德 (1298), Li Daochun is said to have relocated to Wuyuan 婺源, near the southern border of the Huizhou circuit 徽州路 in present day Jiangxi, where he built a retreat named Zhonghe jingshe 中和精舍 (Pure Hut of the Centre and Harmony) in or near the hamlet village of Huan 环;²⁰ the same retreat is also mentioned in the opening of the *Zhonghe ji*.²¹

In the forward to the *Xuanjiao da gongan* 玄教大公案 (Great Koan of the Mysterious Teaching) (TY 1054; DZ 734),²² Li Daochun is described as a second-

¹⁸ Sun Ke-kuan 孫克寬, “Yu Chi and Southern Taoism During the Yuan Period” in *China Under Mongol Rule*, edited by John Langlois Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 220-221. As northerners Li and Zhao would likely have fallen under the classification of Hanren 漢人 which normally would designate only Han-Chinese but which during the Yuan designated a group that included Chinese and other ethnic groups living in the former Jin state, and included Xi Xia, Ruzhen, and Khitan peoples and even Koreans all of which had the option of serving in the military. Motte, *Imperial China*, 489-490.

¹⁹ Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo daojiao shi*, vol. 3 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1988), 367.

²⁰ Qing Xitai, *Daojiao shi*, vol. 3, 367.

²¹ *Zhonghe ji*, 1.2a.

²² This reference was located in Chen Jinguo 陳進國, “Li Daochun de ‘sanjiao ronghe’ sixiang ji qi yi ‘zhonghe’ wei ben de neidan xinxing xue,” *Zhongguo daojiao* 5, 2001, 8.

generation disciple of the thunder ritualist and inner alchemist Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194-1229). In this account Li is supposed to have received Bai's teachings through one Wang Jinchan 王金蟾. Examination of all nine texts associated with Li has not yielded a single reference to Wang Jinchan. One reference to Bai is found in *juan* four of the *Zhonghe ji*²³ and a second in the *Quanzhen jixuan biyao* 全真集玄秘要 (TY 250; DZ 119).²⁴ It is therefore impossible to determine clear lines of continuity between the teachings of Bai Yuchan and Li Daochun simply on the basis of Li Daochun's references to Bai's corpus of texts. Judith Berling has described Bai's teaching in terms of four broad themes:

1. The highest form of truth exists at the level of the formless and transcendent Way.
2. Linked manifestations of the Way on many levels of reality and conveyed them through poetic symbolism and discourse.
3. Had a sustained interest in local religion.
4. A deep sense of wholeness and unity of apparently diverse religious tradition.²⁵

Li Daochun certainly embraces the notion of a truth that is formless and so beyond the bounds of description through language. As will be seen in the chapters below he uses this assumption to support his contention that the Three Teachings refer to the same ultimate reality. Li's thorough knowledge of important doctrines and texts associated with the various sects and schools comprising the Three Teachings provides him with grounds for his argument. This high degree of familiarity with the "Three Teachings" is

²³ *Zhonghe ji*, 5.8a.

²⁴ *Quanzhen jixuan biyao*, 13a.

²⁵ Judith A. Berling, "Channels of Connection" in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, eds. Patricia Buckley-Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 312.

something Li shares with Bai Yuchan who is described by the influential Ming (1368-1644) proponent of the "Three in One Teaching" (*Sanyi jiao* 三一教), Lin Zhaoen 林兆恩 (1517-1598), as having a broad knowledge of Confucian texts and Chan teachings.²⁶ Li also makes liberal use of both symbolic poetic imagery and discourse to convey his message. His frequent critiques of language are founded, in part, on his assumption that the world is whole and that the underlying value of specific teachings is only fully appreciated when the historical and cultural contingency of those particular expressions of universal truth is recognized. It is obvious that Li accords with the first, second, and fourth of the above general themes though this alone is not sufficient to say anything substantial about the derivative nature of Li's teachings vis-à-vis those of Bai Yuchan. To establish such a link would require a careful examination of Bai's textual legacy so that specific lines of continuity might be determined. It would also require that one establish the textual lineages, schools, and specific teachers Bai employed to support his arguments for unity among the Three Teachings. Such a study is necessary if the intellectual and historical connections between Li and Bai are to be firmly and clearly established but such an undertaking lies beyond the purview of the present study.

1.3.b General Historical Circumstances in which Li Taught

After three generations of unrelenting military campaigns Khubilai Khan's (1215-1294) forces finally moved across the Yangzi River and into the heart of Southern Song

²⁶ Berling, "Channels of Connection," 313. Lin composed important works on the unification of the Three Teachings one of which is titled *Linzi sanjiao zhengzong tonglun*. A detailed discussion of Lin's work and teachings is in Judith A. Berling, *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

territory. Khubilai took what by Mongol standards was an unusual course of action as he moved to establish and then consolidate his rule in the newly captured domain. He elected to capture the territory south of the Yangzi without causing widespread destruction or inflicting enormous casualties and he made efforts to appear open to Chinese cultural values.²⁷ In an edict composed by one of Khubilai's advisors, Tudan Gonglu 徒單公履, an individual of Jurchen descent, the reasons for choosing "Da Yuan" 大元 as the dynastic name were given.²⁸ By choosing "Da Yuan" the new leaders avoided association with a place name located in a particular historical moment. In this way the Yuan could lay claim to existing as a truly universal dynasty that hearkened back to Chinese antiquity when dynastic titles were tied to ideas and ideals rather than places. The name was taken from the *Zhouyi* commentary on the hexagram *Qian* 乾 which at one point reads, "How great is the fundamental nature of *Qian*! The myriad things are provided their beginnings by it, and, as such, it controls Heaven."²⁹ (大或乾元, 萬物資始, 乃統天).³⁰ Reference is also made to the "embodying of humanity" (*tiren* 體仁) also included in the comments on *Qian*.³¹ By accounting for his choice of dynastic title in this way Khubilai made a symbolic gesture to the conquered Chinese that he was a bringer of unity who emulated the great sage rulers of the past with his humanity. By linking this

²⁷ John D. Langlois, Jr. "Political thought in Chin-hua under Mongol Rule" in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois Jr., 1-4. The following discussion of the imperial edict and its broader cultural implications relies on Langlois' observations in the above article.

²⁸ The edict is recorded in the official history of the Yuan dynasty. *Yuanshi* 元史, ed. Song Lian 宋濂 et. al., vol.1 [1370] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1976), 7.138-139.

²⁹ Richard John Lynn, trans., *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 129.

³⁰ Ho Che Wah 何志華, ed., *Zhouyi suizi suoyin* 周易遂字索引 (*A Concordance to the Zhouyi*). The ICS Ancient Chinese Texts Concordance Series, classical works No. 8. Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 1995), 1/1/23. The three numbers in references to this concordance indicate the section number, page, and line respectively.

³¹ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 1/2/1.

image to a revered classic and by adopting a Chinese dynastic title he could appear to represent continuity rather than a radical new turn in the tide of Chinese history. Given the fact that the Mongols were vastly outnumbered in the south and were, given their deep cultural differences, a highly visible minority, Khubilai's self-presentation appears to have been an astute strategic move.³² This considered choice is indicative of the general view taken by Khubilai toward Chinese culture. Knowledge of and displayed respect for Han culture could be a useful tool in the management of the massive Chinese population.

Early on in his life Khubilai was not much interested in administrative matters as was evidenced by his lackluster performance during his late teens in the management of his appanage. After his father Tolui had died in 1232 Khubilai's mother, Sorghaghtani Beki, refused to marry her husband's brother, the Khan Ögödei (1185-1241), and had the temerity to suggest that the raising of her sons was of greater importance, and further, that she would need an appanage to ensure the livelihood herself and her sons.³³ She was granted territory in Zhending 真定 (modern southwestern Hebei) and set an example for Khubilai by choosing not to exploit the Chinese or plunder the region. She also took her administrative duties very seriously and remained open to advice on how best to manage affairs.³⁴ Sorghaghtani had raised her four sons to be candidates for leadership and so had ensured that they could ride, hunt, and were literate.³⁵ She was a Nestorian Christian but supported Buddhist monasteries and Taoist temples in addition to Muslim religious

³² A discussion of an edict delivered in 1260 concerning the choice of Khubilai's reign name and its links to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* can be found in Langlois, "Mongol Rule," 5.

³³ Frederick W. Motte, *Imperial China: 900-1800* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), 446.

³⁴ Morris Rossabi, "The Reign of Khubilai Khan" in *The Cambridge History of China, vol. 6: Alien regimes and border states, 907-1368*, eds. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 414.

³⁵ Motte, *Imperial China: 900-1800*, 446.

academies. This support for local religion went hand in hand with the belief that such a demonstration of interest in religious affairs would assist in effective governance. The young Khubilai would have witnessed this attitude of relative openness and cooperation and would also have been introduced to Chinese advisors employed by his mother. At the urging of his mother, Ögödei granted Khubilai an appanage in 1236, Xingzhou 興州, roughly three hundred kilometers west of Zhending.³⁶ Initially things did not go well for the eighteen-year old leader. He neglected administration preferring to leave such affairs to non-Chinese managers who mercilessly exploited the locals. Due to his neglect the population of Xingzhou began to diminish as people fled looking for more favourable circumstances. By 1239 Khubilai appears to have recognized the shortcomings of his approach and began to take a more active interest in administration and, following his mother's example, sought out competent Chinese advisors. These included a Buddhist monk named Haiyun 海雲 (1205-1257), a very practically minded fellow who took a great interest in politics and the revival of Buddhist monasteries, and by whom Khubilai was introduced to Chan Buddhism.³⁷ Haiyun recommended his disciple Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (1216-1274) to Khubilai who later became very influential at court. In addition to being an astute politician Liu was also interested in combining ideas from Taoist and Confucian thought with those of Buddhism but was committed to the application of

³⁶ Motte describes Xingzhou as located just south of Zhending but Yuan maps of the region do not seem to corroborate this. Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, chief editor, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集 (*The Historical Atlas of China*), vol. 7, 元明時期 (*The Yuan Dynasty Period, The Ming Dynasty Period*) (Hong Kong: Sanguan shudian youxian congci, 1992), maps 3-4 and 7-8.

³⁷ Jan Yün-hua, "Chinese Buddhism in Ta-tu: The New Situation and New Problems" in *Yüan Thought: Chinese thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, eds. Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 384-390. Among the achievements attributed to Haiyun was the preservation of tax free status for Buddhist monks and their protection from an examination system ostensibly proposed to ensure that monks were genuine practitioners but motivated by a desire to increase revenues through taxation. Due to Haiyun's efforts the exams were brought in but under the peculiar assurance that none would fail. Jan, "Chinese Buddhism in Ta-tu," 387-388.

Confucian methods in government.³⁸ It was through Liu's recommendation that other Chinese advisors entered the service of Khubilai.³⁹ Another important early advisor was Zhao Bi 趙璧 (1220-1276) who lectured him on Confucian ideals. Yao Shu 姚樞 (1203-1280) and Xu Heng 許衡 (1209-1281) were also significant advisory figures. Yao Shu is credited with saving many lives during an expedition undertaken by Khubilai at the orders of Möngke in 1253. On Yao Shu's advice the kingdom of Da Li 大理 in modern Yunnan province was given the option of surrender with a guarantee that the inhabitants would be spared. Khubilai accepted Yao Shu's advice and kept his word. The result was a successful campaign with few casualties that bolstered Khubilai's prestige among the Mongol leaders.⁴⁰ Xu Heng was apparently not only a great and widely recognized scholar in his own day but was focused on practical matters preferring not to engage in speculative metaphysical discussions.⁴¹ The Mongol leadership prized such practicality.⁴² Beyond recruiting advisors associated with Daoxue 道學 (Learning of the Way) circles Khubilai also made efforts to actively promote their values. Examples are his order to have the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (*Classic of Filial Piety*), *Shijing* 書經 (*Classic of Documents*), and the Daoxue work, *Daxue yanyi* 大學衍義 (*Extended Meaning of the Great Learning*)⁴³ translated into Mongolian. In this way Khubilai made these texts available to

³⁸ Motte, *Imperial China: 900-1800*, 449.

³⁹ Jan, "Chinese Buddhism in Ta-tu," 390.

⁴⁰ Rossabi, "The Reign of Khubilai Khan," 417-418.

⁴¹ Rossabi, "The Reign of Khubilai Khan," 459.

⁴² Wing Tsit-chun goes so far as to characterize Yuan [Confucian] thinkers in general as having "an almost exclusive concern with practical matters, Yüan thinkers did not go into speculative, metaphysical matters or 'things on a higher level.'" Wing Tsit-chun, "Chu Hsi and Yüan Neo-Confucianism" in Chan and de Bary, *Yüan Thought*, 209.

⁴³ Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178-1235) composed this work, which was printed in 1229. With the attention paid to it by Khubilai it gained a lasting prominence with the Mongols. Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1312-1320), presented the text as a gift to his ministers. A new translation was presented to the throne during the reign of Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1321-1323) and under Taiding's 泰定 reign (1324-1328) lectures on the classics

members of the Mongol elite. He also gave permission for records to be collected for traditional dynastic histories of the Liao 遼 (907-1125) and Jin 金 (1115-1234) and to that end established a History Office under the control of the Hanlin 翰林 Academy.⁴⁴

Despite this open attitude towards representatives of Han tradition Khubilai placed greater trust in Mongols for military advice and the administering of campaigns. He also preferred to leave positions of more immediate importance to non-Chinese ethnic groups. Uighurs and Turks were employed as governors and secretaries, and translation and financial management was entrusted to Muslims.

Certainly by the early 1260's, as campaigns were continuing against the Southern Song, Khubilai had cause to maintain a cautious attitude towards higher level Chinese functionaries. Li Tan 李壇 (d. 1262), ruler of the Yidu 益都 circuit in Shandong, managed to align himself with Song forces to mount a rebellion against Khubilai. This would likely have left a lasting impression on Khubilai as Li had been trusted by Möngke to assist in campaigns against the Song and had even raided a number of coastal towns. Khubilai had trusted Li's father-in-law enough to grant him a powerful position in the Central Secretariat (*Zhongshu sheng* 中書省) and the link between these two would have bolstered Khubilai's confidence in Li. Li was eventually captured, the rebellion quelled, and Li came to the ignominious end of being tied up in a sack and trampled to death by horses.⁴⁵ While Khubilai's suspicions toward the Chinese would have increased⁴⁶ it would

were considered of great importance and the *Daxue yanyi* was one of the basic instructional texts. Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From earliest Times to 1600*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 762-764.

⁴⁴ This office was created within the Hanlin Academy and was known as the *Hanlin guoshi yuan* 翰林國史院.

⁴⁵ Rossabi, "The Reign of Khubilai Khan," 424-426.

⁴⁶ Rossabi goes so far as saying this was a turning point in Khubilai's reign. Rossabi, "The Reign of Khubilai Khan," 426.

perhaps be going too far to say that he was disillusioned with Daoxue views of statecraft. Such ideas had probably never been close to his heart and a pragmatic attitude of cultivating an advantage through his perceived proximity to Chinese culture would have meant only heightened caution. In commenting upon his relationship with his Chinese advisers Frederick Motte provides helpful insight into Khubilai's likely perspective on his Daoxue advisors and their teachings:

I do not mean to suggest that Khubilai had become a benevolent Confucian ruler, or that he was intellectually or emotionally won over to the humanistic foundations of Chinese civilization. Rather, he had come to recognize the rationality of governing the Chinese population by Chinese methods in order to maximize the long-range benefits to himself as ruler. He never learned Chinese (beyond a possible smattering of spoken Chinese), never read a book in Chinese, much less composed a Chinese poem, never identified with the values of the Chinese cultural legacy other than to recognize the utility of systematic and reasoned exploitation in the Chinese pattern.⁴⁷

Khubilai's attitude toward spiritual teachings in China appears to have been shaped by motivations not dissimilar to those that informed his relationship to elements of Chinese culture more generally. Religion was another useful tool for gaining the cooperation of those under his dominion. It is well known that the Mongols looked favorably on the politically astute *Quanzhen* 全真 (Complete Reality) master Qiu Chuji 邱處機 (1148-1227). Chinggis Khan believed Qiu had knowledge of how to extend life and summoned the Quanzhen teacher to an audience in the Hindu Kush. Qiu was in his seventies and undertook a journey that lasted three years in order to comply with the Khan's request. Qiu had shrewdly declined similar summons from the emperor of the

⁴⁷ Motte, *Imperial China: 900-1800*, 451.

failing Jin and from the Song court. He appears to have realized that the Mongols were in a position of strength and would no doubt have been aware that the widespread popular support for the *Quanzhen* movement in the north made his sect a powerful tool for preserving stability.⁴⁸ Chinggis was obviously impressed with Qiu as he elected to give him oversight over all religious groups in Mongol controlled territories in the north.⁴⁹ In addition members of Qiu's sect and those of other recognized teachings Taoist, Buddhist, Nestorian, and Muslim were granted favoured status and exemption from taxes. The Mongol endorsement of the Quanzhen sect caused them to gain in popular support and power. Later abuses of power by Qiu and his followers had eventually to be reigned in as the powerful reformer and official Yelu Chucai 耶律楚材 (1189-1241) commenced his defense of Buddhist interests.⁵⁰ Friction between Buddhists and *Quanzhen* adherents was ongoing through the period of Mongol conquest in the south⁵¹ and although the *Quanzhen* position vis-à-vis the Buddhists was less strong, Taoist sects continued to enjoy imperial support and prestige. The Mongols also took an interest in the *Tianshi dao* 天師道 (Way of the Celestial Masters) sect, which had a significant presence in the south. In 1276 the thirty-sixth Celestial Master Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 (1244-1291) was summoned to Shangdu 上都; an important member of the entourage was Zhang's disciple Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1248-1322) who made a great impression on Khubilai and his son Zhenjin 真金. When his master returned south Zhang Liusun remained at the capital.

⁴⁸ A detailed account of the remarkable growth of the Quanzhen sect in the north based primarily on extensive epigraphic evidence can be found in Vincent Goossaert, "The Invention of an Order: Collective Identity in Thirteenth-Century Quanzhen Taoism," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 111-138.

⁴⁹ Lowell Skar describes the Quanzhen adoption of deity worship and classical Taoist ritual programs as a further means for winning Mongolian patronage. Lowell Skar, "Ritual Movements, Deity Cults and the Transformation of Daoism in Song and Yuan Times" in *Daoism Handbook* edited by Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 427.

⁵⁰ Motte, *Imperial China: 900-1800*, 500.

⁵¹ The final debate between representatives of Buddhism and *Quanzhen* took place as late as 1281.

Khubilai wanted to confer the title of Celestial Master on him but Zhang could not accept such a title and so was given the title Xuanjiao zongshi 玄教宗師 (Patriarch of Sublime Teaching). Thus, the institutional form of southern Taoism associated with the Celestial Masters took on a dual form as Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity) and Xuanjiao 玄教 (Sublime Teaching) and a uniquely Yuan Taoist sect came into being.

It is difficult to say precisely what impact the Zhengyi position of leadership would have had on an individual such as Li Daochun. His institutional affiliations if any are unclear, though he is often identified as a Quanzhen adherent. Certainly Quanzhen fortunes faltered rather badly in 1281, just seven years prior to Li Daochun's meeting with his disciple Heian on Mt. Mao, marking the date of the *Yingchan zi yulu's* composition. At that time Khubilai Khan's planned invasion of Japan met a catastrophic end, as his armies were overwhelmed in a typhoon. Enraged at this turn of events Khubilai vented his anger on several Quanzhen leaders executing some of them and burning the 1244 edition of the Taoist Canon that they had compiled. As Vincent Goossaert has observed, while the effects of this proscription were devastating, they were mollified to some extent as the focus of the Khan's displeasure did not move much beyond the district of the capital city, Dadu 大都.⁵² Thus, even if it were possible to link Li to the institutions of Quanzhen it is unlikely that he and his disciples would have been greatly affected by this turn of events.

Given Li's lack of ties to officialdom and to the Taoist institutional structures that wielded some measure of influence, the effects of his historical circumstances would perhaps have stemmed more from the milieu in which he taught. His was a time in which

⁵² Goossaert, "The Invention of an Order," 112.

the court patronized Taoists, Buddhists, Christians, and Muslims. The emperor readily demonstrated an interest in Taoist and Ru thought and, for a time, Chan Buddhist ideas. He also maintained his own shamanic Mongol spiritual tradition. Given Kublai's pragmatic approach to religion as a means for fostering good relations with the Chinese population he was motivated to maintain broad religious interests. To some extent Li's work was situated within an official environment of ecumenism and in a period of great religious diversity. The notion that the "Three Teachings" were complementary methods for achieving deeper insight and the highest levels of personal cultivation was popular with many during the Yuan dynasty and Li was no exception.

With the advent of the disenfranchisement of many in the literati class, particularly after the warlord Li Tan's insurrection in the early 1260's, those who had not chosen passive resistance by refusing to serve the invaders were now forced out of positions of influence. In this context animosity directed toward the heterodox that is, those who did not accord with orthodox Teaching of the Way (*Daoxue* 道學), would have been softened due to a sense of solidarity as conquered Han people who were, in their own ways, seeking to preserve the Han cultural legacy. For many, ethnic unity would have supplanted doctrinal and ideological discord. Given his political and social circumstances Li's particular approach to cultivation is not surprising. In what follows, the specific features of Li's Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth will be considered in detail to shed light on how exactly he understood the Ru and Buddhist "teachings" and how he used them to define and enrich his own path to awakening.

Chapter 2:

Translations from the Zhonghe Ji and Qingan yingchan zi yulu

2.1 Anthology on the Centre and Harmony (Chapter 1)

[1a]

Authored by Qingan Yingchan zi Li Daochun Yuansu of Duliang.

Compiled by his disciple Sunan Baochan zi Cai Zhiyi.

The Principal Teaching of the School of Mystery

Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate

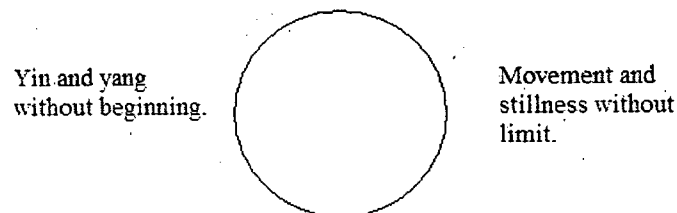


Figure 1: Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate

[1b] Buddhists speak of Complete Enlightenment; Taoists speak of the Golden Elixir; the Ru speak of Supreme Ultimate. As for what is called the limitless Supreme Ultimate it is referred to as the limit that cannot be limited. Buddhists say: "The absolute

does not move.”⁵³ Complete understanding is constant (unconditioned) knowledge. The *Appendix to the Changes* says: “Silently so, not moving. [When] influenced they (the Changes) follow and penetrate (the causes of all under the sky).”⁵⁴ The elixir book/s say, “[When] the body and mind do not move, then one again has the limitless true moving power.”⁵⁵ [These all] describe the wondrous origin of the Supreme Ultimate. This being known what the Three Teachings esteem is tranquil stability [within]. This is what Master Zhou [Dunyi] 周敦頤 called dwelling in tranquility. Now, when a person’s mind is tranquil and stable, not yet [having been] influenced by things and is imbued with the Pattern) of the Natural Order, this is the wonder of the Supreme Ultimate. Once influenced by things then there is partiality, accordingly this is the transformation of the Supreme Ultimate. Indeed, when one is tranquil and stable if one is careful in what is attended to then the Pattern of the Natural Order will be constantly bright and the empty numenon (spirit) will not be obscured. When moving, naturally one will have governance over the coming of all affairs and things; all are responded to. [When] the labour of tranquil stability is entirely complete (literally “cooked”), [2a] without delay one spontaneously arrives at the true return of the Limitless! [One arrives also at] the wondrous responsive illumination of the Supreme Ultimate. The Pattern of the myriad things in the heavens and on earth is entirely complete in oneself!⁵⁶

⁵³ This four-character phrase (如如不動) occurs near the end of the *Diamond Sutra*. T8/235/752b.

⁵⁴ The first four-character phrase within this sentence (寂然不動, 感而遂同) is found only once in the *Yijing* but is a constant refrain in the works associated with Li Daochun and his disciples. The concluding four characters of the above sentence included in brackets above are 天下之故. *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/21.

⁵⁵ I have, thus far, been unable to locate the source of this quotation.

⁵⁶ Mengzi 孟子 appears to express a similar idea in the fourth passage of Chapter 7 where he states: 萬物皆备于我矣. D.C. Lau, *Mencius* (New York: Penguin Books, 1970), 182. Discussion of a possible alternate translation of this passage, which reflects a fundamental disagreement with the treatment of this sentence by, for example, D.C. Lau, James Legge, and Fung Yulan see P.J. Ivanhoe, David S. Nivison and Bryan W.

Diagram of the Centre and Harmony

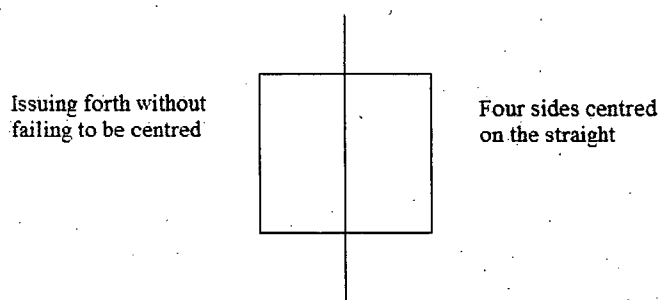


Figure 2: Diagram of the Centre and Harmony

The *Book of Rites* says, “when joy, anger, sadness, and happiness have not yet come forth [this is] called centred; having come forth, if they are all proportioned this is called harmony.”⁵⁷ Not yet having come forth is called being attentive to what is preserved within tranquil stability. Therefore it is called centred. Preserved yet without form; therefore it is called “the great root of everything under the sky.”⁵⁸ Coming forth and yet proportioned is called, “when in motion attend to what comes forth.” Therefore, it is called harmony: coming forth but not failing to be centred. Therefore it is called “the penetrating way of everything under the sky.”⁵⁹ Certainly if one is able to bring about centredness and harmony in one’s whole person then the substance of the “originally so” is empty, yet intelligent; clear, yet aware; in motion, yet rectified. Therefore, one is able to respond to the inexhaustible transformations of the world. Lord Lao said, “[If] people are able to be constantly clear and tranquil, heaven and earth will return in their entirety

Van Norden, Comments and Corrections to D.C. Lau’s *Mencius* at <http://vassun.vassar.edu/~brvannor/lau.html>.

⁵⁷ Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 384.

⁵⁸ Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 384.

⁵⁹ Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 385.

[to form a unity with them].”⁶⁰ Accordingly, [this is] what Zisi 子思⁶¹ referred to as:

“Bring about the centre and harmony and sky and earth will be (established therein) and the myriad things flourish (therein);”⁶² [they] share one meaning: [it] is the centre; [it] is harmony. [They] are the wondrous function of influencing and penetrating. They are the pivotal moving power of response to transformation. They are the complete substance of the alternate movement and stillness of the flowing movement of birth and flourishing [described in] the *Changes of the Zhou*. I take for the retreat where I dwell the two characters “Centre” and “Harmony” as the name [on its] signboard. Is this not fitting?

⁶⁰ The addition in square brackets is based on Li’s commentary on this phrase. *Taishang laojun shuo qingjing jingzhu*, TY615, DZ341, 2b.

⁶¹ Zisi 子思 was Confucius’ grandson.

⁶² Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 385. ‘Therein’ has been added here in brackets as Li dropped *yan* 焉 from the original phrase.

Diagram of Letting Go and According With⁶³

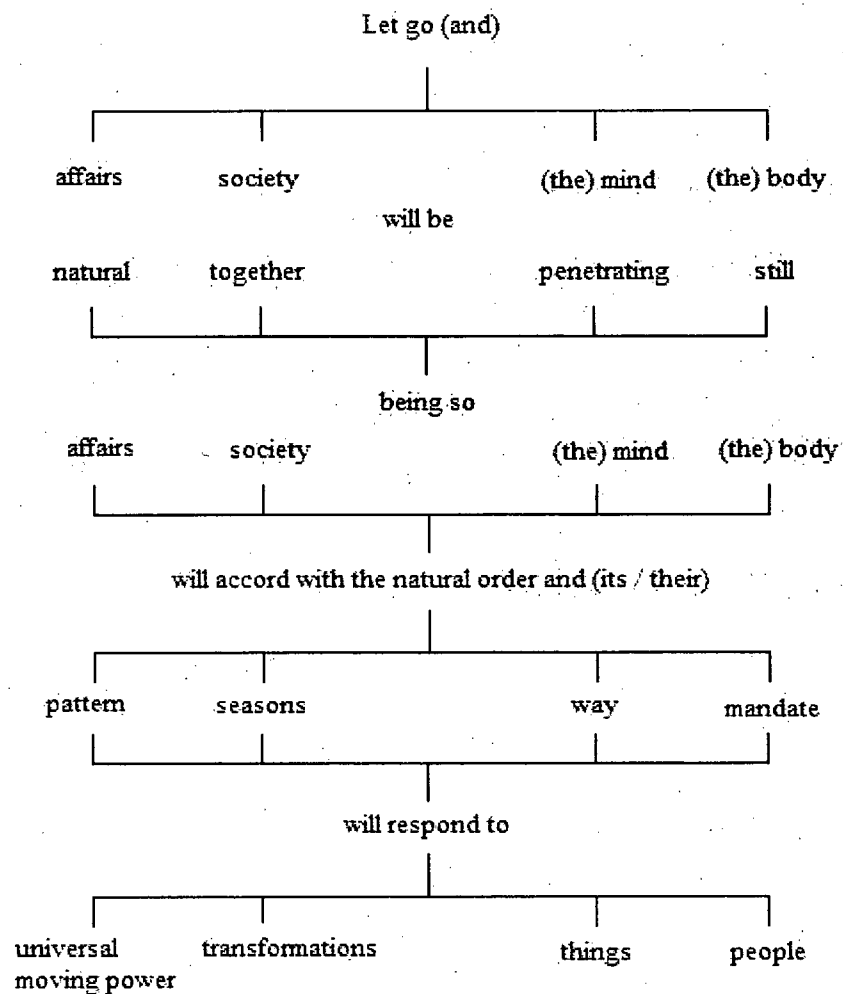


Figure 3: Diagram of Letting Go and According With

⁶³ This diagram has been rendered into verse form and is included as Appendix 3.

The body, mind, society, and affairs: we can call them the four causes. To all the people of the world these are coiled fetters. [3a] Only those who let go [of them] and accord [with the Natural Order] can respond to them—constantly responding and constantly tranquil. What causes could there be? What is called “letting go?” Let go of the body and it is still. Let go of the mind and it understands. Let go of society and it is mixed together. Let go of affairs and [they] will be [taken care of] naturally. What is called “according with?” It is according with the Mandate of the Natural Order, according with the Way of the Natural Order, according with the seasons of the Natural Order, and according with the Pattern of the Natural Order. The body accords with the Mandate of the Natural Order and therefore is able to respond to people. The mind accords with the Mandate of the Natural Order and therefore is able to respond to things. Society accords with the seasons of the Natural Order and therefore is able to respond to transformations. Affairs accord with the Pattern of the Natural Order and therefore are able to respond to the moving power. When one can “let go” and furthermore can “accord with” equally, if one is able to respond [to things] then the four causes are released and scattered. Those who actualize this vision [of things can] constantly respond, be constantly tranquil—constantly clear and tranquil!

Diagram of Illuminating and Misleading⁶⁴

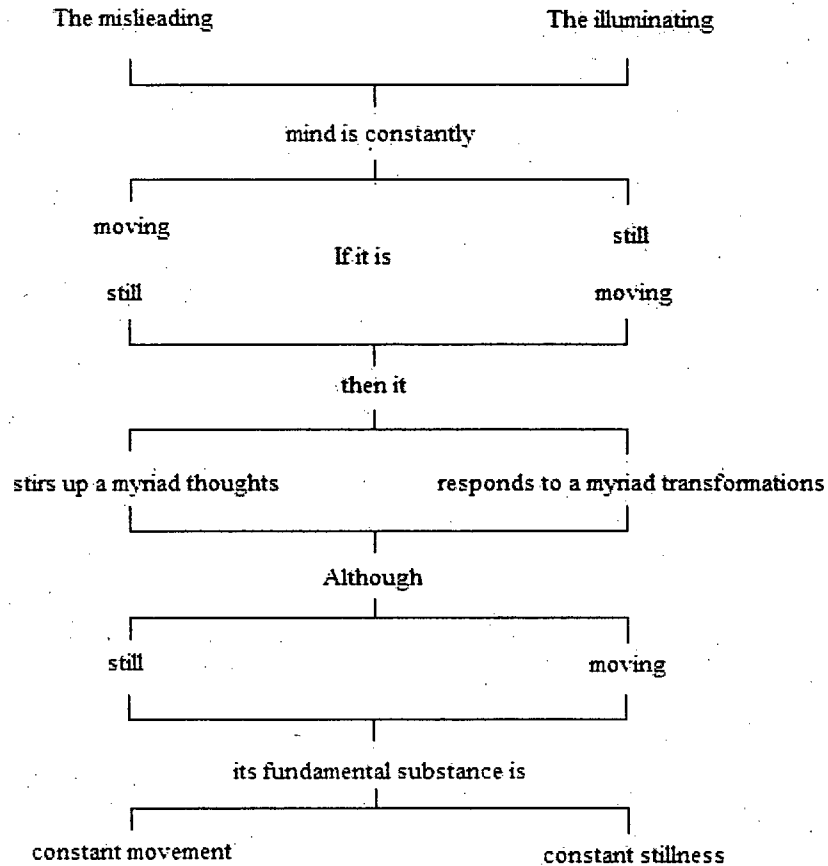


Figure 4: Diagram of Illuminating and Misleading

[3b] In ancient times it was said, “Constantly extinguish the moving mind; do not extinguish the illuminating mind.” The entirely unmoving mind is the completely illuminating mind. The mind that is not entirely at rest is the completely misleading mind. The illuminating mind then is the mind of the Way. The misleading mind then is the human mind. The mind of the Way is subtle. Called subtle it is profoundly difficult to

⁶⁴ This diagram has been rendered into verse form and is included as Appendix 4.

see. The human mind is dangerous. Called dangerous it is perilously unsettled. Though it is the human mind it also has the mind of the Way. Though it is the mind of the Way it also has the human mind. Being in the midst of activity and tranquility [if] you only allow cleaving to the centre [this causes] the illumined mind to be constantly preserved and the misleading mind not to move. What was in danger is [made] peaceful. What was obscure is brightly set forth. Having arrived at this the mind that was mislead is restored. The Way without disorder is complete. The *Changes* says, "Returning he sees the mind of sky and earth."⁶⁵

Ode to the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate⁶⁶

As for the ○⁶⁷ of the centre, it is the Limitless Supreme Ultimate. "The Supreme Ultimate moves giving birth to *Yang*. Movement [reaches] its limit and there is stillness. Stillness gives birth to *Yin*."⁶⁸ One *Yin* and one *Yang* and thus, the "two emblems"⁶⁹ are established within it. As for ○, it is the "two emblems:" ○ is the movement of *yang*. ○ is the stillness of *yin*. *Yin* and *yang* mutually interact giving birth to the four signs. As for ○, when the four signs are in motion and again move it is called mature *yang*. When this movement [reaches] its limit, becoming still, it is called immature *yin*. When stillness reaches its limit and returns to movement it is called immature *yang*. When stillness again

⁶⁵ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 23/29/24.

⁶⁶ This section is based on Zhou Dunyi's *Taiji tushuo* (*Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate*) in vol. 44 of *Guoxue jiben congshu*, ed. Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwuyin shuguan gufenyouxian gongsi, 1968), 2-17.

⁶⁷ The symbol "○" will not be translated, as Li includes this symbol to refer to a reality at once underlying the three teachings and yet standing outside the categories comprising each teaching's doctrinal discourse. See footnote 259.

⁶⁸ *Taiji tushuo*, 6.

⁶⁹ The two emblems (*liangyi* 兩儀) are *yin* and *yang*.

becomes still it is called mature *yin*. The movement and stillness of the four signs gives birth to the eight trigrams. *Qian* 乾 is one, *dui* 兌 is two. They are the movement and stillness of mature *yang*. *Li* 離 is three and *Zhen* 震 is four. They are the movement and stillness of immature *yin*. *Gen* 艮 is five and *kan* 坎 is six. They are the movement and stillness of immature *yang*. *Dui* 兌 (probably should be *xun* 巽) is seven and *kun* 坤 is eight. They are the movement and stillness of mature *yin*. *Yin* opposes; *yang* goes along. The moving power of “now ascending,” “now descending” ceaselessly gives birth to the sixty-four hexagrams. The way of the myriad things reaches this completion. The higher ○ is the beginning of the *qi*’s transformation. The lower ○ is the mother of the formal transformation. If one understands the transformation of *qi* but does not understand formal transformation then one will be unable to reach the limit of the expansive. If one understands formal transformation but does not understand *qi* transformation then one cannot exhaust the essential and profound. Therefore I penned this ode as proof.

An Anthology on Centeredness and Harmony (Chapter 6)

Names and Words Beyond the [Three] Teachings

[21b] Buddhist texts say, “If people want to fully comprehend all Buddhas of the three ages⁷⁰ then they ought to view the *Dharma*-realm-nature.”⁷¹ Everything proceeds from the creativity of mind.”⁷² If it is said to have creativity then there is [also] transformation. Creativity and transformation both proceed from the mind. People all claim that the creation and transformation of the myriad things is the work of creativity and transformation. I alone [say] it is not so. Creation and transformation are fundamentally effortless. The myriad things are self-creating and transforming. By what means are the myriad things caused? All have “this mind.”⁷³ Having “this mind” it follows that all are created and transformed. Could it fail to be self-creation and transformation? Thus everything in the world has form but form fundamentally lacks [form]. That it lacks [form], and yet something is produced—this is called “creation.” Something is produced and then that something is destroyed. Something destroyed then returns to lacking [form] and this is called “transformation.” Creation upon creation, transformation upon transformation is the constant [Pattern] of things [in the world].

⁷⁰ *Sanshi* 三世 indicates past, present and future. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 57, s.v. 三世.

⁷¹ *Fajixing* 法界性, is interchangeable with *faxing* 法性 (*Dharma*-nature). *Foxue dacidian*, 1398 zhong, s.v. 法界性. *Dharma*-nature refers to the nature underlying everything. See Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 269, s.v. 法性, for a long list of alternate forms for this term.

⁷² According to the *Foxue dacidian*, 1398, s.v. 法界性, this is an almost exact quotation from section 19 of the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經. The quotation listed reads as follows: 若人欲了知三世一切佛。應觀法界性。一切唯心造。 I have not been able to locate this exact quotation in the *Huayan jing*, which matches almost exactly that found in the *Zhonghe ji*, 6.21b. The *Huayan jing* T35/1735/659a does however contain the phrase 若欲了佛者應觀法界性, which clearly makes the same assertion.

⁷³ *Cixin* 此心 is a synonym for the “mind of True Suchness” (*zhenru xin* 真如心). Muller, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. 真如心.

The Nature of unified reality⁷⁴ exists fundamentally. It exists and yet has no characteristics. Therefore it is without creation and is without transformation. It is the constant of the Way. People only understand being without creation and [22a] being without transformation as no creation or transformation. They do not realize that there is great creation and transformation preserved within it. As for those who are not enlightened how are they able to know it? Enlightened scholars understand that if wisdom penetrates universally then [in the] myriad [worldly] affairs they will see emptiness. The unified mind will return to stillness. Transcendentally so, it alone is preserved and so is without creation and transformation.

If you do not understand the beyond, present in body, mind, world, and affairs [then] inwardly dwelling in enduring thoughts and making distinctions will be that by which you will go along with worldly transformations and follow along with the body's birth and destruction.⁷⁵

As for what the eye sees, we call them "forms." As for their entry into the mind, we call it "reception." Having been received into the mind we call them "discernments." As for discernments that have not yet reached the point of taking action, we call them "deliberations." Following upon deliberations [in ways] good or evil all have their karmic

⁷⁴ "Nature of unified reality" is a translation of 一真之性. Yi zhen 一真 is a Buddhist term referring to reality in its entirety (Skt. *Bhūtatathatā*). This term is interchangeable with *zhenru* 真如, usually translated as "true suchness." This refers to a core doctrine of *Huayan* Buddhism. It is the "one reality, or undivided absolute, is static, not phenomenal, it is effortless just as it is 自然 self-existing." Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 9, s.v. 一真.

⁷⁵ The phrase 隨形生滅也 has been translated here with a more Taoist interpretation but could well be rendered: "Follow along with the birth and destruction of forms," which would bring to the fore the Buddhist concern with not taking conventional, transitory reality as ultimately real.

response and we call this “karmic-consciousness.”⁷⁶ Karmic-consciousness is the root and basis of the multitudinous turnings of the wheel [of *samsāra*] and thus, you are unable to depart from creation and transformation.

If you are not subject to the bonds of illusion and cooperating causes,⁷⁷ not subject to the contamination [induced by] mental objects, not subject to the hindrance of deluding emotions, not subject to the misery and trouble of affection and desire then you will be able to illuminate and behold [the fact that] the [22b] five aggregates are all empty. Since the five aggregates are empty, how could there be creation and transformation? This is the wondrous mind of *nirvāṇa*. I say that creation and transformation issue from the mind. What further doubt [could there be]?

Taoist texts say “[what] has [form] and [what] lacks [form] produce each other.”⁷⁸ This means that [what] lacks [form] producing [what] has [form] is creation and [what] has [form] producing [what] lacks [form] is transformation. Again it is said, “Applying emptiness to the utmost I preserve stillness and integrity⁷⁹ and [although] the myriad

⁷⁶ This paragraph describes the *wuyun* 五蘊 (five aggregates or *skandhas*), a core doctrinal element of Buddhism used to demonstrate the aggregate and therefore impermanent nature of individual personalities. See Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 126, s.v. 五蘊. The final aggregate mentioned by Li is modified from *shi* 識 to *yeshi* 業識, translated here as “karmic-consciousness.” This term is listed in Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 404, s.v. 業識, as “activity-consciousness” and is said to refer to the first stirrings to enlightenment by way of ignorance. Given Li’s placement of this term with the other four aggregates such a reading would be unhelpful.

⁷⁷ *Yuan* 緣 denotes circumstances which provide the ground for the primary cause to take place. This can be likened to the soil, rain and sunshine that allow for the growth of a seed. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 440, s.v. 緣.

⁷⁸ This quotation (有無相生) is found in section two of the *Daode jing*.

⁷⁹ This translation of the phrase 守靜篤 found in section 16 of the *Daode jing* follows the Heshang Gong 河上公 commentary, which reads *jing* 靜 and *du* 篤 as two things to be preserved by the meditator rather than seeing *du* as having an adverbial function relative to *jing* 靜. Details concerning textual precedents for

things together arise I can thereby observe their return.”⁸⁰ This mention of “observing [their] return” [can be viewed as] understanding transformation. If you understand transformation there will be no transforming. If there is no transforming then how can there be creation? Those who do not [possess] penetrating insight that is unimpeded, how would they be able to reach this [level of understanding]? Scholars of penetrating intelligence [being] clear and still are brilliantly enlightened and therefore are able to bring to light [the fact that] body, mind, world, and affairs depend on [what] has [form] amid illusion. Having [form] so it becomes substantial. Substantiality [having reached] its limit reverts. Reverting, it thus goes back to the illusory.

If you employ this insight then you will know that the imageless image is the genuine image. Nourish this imageless image and thus [you are] constantly preserved. Guard this substanceless substance and thus complete the real. Arriving at the uniting of purity and completeness in the infinite, [23a] and the uniting of the boundless and expansive in the incomparable, leap out beyond empty nothingness. This is called being without creation and transformation. Those who cling to this [idea], their body and mind will not be settled; the anxious assault of their thoughts is that by which [they] destroy the imageless and scatter the substanceless. Thus they float along with birth and death constantly sinking in the sea of suffering.

this reading can be found in *Laozi heshang gong zhushuzheng*, comp. Zheng Chenghai 鄭成海 (Taipei: 1978), 111-112.

⁸⁰ This is a nearly exact quotation from section 16 of the Wangbi edition of the *Laozi*. Li quotes as follows: 致虛極，守靜篤，萬物並作，吾以觀其復。 *Zhonghe ji*, 6.22b. I have translated this brief passage so that the causal connection implied by *yi* 以 is maintained. This accords with Robert Henrick’s view that the opening two phrases be taken as admonishments to those practicing meditation. Robert G. Henricks, *Lao-tzu Te-tao ching* (New York: Balantine Books, 1989), 218. D.C. Lao elected not to translate *yi* 以 and so the final three characters are rendered as “And I watch their return.” D.C. Lau, *Chinese Classics: Tao Te Ching* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1963), 23.

If [, on the other hand,] they have set in order their body and mind and have done away with the anxiety of thoughts and do not cause the internal to go out and do not cause the external to enter and, [if] inside and out they are pure and tranquil [then this is] named “illuminating understanding arriving at internally forgetting their mind and externally forgetting their form.” The comprehending [power] of the unified truth is like the unimpeded expansiveness of great emptiness. Creation and transformation—again, how could they exist?

Ru texts say, “not aggressive, not seeking;”⁸¹ “there is no blame, there is no praise.”⁸² Concerning this it is said, if you are not aggressive and not seeking then you will not be subject to creation. If you lack blame and lack praise you will not be subject to transformation.

The “Appendix to the Changes” says, “At a distance [Fuxi] took it from things. Near to he took it from himself.”⁸³ I say, if at a distance one takes it from things then one will know the myriad [23b] secondary causes are empty. If near to one takes it from oneself then one knows the five aggregates are all empty. Outwardly put aside the myriad secondary causes; inwardly disperse the five aggregates. Therefore you will be able to accord with the Natural Order and do away with the [endless] cycles of grief and happiness. With reference to the Natural Order, you will understand the beginning and end of things; you will understand the cause of darkness and light; you will understand

⁸¹ *Analects*, Book 9. See Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 225, XXVI. The source of the quotation is the *Book of Poetry*. See Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, 52.

⁸² *Zhouyi suoyin*, 28/35/1.

⁸³ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 66/81/20. Li’s quotation reverses the order of the original.

the explanation for death and life. To exhaust Pattern and [employ your] Nature to the fullest is to arrive at Destiny. The cause of rejoicing in the Natural Order is not being aggrieved; the cause of [depending on one's] Nature to the fullest is not to doubt. [Among] those who do not extend their knowledge who can reach this [level of understanding]?

Those who do extend their knowledge (*zhizhi* 致知) are integrated, enlightened, peaceful, and settled. Therefore they know that the unceasing [round of] birth and annihilation is [due to] the illusion-body.⁸⁴ Distinctions not being leveled out is [due to] a confused mind. Shifting and transformation not being settled is [due to] the seasons and generations. That overcoming decay is not permanent is [due to] worldly affairs. Observing and practicing the ripening of purity is called the unity of sagely merit. By prizing this therefore, there is no creation or transformation.

If you do not extend your knowledge then you will be unable to investigate things (*gewu* 格物). If you are unable to investigate things then you will go along with the transforming and shifting of things. How could Nature and Life be established if indeed it is the case that “transformative motions do not stand still but flow through the six voids?”⁸⁵ Sky and earth are united in me; “the myriad things [24a] are complete within

⁸⁴ *Huanxing* 幻形 (skt. *māyā*) is translated as “illusion-body” to accord with its usual Buddhist form *huanshen* 幻身, which refers to the insubstantiality of the body. See Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 149, s.v. 幻 and *Foxue dacidian*, 742, s.v. 幻身. The above Buddhist dictionaries and the major encyclopedic dictionaries of Taoism: *ZHDJ*, *Daojiao dacidian* (hereafter DJDCD), *Zhongguo zhengtong daojiao dacidian* (hereafter ZTDJ), *Daojiao wenhua cidian* (hereafter DJWH) do not list *huanxing* 幻形 as a term.

⁸⁵ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 66/84/12. The term ‘six voids’ (*liuxu* 六虛) refers to the six lines of the hexagrams through which the nature of change is evident to those who know how to read them.

me.”⁸⁶ Arriving at [the hexagram] *fu* 復 (return),⁸⁷ one sees the mind of the Natural Order (*tianxin* 天心). The myriad [things] that there are, return to unified lack of [form] and then creation and transformation cease! It is as though *qian* and *kun*⁸⁸ do not [undergo] the motions of transformation, the sun and moon do not move through their cycles. How could there be the six masters? The “six *zi* 子”⁸⁹ do not communicate weighty [matters]. *Yin* and *yang* do not ascend or descend. How could there be the myriad things? The substance of *Qian* and *Kun* is pure, unified, and unmixed. Inverted and upright do not change. Therefore, there is no creation or transformation.

Creation that lacks the creativity of creation is great creation. Transformation that lacks the transforming of transformation is great transformation. Those who take this view consequently know that the myriad things in the world are all unreal. Together with functioning of the cycles of *yin* and *yang* they do not fail to be illusory. “If it were not the perfect transformation of everything under the sky, who would be able to participate in

⁸⁶ This is a quotation from the *Mengzi*. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, 450–451.

⁸⁷ *Fu* 復 is a hexagram of foundational importance to the practitioner of inner alchemy. It represents a moment at which the depths of stillness having been reached in meditation, movement commences with the return of a single *yang* line at the bottom of the hexagram. The significance of this transitional hexagram is not limited to events within the body of the practitioner at the level of *qi* 氣 but entails the cosmogonic emergence of multiplicity out of the stillness of “chaos” (*hundun* 混沌), the Way or “the limitless” (*wuji* 無極) and so reaffirms the continuity of the universe of one’s body with that of the universe writ-large.

⁸⁸ *Qian* 乾 and *kun* 坤 are primary hexagrams here representing pure *yang* (six solid *yang* lines) and pure *yin* (six broken *yin* lines).

⁸⁹ *Liuzi* 六子 is, in this context, is most likely to be a reference to the six *yin* and six *yang* lines of the *tai* 泰 hexagram. *DJDCD*, 310, s.v. 六子. It is possible, though unlikely that it may be a reference to the six great philosophers to whom works comprising a *congshu* 叢書 entitled *Liuzi quanshu* 六子全書 are attributed: Laozi 老子, Zhuangzi 莊子, Liezi 列子, Xunzi 荀子, Yangzi 揚子, and Wenzhongzi 文中子. *Daojiao dacidian*, 314, s.v. 六子全書.

this?"⁹⁰ Seeing this, the Three Teachings are only mind. Creation and transformation proceed from the mind. Departing from creation and transformation also proceeds from the mind.

The essentials of studying the Buddhist teaching are located in observing one's Nature. If you desire to observe your Nature then first you must use a determined will to do away with the force of habitual vulgarity.⁹¹ [You must also] use the force of strict restraint to preserve penetrating understanding. Following this [24b] illumination will break through to the emptiness of all kinds [of worldly phenomena]. The false mind will no longer dwell on things. Thoughts will no longer follow the emotions. Thoughts are the root of passions. The mind is the seed of mental perceptions.⁹² If thoughts arise then all the passions that disturb the mind will arise. But, if thoughts cease then all the passions that disturb the mind will cease. If the mind produces then the various sorts of *dharma*s⁹³ are produced [but] if the mind destroys then the various sorts of *dharma*s are destroyed. Thoughts arising then stopping; each is caused by your own mind. [When it] comes to production and destruction, destruction is merely silence; destruction is joy. This is seeing your Nature.

⁹⁰ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/19. Li has just made the point that true creation and true transformation are beyond creation and transformation, as they are conventionally understood. It is at the level of perfect, changeless change that his message of ultimate identity between the three teachings can be comprehended.

⁹¹ *Xisuzhiqi* 習俗之氣. This is an amplification of the Buddhist term 習氣 (skt. *vāṣāna*), which refers to the force of habit—"the uprising or recurrence of thoughts, passions, or delusions after the passion or delusion has itself been overcome, the remainder or remaining influence of delusion." Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 362, s.v. 習.

⁹² *Fachen* 法塵 are direct mental perceptions that are independent of the sense organs. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 269, s.v. 法塵.

⁹³ *Fa* 法 (skt. *dharma*) is a term with many meanings but in this context refers to things which have entity and bear their own attributes. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 267, s.v. 法.

As for the inability of today's students to see their own Nature it is the two hindrances: [hindrance to] truth, and [hindrance of] the passions that obstruct [their vision].⁹⁴ If it were not for Great Contemplation, they would be unable to get free of the noumenal hindrance. If it were not for Great Cessation, they would be unable to do away with the phenomenal hindrance.⁹⁵ Great Contemplation is called cutting-off through understanding.⁹⁶ Great Cessation is called forceful restraint. If your cutting-off through understanding is pure and complete then all the various kinds [of phenomena] are empty. If your forceful restraint is pure and complete then all passions are empty. If you understand the Great Emptiness of the three voids⁹⁷ and know the perfect truth of the truth of unity, this is the pinnacle of Great Contemplation. Forthwith, body, mind, the world, and affairs, thoughts, anxiety, emotions, and discerning together all cease. [25a]

⁹⁴ *Erzhang* 二障 refers to the two hindrances a) to the truth (*lizhang* 理障) and b) hindrances of the passions (*shizhang* 事障). These terms are part of the central doctrinal formulation of the Yogacāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 31, s.v. 二障. *Shi* 事 and *li* 理 also occur as a pair constituting a foundational element of *Huayan* doctrine.

⁹⁵ *Zhi* 止 (skt. *śamatha*), cessation, refers to silencing or putting to rest the active mind. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 158, s.v. Guan 觀 (skt. *vipāśyanā*), contemplation, is to consider and discern illusion, or to discern what seems to be real from what is real. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 489, s.v. 觀. As a pair these terms figure prominently in the doctrinal formulations of Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597) and even serve as a name (*zhiguan zong* 止觀宗) for the Tiantai 天台 school of Buddhism which grew out of Zhiyi's teachings. These terms also refer to two forms of meditation: *Zhi* 止, usually translated as stabilizing meditation and calm abiding, refers to meditative practices aimed at stilling thoughts and developing concentration (*ding* 定). The latter is translated as analysis or clear observation and refers to the application of one's power of concentration to the embodiment of a Buddhist description of reality, such as dependent origination (*yuanqi* 緣起). Charles Muller, ed. *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* <<http://www.acmuller.net/ddb>>. Edition of 4/26/2004. s.v. 止觀.

⁹⁶ *Zhiduan* 智斷 "Mystic wisdom which attains absolute truth, and cuts off misery." Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 375. This term is used frequently in Zhiyi's *Maha zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (*The Great Cessation and Contemplation*). T1911.46.

⁹⁷ *Sangong* 三空 is defined in the *Jingang sanmei jing* 金剛三昧經 (skt. *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*) as "emptiness of marks (*wuxiang* 無相), emptiness of emptiness (*kongkong* 空空), emptiness of that which is empty (*suokong* 所空)." T273.9.369b.16. The text reads: 佛言。三空者。空相亦空。空空亦空。所空亦空。

This is the pinnacle of Great Cessation. If this were not the most elevated of elevated understanding “who would be able to participate in this?”⁹⁸

Studying the Way rests in preserving your Nature. If you desire to preserve your Nature then first use the sword of wisdom to smite the host of demons, and the fire and tally⁹⁹ to disperse the six desires.¹⁰⁰ Next, use the power of meditative concentration¹⁰¹ to forget emotions, cut off anxieties, release burdens, and clarify the mind. [Having] arrived at the clarification of the mind, the release of burdens, the cutting off of anxieties and the forgetting of emotions this is called preserving your Nature. The true Nature having been preserved there will be no creation or transformation. Today’s students make of “emotions” and “distinguishing,” something that is to be taken away. [However, if you] desire to remove “emotions” and “distinguishing” [you must] first eliminate the mind that “produces” and “destroys.” The mind without “producing” and “destroying” and the body without “producing” and “destroying” simply are meditative concentration. To remove the mind of “producing” and “destroying” [you] must naturally be without the storing up of thoughts. [When your] practice of purity has ripened sufficiently, [you] can apply [yourself] to the peaceful meditative concentration [in which] there are no dreams and no

⁹⁸ In this sentence: 非上上智。其孰能與於此。 (*Zhonghe ji*, 6.25a) Li retains the structure of the statement previously quoted from the *Xici* 繫辭 (*Appended Statements*) of the *Yijing* (see footnote 90): 非天下之至變。其孰能與於此。

⁹⁹ Fire (*huo* 火) and tally (*fu* 符) refer to the cycling of the *qi* in the body. The former represents the raising the *qi* up the spine while the latter refers to the decent of the *qi* down the front of the body. This takes place during meditation. Hence, meditation and the attendant circulation of *qi* is understood by Li to be a way of warding off sexual desires (see footnote 101). *ZHDJ*, 1193, s.v. 火符; 1197, s.v. 陽火陰符.

¹⁰⁰ The six desires (*liuyu* 六慾) refer to forms of sexual attraction arising from the senses: colour, form, carriage, voice, softness, and features. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 136, s.v. 六欲.

¹⁰¹ *Dingli* 定力 (skt. *samādhībala*), the power of meditative concentration, is the ability to overcome all thoughts that generate disturbance. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 255, s.v. 定力. This is one of five powers: *xinli* 信力, the power of faith; *jingjinli* 精進力, the power of effort; *nianli* 念力, the power of mindfulness; *huili* 慧力, the power of wisdom. Muller, *Digital Dictionary*, s.v. 五力. See also Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 114, s.v. 五力.

thoughts. [When] purity has ripened sufficiently [and you] can apply [yourself] to [being] without dreams and without production [you will] see that in this, is the great affair.¹⁰² Being without thought, that is the great affair at the very end. If [you] are without production then there will be no creation. If [you] are without dreams there will be no transformation. Not creating and not transforming simply is [25b] not producing and not destroying. [Among] scholars who are not of the highest [abilities], “who would be able to participate in this?”¹⁰³

The essentials of studying the Ru tradition are located in [employing one’s] Nature to the utmost. If you desire to [employ your] Nature to the utmost it “consists in manifesting bright virtue . . . consists in resting in the highest excellence. When you know where to rest, you are settled. When you are settled, you can” forget things and yourself.¹⁰⁴ The comment on the hexagram *gen* 艮 states: “Stilling his back, but not getting his body: Walking into his courtyard, but not seeing his person; there is no trouble.”¹⁰⁵ “Stilling his back,” is forgetting his mind. “Not getting his body,” is forgetting himself. “Walking into his courtyard, but not seeing his person,” is forgetting things. As for [these] three [statements], having forgotten [the mind, oneself, and things]

¹⁰² *Dashi* 大事 (skt. *mahā-vastu*), is an abbreviation for *Yidashi yinyuan* 一大事因緣 “the single great matter of causes and conditions.” The *Miaofa lianhua jing* (*Lotus Sutra of the Wonderful Law*) T9/262, interprets it as enlightenment (see 7a.22-7b.02); the *Daban niepan jing* (*Great Nirvana Sutra*) T12/375, as the Buddha Nature (see 658c.22). According to Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 85, s.v. 大事, the *Wuliangshou jing* (*Sutra of Immeasurable Life*) T12/360, interprets this term to be the joy of Paradise however I can find no reference to 大事 or 一大事因緣 in this text. This notion of natural ripening can be understood in contrast to the foolish man of Song who tried to force his rice plants to grow by tugging at the stalks. According to Li, one cannot forcefully achieve purity; it must ripen naturally over time. This contrasts non-coercive action (*wuwei* 無為) with coercive effort-filled (*li* 力) action (*wei* 為).

¹⁰³ Once again this sentence (非高上之士。其孰能與於此), retains the structure of the statement previously quoted from the *Xici* 繫辭 (*Appended Statements*) of the *Yijing*. *Zhonghe ji*, 6.25.b.

¹⁰⁴ This is a partial quotation from the *Daxue* 大學 (*Great Learning*). Legge, *Classics*, vol. 1. 356.

¹⁰⁵ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 52/61/20. The translation is taken from Shaughnessy, *I Ching*, 55.

what trouble could there be? This is the perfection of knowing when to stop. Knowing when to stop therefore, one is able to forget things and self, and to complete the Pattern of the Natural Order. This is called [employing] Nature to the utmost. Presently the fact that people are unable to [employ] their Nature to the utmost is due to the fetters of body and mind. Since they have [these] fetters they also have obstructions. They must use unwavering “cutting-off” to determinedly burst through. Unwavering “cutting-off” will cause [them] to be able to forget things. Determinedly bursting through will cause [them] to be able to forget themselves. Things and self both forgotten and Nature [employed] to the utmost, one arrives at the establishing of one’s fate! [26a] If it were not for spiritual virtue and sagely merit then “who would be able to participate in this?”¹⁰⁶

When I look at worldly persons, many take this body to mean that they have a self. They really are not thinking. Assume that this body is caused to be through creation. Formerly, when there was not yet any creation, [did they] have appearance? Did [they] have a name? Did [they] have a self? After transforming, did [they] have appearance? Did [they] have a name? Did [they] have a self? [As for] the pair: “formerly” and “after” since both are nothing, how can one attain the middle or incline to one side and cling to having a self? [They] really do not understand that the body, mind, world, and affairs originally are empty delusions. The three periods¹⁰⁷ [may be] investigated but cannot be attained. The past is obscured; where is it? [It is] merely the changing and shifting thoughts of the present [moment]. The future is definitely like this. The passing of a

¹⁰⁶ Once again this sentence (非神德聖功。其孰能與於此), retains the structure of the statement previously quoted from the *Xici* 繫辭 (*Appended Statements*) of the *Yijing*. *Zhonghe ji*, 6.26a.

¹⁰⁷ Sanshi 三世 (Skt. *traiya-dhvika*) are the three periods of past, present and future. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 57.

*kalpa*¹⁰⁸ up to now is a great dream amid delusion. Stubbornly clinging to false [ideas] causes¹⁰⁹ the seeds of the eternal round of life and death¹¹⁰ to form. By this means they are born and die without there being any end to it. If again there are others within this realm of dream and illusion [who can] have the clear witness within,¹¹¹ and fully understanding are good at eradicating [this delusion], could they fail to become perfected individuals? I one day presented [26b] this koan to some disciples and commanded them to consider it. Two or three of them accorded somewhat with the crux of it and so I wrote this text in order to present it and thereby transmit [this teaching] from mind to mind.

If [you] are able to directly receive [this teaching] you ought to secretly penetrate and profoundly comprehend. At that time [you] will know [when] to stop. [You] will not scheme [regarding] your past; [you] will not be anxious about your future; [you] will not cleave merely to your present. As for these three, when they have merged you will attain the Great Self-existence;¹¹² [moving] to and fro upon the ocean of great *nirvāṇa*;¹¹³ rambling at leisure in the wilds of absolutely nothing;¹¹⁴ darting back and forth in the

¹⁰⁸ *Lijie* 歷劫 is an immense period of time which subsumes within it the past, present and future. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 232, s.v. 劫 describes it as “a period of four hundred and thirty-two million years of mortals, measuring the duration of the world.”

¹⁰⁹ *Wangyuan* 妄緣, “The unreality of one's environment; also, the causes of erroneous ideas.” Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 210, s.v. 妄緣.

¹¹⁰ *Lunhui* 輪迴 (skt. *samsāra*) ** is the wheel of transmigration, the cycle of existence. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 445, s.v. 輪.

¹¹¹ *Zhengming* 證明. “To prove clearly, have the clear witness within.” Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 473, s.v. 證.

¹¹² *Dazizai* 大自在 (*Īśvara*) is a term ascribed to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. This term refers to the state of independence accompanying realization. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 94, s.v. 大自在. The *Lotus Sutra of the Wonderful Law* states that: (諸佛有大自在神通之力) all the Buddhas possess the power of spiritual penetration of great self-existence.” T 262.9.27b/20.

¹¹³ *Daqimie* 大寂滅 is total extinction or final *nirvāṇa*. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 87, s.v. 大寂滅.

¹¹⁴ This phrase is taken from the closing section of the *Zhuangzi*'s 莊子 first chapter, “Free and Easy Wandering.” This passage relates a discussion between Zhuangzi and his friend Huizi (惠子) regarding the virtue of uselessness as it relates to a tree. Watson translates the passage as follows: “Now you have this

place of self-fulfillment. Arriving at this [you] understand creation and transformation. At this [stage] what foresight is needed on your part? Even so there is a matter yet higher in this teaching. What is it that [I] call the higher matter? Ah! Turn [everything] upside-down without words; smash to pieces the emptiness of great vacuity and then [you] will comprehend the matter. Mister, keep it hidden! Keep it hidden!¹¹⁵

big tree and you're distressed because it's useless. Why don't you plant it in Not-Even-Anything Village, or the field of Broad-and-Boundless, relax and do nothing by its side, or lie down for a free and easy sleep under it." Watson, *Ch'uang Tzu*, 35. The original text reads: 今子有大樹，患其無用，何不樹之于無何有之鄉，廣莫之野，彷徨乎無爲其側，逍遙乎寢臥其下。

¹¹⁵ This is a tentative translation of the phrase 漠祕之祕之. This paragraph concerns the transmission of the teaching from mind to mind. The notion that once great insight and ability are attained they should be kept hidden is a recurring theme in inner alchemy texts (for example: *Wuzhen pian*, 26.11b; 28.20a) and goes all the way back to the *Daode jing*. See sections 20 and 56. Also see footnote 122.

2.2 Forward to the Dialogic Treatise of Qingan Yingchan zi

[1a]As the master¹¹⁶ discussed important points I touched my head [to the ground] upon meeting him. Then, from the conversation within his household I selected and set out [these teachings recorded] here. How could this master fail to be one who discourses on the centre? From my youth¹¹⁷ I devoted myself to the *Ru* [school] and had a great fondness for discussing emptiness. Although stupid I could discourse [on this subject] in the Buddhist manner of speech.¹¹⁸ Indeed, not employing *Ru* arrogance (lit. self exaltation), I had to humble myself to enquire of those below (me in status) [but] did not employ *Ru* [terms to discuss this subject].¹¹⁹ Myself, having a higher [understanding I] had to yield to circumstances and enquire of [those] below [me]. I simply had not yet been able to meet the master.

One day I returned to the hidden places of Mt. Mao. Qingan Yingchan zi, gentleman Li, came to visit. Before his seat had warmed up he began to expound. [Employing] words without smoke and fog he proceeded to expound [his teaching]. Before the august [teacher] had written [a single character] the meaning was easy to penetrate. The patriarchal teacher did not draw near to lower concerns; taking the explanations of the Three Teachings recorded on paper [he] swept them away completely

¹¹⁶ *Zuojia* 作家 is a Chan Buddhist term denoting a leader or the founder of a sect. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 224, s.v. 作家.

¹¹⁷ There appears to be an error in the text at this point. *You* 幼 (youth) was written incorrectly, with the *dao* 刀 radical replacing the *li* 力 radical, generating what seems to be a non-existent character.

¹¹⁸ Literally “*qi* of sour stuffing” (*suanxian qi* 酸餡氣)—this phrase is used to refer to Buddhist turns of phrase and expressions. It is also used to satirize such forms of discourse. Here, this phrase does not appear to be used in this way. *Ciyuan*, 1705.4, s.v. 酸餡氣.

¹¹⁹ I take the point here to be that the disciple had been unfamiliar with the way in which Buddhist and *Ru* terms were blended together with those of Taoism in the teachings of Li Daochun.

[so that we could] attain [an understanding of] the emptiness of forms.¹²⁰ When leading our type of ignorant fellow there would issue from his pupils a round relic.¹²¹ [As for] the clear *qi* of this relic, when among people [he] softened its glare.¹²² The whole company [of men] being mad he did not know how to transmit [his teaching to them]. Is the toad grotto within my body [1b] or do I secret my body away by entering into the toad grotto?¹²³ This night I was surprised and gladdened ten thousand fold. Putting in order the anxieties of my mind I, with earnest heart and incense, made obeisance at the foot of his seat saying, "Truly you are my teacher, the true master. May my teacher not cast me aside as I desire further instruction." After [this meeting I became a] follower of the teacher. Our dialogues became rather numerous. Once [this] anthology [of dialogues] had been compiled [I] opened it and with reverent composure waited facing the foot of Qingan's seat. Kick over the stockade of the abstruse and marvelous and smash to pieces the emptiness of great vacuity. Then, at this time, you will become a man who

¹²⁰ This translation of 赤酒酒, draws on Li's own definition of this term found in his commentary on the *Wushang chiwen donggu zhenjing* (*The True Scripture Concerning the Peerless "Crimson" and "Civil" and Seeing Through to the Ancient*). See *Wushangchiwen donggu zhenjing zhu* 無上赤文洞古真經註, TY 107; DZ 54, 2.a.

¹²¹ This is an awkward translation but the term *tuo* has no ready English correlate. *Tuo* refers to a pellet of medicinal substance produced after a process of inner alchemical heating and cooling. At this point the text seems to be taking this "substance" as an almost immaterial round form issuing from the eyes of the master that he conceals when at large among ordinary people. ZHDJ, 1356, s.v. 陀.

¹²² This translation draws on the fourth section of the *Daode jing* which, in describing various effects of the Way, states that it "softens the glare;" See Henricks, *Te-tao ching*, 194-195. This is a reference to hiding one's high level of attainment.

¹²³ The term *chanku* 蟾窟, "toad grotto," is a reference to the moon or moon palace, *yueguan* 月官. *Ciyuan*, 1515.4, s.v. 蟾窟. Curiously, this term is not listed in the Taoist dictionaries. A variant on this term is employed in the *Wuzhen pian*, and its use is commented on by Ye Shibiao and Yuan Gongfu. (*Wuzhen pian*, 27.10b). The toad palace (*changuan*) is *kan* 坎 or *yang* within *yin*. This is opposed to "the place of *li*" 離 (*liwei* 離位) which is *yin* within *yang*. Two key points are made by the commentators: firstly, this passage from the *Wuzhen pian* is emphasizing the centrality of inversion to the alchemical process and secondly, failure to grasp this point will lead to failure. So perhaps the point being made here, in the introduction to Li Daochun's discussions, is simply that his confusions regarding the most important facets of practice are, to his great joy, to be dispelled by the master at their meeting on Mt. Mao. This term can also be found as the title and subject of a short verse in the *Zhonghe ji*, 5.4a. In that verse *chanku* seems to have a metaphorical function symbolic of the whole process of cultivation. One can be said to dwell within the practice or the way of cultivation which is grondered, according to the verse in turning things upsidedown.

understands this undertaking. If you have questions that arise elder Qingan says go to the essentials in here; to the core meaning here [that will] lead [you] in the correct way. If [you wish] to practice what is most essential then [my teacher] says this is just [what is required]. The time when I bowed and encountered the master's discussion of important points was the year 1288 during the season of the great rains of summer's end. Working daily the Taoist Priest of Mount Mao, Heian Guangchan zi, kowtows and studies attentively.

2.3 Dialogic Treatise of Qingan Yingchan zi (Chapter 1)

Compiled by disciple Heian Chai Yuangao¹²⁴

[1a] Dadian's¹²⁵ commentary on the *Heart Sutra*¹²⁶ says:

There was once a monk who asked the Buddhist priest Chen, "If two rats¹²⁷ are encroaching on the rattan how does one weed them out?" Chen said: "People of present times must do this: hide themselves away."

[May I] presume to ask what is meant by "hide oneself?"

Teacher said: Why must one wait [until one is] standing alone and, being so, [only] afterwards begin to understand emptiness? [What you] must [do] is simply immediately become uninvolved with everything and be unstained by affairs. If I do not see all the world's creatures then all the world's creatures do not see me. This is [what] I call hiding oneself.

[Heian] asked: [One may] desire words [but] words do not reach to Shandong and Hebei. [I would] like to consult [with you] on what this means.

Teacher said: If I use words to expound on this matter I will be unable to exhaust [its meaning]. In the end a single sentence [can be] extremely broad and extremely great

¹²⁴Heian Chai Yuangao 嘿庵柴元皋 was a Taoist priest based for a time at Maoshan 茅山 located in southern Jiangsu province.

¹²⁵Dadian 大顛 is the appellation of the Chan monk Baotong 寶通 (d. 824). He was a Dharma-heir of Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷. Shanping Yizhong was his Dharma-heir. His Lineage died out after a few generations. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 97, s.v. 大顛.

¹²⁶*Banruo boluomiduo xinjing*, T8/258.

¹²⁷Two rats can refer to one black rat representing night and one white rat representing day. *Bukkyō daijiten* (Oda) 1329-2. These rats are also described as the sun and moon gnawing away at the rope of life. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 419, s.v. 二鼠. Ding Fubao, *Foxue dacidian*, 90, s.v. 二鼠.

[in meaning]. All is encompassed in exhaustive understanding. What more is to be said? Only that these words do not extend to a full understanding of one's original self.¹²⁸

[Heian] asked: [1b] I must familiarize [myself with] this (*Heart*) *sutra*, why does it say "Godānīya" and "Uttarakuru?"¹²⁹ What reason is there for indicating these particular two phrases?¹³⁰

Teacher said: My [response] would not be equal to this teaching. If someone were to ask me what is this *sutra*? I would simply face them and say east, west, one hundred thousand; south, north, eight thousand.

[Heian] asked: "This great mantra. This great enlightening mantra. This peerless mantra. This incomparable mantra."¹³¹ What can these four phrases be compared to in the texts of the Three Teachings?

Teacher said: Comparing it to Taoist texts: "Wonder upon wonder,"¹³² profundity upon profundity, [there is] nothing higher [that] can [be taken as] superior, not so and yet so. Further, comparing it to Ru texts: The truth of the centre, the truth of contemplation, the truth of enlightened [understanding], sustaining unity. Although there is [in all this] the highest unity, it is yet beyond words and phrases.

¹²⁸ Muller, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. 自己. This is a reversal of the characters comprising this term as they are found in the *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.1a.

¹²⁹ Xijuyeni 西瞿耶尼 is one of the four great continents and is located to the west of Mt. Sumeru, Aparā-Godānīya. Ding Fubao, *Foxue dacidian*, 949, s.v. 西瞿耶尼. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 223, s.v. 西域求法高僧傳. Beiyushanyue 北鬱單越 is one of the four great continents and is located to the north of Mt. Sumeru. Ding Fubao, *Foxue dacidian*, 924, s.v. 北鬱單越.

¹³⁰ This statement is puzzling as none of the canonical versions of the *Heart Sutra* include these terms and the edition of the text appearing with Baotong's (Dadian's) commentary also does not include these terms.

¹³¹ This is a direct quotation from the *Heart Sutra*, *Banruo boluomiduo xinjing*, T8/258/848c.

¹³² This phrase (玄之又玄) is found in the opening section of the *Daode jing*.

[Heian] asked: The Bodhisattva Wangming 罔明 was [merely] a first level devotee. Why was he able to rouse [Liyi 離意] out of the woman's *Samādhi*? Wenshu 文殊 (Mañjuśrī) was the teacher of seven Buddhas, why could he not rouse her?¹³³

Teacher said: [2a] Chouan 臭庵¹³⁴ said:

The dog welcomes the sojourning guest;
A raven shelters in the nest of unconventionality.

Speak of loving clear understanding. Cease further doubts!

Teacher asked me saying: Because he could not rouse her from woman's *Samādhi*, Wenshu summoned Wang Ming [to receive] instruction on the Dharma-gate of non-duality. Wenshu said: "[I] must not move. If [I] move apply thirty [blows of] the cudgel." What do you make of this?

I was just then in the midst of deliberating when, because Dingan moved, [we] accidentally bumped. His movement roused [me] as if teacher had done so.

Teacher said: "At the bottom of a well a mud-snake danced. The branch of a *Zhe* tree was suddenly interposed between [the snake and] the bright moon [which] illuminated plums and pears."¹³⁵ Why did this generate understanding?

I pondered this for a good while and said: The brilliance of a song blown out of the opening broke through the sky-flowers in his eyes.

Teacher said: Not right!

¹³³ Heian is asking about a koan included as case 42 in the *Wumen guan* 無門關 (Gateless Pass) T48/2005.298a, compiled by Huikai (1183-1260) and printed in 1229. It is also included in the first *juan* of the *Wudeng huiyuan*, a 20 *juan* Song dynasty collection of koans compiled by the monk Pu Ji 普濟 (1179-1253). Ding Fubao, *Foxue dacidian*, 576, s.v. 五燈會元.

¹³⁴ It is not clear who Chouan 臭庵 was.

¹³⁵ This quotation is part of a twenty-eight character verse found in a work of Weng Daoguang 薛道光 entitled *Huandan fuming pian*, TY1077, DZ742. See the section titled "Dansui ge" (Songs on the Marrow of the Elixir).

I again said: The top of my skull is bashed open and [now there are] only my eyes bugging out and no other.

Teacher said: A little more.

[Heian] [2b] asked: In the koan of the former monks rolling up the hanging screen one gained and one lost. What [do you] say [about this]?¹³⁶

Teacher said: [When] benevolence is seen it is called benevolence. [When] understanding is seen it is called understanding.

[Heian] asked: A monk asked Jiashan 夾山,¹³⁷ "What is the Dharma-body like?"

Shan said, "The Dharma-body is without external appearance." The monk said, "What is the Dharma-eye like?" Shan said, "It is without defect." Daowu 道吾, hearing this, did not assent. Afterwards he sought instruction [when] Chuanzi 船子¹³⁸ returned. This matter was raised again and [this time Daowu] agreed with the former answer. Daowu said, "This present barbarian is a lion (a Buddha)." May I ask my teacher: The question was the same; the answer was the same. Why did [Daowu] not assent to it previously but assented to it afterwards?

Teacher said: The clouds and the moon are the same. The streams and mountains are all different.

¹³⁶ This koan is included as case number twenty-six in the *Wumen guan*, T 48/2005.296b.

¹³⁷ Jiashan 夾山 is the name of a Chan master who lived during the Tang dynasty. He died at the age of seventy-seven and was active from the Xiantong 咸通 to the Zhonghe 中和 period of the Tang (860-885). This passage about the Dharma-body and Dharma-eye along with some details of Jiashan's life are recorded in the *Jingde zhuandeng lu* T51/2076/323c. The story commences at line 21. See 317a of the same text for a listing of Daowu 道吾 and his three Dharma successors.

¹³⁸ Jiashan 夾山 was the Dharma heir of Chuanzi 船子. *Jingde zhuandeng lu* T51/2076/317a.

Teacher said [I] ask [you] concerning Dong Shan's¹³⁹ *Manifest Secrets of the Five Ranks of the Jewel-mirror Samādhi*¹⁴⁰ that states: The bent within the straight; the straight within the bent; the coming from within the straight; the arrival at the middle of the bent; unity attained.¹⁴¹ What do you think these five things [mean]?

[Heian] answered: If [what is] within the straight is not attained one will not see its bent. If [what is] within the bent is not attained it will not [3a] manifest its straight. The straight comes returning [from] within. The bent also arrives within. If the bent and the straight are unified entirely within then both arrive! [Having] arrived these bent and straight are both forgotten. Within reflection, only preserve this.

Teacher said: Not quite. If [you] gather your mind¹⁴² within movement and stillness [you] will begin to attain [understanding].

One day Teacher was sitting for a time with four students. Teacher said: Chuan Lao 川老¹⁴³ said: "This mind and not mind [both are] not this mind."¹⁴⁴ What do [you have to] say? Everyone answered and all were incorrect. [They] answered saying: This mind is not this, and not mind is not this.

¹³⁹ Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807-869) is, along with his student Caoshan Benji 曹山本, the co-founder of the Caodong 曹洞 school of Chan Buddhism (known in Japan as Sōtō).

¹⁴⁰ This text can be found in a collection of Chan texts titled *Chanzong baodian* (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian weifu, 1993), 141. The specific section of five twenty-one-character stanzas can be found on pages 156-158. The verses are also found in *Dongshan dashi yulu* T47/1986b/525c and are included with a translation in Appendix 5.

¹⁴¹ The translations of the five ranks, for consistency, employ those given by Dumoulin (see Appendix 5 for the reference) however Kazuaki Tanahashi offers a more helpful translation of two of the key terms: *zheng* 正 he says should be understood as real, general, complete, universal, noumenal, absolute, or oneness while *bien* 便 means apparent, partial, particular, phenomenal, relative, or differentiation. Kazuaki Tanahashi, ed. *Moon in a Dewdrop: Writings of Zen Master Dōgen* (Berkeley: North Point Press, 1985), 284. This is in agreement with the entry in Ding Fubao, *Foxue dacidian*, 524, s.v. 曹洞五位.

¹⁴² Given the heavily Buddhist laden contexts of this passage I am translating *yi* 意 as "mind" rather than "intention" or "meaning." Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 400, s.v. 意.

¹⁴³ Chuan Lao 川老 was a Chan Teacher who wrote a commentary to the *Diamond Sutra*.

¹⁴⁴ This phrase is found in a Ming dynasty commentary on the *Diamond Sutra*. *Jingang jing buzhu*. Xuzang jing, 92/506.

Teacher said: Why refer to “this?”

I gave a shout.

Teacher said: The prison¹⁴⁵ receives and selects.

Teacher said: What is the Way?

I struck the bottom of the [lecture] platform.

Again [Teacher] said: What is a person within the Way?

I struck once more.

Teacher said: Not quite.

I then gave a shout.

Teacher said: Still not quite it.¹⁴⁶

[Heian] asked saying: “Thirty spokes share one hub.”¹⁴⁷ What do [you] say [concerning this]?

Teacher said: The spokes and the hub are simply the [3b] substance of a tool. The spokes come together [at the] hub and the function of the cart is complete. It can be compared to thirty days together [comprising] a month thereby completing the function of [the sun and moon’s] brightness. It can also be compared to the myriad dharmas returning to emptiness and thereby completing the function of Nature. All are the same.

[Heian] asked saying: “The comrades of life are thirteen. The comrades of death are thirteen.”¹⁴⁸ As for the accounts and illustrations of this they are many. Will Teacher please set it straight for me?

¹⁴⁵ Lao 牢 “prison” can refer to one of the forms of deluded mind. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 242, s.v. 牢.

¹⁴⁶ This is a tentative translation. Literally the phrase reads “Early and late eight quarter hours.” 早遲八刻.

¹⁴⁷ *Daode jing*, section 11.

Teacher said: The comrades of life are fire and water being mutually supportive. The comrades of death are fire and water being in mutual conflict. Water's number of completion is six. Fire's number of completion is seven. Six and seven together [make] the number thirteen. The ancients said seven and six are thirteen. As for the joyful countenance of the moon palace it is this. As for some who speak of the seven emotions and the six desires together being thirteen, [in this] there is little understanding. As for some taking the eight trigrams and the five phases to explain it, [this] is wrong. Have they not heard that the scripture below says: "The hard and unyielding are followers of death. The soft and yielding are followers of life?"¹⁴⁹ The hard and unyielding [4a] cause anger and desire while the soft and yielding are said to correct anger and block desires. If anger and desires arise then flames are made to rise and the moisture to sink. [This] is fire and water in opposition. If anger and desire are cut off then *Yang* descends and *Yin* ascends, which is fire and water supporting [each other]. Why have further doubts?

[Heian] asked: "Between sky and earth it is like a bellows; hollow and yet not exhausted. When moved more comes forth."¹⁵⁰ This bellows can thereby establish the wonders of sky and earth's transformations. I beseech Teacher by means of [your] understanding to explain this.

Teacher said: This pipe is not a lowly bag-pipe it is chief of the three-holed flutes. It is called "Wind-rousing Bellows." It is symbolic of the wondrous meaning of the supreme emptiness of sky and earth that comprehends everything within it. It also

¹⁴⁸ I have chosen to follow Henricks reading of this quotation from section 50 of the *Daode jing* in which he translates 十有三 as "thirteen" rather than "three out of ten." See his comments and notes for a well-reasoned argument for making such a choice. Henricks, *Te Tao Ching*, 122. It is clear that Li Daochun also agrees with this reading.

¹⁴⁹ *Daode jing*, section 76.

¹⁵⁰ *Daode jing*, section 5.

symbolizes the empty intelligence of human beings that is non-obscuring. Not [needing to] exhaust words it lays out the meaning with ease. In motion more and more comes forth, responding to transformations without limit.

[Heian] asked: What do you say regarding dawn *tun* 屯, and dusk *meng* 蒙?¹⁵¹

Teacher said: [If the hexagrams] *qian* 乾, *kun* 坤, *kan* 坎, and *li* 離 are regulated [4b] and expansive then the sixty hexagrams will cyclically transform in their midst. [The cycle] begins at *tun* and *meng* and ends at *ji* 既 and *wei* 未 and [these are] taken to be the pattern of the fire tally. As for the elixir books taking *qian* and *kun* to be the reaction vessel, *kan* and *li* to be the medical substance and all the hexagrams as the workings of transformation—this is so. The sixty hexagrams together [comprise] three hundred and sixty lines in imitation of the number of days—three hundred and sixty in one year. From the [time] following the winter solstice *tun* and *meng* arise. The day when the great snows are exhausted is *ji* 既 and *wei* 未. If one uses a single month to explain this then the first day *tun* and *meng* arise and the last day of the month is *ji wei*. If one uses a single day to explain it then at the hour of *zi* (11-1am), *tun* and *meng* arise. The hour of *huai* 亥 (9-11pm) is *ji wei*. If one uses the [period of] work (cultivation) to explain it then [among] the [various] increments [when] work [is carried out], seize upon the time period of a single year. [The period] from the commencement of the work then, would be *tun* and *meng*. The [period of] gathering in such a case would be *ji wei*. That which is called dawning *tun*, and dusk *meng* is simply a general name for [all of] this. As for those who understand this Pattern [they will] benefit. Therein the calculations of the cycles are

¹⁵¹ *Zhao* 朝 (dawn) and *mu* 暮 (dusk) are allusions to the moments of transition represented by the changeover from pure *yin* to the waxing of *yang* and from pure *yang* to the waxing of *yin*.

complete. [5a] The patriarchal teachers who speak of internally establishing *qian* and *kun* without lines or hexagrams [are speaking about] this.

[Heian] asked: What do you say concerning “Within the precious bottle nourish the golden goose?”

Teacher said: If we use “without form” (*wu* 無) to explain it there is a pair of koans. If we use “having form” (*you* 有) to explain it, it is a period of work.¹⁵² Now let us first use “without form” to give this question just consideration:

A monk asked Zhaozhou: Does a dog have Buddha Nature or not?

Zhou said: It has.

The monk said: Why does it have [Buddha Nature]?

Zhou said: It lacks [Buddha Nature].

The monk said: Why does it lack [Buddha Nature]?

Zhou said: In order to understand “lacking.”¹⁵³

Also, an ancient worthy said: “[If there is] a goose egg inside a bottle, once it becomes a goose how is it to escape from the bottle?” Concerning this pair of koans many of our contemporaries are unable to get to the bottom [of their meaning]. If someone attains a transmitted phrase [such as this he should] consider and study the matter [to its] end. Further [now], if we use “having” to explain it then the dog is “having form” within “lacking form,” *Yang* within *yin*. Moreover, the dog is Minister of Crime within his tent. The dog is a guardian against inner bandits.¹⁵⁴ Nourishing the golden

¹⁵² Li is referring here to the period of time during which the sacred foetus is formed in the adept. This becomes clear later on in this passage.

¹⁵³ This well-known koan by Chan master Zhaozhou congshen 趙州從諗 (778-897), is the first koan in the collection entitled *Chanzong wunmen guan*, T48/2005/292. Li Daochun has altered this text or is quoting it from a different source. The original koan reads: 趙州和尚因僧問。狗子還有佛性。也無。州云無。

¹⁵⁴ Li provides no clarification concerning this allusion. However, he refers to “five thieves” (*wuze* 五賊) in his commentary on the *Yinfu jing* in the third and final section of his *Santian yisui*, TY249, DZ 119. There he explains the “five thieves” as they occur in the Natural Order (*tian* 天) as five forms of *qi* that both give rise to the myriad things of the world and plunder (*dao* 盜) them. He also explains that this plundering

goose within the precious bottle is [5b] metal within water. It is the elixir within the stove. Nourishing the golden goose then, is nourishing the sacred foetus. Completion of sacred foetus is like the goose egg within the bottle. The departure of the goose [after] the bottle breaks is the constant pattern of the ordinary course of things. If the goose departs and yet the bottle does not break, this is the wonder of shedding the womb.¹⁵⁵ Therefore the patriarchal teachers say: "Within the brocade tent is hidden the jade dog. Within the precious bottle is nourished the golden goose." Ah! This is the wonder of the Golden Elixir.

[Heian] asked: "Divorcing [your] wife and rudely banishing [her, merely causes] *yin* and *yang* to separate."¹⁵⁶

Teacher said: Ziyang¹⁵⁷ said, "If you have not yet attained the true lead then do not go and hide in the mountains."¹⁵⁸ The meaning of this sentence is somewhat similar. Those who study the Way in present times are deceived [through the] influence of [their] teachers [who merely] transmit methods of work and then tell them they have attained an understanding of the Way. Separated from their wives and children renunciates enter the mountains to hide away. When they practice [but achieve] no fulfillment then regrets arise and some return to lay life and to their families while some take a wife again. [6a]

force (*daoji* 盜機) exists within the individual. *Santian yisui*, 10a. The *Wuzhen pian*, 27.15b, contains a single reference to "five thieves" (*wuze* 五賊), employing a different character for 'thief' from that used by Li (*dao* 盜). One of the commentaries suggests that the five thieves are the five phases. *Wuzhen pian*, 27.15b; another suggests that the five organs (*wuzang* 五臟) are the five thieves *Wuzhen pian zhushi*, TY145, DZ65, zhong, 16a. The fact that the five phases and the five internal organs are correlated may nullify any apparent discrepancy here. A third explanation offered is that thieves are: desire, lust, covetousness, anger, and foolishness. *Wuzhen pian sanzhu*, 3.18b.

¹⁵⁵ See note 304 for an explanation of *tuotai* 脫胎 translated here as "shedding the womb."

¹⁵⁶ This quotation is taken from a section of the *Wuzhen pian* in which false methods of cultivation are being criticized. In addition to leaving one's wife, cutting off grains, ingesting various medicinal substances, and breathing exercises are also included. *Wuzhen pian*, 26.30b.

¹⁵⁷ Ziyang 紫陽 is the style of Zhang Boduan.

¹⁵⁸ This is actually a misquotation of the original phrase which reads, "If you have not yet refined the restorative elixir then do not go and hide in the mountains." *Wuzhen pian*, 27.5a.

There are many people like this. Further, there are low, stupid uneducated people who do not understand the Pattern of the sages and yet claim that separation from one's wife is not the Way. On the contrary, they point to the wife, as being the reaction vessel. Some say that the medicine is within the body of one's wife. Some point to the gate of production (vagina) as the place of the body's birth. This is the Way of great recklessness. They really do not know that the patriarchal teachers have undertaken to come and instruct humanity. If people are unable to cut off desires, separating from their wives will be in vain. [Furthermore, one can] see that students are confused concerning its meaning. Thus they repeatedly say, spontaneously the reaction vessel cooks the dragon and tiger. So why must one assume the burden of a household and dote on one's children and wife? Now without study they merely fix on the former phrase above [while] failing completely to reflect on the latter. Truly they are sinful people.

[Heian] asked: My teacher has said that those who cultivate the elixir must not fix upon years, months, days, and hours. Why do you yet also say that in gathering the medicine [one] must know about dusk and dawn?

Teacher said: It shares the same meaning as *dun* and *meng* though the situation of their functioning is slightly different. The establishing of spring and the establishing of autumn are dusk and dawn within a year. [6b] The rising and falling crescent [moons] are dusk and dawn with a month. The two [double] hours *yin* 寅 (3-5am) and *shen* 申 (3-5pm) are dusk and dawn with a day. The time of *yin* and *yang*'s meeting is dusk and dawn within the body. If [you] can comprehend the way of night and day then [you] will understand the Pattern of *yin* and *yang*'s interaction. If [you] investigate the causes of

light and dark then you will know the explanation for death and life. The great essentials of the Buddhas, Immortals, and Sages all rest in this!

[Heian] asked: [concerning],

Look at it and you will not see it;
It is named "rarefied."
Listen for it and you will not hear it;
It is named "smooth."
Touch it and you will not attain it;
It is named "subtle."¹⁵⁹

and

Looking you do not see yourself;
Listening you do not hear.
Departing from the various biases;
[This] is named the wondrous Way.¹⁶⁰

Is the [meaning of these two] the same or different?

Teacher said: Generally they [share] a mutual similarity but their principles are really not the same. The former is the substance while the latter is the function. The *Doctrine of the Mean* says:

¹⁵⁹ *Daode jing*, section 14. The above translation represents an attempt to employ the meaning of *xi* 希 ("rarefied") and *yi* 夷 ("level" or "smooth") rather than simply summarizing the definition given in each preceding line. This is how Wing-tsit Chan translates the above lines. Wing-tsit Chan, *A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 146. Chan's approach has the merit of making the text easily understandable but it ignores the fact that the order of characters in this section of the received edition has probably been changed. The Mawangdui text uses *wei* 微 ("minute" or "subtle") rather than *yi* 夷 to describe what cannot be seen and uses *yi* 夷 ("level" or "smooth") to describe what can be touched but not attained (held). This order makes more sense of the terms as they are defined in the translation above. Thus I have chosen to translate the terms rather than adjusting them to fit the changed word order found in the received version of the text.

¹⁶⁰ The source of this quotation has proved impossible to determine. The phrase 視不見我，聽不得聞，離種種邊，名為妙道 can be found verbatim in a commentary on the *Heart Sutra*. The commentary is found at <<http://www.chinapage.com/zen/xinjin99.html>> and accompanies the text of the *Maha banruo boluo miduo xinjing*, T8/251. This version is attributed to the Buddhist monk and prolific translator of texts, Xuan Zang 玄奘, (600-664). The commentary, which does not accompany any of the canonical versions of the *Heart Sutra*, is attributed to one Songxu daoren 松溪道人. The phrase above is identified as a quotation from a Taoist source though that source is not given.

Therefore the Superior Man is cautious in the place where he is not seen, and apprehensive in the place where he is not heard. Nothing is more visible than the hidden, and nothing is more apparent than the subtle. Therefore the Superior Man is [constantly] cautious when he is alone.¹⁶¹

Accordingly, the situation of looking but not seeing oneself, the situation of listening but not being able to hear, [7a] and abandoning various biases is then called the wondrous Way.¹⁶² Suppose one says that looking at it but not being able to see; listening to it but not being able to hear; touching it but not being able to attain it are called “rarefied,” “smooth” and “subtle” then are there also various biases that can be parted from?

Yin Yule 印愚樂 asked: The twelve months of the year have a *zi* 子 month. The twelve (double) hours of a day have *zi* hour (11pm-1am). [I] do not know where the *zi* hour resides in the human body.

Teacher said:

Bring about the pinnacle of stillness.
Guard the sincerity of stillness.
The myriad things arise together and
Thereby observe their return.¹⁶³

Is it this you speak of?

[Yin] answered: When *gui* 癸 is produced [with the] movement of time it will certainly overflow. What do you say concerning this?¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ I defer here to Charles Muller’s translation of this passage, which is generally in agreement with those offered by Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 384 and Chan, *Chinese Philosophy*, 98. See Charles Muller, <<http://www.human.toyogakuen-u.ac.jp/~acmuller/contao/docofmean.htm>>.

¹⁶² It is obvious that Li Daochun reads this quotation from the *Doctrine of the Mean* more literally as: [The accomplished man] guards against and is cautious concerning what he does not see. [He is] apprehensive and fearful concerning what he does not hear. Concerning what is not seen it is hidden. Concerning what is not manifest it is subtle. Therefore the accomplished man is constantly cautious when alone.

¹⁶³ *Daode jing*, section 16. This verse has been translated in a way that retains the relationship between the first and second pair of lines. It is by achieving the meditative state described in the first two lines that “thereby” (yi 以) one can witness the “return” of the myriad things to unity.

Teacher said: Just so.

Yin again asked saying: In the primordial beginning a precious pearl is suspended fifty feet from the earth?

Teacher said: What does the young gentleman have to say?

Yin said: Five is a *yang* number.

Teacher said: No. If you are fifty feet from the earth then this [means] to be parted from the defilement of the five turbidities.¹⁶⁵ If one resides in empty darkness then this is the hidden spirit entering [7b] the wondrous.

[Yin] replied: Is being above the five turbidities the Mysterious Female?

Teacher said: Although it is so, if genuine effort is not applied then [you] will not personally see it. It is [then just] vain talk about attainment having this form. Furthermore, what affair could you complete?

[A disciple] asked:

Sky and earth are not benevolent;
They take the myriad things to be straw dogs.
The sage is not benevolent;
He takes the hundred names (the people) to be straw dogs.¹⁶⁶

Why such a lowly comparison?

¹⁶⁴ Yin Yule is speaking here about the production of later realm (*houtian* 後天) water in the kidneys referred to as *gui* 癸, the tenth celestial stem (*tiangan* 天干) that corresponds to water in the five phases (*wuxing* 五行). This is synonymous with the form of *jing* 精 that supports reproduction. Within this later realm form of the “water” is the earlier realm form (*xiantian* 先天) known as *ren* 壬. The adept attempts to “gather” the *ren* water from within the *gui* water. This can only happen if stillness is maintained in the body so that the *gui* water will not overflow and be lost outside the body. This amounts to keeping sexual and other depleting desires in check. *Ren* and *gui* are referred to in the *Wuzhen pian*, 26.17a.

¹⁶⁵ The *wuzhuo* 五濁 are a set of defilements associated with the mortal realm. 1. The *kalpa* in decay when it suffers deterioration that gives rise to form; 2. Deterioration of view, egoism, etc.; 3. The passions and delusions of desire, anger, stupidity, pride, and doubt; 4. As a consequence human misery increases and happiness decreases; 5. The human lifespan decreases to ten years. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 122, s.v. 五濁.

¹⁶⁶ *Daode jing*, section 5.

Teacher said: The sky and earth and the sages do not take benevolence to be benevolence. Therefore viewing the myriad things and the one hundred names as extremely insignificant, they suppose them to be naturally produced and naturally extinguished. Though naturally produced and naturally extinguished really they are [alternately] returning to the root and [then] being restored to life. The *Appendix to the Changes* says: "Manifesting in benevolence; concealed in function. Rousing the myriad things and not sharing the sage's sorrow."¹⁶⁷ This is the meaning of "sky and earth are not humane; they take the myriad things to be straw dogs." "*Qian* through its admirable beneficence benefits all under the sky. [One cannot] say what it benefits. It is great!"¹⁶⁸ This is [the meaning of] "The sage is not benevolent; he takes the one hundred family names to be straw dogs."

[A disciple] asked: "The baby is not yet a child."¹⁶⁹ Mengzi said: "As for the Great Person, they have not lost the child's mind." Do these [two quotations] share [the same meaning] or not?

Teacher said: [They] share [the same meaning]. These say that their great simplicity is not yet scattered and thus, their return is not far away.

[A disciple] asked: Laozi said:

The Way as a thing is indistinct, is unclear;
Indistinct and unclear.
Within it there are things;
Unclear and indistinct.
Within it there are forms;
Deep and dark.
Within it there is an essence;
This essence is very real;
Within it there is proof.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/77/20.

¹⁶⁸ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 1/3/4-5. Li does not include *shi neng* 始能 in his quoting of this passage.

¹⁶⁹ *Daode jing*, section 20.

Why is it that among the three (things, forms, and essence) is it only said that essence is very real and that within it is proof?

Teacher said: The sage (Laozi) is speaking about the formation of things prior to the birth of sky and earth. Accordingly this [state] prior to the birth of sky and earth simply is the Way's manifesting of forms. The forms [then] cause the manifesting of sky and earth. Sky and earth [then] cause there to be things formed. Things [then] cause **[8b]** "the essence of the two [forms] (*yin* and *yang*) and five [phases in their] wondrous uniting to congeal."¹⁷¹ That which is the essence of the two [forms] and five [phases] is the substance of the Way. Forms and things are the function of the Way.

[A disciple] asked: [Concerning] the verse "[The Superior Man is] cautious in the place where he is not seen . . ."¹⁷² and the four phrases [associated with] "Looking you do not see yourself;"¹⁷³ how are these illustrations related? If [you would] simply use the language of the Ru school to draw out [these] illustrations and obtain the [nature of their] relationship that would be best. I desire that Teacher provide an account.

Teacher said: The former couple of phrases [from the *Doctrine of the Mean* imply that] if you are in a place where there are no people around, constantly preserve [yourself] in integrity. The latter couplet [from the commentary on the *Heart Sutra* implies that] if you are with people [in your dealings] towards them

¹⁷⁰ *Daode jing*, section 21. The order of the lines has been rearranged somewhat.

¹⁷¹ Here Li is quoting from Zhou Dunyi's 周敦頤 (1017-73) *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained*. Zhou Dunyi, *Taiji tu shuo*, in *Zhouzi quanshu*, vol. 44 of *Guoxue jiben congshu*, ed. Wang Yunwu (Taipei: Taiwan shangwuyin shuguan gufenyouxian gongsi, 1968), 3.

¹⁷² This phrase from the *Doctrine of the Mean* was quoted earlier. *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6b. See footnote 161 above.

¹⁷³ See footnote 160 for the reference to this phrase. The complete four-line verse is translated on page 59 above.

constantly defend your unfathomable mind.¹⁷⁴ Moreover this is like “The workings of the exalted Natural Order are without sound and without smell,”¹⁷⁵ and “The impossibility of concealing integrity.”¹⁷⁶ [Can we] not perceive the secrets of the hidden, manifest, and the minute? Though the workings of the exalted Natural Order are without sound and without smell they can be heard and understood. Being so the Pattern of the Natural Order is luminous. Integrity is impossible to conceal.

[9a] [A disciple] asked: What do you say about “As for grief and anxieties, preserve [yourself] in the resolute”¹⁷⁷

Teacher said: “resolute” refers to my mind, which is not like a stone; it cannot be turned over. Whenever [you are in the] situation of the mind being roused and the thoughts being restless, foremost is preservation of your self in resoluteness. If [you are] resolutely in Great Meditative Concentration then the movement of [even] the tiniest hair [becomes] an omen. How could there be grief? [You] must simply put realization first as the highest [end].

[A disciple] asked: Are “Preceding the *jia* 甲 day by three days and following the *jia* day by three days,”¹⁷⁸ the same as “Preceding the *geng* 庚 day by three days and following the *geng* day by three days,” or not?¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ Given the context *yi* 意 is translated here as “mind” to accommodate its broader Buddhist implications. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 400, s.v. 意.

¹⁷⁵ This is a quotation from the *Book of Odes*. It constitutes the second last line in the final stanza of ode 235 titled “King Wen” (Wenwang 文王). Legge, *The She Ching in Chinese Classics*, vol 4, 431. The same passage is also quoted in the *Zhongyong* which, given Li’s familiarity with this text, may have been the source from which he is quoting. Legge, *The Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 433.

¹⁷⁶ Legge, *The Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 398.

¹⁷⁷ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/77/9. This quotation has been translated to accord with Li’s reading of the phrase. As such it departs significantly from the standard reading provided by Wang Bi. Lynn, *I Ching*, 51, for example, renders this sentence as “The means to make one anxious about regret and remorse depend on the subtle, intermediate stages.” Lynn’s reading is in agreement with that of Shaughnessy, *I Ching*, 191. The different readings turn on the key character, *jie* 介, which Li is reading as “resolute” but which Wang Bi glosses as “small matters.”

Teacher said: [They] are not the same. The [internal] worms are [inner] turmoil. If you become aware of them before they exist you will not arrive at [inner] turmoil. If you become aware of them [when they] already exist and yet afterwards control them [you] can still be saved from [inner] turmoil. [If you are] fail to become aware [of them] there will be extreme [inner] turmoil. *Jia* is [the] first [celestial stem]. If one [achieves] realization before three days [are up] this is called prior to *jia*. If one [achieves] realization after three days [are up] this is called after *jia*. A duration later than three days is not realization. "Prior to *geng*; after *geng*,"¹⁸⁰ is at nine in the fifth of [the hexagram] *xun* 巽. *Xun* is [9b] wind and the command of the Natural Order. If the command is [subject to] alteration then the people will not trust it. Daily to trust: Suppose earlier [when there has been] no change, [if] prior to three days [the people] are warned of [impending] benefit or harm, and if being so, afterwards they have the means to be rid of [the uncertainty of] change and then the people will follow along and trust it (the command). Further, having already changed, after three days to again give warning will cause them to be joyful which is good. *Jia* arriving at *wuji* 戊己 is the centre.¹⁸¹ *Geng* is going beyond equilibrium. If [one] goes beyond equilibrium then there is transformation. Therefore it is called *geng*. What is referred to as *geng*, [has] the meaning of "getting rid of."

¹⁷⁸ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 18/23/3.

¹⁷⁹ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 57/68/9. *Jia* 甲 and *geng* 庚 are the first and seventh of the celestial stems (*tiangan* 天干). They correspond with wood and metal respectively. The translation used here is based on that of Shaughnessy, *I Ching*, 151.

¹⁸⁰ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 57/68/9. Li is simply indicating here where in the *Yijing* the quoted line appears.

¹⁸¹ *Wu* 戊 and *ji* 己 are the fifth and sixth of the ten celestial stems and together correspond with the earth phase of the five phases. When the five phases are correlated with the directions earth corresponds to the centre.

Teacher said: “Not the Way” and “[What] cannot be spoken of is the Way.”

What do you have to say [about this]? Speak quickly! Speak quickly!

I would put forward the same [notion of] how it is as my Teacher.

Teacher said: “Cannot be spoken of,” and “[What] cannot be named.” Sir, what statement can you make [about this]?

[The disciple] answered: If [I] speak [it will merely be] speech. [I] fear that [my] perception is shallow [and so] beseech my teacher to speak about this.

Teacher said: That which spontaneously emerges is the Way that cannot be spoken of. [It is] fundamentally nameless. It is the unnamable name. That which emerges from within the Way is the way that can be spoken of, the way that can be named; it is the name that can be named. [What] cannot be spoken of and cannot be named is the beginning of sky and earth. [What] can be spoken of and can be named is the mother of the myriad things. [If you] want to see [this] beginning “be constantly without desires and thereby [you] will observe its wonders.”¹⁸² [If you] want to see [the] mother “constantly have desires and thereby [you] will observe its boundaries.”¹⁸³ The wonder of profound mystery begins in the beginningless. The outer edges of boundaries are seen in what is visible. “This pair together emerges and yet they have different names. [What they] share in is called profound.”¹⁸⁴

Teacher said: Formerly, one day I sat before my teacher Shian 適庵¹⁸⁵ and he commanded me to consider a phrase. He said, “essence pass, spirit pass, *qi* pass.

¹⁸² *Daode jing*, section 1.

¹⁸³ *Daode jing*, section 1.

¹⁸⁴ This section is a commentary on the opening verse of the *Daode jing*. This quotation and the previous two are all taken from that verse.

¹⁸⁵ Attempts to determine the identity of this teacher have thus far yielded nothing. All of the secondary sources consulted list only Wang Jinchan 王金蟾 as Li Daochun's primary teacher. Wang was a disciple of

Three passes one hub.” I replied saying, “The pipe of the sky, the pipe of earth, and the pipe of humanity. The myriad pipes together sing.” My teacher corrected the character ‘sing’ by writing the character ‘clear’. Sir, what do you, make of this?

[The disciple] answered: To the civil fire and martial fire¹⁸⁶ add the fire of wisdom. Together [these] fires complete the work.

Teacher again said: I have a pair: By means of earlier realization awaken to later realization. What do you make of this?

[The disciple] answered: Proceed from outer observation to contemplate inner observation.

Teacher said: It would be better to change the character ‘proceed from’ to the character ‘go back from’.

On the evening of the winter solstice Teacher said: A single *yang* returns. “Former kings, on account of the solstice, closed the passes.”¹⁸⁷ What [do you say] concerning this?

[The disciple] responded saying: Six lines complete [the hexagram] *kun* 坤 and thus the superior man conducts affairs according to the seasons.¹⁸⁸

Teacher assented to this.

the famous thunder ritualist and inner alchemy master Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194-1229?). [See Boltz, *Taoist Literature*, 318, n.456 for information on Bai’s dates.] Shian 適庵 is not listed among the names of Bai’s disciples and there is no evidence that Shian is an alternate name of Wang Jinchuan.

¹⁸⁶ Li Daochun does not define these terms in any of his texts and they do not appear in the texts compiled by his disciples. Bai Yuchan defines them in *Haichan quandao ji*, 7a. There the martial fire is described as the “driving out the various thoughts while expending effort in the [cultivation of] *jing* and *shen*.” The civil fire is defined as “In concentrating *qi* apply softness and contain the brightness [in] silence. [When] slowly heating up do not cease [applying] softness [in] preserving [it].”

¹⁸⁷ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 24/29/27. This passage is found in the commentary on the *fu* 復 hexagram.

¹⁸⁸ This line paraphrases part of the commentary on the hexagram *qian* 乾. *Zhouyi suoyin*, 1/2/18.

One day Teacher said to a gathering [of disciples]: The former sages changed their minds. Now [you] heirs [to the sages] mind the changes (of the *Yijing*). Everyone was invited to respond.

[A disciple responded] saying: The spirit and *qi* of my body originally were the *qi* of the primordial beginning.

Shen Zhanzai 神詹宰 said: The true nature of the beginning, could it fail to be the Nature [we possess] today?

Teacher said: I naturally have a response.

Everyone listened attentively.

Teacher said: The origin of the corpus of lesser scriptures produced by later generations¹⁸⁹ is the same as Laozi's scriptural corpus.

None of the people [present] were able to reach [the meaning of this statement].

Teacher said: The lungs correspond to metal. Metal originally sinks. On account of [11a] what is it yet able to float? The liver corresponds with wood. Wood originally floats. On account of what is it yet able to sink?

No one had an answer.

Teacher said: The lungs being caused to receive *qi* have *yi* 乙 wood located within and so it floats. The liver being caused to receive *qi* has *geng* 庚 metal located within and so it sinks.¹⁹⁰ If we use the hexagrams to explain it then the hexagram *dui* 兌 is metal. The nature of metal is originally to sink. If metal is

¹⁸⁹ *Xiaosheng* 小生 is translated according to the definition in the *Ciyuan*: 稱後輩, 含輕蔑意.

¹⁹⁰ Here Li is including the Celestial Stems in his description. Five of the stems are associated with the five phases. The correlations can also be to pairs of stems.

caused to produce the water of northern one this is the hexagram *kan* 坎. The true fire within *kan* flares upward and so it floats. The hexagram *zhen* 震 is wood and the nature of wood is originally to float. If *zhen*'s lower solid [line] causes wood to produce the fire of southern two this is the hexagram *li* 離. The true water within *li* descends and so it sinks. If we use the medicinal substance to explain it, lead is associated with metal and originally sinks; manifesting fire it ascends and so it floats. Mercury is associated with wood and fundamentally floats; manifesting water it then falls downward and so it sinks. If we use the imitation of images to explain it the moon is associated with *kan* 坎 and originally sinks; [by] advancing the fire it is caused to float. The sun is associated with *li* 離 and originally floats; [by means of the] retreating tally it is caused to sink. The elder (Zhang Boduan) said: "The sun glows red at the bottom of the pool and *yin* mysteriously disappears."¹⁹¹ Because of water it (the sun) sinks. "The moon over the mountain top is white and the medicine [11b] flourishes anew."¹⁹² Because of *qi* it (the moon) floats. To give a general explanation of it, if metal is empty then it will float and if wood is solid then it will sink. This explains it.

Teacher said: Host within the host; guest within the guest; host within the guest; guest within the host. What do you all understand [of this]? [Can] none of you explain this process?

¹⁹¹ *Wuzhen pian*, 26.21a.

¹⁹² *Wuzhen pian*, 26.21a. Weng Baoguang explains that the imagery in these two lines describes the two principal ingredients of the inner alchemist: lead and mercury. The commentary explains that the redness of the sun at the bottom of the pool is *yang* within *yin* and the whiteness of the moon over the mountaintop is *yin* within *yang*. *Ziyang zhenren wuzhe pian zhushu*, TY141, DZ 61-62, 3.5b.

Chanzai said: The body outside the body is the host within the host. The dream within a dream is the guest within the guest. Nature within the emotions is the host within the guest. Emotions within the nature are the guest within the host.

Teacher said: A little more.

He answered: Self only has I. [As for] the other, do away with speaking of the other. [It is the coming of] the other that causes the [notion of] self. The "I" furthermore serves [to reify] the other. This is what it means.

Teacher said: [You] have not yet penetrated [the meaning].

He answered: Further, the mind beyond no mind is host within the host. Thoughts arising within thoughts are the guest within the guest. Former realization prior to movement is the host within the guest. Later realization after movement is the guest within the host.

Teacher said: No. If you use motion and stillness to explain it you will come very close to it. The apex of stillness within stillness [12a] is the host within the host. Movement and further movement is guest within the guest. Within movement to preserve [internal] stability is the host within the guest. Within stillness to banish [internal] disorder is the guest within the host.

Teacher said: *Qian* 乾 has four virtues. How many virtues does *kun* 坤 have?

Someone answered: *Kun* also has four virtues.

Teacher said: [You] have not yet exhausted [the matter] entirely. Now [in the case of] *kun*, "primordial," "pervading," and "benefiting," are the same [virtues]

as *qian* but the single character 'upright' is not the same.¹⁹³ "Following along" and "receptive," then "upright."¹⁹⁴ Therefore it is said to be the uprightness of the mare. It is called the constant motion of the mare's "receptivity" and "following along."

Teacher said: How many virtues does *dun* 屯 have?

Someone answered: "Primordial," "pervading," "benefiting," and "upright" which are the same as [the virtues of] *qian*.¹⁹⁵ If it shirks its virtue then they are not the same.

Teacher said: Why [do you] say they are not the same?

I reflected on it but could not respond.

Teacher said: If they are not the same virtues then it is not the difficulty of *dun*. As for what is termed "primordial" and "pervading" they have the meanings of "primordial" being great and "pervading" being penetrating. As for "benefiting" and "upright," benefiting rests in the strength of uprightness. If one lacks the strength of uprightness then [the benefits will be] insufficient for escaping the tribulations of *dun*! [12b] How could there be "upright?" If one is able to secure and preserve primordially existing uprightness then in the end one will be able to relieve the tribulations of *dun*.

Teacher said: The southwest obtains a partner. The northeast loses a partner.

What do you say [concerning this]?

I reflected upon it [but] could not answer.

¹⁹³ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 1/1/4. Li is referring to the opening line of the *Yijing* that describes the hexagram *qian*. In the description of *kun* the same four "virtues" are listed though the final one, "upright," is qualified as the uprightness of the mare. *Zhouyi suoyin*, 2/3/21.

¹⁹⁴ Li appears to be following the commentary attached to the hexagram *kun*. The qualities of "receptiveness" and "according with" or "following along" are there associated with the female horse. *Zhouyi suoyin*, 2/3/21-27.

¹⁹⁵ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 3/5/15.

Teacher laughed and said: Sir [you] do not understand it. Now if the *yin* kind again attains a *yin* partner the *yin qi* will be excessive. If it flourishes then there will be excessive delusion and disorder. Therefore we say, “lost constancy.”

Arriving at the seat of *yang* [in] the northeast, if again it loses its *yin* partner then by way of this the good fortune of uprightness is established. [With] *yin* then following *yang* there will be the production of the principle of completion. Therefore we say, “constancy attained.” [For] the scholar who cultivates the real, the initial movement of thoughts and emotions is *yin*. If the intention is allowed to follow it (the movement) then this is *yin* attaining a partner. This also is called losing constancy. If by hardening the will they are cut off, from where will thoughts arise? If emotions are cut off then [this] is [*yin*] losing its partner. This is also called attaining constancy. “If it were not the perfect understanding of all under the sky who would be capable of participating in [13a] this?”¹⁹⁶

Teacher said: The six lines of [the hexagram] *qian* 謙 (modest) are all auspicious. Why is that so?

[Someone] answered: It proceeds from the application of this modesty.

Teacher said: [Yes] it is so. [The commentary on] each of [this hexagram’s] lines speaks of modesty (*qian* 謙) except for the fifth line. Why is that? Now [line] five makes [the claim] that if the lord is not excessive in his modesty he will not lose his authority. Therefore there is the statement: “It is beneficial to quell

¹⁹⁶ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/19. This quotation from the “Appended Statements” section of the *Yijing* includes a single change: The word ‘understanding’ (*ming* 明) has replaced the word ‘essence’ (*jing* 精) found in the original. The translation of this sentence draws on that of Shaughnessy, *I Ching*, 197.

rebellion and attack; [thus] there will not fail to be benefit.”¹⁹⁷ Hence, the scholar who cultivates the real must ensure that hard and soft are equally complete and must not be excessive in softness.

Teacher said: “[In the] earlier realm the Natural Order is not opposed. [In the] later realm the seasons of the Natural Order are respectfully accepted.”¹⁹⁸ Why is [this]?

[Someone] replied: [The state] prior to things being produced is the earlier realm. Therefore there is nothing that can oppose. [The state] after things have been produced is the later realm. Therefore there is something [that one can] respectfully accept.

Teacher said: Simply regarding earlier realization as an illustration, the earlier realm emerges out of spontaneity. [With] later realization as an illustration, the later realm emerges out of obligation.¹⁹⁹ Emerging out of spontaneity the Pattern of the Natural Order is not opposed. Emerging out of [13b] obligation I do not dare be in opposition to the Natural Order. Therefore it is said, “The seasons of the Natural Order are respectfully accepted.”

¹⁹⁷ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 16/21/13.

¹⁹⁸ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 1/3/15. This quotation is taken from a passage included under the *qian* 乾 hexagram that describes the actions of the “great man.” Lynn renders this sentence very differently as “When he precedes Heaven, Heaven is not contrary to him, and when he follows Heaven, he obeys the timing of its moments.” Lynn, *I Ching*, 138. It is apparent though that in Li’s discussion he is reading *xiantian* 先天 and *houtian* 後天 as binomes according to the conventions of inner alchemy terminology. I have elected to follow his reading to maintain the flow of the translation. The quotation in question is: 天下而天弗違，后天而奉天時。

¹⁹⁹ This translation is somewhat tentative and the reason for these illustrations is unclear. Generally in inner alchemy the earlier realm (*xiantian* 先天) is associated with a state of existence prior to division and the creation of individuated forms. In such a state of realization one would naturally accord with the flow of the Natural Order (*Tian* 天). In the later realm (*houtian* 後天) division has occurred and the individual forms, including people, have no choice or are “obliged” to follow along with the course of all things with the inevitable consequence of gradual decay and finally, death.

Teacher said: “[When] joy, anger, sorrow, and pleasure have not yet come forth it is called centered. [When] they come forth and yet are all balanced then it is called harmony.”²⁰⁰ I will test you sir [by] asking [you to] compare: “Desires having come forth” and “not yet having come forth.” How do these arise?

It took some time [for the disciple] to respond to this.

Teacher said: [Desires] have already come forth.

I was silent.

Teacher said: [Desires] have not yet come forth.

Responding once again teacher spoke like this saying: In transmitting this practice that I myself received, I fear the blindness of my successors’ eyes. As for those who are self-awakened they have begun to be able to practice [what I have taught].

²⁰⁰ Legge, *The Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 384.

2.4 Dialogic Treatise of Qingan Yingchan zi (Chapter 2)

[1a] Compiled by disciple Dingan Zhao Daoke.²⁰¹

2.4.a Mind-essentials of the Way and Virtue

When Qingan gave his *Corpus on the Tao and Virtue*²⁰² to Daoke all the disciples together were saturated with the Dharma-milk and gathered together points on the scripture that is beyond words. Presently [our teacher] commanded all of [us] gentlemen to gather together an anthology on [these] transmitted sayings [so that they would be] complete in a single chapter and to distribute [it in our] associations with like-minded scholars so that [their] minds may be guided towards innermost comprehension.²⁰³ Therefore [the title of this single chapter summary] is “mind-essentials.”

Teacher said: The character ‘Way’ (*Dao* 道) is not associated with having phrases and is not associated with lacking phrases. It is not associated with having appearance and it is not associated with lacking appearance. What do you all make of this?

Dingan said: Shout!

²⁰¹ Zhao Daoke 定庵趙道可 (fl. 1288) was one of Li Daochun’s senior disciples. He wrote the preface to the present work, which is dated 1288.

²⁰² The text mentioned here is Li Daochun’s commentary on the *Daode jing* entitled *Daode huiyuan*, TY694, DZ387. The present chapter of the *Qingan Yingchan zi yulu* appears to be a summary of the discussion that followed the presentation of the text to Zhao Daoke and includes brief comments on all eighty-one chapters of the *Daode jing*.

²⁰³ Innermost comprehension is a translation of *yihui* 意會. *Ciyuan*, 618, s.v. 意會. See the fourth definition.

Heian shouted.

Teacher said: This character 'virtue' (*de* 德) is not associated with cultivation and is not associated with not cultivating. Why is this so?

Heian said: It is non-acting.

Dingan agreed.

Teacher said: All teachings are fond of separating from words. Perfect absorption (*samādhi*) emerges from oneself.

Heian wrote the character 'empty'.

Chengan 誠庵 [wrote] 'fist'.

[1b] Teacher said: The last phrase in the first section says, "Mystery upon mystery; gateway of all wonders." [I] must state that the thirty-six classes of esteemed scripture all issue forth from this scripture. Now [I] say where did this scripture come from? [Since] departing from my father and mother [all the] talk [I] have produced concerns the single expression, "Way."

Heian opened the scripture prompting Dingan to shout.

Teacher said: The second section says having form and lacking form engender each other. Moreover the Way does not cause the single expression "having form and lacking form." Again, how is it produced? It is as if the Way

gained entry to hell like an arrow and the Way did not gain entry into hell like an arrow.²⁰⁴ If the multitude proceeds like [this] none will be correct.

Chengan asked: Why [do you] suppose [it is] thus?

Teacher said: It is thus! It is thus!

Teacher said: The third section's concluding phrase says, "If one acts according to not-doing then nothing will fail to be put in order." Since this is "not-doing" why does it state the character 'do' prior to [not-doing]? If there is "doing" then why say [2a] "not-doing" after ["doing"]?²⁰⁵

Dingan said: Substance and function are equally dependent.

Weian 唯庵 said: It is just that this function, is separate from this function.²⁰⁶

Teacher said: The fourth section [includes the expression] "It prefigures the ancestral gods."²⁰⁷ Use the speech of the mouth [to describe it and] the rotten

²⁰⁴ This phrase (入地獄如箭) is found in the 30 *juan* work *Dahui pujue chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師住江西雲門菴語錄 T 47/1998a/7.839a, a collection of sayings attributed to the Song Linji 臨濟 (Rinzai) Chan master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163). He is famed for his defence of *koan* training as essential to the cultivation of an enlightenment experience and his critique of Caodong 曹洞 (Sōtō) Chan master Hongzhi Zhengjue 宏智正覺 (1091-1157) whom he claimed placed too much emphasis on seated meditation. A well-known statement of this critique is found in *Dahui pujue chanshi yulu* T47/1998a/21.901c. It is worth noting that Dahui was especially interested in the *koan* titled "Zhaozhou's Dog" in which Buddha Nature is considered. Li Daochun also makes use of this *koan*. *Qingan Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.5a. Also see footnote 153 above. This same phrase describing entry into hell like an arrow is also found in case forty-four of the *Wumenguan*, T 48/2005.298b though it should be noted that Li quotes another line from the same passage mentioned above (T 47/1998a/7.839a). See footnote 219.

²⁰⁵ Ordinarily *wuwei* 無為 could be translated as "non-purposive action" but to do so in this context would make it difficult to appreciate, in English, the apparently contradictory assertions being pointed out by Li Daochun. The point turns on doing and not doing and why the text would say "do not-doing." At least with the hyphen between 'not' and 'doing' the adverbial sense of 'not' is retained. The point being that 'not' actually tells us what kind of "doing" is being referred to.

²⁰⁶ I take the point to be that the character *wei* 為 is used twice in the phrase *wei wuwei* 為無為 but the second 為 without its qualifier 無 is different in meaning from the first 為. Indeed the first 為 is best understood here as identical with 無為 rather than simply 為.

[flavour] is rejected [to the very] root of the tongue. Use the vision of the eyes [to examine it] and suddenly it [bursts] out of (is rejected by) the eyes. Contain the brightness in the mouth. Abstruse! Abstruse! It is truly good to eat a handful! What do you all make of this? Li examined his vegetarian food and lifted it up as if [it were the brightness he spoke of]. Shian 實庵 made a circle.

Teacher said: The fifth section [says] “Is not the space between the sky and the earth like a bellows?” Teacher praised this, saying bottomless, we call it a tube; three-holed, we call it a flute. In between there is a single cavity [but] no one can find it. [Should] a gentleman be caused to blow [through it] the music [would be] soundless. Now why is the Way a single hole?

Heian said: Pay attention to the nostrils.²⁰⁸

Shian said: Om. Now why is the Way soundless music?

Teacher repeated the *Song of the Blue Sky's Emptiness*.²⁰⁹

[2b] Teacher said: The sixth section, “The gateway of the mysterious female.”

²⁰⁷ This translation is taken from Roger Ames and David L. Hall, *Daodejing: “Making This Life Significant” A Philosophical Translation* (New York: Balantine Books, 2003), 83. Ames and Hall have avoided translating *di* 帝 as “the Lord” or “God.” The question raised in the concluding two lines of section four concerns the origin of the Way. Employing the metaphor of ancestors the Way seems to have come before the highest ancestor and so is prior to birth and, by metaphorical extension, to creation.

²⁰⁸ It is very likely that this is a reference to a meditative practice. In deep states of meditation a piece of goose-down placed under the nostrils should not move.

²⁰⁹ This is a song connected to Lingbao ritual. The *ZHDJ*, 656, s.v. 碧落空歌之圖, notes that this song is linked to the *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 (*Marvelous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of the Numinous Treasure Tradition*) TY1, DZ1-13, though searches of that text have yielded only two mentions of the song rather than the song itself. Mention of this song can also be found in *Taishang daojun ji* 太上道君記, which is included in the *Yunji qiqian* TY1023, DZ677-702, 101.4b.

Teacher said: Going out, the breath does not pass through a myriad causes. Entering, the breath does not dwell in the aggregates and realms.²¹⁰ Not going out and not entering, what do you make of this?

Heian said: "Solitary, unmoving."²¹¹

Teacher naturally said: A myriad tunes are all hushed.

Teacher said: The seventh section, "Is it not because he is without [concern for] personal benefit that he is able to [bring his] personal affairs to completion?"

This is called [truly] cultivating conduct; yet people only act for themselves and depend on personal benefits while universal liberation²¹² depends entirely on the emotions [but] not personal emotions. [Concerning this] single expression what do you have to say?

Dingan said: Put others first and yourself last.

Teacher said: The eighth section, "The highest excellence is like water."

Teacher said let go of this point.²¹³ To what degree is the Yellow River clear?²¹⁴

Now I say where is this dot to be placed?

²¹⁰ The "aggregates and realms" (*vinjie* 陰界) is a Buddhist term denoting the "five aggregates" (skt. *skandhas*) and the "eighteen realms" (skt. *dhatū*). Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 330.

²¹¹ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/21.

²¹² This is a translation of *pudu* 普度. 度 which literally refers "crossing over" and, in a Buddhist context, "crossing over the sea of life and death" denotes salvation. Ding Fubao, *Foxue dacidian*, 1574, s.v. 度.

²¹³ There is no entry under *dianzi* 點子 in the Taoist dictionaries consulted but the *ZHDI* does list a circle with a black dot in the centre under *quandian* 圈點, 1189. It is a kind talisman (*fu* 符). The circle represents the phasing of the fire and gathering of the medicine while the dot in the centre refers to the retreating tally and warming and nourishing. These are the active and passive phases of cultivation. Thus Li's point may be that his disciples ought to let go of such notions of active cultivation.

²¹⁴ The Yellow River can refer to the regular flow of life in which the *jingqi* 精氣 that supports reproduction is permitted to flow out of the body during copulation. Inner alchemy requires the adept to go

Dingan and Heian were exactly alike [in their] responses.

Teacher said: The ninth section, “[When] the work is done and reputation complete, to retire is the Way of the Natural Order.”²¹⁵ Now [I] say in retiring [3a] one departs towards what place?

Dingan said: Emptiness. [He then gave] a shout—Without trace!

Heian said: There is no place one departs to.

Teacher said: Both are not right.

Someone said: Why is that so?

Teacher said: Two legged camels conceal the Northern Bushel.²¹⁶

Teacher said: The tenth section, “Contain the *po* 魄 soul . . .”²¹⁷ The *po* souls like to gallop quickly, like to be in motion and like to be valiant. By what laws and statutes are they to be regulated? If you have a mind [by which] to regulate [them] then [it is] associated with the emotions. With no mind, regulation cannot be achieved. How are [the *po* souls to be] regulated?

Heian snapped his fingers.

against this current (*huanghe niliu* 黄河逆流). ZHDJ, 1313, s.v. 黄河逆流. The previous two footnotes unfortunately do not shed sufficient light on this rather obscure passage.

²¹⁵ This sentence is at variance with the standard Wangbi text which reads, 功遂身退天之道. The sentence quoted here matches that of the version commented upon by Heshang gong.

²¹⁶ The Northern Bushel (*beitou* 北头) refers to seven stars in the Ursa Major constellation and connotes the cyclical movement of *qi* through the body. Hence even these awkward students whose knowledge is yet incomplete have great potential within.

²¹⁷ This opening phrase of section ten has been translated in accordance with Li Daochun’s apparent understanding of its meaning though Henrick’s observes that *zai* 載 belongs at the end of section nine as an exclamation marker. Henricks, *Te Tao Ching*, 206. Alternately the phrase has been translated so that it refers to carrying the *po* (bodily) souls on top of the head. See for example Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 13. *Zai* 載 is here translated as “contain” as the *hun* and *po* souls must remain within the body. Once they have departed, the body dies. It is apparent from Li’s treatment of the phrase that he does not agree with Heshang gong’s assessment of this term. Heshang gong reads *ying* 營 as a synonym for the *hun* 魂 (spiritual) souls. Heshang gong *zhushuzheng*, 68.

Teacher said: The eleventh section, "Thirty spokes share one hub; it is precisely in its lacking that we find the utility of the wheel." Now I say when the spokes do not come together²¹⁸ around the hub where is the wheel?

Heian said: [In the] turning and rumbling.

Dingan suggested: in the power of the wheel.

Teacher said: The twelfth section, "The five colours cause mens' eyes to be blind." Teacher said: The blindness of being divorced from colour and form [3b] despite having eyes; what do you all understand by this?

Heian said: Look as though [you] do not see.

Teacher said: The thirteenth section, "Honour great distress as if it were [your] body." Teacher said: [We] have a body and so we have distress [yet if we] lacked a body how would [we] see the Way? To conclude, what do [you think] regarding this?

Dingan said: Let go.

Heian said: Nourish its formlessness.

Teacher said: The fourteenth section, "Look for it and you do not see [it]." Teacher said: No seams or cracks. What do you all understand [by this]?

Shian said: [It is] whole like a chicken's egg.

Teacher said: Not right.

Someone said: What does Teacher say it is like?

²¹⁸ There appears to be an error in the text here. *Cou* 輳 (hub) is being read as *cou* 湊 (come together).

Teacher said: Face to face [yet you] do not recognize each other.

Teacher said: The fifteenth section, "Subtly wondrous, profoundly penetrating; [their] depth was impossible to fathom." Teacher said: Water: take a staff to find [its depth]; a person: take language to find out [about him]; The Way: take what to find out [about it]?

Dingan and Heian each raised a fist.

Teacher said: "A single form leads you on."²¹⁹

[4a] Teacher said: The sixteenth section, "Bring about the apex of emptiness; preserve the extreme of stillness. [Thus] the myriad things together arise and I thereby observe their return." Now [what] is called "return" is manifesting the mind of the Natural Order. Moreover [I] say where is the mind of the Natural Order? Again [I] say do not move. [If you] move, thirty blows of the cudgel!

Dingan grabbed the cudgel.

Teacher said: The seventeenth section, "[As for the] most high [ruler], those below know [only] that [he] exists."²²⁰ Teacher said: Not relying on [what] has form; not relying on the formless. [You] must look to your own most high [ruler].

No one had a response.

Teacher said: See [it] now in [this] discourse on the *dharma*.

²¹⁹ This phrase (一狀領過) is found in *Dahui pujue chanshi yulu* T 47/1998a/7.839a, a collection of sayings attributed to the Song Linji 臨濟 (Rinzai) Chan master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163). Also see footnotes 204 and 153 above.

²²⁰ The order of characters this quotation is incorrect. The original sentence reads 太上下知有之 not 太上下之有知.

Teacher said: The eighteenth section, “[When] understanding and cleverness emerge there is great pretense.”²²¹ Teacher said: Cleverness and understanding are the great root of delusion. Understanding and cleverness destroy the reality of the Natural Order. What do you all understand [by this]?

Zhian said: Not-doing.

Sunan said: Understanding is not like stupidity.

Teacher said: The nineteenth section, “Cut off sageliness and reject wisdom.”

What do you all understand [by this]?

Dingan [4b] said: Forget where they come from.

Teacher said: The twentieth section, “Cut off learning [and you will] be without anxiety.” Teacher said: Everyone is invited to [state what you] make of “cutting off learning.”

Heian said: [To pursue learning is to] bind the wind and catch shadows.

Teacher said: To study not learning is what everyone must repeatedly go through.

Teacher said: The twenty-first section [in describing the Way says] there are things, there are images, there are emotions.²²² Is it actually so? If we say something

²²¹ Once again the order of this phrase has been slightly altered: The text should read 慧智出有大偽 rather than 智慧出有大偽.

²²² The twenty-first section of the *Daode jing* does not mention emotions (*qing* 情) but rather essence (*jing* 精).

comes forth then there is moreover the eye of contemplative study.²²³ If we say nothing comes forth then the eye of contemplative study is done away with. In the end what do you say?

Heian said: Having [form] and lacking [form], neither are relevant. There is only one true and genuine form.

Sunan drew the form of a circle.

Teacher said: The twenty-second section, "Twisted then perfect; crooked then straight." Teacher said: A useless tree is long-lived.²²⁴ As for the useless goose, it is cooked. What about this?

No one responded.

[5a] Teacher said: useful and useless, each accords with [their respective] times.

Teacher said: The twenty-third section, "To speak rarely is natural." Teacher said: Abstruse! Abstruse! Wordless the second mystery is set down. What is the first mystery?

Everyone answered [but] none hit the crucial point.

Teacher said: Open the mouth [yet] it is not on the tongue.²²⁵

²²³ The eye of contemplative study (*canxueyan* 參學眼) is found in case number eleven of *Wumen guan*, T48/2005/294b.

²²⁴ This point is made in a discussion between Huizi and Zhuangzi in the chapter entitled "Free and Easy Wandering." Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, 35.

²²⁵ It is tempting to render this response as directed at the disciples however this is precisely the gloss that Li gives the same phrase in the *Daode huiyuan*, *shang* 13a. Of course the relevance of Li's comment to their own conundrum was probably not lost on the disciples in attendance.

Teacher said: The twenty-fourth section, "One who stands on tiptoes is unstable; one who straddles does not walk." What do you all make of this?

Dingan said: [When one] takes a step it is not on the heel.

Teacher said: The twenty-fifth section, "There is a thing formed out of the undifferentiated."²²⁶ Teacher said: What thing was there?

Dingan responded thus: "Within the frontiers there are four greats;"²²⁷ at the same time is there also a great foundation?

Heian gave a shout.

Teacher said: The twenty-sixth section, "If [the ruler] takes things lightly [he will] lose [his] ministers. If he is rash he will lose his [position as] lord."²²⁸

Teacher said: **[5b]** How are not taking things lightly and not being rash produced?

Dingan said: When the Way is exalted there is clarity.

Heian said: Perfect nature—preserve it, preserve it.

²²⁶ The phrase in question is 有物混成. *Hun* 混 can be translated as "chaos" or "chaotically" though in this context that masks the cosmogonic notion of the emergence of differentiated forms or in this case a thing (*wu* 物) out of what is undifferentiated. *Hun* is regarded as chaos because it is prior to differentiation, which serves as the ground for conventional divisions and, by extension, conventional systems of order. The term '*hun*' appears to have an adverbial function in the original but that would require some awkward maneuvering in English yielding perhaps "undifferentiatedly formed." Lau attempts this: "There is a thing chaotically formed." Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 37. The point though is not that things are formed in a chaotic way but that they emerge out of something undifferentiated as they become things. A fuller discussion of this subject and its relationship to inner alchemy is found in Paul Crowe, "Chaos: A Thematic Continuity between Early Taoism and the Way of the Golden Elixir" in *Purity of Heart and Contemplation: A Monastic Dialogue Between Christian and Asian Traditions*, ed. Bruno Barhart and Joseph Wong (New York: Continuum, 2001), 197-209.

²²⁷ This quotation from section twenty-five introduces a list of four greats, which are the Way, the sky, the earth, and the king. In Buddhism the four greats (*sida* 四大), skt. *mahābhūta* are the fundamental constituents of all things: fire, water, wind and earth. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 131, s.v. 四大.

²²⁸ This passage follows the wording of the edition used by Heshang gong rather than the Mawangdui of Wangbi editions: 輕則失臣, 躁則失君.

Teacher said: The twenty-seventh section, “The excellent travel[er]²²⁹ [leaves] no tracks.” What do [you] all understand [by this]?

Heian said: A person with a measure of great strength lifts their foot without (consciously) raising it.

Teacher said: The twenty-eighth section, [includes the expressions] “guard the black,” “guard the female” and “guard disgrace.” These are the function. The limitless (*wuji* 無極), supreme simplicity, and the baby are the substance. [When] uncarved wood is split it becomes vessels.”

What do you all understand [by this]?

Dingan said: Production, production; transformation, transformation.

Teacher said: The twenty-ninth section, “Someone who desires to take hold of the empire and do things to it, I see they will not succeed.” Teacher said: I say wherein are the errors and excesses?

Dingan said: In doing.

[6a] Teacher said: The thirtieth section, “Those who employ the Way to assist the ruler of men do not use their weapons to force the empire [into compliance].”

Teacher said: If [one] has no [weapons, when] bandits arrive how [is one to] oppose [them]?

²²⁹ The text is missing the character *zhe* 者 that would make possible the nominalizing of *xing* 行 (travel).

Heian said: Use virtue to transform them.

Teacher said: Not so. Use compassion to guard against them.

Teacher said: The thirty-first section, "Fine weapons are instruments of ill omen." Teacher said: If weapons are not used there is no means to guard against enemies. [Yet] if weapons are used then it is not the Way. What about this?

Dingan said: Go backwards and accord with transformation

Teacher said: The thirty-second section, "The Way is constant non-purposive action."²³⁰ Being uncarved although [it seems] insignificant, in the kingdom [there is no one who would] dare [treat it as] a subject." Teacher said: What do [you] make of the single expression, "Being uncarved although [it seems] insignificant?"

Dingan said: [Though] small, Mt. Sumeru could be inserted [into it].

Heian said: Lowly, yet it cannot be exceeded.

Teacher said: The thirty-third section, "Those who die and yet do not perish"²³¹ are long-lived." Teacher said: [6b] What is this "not perishing?"

Heian said: [One continues] to exist within formlessness.

Dingan said: [One's] empty spirit cannot be hidden.

²³⁰ In this opening phrase *wuwei* 無為 is substituted for *wuming* 無名. This error is not found in the *Daode huiyuan*, shang 18a.

²³¹ The Mawangdui and Wangbi editions contain *wang* 忘 (forget) rather than *wang* 亡 (perish). While it is possible to translate 亡 as forget it is evident from the commentary in the *Daode huiyuan* and the responses from Dingan and Heian that reference is to meditation practice. It appears that the point being made is that during the "death" of self experienced in the depths of meditation the adept continues in emptiness.

Teacher said: The thirty-fourth section, "The sage does not [make] himself great and therefore is able to complete his greatness." Teacher said: What is "not make himself great?"

Heian said: [I will] happily accord with [what] enters your pearl-mouth.

Teacher said: "The highest excellence is like water."

Teacher said: The thirty-fifth section, "Cleave to the great image."²³²

Teacher said: If [one] says there is an image then it is not great, [yet] if one says there is no image how can one cleave to it?

Heian said: The world within a millet-pearl.

Teacher said: It seems not scattering it therefore is great.

Teacher said: The thirty-sixth section, "[If you] want to contract [it you] certainly must extend [it]." Teacher said: The eyebrows are above the eyelashes; earlier mistakes are passed by. Now I say, where do mistakes go?

Dingan said: To the right place.

Heian said: The hawk passes over the new net.

Shian said: One must not run [away] in disorder.

Teacher said: [7a] "Their crimes are listed on one indictment." single ²³³

²³² The Great Image (*daxiang da* 大象) is described in section forty-one as formless. The Heshang gong commentary on sections thirty-five and forty states that the Great Image is the Way. *Heshang gong zhushuzheng*, 240, 287.

²³³ See footnote 219 for information on the source of this quotation.

Teacher said: The thirty-seventh section, "The Way is constantly without action and yet nothing is left undone."²³⁴ Teacher said: I eulogize: If action is taken this is deception but [practicing] non-action also is to fall into emptiness. Neither of these two paths ford [the stream]. Please [give] a eulogizing phrase [on the above quotation from the thirty-seventh section of the *Daode jing*].

Heian said: Face to face and not meeting each other.

Zhian [said]: [One] must guard the centre.

Mian said: Naturally there is great spiritual understanding.

Teacher said: In the right place the winds of the teaching open up.

Teacher said: The thirty-eighth section. "The highly virtuous are not virtuous and thus they have [genuine] virtue." Teacher said: [I] call on [you all], what do [you] make of [this] virtue?

Heian said: [He] himself does not possess [what] he has.

Teacher said: [He] is not boastful [about] himself.

Teacher said: The thirty-ninth section, "[Concerning] those who in the past attained the One: The sky attained the One and thereby became clear." [7b] Teacher said: Now the Way attained the One in what place?

Heian said: At the place of non-purposive action.

Teacher said: It would be better not to use [the word] 'place'.

²³⁴ Here the text accords with the Wangbi edition and that used by Heshang gong in its use of *wuwei* 無為 rather than *wuming* 無名 found in the Mawangdui texts.

Teacher said: The last phrase of the fortieth section states, "The myriad things of the world are produced as forms. Form is produced from the formless."

Teacher said: What else is there beyond formless and form?

Heian said: There is this illustration.²³⁵

Teacher said: The forty-first section: "Lesser scholars hear of the Way and loudly laugh at it." Teacher said: laugh at what?

Heian made the statement—[he] laughs at this.

Mian said: [He] laughs at non-purposive action.

Teacher said: The forty-second section, "Some things are diminished by being added to. Some things increased by being diminished." Teacher said: What is it like when there is no diminishing and no increasing?

Heian said: There is no deficiency and there is no excess.

Teacher said: Cut away the confusion.²³⁶

[8a] The forty-third section, "The world's softest [things] gallop [over] the world's hardest [things]." Teacher said: when insults come [your way] do not allow

²³⁵ Here *jusi* 舉似 is being translated according to the definition given in the *Foxue dacidian*, 2794, s.v. 舉似. Obviously this does not eliminate the ambiguity in Heian's response, which the teacher appears to approve of given his lack of a counter statement.

²³⁶ The term *hunlun* 渾淪 is used in the opening section of the *Liezi* in a description of how the world came to have form: 太易者，未見氣也；太初者，氣之始也；太始者，形之始也；太素者，質之始也。氣形質具而未相離，故曰渾淪。渾淪者，言萬物相渾淪而未相離也。 Angus C. Graham translates this passage as follows: The Primal Simplicity preceded the appearance of the breath. Primal Commencement was the beginning of the breath. The Primal Beginnings were the breath beginning to assume shape. The Primal Material was the breath when it began to assume substance. Breath, shape and substance were complete, but things were not yet separated from each other; hence the name "Confusion." Angus C. Graham, *The Book of Lieh-tzu: A Classic of Tao* (1960; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 18-19.

[yourself] to contend. In the passing of affairs the mind [should be] clear and cool.

What is this situation of clarity and coolness?

Heian said: [It is] to be without burning anger.

Teacher said: [It is to be] without a lack of understanding.

Teacher said: The forty-fourth section, "Reputation or your body, which [is more] dear [to you]? [Your] body²³⁷ or possessions, which [is of] more [value to you]?"

Chuanlao 川老 said: "If you are able to export the jewel from within your family the twittering birds and mountain flowers will be renewed in the same way."²³⁸ What is this jewel within one's family?

Heian said: Li, li, luo.²³⁹

Dingan shouted.

Teacher said: "Unity" and said "compassion."

Teacher said: The forty-fifth section. Teacher said: The above section [forty-four says] "If [you] know [what is] sufficient [you will] not be disgraced. If [you] know [when to] stop [you will] not be in danger." This is called constant sufficiency. [Now] this section says, "Great completion is like deficiency . . . Great fullness is

²³⁷ There is an error in this phrase. *Cai* 財 (wealth) has been substituted for *shen* 身 (body). This mistake is not found in the *Daode huiyuan, juan xia*, 4b.

²³⁸ The identity of Chuanlao is unclear. Li quotes him one additional time in the *Wushang jiwen donggu zhenjing zhu*, TY107, DZ54, 1b.

²³⁹ The significance and meaning of these three characters is unclear. It may be a Chan-like response to the question posed by the teacher.

like emptying out.” [These] are not sufficiency. [So] is “sufficiency” right or is “not sufficiency” right?

Sunan and Zhian said: Haughtiness beckons [8b] injury. Humbleness receives benefit.

Teacher said: Virtue can have a surplus yet those who treat it as insufficient are long-lived. Wealth can have a surplus yet those who treat it as insufficient are base. Thus it is said.

Teacher said: The forty-sixth section, “[As for] crimes, none is greater than desiring.” Teacher said: Not looking at the desirable will cause the mind not to be in turmoil. Urgently travel back to rescue one half. Now I say, what is that one half?

Dingan said: Not parting from the right place.

Teacher said: The forty-seventh section; the last phrase says, “Not seen and yet named. Not acting and yet completed.” Teacher said: Name what? Complete what?

Dingan and Heian both said: Complete virtue and name the Way.

Teacher said: The forty-eighth section, “Engaged in learning, daily there is an increase. Engaged in the Way, daily there is a decrease.” Teacher said: Increase a person how? Decrease a person how?

Dingan said: Decrease the self; increase others.

Heian said: Decreasing the [9a] emotions increases (benefits) [one’s] Nature.

Teacher said: The forty-ninth section. [The remainder of this section of commentary is missing from the text.]

Teacher said: The fiftieth section, "The followers of life are thirteen. The followers of death are thirteen."²⁴⁰ Teacher said: The mind of *Nirvāṇa* easily illumines. Discriminative understanding has difficulty enlightening. What is discriminative understanding?

No one answered.

Teacher said: Benevolence is called benevolence; understanding [is called] understanding.

Teacher said: What is *Nirvāṇa* mind?

No one answered.

Teacher said: [what has gone] before has no past and [what is to come] after has no present.

Teacher said: The fifty-first section, "The Way gives birth to them; virtue nourishes them." Teacher said: Gives birth to what; feeds what?

Shian said: Gives birth to them and feeds them; there is only this.

Teacher said: A little more [than that].

Teacher said: The fifty-second section, "The world has a beginning; it is taken to be the mother of the world." The first [9b] section [of the *Daode jing*] says, "The named is the mother of the myriad things." What is "the named" called?

²⁴⁰ See footnote 148.

Everyone's answers failed to hit the mark.

Chengan asked: What name is called out?

Teacher called out: Chengan!

Chengan assented [to this].

Teacher said: To settle on a name is to understand.

Teacher said: The fifty-third section, "[If I were] caused in the least part to have something that I knew, [then while] traveling the Great Way only relaxing [my pace] would I fear."

Teacher said: Fear what?

Heian said: Fear the mandate of the Natural Order.

Teacher said: The fifty-fourth section, "Use the state to observe the state."

Teacher said: Observing the state is not easy [yet] a person's will is an even deeper ocean. Withered at the end [of their lives] there are people who look [but they] die not knowing their mind. Are there those who do know their mind?

No one's answer responded to the main point.

Chengan asked Teacher: Are there those who know their mind?

Teacher responded to him and said: Who is asking?

Teacher said: The fifty-fifth section, "One who contains an abundance of virtue is comparable to a newborn baby." Teacher said: **[10a]** Now Mengzi says,

“The Great Man has not lost the mind of a new-born baby.” The meaning moreover can be stated: The mind of a newborn baby is already manifest [in him].

Heian said: Pure unity.

Dingan said: Silently so; unmoving.²⁴¹

Teacher said: [You] are not exhaustive in your defining [of this]. You do not understand that reversion is the function of the Way.

Teacher said: The fifty-sixth section, “Those who know do not speak. Those who speak do not know.” Teacher said: Speaking is right; not speaking is right.

Everyone’s answer was incorrect.

Teacher said: In the end the mouth produced by [your] father and mother will not bring about the understanding of the gentleman.

Teacher said: The fifty-seventh section: “Employ uprightness to regulate the state. Employ the profound²⁴² in using weapons.” Employ non-interference²⁴³ to take control of the kingdom.” Teacher said: In taking control of the kingdom how can [one] be non-interfering? Being non-interfering how can [one] take control of the kingdom?

No one responded.

Teacher said: Guide it with virtue.

²⁴¹ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/21.

²⁴² The translation of *ji* 奇 as “profound” follows Li’s defining of that term as acting without planning or scheming. *Daode huiyuan*, xia 10b. D.C. Lau translates this term as “crafty.” Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 83. This is the usual way of translating this term. See also Henricks, *Te Tao Ching*, 136 and Ames, *Dao De Jing*, 165.

²⁴³ Here Li understands *wushi* 無事 (lit. without affairs) as *wuwei* 無為 (non-action). *Daode huiyuan*, xia 11a.

Teacher said: The fifty-eighth section. Teacher said: The last phrase "Shines but does not dazzle."²⁴⁴ What do [you] understand [by this]?

The group was speechless.

Teacher said: Wearing rough clothes on your back and carrying jade in your bosom.

Teacher said: The fifty-ninth section, "In governing the people and serving the Natural Order nothing is better than to be sparing." What do [you] understand [by this]?

Zhian said: Frugality.

Teacher said: Accord with frugality.

Teacher said: The sixtieth section, "[If one] employs the Way to manage the kingdom the ghosts will not [have] spiritual [power]." Why say [this]?

Heian said: [They] are not able to display [their] abilities.

Dingan said: Their harmful emanations do not oppose the upright.

Teacher said: The sixty-first section, "A large state is [like] the descending flow [of a river]." Teacher said: [This] compares the defense [of a state with the downward flow of a river] to bring out the meaning of the hands of non-action that do not rouse weapons of war to establish great peace. I call on [you to state] what you make of "hands of non-action"?

Heian said: Overturn the Three Teachings.

²⁴⁴ This is Lau's translation. Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 85.

Chengan said: Break through to emptiness.

Teacher said: The sixty-second section, "Having committed a crime [does one not] thereby escape [punishment]?" Teacher said: In what way has [he] transgressed?

Dingan said: I have sought [the nature of] the transgression [but] am unable to find it?

Teacher threw the scripture and said stop overturning and doubting!

[11a] Teacher said: The sixty-third section, "Plan the difficult while it is [still] easy." Teacher said: Discoursing on the easy is not easy. Speaking about the difficult is not difficult. In between there is a remarkable place. Please add one more phrase [to this].

Heian said: The Original (*yuan* 元) is only located between them.

Shian said: The Original is not separate from the Mysterious Pass.

Teacher said: The Northern Dipper looks southward.

Teacher said: The sixty-fourth section, "[When] it is settled [a situation] is easy to manage." Teacher said: What do you all understand by this?

Heian said: Guard against the subtle to prevent encroaching [difficulties].

Teacher said: The sixty-fifth section, "Those in ancient times who excelled in applying the Way did not employ it to enlighten the people. [They] used it to make them stupid." Teacher said: Altogether the teachings that have been formed

[come to] three-thousand six-hundred schools. From the beginning they all [try to] elucidate and always thus rouse the spirits. I alone embrace nameless simplicity. I am not bound by the multitude of malignant spirits and knock down their red pennants. Do you all understand?

Dingan said: I recognize one thing; [11b] they are not the centre.

Heian threw the scripture.

Teacher said: The sixty-sixth section, "As for what enables the rivers and seas to rule the one hundred valleys it is because they excel at being lower."

Teacher said: Now I say are the rivers and seas lower than the one hundred valleys or are the one hundred valleys lower than the rivers and seas?

Heian said: They all disperse and each returns to the One.

Dinan said: [If] above [they] are humble. [If] below [they] follow along.

Teacher said: Below, below, below.

Teacher said: The sixty-seventh section, "To abandon this compassion and yet be courageous, to abandon this frugality and yet be magnanimous, to abandon this being behind and yet [place oneself] in front [will end in] death." Teacher said: [One] cannot drink without clear water. Now I say you are invited to [explain] why "clear water?"

Dingan said: Dry land gradually sinks.

Heian said: Without wind the waves stir.

Teacher said: The sixty-eighth section, "Those who excel at being knights are not martial." Teacher said: Not civil, [12a] not martial. Without gain, without loss. Feeling for [my] nostrils [my] whole body sweats. Now [I] say, before the birth of [my] father and mother where were [my] nostrils?

Dingan said: [In] the place where the breath goes out and the breath goes in.

Heian said: The place of covering up and bursting forth.

Shian said: Simply below the eyebrows.

Teacher said: The sixty-ninth section, "Those who employ weapons have a saying, "I do not dare play the host but play the guest." Now I say, how are host and guest distinguished?

No one had an answer.

Teacher said: What person are you? Who am I? Again I say, a pair of eyes faces a pair of eyes.

Teacher said: The seventieth section, "My words are very easy to understand and very easy [to put into] practice." Why does it go on to say, "[but] none [can] understand [them] and none [can put them] into practice?" If we look to this transmitted saying that has been handed down within [this section of the *Daode jing*], [as for] studying [this] matter completely, if some [of you] have not [done] so [then give it some] consideration.

Dingan said: The one hundred names (everyone) daily employ it but do not understand.

Heian said: It is simply in front of the eyes [but] people do not recognize it.

Teacher said: It is simply the understanding [that relies on] great distinctions.

[12b] Teacher said: The seventy-first section, "To know [and yet to think one does] not know is best. Not to know [and yet to think one] knows [is to suffer an] illness." How is this illness to be cured?

Heian said: Preserve the mind unobscured.

All of the [gathered] gentlemen were incorrect.

Teacher said: I ward it off with nameless simplicity. Further [I] say, if it is not so then, in confusion, [one is] swallowing a hot iron pill. Further [I] say, lesser scholars must swallow medicine. Having leaked out how will [they] understand?²⁴⁵

Teacher said: The seventy-second section, "If the people have no sense of awe then what they greatly dread is about to arrive." What is this great dread?

Heian said: The matter of life and death is great.

Teacher said: Be without constant hurrying.

Teacher said: The seventy-third section, "If [one is] bold in being daring then [one will be] killed. If [one is] bold in not being fearless then [he will] live." What is the secret of being killed or [staying] alive?

No one in the gathering had an answer.

²⁴⁵ This notion of leakage is referred to in the *Wuzhen pian*, 26.9a, 26.35a, and is associated with being deluded. This avoidance of leakage is a constant concern throughout inner alchemy texts. The adept must retain the cultivated *qi* within the body rather than permitting desires and emotions to diminish it. This idea is also evident in Buddhist teachings. The term *wulou* 無漏 refers to a passionless state that leads "away from the downward flow into lower forms of rebirth." Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 328, s.v. 無漏.

Teacher said: It is like the king wielding [his] [13a] sword.

Teacher said: The seventy-fourth section, "[Of those who] stand in for the great carpenter there are few who do not injure their hands." Teacher said: What [do you] understand [by this]?

Dingan said: They are not properly skilled.

Teacher said: The last phrase of the seventy-fifth section says, "Now only those who do not act for the sake of living are superior to those who value life."

Teacher said: What do all of you understand [by this]?

Dingan said: It is on account of their having no place of death.

Teacher said: The seventy-sixth section, "When people are born they are soft and supple. When they are dead they are hard and rigid." What does this mean?

Dingan said: "Softness and suppleness are followers of life."

Teacher said: The seventy-seventh section, "The Way of the Natural Order is to diminish excess [in order] to supplement the deficient. The Way of human-kind is to diminish the deficient [in order] to offer [more to those who] have an excess." Teacher said: Now [I] say, what is it like when there is no diminishing [13b] and no increasing?

None of the gathering had a response.

Teacher said: [When] there is still no surplus and still no shortage, if a true hand takes hold then [it will be] just right.

Teacher said: The seventy-eighth section, “[One who] endures the misfortunes of the kingdom is able to act as ruler of the world.”²⁴⁶ Teacher said:

What [do you] understand [by this]?

No one had an answer.

Teacher said: [He] avoids nothing.

Teacher said: The seventy-ninth section, “[When] great enemies are reconciled [there is] certain to be residual enmity. How can [this be] taken as excellence?” What [have you to] say?

Weian 惟安 said: Subduing themselves would be excellence.

Dingan said: “Subduing themselves [they] return to propriety.”²⁴⁷

Heian said: Compassion and forbearance would be excellence.

Teacher said: “A single form leads beyond.”²⁴⁸

Someone said: What is teacher saying?

Teacher said: Kindness and hatred; forget both.

Teacher said: The last phrase of the eightieth section says, “The people arrive at old age and death [never having gone] back and forth [to visit] each other.”

What [do you have to] say?

²⁴⁶ The quotation adds *neng* 能 (able to). This is not included in the Mawangdui, Wangbi or Heshang gong versions of the *Daode jing*.

²⁴⁷ This quotation is found in the opening passage of the twelfth section of the *Lunyu*.

²⁴⁸ See footnote 219 for details concerning this quotation.

Heian said: Their households are settled.

Dingan said: [They] are without contention.

Teacher said: [14a] [From] within nothing gets out. [From] outside nothing enters.

Teacher said: The eighty-first section, "The way of the sage is to act and yet not contend." Teacher said: what is non-contention?

The answers of the gathering did not respond to the main point.

Teacher said: Let fall the abode²⁴⁹ of the teachings. Teacher again said: Each person must [compose] a couplet embodying the two characters 'Way' and 'Virtue'.

Heian said: The Way conceals all functions.

Virtue manifests it [self] in humanity.

Dingan said: The Way is not in cultivating.

Virtue is not in seeking.

Weian said: The Way is not the formless within the formless.

Virtue is not form within form.

Shian said: The Way that can be spoken is not the Way.

Virtue and superior virtue are not virtue.

Teacher said: The Way is solitary and unmoving.

Virtue influences and penetrates.

[He] also said: The Way is clear and peaceful, illuminating and bright.

Virtue is humble and flexible, mild and accommodating.

²⁴⁹ *Chagan* 刹竿 (skt. *Ksema*) refers to a residence, abode, land or property. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 250, s.v. 刹.

Teacher said: Each person must [compose] a couplet giving proof of the two characters 'Way' and 'Virtue' of non-acting.

[Those in] the gathering had no answer.

Teacher said: The Way is respectfully clasping the hands.

Virtue is bowing to the ground.

Teacher pointed to a candle and said: Each of you make a couplet. [You] must look at the substance and function of this candle.

Heian said: The boundary of its substance breaks through emptiness.

The brilliance of its function breaks through darkness.

Shian said: The completeness of its substance burns.²⁵⁰

The brightness of its function illumines.

Teacher said: The True Suchness of its substance does not move.

The brilliance of its function universally enlightens.

[He] also said: Its substance supports the sky and props up the earth.

Its function illumines the sky and brightens the earth.

Teacher said: Each person must compose a speechless couplet. You must observe the substance and function of the candle.

None of them had an answer.

Teacher gave an illustration. The gathering was attentive.

²⁵⁰ This is a tentative translation of *tuotuo* 陀陀. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 284, s.v. 陀, lists *tuoa* 陀阿 as "burning." Given the candle as the subject of these couplets this may be possible.

2.5 Dialogic Treatise of Qingan Yingchan zi (Chapter 6)

2.5.a Elucidating Doubt Concerning the Yellow Center²⁵¹

[1a] The Teacher said: Patriarchal teachers of former generations, lofty sages of the Exalted Reality,²⁵² had the Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth. Did they not preserve and transmit this way in the world to rescue human beings? Do you understand or not?

Dingan said: Having just entered the Gate of Profundity²⁵³ I am extremely stupid and dull-witted. That my teacher retains me as a student is [equal to] a thousand years of good fortune.²⁵⁴ I certainly do not yet know this Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth and hope that my teacher will enlighten me.

The Teacher said: as for the Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth, it is above the peerless; a mystery upon mystery; able to appear with no appearance; spontaneously so, it is known as the extreme limit; the most profound. The sages, compelled to give it a name, call it the Way. The ancient ascended immortals²⁵⁵ all proceeded from this position to completely comprehend (the Way). There have never been any who, failing to proceed

²⁵¹ This lengthy dialogue between Li Daochun and his disciple, Zhao Ding'an 趙定庵, occurs in *juan* 6 of the *Qingan Yingchan zi yulu*, 1a-9a. This section can also be found in Chapter Three of the *Zhonghe ji*, 14b-22b, under the alternate title, *Zhao Ding'an wenda* 趙定庵問答. *Huangzhong* 黃中, yellow center, can refer to the middle elixir field *dantian* 丹田. *DJDCD*, 853, s.v. 黃中. Further detailed information on the various names and referents associated with this term see *DJDCD*, 71, s.v. 三田.

²⁵² This is a reference to a realm of the immortals. *DJWH*, 112, s.v. 高真.

²⁵³ *Xuanmen* 玄門, Gate of Profundity, can refer to Taoism, to Buddhism or specifically to the Huayan 華嚴 school. *DJDCD*, 841, s.v. 玄門; Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 408, s.v. 玄門.

²⁵⁴ This sentence is slightly different in *Zhonghe ji*, 3. 14b.

²⁵⁵ *Shangxian* 上仙 are the highest form of immortals. *DJWH*, 277, s.v. 上仙.

from this, yet still achieved the fulfillment of [this Way]. [1b] Sages and teachers repeatedly explained it over successive generations; it is what they transmit to every mind²⁵⁶ and what is received is the meaning of the Golden Elixir. That is, the Wondrous Way of the Peerless Orthodox Truth.

Dingan said: This Wondrous [Way] of Peerless Orthodox Truth is explained [in terms of] the Golden Elixir; what is said to be the principle [behind this]?

The Teacher said: Gold is durable. The elixir [pill] is round. Buddhists explain it as Complete Enlightenment (*yuanjue* 圓覺). The schools of the Ru 儒 (literati) explain it as the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極). From the beginning the Supreme Ultimate is not separate from creatures; it is simply unified noumenon²⁵⁷ that comes from the fundamental and that is all. The true Nature that comes from the fundamental (*benlai zhenxing* 本來真性) through endless *kalpas* does not decay [which is] just like the resilience of gold and the roundness of the elixir. The more it is refined the brighter it becomes. Buddhists say concerning ○: as for this, it is true suchness.²⁵⁸ The school of literati scholars says concerning ○: as for this, it is the Supreme Ultimate. My Way says

²⁵⁶ Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 150, s.v. 心心. *Foxue dacedian*, 701, s.v. 心心.

²⁵⁷ The *yiling* 一靈, unified noumenon, is an inner alchemy technical term referring to the Original Spirit (*yuanshen* 元神). This in turn can also be referred to as the Original Nature (*benxing* 本性) that is not born and is never destroyed. This observation fits well with Li Daochun's next statement that equates the unified noumenon with the original nature. An extracanonial Ming dynasty text that came to be associated with the so called Southern School of inner alchemy entitled *Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨 says that "the Unified Noumenon cannot be destroyed; the essence and *qi* for ever preserve it." *DJWH*, 742, s.v. 一靈.

²⁵⁸ *Zhenru* 真如, (skt. *bhūtatahatā*), true suchness, resembles the waves in contrast to the ocean. The waves are mutable while the ocean is eternal. True Suchness is the unchanging reality behind all phenomena. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 331, s.v. 真如.

concerning O: it is the Golden Elixir.²⁵⁹ While they share the same substance they differ in name.

The [*Book of*] *Changes* says, the changes are the Supreme Ultimate and this gives birth to the two signs.²⁶⁰ As for Supreme Ultimate, it is called the spontaneity of empty nothing.²⁶¹ The two signs are a single *yin* and a single *yang*. They are sky and earth. Human beings are born between the sky and earth and [2a] this is known as the Way of the Three Powers.²⁶² Through this process] the whole person is brought to completion. The Supreme Ultimate is the Original Spirit (*yuanshen* 元神). The Two Signs are the body and mind. If I explain this in terms of the Way of the Elixir then the Supreme Ultimate is the mother of the elixir and the two signs are true lead and true mercury. What I call lead and mercury are not of the same category as liquid silver,²⁶³ vermilion sand,²⁶⁴ sulphur,²⁶⁵ and herbs. Furthermore they are not semen and saliva, mucus and tears, heart-mind and

²⁵⁹ There is no way to render the symbol "O" as a word without doing violence to the claim being made here. The *ZHDJ*, 1132, s.v. O, defines this symbol as standing for the Golden Elixir and refers to this very passage to support its definition. Of course such a definition fails in a very important way to account for Li's argument which at this point seems to be that "O" refers to a reality which is, on some level, prior to that of Universal Realization, the Supreme Ultimate and even the Golden Elixir.

²⁶⁰ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/80/9. This quotation from the "Appended Statements" (*Xici* 繫辭) of the *Zhouyi* is taken from a statement describing the settling of fortune and misfortune through the *bagua* 八卦 which is generated sequentially from the Supreme Ultimate: 易有太極，是生兩儀，兩儀生四象四象生八卦八，卦定吉凶。

²⁶¹ Here, and whenever possible, the use of "nonbeing" and "being" will be avoided. Such terms bring with them far too much metaphysical baggage rooted in much European, American, and Indian philosophy and religion. Supreme Ultimate (*Taiji* 太極) is a state prior to differentiation and so discrete "things" are simply not yet formed. Later, after the eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦) have been generated, discrete things take form. Adding the suffix "ness" to no-thing would of course reify "no-thing" thus, having rid ourselves of "non-being" we would be adding "nothingness."

²⁶² The *sancai* 三才 refers to the sky, earth and humanity.

²⁶³ *Shuiyin* 水銀 can refer to mercury or cinnabar (*Zhusha* 朱砂). Here, it appears to refer to the former. *Daozang danyao yiming suoyin*, 2362/277.

²⁶⁴ *Zhusha* 朱砂 is one of many synonyms for cinnabar. *Danyao suoyin*, 0437/50.

²⁶⁵ *Liuhuang* 硫黃. *Danyao suoyin*, 1514/174.

reins,²⁶⁶ nor *qi* and blood. Rather, they are the Original Essence (*yuanjing* 元精) in the body and the Original Spirit (*yuanshen* 元神) in the heart-mind. If the body and mind do not move the essence and *qi* will congeal. In describing it I call it the elixir. What is called the elixir is the elixir body. ○ is the True Nature. Drawing ○ out of the elixir is called completion of the elixir.²⁶⁷

As for what is called the elixir, it does not come from the fashioning of some false external substance; the origin of what is produced is the complete Orthodox Truth; the world rarely understands this. Contemporary scholars who make pretense at cultivating the elixir many do not obtain the orthodox transmission. All are looking to the external in their search and following the heterodox while turning their backs on the orthodox. Therefore, those who study are many and yet those who achieve completion are few.

[2b] Some refine the five metals²⁶⁸ and the eight minerals;²⁶⁹ some refine the three avoidances and the five attractions;²⁷⁰ some refine the external *qi* of rosy clouds;²⁷¹ some

²⁶⁶ Here I follow Needham's understanding of *shen* 腎 as a region rather than designating a specific organ. Needham, *Science and Civilisation*, vol. 5.5, 22, d. Western medicine tends to delimit the kidney very specifically as a single organ containing the basic functional unit, the nephron which produces nephric filtrate. By comparison the function of the *shen* 腎 includes installing essence (*jing* 精) associated with reproduction. The *shen* also directly impacts on the health of the bone and marrow, brain, hearing and the respiratory system. *Dictionary of Chinese Medicine*, s.v. *shen* 腎.

²⁶⁷ In this sentence Li understands *qi* to be synonymous with the Original Spirit (*yuanshen* 元神). Once again "○" is being used as something prior to the elixir. Li clearly does not equate it with the elixir. Of course he has just made the point that "○" represents the True Nature.

²⁶⁸ The five metals are iron (*tie* 鐵), copper (*tong* 銅), lead (*qian* 鉛), tin (*xi* 錫), and silver (*yin* 銀). *DJDCD*, 216, s.v. 五金.

²⁶⁹ The eight minerals are cinnabar (*zhusha* 朱砂), realgar (*xionghuang* 雄黃), mica (*yunmu* 雲母), azurite malachite (*kongqing* 空青), and sulphur (*liuhuang* 硫黃). *DJDCD*, 39, s.v. 八石.

²⁷⁰ I have been unable to locate the terms *sanbi* 三避 or *wujia* 五假 in any Taoist or Buddhist dictionary. The former may well be a reference to practices of abstinence from grains and perhaps sex among others.

²⁷¹ This is probably a reference to the practice of ingesting the dawn mists. This practice is also criticized by Zhang Boduan as not being part of the true inner alchemical way. *Wuzhen pian*, 26.21b.

refine the essences of the sun and moon; some gather the brightness of the stars' luminescence; some contemplate the pill within emptiness to complete the elixir; some think the elixir field has a substance that is the elixir; some, on the back of their forearms, fly the essence of metal;²⁷² some concentrate on the (point) between the eyebrows; some return the semen to restore the brain; some circulate the *qi* and return it to the navel; furthermore they even come to swallowing impurities, swallowing saliva, and the Elegant Exercises in Eight Sections [method] of taking in the new and spitting out the old.²⁷³ [Also, there are the] methods [designated with] three characters: Swaying the spine, twisting the windlass,²⁷⁴ closing the *weilu* 尾閭,²⁷⁵ guarding the umbilical chord,²⁷⁶ gathering the sex-stimulating essence of the kidneys,²⁷⁷ and forging autumn stones.²⁷⁸

²⁷² The precise meaning of this phrase has proved impossible to locate. "Essence of metal" (*jinjing* 金精) can refer to cassiterite, a native tin dioxide (SnO_2) which is the major ore of tin occurring in tetragonal form as yellow, brown or reddish prisms. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. s.v. cassiterite; *Danyao suoyin*, 2874/345. Unfortunately this sheds no light of the meaning of this phrase.

²⁷³ *ZHDJ*, 1031, s.v. 八段錦, specifically mentions "spitting out the old and drawing in the new" (吐故納新) as one of the forms of exercise included in the "Elegant Exercises in Eight Sections" (*baduanjin*). This is a reference to a form of *daoyin*. Also see Needham, *Science and Civilisation*, 5.5, 154-179 and Kunio Miura, "The Revival of Qi: Qigong in Contemporary China" in Livia Kohn ed. *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1989), 148-150.

²⁷⁴ The precise meaning of this term has proved impossible to determine though a reference to the "windlass opening" (*luluxie* 轆轤穴) can be found in the *Dadan zhizhi*, TY 243, DZ 115, *zhuan shang*, 9b. This term is included in a discussion of the movement of the *qi* up from the *weilu* 尾閭 through the gates of the spine to the top of the head and then descending through the front of the body. In the present context however it is more likely that a more physical exercise more akin to *daoyin* 導引 or *Taji quan* 太極拳 is being referred to here.

²⁷⁵ The *weilu* 尾閭 is associated with the coccyx (*Dictionary of Traditional Chinese Medicine*, 31, s.v. 尾閭) but is also known as the "gate of the sea of *qi*" (*qihaimen* 氣海門) the "river chariot bone" (*hechegu* 河車骨) and the "river chariot road" (*hechelu* 河車路) as well as the "dragon tiger opening" (*longhuxue* 龍虎穴). These are some of the names listed in the *Baoyizi sanfeng laoren danjue* 抱一子三峰老人丹訣 (Master Baoyi sanfeng's Essentials on the Elixir) TY 280; DZ 134, 15b. Closing this opening, comprising part of the course along which the *qi* flows, is probably a reference to the practice of preventing leakage of the *qi* from the body.

²⁷⁶ This practice is not listed in any of the major Taoist dictionaries. The navel is certainly a key point in the body referred to by many other names including "elixir field" (*dantian* 丹田), "central palace" (*zhongguan* 中官), and "yellow hall" (*huangting* 黃庭). A more complete list of synonyms can be found in *Dadan zhizhi, zhuan shang*, 2a, composed by a contemporary of Li Daochun.

²⁷⁷ I have chosen to translate *tiangui* 天癸 as "sex-stimulating essence of the kidneys" rather than as menstruation as it seems to be more in accord with practices aimed at strengthening the body and it makes

[Other methods include] the gymnastics of bending and stretching, massage, inhaling and exhaling,²⁷⁹ secretly paying court to Shangdi,²⁸⁰ the tongue supporting the roof of the mouth,²⁸¹ returning to the three [elixir] fields,²⁸² [alternately] stopping and circulating the breath,²⁸³ gathering the great fire in the bladder,²⁸⁴ and gathering the five phases in the bitter sea.²⁸⁵ By following such lesser methods how is one different from the thousand schools that, although they expend great efforts in adopting such methods, in the end are unable to complete the great affair. The scripture says: "The orthodox method is difficult to encounter. Many stray from the true road;" thus it says, "many enter heterodox

good sense when paired with the verb *cai* 採 "to gather." It is also a practice that applies equally to men and women and the passage here appears not to distinguish sex-specific exercises. *Dictionary of Traditional Chinese Medicine*, 329, s.v. 天癸.

²⁷⁸ Forging autumn stones (*duan qiushi* 煅) was a reference to an outer alchemical practice though its referent appears to have changed to include a form of bodily cultivation after the Tang dynasty. *ZHDJ*, 1407, s.v. 秋石.

²⁷⁹ This practice may be more complicated and subtle than the translation suggests. These terms are a common binome in outer alchemy referring to the careful regulation of the fire, known as fire phasing (*huohou* 火候), during the process of refining the elixir. *ZHDJ*, 1201, s.v. 消息. The translation here reflects the more obviously physical practice in keeping with what appears to be the focus of Li's critique.

²⁸⁰ This is a meditative exercise that involves shifting the concentration to various regions of the body such as the lower elixir field and the uppermost gate known as the *niwan dingmen* 尼丸頂門. *ZHDJ*, 1030, s.v. 默朝上帝法.

²⁸¹ This is another meditation technique in which the tongue touches the palate just behind the teeth during meditation. *ZHDJ*, 1250, s.v. 舌拄上腭.

²⁸² This is an inner alchemy method for cultivating the great returned elixir (*da huandan* 大還丹). *ZHDJ*, 1240, s.v. 三田返復.

²⁸³ Here *qi* is best translated as "breath" as the reference is to breathing exercises in which the breath is held for extended periods in order to enhance the health of the body. *ZHDJ*, 971, s.v. 閉氣.

²⁸⁴ The term "great fire" (*dahuo* 大火) is a synonym for a constellation known also as the Heart Constellation (*xinxiu* 心宿) or simply heart (*xin* 心). See Needham, *Science and Civilisation* 3, 250 concerning *dahuo* 大火. Also see *ZHDJ*, 791, s.v. 心宿 and 796, s.v. 大火. There appears to be some symbolic play at work here. Inner alchemical symbolism matches the five phases to five organs in the body. The heart happens to be correlated with fire. Fire is seen as potentially destructive if permitted to act according to its nature. The adept is supposed to make the fire of the heart sink rather than rise just as water, correlated with the kidney region, and connoting the essence (*jing* 精), is supposed to be made to rise rather than sink. The criticism here seems to be leveled at confounding this inner alchemy understanding of the fire with a more literal practice of trying to force the great fire into the bladder.

²⁸⁵ It is unclear what practice this phrase is referring to as the Taoist dictionaries provide accounts of the "bitter sea" (*kuhai* 苦海) that refer back to the Buddhist doctrine regarding human kind's situation of birth into a boundless sea of suffering. Clearly something else is intended here.

sects.”²⁸⁶ [3a] Now as for the essentials of the most true [method], they are extremely simple and extremely easy. It is difficult to encounter but easy to complete. If you should encounter the transformative teachings of an accomplished person you will not fail to [achieve] completion at once!

Dingan said: [Your] disciple has been preordained to have the good fortune to meet a teacher. [Your disciple] rejoices at receiving the essentials of the method for triturating the Golden Elixir. I hope you will favor me with your transformative teachings.

The Teacher said: As you are now attentively listening I will give a broad explanation. Well, as for the Golden Elixir, it is completed in grasping the creative transformations of heaven and earth. Take *qian* and *kun* to be the reaction vessel,²⁸⁷ take the sun and moon to be the water and fire; take *yin* and *yang* to be the workings of transformation; take the raven and the hare to be medicinal substance.²⁸⁸ Rely on the revolving of the Dipper’s bowl. Depend upon the extending and shifting of the Dipper’s

²⁸⁶ I do not know what scripture is being referred to here though it is definitely not the *Wuzhen pian*.

²⁸⁷ This line, 以乾坤為鼎器, is almost certainly taken from the first of sixty-four stanzas comprising the core of the *Wuzhen pian*, which reads: 先把乾坤為鼎器 (*Wuzhen pian*, 27.1a). Within inner alchemical language the hexagrams *qian* 乾 and *kun* 坤 resonate with multiple layers of meaning however the general point being made here is that the reaction vessel (*dingqi* 鼎器) associated with outer alchemical experiments must here be understood as the broad context of macro and microcosmic transformations within which the process of inner alchemical transformation takes place. In his commentary on this line in the *Wuzhen pian*, Zhenyi zi 真一子 explains that after unified *qi* has coalesced and the Supreme Ultimate (*Taiji* 太極) has split into its component parts (*liangyi* 兩儀) *qian* and *kun* follow along with all of the subsequent cosmogonic phases of differentiation engendered within them. *Wuzhen pian*, 27.1a. This is all a prelude to a return to the stage of non-differentiation that began the creative cycle.

²⁸⁸ According to the “Questions and Answers” section of the *Jindan dacheng ji* found in the *Xiuzhen shishu* TY 262, DZ 122-131, the “golden raven in the sun” and the “jade hare in the moon” are associated with the fluid in the heart (心中之液) and the *qi* in the reins (腎中之氣). *Jindan dacheng ji*, 10.10a. Li states later in this text that the raven and hare are the inner nature and emotions: 烏兔性情也. *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.3b.

handle.²⁸⁹ The gathering of the *qi* has its times and the revolving of the tally has its pattern: First the advancing fire, then the retreating tally,²⁹⁰ the harmonious union of the four signs;²⁹¹ escorting the two forms of *qi* (*yin* and *yang*) back to the yellow road,²⁹² bringing together the three natures in the primordial palace;²⁹³ reverting to the foundation; returning to the primordial, going back to the root; restoring life. [When all of this] work has been completed and the spirit prepared, the mundane is cast off and you will become an immortal. This is what is called the completion of the elixir.

[3b] Dingan said: Truly I fear the creation and transformation of heaven and earth are impossible to grasp.

The teacher said: [As long as you] do not go out of the body [to search] why should it be impossible to have the form and substance of heaven and earth [within]? [Simply put, they are] fire and water, essence and *qi*, *yin* and *yang*, and body and mind. The raven and hare are the Nature and emotions. What are taken to be form and substance are the reaction vessel and the stove. Essence and *qi* are water and fire

²⁸⁹ *Tiangan* 天罡 is the bowl of the Dipper while *doubing* 斗柄 is the handle. The Dipper is an asterism of the Ursa Major constellation, known also as the Great Bear. The rotation of the dipper is a recurring motif in *neidan* texts. It is symbolic of cycles in general including the seasons and also represents the continual circulation of the *qi* up the spine and down the front of the body. Needham, *Science and Civilisation*, vol. 5, 250. Below Li describes this metaphor in terms of the mind of the Natural Order.

²⁹⁰ The tally (*fu* 符) refers to the two complementary phases of *qi* circulation which first advances up the spine and is referred to as "advancing the fire" (*jinhuo* 進火) and then the "retreating tally" (*tuihu* 退符).

²⁹¹ The four signs (*sixiang* 四象) are water, fire, metal and wood, four of the five phases to be reunited in the centre, which is earth, often represented by the pairing of the two celestial stems (*tiangan* 天干), *wu* 戊 and *ji* 己. In the forward to the *Jindan sibaizi* of Zhang Boduan, it is explained that the four signs are the eyes, ears, nose and tongue that must be closed off to external distraction. In this way the *hun* 魂, *po* 魄, spirit and essence can return and be stored in their proper organs allowing the intention to rest in the spleen (the centre). Once this occurs these four forms of *qi* can pay court to the centre where the intention resides.

²⁹² Huangdao 黃道 refers to the direct route of circulation from the *huiyin* 會陰 point on the perineum up to the *niwan* 泥丸 region in the head. ZHDJ, 1180, s.v. 黃道. See also *Wuzhen pian*, 27.2a.

²⁹³ This is a quotation from the forward to the *Wuzhen pian*, 26.3a.

[respectively]. The emotions and Nature are the workings of transformation. The body and mind are the medicinal materials.

The sages, fearing that those who study will not grasp this and follow it, use [the analogy of] heaven and earth to explain it. A person's body and the creative transformations of heaven and earth do not fail to share the same condition. The two characters 'mind' and 'body' are the medicine and the fire. [The creative transformations of heaven and earth are] that by which the celestial *hun* soul and the terrestrial *po* soul, the *qian* horse and the *kun* ox, the *yang* lead and the *yin* mercury, the *kan* man and the *li* woman, the raven of the sun and the hare of the moon²⁹⁴ do not depart from the two characters, 'body' and 'mind'. As for the revolving of the Dipper's bowl, it is the mind of the Natural Order. An elixir book²⁹⁵ says: "If the human mind is in agreement with the mind of the Natural Order the inverting of *yin* and *yang* ceases in an instant." It also says "Consider the mind; [when] contemplating the Way; the Way is precisely the mind. Consider the Way; [when] contemplating the heart-mind; the mind is precisely the Way. [4a] The extending and shifting of the Dipper's handle is the Mysterious Pass. And, as for the Mysterious Pass, it is the pass of the workings of the utmost mystery and profundity.

Of those who presently study, many of them muddy the form and the substance. Some say [the Mysterious Pass] is between the eyebrows; some say it is the circle of the navel; some say it is in between the two kidneys. Some say it is behind the navel and in

²⁹⁴ All of these symbolic pairs are ways of referring to the dynamic relationship between *yin* and *yang*.

²⁹⁵ I have been unable to locate the source of this quotation.

front of the kidneys; some say it is the bladder; some say it is the elixir field; some say the head has nine palaces and that these are the Mysterious Pass; some point to the gate of production, the place from which the body is born (the vagina); some point to the mouth and nose as the Mysterious Female. None of these are [the Mysterious Pass].

Yet looking above forms and substance is also not right. Further, one must not depart from this body and turn toward the external. [You may] seek for it in the elixir scriptures but none of them explain the exact location. Thus it is impossible to make [the Mysterious Pass] manifest. The pen and the tongue cannot explain it. Therefore it is said that the two characters 'Mysterious' and 'Pass' are what cause the sages to write only the single character 'centre' (*zhong* 中) to make [the meaning of the Mysterious Pass] manifest to people. It is this character, 'centre' that explains Mysterious Pass.

What is called "centre" is not the "centre" of inside and outside. Also it is not the "centre" of the above and below of the four cardinal points. [4b] It is not the "centre" of being at the centre [of something]. Buddhists say: "Do not think of goodness; do not think of evil. When you are thus centered²⁹⁶ that is your original face and eyes." This is the "centre" of the Chan School. The *Ru* [scholars] say that pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy having not yet stirred is the substance of being centered.²⁹⁷ The Taoist teaching says when thoughts abide motionless it is called centered. This is the centeredness of the Taoist teaching. These [examples] namely, are the Three Teachings employing only the

²⁹⁶ Here *zheng* 正, which can mean the centre of a target, is translated as "centred" in order to preserve Li Daochun's perceived resonance with his notion of *zhong* 中.

²⁹⁷ This is a paraphrase of one of the most famous statements found in the *Zhongyong*. James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vols. 1 and 2 (1935; reprint, Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1992), 384.

single character 'centre'. The *Changes [of the Zhou]* says: "Quietly unmoving."²⁹⁸ This is the substance of the centre. "Affected it follows and penetrates."²⁹⁹ This is the function of the centre. Laozi said: "Bring about emptiness to the limit; preserve stillness earnestly. The myriad creatures together arise; thus I watch their return."³⁰⁰ The *Changes [of the Zhou]* says: "[In the hexagram] *Fu* (return) [one] sees the mind of Sky and Earth."³⁰¹ Moreover, in the hexagram *Fu* a single *yang* [line] is produced beneath five *yin* lines. *Yin* is stillness. *Yang* is movement. [When] stillness reaches its limit it produces movement. Only this place of movement really is the Mysterious Pass.

During the two [sets of] six hours (all day) you³⁰² begin the moving of the mind and the abiding of the thoughts, attending to carrying out the work. [After] an extended period the Mysterious Pass will spontaneously appear. [5a] If you are able to see the Mysterious Pass then the medicinal substance, the phasing of the fire, "drawing out" and "supplementing"³⁰³ and the functioning of circulation will all be arrived at. The transforming spirit shedding the womb definitely does not go out through this single

²⁹⁸ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/21.

²⁹⁹ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/ 79/ 22.

³⁰⁰ *Daode jing*, 16.

³⁰¹ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 24/24/29.

³⁰² Here I am reading *gong* according to the account given in the *Jindan wenda* section of the *Jindan dacheng ji* 金丹大成集, 4b. This text is found in the second of the ten books found in the *Xiuzhen shishu*, TY 262; DZ 122-131.

³⁰³ Within *neidan* texts *choutian* 抽添, translated here as "drawing out" and "supplementing," is often glossed as drawing out the lead to supplement the mercury (抽鉛添汞). Li also does this but he adds, "When the body does not stir the *qi* is settled. [I] call this drawing out. When the mind does not stir the spirit is settled. [I] call this supplementing." (身不動氣定謂之抽, 心不動神定謂之添) *Zhonghe ji*, 3.2a. Elsewhere Li describes "drawing out," by employing the Buddhist-sounding language of cutting off worldly ties. Here he also describes "supplementing" as the realm of Original Nature (本性天). *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.26b (translated below).

opening.³⁰⁴ Gathering the medicine refers to gathering the true lead and true mercury inside the body. The production of the medicine has its time. As for that time it is not the extreme of winter nor is it the birth of the moon or the hour of *zi* 子 (11pm-1am).³⁰⁵ The teacher says: "In refining the elixir it is no use seeking winter's extreme. Within the body there is a naturally occurring production of a single *yang*."³⁰⁶ Again it is said: "[When] lead is produced upon meeting *gui*, quickly you must gather. When metal meets the full moon send it away and do not taste it."³⁰⁷ Taking this [into consideration] and searching in the body, the time of *gui*'s production is a single *yang*. You can then set to work gathering the two *qi*. After they have been brought together and harmonized it is essential to be aware of employing restraint to avoid overflowing. You must not go too far. [Thus Zhang Boduan says:] "When the moon is full send it away as it is not fit for tasting."³⁰⁸ If you lack a means to grasp the [idea of] advancing the fire and the retreating tally then follow the fluctuations of heat and cold during the period of a year taking them as [the means for] the regulation of the fire and tally. Further you can use the waxing and waning

³⁰⁴ The term *tuotai* 脱胎 occurs frequently in *neidan* texts and refers to escaping the pregnant womb, which in this context is a metaphor for the departure of the *yang* spirit from the mundane world. Li defines *tuotai* as the *yang* spirit going out from the shell. *Zhonghe ji*, 3.21b. Generally Li's point is that the Mysterious Pass is not a location providing an opening through which the *yang* spirit may exit. It may be better to view it as the entire process in some sense.

³⁰⁵ The peak of winter (*dongzhi* 冬至), the new moon (*yuesheng* 月生) and the double midnight hour (*zi* 子) are references to moments when *yin* has peaked and *yang* makes its return. Li has gone to some lengths in the previous statements to explain that, as with the hexagram *fu*, a single *yang* must make its appearance so that within the tranquility of absolute *yin* the first stirring of *yang* movement makes itself known. He reiterates this point in his quotation of an unidentified teacher in the very next line. Now he is urging his student, and the reader, not to cling to exact moments as they journey on the path to realization. This is in keeping with his refusal to explain the Mysterious Pass as a fixed location. As usual he suggests looking inward for the right moments. See the next passage.

³⁰⁶ The teacher is Zhang Boduan. The quotation given here is found in *Wuzhen pian*, 26.17a.

³⁰⁷ The following explanation draws on a commentary by Ye Shibiao in the *Wuzhen pian*, 26.17a-b which explains that *gui* 癸 is the trigram *kun* 坤. (*Gui* is one of the ten celestial branches that corresponds with water as does the trigram *kun*.) Both symbolize pure *yin* at the moment when *yang* emerges. This building or waxing of *yang* is a time for gathering *qi*. Conversely, when the moon is full *yang* begins to wane and this is not the time to be gathering. This is a time when the *qi* will potentially disperse. Hence, the next sentence in the original (quoted here by Li Daochun) advises storing away the *qi* by sealing it up to avoid leakage.

³⁰⁸ *Wuzhen pian*, 26.17a.

of a single moon (month) in order to understand the directing of “drawing out” and “supplementing.” Moreover, it is like [the twelve hexagrams representing the waxing and waning of *yin* and *yang*:]³⁰⁹ the extreme moment of winter when a single *yang* [line] is produced in the hexagram *fu*; the double *yang* hexagram *lin* of the twelfth month; [5b] the triple *yang* hexagram *tai* of the first month; the four *yang* hexagram *dazhuang* of the second month; the five *yang* hexagram *guai* of the third month; the six *yang*, pure *yang*, hexagram *qian* of the fourth month. [Then, with] the extreme of *yang* [having been reached, a] *yin* [line] is produced: the single *yin* hexagram *gou* of the fifth month; the double *yin* hexagram *dun* of the sixth month; the triple *yin* hexagram *fou* of the seventh month; the four *yin* hexagram *guan* of the eighth month; the five *yin* hexagram *bo* of the ninth month and the pure *yin* hexagram *kun* of the tenth month. [With] the extreme of *yin* [having been reached] the cycle begins again with *fu*. This is the workings of the advancement and retreat of the fire and the tally. What remedy is there for students who cling to words and muddy the images (the hexagrams) taking the winter’s extreme and calling it “setting to work advancing the fire” and calling summer’s extreme “retreating of the tally?” They do not understand the essentials of the cause of bathing³¹⁰ during the second and eighth months.³¹¹ The sages see students [of the Way] mistakenly employing their minds and wills; again, taking the period of a [whole] year and squeezing it into a single month; using the symbols of the full moon and the new moon, and the winter and

³⁰⁹ See Appendix 1 for an illustration of the twelve hexagrams.

³¹⁰ Li defines *muyu* 沐浴 very succinctly as “cleansing the mind and washing away anxiety” (洗心滌慮). This represents a departure from standard *neidan* explanations and uses of this term in which it is linked to and explained in terms of the phasing of the fire. Li is well aware of other approaches to defining this term but ranks them as inferior. *Zhonghe ji*, 3.16a-17a. See *Daojiao dacidian*, s.v. 沐浴 for several explanations one of which refers to the phrase 洗心滌慮 found somewhere in the vast corpus of material associated with Baiyu chan.

³¹¹ The second and eighth months are designated by the terms rising crescent moon (*shangxian* 上弦) and falling crescent moon (*xiaxian* 下弦) See Appendix 1.

summer solstices; taking the two crescent [moons] and pairing them with the second and eighth months; taking two days and dividing and adjusting them to [the period of] a single month; taking thirty days and equating it to a year. Students also concentrating [6a] on the moon apply their efforts and take the waning and waxing of the moon and fit these into a single day. [Thus] they consider the hours of *zi* (11am-1am) and *xia* (11pm-1pm) to embody new and full moon and consider the hours of *mao* (5am-7am) and *you* (5pm-7pm) to embody the two crescent moons. Students also focus on a single day in applying their efforts.³¹²

A true teacher of recent times (Zhang Boduan) said: "Half an hour's work naturally has the time period of one year."³¹³ Further, he said: "Formerly [when] the mother and father have not yet been born, therein are years, months, days and hours."³¹⁴ These are [but] instructional metaphors [used by] the sages. Students must not confusedly employ their minds. What remedy is there for muddying them [when] students do not exhaustively look into the [underlying] principles [but] cling to words and muddy the images? [Doing this] disciples only weary their minds. I will now give you straightforward directions.

When *gui* is produced in the body this then is a single *yang*. *Yang* ascends and *yin* descends; this then is triple *yang*. The division of *yin* and *yang* simply is the four *yang* lines embodying the second month. If we match the rising crescent [moon] to the hour of *mao* (5am-7am) it is the [time for] bathing. Thus, afterwards the fire may be advanced.

³¹² A very similar critique of this approach is found in *Jindan sibaizi*, TY1070, DZ 741, 9a.

³¹³ *Jindan sibaizi*, 3b.

³¹⁴ The second reference here is not found in the *Jindan sibaizi* nor in the *Wuzhen pian*.

The interaction of *yin* and *yang* and the combining of spirit and *qi* are the six *yang*. After *yin* and *yang* have interacted and the spirit and *qi* have melded you must understand how to regulate surplus. If you do not know how to stop [6b] at sufficiency then all your former work will be entirely wasted. Therefore it is said that when the metal of the elixir meets the full moon send it away and do not taste it.³¹⁵ The retreating tally is symbolized by the arrival of a single *yin* [line].³¹⁶ The division of *yin* and *yang* is symbolized by the three *yin* [lines of the hexagram *fou*].³¹⁷ When *yin* and *yang* have been secretly established you ought to bathe. [Bathing,] symbolized by the eighth month, is compared to the falling crescent moon, and is likened to the hour of *you* (5pm-7pm). Thus, later the cycle arrives at six *yang* lines [of the hexagram *kun*]. With the extreme of *yin*, *yang* is [again] produced. [Thus] an instant is one whole day.³¹⁸ You simply need to depend on [this process] acting on it and working for an extended period and, gradually congealing, gradually coagulating, the substance produced from [what is] without substance unifies and completes the sacred fetus. We call this the completion of the elixir.

Dingan said: I have already received [your explanation concerning] setting to work employing the fire phasing throughout the day however, my teacher has introduced many different terms and I do not completely understand them. I hope my teacher will elaborate.

³¹⁵ See footnote 307 above for information on this phrase.

³¹⁶ This refers to the hexagram *gou* at the hour of *xia*. See Appendix 1.

³¹⁷ This is a continuation of the movement through the hours of the day and through the waxing of *yin* in the twelve key hexagrams. *Fou* occurs at the hour of *shen* (3pm-5pm).

³¹⁸ Compare this to the point made earlier in the quotation of a true teacher's words: "Half an hour's work naturally has the time period of one year."

The teacher said: These different names are merely metaphors. Do not depart from the two characters: 'body' and 'mind' when you set to work. Congeal the harmony of the ears; contain the brightness of the eyes; seal up the *qi* of the tongue; harmonize the breath of the nose. [When these] "Four Greats" [7a] do not move then essence, spirit, the *hun* souls and *po* souls and the intention all rest in their places. This is called the five *qi* paying court to the origin.³¹⁹ Circulating [this *qi* so that it] enters the Central Palace is called gathering together the five phases.³²⁰ When the mind does not move this is the dragon's moan. When the body does not move, this is the tiger's roar. The body and mind not moving is called the descending dragon and the hidden tiger. The essence and *qi* are described as the tortoise and the snake. The body and mind are described as the dragon and tiger. The instant unifying of the dragon, tiger, tortoise and snake is called the harmonizing and unifying of the four signs. Using the Nature to take hold of the emotions is called equalizing metal and wood. Using essence to manage the *qi* is called the interaction of fire and water.³²¹ Wood and fire share the same origin. The two natures share one household. [That is,] three of the east and two of the south together make five.³²² [Likewise] water and metal share the same origin. One of the north and four of the

³¹⁹ This appears to be a quotation, though in slightly different order, from the forward to the *Jindan sibai zi* traditionally attributed to Zhang Boduan. The text of the *Jindan sibai zi* goes on to explain the results of this state of meditative stillness. It provides a useful elucidation of the quotation found in Li Daochun's text: "The eyes not seeing locates the *hun* souls in the liver; the ears not hearing locates the essence in the kidneys; the tongue making no sound locates the spirit in the heart-mind; the nose sensing no fragrance locates the *po* souls in the lungs; the lack of movement in the four limbs locates intention in the spleen." All of this is described as "the five *qi* paying court to the origin" which is repeated in Li's text. So this meditative exercise, in which all of the senses are muted or stopped, is a method for retaining various forms of *qi* in their proper bodily locations. The result is the establishment of the necessary foundation for transforming essence into *qi*, *qi* into spirit and spirit back to emptiness or the Way. *Jindan sibai zi*, 1a.

³²⁰ This phrase is found in *Zhuzhen neidan jiyao*, TY1246, DZ 999, *quanzhong*, 13a, attributed to Xuanquan zi 玄全子 a Quanzhen master and contemporary of Li Daochun. According to the ZHDJ, 1229, sv. *guji* 固濟 this text is given as the primary reference for another phrase used by Li below (see footnote 328). This assumes that Li is quoting Xuanquan zi and not the reverse.

³²¹ This section of text is almost verbatim from the *Zhuzhen neidan jiyao*, *quan zhong*, 13b.

³²² East corresponds with wood while south corresponds with fire.

west make it complete.³²³ Earth, located in the Central Palace, is associated with the naturally completed number five. *Wuji* 戊己 at the same time [also] accords with the originally produced number [five].³²⁴ When the mind, body, and will are made complete in a single instant the three households behold each other and form the child.³²⁵ This is called the fusing of the three fives. Refining essence and transforming it into *qi*; refining *qi* and transforming it into spirit and [7b] refining spirit so that it returns to emptiness is called the three herbs gathered in the reaction vessel. It is also called the three gates. As for the many contemporary students who point to the *weilu* 尾閭, *jiaji* 夾脊, and *yuzhen* 玉枕 as being the three gates³²⁶ they are only referring to a method of work that is not the most essential concern.

The place where the mind stirs and the thoughts are set in motion is the Mysterious Female. As for my contemporaries pointing to the mouth and nose, these are not it. The body, mind, and will are the three essentials. Nature within the mind is called mercury within cinnabar.³²⁷ *Qi* within the body is called metal within water. [Normally,]

³²³ Complete insofar as the sum of the two is five.

³²⁴ *Wu* 戊 and *ji* 己 refer independently to the fifth and sixth of the ten celestial stems (*tiangan* 天干) and, in combination, correspond to the earth phase which occupies the central position. This entire section describing the correlation of numbers with directions as comprising three sets of five follows very closely the schema laid out by Zhang Boduan in the fourteenth of sixteen heptasyllabic verses in the opening section of the *Wuzhen pian*, 26.19a-b. Wuming zi's commentary on this section is helpful.

³²⁵ This sentence and a clear explanation is found in Ming dynasty extracanonical *neidan* text entitled *Xingming guizhi*, 25b. The explanation points out that the three fives or houses are the mind, body, and will all of which, if they are kept still, will allow the joining of spirit in the south and nature in the east, *jing* in the north and emotions in the west, and with the will settled in the centre all three join together. All of this is explained further as the requisite foundation for transforming *jing* into *qi*, *qi* into spirit and spirit into emptiness.

³²⁶ These gates are located at the coccyx, mid spine and back of the head.

³²⁷ The Chinese character translated here as "cinnabar" is *sha* 砂. Although it might be otherwise translated as sand or gravel this would be at odds with the present context. Cinnabar (mercury sulphide) is the principal ore of mercury and this term, used here in connection with mercury is almost certainly shorthand for *dansha* 丹砂, red cinnabar.

metal is the originating producer of water and so is known as the mother of water.

[However, in this case,] metal reverts to dwelling within water. Therefore it is said the mother is concealed within the child's womb. Do not let what is external enter and do not allow what is internal to get out. This is called sealing up [the reaction vessel].³²⁸ Stillness without motion is called nourishing the fire. The spontaneity of emptiness without [form] is called the functioning of circulation. Preserving integrity and making the will earnest is called "guarding the city." Subduing what is within is called "the baby boy doing battle in the wilds."³²⁹ True mercury is called the "baby girl."³³⁰ True lead is called the "baby boy."³³¹ Prenatal intention³³² is called the "yellow old woman."³³³ The Nature and emotions are called "husband and wife." Clear up the mind and [8a] settle the intention; the Nature will be stilled and the spirit efficacious. The two things will merge completely and the three primes will be conjoined as spokes at the hub of a wheel. This is called completion of the fetus. Caring for and protecting the numinous root is called warming

³²⁸ *Guji* 固濟 is an outer alchemical term referring to sealing up the reaction vessel once the medicinal ingredients have been collected and placed inside. *ZHDI*, 1357, s.v. 固濟. Here Li is obviously employing the term to describe a stage in his method of inner alchemy. Baiyu Chan provides an inner alchemical definition of this term in *Bai Yuchan's Xuanguan xianmilun* 玄關顯秘論 (included in a *neidan* anthology entitled *Qunxian yaolu zuanji* 群仙要語纂集, TY1245, DZ998-99. "If you are able to be peaceful in the centre of *samādhi*; cherish the *qi* of [inner] calm; and guard the essence of true unity then this is the sealing up of the sealed furnace, which initiates the phasing of the fire." *Qunxian yaolu zuanji*, *juanxia*, 12a. See also *Zhuzhen neidan jiyao*, *juanzhong*, 13b. Most of the preceding section and much of what follows immediately is either from or quoted in the same text.

³²⁹ "Guarding the city" and "doing battle in the wilds" are phrases found in the *Wuzhen pian*. A commentary by Ye Shibiao 葉士表 provides some insight into the significance of these terms: He explains that the former, *shoucheng* 守誠, refers to the retreating *yin* fire descending down the front of the body and to the storing of the medicine. The latter phrase, *yezhan* 野戰, refers to the advancing *yang* fire that rises up the spine to the head. *Wuzhen pian*, 28.3b-4a.

³³⁰ In representing mercury, the baby girl (*chanu* 姦女) is symbolic of *yin* within *yang*.

³³¹ The baby boy (*yinger* 嬰兒), representing true lead is a symbol of *yang* within *yin*.

³³² Literally, "womb-intention" (*taiyi* 胎意). This is the kind of intention possessed by the foetus in the womb. This is a state of mind to be achieved through deep meditation facilitating the joining of *yin* and *yang* within the body.

³³³ Yellow is symbolic of the centre and thus, of reunion. The yellow old woman (*huangpo* 黃婆), who is acting as a go-between or matchmaker for the baby boy and girl, is actually the intention arising during meditation which brings about the joining (betrothal) of *yin* and *yang*.

and nourishing and these two are like the dragon nourishing the pearl and like the chicken sitting on its egg. This is called protecting and assisting. Do not cause even the slightest error. Making such a mistake [would cause] all of your previous work to be completely wasted. The appearing of the *yang* spirit is called shedding the womb; returning to the root, restoring life and returning to the original beginning is called leaping beyond and escaping; breaking through emptiness. This is called completion.

Dingan said: When the Golden Elixir is completed can it be seen or not?

[The teacher] answered saying: It can be seen.

Again [Dingan] asked: Does it have form or not?

[The teacher] answered saying: It is formless.

Again [Dingan] asked: Since it is formless how can it be seen?

[The teacher] answered saying: "Golden elixir" is merely an expedient name.

How could it have form? As for that which [I said] can be seen, it cannot be seen with the eyes. Buddhists say: In not seeing, one sees intimately. In seeing intimately, one does not see. The scriptures of the Way say "Look for it and it cannot be seen. Listen for it and it cannot be heard."³³⁴ We have to call it "Way."³³⁵ [8b] Looking for it and not seeing—it has never not been seen. Listening for it and not hearing—it has never not been heard. What I say can be seen and heard is not what the eyes and ears can reach. The mind sees and the will hears and that is all. This is analogous to a great wind arising and entering the mountains and moving the trees or entering the water and raising the waves. Can you

³³⁴ Here a portion of section 24 of the *Daode jing* is being paraphrased.

³³⁵ This is an allusion to section 25 of the *Daode jing*.

really say there is no such thing? Looking, [you] do not see [it]. Grasping, you do not attain [it]. Can you really say there is such a thing? The substance of the Golden Elixir is just like this. What is used to begin the [process of] refining is the mutual functioning of something and nothing; the mutual sequence of motion and stillness. Then, [when] the completion of the work is arrived at all of this is caused to be discarded and stopped and the myriad methods³³⁶ are all empty. Movement and stillness are completely forgotten. Existing and non-existing are entirely banished. Only then can you attain the completed form of the mysterious pearl and the return of the great unity to the real. [With the] twin completion of Nature (*xing* 性) and Life (*ming* 命) the form and spirit are utterly wondrous. One departs from “form” and enters the “formless.” Wandering at the edge of the clouds the fruit of [your efforts] attests to your [becoming a] Golden Immortal. All of the various different terms in the elixir books of what we take to be the scriptural canon [are there simply to] lead students from the coarse to penetrate the profound. Gradually entering the wondrous realm you arrive at seeing Nature and awakening to emptiness. The real matter is not to be found on paper. This is analogous to a boat crossing over a river. Crossing over, and thus people having stepped onto the other shore, the boat is useless. A former worthy [Zhuangzi] said: Once you have got the rabbit forget the snare. Once you have got the fish forget the trap.³³⁷ This is how it is described. Moreover, [although] I have now [recounted]³³⁸ this assemblage of words yet you must not cling to [what is] on paper. Instead, you may simply chew carefully on the [ideas presented] and

³³⁶ Given Li's propensity for the use of Buddhist technical terms it would also be possible to render *wanfa* 萬法 as “myriad *dhārmās*” (physical constituents). The choice in this context is difficult to make conclusively but Li's comments immediately below provide some justification for the choice made here.

³³⁷ Li is paraphrasing the closing lines of the twenty-sixth chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

³³⁸ In order to make sense of this sentence I have referred to a section in the *Zhonghe ji*, 6.22a, which provides a very nearly identical version of this same dialogic exchange.

experience and taste their flavor. Carefully and deeply investigate its root-origin. Perhaps with the application of a single word the ground of mind³³⁹ may open up and penetrate directly to the realm of non-purposive action. This is not difficult. Still, there are higher workings and they are not easily explained. You must search for it outside the application of words. Your attitude towards this work [must be one of] loving to face it. How else could there be a transmission from mind [to mind] or oral communication. In addition, with sincere efforts practice these abstruse lessons and precepts. Further, I have composed the following ode:

I transmit to you a single-chapter book on the Golden Elixir;

You should [employ] sincere intention to repeatedly search its entirety.

If you are able to directly liberate the meaning within this book,

then its marvelous function will penetrate completely, embodying great emptiness.

³³⁹ *Xindi* 心地 is a Buddhist term referring to the mind from which all *dharma*s arise. This term can be used for "intention" (*yi* 意). Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 150. Foxue dacedian, 703, sv. 心地.

2.5.b The Pattern of the Ru Scholars

[21a] Extend Knowledge and Investigate Things³⁴⁰

All things in the world embrace and contain the mystery of the Supreme Ultimate.

Preserve integrity, extend reverence and then you will know its inner workings.

It is without sound, without odour, and without any trace.

Embodying things, in its brightness Pattern is never far away.

Rectify the Mind and Integrate the Intention

Integrity, clarity, quiet, and being settled are the foundation of the Way.

Movement and stillness [21b] cause each other and in no case are they not the same.

If you daily employ, without wavering, the preservation of uniform uprightness,

Spontaneously the influence of the Pattern of the Natural Order will penetrate everywhere.

The Human Mind is Dangerous³⁴¹

Alas, worldly men fervently cling to delusion.

³⁴⁰ The *Daxue* 大學 is the *locus classicus* for the pair of terms *zhizhi* 致知 “extending knowledge” and *gewu* 格物 “investigating things.” These terms became cornerstones of the *Daoxue* movement that reached its full maturity in the work of Zhuxi 朱熹 (1130-1200). These terms also constituted the principal line of division between those who sought the extension of knowledge through inward investigation and those who sought by looking outward often to texts perceived as being filled with moral precedence out of which a thread of moral insight could be abstracted and comprehended by the reader of the works. These were differences of emphasis more than rigid absolutes.

³⁴¹ The title of this and the following verse are quotations from the *Shu Jing* (*Book of History*). Legge, *The Shoo King in Classics*, vol. 3, 61. The human mind (*renxin* 人心) is opposed to the mind of the Way (*daoxin* 道心) or mind of the Natural Order (*tianxin* 天心). Zhu Xi 朱熹 took up these terms and correlated the former with the *qi* comprising the body and the Pattern (*li* 理) which, ideally, one becomes able to accord with in daily life.

According with sounds and following sights is the danger of being turned upside down.

If you are able to return to Pattern and thoroughly investigate it within yourself;
Then the Nature will be stable, the body at peace, and the spirit will be naturally harmonious.

The Mind of the Way is Subtle

The Way is in ordinary people's daily employment of the centre.
Illustrious benevolence secretly employed brings forth spiritual merit.
Without excess and without deficiency, always present.
How can it be that the eyes of ordinary people [remain] blind?

Be Pure Be Unified

The substance and function of the mind of the Natural Order [are] the inner workings of subtle profundity.
Reject recklessness and accord with the true then you will be beginning from the subtle.
"Minute [investigation into the subtle] meaning of things enters the [realm of the] spiritual"³⁴² [means] simply settling [22a] on unity.

³⁴² This is a quotation from the Appendix to the *Changes of the Zhou*. *Zhouyi suoyin*, 66/82/20. The meaning of this phrase is unclear and problematic in this context. Shaughnessy translates this phrase (精義入神) as, "The seminal essence and propriety enter into the spiritual." Shaughnessy, *I Ching*, 207. Lynn renders it as, "Perfect concepts come about by entrance into the spiritual." Lynn, *I Ching*, 81-82. I have tried to maintain a literal rendering of the phrase while endeavoring to accommodate what I take to be the thrust of Li's intentions. The translation given above draws on an entry in the *Ciyuan*, 1297, s.v. 精義入神.

Extreme meritorious efforts will [cause you] to arrive at the inexpressibly profound.

Sincerely Hold to the Centre

To attain profound and subtle [powers] of creation sincerely work on your conduct.

The venerable great Way is boldly impartial.

The subtlety of [dealing with] opposing views [lies in] employing the centre and in the settling of the mind.

As for being unsettled—[employ] peacefulness; as for the subtle—[employ] understanding.

Thoroughly Investigate Pattern [and Employ] Nature to the Utmost

Most essential in preserving integrity is first to thoroughly investigate Pattern.

The spiritual merit of thoroughly investigating Pattern rests in utmost integrity.

The pinnacle of integrity and the thorough investigation of Pattern are the great root of the Natural Order.³⁴³

[In] the sky of Nature great brightness is uncovered.³⁴⁴

Thereby Arrive at Destiny

The True Gentleman who rejoices in the Natural Order and realizes³⁴⁵ its dictates;

³⁴³ The point being made is that the pinnacle of achievement in investigating Principle is a realization of the identity of Principle within, with the Principle of the cosmos also referred to as the Supreme Ultimate (*Taiji* 太極) by Zhuxi,

³⁴⁴ See *Ciyuan*, 1168, s.v. 發露 for this meaning based on usage in the *Documents of the later Han*.

The Great Sage who exhausts Pattern and thoroughly researches the subtle.
They need only take the centre as the Great Foundation.
Completely understanding the Great Origin they penetrate the spiritual.

[22b] Doing One's Utmost and Empathy: That is All

The mind that reproves others reproves itself.
The mind that has empathy for itself is empathetic to others.
When doing the utmost and deference are both complete then one comprehends
Way.
In taking charge at the end or the beginning [of an affair] do not depart from
humanity.

Return to Seeing the Mind of the Natural Order

When the whole *yin* is pared down to depletion, a single *yang* is produced.³⁴⁵
Securely close up the Mysterious Pass and do not recklessly open it.
When stillness is at its pinnacle, within that pinnacle one sees the start of
movement.
The lustrous discerning of the mind of the Natural Order awakens to what
originally came.

³⁴⁵ Here I am following the reading of *zhi* 知 argued for by David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames in *Thinking Through Confucius* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1987), 50. "Realizes" has the advantage of including an epistemological and cognitive dimension while not excluding the existential assertion that the true gentleman (*junzi* 君子) aligns himself with the greater flow of the cosmos and therefore makes it real and thus coextensive with himself.

³⁴⁶ This is a reference to the hexagram *fu* 復 with its single *yang* line at the bottom symbolizing the commencement of motion.

Knowing the Myriad Things in their Entirety

All of the things in the world make up the Pattern of the Natural Order.

From this, contemporary people are rarely able to [acquire] understanding.

Originating at the beginning and reversion to the end completes the Supreme Ultimate.

Exhausting the spirit in comprehending transformations one enters non-purposive action.

Take Refuge in [what is] Hidden

The Pattern of the Great Changes of the prior realm is mysterious and deep.

The essence of the expansively great is [23a] subtle and profound—it cannot be commented upon.

To get the flavour of it seek for the mystery upon mystery within your self.

Cleansing the mind and hiding in withdrawal reach their peak [through] integrity.

Be Constantly Cautious when Alone³⁴⁷

Gaze upon it but it cannot be seen; listen for it but it is soundless.

Whether the dark and obscure is hidden or manifest preserve utmost integrity.

[Those who] respond to and apply the moving power of the spirit cannot be fathomed.

Illustrious intention of the Natural Order naturally shines forth.

³⁴⁷ Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 384.

Penetrated by a Single Thread

Each thing naturally has a single Supreme Ultimate.

Its moving power binds [all things] to the creative transformations embodied by *Kun* and *Qian*.

By exhaustively penetrating the single pervading Pattern of Nature,

Thus, embrace the fundamental, return to the primordial, and join with the spontaneous.

Revert Back to the Limitless

Within the limit of the Limitless the Supreme Ultimate is complete.

The form of the Supreme Ultimate divides into the pair of emblems (*yin* and *yang*).

The myriad things and the three worldly constituents (heaven, earth, and humanity) are all complete [within] [23b] myself.

[This is] the foundation of the Sage's reversion to the primordial Limitless.

2.5.c The Buddhist Teaching

Two Bodies but One Substance

The *Dharma* Body,³⁴⁸ being pure and clear, is fundamentally formless.

Having form, how could it be called the wholly complete body?

Only apparently is that body caused to transform a myriad times.

If you are unable to unify [all those transformations] then you will not achieve complete truth.

Three Minds Then, Are One

The three minds³⁴⁹ are fundamentally one and that one is, originally, without [form].

Fabricating “gathering” and “dividing” is merely wheel tracks.

Manifesting amid transformations it is able to be without defilement.

The future and the past will, in their entirety, return to emptiness.

Dissolve Obstructions and Awaken to Emptiness

Do not boast with your mouth-drum (tongue) discoursing on meditation.

Simply clear your mind and cut off the myriad karmic causes.

³⁴⁸ *Fashen* 法身 (skt. *Dharmakāya*) is the first of three bodies of the Buddha and as such represents the embodiment of Truth and Law. The Dharma body is the “spiritual or true body.” Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 273; s.v. 法身.

³⁴⁹ This tripartite division of mind occurs in a number of forms. See for example Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 64, s.v. 三心. Judging from the present context though it seems likely that the reference is to the three minds of observation: first is the mind that realizes the emptiness of self; second is the mind that realizes the emptiness of *dharmas* (things); third is the mind that realizes the emptiness of both simultaneously. This is a doctrine found in the *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra*, T30/1579/605c. Muller, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. 三心.

Study liberation and let go completely of what you know.

[24a] The clouds of delusion will disperse and the moon's radiance will be complete.

Uninterrupted Revelation of the Abstruse

Complete understanding is like never having seen the seasons.

If you are unable to nurture and cherish it you will return to complete delusion.

The hidden self is secluded in darkness and leaves no trace.

It is this that is the "son of the golden-haired lion."³⁵⁰

Do Not Establish Something and Nothing

Having put in place "existent" and "nonexistent" it is certainly difficult to understand.

Lay both of them down and let them go completely and even let go of emptiness.

"Existent" and "nonexistent" are just like wealth: in the end they are deceptions.

Hold on to the middle and then you can be united with spiritual merit.

Discipline, Meditative Concentration, and Wisdom

Not moving in the midst of movement is true discipline.

[Through] true meditative concentration you will be united with the patriarchal ancestors.

³⁵⁰ The referent for the *Jinmao shizi er* 金毛獅子兒 (son of the golden-haired lion) is difficult to determine. The golden-haired lion can refer to the lion on which Mañjuśrī (Wenshu 文殊) rides. It can also refer to a previous incarnation of the Buddha Śākyamuni in which case "son of the golden-haired lion" may designate Śākyamuni. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 284, s.v. 金毛獅子. In the present verse the point would then be that the Buddha is the true or hidden self.

With wisdom you ascend the entire *Dharma*-realm.³⁵¹

The emotions that cause recklessness and deception will be completely dissolved.

[24b] No Fixed *Dharma*³⁵²

Engage in meditation to seek the *Dharma* [and your] Nature will be completely deluded.

Distancing [yourself] from the *Dharma* to seek mysterious practices is turning away.

If you comprehend *Dharma* as arising out of the mind

Dharma will be empty, the mind still, and [you will] behold the sage.

Empty Penetration and Noumenal Understanding

[With] empty mind and peaceful meditative concentration understand the Mysterious Female.

Piercing to the bone, pure and impoverished one enters the foundation of the Way.

The numinous realm³⁵³ is lustrous and the mind-moon appears.

This is the great brightness of the solitary openness of the Meditation Heaven.³⁵⁴

³⁵¹ *Fajie* 法界 (skt. *Dharmadātu*) can refer to the physical universe as a whole or to its underlying ground from which all phenomena appear. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 272, s.v. 法界.

³⁵² The four-character phrase, 無有定法 ("no fixed *Dharma*") is found in the *Diamond Sūtra*, T8/235/749b. This phrase occurs in a dialogue between Śākyamuni and his disciple Subhūti (須菩提) in which Śākyamuni makes the point that the *Dhārma* or teaching, cannot be grasped or talked about.

³⁵³ *Lingdi* 靈地 appears not to be an established Buddhist or Taoist term.

³⁵⁴ *Chantian* 禪天 refers to *Dhyana* heavens, of which there are four. It is to these heavens that those who practice meditation may be reborn. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 459, s.v. 禪天.

The Enlightened Nature of True Suchness³⁵⁵

The True Nature, which originally comes, is fundamentally naturally complete.

The absolute,³⁵⁶ unmoving, illuminates the Middle Heaven.³⁵⁷

The splendor of its radiance penetrates without hindrance or obscuration.

Its brightness breaks through the mist prior to its dividing.

Eternity, Bliss, Personality, and Purity³⁵⁸

Accord with the spirit, nourish the intention, and admire clarity and emptiness.

The whole day wander afar, [25a] allowing things to roll up and unravel.

It is best to dwell in true bliss within meditative concentration.

The solitariness of Meditation Heaven discloses radiant True Suchness.

Facing the Sun to Patch Up the Torn Robe³⁵⁹

Facing the sun to patch the robe feign tenderness.

Having patched up the shoulder [of your robe] again patch up the waist.

³⁵⁵ See footnote 258.

³⁵⁶ *Ruru* 如如 (skt. *tathatā*) designates the absolute and is synonymous with True Suchness (*zhenru* 真如). Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 211, s.v. 如如. The four-character phrase 如如不動 (the absolute, unmoving) is found in the *Diamond Sūtra*, T8/n235/752b/27.

³⁵⁷ *Zhongtian* 中天 refers to North-Central India. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 111, s.v. 中天. Perhaps its alternate form Middle Kingdom (*Zhongguo* 中國) is intended here.

³⁵⁸ *Chang le wo jing* 常樂我淨 is a technical term used 134 times in the 36 *juan* version of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T12/375/605-852 which teaches that these four states of realization or four *pāramitās* (perfections) of knowledge are developed in the state of *nirvāṇa*. *Foxue dacidian*, 1926 *shang*, s.v. 常樂我淨. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 350, s.v. 常. Note: In the *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.25a, *jing* 淨 is replaced with *jing* 靜.

³⁵⁹ The opening title of this verse sounds very reminiscent of a Zen koan. The phrase is not listed in any of the major Buddhist dictionaries and thus far, I have not located it in any collections of koans. The titles of this and the following verse are found as a pair in chapter eighty-one of *Xiyou ji* (*The Journey to the West*) though I cannot determine whether they occur as a quotation from this text or another, perhaps Buddhist source. None of the major encyclopedic dictionaries of Taoism list this phrase. The precise meaning of the entire verse is difficult to establish and consequently the translation offered here is tentative.

When you have finished patching and [again] it tears, it is important to patch it up again.

In the end why appear to be naked?

Facing the Moon Completely Destroy the Scriptures

Beyond the sky, the silver toad (moon) has just become a half [moon].

Foolish people want to comprehend but in the end [fall into] falsehood.

Suddenly a few black clouds come;

The two eyes follow along like a blind fellow.

The *Diamond Sutra* Pagoda

Distinguished clearly, a seamless pagoda.

It forces the obstinacy of the bystander to burst open.

The eight points of the compass and the four directions all are [your] eyes.

[25b] In their midst appears the living Tathāgata.

2.5.d The Taoist Teaching

Clear and Pure Non-purposive Action

Clear, clear, pure, pure—fundamentally without words.

As for taking [conscious] action, that is not spontaneity.

Abstruse understanding penetrates the cavity of the Mysterious Pass³⁶⁰ completely.

The Nature is numinous, the spirit transforms, and the jewel congeals and hardens.

Peerless Perfect Truth

Non-purposive action loves to employ the imitation of *Qian* and *Kun*.³⁶¹

Between high, low, and the middle recognize the fundamental root.

Through true cessation, one begins to be able to penetrate such biases.

True Reality comes out through the bright Celestial Gate.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ A lengthy discussion of this term is provided earlier in this section of the text. Li makes the point that the Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan* 玄關) is not to be found on or inside the body. He defines the term more as an abstract state to which he assigns the designation “centre” (*zhong* 中). *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.4a-b.

³⁶¹ In this context the trigrams *Qian* 乾 and *Kun* 坤 are best understood simply as *yin* and *yang*. Non-purposive action (*wuwei* 無為) in the individual makes that individual coextensive with the cosmic rhythms of the Way manifested through fluctuations of *yin* and *yang*. See footnote 287 for an explanation concerning *Qian* and *Kun*.

³⁶² *Tianmen* 天門 translated here as “Celestial Gate” can be defined in numerous ways. In the fourteenth chapter of the *Zhuangzi* the Celestial Gate is said to open only if one accords with the great transformations of the world and is free from all blockages generated by attachments. *Harvard-Yenching Concordance to the Chuang Tzu*, 39/14/56. In the twenty-third chapter, it is implied that the Celestial Gate is the Way. *Harvard-Yenching Concordance to the Chuang Tzu*, 63/23/57. The Heshang gong commentary on section 10 of the *Daode jing* glosses the term “Celestial Gate” as the nostrils. *Heshang gong zhushuzheng* (Taipei: Hua zhengshu ju gufen youxian gongsi, 1978), 75. The commentary on a passage in the *Shangqing huangting neijing jing* stating that one should “ascend, joining with the Celestial Gate to enter the hall of radiance,” explains that the Celestial Gate refers to the point between the eyebrows. *Yunji qiqian*, 12, 22a. It is very unlikely that Li Daochun would accept the last two definitions preferring to associate it with Way or perhaps with the mind. The ideas expressed in the *Zhuangzi* are more likely to provide insight into Li’s understanding of this term than to those of more obviously physiologically oriented teachers.

The Wondrous Functioning of the True Prime³⁶³

Do not be attached to “no mind” and “having mind.”

Without mind how is one to attain awakening to the Mind of the Natural Order?

Having mind must, in the end, cause the mind to be [26a] bound.

Having and not having, both damage [the possibility of] awakening to the purity of one's Nature.

The Redoubling of Injury

When *gen* interacts with *dui*³⁶⁴ the heavy mountain is destroyed by the marsh.

The disciplined person restrains anger and cuts short scolding and doting.

With a lack of restraint and stopping-up comes a redoubling of injury.

Cutting off study, and non-purposive doing are the foundations for entering the sacred.

The Three Reversions³⁶⁵ Day and Night

The Pattern of the Great Way of the prior realm is difficult to seek.

The whole day, every day, embrace the truth of unity.

The work of the three reversions is an everyday matter.

The Mysterious Pass³⁶⁶ having been penetrated the *Yang* Spirit comes forth.

³⁶³ Normally *Zhenuan* 真元 would refer to the original *qi*. See for example *Daojiao dacidian*, 794, s.v. 真元. In this case, though, such a definition may not be helpful.

³⁶⁴ *Gen* 艮 and *dui* 兑 are two of the eight trigrams comprising the various arrangements of the *Bagua* 八卦. The former represents unyielding hardness and the latter permeability and openness.

³⁶⁵ *Sanfan* 三返 (Three Reversions) refers to the transformation of essence (*jing* 精) into *qi* 氣, *qi* into spirit (*shen* 神), and spirit into emptiness (*xu* 虛). This definition is provided by one of Li Daochun's contemporaries, Wang Daoyuan 王道淵 in his commentary on the *Yinfu jing*. *Huangdi yinfu jing jiasong jiezhu*, TY126, DZ58.

Once Attained—Eternally Attained

The study of liberation and displaying knowledge, both are defilements.

Listening to discourses on Complete Enlightenment is all dust.

Cleansing the mind and sweeping away anxiety is the purity of Meditation
Heaven.

All of the sages equally revere the brightness of the wisdom sun.

[26b] Drawing Out and Supplementing Lead and Mercury

Drawing out the lead is simply cutting worldly ties.³⁶⁷

The work of supplementing mercury is the realm of Original Nature.³⁶⁸

Emotions and Nature having blended and fused, the Way of the Immortals is
done.

Mercury and lead having coalesced the great elixir is complete.

The Gate of the Mysterious Female

The Mysterious Pass and the Doorway of the Female are the gate of the Way.

If opening then accord with *Qian*; if closing then accord with *Kun*.

Those who are deluded hastily promote the mouth and nose (breathing exercises).

How [can they] restore original life and return to the root?

³⁶⁶ See footnote 360.

³⁶⁷ "Worldly ties" is used here to translate the Buddhist term *zhenyuan* 塵緣: "The circumstances or conditions environing the mind created by the six *gunas*." The six *gunas* (*liuchen* 六塵) are qualities of experience generated by the senses: sight, sound, smell, taste, touch and ideas. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 134, s.v. 六塵.

³⁶⁸ Original Nature (*Benxing* 本性) is synonymous with the Buddha Nature (*Foxing* 佛性). Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 189, s.v. 本性. "Heaven" is used tentatively here.

Depart from all Deluded Paths

Reject fame, cast aside profit, and rejoice in clear emptiness.

The myriad delusions and all cooperating causes³⁶⁹ [will be] entirely exterminated.

The waves on the sea of Nature settle and the boat arrives at the shore.

The single disc of the glistening white moon emerges out of the cloudy way.

Entering the Gate of Subtle Profundity

Having gone through the Three Passes³⁷⁰ you will understand the true mystery.

Truly you begin from the fundamental spontaneity of [27a] non-purposive doing.

Raise your feet then leap [into] the formless realm.

Raise your head and you are in the Heaven of the Great Net.³⁷¹

Many Words are Frequently Exhausting

The thousand scriptures and myriad discourses [merely] expound sectarian windiness.

Alas! The views of the paths of delusion are not the same.

Great debates and lofty discourses demonstrate refined wit.

In the end, this is to fall into the emptiness of obstinacy.

³⁶⁹ *Yuan* 緣 refers to secondary or environmental causes. Thus while the seed can be considered the primary cause (*yin* 因) the rain, soil and sunlight are the secondary supporting causes. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 440, s.v. 緣.

³⁷⁰ The Three Passes (*sanguan* 三關) are synonymous with the Three Reversions (*Sanfan* 三返) described in footnote 365. Li Daochun provides an explanation of the Three Passes where he states that they are the process of transforming the three forms of *qi* in the body. He explicitly rejects other accounts that view them as points in or on the body. *Zhonghe ji*, 3.23.b.

³⁷¹ *Daluotian* 大羅天 is a region where spirit immortals dwell. *Daojiao dacidian*, 115, s.v. 大羅天.

It is Best to Guard the Centre

Discoursing on the profound and discussing the abstruse, you will not understand.

It is not equal to secretly guarding your centre.

Being impartial and independent, the Mysterious Pass will be understood.

Do not take it lightly then you will be able to unite with sagely merit.

The Nine Times Circulated Spirit Elixir

Set up the reaction vessel to heat until dry the Four Great Oceans.

Establish the stove to break apart the Five Sumeru.³⁷²

The completed form of the Golden Elixir enwraps the three [27b] realms.³⁷³

This is when the son achieves his intention.³⁷⁴

What Can be Spoken of is not the Eternal Way³⁷⁵

The Way that is truly constant cannot be discoursed upon.

To understand [by means of] explanations and distinctions is to turn one's back on the teaching.

³⁷² Sumeru (*xumi* 須彌) is the central mountain of every world. Mt. Sumeru forms the central part of a divine Buddhist landscape including eight circles of mountains, and eight seas. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 395, s.v. 須彌. Although this term with the number "five" added (*wuxumi* 五須彌) does not appear in Buddhist dictionaries consulted, an example of its use in combination with the above term (*sidahai* 四大海) can be found in the foundational Pureland text, *Foshuo guan wuliangshoufo jing* 無量壽經 (*Sutra on Infinite Life*), T12/365/340c. Note: *wuxumi* 五須彌 can also be found on page 343 of the same text. Also *Wuliangshoufo* 無量壽佛 is another name for Amitāba Buddha. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 383, s.v. 無量.

³⁷³ *Sanjie* 三界 (skt. *Trilokya*) refers to the three realms of sensuous desire, forms; and the world of pure formless spirit. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 70, s.v. 三界.

³⁷⁴ "The son" (*naner* 男兒) refers to the elixir. This is another way of stating that the elixir has been brought to completion. This term is used once in the *Wuzhen pian* to describe the completion of the elixir after the Nature and emotions have been unified. *Wuzhen pian*, 29.7b. See also *Daojiao dacidian*, 554, s.v. 男兒有孕.

³⁷⁵ This title is, of course, taken from the opening section of the *Daode jing*.

If you can face the midst of wordless understanding,

Without wearying yourself with excessive effort you will establish complete
merit.

Chapter 3:

The Place of "Buddhism" in Li Daochun's Way of Cultivation

3.1 Introduction

The title of this chapter could well include a simple but profoundly misleading assumption—one that the syntactically economical device of quotation marks is intended to assuage. The assumption is, of course, that there is something to which the word 'Buddhism' refers. Responding to such an assumption does not require venturing into the heady discourse of postmodern critiques leveled at the pitfalls of essentializing assumptions buried in an Anglo-American and European language-game grounded in preoccupations with ontology. All one need do is read with a measure of care and attention the explanations provided in the records compiled by the disciples of Li Daochun.

It is apparent that they provide no simple referent for the reader. The situation is rather more complicated or perhaps organic. The reader of these texts is not witness to a scholastic treatment of fixed schools and a preoccupation with determining and preserving their identities. Rather one sees in these texts the efforts of a group of friends and their teacher to piece together an understanding and a description of a method of cultivation directed at contextualizing the human predicament and providing a path to liberation. Any teaching that might contribute to the creation and description of that path is fair game. Their outlook is pragmatic.

Therefore, the aim of this chapter will be to examine portions of the *Yingchan zi yulu* and the *Zhonghe ji* in order to determine, not how Li and his disciples employ “Buddhism,” but rather to arrive at an understanding of how they construct Buddhism and how they believe their vision of this “teaching” can help them articulate their own soteriological recommendations. The process of bringing the nature of this construction project and its product into focus cannot help but shed light on how Buddhism so conceived gives shape to Li’s teaching. The evidence offered cannot be restricted to considering the place of various teachers and doctrinal elements but must also account for the form of expression or “performance” employed to convey the teaching. To that end, a description and review of the pedagogical approach taken by Li and the general view of language entailed in that approach is undertaken. As with the remaining chapters the discussion will be grounded solidly in and revolve around translated sections of the texts in question.

3.2. Pedagogy

One finds the greatest amount of detail concerning the nature of Li’s interaction with his disciples in the *Yingchan zi yulu*. Within this text, and particularly in the first and second *juan* 卷, lively discussions ensue in which the wit and insight of various disciples is put to the test. The title of this work designates it as a *yulu* 語錄 variously translated as “discourse record,” “recorded sayings,” and here “dialogic treatise.”³⁷⁶ The inclusion of

³⁷⁶ This translation follows Judith Boltz’s translation of this title. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: tenth to Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California – Berkeley, 1987), 180.

yulu in the title makes a significant statement³⁷⁷ positioning this compilation of dialogues within a well-established pedagogical framework closely associated with Chan Buddhism.³⁷⁸ This association of *yulu* with Chan discourses was already evident by 988, which marks the first recorded use of the term by Zanning (919-1001), compiler of the *Song gaoseng zhuan*.³⁷⁹ This label, which appears to have been applied from outside Chan circles and to have originated as a Song literati term of genre classification, reflects the fact that this style of recorded sayings warranted its own literary space. Zongmi (780-841), reflecting on Chan approaches to conveying the *Dharma*, had already acknowledged a divergence from the universally directed vehicle of the teachings represented by the *sūtras* (*jīng* 經) and *gāthās* (*jiē* 伽).³⁸⁰ One can understand the *yulu* as a literary form that existed to underscore the Chan slogan “a special transmission outside the teachings” (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳), a teaching that it was claimed relied on oral transmission from teacher to disciple and was, unlike the *Lotus* or *Flower Ornament sūtras*, tailored to the needs of specific students rather than oriented to the entire universe of living beings.

³⁷⁷ It is worth noting that of the 1,473 texts listed in the index to the Taoist Canon only nine other texts include the designation, *yulu* in their titles. Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 and Zhong Zhaopeng 鍾肇鵬, eds., *Daozang tiyao*. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1991.

³⁷⁸ A discussion of the *yulu* genre in Chan can be found in Judith Berling, “Bringing the Buddha down to Earth: Notes on the Emergence of Yü-lu as a Buddhist Genre,” *History of Religions* 27 (1987), 1: 56-88. Also see Daniel K. Gardner, “Modes of Thinking and Modes of Discourse in the Sung: Some Thoughts on the Yü-lu (‘Recorded Conversations’) Texts,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 50 (1991), 3: 574-603 and Yanagida Seizan, “The ‘Recorded Sayings’ Texts of Chinese Ch’an Buddhism” (trans. by John R. McRae of “*Zenshū goroku no keisei*,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 18:1, Dec. 1969) in Whalen Lai and Lewis Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch’an in China and Tibet* (Berkeley: Regents of the University of California, 1983), pp. 188-189.

³⁷⁹ This observation is made by Albert Welter in “The Textual History of the *Linji lu* (Record of Linji): The Earliest Recorded Fragments,” 2002. The paper presented in a Zen seminar at the 2002 AAR meeting in Toronto and is available at <<http://www.acmuller.net/zen-sem/welter-2002.html>> [Note: pagination is not available] See T48/2061.842c for the specific reference.

³⁸⁰ T48/2015.399b. See Welter, History of the *Linji lu*.

Certainly, the attendant implications of the designation “*yulu*” would not have escaped Li Daochun and his disciples. Li himself took pains to point out the unique nature of his own teaching, which diverged from those found “on paper”³⁸¹ as well as the “three thousand six-hundred schools” that spend their efforts trying to “elucidate.”³⁸² As will be discussed later in Chapter Five, Li Daochun’s teaching is presented as outside the general categories embodied in the “Three Teachings” in a manner remarkably consonant with the general claims of Chan teachers to be outside the “diminished mainstream” of Buddhist *Dharma* teaching.

Throughout the *Yingchan zi yulu*, Li’s position is that of an enlightened teacher using a variety approaches, including some surprising and perplexing responses, to awaken his disciples. In many cases his methods are reminiscent of those typically associated with Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 866) who is portrayed in the *Linji lu* employing shouts, shocking responses, and frequently hitting his students. Often the disciples respond in a similar vein with shouts or gestures to the questions posed by the teacher. The following example taken from the second *juan* of the *Yingchan zi yulu* is a case in point. Here Li Daochun is questioning some of his disciples on the meaning of the sixteenth section of the *Daode jing*:

Teacher said: The sixteenth section, “Bring about the apex of emptiness; preserve the extreme of stillness. [Thus] the myriad things together arise and I thereby observe their return.” Now [what] is called “return” is manifesting the mind of the Natural Order (*tianxin* 天心). Moreover, [I] say where is the mind of the Natural

³⁸¹ This observation is made by Li’s disciple Heian Guangchan zi 嘿庵廣蟾子 in the forward to the *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.1a.

³⁸² *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.11a.

Order? Again [I] say do not move. [If you] move, thirty blows of the cudgel!

Dingan grabbed the cudgel.³⁸³

This passage demonstrates Li's willingness to strike his student in order to bring about heightened insight. The passage quoted here appears incomplete due to its abrupt conclusion but is included in its entirety. Li seems to be making a point about meditation wherein the adept reaches the extreme or pinnacle of stillness, thereby facilitating return. In the present context, return is a movement from fragmentation back to unity. Thus, Li firmly makes his point regarding the need to preserve stillness. As often happens the reader is left to ponder the inconclusive responses; Li does not respond to Dingan's grabbing of the cudgel though, as is mentioned below this may not imply disagreement with his disciple's response. It is worth noting that Li's specific mention of thirty blows of the cudgel corresponds with the number of blows mentioned in two accounts provided in the *Linji lu* on two separate occasions to individuals engaged in interviews.³⁸⁴

In the following passage, later on in the same section of the text, Li Daochun questions his disciples on the meaning of a line from the sixty-second section of the *Daode jing*:

Teacher said: The sixty-second section, "Having committed a crime [does one not] thereby escape [punishment]?" Teacher said: In what way has [he] transgressed?

Dingan said: I have sought [the nature of] the transgression [but] am unable to find it?

³⁸³ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.4a.

³⁸⁴ *Linji lu*, T47/1985.503c; 505a. A translation of these passages is provided in Burton Watson, trans. *The Zen Teachings of Master Lin-chi* (Boston: Shambhala, 1993), 92; 107-108.

Teacher threw the scripture³⁸⁵ and said stop coming back to doubt!³⁸⁶

This radical gesture of throwing the scripture is not restricted to the teacher as the following passage indicates:

Teacher said: The sixty-fifth section, "Those in ancient times who excelled in applying the Way did not employ it to enlighten the people. [They] used it to make them stupid." Teacher said: Altogether, the teachings that have been formed [come to] three thousand six hundred schools. From the beginning they all [try to] elucidate and always thus rouse the spirits. I alone embrace nameless simplicity. I am not bound by the multitude of malignant spirits and knock down their red pennants. Do you all understand?

Dingan said: I recognize one thing; they are not the centre.

Heian threw the scripture.³⁸⁷

This throwing or perhaps throwing away of the scripture represents a powerful statement concerning the place of texts vis-à-vis the teachings of Li Daochun and resonates in a very obvious way with the rhetoric of the non-textual transmission so pervasive in Chan circles by the Song dynasty. Li is demonstrating with a physically expressed metaphor that, unlike the "three thousand six hundred schools," he is not striving to elucidate anything and instead chooses to embrace, not just simplicity, but *nameless* simplicity (*wu ming pu* 無名朴). Thus with a simple gesture the reader is presented with a powerful image that at once unites a principle central to the *Daode jing* (the nameless) in a form

³⁸⁵ The text mentioned here might be Li Daochun's commentary on the *Daode jing* entitled *Daode huiyuan*. The chapter of the *Yingchan zi yulu* that includes this passage is a summary of the discussion that followed the presentation of the text to [Dingan] Zhao Daoke 定庵趙道可 and includes brief comments on all eighty-one sections of the *Daode jing*. Another possibility is that the gathering is reviewing a copy of the *Daode jing*.

³⁸⁶ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.10b.

³⁸⁷ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.11a-b.

that invokes an obviously Chan attitude and mode of expression. This level of integration is a hallmark of Li's approach to presenting his way of cultivation and it sets the works associated with him and his disciples apart from that of Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (ca. 983-1081) to which he so often refers.

Another tool deployed in the dialogues is shouting. Various disciples employ this form of response in answer to their teacher's inquiries concerning the meaning of various phrases in the *Daode jing*. Once again, this mirrors a practice found many times throughout the *Linji lu*:

Teacher said: The character 'Way' (*Dao* 道) is not associated with having phrases and is not associated with lacking phrases. It is not associated with having appearance and it is not associated with lacking appearance. What do you all make of this?

Dingan said: Shout!

Heian shouted.³⁸⁸

A second example states:

Teacher said: The last phrase in the first section says, "Mystery upon mystery; gateway of all wonders." [I] must state that the thirty-six classes of esteemed scripture all issue forth from this scripture. Now [I] say where did this scripture come from? [Since] departing from my father and mother [all the] talk [I] have produced concerns the single expression, "Way."

Heian opened the scripture prompting Dingan to shout.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ *Qingan Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.1a.

³⁸⁹ *Qingan Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.1b.

In both of these examples, Li is pondering the nature of the Way. In the first example, the Way occupies a place outside the duality represented by words or phrases on one hand and their absence on the other. In the second instance, he first explains that the *Daode jing* is the source of all esteemed scripture but then pushes the text of the *Daode jing* back beyond its own form as a text and implies that its origin is the Way, which is of course nameless. In both cases, the point is that one must transcend language. Accordingly, in this context it is significant that the passages close with the shouts of Heian and Dingan. Furthermore, it is important to note that that is all they do. They do not shout a particular word or apparently anything intelligible. The text merely states that they shouted. Their responses, in good Chan form, express both the limits of language and the ineffability of the Way. Once again, a Chan mode of expression is closely integrated with a message drawn from the *Daode jing*.

A final feature of these responses is that the shouts appear to satisfy the teacher as being correct or at least appropriate responses to his question. While shouting is a practice found repeatedly throughout the *Linji lu* it is rare that the shout of a student proves satisfactory to the teacher who often responds by striking the student.³⁹⁰ In the *Yingchan zi yulu* it appears that the shouts are much more successful as responses to the teacher. Certainly, when the disciples give unsatisfactory answers, Li is always ready with a response that either concludes the discussion of the point in question or presses the students to provide a better response. Compare for example the following exchanges:

Teacher said: The twenty-fifth section, "There is a thing formed out of the undifferentiated."³⁹¹ Teacher said: What thing was there?

³⁹⁰ See for example *Linji lu*, T47/1985.496c. Watson, *Lin-chi*, 14.

³⁹¹ See footnote 226 for details on "chaos" as the "undifferentiated."

Dingan responded thus: "Within the frontiers there are four
greats;"³⁹² at the same time is there also a great foundation?
Heian gave a shout.³⁹³

Here a shout closes the discussion and the teacher and disciples move on to the next
section of the *Daode jing*. In the following case, the teacher cannot accept the answer
provided by Heian:

Teacher said: The thirtieth section, "Those who employ the
Way to assist the ruler of men do not use their weapons to force the
empire [into compliance]."

Teacher said: If [one] has no [weapons, when] bandits arrive
how [is one to] oppose [them]?

Heian said: Use virtue to transform them.

Teacher said: Not so. Use compassion to guard against
them.³⁹⁴

Out of the eighty-one sections commenting on the *Daode jing* and comprising the core of
this dialogue the teacher responds with the closing line slightly more than half of the time.
In those cases, it is not always clear that the disciples have provided erroneous responses
that the teacher feels compelled to correct. There are times when Li appears to simply
augment the points made by his disciples:

³⁹² This quotation from section twenty-five introduces a list of four greats, which are the Way, the sky, the
earth and the king. In Buddhism the four greats (*sida* 四大), Skt. *mahābhūta* are the fundamental
constituents of all things: fire, water, wind and earth. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 131, s.v. 四大.

³⁹³ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.5a.

³⁹⁴ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.6a.

Teacher said: The sixth section, "The gateway of the mysterious female."

Teacher said: Going out, the breath does not pass through a myriad causes. Entering, the breath does not dwell in the aggregates and realms.³⁹⁵ Not going out and not entering, what do you make of this?

Heian said: "Solitary, unmoving."³⁹⁶

Teacher naturally said: A myriad tunes are all hushed.³⁹⁷

Here Li refrains from any obvious dismissal of Heian's response and suggests an additional image to that quoted by his disciple from the "Appendix to the Changes." The same tone of response is evident below:

Teacher said: The thirty-sixth section, "[If you] want to contract [it you] certainly must extend [it]." Teacher said: The eyebrows are above the eyelashes; earlier mistakes are passed by. Now I say, from the mistake, to what place does one go?

Dingan said: To the right place.

Heian said: The hawk passes over the new net.

Shian said: One must not run [away] in disorder.

Teacher said: "Their crimes are listed on one indictment."³⁹⁸

Li's open ended concluding phrase is an allusion to the twenty-ninth case in the *Wumenguan* (*The Gateless Gate*). The case concerns an argument between two monks over whether a flag is moving or the wind is moving. The sixth patriarch informs them that it is their minds that move. Wumen's comment on this scenario points out that all

³⁹⁵ The aggregates and realms (*yinjie* 陰界) is a Buddhist term denoting the "five aggregates" (skt. *skandhas*) and the "eighteen realms" (skt. *dhatū*). Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 330.

³⁹⁶ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/21.

³⁹⁷ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.2b.

³⁹⁸ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.7a. The phrase 一狀領過 is found in *Dahui pujue chanshi yulu*, T47/1998a.839a, a collection of sayings attributed to the Song Linji 臨濟 (Rinzai) Chan master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163). Li appears to quote from the same section of this text in his comment on section two of the *Daode jing*. *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.1a. It is also possible that Li is quoting from case twenty-nine of the *Wumenguan*, T48/2005.296c. The translation of this phrase is taken from Thomas Cleary, *Unlocking the Zen Koan: A New Translation of the Zen Classic Wumenguan* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 1993), 141.

three statements concerning the flag, the wind, and even the patriarch's reference to their minds are mistaken. His explanation is that the patriarch was trapped. His compulsion to help the monks forced him to express an answer in words. Thus Li Daochun seems once again to be commenting on the limits of language rather than directing his critique to the specific responses of Dingan, Heian, and Shian.

Other responses that appear to indicate a correct understanding of points under discussion include drawing circles. This form of response occurs on at least two occasions. On the first occasion the Way is considered and Li points out the impossibility of stating anything about it and notes that its origins are beyond perception:

Teacher said: The fourth section [includes the expression] "It prefigures the ancestral gods."³⁹⁹ Use the speech of the mouth [to describe it and] the rotten [flavour] is rejected [to the very] root of the tongue. Use the vision of the eyes [to examine it] and suddenly it [bursts] out of (is rejected by) the eyes. Contain the brightness in the mouth. Abstruse! Abstruse! It is truly good to eat a handful! What do you all make of this?

Li examined his vegetarian food and lifted it up as if [it were the brightness he spoke of].

Shian made a circle.⁴⁰⁰

After referring to the limits of the mouth (speech) and the eyes (vision) Li, perhaps playfully, picks up some of his vegetables to critique speech and vision by inviting them to stuff the brightness of the Way (a vision-related image) into their mouths (just related to the shortcomings of speech). After this two pronged, metaphorically charged invitation

³⁹⁹ This translation is taken from Roger Ames and David L. Hall, *Daodejing: "Making This Life Significant" A Philosophical Translation* (New York: Balantine Books, 2003), 83. Ames and Hall have avoided translating *di* 帝 as "the Lord" or "God." The question raised in the concluding two lines of section four concerns the origin of the Way. Employing the metaphor of ancestors the Way seems to have come before the highest ancestor and so is prior to birth and, by metaphorical extension, to creation.

⁴⁰⁰ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.2a.

to eat, Shian's only response is to draw a circle. Li Daochun uses the circle to designate his own teaching on a number of occasions.⁴⁰¹ The circle permits him to refer to his way of cultivation without having to employ the more conventional form of expression embodied in Chinese characters. It is not clear that Shian's drawing of a circle has the same function here but it does reflect agreement that this shape has an accepted significance in the group and is sufficient to end the discussion.

In the following passage Sunan employs the same approach when he draws a circle in response to the potential mistake of generating a dichotomizing representation of reality as either a realm of "form" or "no-form" and in support of his fellow disciple, Heian's way of adopting neither position:

Teacher said: The twenty-first section [in describing the Way says] there are things, there are images, there are emotions.⁴⁰² Is it actually so? If we say having [form] comes forth then there is moreover the eye of contemplative study.⁴⁰³ If we say lacking [form] comes forth then the eye of contemplative study is done away with. In the end what do you say?

Heian said: Having [form] and lacking [form], neither are relevant. There is only one true and genuine form.

Sunan drew the form of a circle.

The result of Sunan's and Heian's conclusion is a rejection of both "form" (*you* 有) and "no form" (*wu* 無) aided by the use of the one true form which stands for unity beyond

⁴⁰¹ See for example the discussion in the *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.1b-2a and *Zhonghe ji*, 3.15a-b; *Zhonghe ji*, 1.4a.

⁴⁰² The twenty-first section of the *Daode jing* does not mention emotions (*qing* 情) but rather essence (*jing* 精).

⁴⁰³ The eye of contemplative study (*canxueyan* 參學眼) is found in case number eleven of *Wumen guan*, T48/2005/294b.

dichotomy and a mode of expression lying outside conventional language. This is very reminiscent of the basic Mādhyamaka position or non-position that can be found for example in the writings of Jizang 吉藏 (549-623) who saw the highest level of realization represented by absolute truth (*shengyi di* 勝義諦) (Skt. *Paramārthasatya*) as neither negation nor affirmation of either extreme.⁴⁰⁴

One final device found in the first *juan* of the *Yingchan zi yulu* is that of banging on the lecture platform. In this case, the teacher is engaged in discussion with several disciples and asks, “What is the Way?” One of the disciples responds by striking the lecture platform. The teacher presses the disciple further by asking, “What is a person within the Way?” The disciple responds by striking the lecture platform once again. Li is not entirely satisfied which prompts the student to reply with a shout.⁴⁰⁵

This energetic form of repartee between the teacher and his disciples so reminiscent of the *Linji lu* is most obvious in the discussion of the eighty-one sections of the *Daode jing*. Even at its most lively moments though the dialogue never takes on the level of harshness associated with *Linji*. The encounters are much less confrontational and the language is much less forceful, lacking repeated hitting and insults. Also missing is the sense of verbal jousting. What one finds in the *Yingchan zi yulu* is always the humble student offering suggestions in response to questions. There is never any hint of a student actually challenging the master. In chapter six we see a typical example of the underlying attitude brought by Li’s disciples to their search for deeper insight into his way of cultivation:

⁴⁰⁴ The best-known description of this position is found in Jizang’s *Erti yi* (*The Meaning of the Two Truths*), T45/1854. The drawing of a mark on the ground as part of a dialogue is found once in the *Linji lu*, T47/1985.503c. Watson, *Lin-chi*, 89.

⁴⁰⁵ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.3a.

Dingan said: Having just entered the Gate of Profundity⁴⁰⁶ I am extremely stupid and dull-witted. That my teacher retains me as a student is [equal to] a thousand years of good fortune.⁴⁰⁷ I certainly do not yet know this Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth and hope that my teacher will enlighten me.⁴⁰⁸

Following this very deferential request Li simply proceeds to outline his teaching and when Dingan requests further clarification Li is content to oblige. This pattern continues with repeated requests for more information followed by the teacher's obliging and lengthy explanations. This same pattern is repeated throughout much of the *Zhonghe ji* and the *Yingchan zi yulu*.

Beyond the Chan-style repartee described above and the sections where requests for explanation are met with extended descriptions, one also finds Li and his students referring to several koans as a method for broadening their understanding. In these contexts, there is a more conversational tone to the proceedings. In the first example, Heian is curious about the significance of a *koan* included as case number forty-two in the *Wumen guan*:

[Heian] asked: The Bodhisattva Wangming 罔明 was [merely] a first level devotee. Why was he able to rouse [Liyi 離意] out of the woman's *samādhi*? Wenshu 文殊 (Mañjuśrī) was the teacher of seven Buddhas, why could he not rouse her?⁴⁰⁹

Teacher said: Chouan 臭庵⁴¹⁰ said:

⁴⁰⁶ *Xuanmen* 玄門, Gate of Profundity, can refer to Taoism, to Buddhism or specifically to the Huayan 華嚴 school. *Daojiao dacidian*, 841, s.v. 玄門; Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 408, s.v. 玄門.

⁴⁰⁷ This sentence is slightly different in *Zhonghe ji*, 3. 14b.

⁴⁰⁸ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.1a. This section is also found in *Zhonghe ji*, 3.14b.

⁴⁰⁹ *Wumen guan*, T48/2005.298a-b. This koan is also included in the first *juan* of the *Wudeng huiyuan*, a twenty-*juan* Song dynasty collection of koans compiled by the monk Pu Ji 普濟 (1179-1253). See *Xuzangjing*, 138/1.

⁴¹⁰ It is not clear who Chou an 臭庵 was nor what text contains the quoted passage.

The dog welcomes the sojourning guest;
A raven shelters in the nest of unconventionality.

Speak of loving clear understanding. Cease further doubts!

Teacher asked me saying: Because he could not rouse her from woman's *samādhi* Wenshu summoned Wang Ming [to receive] instruction on the *Dharma*-gate of non-duality. Wenshu said: "[I] must not move. If [I] move apply thirty [blows of] the cudgel." What do you make of this?

I was just then in the midst of deliberating when, because Dingan moved, [we] accidentally bumped. His movement roused [me] as if teacher had done so.⁴¹¹

Heian is asking specifically about Wumen's comment on this case which states that if one is able to understand why it was that a low level adept could achieve what the great Mañjuśrī could not then one can experience *samādhi* even when one's consciousness is in a busy state. This ideal of preserving inner stillness amid activity is something Li also values and describes in his "Diagram of Illuminating and Misleading" (*Zhaowang tu* 照妄圖) where the illuminating mind (*zhao xin* 照心) is said to be at rest even when it is motion.⁴¹² The meaning of Li's response is not very clear due in part to the lack of context for the brief quoted passage concerning the dog and the raven. The subject of the subsequent question posed by Li concerning Wenshu's (Mañjuśrī's) request for Wang Ming's instruction on entering the "*Dharma*-gate of non-duality" is not included in the original case. Heian is compelled to respond to Li's question with silence after being bumped and thus "roused" by his fellow disciple Dingan.⁴¹³

⁴¹¹ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1b-2a.

⁴¹² *Zhonghe ji*, 1.3a. See page 28 for a discussion of "Diagram of Illuminating and Misleading."

⁴¹³ In the ninth chapter of the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* Mañjuśrī's understanding is put to the test in describing how one enters the "*Dharma*-gate of non-duality." In that text it is Vimalakīrti who bests him by remaining silent in response to the question. *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* (Weimojie suoshuo jing), T14/475.551c.

A second *koan* (case twenty-six) from the *Wumen guan* is referred to in the same chapter when Heian asks his teacher: “In the *koan* of the former monks rolling up the hanging screen, one gained and one lost. What [do you] say [about this]?”⁴¹⁴ Li’s response is, “[When] benevolence is seen it is called benevolence. [When] understanding is seen it is called understanding.” This response appears to have nothing to do with the original *koan* and because the exchange abruptly ends at that point no further light is shed on Li’s intended meaning.

In Both cases above, neither Li nor his students feel a need to provide responses that accord with the comments associated with the original koans. This exemplifies a feature that is common throughout: Li and his disciples have appropriated the pedagogical style of Chan discourse and taken up references to specific koans but feel free to read and so recreate the koans according to their own needs. Li is no passive recipient of Chan tradition but rather an active interpreter. This reshaping of tradition is evident in two more examples: “Zhaozhou’s 趙州 Dog”⁴¹⁵ and “the goose in the bottle.” In the first koan a monk inquires of Zhaozhou whether a dog also has Buddha-nature. The response in the original koan is simply, “no” (*wu* 無)⁴¹⁶ and that is where the very brief koan ends. Li takes this *koan* and turns it on its head by altering the answer and then adding several lines. His version reads as follows:

A monk asked Zhaozhou: Does a dog have Buddha Nature or not?
Zhou said: It has.

⁴¹⁴ *Yingnanzi yulu*, 1.2b. The original koan is found in *Wumen guan* T48/2005.296b.

⁴¹⁵ This well-known koan by Chan master Zhaozhou congshen 趙州從諗 (778-897) is the first case in the *Wumen guan*, T48/2005.292c-293a.

⁴¹⁶ The original koan reads: 趙州和尚因僧問。狗子還有佛性。也無。州云無。 Thus the response taken more literally states that the dog “lacks” (*wu* 無) Buddha-nature.

The monk said: Why does it have [Buddha Nature]?
Zhou said: It lacks [Buddha Nature].
The monk said: Why does it lack [Buddha Nature]?
Zhou said: In order to understand “lacking.”⁴¹⁷

Wumen’s concluding verse and commentary offered in the *Wumen guan* both express the urgent need to abandon the categories of “having” (*you* 有) and “lacking” (*wu* 無). Li has structured his own version in such a way that the interlocutor’s quest for a definitive answer is frustrated by a refusal to accord with the essentially dualistic assumption underlying the phrasing of the question. Despite Li’s radical rephrasing the result can be read as according quite well with the sentiments expressed in the *Wumen guan* version.

In the second example, Li Daochun refers to the koan in which a goose has hatched inside a bottle and the problem posed is how the goose can affect its escape. Li takes an even more dramatic interpretive turn at this point. He begins by recounting the koan: “. . . an ancient worthy said: ‘[If there is] a goose egg inside a bottle, once it becomes a goose how is it to escape from the bottle?’”⁴¹⁸ Referring to the two koans concerning the dog and the goose Li says, “Concerning this pair of koans many of our contemporaries are unable to get to the bottom [of their meaning]. If someone attains a transmitted phrase [such as this he should] consider and study the matter [to its] end.”⁴¹⁹ The “end” Li has in mind is now given full expression as he shares with his disciples what he takes to be the message contained within these *koans*,

⁴¹⁷ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.5a.

⁴¹⁸ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.5a.

⁴¹⁹ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.5a.

Further [now], if we use “having” (*you* 有) to explain it then the dog is “having” within “lacking” (*wu* 無); *Yang* within *yin*. Moreover, the dog is Minister of Crime within his tent. The dog is a guardian against inner bandits.⁴²⁰ Nourishing the golden goose within the precious bottle is metal within water. It is the elixir within the stove. Nourishing the golden goose then, is nourishing the sacred foetus. Completion of the sacred foetus is like the goose egg within the bottle. The departure of the goose [after] the bottle breaks is the constant Pattern of the ordinary course of things. If the goose departs and yet the bottle does not break, this is the wonder of shedding the womb.⁴²¹ Therefore the patriarchal teachers say: “Within the brocade tent is hidden the jade dog. Within the precious bottle is nourished the golden goose.” Ah! This is the wonder of the Golden Elixir.

Unlike the previous example in which Li adjusts the wording of the *koan* about the dog having Buddha nature, Li presents a completely different vision of the message embodied in these two *koans*. To this point the style of Chan, and specifically Linji, repartee employed in the *Yingcnanzi yulu* serves to illustrate a choice of pedagogical style. Furthermore, the reference to koans has served to convey ideas that retain a substantially Chan content. In this case, Li is portrayed as having moved beyond both of these adaptations of Chan styled discourse so that now Chan form is employed for its pedagogical effectiveness but the lessons taught concern the Golden Elixir teachings.

3.3 Buddhist Doctrine in Li's Teachings

Li Daochun frames his teaching within the context of offering salvation to humanity and that message of salvation is conceived both as non-sectarian and as having a lengthy history,

⁴²⁰ See footnote 154.

⁴²¹ See footnote 304 for details on *tuotai*.

The Teacher said: Patriarchal teachers of former generations, lofty sages of the Exalted Reality,⁴²² had the Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth. Did they not preserve and transmit this way in the world to rescue human beings?⁴²³

This rescuing of human beings is a compassionate act undertaken by sages of the “Three Teachings” and beneath their respective sectarian garb, what these teachings are conveying is the “Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth.” The Three Teachings can be described as the function (*yong* 用) while the “Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth” is the substance (*ti* 體) underlying the particular manifestations.⁴²⁴ Finding a way to locate and describe the role of Buddhist doctrine within this relationship of substance and function is no easy task because Li Daochun’s position vis-à-vis the Three Teachings is never categorically stated. He is portrayed simultaneously as a practitioner and teacher of Golden Elixir alchemy while also laying claim to a teaching that goes beyond the Three Teachings of which the way of the Golden Elixir is but one. In what follows sections of text taken from the *Zhonghe ji* and *Yingchan zi yulu* will be presented and commented upon so that the specific uses of Buddhist ideas can be highlighted and explored. After considering specific examples it should then be possible to draw some broad conclusions concerning the types of doctrine Li focuses on and the function they appear to be performing within his teaching.

⁴²² This is a reference to a realm of the immortals. *DJWH*, 112, s.v. 高真.

⁴²³ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.1a.

⁴²⁴ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.1b.

3.3.a The Buddhist Verses

The sixth and final chapter of the *Yingchan zi yulu* concludes with three sets of verses dedicated to each of the Three Teachings. The first set, comprised of fifteen verses, is titled "The Pattern of the *Ru*" (*Ru li* 儒理), the third, fourteen-verse set, is titled "The Teaching of the Way" (*Daojiao* 道教), and the second set in thirteen verses, which will be considered below, is titled "The Buddhist Teaching" (*Shijiao* 釋教). All three are comprised of twenty-eight-character verses consisting of four lines of seven characters each. All of the verses begin with a heading that more or less describes the focal point for each of the verses. The fact that the verses below are presented so explicitly as describing the "Buddhist Teaching," as understood by Li Daochun and his disciples, makes them a useful point of departure for a discussion of the nature and place of Buddhist teachings in his work.

The Buddhist Teaching

[1]⁴²⁵ Two Bodies but One Substance

The *Dharma* Body,⁴²⁶ being pure and clear, is fundamentally formless.

Having form, how could it be called the wholly complete body?

⁴²⁵ The numbers attached to these verses do not appear in the original but have been added and set off in square brackets for the convenience of the reader and for the sake of referring to the various verses throughout this section. Footnotes describing many of the technical terms in the Buddhist verses have been repeated here to avoid constantly referring the reader back to notes in the translated material.

⁴²⁶ *Fashen* 法身 (skt. *Dharmakāya*) is the first of three bodies of the Buddha and as such represents the embodiment of Truth and Law. The *Dharma* body is the "spiritual or true body." Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 273, s.v. 法身.

Only apparently is that body caused to transform a myriad times.

If you are unable to unify [all those transformations] then you will not achieve complete truth.

There are numerous possible meanings for the “two bodies” (*ershen* 二身) mentioned here⁴²⁷ but the subsequent reference to the *Dharma*-body (*fashen* 法身, Skt. *Dharmakāya*) means that Li probably has in mind the “earthly body” (*shengshen* 生身 skt. *nirmāṇakāya*) and the “*Dharma*-body” (*fashen* 法身 Skt. *sambhogakāya*) of the Buddha. The former is subject to transformation but exists only provisionally while the formless *Dharma*-body lies outside the realm of distinctions. As Li points out in the last line, all apparent diversity of forms can and must be resolved into a unity in order for true insight to be realized. This opening verse sets the tone for what follows and places the verses squarely within *prajñāpāramitā* (perfection of wisdom) discourse.

[2] Three Minds Then, Are One

The three minds are fundamentally one and that one is, originally, without [form].

Fabricating “gathering” and “dividing” is merely wheel tracks.

Manifesting amid transformations it is able to be without defilement.

The future and the past will, in their entirety, return to emptiness.

⁴²⁷ See for example the list provided in Ding Fubao, *Foxue dacidian*, 65, s.v. 二身; 1,161, s.v. 二身.

This tripartite division of mind occurs in a number of forms.⁴²⁸ Judging from the present context it seems likely that the reference is to the three minds of observation: first is the mind that realizes the emptiness of self; second is the mind that realizes the emptiness of *dharma*s; third is the mind that realizes the emptiness of both simultaneously. This is a doctrine found in the *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra*.⁴²⁹ The last line refers to the dissolution of temporal categories. Li's observation that the notions of past and present cannot be sustained objectively is put to explicit use in his critique of those who would assert the reality of self. In *juan* six of the *Zhonghe ji* he states:

When I look at worldly persons, many take this body to mean that they have a self. They really are not thinking. Assume that this body is caused to be through creation. Formerly, when there was not yet any creation, [did they] have appearance? Did [they] have a name? Did [they] have a self? After transforming, did [they] have appearance? Did [they] have a name? Did [they] have a self? [As for] the pair: "formerly" and "after" since both are nothing, how can one attain the middle or incline to one side and cling to having a self? [They] really do not understand that the body, mind, world, and affairs (*shen* 身, *xin* 心, *shi* 世, *shi* 事) originally are empty delusions. The three periods⁴³⁰ [may be] investigated but cannot be attained. The past is obscured; where is it? [It is] merely the changing and shifting thoughts of the present [moment]. The future is definitely like this. The passing of a *kalpa*⁴³¹ up to now is a great dream amid delusion. Stubbornly clinging to the causes of false ideas⁴³² the seeds

⁴²⁸ See for example Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 64, s.v. 三心.

⁴²⁹ *Yuqie shidi lun* (*Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra*), T30/1579/605c. Muller, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. 三心. Elsewhere Li makes reference to the two hindrances (*erzhang* 二障) that refer a) to the truth (*lizhang* 理障) and b) to hindrances of the passions (*shizhang* 事障). These terms are also part of the central doctrinal formulation of the Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 31, s.v. 二障. *Zhonghe ji*, 6.24b.

⁴³⁰ *Sanshi* 三世 (skt. *traiya-dhvikā*) are the three periods of past, present and future. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 57.

⁴³¹ *Lijie* 歷劫 is an immense period of time which subsumes within it the past, present and future. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 232, s.v. 劫 describes it as "a period of four hundred and thirty-two million years of mortals, measuring the duration of the world."

⁴³² *Wangyuan* 妄緣, "The unreality of one's environment; also, the causes of erroneous ideas." Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 210, s.v. 妄緣.

of the eternal round of life and death⁴³³ are formed. By this means they are born and die without there being any end to it.⁴³⁴

Here Li draws out his observation, found previously in verse 2, that the mind, supporting the notion of self through its conceptualizing, (“gathering” / *zhong* 衆 and “dividing” / *fen* 分) is ultimately empty. By attacking the notion of time he seeks to demonstrate that self, as something that necessarily must endure through time in order to exist, cannot be admitted as real in any final sense precisely because there is no temporal medium to support the concept. This line of argument, relating the impossibility of a self continuing through time to the unsustainability of a consistent and defensible belief in time itself, comes very close to the Mādhyamaka line of argument employed by Sengzhao 僧肇 (384-414) in part one of his *Zhaolun*. There he argues that time is not real in any objective way and that things do not go into the past nor do they come from the future to the present. These observations and arguments against the validity of time as it is conventionally understood are directly linked to Sengzhao’s critique of the belief in an enduring self.⁴³⁵

The next verse employs in its title the *prajñāpāramitā* language of getting rid of obstructions (*ai* 礙) and realizing emptiness (*kong* 空, skt. *sūnyatā*). Both of these notions are central to the brief *Xinjīng* (*Heart Sutra*), perhaps the single most famous distillation

⁴³³ *Lunhui* 輪迴 (skt. *saṃsāra*) is the wheel of transmigration, the cycle of existence. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 445, s.v. 輪.

⁴³⁴ *Zhonghe ji*, 6.26a.

⁴³⁵ *Zhaolun*, T45/1858, 151b lines 24-28 concern a story about a young ascetic who leaves his household (*chujia* 出家) to seek enlightenment and upon returning many years later insists, contrary to the opinions of those who knew him in his youth, that he is not the same person who left to seek enlightenment. The section preceding this story includes the argument against time as a medium for continuity.

of *prajñāpāramitā* ideas, in which the mind is freed from obstructions, form is identified with emptiness, and emptiness with form.⁴³⁶

[3] Dissolve Obstructions and Awaken to Emptiness

Do not boast with your mouth-drum (tongue) discoursing on meditation.

Simply clear your mind and cut off the myriad karmic causes. Study liberation and let go completely of what you know.

The clouds of delusion will disperse and the moon's radiance will be complete.

Li Daochun also suggests the need to abandon conventional knowledge and clever discourses, in this case, on meditation, as they will only lead one down the road of further delusion. The radiance of the mind-moon is only able to shine in the absence of discursive thought.⁴³⁷ In one of the following verses Li implies that following the scriptures and attempts to comprehend the process of awakening only obscures the radiance of the moon (or mind).⁴³⁸

[4] Uninterrupted Revelation of the Abstruse

Complete understanding is like never having seen the seasons. If you are unable to nurture and cherish it you will return to complete delusion.

The hidden self is secluded in darkness and leaves no trace. It is this that is the "son of the golden-haired lion."⁴³⁹

Once again, reference is made to time. Here *shi* 時 is translated as "seasons" but can of course refer to time in general.⁴⁴⁰ Here complete understanding is compared to a

⁴³⁶ *Xinjing*, T8/251, 848c.

⁴³⁷ Li explicitly links the moon metaphor to the enlightened mind in a later verse. *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.24b.

⁴³⁸ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.25a.

⁴³⁹ Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 284, s.v. 金毛獅子.

state of mind in which temporal categories have never been applied. Once again delusion is avoided only if one transcends such conventional categories. The referent for “the son of the golden-haired lion” (*Jinmao shizi er* 金毛獅子兒) is difficult to determine. The golden-haired lion can refer to the lion on which Mañjuśrī (Wenshu 文殊) rides. It can also refer to a previous incarnation of the Buddha Śākyamuni in which case “son of the golden-haired lion” could designate Śākyamuni. In the present verse, the point would then be that the Buddha is the true or hidden Self.

[5] Do Not Establish Existence and Nonexistence

Having put in place “existent” and “nonexistent” it is certainly difficult to understand.

Lay both of them down and let them go completely and even let go of emptiness.

“Existent” and “nonexistent” are just like wealth: in the end they are deceptions.

Hold on to the middle and then you can be united with spiritual merit.

The above verse is significant for its unequivocal statement of the classic Mādhyamaka position. This “laying down” of existence and nonexistence can be found in Nāgārjuna’s formulation of eightfold negation in which a progressive dialectical spiral yields a final view or position that is no position. This dialectical approach of progressive stages of negation was taken up by Jizang (549-623) and presented in his description of

⁴⁴⁰ The phrase “never having seen the seasons (time)” (*wei jian shi* 未見時) is found in *Dacheng zhongguan shilun* (*Treatise on the Middle View of the Great Vehicle*), T30/1567, 142c, a Yogācāra text by An Hui 安慧 (skt. Sthiramati), a 7th century Yogācāra master whose interpretation of Yogācāra doctrine was at odds with that of Dharmapāla whose position is so prominent in Xuanzang’s commentarial work on Vasubandhu’s *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* included in his *Cheng weishi lun* (*Discourse on Completion of Nothing but Cognition*), T31/1585.

the two levels of truth⁴⁴¹ in which he describes three phases of ascent towards non-conceptuality.

At the first stage, people assume that things exist in opposition to the claim that they are empty (do not exist). At this stage, the assertion that things do exist constitutes the conventional level of truth while nonexistence is the ultimate truth. At the second stage it is noted that a duality has now been established and so constitutes a fixed and dual view of reality (“existence vs. nonexistence”). This view entailing “existence and nonexistence” is then rejected. This establishes “existence and nonexistence” as a new level of conventional truth while nondualism (“neither existence nor nonexistence”) becomes the new ultimate truth. At the third and final level, the first two levels are rejected. Thus “either existence or nonexistence” or “neither existence nor nonexistence” constitutes the highest level of conventional truth while a refusal to either assert or deny either of those positions becomes the highest level of truth. The conclusion amounts to a refusal to play the game of position taking. This rather confusing set of statements can be schematized as follows:⁴⁴²

Conventional Truth	Absolute Truth
Affirmation of existence	Denial of existence
Affirmation of either existence or nonexistence	Denial of both existence and nonexistence
Affirmation or denial of both existence and nonexistence	Neither affirmation or nor denial of both existence and nonexistence

Figure 5: Two Truths

⁴⁴¹ *Erdi zhang*, T45/1854, 90c.

⁴⁴² It is worth noting here that this exact argument is also put forward in the *Maha qixin lun* (Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith), which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. T32/1666.576a.29-576b.3.

When Li Daochun says, “Lay both of them down (existence and nonexistence) and let them go completely and even let go of emptiness,” he is engaging in the same type of dialectic strategy. He gives up the opposing positions of asserting existence and denying existence and then goes a step further by rejecting the middle position of emptiness. This need not imply an outright rejection of *sūnyatā* (*kong* 空) but can be seen as an unwillingness to adopt it as a position that will then trap the mind. Such a trap makes it impossible to “Hold on to the middle . . .” In this final line of the verse “the centre” could be taken as synonymous with a state of inner stillness corresponding to the emotional equilibrium described in the *Zhongyong*, a state of mind prior to the emergence of the various emotions. This is a connection that Li explicitly makes elsewhere.⁴⁴³ It would appear though that Li is focusing here on the need to maintain the middle position usually associated with Mādhyamaka that can be maintained only if all positions, including the middle position of emptiness, are let go.

[6] Discipline, Meditative Concentration, and Wisdom

Not moving in the midst of movement is true discipline.

[Through] true meditative concentration you will be united with the patriarchal ancestors.

With wisdom you ascend the entire *Dharma*-realm.⁴⁴⁴

The emotions that cause recklessness and deception will be completely dissolved.

This verse provides Li’s understanding of the term *jie* 戒 (skt. *śīla*), ordinarily translated “discipline,” as the ability to maintain stillness in the midst of movement. The

⁴⁴³ James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vols. 1 and 2 (1935; reprint, Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1992), 384. Li’s reference to the *Zhongyong* is found in *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.4b.

⁴⁴⁴ *Fajie* 法界 (skt. *Dharmadātu*) can refer to the physical universe as a whole or to its underlying ground from which all phenomena appear. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 272, s.v. 法界.

true discipline that manifests as stillness in *samādhi*, makes it possible to dissolve the emotions that can cause instability. This reading of *jie* 戒 is closely linked to Li's understanding of what he calls the "illuminating mind" (*zhaoxin* 照心), which he describes as being still even when it is in motion.⁴⁴⁵ In the next line, the "patriarchal ancestors" are mentioned. Li seems not to assume these patriarchs are Buddhist, Taoist, or Ru. He refers to them for example in chapter six of the *Yingchan zi yulu* as those who transmitted a teaching that underlies each of the Three Teachings:

The Teacher said: Patriarchal teachers of former generations, lofty sages of the Exalted Reality,⁴⁴⁶ had the Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth. Did they not preserve and transmit this way in the world to rescue human beings?⁴⁴⁷

What the patriarchs taught was something found in each of the Three Teachings and restricted to none. Thus, the patriarchs would include Confucius, Śākyamuni Buddha, and Laozi.

[7] No Fixed Dharma

Engage in meditation to seek the *Dharma* [and your] Nature will be completely deluded.
Distancing [yourself] from the *Dharma* to seek mysterious practices is turning away.
If you comprehend *Dharma* as arising out of the mind
Dharma will be empty, the mind still, and [you will] behold the sage.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁵ *Zhonghe ji*, 1.3a. This description is provided in the form of a chart entitled "The Diagram of Illuminating and Misleading" (*zhaowang tu* 照妄圖). See page 28.

⁴⁴⁶ This is a reference to a realm of the immortals. *DJWH*, 112, s.v. 高真.

⁴⁴⁷ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.1a.

⁴⁴⁸ *Mouni* 牟尼 is an abbreviated form of *Shijia mouni* 釋迦牟尼 (Śākyamuni).

The four-character title of this verse, “no fixed *Dharma*” (*wuyou dingfa* 無有定法) is found in the *Diamond Sūtra*.⁴⁴⁹ This phrase occurs in a dialogue between Śākyamuni and his disciple Subhuti (須菩提) in which Śākyamuni makes the point that the *Dharma* or teaching, cannot be grasped or talked about. Thus, the statement in the second line discounts the possibility of seeking something, which defies expression and conventional understanding. To do so would simply demonstrate one’s ignorance or in this case “delusion.”

[8] Empty Penetration and Noumenal Understanding⁴⁵⁰

[With] empty mind and peaceful meditative concentration
understand the Mysterious Female.

Piercing to the bone, pure and impoverished one enters the
foundation of the Way.

The numinous realm⁴⁵¹ is lustrous and the mind-moon
appears.

This is the great brightness of the solitary openness of the
Meditation Heaven.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁹ *Jingang banruo boluomiduo jing*, T8/235/749b.

⁴⁵⁰ The phrase *xu che ling tong* 虛徹靈通 can be found in a Song dynasty Pure Land text entitled *Longshu sengguang jingtu wen*, T47/1970.258a. This text is attributed to a lay Buddhist and holder of the *Jinshi* 進士 degree named Wang Rixiu 王日休 (?-1173) who became a devout follower of Amida Buddha 阿彌陀佛 and Guanyin 觀音. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 163, s.v. 王. A discussion of how Wang Rixiu contributed to the development of Pure Land morality see Charles B. Jones, “Foundations of Ethics and Practice in Chinese Pure Land Buddhism,” *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* 10, (2003). This is an online academic journal at <<http://jbe.gold.ac.uk/index.html>>. The context in which the phrase is used is a defense against the majority of people who make the claim that the Pure Land way of cultivation is inferior to that of the *Dharma*-gate of Chan Buddhism. The same phrase occurs in a Yuan dynasty Pure Land text titled *Lushan lianzong baojian nianfo zheng lun*, T47/1973.345a. In this text the four-character phrase is used in a description of the true mind (*zhenxin* 真心) as opposed to the false mind (*wangxin* 妄心).

⁴⁵¹ *Lingdi* 靈地 appears not to be an established Buddhist or Taoist term.

⁴⁵² *Chantian* 禪天 refers to *Dhyāna* heavens, of which there are four. It is to these heavens that those who practice meditation may be reborn. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 459, s.v. 禪天. Tiantai Buddhism also includes four levels of meditation. These are described in the second chapter of Zhiyi’s 智顗 *Mohe zhiguan*, T 46/1911, 11a ff. In the set of verses titled “The Taoist Teaching,” “the purity of Meditation Heaven” is described as “Cleansing the mind and sweeping away anxiety.” *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.16a. Based on the context of its use *Chantian* 禪天 appears to be a clear reference to a state of *samādhi*.

The title of verse eight is found as a phrase in two Pure Land texts (see note 450) though this fact sheds little or no light on the verse as a whole. What is most significant here is the reference to peaceful meditative concentration (*jingding* 靜定, skt. *samādhi*) as a means for comprehending the “Mysterious Female” (*xuanpin* 玄牝). Thus, we have a Buddhist form of praxis employed to achieve insight into a quintessentially Taoist concept. Li associates the Mysterious Female with the place where the mind stirs and the thoughts are set in motion (舉心動念處爲玄牝).⁴⁵³ Elsewhere it is described in terms of emptiness and as the opening through which one may return to the root.⁴⁵⁴ Thus, the Mysterious Female seems to correspond both to a point of dark origin out of which thought arises and the place of return. In this way it stands in for the Tao itself, which on a cosmogonic level, represents the origin of multiplicity while simultaneously existing as unadulterated unity. The point then is that engaging in the practice of *samādhi* one becomes aware within stillness of the origin of arising thoughts and so witnesses the figurative opening through which a return to unity can be achieved.

[9] The Enlightened Nature of True Suchness⁴⁵⁵

The True Nature, which originally comes, is fundamentally naturally complete.

The absolute,⁴⁵⁶ unmoving, illuminates the Middle Heaven.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵³ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.7b.

⁴⁵⁴ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.16b.

⁴⁵⁵ *Zhenru* 真如, (skt. *bhūtatathatā*), True Suchness, resembles the waves in contrast to the ocean. The waves are mutable while the ocean is eternal. True Suchness is the unchanging reality behind all phenomena. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 331, s.v. 真如.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ruru* 如如 (skt. *tathatā*) designates the absolute and is synonymous with True Suchness (*zhenru* 真如). Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 211, s.v. 如如. The four-character phrase *ruru budong* 如如不動 (the absolute, unmoving) is found in the *Jingang banruo poluomi jing*, T 8/235.752b.27.

⁴⁵⁷ *Zhongtian* 中天 refers to North-Central India. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 111, s.v. 中天. Perhaps its alternate form Middle Kingdom (*Zhongguo* 中國) is intended here.

The splendour of its radiance penetrates without hindrance or
obscuration.
Its brightness breaks through the mist prior to its having
divided.

Verse nine continues the themes of stillness, associated in verse eight with
samādhi, and the brightness or lustre symbolized by the mind-moon (*xinyue* 心月). In the
present verse “the absolute” (*ruru* 如如), which underlies phenomenal existence and is
eternal and so unmoving appears to be used as a Buddhist parallel to the Mysterious
Female that also precedes or acts as the ground and origin of diversity in the form of
arising thoughts.

[10] Eternity, Bliss, Personality, and Purity⁴⁵⁸

Accord with the spirit, nourish the intention, and admire
clarity and emptiness.
The whole day wander afar, allowing things to roll up and
unravel.
It is best to dwell in true bliss within meditative
concentration.
The solitariness of Meditation Heaven discloses radiant True
Suchness.

In this verse the four perfections taught in the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* constitute the title
and the perfections are linked to *samādhi* and spontaneity expressed in terms of
“wandering afar” and “allowing things to roll up and unravel.” “Wandering afar”

⁴⁵⁸ *Chang le wo jing* 常樂我淨 is a technical term used 134 times in the 36 *juan* version of the *Nirvāṇa Sutra*, T12/375/605-852 which teaches that these four states of realization or four perfections (skt. *pāramitās*) of knowledge are developed in the state of *nirvāṇa*. *Foxue dacidian*, 1926 *shang*, s.v. 常樂我淨. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 350, s.v. 常. Note: In the *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.25a, *jing* 淨 is replaced with *jing* 靜.

(*xiaoyao* 逍遙) is used in the title of the first chapter of the *Zhuangzi* and the freedom associated with wandering is a way of referring to the ideal of spontaneity (*ziran* 自然) associated there with the sage who has achieved freedom from the constraints of a conventionally based outlook. This ideal found in the *Zhuangzi* is linked here to the four perfections and both result from deep meditation.

[11] Facing the Sun to Patch Up the Torn Robe⁴⁵⁹

Facing the sun to patch the robe feign tenderness.
Having patched up the shoulder [of your robe] again patch up
the waist.
When you have finished patching and [again] it tears, it is
important to patch it up again.
In the end why appear to be naked?

[12] Facing the Moon Completely Destroy the Scriptures⁴⁶⁰

Beyond the sky the silver toad (moon) has just become a half
[moon].
Foolish people want to comprehend but in the end [fall into]
falsehood.
Suddenly a few black clouds come;
the two eyes follow along like a blind fellow.

Verses eleven and twelve are somewhat problematic; their titles are found as a pair in chapter eighty of Wu Chengen's (1500? - 1582) famous novel "*Journey to the West*" (*Xiyōu jī*). Evidently, these phrases are associated and if their origin could be determined,

⁴⁵⁹ See footnote 359 for details concerning the title of this verse.

⁴⁶⁰ The title of this verse (*duiyue liaocan jing* 對月了殘經) has so far proved impossible to locate. The phrase is found in a text titled *Zhang sanfeng danshi quanji* (*A Complete Anthology of Zhang Sanfeng's Verses on the Elixir*) in the Taoist extra-canonical collection *Daozang jiyao*. The slightly different phrase *duiyue canjing* 對月殘經 is found in a section of verses titled "The Rootless Tree" (*wugen shu* 無根樹). The *Zhang sanfeng danshi jiquan* could not have been the source of the phrase as it was compiled in the Ming dynasty well after the composition of the *Qingan Yingchan zi yulu*.

it would shed light on the two verses above, the first of which is particularly problematic. The second of the verses repeats the symbolism of light, which potentially “breaks through the mist” but here is obscured by clouds of delusion.

[13] The Diamond Sutra Pagoda
Distinguished clearly, a seamless pagoda.
It forces the obstinacy of the bystander to burst open.
The eight points of the compass and the four directions all are
[your] eyes.
In their midst appears the living *Tathāgata*.

Here the Buddhist verses conclude significantly with an ode to the *Diamond Sutra*, which appears to have set the tone and general orientation of the above set of Buddhist verses. Having considered the content of the specific verses what follows is a wider ranging discussion of how the various points of doctrine brought to light in the verses cohere within a process of realization or spiritual training envisioned by Li Daochun and his disciples as the “Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth.”

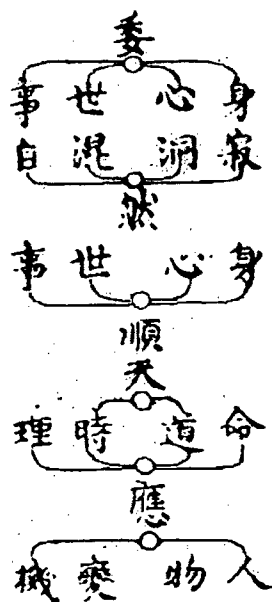
3.3.b Letting Go, Seeing the Light, and Stillness

In the opening chapter of the *Zhonghe ji* there is a series of four illustrations that provide an outline of ideas representing the core of Li’s teaching. One of these is entitled “The Diagram of Letting Go and According With” (*Weishun tu* 委順圖)⁴⁶¹ This diagram describes letting go as a necessary prerequisite for one who desires to exist in perfect

⁴⁶¹ *Zhonghe ji*, 1.2b. See page 26.

harmony with the Natural Order (*tian* 天). Below is a summary of the diagram in verse form:

圖 順 委



Let go and the body will be still.
Being so the body will accord with the
Natural Order and its mandate will respond
to people.

Let go and the mind will be penetrating.
Being so the mind will accord with the
Natural Order and its Way will respond to
things.

Let go and Society will be together.
Being so society will accord with the
Natural Order and its seasons will respond
to transformations.

Let go and affairs will be natural.
Being so affairs will accord with the
Natural Order and its Pattern will respond
to universal moving power.⁴⁶²

Figure 6: Diagram of
Letting Go and
According With
(Chinese)

These verses describe how “letting go” affects every aspect of an individual’s life from their body through to their societal context. The ability to let go makes it possible to then accord with the Natural Order and if both can be achieved the result will be constant

⁴⁶² *Zhonghe ji*, 1.2b.

clarity and tranquility (*chang qingjing* 常清靜).⁴⁶³ This association of clarity or brightness with stillness is an important and oft-repeated theme in the teaching of Li Daochun.

In a second illustration titled “The Diagram of Illuminating and Misleading” (*Zhaowang tu* 照妄圖), he describes the “illuminating mind” (*zhaoxin* 照心) as being constantly still while the “misleading mind” (*wangxin* 妄心), described in the same diagram in opposition to the “illuminating mind,” is always moving:

⁴⁶³ *Zhonghe ji*, 1.3a.



Figure 7: Diagram of
Illuminating and Misleading
(Chinese)

The illuminating mind is constantly still.

If it moves then it responds to the myriad transformations.

Although it moves its fundamental substance is constant stillness.

The misleading mind is constantly moving.

[Even] if it is still then there arise myriad thoughts.

Although it is still its fundamental substance is constant movement.⁴⁶⁴

Without the illumination provided by stillness, one's way will be lost. In the thirteen "Buddhist" verses described above Li associates images of brightness and illumination with the highest form of understanding described in terms of the most fundamental level of reality (*zhenru* 真如 or *ruru* 如如 skt. *bhūtatatahātā*).⁴⁶⁵ Thus "letting go," "illumination/understanding," and "stillness" are all interrelated. Stillness depends on letting go, and letting go depends on illumination. The role of Buddhism within Li's teaching is shaped by this tripartite relationship. In the "The Diagram of Letting Go and

⁴⁶⁴ *Zhonghe ji*, 1.3a. 色惡怕格 28.

⁴⁶⁵ See for example verses nine and ten above.

According With” no mention is made of what it is that must be let go nor is the reader told how this letting go can be affected. The answers to these questions are scattered throughout the *Yingchan zi yulu* and the *Zhonghe ji* and often draw upon Buddhist praxis and epistemological critique.

Letting go begins at the level of language and arises out of a basic distrust of text/s and language in general. Indeed Li predicates his basic assertion that the Three Teachings are unified partially on the belief that, “All teachings are fond of separating from words.”⁴⁶⁶ While Li frequently conveys this unifying attitude to the reader, the matter is rather more complex as his position on the place of language is characteristically ambiguous.⁴⁶⁷ This ambiguity is brought into stark focus when Li states that having presented a “koan” to his students and having insisted that they ponder its import, “Two or three of them accorded somewhat with the crux of it and so I wrote this text in order to present it and thereby transmit [this teaching from] mind to mind.”⁴⁶⁸ Thus, somewhat paradoxically, a text has been composed to assist with the direct transmission of this wordless teaching from mind to mind. Although they are necessary tools, texts and other expressions of language, must not hinder true realization, which lies beyond words:

The real matter is not found on paper. This is analogous to a boat crossing over a river. Crossing over, and thus people having stepped onto the other shore, the boat is useless. A former worthy [Zhuangzi] said: Once you have got the rabbit forget the snare. Once you have got the fish forget the trap.⁴⁶⁹ This is how it is described. Moreover,

⁴⁶⁶ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.1a.

⁴⁶⁷ Characteristic insofar as Chan *yulu* encounters such as those already referred to in connection with the Linji school and much inner alchemy literature repeatedly confront the age-old problem of expressing what they claim is fundamentally inexpressible. The attitude of distrust toward written texts is linked also to the need for encountering an enlightened teacher. *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.1a.

⁴⁶⁸ *Zhonghe ji*, 6.26b.

⁴⁶⁹ Li is paraphrasing the closing lines of the twenty-sixth chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. An interesting example of intercultural continuity is worth noting: In one of the closing sections to his *Tractatus*, Ludwig Wittgenstein made a very similar observation to that made by Zhuangzi, “My propositions serve as

[although] I have now [recounted]⁴⁷⁰ this assemblage of words yet you must not cling to [what is] on paper.⁴⁷¹

The last phrase makes it clear that Li is aware of the conundrum: That he is speaking and writing about the inexpressible “real matter.” Li defines his answer to this predicament in metaphorical terms that underscore the continuity between the “Buddhist” attitude toward the *Dharma*, and the observation in the *Zhuangzi* that one must somehow get to the meaning that lies beneath words whereupon words may be forgotten. In the *Diamond Sutra* the Buddha explains to his disciple Subhuti that the Buddha *Dharma* is like a raft with only provisional use.⁴⁷² The Buddha describes even his own teaching as one that disciples must abandon. By employing this strategy of linking a classical period “Taoist” text with a *prajñāpāramitā* observation on the need to transcend even the Buddha’s teaching Li is self-consciously embracing the “wordless teaching” as a trans-sectarian mode of transmitting the “Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth.”

One could view Li and his disciples as passive employers or perhaps imitators of a popular Chan mode of discourse (the koan), which they are using merely on a formal level as a functional vehicle to communicate a substantially “Taoist” message but there is more to it than that. As has already been described when it suited their purposes Li and his followers rewrote koans or interpreted them in ways that supported their own approach to personal cultivation. The koan mentioned above that Li presented to two or

elucidations in the following way: anyone who understands me eventually recognizes them as nonsensical, when he has used them—as steps—to climb up beyond them. (He must, so to speak, throw away the ladder after he has climbed up it.)” Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico Philosophicus*, trans. D.F. Pears and B.F. McGuinness (Humanities Press, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961), 78.

⁴⁷⁰ I have referred to a section in the *Zhonghe ji*, 3.22a, which provides a very nearly identical version of this same dialogic exchange in order to make sense of this sentence.

⁴⁷¹ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.8b-9a.

⁴⁷² *Jingang banruo poluomi jing*, T8/235.749b.11.

three of his disciples bears no resemblance to what one would ordinarily consider a *koan*. What Li refers to is a prose passage in which he describes how “worldly people” (*shiren* 世人), due to a basic misunderstanding, take their body as an indication that they have a self. Apart from the challenging nature of the insights conveyed there is no sense that the writer is intentionally confounding the reader with the type of mangled logic expected in koans. Instead, Li employs a mix of Yogācāra terms and the pan-Buddhist language of delusion to demonstrate why the belief in a self is ill founded.⁴⁷³

Beyond active reformulation and interpretation, the texts of Li and his disciples repeatedly demonstrate that they also understand and see value in the epistemological ground out of which the formal elements of *yulu* and koan pedagogy emerge. That ground is the “middle position” (*zhong* 中, skt. *madhya*) expressed in two *prajñāpāramitā* texts that Li holds in high esteem: the *Diamond Sūtra* and the *Heart Sūtra*. By exploring and drawing out the implications of the “middle position” Li recognizes and takes full advantage of a bridge between understanding the provisional status of language and realizing the provisional status of everything that occupies one’s daily life and fills the universe. Put another way, Li appreciates that the reasoning employed in shedding light on the limits of language, is necessarily founded on realizing that all those apparently concrete “signifieds,” simultaneously constituting the apparent stability of language and the existence of the “real” world, are projected by the mind rather than simply perceived by a subject. Thus, Li focuses his presentation of these ideas on a critique of language and a deconstruction of mentally constructed reality. This critique takes advantage of doctrinal positions associated generally with *prajñāpāramitā*

⁴⁷³ *Zhonghe ji*, 6.26a-b.

literature and more specifically with Mādhamaka philosophy mentioned earlier and is bolstered by ideas associated with Yogācāra philosophy.

The link between the provisional nature of language and reality in general is made very directly in the following section from the *Diamond Sūtra*, which describes the impossibility of rendering the highest teaching in words because words necessarily imply the mistaken assumption of fixed, self-present (*zixing* 自性, skt. *svabhāva*) forms.

Section seven states:

“Subhūti, what do you think? Does the Tathāgata attain peerless perfect enlightenment? And does he have a teaching that he explains?”

Subhūti said: “As I understand the implications of what the Buddha has explained, there is no determinable phenomenon called peerless perfect enlightenment. And there is also no set teaching [*wuyou dingfa* 無有定法] that can be delivered by the Tathāgata. Why? The teachings explained by the Tathāgata can neither be appropriated nor explained. There is neither a teaching nor a non-teaching. How can this be? All the enlightened sages are distinguished [from worldly teachers] by indeterminate phenomena.”⁴⁷⁴

This verse, which contains the four-character title of one of Li’s Buddhist verses (verse seven), “No Fixed Dharma” (*wuyou dingfa* 無有定法), points out the emptiness of the *Dharma* (Buddha’s teaching). The focus in this verse is not only on the ultimate inexpressibility of the Buddha’s teaching in any final and fixed form but also includes the middle position of emptiness expressed as “no *Dharma* and not no *Dharma*” (*feifa fei* 非法非非法).⁴⁷⁵ That is, the teaching (like all other *dharma*s—teachings and fundamental constituents of reality) is empty but not non-existent. This type of analysis is

⁴⁷⁴ Charles Muller, trans. *The Diamond Sutra*, 2003. This work has thus far been published only on the World Wide Web and can be found at <http://www.hm.tyg.jp/~acmuller/bud-canon/diamond_sutra.html#div-7>.

⁴⁷⁵ *Jingang banruo poluomi jing*, T8/235.249.b.

a constant refrain in the *Diamond Sutra*. In Li Daochun's verse though, the focus shifts, as is often the case, from theory to praxis,

[7] No Fixed Dharma

Engage in meditation to seek the *Dharma* [and your] Nature
will be completely deluded.

Distancing [yourself] from the *Dharma* to seek mysterious
practices is turning away.

If you comprehend *Dharma* as arising out of the mind
Dharma will be empty, the mind still, and [you will] behold
the sage.

The point made in verse seven of Li's Buddhist verses is that realizing the emptiness of the *Dharma* (Buddha's teaching) and all other *dharma*s makes it possible to let go or set down all views so that the mind is made still. By directly linking this verse to the above conversation between Subhūti and the Tathāgata, Li effectively creates a bridge between a *prajñāpāramitā* epistemological critique and his own ideal of stillness. By placing the phrases, "*Dharma* will be empty" and "the mind still," side by side in the same line he is making a connection between achieving a state of inner stillness and the ideals of letting go of language and awakening to the middle position of no self-present existence, the comprehension of which requires and demonstrates illumination. Here the close relationship of stillness, tranquility, and illumination or understanding is assumed.

The ability to witness the sage within (Śākyamuni), is contingent upon "not meditating," that is, on avoiding any fixed intention and letting go completely by relinquishing language and comprehending the teaching of emptiness. In this way, emptiness of mind can simply happen (*ziran* 自然). The same point is made in verse eight where emptiness of mind and deep meditation (*dīng* 定, skt. *samādhi*) make it possible to

comprehend the “Mysterious Female” and enter the Way. Hence, for Li the *Diamond Sūtra* provides, in its statement of the middle way, a medicine to cure the active seeking and grasping that he takes to be so counterproductive to the cultivation of the Golden Elixir. It is important to note that this specific use of the *Diamond Sūtra* does not correspond with any statement found in that text. The primary focus of the *sūtra* from the perspective of praxis is not meditation as such but rather the Bodhisattva ideal and its attendant orientation toward universal salvation through the application of a non-referential or non-attached form of compassion. Li’s requirements of this text mute that dimension of its message.

Li’s concern with meditation generates the same interpretive approach in the first chapter of the *Zhonghe ji* where his focus is on a single phrase (*ruru budong* 如如不動) found in the concluding verse of the *Diamond sūtra* that reads,

Subhūti, if there were a person who took the amount of the seven jewels in numberless, countless worlds and gave them away charitably, and there were also a good son or good daughter who gave rise to the bodhisattva’s aspiration, taking just a four line verse of this scripture, memorizing it, reciting it, and teaching it to others, this person’s merit would exceed that of the former. How should one teach it to others? Without grasping to signs, staying with *things as they are, immovable* (*ruru budong* 如如不動). Why?

All conditioned phenomena
Are like a dream, an illusion, a bubble, a shadow
Like the dew, or like lightning

You should discern them like this.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁶ Muller, *Diamond Sutra*.

This verse emphasizes the salvific power of the *sūtra* and ponders the problem of how it is to be taught. The solution lies in acknowledging the illusory and temporary nature of existence. Edward Conze, in the commentary to his translation of the *Diamond Sūtra*, observes that in this version translated by Kumārajīva (344-413), the sentence, “Without grasping to signs, staying with things as they are, immovable (如如不動),” is added to clarify the point of the four-line stanza that follows and it is this appended qualifying sentence that Li seizes upon.⁴⁷⁷ Once again the principal subject: spreading the Buddha *Dharma* through the vehicle of the *Diamond Sutra* is subordinated by Li to his own message that the Three Teachings are ultimately based in the same universal insight regarding the need for stillness. In order to support this contention Li places side by side three phrases taken from the Three Teachings (including the one just mentioned from the *Diamond Sutra*):

Buddhists say: “The absolute does not move (如如不動).” Complete understanding is constant (unconditioned) knowledge.

The *Appendix to the Changes* [of the Confucians] says: “Silently so, not moving. [When] influenced they (the Changes) follow and penetrate (the causes of all under the sky).”⁴⁷⁸

The elixir book/s [of the Taoists] say, “[When] the body and mind do not move, then one again has the limitless true moving power.”⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁷ Edward Conze, trans., *Buddhist Wisdom Books: The Diamond Sutra; The Heart Sutra* (New York, San Francisco: Harper Torchbooks, Harper and Row, Publishers, 1958), 67-68. For the sake of consistency the translation of the sentence in question remains that of Muller. The original sentence reads: 不取於相如如不動. T 8/235.752.b.

⁴⁷⁸ The first four-character phrase within this sentence (寂然不動, 感而遂同) is found only once in the *Yijing* but is a constant refrain in the works associated with Li Daochun and his disciples. The concluding four characters of the above sentence included in brackets above are 天下之故. *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/21.

⁴⁷⁹ I have, thus far, been unable to locate the source of this quotation.

While it is obvious that Li knows the content of the *Diamond Sutra* verse from which he quotes, he is not interested in conveying the Mahāyāna message of that verse. His primary focus is on generating lines of continuity between the Three Teachings. Immediately after listing these three phrases he states,

“[These all] describe the marvelous origin of the Supreme Ultimate (*Taiji* 太極). This being known, what the Three Teachings esteem is tranquil stability [within].”⁴⁸⁰

Following the *Taiji tu shuo* of Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073)⁴⁸¹ Li understands the wondrous origin of the “Supreme Ultimate” to be the “Limitless” (*Wuji* 無極), a concept that can be traced to the *Daode jing*.⁴⁸² Hence, Li takes a statement from the *Diamond Sutra* and, in accordance with a *Daoxue* 道學 (Neo-Confucian) text, reduces its meaning to a term originating in a text that became central to the many movements denoted by the term ‘Taoism’.

“Letting go” is an end supported by Buddhist language and doctrine, both of which are applied skilfully by Li and his disciples with a convincing level of insight, demonstrating that they are not mere imitators of form. It is significant then that the focus on stillness in relation to the “Buddhist teaching,” is one that relies on a rather forced

⁴⁸⁰ *Zhonghe ji*, 1.1b.

⁴⁸¹ Zhou Dunyi. *Taiji tushuo* (Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate) in *Zhouzi quanshu* in vol. 44 of *Guoxue jiben congshu*, ed. Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwuyin shuguan gufenyouxian gongsi, 1968), 2-32.

⁴⁸² See section 28 of the *Daode jing*. *Wuji* also appears in chapter 49 of the *Guanzi* entitled *Neiye*. Harold Roth, *Original Tao: Inward Training (Nei-yeh) and the Foundations of Taoist Mysticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 53. Roth has argued that the *Neiye* represents a way of cultivation that predates the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi*. If so it would represent the earliest known record of cultivation practices that link settling of the emotions and lessening of desires to meditative exercises involving gathering and circulating the *qi* within the body.

vision of Buddhism. Over and above employing Buddhist epistemological insights as tools to gain freedom, this second function of Buddhism within the Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth appears to be a projection by Li and his disciples onto the various texts and teachings that they have employed. They clearly consider stillness as central to the very identity of Buddhism and yet neither the *Heart Sūtra* nor the *Diamond Sūtra*, the only two Buddhist texts mentioned by name in the *Yingchan zi yulu* and *Zhonghe ji*, provide any description of inner stillness or tranquility. The only example is that already cited above (*ruru budong* 如如不動), which requires a rather elastic exegetical posture to say the least. This phrase from the *Diamond Sūtra* is one of only two points at which an argument for the centrality of inner stillness to Buddhism is put forward.⁴⁸³ “Argument” perhaps overstates the case, as what are offered in both cases are mere assertions. Having just considered the first example, a second that relies upon a particular reading of *jie* 戒 (discipline or precepts), will now be considered.

The sixth of the Buddhist verses provides descriptions of “discipline” (*jie* 戒, skt. *śīla*), meditative concentration (*ding* 定, skt. *samādhi*), and wisdom (*hui* 慧, skt. *prajñā*):

[6] Discipline, Meditative Concentration, and Wisdom

Not moving in the midst of movement is true discipline.

[Through] true meditative concentration you will be united with the patriarchal ancestors.

With wisdom you ascend the entire *Dharma*-realm.⁴⁸⁴

The emotions that cause recklessness and deception will be completely dissolved.

⁴⁸³ This statement is based primarily upon the translated material comprising Chapter Two of this dissertation though reading through the untranslated sections of the *Yingchan zi yulu* and the *Zhonghe ji* have so far yielded no additional arguments supporting this particular understanding of Buddhism.

⁴⁸⁴ *Fajie* 法界 (skt. *Dharmadātu*) can refer to the physical universe as a whole or to its underlying ground from which all phenomena appear. Soothill and Hodous, *Buddhist Terms*, 272, s.v. 法界.

This verse does not define “discipline” with reference to morality, as one would expect in a Buddhist context. Instead the text defines it by saying, “Not moving in the midst of movement is true discipline.”⁴⁸⁵ Further, the verse ends by stating that through the cultivation and application of discipline, meditative concentration, and wisdom, “The emotions that cause recklessness and deception will be completely dissolved.” Such a representation of these important Buddhist concepts extends their function in ways that do not conform to how they usually function in a Buddhist context.

Li Daochun and his disciples have adopted a Chan mode of discourse and have referred to two texts that are foundational to Chan soteriology and praxis. With this in mind, it may be useful to consider for comparison the description and application of “discipline,” “meditative concentration,” and “wisdom” within a Chan context. The *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* is a good choice as it provides just such a description and makes use of language favoured by Li and his disciples as was described in the first half of this chapter. In Chapter Six entitled “Repentance,” Huineng sits down with some of his disciples and speaks on what he describes as the “five incenses” the first three of which pertain to “discipline,” “meditative concentration,” and “wisdom,”

The first is the Sila Incense, which means that our mind is free from taints of misdeeds, evil jealousy, avarice, anger, spoliation, and hatred. The second is the Samadhi Incense, which means that our mind is unperturbed in all circumstances, favorable or unfavorable. The third is the Prajna Incense, which means that our mind is free from all impediments, that we constantly introspect our Essence of Mind with wisdom, that we refrain from doing all kinds of evil deeds, that although we do all kinds of good acts, yet we do not let our mind become attached to (the fruits) of such actions, and that we are respectful towards our superiors, considerate to our inferiors, and sympathetic to the destitute and the poor.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁵ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.24a.

⁴⁸⁶ *Liuzu tanjing*, T48/2008.353c., A.F. Price and Wong Mou-Lam, trans., *The Diamond Sutra & the Sutra of Hui Neng* (Boston: Shambhala Publications Inc., 1969), 49.

This entire passage has a strong moral focus. The definition of *jie* 戒 (discipline) refers directly to matters of morality, as one would expect. No explicit mention of stillness is evident. A similar definition of *jie* 戒 is provided later on in chapter eight of the same *sūtra* where it is stated: “To free the mind from all impurity is the Sila of the Essence of Mind.”⁴⁸⁷ *Samādhi* is related to maintaining a state of internal equilibrium under all circumstances and so might be associated with restraining the emotions though the translation emphasizes a possible link to emotions through the choice of “unperturbed” in the translation of *zixin buluan* 自心不亂. *Luan* 亂 is a more neutral term conveying a sense of disorder rather than specifically emotional discord. *Prajñā* is linked to removing impediments (*wuai* 無礙) and again the matter of morality is raised in connection with *prajñā*.

The *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*, composed in Chan and Huayan circles at the beginning of the eighth century, was also an immensely popular text in China. In the introduction to his translation of the text Charles Muller describes it as having a distinctly East Asian metaphysical dimension to its soteriology evident in its discussions of the important theoretical issues concerning the nature of enlightenment. He describes these issues as being at the fore of the East Asian Buddhist consciousness at its period of maturation.⁴⁸⁸ In addition to describing ritual performances, confession, and the means for selecting a proper teacher, this text gives direct descriptions concerning meditation. The *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* contains a single reference to discipline, meditation, and

⁴⁸⁷ *Liuzu tanjing*, T48/2008.358c. Price and Wong, *Sutra of Hui Neng*, 86.

⁴⁸⁸ Charles Muller, trans., *The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment: Korean Buddhism's Guide to Meditation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 3.

wisdom. It occurs at a point where enlightenment itself is described as a hindrance (*zhang* 障) and an obstruction (*ai* 礙).⁴⁸⁹

Good sons, all hindrances are none other than ultimate enlightenment. Whether you attain mindfulness or lose mindfulness, there is no non-liberation. Establishing the Dharma and refuting the Dharma are both called nirvana; wisdom and folly are equally prajna; the method that is perfected by bodhisattvas and false teachers is the same bodhi; ignorance and suchness are not different realms; morality, concentration and wisdom, as well as desire, hatred and ignorance are all divine practices; sentient beings and lands share the same dharma nature; hell and heaven are both the Pure Land; those having Buddha-nature and those not having it equally accomplish the Buddha's enlightenment.⁴⁹⁰

By setting up the description in terms of sets of opposites, this passage is instructive concerning the definition of “discipline” (translated significantly as “morality” by Muller). By implication “discipline” (*jie* 戒, Skt. *śīla*) or “morality” is a state that implies the suppression or regulation of desires. Once again, “stillness” is not at the forefront. Finally, the *Linji lu* also speaks of “discipline” in terms of conventional morality. This term (*jie* 戒) occurs only once in the text and is described in conjunction with fasting as an unhelpful practice. Such practices are mere adornments and are not the Buddha-dharma.⁴⁹¹ Once again, it is assumed that “discipline” refers only to moral constraints.

It is important for Li's position regarding the “Buddhist teaching” that it be closely identified with stillness, a notion that is at the very heart of his own teaching and which goes a long way to substantiating his claims of unity between the Three Teachings.

⁴⁸⁹ This echoes Li's observation in the seventh Buddhist verse, that intentionally directed meditation practice is also a source of delusion. See page 134.

⁴⁹⁰ Muller, *Perfect Enlightenment*, 162. *Yuanjue jing*, T17/842.917b.

⁴⁹¹ *Linji lu*, T47/1985.502a.

While these explicit attempts by Li and his disciples to identify Buddhism with stillness are unconvincing, there are passages that do refer to Buddhist ideas associated with internal stillness or tranquility.

Near the end of the *Zhonghe ji* there is a section titled "Names and Words Beyond the [Three] Teachings" (*Jiaowai mingyan* 教外名言)⁴⁹² in which Buddhist doctrine is interwoven with ideas from Neo-Confucian thought, the *Daode jing*, and the *Zhuangzi*. Three subsections describe each of the Three Teachings from the perspective of transcending "transformation" (*hua* 化) and "creation" (*zao* 造) by cultivating an understanding of "great creation" and "great transformation." The Buddhist subsection focuses on how the mind first creates reality and then becomes ensnared in its own creation. Liberation is achieved by employing wisdom so that reality is re-cognized as having no characteristics. As such, reality is understood in terms of emptiness:

The Nature of unified reality⁴⁹³ exists fundamentally. It exists and yet has no characteristics. Therefore, it is without creation and is without transformation. It is the constant of the Way. People only understand being without creation and being without transformation as no creation or transformation. They do not realize that there is great creation and transformation preserved within it. As for those who are not enlightened how are they able to know it? Enlightened scholars understand that if wisdom penetrates universally then [in the] myriad [worldly] affairs they will see emptiness. The One Mind will return to stillness. Transcendentally so, it alone is preserved and so is without creation and transformation.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹² *Zhonghe ji*, 6.21b-26b.

⁴⁹³ "Nature of unified reality" is a translation of 一真之性. Yi zhen 一真 is a Buddhist term referring to reality in its entirety (Skt. *Bhūtatathatā*). This term is interchangeable with *zhenru* 真如, usually translated as "true suchness." This refers to a core doctrine of *Huayan* Buddhism. It is the "one reality, or undivided absolute, is static, not phenomenal, it is effortless just as it is 自然 self-existing." Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 9, s.v. 一真.

⁴⁹⁴ *Zhonghe ji*, 21b-22a.

The link made here between the unified mind (*yixin* 一心, skt. *eka-agra*) and stillness is one that rests on Li's own identification of True Suchness (*zhenru* 真如, skt. *tathatā*) with stillness. The One Mind is synonymous with True Suchness⁴⁹⁵ and as such represents a reduction of mind to reality, and reality to the mind. This means that subject and object no longer stand in relation to one another because the ground for the distinction is no more than provisional. Li's reliance on the concept of the "unified mind" indicates another likely source of his understanding of Buddhism. "Unified mind" is a core idea in the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith*⁴⁹⁶ traditionally attributed to Aśvaghōṣa (ca. 1st-2nd c. C.E.). This text played a pivotal role in the debates between Huayan and Tiantai adherents, as it was a doctrinal resource-text for both.⁴⁹⁷ Concerning the unified mind the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith* states:

The Mind in terms of the Absolute is the one World of Reality (*dharmadhatu*) and the essence of all phases of existence in their totality. That which is called "the essential nature of the Mind" is unborn and is imperishable. It is only through illusions that all things come to be differentiated. If one is freed from illusions, then to him there will be no appearances (*lakshana*) of objects regarded as absolutely independent existences; therefore all things from the beginning transcend all forms of verbalization, description, and conceptualization and are, in the final analysis, undifferentiated, free from alteration, and indestructible. They are only of the One Mind; hence the name Suchness. All explanations by words are provisional

⁴⁹⁵ Ding Fubao, *Foxue dacidian*, 11, s.v. 一心.

⁴⁹⁶ *Dasheng qixin lun*, T32/1666.

⁴⁹⁷ A discussion of Zhanzan's 湛然 (711-782) attempts to reinvigorate Tiantai in the face of Huayan's rise to ascendancy by the mid eighth century and the subsequent struggle to establish orthodoxy can be found in Chi-wah Chan, "Chih-li (960-1028) and the Crisis of T'ien-t'ai Buddhism in the Early Sung," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, eds. Gregory, Peter N. and Daniel A. Getz (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 409-441. For a brief discussion of the significance to these events of the ontology of mind described in the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith* see pages 411-412.

and without validity, for they are merely used in accordance with illusions and are incapable of denoting Suchness.⁴⁹⁸

This section of the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith* refers to the same themes raised in the quotation from the *Zhonghe ji*. All the objects comprising reality resolve themselves into the "One Mind" and as such are beyond alteration (*bianyi* 變異). In the words of Li Daochun, they are beyond creation and transformation. The essential nature of mind is unborn and if one can get beyond the illusions of differentiation by giving up conceptualization and description then all things constituting the world are understood to be unified mind and as such are indestructible. Li explains that if wisdom can penetrate the apparent multiplicity of objects in the universe then everything will be understood as emptiness and so the unified mind can return to stillness. The link, made in the above passage from the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith*, between such realization and indestructibility is also made in the *Zhonghe ji* immediately after the passage quoted above:

If you do not understand the beyond, present in body, mind, world and affairs [then] inwardly dwelling in enduring thoughts and making distinctions will be that by which you will go along with worldly transformations and follow along with the body's birth and destruction.⁴⁹⁹

By implication, if thoughts do not arise and distinctions are abandoned then one is able to transcend both birth and death. The language of freedom from motion, transformation (*hua* 化), and alteration (*bianyi* 變異), implying a transcending of temporality, appears to

⁴⁹⁸ *Dasheng qixin lun*, T32/1666.576a.08-18. The translation is taken from Yoshito S. Hakeda, trans., *The Awakening of Faith (Mahayana-Sraddhotpada Shastra)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 32-33.

⁴⁹⁹ *Zhonghe ji*, 6.22a.

be substantially consonant between the views expressed in the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith* and those expressed by Li Daochun and his disciples in the *Zhonghe ji*.

Li and his disciples make another link to stillness, or more specifically, “cessation” (*zhi* 止), in Buddhist teaching and, once again, the phrasing evokes teachings found in both the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith*, associated with the Tiantai teachings of Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597),⁵⁰⁰ and the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*. In the opening section of the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith*, there is a list of eight reasons for which the *śāstra* was composed. The sixth reason explains that it was written in order to reveal two well-known methods of meditation described as “cessation” (*zhi* 止, skt. *śamatha*) and “contemplation” (*guan* 觀, skt. *vipaśyanā*).⁵⁰¹ The first, it states, is taught in order to free the mind from illusion and the second to clear the mind of error.⁵⁰² Both of these terms are found in the *Zhonghe ji* at a point where an explanation is offered to account for the

⁵⁰⁰ The teachings in question are those central to Zhiyi’s *Maha zhiguan*, T46/1911. A relatively concise description of “cessation and contemplation” is found in the introduction to this work composed by Zhiyi’s close disciple and second Tiantai patriarch, Guanding 灌頂 (562-632). *Maha zhiguan*, T46/1911.1c.01-3b.10. See note 501 for additional details. A rigorously annotated, unpublished translation of this chapter has been prepared by Paul L. Swanson and can be viewed online: Paul L. Swanson, *The Great Cessation-and-Contemplation: Moho chih-kuan* [Provisional draft edition], <<http://www.nanzan-u.ac.jp/~pswanon/mhck/mhck.shtml>, 2003>. Non-specialists in Buddhist studies may be unaware of an excellent glossary of Tiantai terminology prepared by Swanson that is also available at the same site. Terms are listed in Japanese, Chinese, French, and English and cross-referenced to the translation.

⁵⁰¹ *Zhi* 止 (skt. *śamatha*), cessation, refers to silencing or putting to rest the active mind. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 158, s.v. *Guan* 觀 (skt. *vipaśyanā*), contemplation, is to consider and discern illusion, or to discern what seems to be real from what is real. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 489, s.v. 觀. As a pair these terms figure prominently in the doctrinal formulations of Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597) and even serve as a name (*zhiguan zong* 止觀宗) for the Tiantai 天台 school of Buddhism which grew out of Zhiyi’s teachings. These terms also refer to two forms of meditation: *Zhi* 止, usually translated as stabilizing meditation and calm abiding, refers to meditative practices aimed at the stilling of thought and development of concentration (*ding* 定). The latter is translated as analysis or clear observation and refers to the application of one’s power of concentration to the embodiment of a Buddhist description of reality, such as dependent origination (*yuanqi* 緣起). Muller, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. 止觀.

⁵⁰² *Dasheng qixin lun*, T32/1666.575c.02-03. These two meditative practices complement four other practices listed later on in the *śāstra*: practices of charity 施, observing the precepts (*jie* 戒), patience (*ren* 忍), and advancing (*jin* 進). *Dasheng qixin lun*, T32/1666.581c.15-16.

failure of contemporary adepts to recognize their Nature (*xing* 性). Nature, for them, remains unseen because of the “two hindrances” (*erzhang* 二障):

If it were not for Great Contemplation (*daguan* 大觀), they would be unable to get free of the hindrance of principle (*lizhang* 理障). If it were not for Great Cessation (*dazhi* 大止), they would be unable to do away with the phenomenal hindrance (*shizhang* 事障). Great Contemplation is called cutting-off through understanding.⁵⁰³ Great Cessation is called forceful restraint. If your cutting-off through understanding is pure and complete then all the various principles are empty. If your forceful restraint is pure and complete then all phenomena are empty. If you understand the Great Emptiness of the three voids⁵⁰⁴ and know the perfect truth of unified truth, this is the pinnacle of Great Contemplation. Forthwith, body, mind, the world, and affairs, thoughts, anxiety, emotions, and discerning together all cease. This is the pinnacle of Great Cessation. If this were not the most elevated of elevated understanding “who would be able to participate in this?”⁵⁰⁵

The terminology used in this passage seems to indicate that the writers are combining doctrinal elements of somewhat diverse provenance. Firstly, references to the “two hindrances” are given in a very specific form employing the pair of terms “principle” (*li* 理) and “phenomena” (*shi* 事) as qualifying prefixes to the term “hindrance” (*zhang* 障).

This choice of terms is significant because it provides a clue to the source-text or at least the domain of thought to which Li and his disciples are alluding. The pair of terms

⁵⁰³ *Zhiduan* 智斷 “Mystic wisdom which attains absolute truth, and cuts off misery.” Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 375. This term is used frequently in Zhiyi’s *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (*The Great Cessation and Contemplation*). T 1911.46.

⁵⁰⁴ *Sangong* 三空 is defined in the *Diamond sūtra* as “emptiness of marks [*wuxiang* 無相], emptiness of emptiness [*kongkong* 空空], emptiness of that which is empty [*suokong* 所空].” T 273.9.369b.16. The text reads: 佛言。三空者。空相亦空。空空亦空。所空亦空。

⁵⁰⁵ This sentence: 非上上智。其孰能與於此。 (*Zhonghe ji*, 6.25a), represents a slight adjustment to the original quoted from the *Xici* 繫辭 (*Appended Statements*) of the *Yijing*: 非天下之至變。其孰能與於此。 *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/19.

shizhang 事障 and *lizhang* 理障, which correspond to the “hindrances of affliction”

(*fannao zhang* 煩惱障) and “hindrance of what is known” (*suozhi zhang* 所知障)

associated with the Yogācāra school, is employed in the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*

but does not occur in the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith*. Secondly, and conversely, the

pair of terms “cessation” and “contemplation” occurs in the *Mahāyāna Awakening of*

Faith but is not included in the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*.

In the above passage, the pairs of concepts “hindrance of principle” and

“phenomenal hindrance,” and “cessation” and “contemplation” are combined in a manner

perfectly consistent with their independent uses in the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith* and

the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*.

Li describes “cessation” as “forceful restraint” (*lizhi* 力制), directed at the

elimination of the “phenomenal hindrance” constituted by emotions, and desires

responsible for the arising of thoughts. This language of restraint is consistent with that

found in the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith* where, in a section devoted to describing the

practice of “cessation” it states that if the mind should begin to wander it must be brought

back to “true thought” (*zhengnian* 正念).⁵⁰⁶ The destructive passions (*fannao* 煩惱) must

be made to submit so they can no longer perpetuate one’s existence in the endless round

of *samsāra*.⁵⁰⁷ In the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith* “cessation” is described as

addressing a relatively superficial level of cultivation. It is merely preparatory to entering

the *Samādhi* of True Suchness (*zhenru sanmei* 真如三昧).⁵⁰⁸ As such, it corresponds to

the description of the two hindrances in the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* where

⁵⁰⁶ The original passage reads: 心若馳散。即當攝來住於正念。是正念者。當知唯心無外境界。
Dasheng qixin lun, T32/1666.582a.22. The last phrase is an obvious reference to Yogācāra doctrine.

⁵⁰⁷ *Dasheng qixin lun*, T32/1666.582a.26-27.

⁵⁰⁸ *Dasheng qixin lun*, T32/1666.582a.26.

overcoming the “phenomenal hindrance,” responsible for one’s continuation in *samsāra*, is also an initial stage necessary as a foundation for the realization of a Bodhisattva.⁵⁰⁹

The *Zhonghe ji* passage above refers to Great Contemplation as the method by which one overcomes the “hindrance of principle.” Li associates Great Contemplation with the development of understanding through his use of the term *zhiduan* 智斷 (“cutting-off through understanding”).⁵¹⁰ The aligning of “contemplation” and the “hindrance of principle” with the capacity of the adept for developing understanding is consistent with the description of these terms in the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith* and the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*. In the former, one must reflect upon the fact that things in and constituting the world are only temporary. They exhibit no stable self-existence and failure to understand this leads to great suffering. By way of “contemplation,” one is able to penetrate this fundamental misunderstanding and along with the simultaneous practice of cessation, one can break free of *samsara* and suffering.⁵¹¹ In the latter, the hindrance of principle is also identified with a failure to correctly understand the human situation.⁵¹²

It is apparent that Li and his disciples well understood the nature and function of these four key Buddhist concepts. It is also clear that they have located “cessation” or stillness as a significant component of Buddhist praxis as it is described in two texts that were seminal in the formulation of meditative practice for both Chan and Tiantai Buddhism. It remains slightly puzzling that they did not use these references to cessation

⁵⁰⁹ *Yuanjue jing*, T17/842.916b.22-27.

⁵¹⁰ See footnote 503 above. While *zhiduan* 智斷 is used frequently by Zhiyi in his *Great Cessation and Contemplation* it is not found in either the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* or the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith*.

⁵¹¹ *Dasheng qixin lun*, T32/1666.582c.14-583a.11.

⁵¹² *Yuanjue jing*, T42/817.916b.22.

to bolster their claims that the quest for stillness represents the core of Buddhist identity. One could speculate that they did not exploit these particular concepts because they are closely associated with a very different, and very Buddhist, problematic that revolves around epistemology. Whether one considers the *Heart Sutra*, *Diamond Sutra*, the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith*, or the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*, the overwhelming impression received is that all the suffering encountered by human beings rests, in the final analysis, on ignorance and that freedom comes through awakening. The focus is squarely upon waking up and then awakening all sentient beings. Consequently, cessation fits into this picture as a preparatory stage; one that makes re-understanding and re-cognition a real possibility. Li Daochun views the situation rather differently. As has been discussed above, for him cessation, or internal tranquility, and the insight that such stillness makes possible, is not linked exclusively or perhaps even primarily to the experience of awakening, nor to the resolution of a fundamentally epistemological predicament but instead to initiating and sustaining the inner alchemical process. The following passages from the *Yingchan zi yulu* clearly express the place of stillness according to Li Daochun's understanding of cultivation:

The teacher said: These different names are merely metaphors. Do not depart from the two characters: 'body' and 'mind' when you set to work. Congeal the harmony of the ears; contain the brightness of the eyes; seal up the *qi* of the tongue; harmonize the breath of the nose. [When these] "Four Greats" do not move then *jing*, spirit, the *hun* souls, and *po* souls and the intention all rest in their places. This is called the five *qi* paying court to the origin.⁵¹³

⁵¹³ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.6b-7a.

The section following the opening two sentences appears to be a quotation, though in slightly different order, from the forward to the *Jindan sibaizi* dubiously attributed to Zhang Boduan (ca. 983-1081). The text of the *Jindan sibaizi* goes on to explain the results of this state of meditative stillness. It provides a useful elucidation of the quotation found in Li Daochun's text:

The eyes not seeing locates the *hun* souls in the liver; the ears not hearing locates the essence in the kidneys; the tongue making no sound locates the spirit in the heart-mind; the nose sensing no fragrance locates the *po* souls in the lungs; the lack of movement in the four limbs locates intention in the spleen.⁵¹⁴

All of this is described as “the five *qi* paying court to the origin” (*wuqi zhaoyuan* 五氣朝元),⁵¹⁵ which is repeated in Li's text.⁵¹⁶ Therefore, this meditative exercise, in which all of the senses are muted or stopped, is a method for retaining various forms of *qi* in their proper bodily locations. This practice is a kind of bodily, inner alchemical correlate to the practice described in purely mental terms as “cessation” in the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith* or the *Great Cessation and Contemplation* of Zhiyi. The point of departure for those texts is that cessation represents a prelude to true understanding whereas for Li Daochun it is the prerequisite to gathering and circulating the *qi* in order to make possible the formation of the “child” (*yinger* 嬰兒). The result, as can be seen in the rest of the section below, is the establishment of the necessary foundation for transforming *jing* into *qi*, *qi* into spirit and spirit back to emptiness or the Way:

⁵¹⁴ *Jindan sibaizi*, TY1070, DZ741. 1a-b.

⁵¹⁵ *Jindan sibaizi*, 1b.

⁵¹⁶ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.7a.

Circulating [this *qi* so that it] enters the Central Palace is called gathering together the five phases.⁵¹⁷ When the mind does not move this is the dragon's moan. When the body does not move, this is the tiger's roar. The body and mind not moving is called the descending dragon and the hidden tiger. The *jing* and *qi* are described as the tortoise and the snake. The body and mind are described as the dragon and tiger. The instant unifying of the dragon, tiger, tortoise and snake is called the harmonizing and unifying of the four signs. Using the nature (*xing* 性) to take hold of the emotions (*qing* 情) is called equalizing metal and wood. Using *jing* to manage the *qi* is called the interaction of fire and water.⁵¹⁸ Wood and fire share the same origin. The two natures share one household. [That is,] three of the east and two of the south together make five.⁵¹⁹ [Likewise] water and metal share the same origin. One of the north and four of the west make it complete.⁵²⁰ Earth, located in the Central Palace, is associated with the naturally completed number five. *Wuji*⁵²¹ at the same time [also] accords with the originally produced number [five]. When the mind, body, and will are made complete in a single instant the three households behold each other and form the child. This is called the fusing of the three fives.⁵²²

The concluding sentence and an accompanying clear explanation can be found in the extracanonical inner alchemy text entitled *Xingming guizhi*,⁵²³ which may have been composed in the Ming dynasty. There the explanation points out that the three fives or houses are the mind, body, and will, all of which, if they are kept still, will allow the joining of spirit in the south and nature in the east, essence in the north and emotions in

⁵¹⁷ This phrase is also found in *Zhuzhen neidan jiyao* 諸真內丹集要 TY1246, DZ999, *quanzhong*, 13a, attributed to Xuanquan zi 玄全子 a Quanzhen master and contemporary of Li Daochun. This assumes that Li is quoting Xuanquan zi and not the reverse.

⁵¹⁸ This section of text is included almost verbatim in the *Zhuzhen neidan jiyao*, *quan zhong*, 13b.

⁵¹⁹ East corresponds with wood while south corresponds with fire.

⁵²⁰ Complete insofar as the sum of the two is five.

⁵²¹ *Wu* 戊 and *ji* 己 refer independently to the fifth and sixth of the ten celestial stems (*tiangan* 天干) and, in combination, correspond to the earth phase which occupies the central position. This entire section describing the correlation of numbers with directions as comprising three sets of five follows very closely the schema laid out by Zhang Boduan in the fourteenth of sixteen heptasyllabic verses in the opening section of the *Wuzhen pian*, 26.19a-b. Wuming zi's 無名子 commentary on this section is helpful in drawing out and clarifying the symbolism of this section.

⁵²² *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.7a. See Wuming zi's commentary in the *Wuzhen pian*, 26.19b, where he draws out the symbolism in more detail using the eastern dragon, western tiger, fire south and water north.

⁵²³ *Xingming guizhi*, *yuan* 25b. This text is included in *Daozang jinghua lu*, an inner alchemy compilation published in 1922.

the west, and with the will settled in the centre all three join together. Once again, all of this is explained as the requisite foundation for transforming essence into *qi*, *qi* into spirit and spirit into emptiness.

Refining essence and transforming it into *qi*; refining *qi* and transforming it into spirit and refining spirit so that it returns to emptiness is called the three herbs gathered in the reaction vessel.⁵²⁴

These passages describe stillness of both mind and body as necessary for the stabilization, gathering, and circulation of the various forms of *qi*.⁵²⁵ Insofar as stillness is here treated as preliminary to further aims, it does not diverge from the Buddhist methods alluded to by Li and his disciples. “Cessation” (*zhi* 止) and the overcoming of the “phenomenal hindrance” (*shizhang* 事障) serve a parallel function in their Buddhist contexts vis-à-vis “contemplation” (*guan* 觀) and the hindrance of principle (*lizhang* 理障), which represent subsequent levels of cultivation culminating in complete realization or enlightenment. In the texts of Li and his disciples, realization on the level of epistemology, the awakening from ignorance made possible through preliminary stages of cessation, are also rendered secondary to the inner alchemical methodology. Li appears to be transforming the final goal of realization into a tool for the achievement of freedom. In a sense, one witnesses observations grounded in *prajñāpāramitā* discourse transformed into an alternate form of liberating deconstruction anticipated within mainstream Taoist literature in the *Zhuangzi*. The middle way and its associated descriptions of the constructed nature of reality and

⁵²⁴ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.7a.

⁵²⁵ See also *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.1b where Li states, “What I call lead and mercury . . . are the Original Essence (*yuanjing* 元精) in the body and the Original Spirit (*yuanshen* 元神) in the heart-mind. If the body and mind do not move the essence and *qi* will congeal.

self are embraced as legitimate but are employed to free the mind from turmoil in order to create the requisite ground for success in alchemical cultivation. Thus, Li appears to transform Buddhist epistemology into Taoist praxis.

Having considered how Li and his disciples link Buddhist ideas to the attainment of freedom requisite for inner stillness this section will conclude with a brief look at how Yogācāra language is used to defend the claim that the Three Teachings are one.

Li and his disciples employ language associated with Yogācāra Buddhism in order to help the reader of these texts realize the basic errors of perception and understanding that generate belief in a self-existent world and self. Placing faith in such constructs make it impossible to achieve the liberation required to gain and preserve internal "tranquil stability." Yogācāra ideas are expressed most explicitly in a section of the *Zhonghe ji* where Li is arguing that transformation (*hua* 化) is illusory. This includes the transformative motions of the hexagrams *Qian* 乾 and *Kun* 坤, and *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, as well as the motions of the sun and moon, and presumably all phenomena that exhibit cyclical modes of transformation. The argument collapses all such distinctions into a fundamental unity in which self becomes identifiable as the whole and vice versa:

... the myriad things in the world are all unreal. Together with functioning of the cycles of *yin* and *yang* they do not fail to be illusory. "If it were not the perfect transformation of everything under the sky, who would be able to participate in this?"⁵²⁶ Seeing this, the Three Teachings are only mind. Creation and transformation also proceeds from the mind.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁶ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/19.

⁵²⁷ *Zhonghe ji*, 6.24a.

Here Li takes a classic Yogācāra position: all things proceed from the mind. The seventh of the eight consciousnesses described in the Yogācāra system is called the sense-centre consciousness (*mona* 末那 skt. *manas*) and it is this level of consciousness that works so hard at supporting the illusion of self, based on the storehouse-consciousness (*alaiye shi* 阿賴耶識 skt. *ālaya-vijñāna*) as subject, over and against that of a self-existent world as object.⁵²⁸ Enlightenment results partly from awakening to the erroneous process of cognition that is responsible for what amounts to an ill-founded epistemology.⁵²⁹ This use of Yogācāra language supplies a second and complementary argument for the unity of the Three Teachings. Li has already argued that stillness is a unifying factor between the teachings. In addition, through application of *prajñāpāramitā* observations he has discounted language as a medium helpful for referencing ultimate truth. This paved the way for asserting his own position of “Wondrous Peerless Orthodox Truth” as a level of realization outside or above language and so beyond clear sectarian divisions. This use of Yogācāra language, in more positively stated terms, rejects the validity of such divisions because they are mere cognition rather than reflections of reality. Thus, the very claim

⁵²⁸ It should be noted that the “Storehouse Consciousness” also figures prominently in the *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith*. Through discipline and the removal of delusion, one breaks through the composite Storehouse Consciousness (comprised of both the enlightened and unenlightened mind) to pure enlightenment. A metaphor of wind stirring up waves describes the dual nature of the Storehouse Consciousness. The wind of ignorance creates the waves. Once the wind dies down the ocean is calm though fundamentally unified and unchanged. See T32/1666.576b.9; 577b.4.

⁵²⁹ A discussion of Yogācāra and its frequent misidentification as idealism is provided by Dan Lusthaus in an unpublished paper on the Yogācāra Research Association web site edited by Dan Lusthaus and Charles Muller. Dan Lusthaus, “What is and Isn’t Yogācāra?” <<http://www.acmuller.net/yogacara/articles/intro-uni.htm>>, 2004. A much more in-depth discussion can be found in Dan Lusthaus. *Buddhist Phenomenology: A Philosophical Investigation of Yogācāra Buddhism and the Ch’eng Wei-shih lun* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002). A central concern expressed by Lusthaus is the fundamental error involved in viewing Yogācāra ideas from within the framework of assumptions tied to a Western philosophical preoccupation with ontology or essentialism. The Yogācāra position expressed in the *Cheng weishi lun* is primarily that of a critique directed at a flawed epistemology that generates the delusions of self and enduring, self-existent *dharma*s. There is no interest in asserting a particular ontological perspective. The point is not to state for example that the universe actually *is* consciousness or anything else for that matter. It is directed instead at exposing the belief that anything one says about the universe is grounded purely in the process of cognition and the epistemological assumptions that reinforce that cognition.

that there are Three Teachings becomes an admission that one continues to view the world through a fundamentally flawed assumption that such categories describe phenomena with an inherent self-nature. A few lines later Li employs Yogācāra language to explicitly draw out the negative soteriological implications of such misplaced assumptions:

The passing of a *kalpa*⁵³⁰ up to now is a great dream amid delusion . . . Stubbornly clinging to false [ideas] causes⁵³¹ the seeds of the eternal round of life and death⁵³² to form. By this means they are born and die without there being any end to it. If again there are others within this realm of dream and illusion [who can] have the clear witness within⁵³³ and, fully understanding, are good at eradicating [this delusion], could they fail to become perfected individuals?⁵³⁴

This second quotation includes language that appears to reflect a Yogācāra understanding of the root cause of the Sense-centre Consciousness's deluded manufacturing of world and self. This section of text states in clear terms the nature of the problem as one of clinging to false ideas. It is this clinging to falsehoods taken as reality that generates the seeds (*zhongzi* 種子 skt. *bījā*) within the eighth, Storehouse Consciousness (*alaiye shi* 阿賴耶識 skt. *Ālaya-vijñāna*). These seeds wait for a time when circumstances are ripe for them to be re-expressed. The seeds then cause further seeds to be "perfumed" and stored.

⁵³⁰ *Lijie* 歷劫 is an immense period of time which subsumes within it the past, present and future. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 232, s.v. 劫 describes it as "a period of four hundred and thirty-two million years of mortals, measuring the duration of the world."

⁵³¹ *Wangyuan* 妄緣, "The unreality of one's environment; also, the causes of erroneous ideas." Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 210, s.v. 妄緣.

⁵³² *Lunhui* 輪迴 (skt. *saṃsāra*) is the wheel of transmigration, the cycle of existence. Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 445, s.v. 輪.

⁵³³ *Zhengming* 證明. To prove clearly, have the clear witness within." Soothill, *Buddhist Terms*, 473, s.v. 證.

⁵³⁴ *Zhonghe ji*, 6.26a.

Li Daochun refers to the cyclical nature of this situation when he states that because of accumulated “seeds” people are born and die without end. The cyclical nature of this predicament is described in the second chapter of the *Cheng weishi lun*:

A seed produces a manifestation;
A manifestation perfumes a seed;
The three elements (seed, manifestation, and perfuming)
turn on and on;
The cause and effect occur at one and the same time.⁵³⁵

This use of Yogācāra language along with the subtle doctrine of the middle and the closely the associated concept of emptiness serve to pry the adept’s mental fingers from around fixed and limited views. This doctrine “forces the obstinacy of the bystander to burst open.”⁵³⁶ Thus for both Li Daochun and his disciples the very claim to sectarian affiliation becomes an admission of delusion and a failure to break through one’s obstinate clinging to conventional reality.

3.4 Conclusion

In the *Yingchan zi yulu* and the *Zhonghe ji*, Li Daochun and his disciples demonstrate that they have moved well beyond the relatively superficial adoption of Buddhist language found, for example, in the Northern Song (960-1127) inner alchemy text *Wuzhen pian*, to which Li and his disciples make frequent reference and which was foundational to later developments in inner alchemy theory through the Southern Song

⁵³⁵ *Cheng weishi lun*, T31/1585.8b. The translation is taken from Chan, *Sourcebook*, 371 and represents a paraphrasing of the original statement.

⁵³⁶ See verse thirteen above, “The Diamond Sutra Pagoda.”

(1127-1279) and Yuan (1260-1368). The second chapter of the *Yingchan zi yulu* casts its entire verse-by-verse discussion of the *Daode jing* in a form of dialogue strongly reminiscent of that found in the *Linji lu*. Shouting, baffling responses, abrupt endings to dialogues, and throwing the scripture all indicate both a familiarity with and a belief in the techniques of Chan repartee. It is not possible to determine the degree to which Li and his followers relied on this style of dialogue in their regular exchanges. Certainly if one examines the remaining corpus of texts associated with Li and his circle of disciples, one finds no other examples of this kind of exchange. There are other examples of student-master conversations, some of which have been described above, but they tend to follow a straightforward question and answer format very similar to that found in other inner alchemy literature of the period. Also included are sections in poetic form, lengthy prose passages, commentaries, and diagrams. Despite the fact that this well known style of Chan discourse represents a relatively small portion of the overall textual production associated with Li and his circle of followers, it is significant none the less that such a discourse was judged important enough to be recorded. Further, the fact that the entire text in which it occurs was classed as a *yulu* treatise is also worthy of note. Given the prominence of this chapter and the decision to include *yulu* in the title it would be reasonable to assume that this discussion of the *Daode jing* was not the only occasion on which Li would have employed this method of teaching.

Beyond the importance of choosing to employ the *yulu* mode of teaching it is abundantly clear that Li and his followers were well acquainted with the epistemological critique that such a mode of Chan discourse implies. There is no doubt that they were well apprised of such a critique, existing from as early as the Warring States period (453-

221), in the *Daode jing* and *Zhuangzi*. This serves to underscore the significance of selecting Buddhist language to articulate their position. *Prajñāpāramitā* language linked to the *Diamond Sūtra* and the *Heart Sūtra* is employed along with doctrines associated with Mādhyamaka and Yogācarā found in the enormously influential *Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith* and *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*. While Li and his disciples make liberal and well-informed use of this language, they also diverge from the soteriological trajectory one would normally associate with its use. Li and his disciples exploit Buddhist language and the freedom it entails in order to establish mental freedom and the internal stillness with which it is associated. This stillness then makes possible the creation of the elixir. Thus for example, Li offers an analysis of “drawing out lead and supplementing mercury” (抽鉛添汞) in terms of cutting off worldly ties (抽鉛只是絕塵緣) and realizing one’s Original Nature (添汞工夫本性天).⁵³⁷ As Li states, what each of the Three Teachings esteem is calmness and tranquility⁵³⁸ and “If the body and mind do not move the essence and *qi* will congeal.”⁵³⁹ There is no doubt that Li and his disciples took Buddhist language and epistemology in directions they were never intended to go and that being the case it is tempting to say that they simply reduced Buddhist language to inner alchemical terms. Such a claim would however be an overstatement and, while not entirely inaccurate, would serve to misrepresent their teachings. In the final chapter of this dissertation the “Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth” will be described and there it will be shown that if terminological reduction is occurring then it must be understood in terms of a two way process. What helps set the teaching of Li Daochun

⁵³⁷ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.26b.

⁵³⁸ *Zhonghe ji*, 1.1a.

⁵³⁹ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.2a.

apart is his willingness, in certain places, to state, or perhaps even reduce, the inner alchemical process to Buddhist terms. As a result, the position of Buddhist teachings becomes ambiguous; this stems from the ambiguity inherent in Li's own position: that his teaching is simultaneously the "Way of the Golden Elixir" and the "Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth." The former rests within the category of the Three Teachings and the latter transcends all three.

Chapter 4:

Ru Thought in Li Daochun's Way of Cultivation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will consider how Li Daochun and his disciples incorporated the way of cultivation taught by those they designated by the term *ru* 儒 into their “Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth.” Prior to engaging in an analysis of specific terms and their various functions within this teaching some space will be devoted to the definition of *ru*. This is important for at least two reasons: Firstly, the meaning of *ru* has shifted over time and it is necessary to understand what it meant just prior to and during the period that Li and his disciples were studying and writing if one is to understand whose teaching it is that Li views as continuous with his own. Secondly, the shift in meaning was tied directly to the ideology and worldview of those who negotiated its significance.

The second section looks specifically at the *ru* sources employed in the *Yingchan zi yulu* and the *Zhonghe ji* and at the specific individuals quoted in the texts. Once again the primary textual focus will be on those translated sections of the texts provided in Chapter Two though additional material will be considered when useful. The third section looks closely at a set of fifteen verses dedicated to describing the *ru* teaching. Many important terms closely associated with that school are described and the manner in which Li actively shapes their application in the context of his own teaching is given consideration. The fourth and concluding section takes a step back from the details to provide an overview of how the *ru* terminology fits into Li's understanding of cultivation.

4.2 Li Daochun's Conception of "Ru"

The term *ru* has been pliable throughout Chinese history referring, as it does, to social groups and by extension to the changing values embodied by and defining those groups. Prior to Confucius the term referred to those who performed the roles of what might be called shamans or sorcerers.⁵⁴⁰ The term came to be applied to individuals considered ritual specialists who were required to be knowledgeable in a variety of related areas such as history, poetry, music, and astrology. Ritual experts by necessity had to assume the role of teachers in order to assure the continuity of their arts.⁵⁴¹ Accordingly, the term *ru* appears to have gradually taken on the meaning of one who is well-educated and deeply knowledgeable in cultural matters. The term is found once in the *Lunyu* (*Analects of Confucius*) and its use there implies that the designation "*ru*" did not automatically denote high levels of moral cultivation. Confucius admonishes his disciple Zixia 子夏 to be a noble *ru* rather than a petty *ru* (女爲君子儒, 無爲小人儒).⁵⁴² This statement entails the differentiation of moral qualities from the educational project undertaken by the elite, literate stratum of Zhou society. One might restate this by saying that in the process of becoming a sage, as conceived by Confucius, education was a necessary but not a sufficient precondition of higher moral cultivation. In the *Analects*, movement along the Way was an active, self-conscious undertaking and, as such, passive imitation of sagely precedents would not suffice. Emulation of the revered past was only one part of the journey toward becoming a sage. In the *Lunyu* Confucius also placed

⁵⁴⁰ *Ciyuan*, s.v. 儒, 143.

⁵⁴¹ Muller, *CJK-English Dictionary* at <<http://www.acmuller.net/dealt/index.html>>, s.v. 儒. This entry draws on speculations made by Yao Xinzong in *An Introduction to Confucianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 21. See also Hucker, *Official Titles*, 3063, 272.

⁵⁴² James Legge, trans., *Confucian Analects in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1 (1938; reprint, Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1991), 189.

considerable emphasis on constant self-awareness and appraisal and on the accrual of a high moral acumen through repeated practice within one's social context. Through practice, successes are realized and errors made. When combined with self-reflection both outcomes can be instructive, helping to hone and deepen wisdom. These two sides of Confucius' moral project, study of the past and self reflection, anticipated the broad contours of moral debate that would arise through the unstable times of the later Tang dynasty and on through the formulation of the Southern Song (1127-1279) *Daoxue* 道學 (Learning of the Way) movement.

By the time Li Daochun and his students were composing their dialogues and commentaries the term *ru* had become contested along the lines of moral training already hinted at in the *Lunyu*; that is, the place of education with its implied connection to Han tradition over and against the need for introspection and an understanding of self not merely as emulator but as engaged interpreter. Song rhetoric surrounding the definition of what properly constituted an educated person naturally revolved around what constituted education itself. This debate, which came to be associated most prominently with the figures of Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) and then Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), had its beginnings from the eighth-century forward in the *Guwen* 古文 (Old Text) reform movement often associated with the figure of Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) and later, most prominently, with the work of Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072).

Peter Bol describes the shifting significance of culture (*wen* 文) and education (*xue* 學) for the elite through the Tang and Song dynasties. In so doing he understands the place of the Old Text movement as one of transition between understanding culture and education as received, formal tradition associated with the values of early Tang

aristocrats⁵⁴³ (*shi* 士), and those who identified themselves as proponents of the Learning of the Way (*Daoxue*) often referred to as Neo-Confucianism. Those who advocated and followed the *Daoxue* rejected the Tang tendency to imitate and perpetuate cultural forms in favour of intuiting the Pattern (*li* 理) of the cosmos conveyed, for example, through the Classics to those who knew how they should be read:

Put most simply, early T'ang scholars supposed that the normative models for writing, government, and behaviour were contained in the cumulative cultural tradition. Debates over values were arguments over the proper cultural forms. But by the late Sung, thinkers had shifted their faith to the mind's ability to arrive at true ideas about moral qualities inherent in the self and things, and the received cultural tradition had lost authority.⁵⁴⁴

Perhaps one could argue that, from the perspective of those engaged in the *Guwen* movement and, later, that of the *Daoxue*, received cultural forms had not really lost their value at all; rather, they viewed the mere emulation of those "external" forms as the wrong way to go about extracting that value. An elite that moved into government positions on the merits of their formal literary skills could not, in Han Yu's opinion, serve the real needs of the people. Such needs required a direct engagement in the world and such engagement required practical administrative skills. In his brief treatise titled *Yuandao* (*The Source of the Way*), Han Yu drew attention to what became a pivotal

⁵⁴³ Throughout his study of intellectual transitions Bol does not translate *shi* 士. His justification for this is that the signification of the term changed considerably: "Were I to translate the concept, I would need to take into account the dominant quality in the prevailing conception of *shih* and thus render it "aristocrat" for the period of division into the ninth century, "scholar official" from the ninth century into the late Northern Sung, and "literatus" from the Northern Sung on." Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (California: Stanford University Press, 1992), 33.

⁵⁴⁴ Bol, *This Culture*, 3.

statement in the *Daxue* (*Great Learning*), which during his time was merely a small chapter of the *Liji* (Book of Rites).

The ancients who wanted to manifest their bright virtue to all in the world first governed well their own states.

Wanting to govern well their own states, they first harmonized their own clans.

Wanting to harmonize their own clan, they first cultivated themselves.

Wanting to cultivate themselves, they first corrected their minds.

Wanting to correct their minds, they first made their wills sincere.⁵⁴⁵

Han Yu's focus on this particular passage has been described as a brilliant departure in so far as it establishes that the external order of the kingdom rests on the internal cultivation of those who hold power rather than on the perpetuation of institutions linked to the sages.⁵⁴⁶ It is reasonable to see Han Yu's position as a remarkable turn against the tide given that this response came during a period of increasing instability and from within elite circles preoccupied with achieving official status by impressing the court with their elegant literary productions that frequently took the form of parallel prose (*pianwen* 駢文), a highly structured form of literary expression largely divorced in content from the practicalities of administration.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁵ Legge, *The Great Learning in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 357-358. The translation of this passage is by Charles Muller, *The Great Learning* at <<http://www.hm.tyg.jp/~acmuller/contao/greatlearning.htm>>, 2004. This passage can be found quoted in Han Yu's *Yuandao* in *Wanyou wenku huiyao*, chief ed. Wan Yunwu, (Taiwan: Taiwan nanwuyin shuguan, 1965), 3.62.

⁵⁴⁶ Charles Hartman, *Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), 150-155.

⁵⁴⁷ The rewarding of refined literary skills had already commenced in the early Tang during the reign of Empress Wu (r. 684-705). Charles Hartman notes that such recognition at court tended to favour the Chinese (*Hua* 華) rather than the "barbarians" (*Hu* 胡) whose fortunes remained tied to the military in the provinces. Hartman, *Han Yu*, 128-130.

Han Yu's response demonstrates a powerful and self-assured personality but not necessarily great innovation.⁵⁴⁸ He brought the *Mengzi*, *Zhongyong*, *Daxue* (*Great Learning*), and the *Zhouyi* to the forefront of Tang scholarly discourse. Of all of these texts the *Mengzi* gives a very clear and practical vision of the ruler's place, with his foremost responsibility being the care of the people. Mencius' concerns were immediate and he courageously brought them to the attention of various rulers. He witnessed people dying in the streets. He saw starvation resulting from rulers' ill-conceived decisions to wage war at times when the harvest needed to be brought in from the fields to provision the people over the winter months. *Mengzi* did not categorically discount the need for warfare nor did he denounce profit (*li* 利) per se, which he often opposed to appropriate conduct (*yi* 義). Profit when distributed equitably by the ruler could benefit the kingdom. It was his pragmatic integration of practical administrative needs with moral cultivation that appealed so strongly to Han Yu and the reform-minded Old Text movement. The link between the ruler's self-cultivation and appropriate action taken to improve the welfare of the people is obvious throughout the *Mengzi*. It takes no great leap of imagination to conclude that Mengzi would have seen the would-be scholar-bureaucrats' exercises in parallel prose as irrelevant at best. Han Yu deserves credit for having the force of personality and the tenacity to breath new life into ancient ideals.

Han Yu's admiration for the *Mengzi* is based not only on its idealistic content but also on the medium of the message. Ornate and rigidly structured literary expression was a hindrance to the conveyance of meaning. The prose of the *Mengzi* was unadorned and

⁵⁴⁸ Hartman makes the point that Han Yu's innovation was the generation of a new conception of sagehood, which became spiritual wisdom expressed in political action. Hartman, *Han Yu*, 155. It could be argued that Confucius as represented in the *Lun Yu*, and Mengzi both embodied this very ideal of sagehood. It is difficult to imagine two more courageous, politically engaged individuals.

thus elegantly and straightforwardly made the meaning clear. He assumed that the “way of the sage” (*shengren zhi dao* 聖人之道) could not be equated with past institutions but was properly understood as the spirit or source of inspiration behind the formal dimensions of culture. This assumption was reflected in the *Guwen* hermeneutic turn. It was not enough to memorize the words of the sages and demonstrate skills associated with imitation; instead one had to become skilled at conveying the way of the sage in clear prose and at abstracting the way of the sage from the classic texts at hand. One had to get beneath the surface of the text to the core message or as Bol states it, [to] “the values congruent with the institutions the sages created.”⁵⁴⁹ Thus, literary form became directly linked to an ideological agenda and to the rhetorical posture shaped by the opposing, and therefore mutually supporting, categories of surface versus depth. Outward form must not be mistaken for the underlying (true), meaning.

One can view the later developments of this general outlook and critique as further elaborations on the perception of syntax, whether in written form, or manifesting as ritual activity, or conventionally accepted modes of social intercourse, as mere surface features relative to the “Pattern of the Natural Order” (*tian li* 天理) lying beneath outward manifestations. This conceptual schema lends itself to representation through the ubiquitous Chinese philosophical categories of substance (*ti* 體) and function (*yong* 用) and echoes the basic Huayan Buddhist view of reality represented by the dual concepts of “phenomena” (*shi* 事) and “principle” (*li* 理) discussed in the previous chapter.

Cheng Yi was a forceful and formative contributor to these developments and a founder of the “Learning of the Way.” Cheng Yi’s decision to designate his “school” as

⁵⁴⁹ Bol, *This Culture*, 128.

engaged in the “Learning of the Way” encapsulates the basic division between himself and Han Yu. Han Yu studied classical texts and pondered ritual and institutional forms linked to the great sages of the past in order to perceive the intent of the sages that lay beneath them and had generated the cultural foundations of Han civilization. He was looking for the Way created by the sages. The object of his search might thus be described as one step removed from the formal cultural creations of the sages. Cheng Yi took another step, distancing himself further from what Han Yu took to be evidence of the sages’ intentions. Cheng Yi rejected the basic *Guwen* assumption that human beings, even the sages, had actually created the Way. In a turn very reminiscent of developments during the Han dynasty and associated with the Huang-Lao 黃老 movement and Dong Zhongshu (c. 179 - c. 104), Cheng Yi also assumed that the Pattern for ideal human conduct was written into the universe itself. The “Natural Order” (*tian* 天) had a Pattern that was coextensive with that of individual human beings and through cultivation human action could become an expression of that universal “Pattern” (*li* 理). The sages were exceptional because they had realized how to let this Pattern operate through them. Their status as sages had nothing to do with actually fashioning the Way. Thus, for Cheng Yi, his brother Cheng Hao (1032-1085), and Zhu Xi, their object of study was simply the Way and not necessarily the Way of the Sages.

The implications for defining *ru* are obvious. Such a designation could not refer to those skilled in perpetuating or preserving ancient rituals or texts. *Ru* learning could not be equated with searching through the cultural artifacts of the sages looking for their underlying or originating intention as Han Yu had advocated. Cheng Yi explicitly redefined *ru* when he stated, “Those who learn today have divided into three. Those of

literary ability are called wen-shih, and those who discuss the Classics are mired in being teachers. Only those who know tao are [engaged in] *ru* learning.”⁵⁵⁰

Later, Zhu Xi states unequivocally in chapter eight of the *Zhuzi yulei*, “My [conception of] *ru* is to [focus] exclusively on the Pattern of the Way.”⁵⁵¹ Later he describes the failure of those, from the Qin (221-206) to the Han (206 BCE-220 CE), who have considered themselves *ru* and yet failed to attend to the need for inner composure (*jing* 敬).⁵⁵² Again in chapter nine he speaks of learning as a twofold undertaking with the “exhaustive study of Pattern” (*qiongli* 窮理) and “dwelling in composure” (*jujing* 居敬) being mutually productive. He compares their mutual functioning to the alternate resting and advancing of the left and right feet.⁵⁵³

By Li Daochun’s time the term *ru* had evolved through the *Guwen* movement and then the *Daoxue* so that it had come to designate those who were engaged in a process of self-cultivation based on an assumption that a resonance existed between the Patterns of change of the “Sky and Earth” (the universe) and the Nature (*xing* 性) of human beings bestowed by the Natural Order (*tian* 天).⁵⁵⁴ The goal was to re-establish a unity of Nature with the Pattern of the Natural Order. This evolution of *ru* learning resulted in a school of

⁵⁵⁰ Cheng Yi, “Yishu” in *Ercheng ji*. 6.95. The translation is taken from Bol, *This Culture*, 304.

⁵⁵¹ *Zhuzi yulei*, (Taipei: Zheng zhong shu ju, 1962), 8.287. The original reads, 吾儒惟專一於道理.

⁵⁵² *Zhuzi yulei*, 12.390. The original reads, 自秦漢以來, 諸儒皆不識這【敬】字.

⁵⁵³ *Zhuzi yulei*, 9.298. The original statement reads: 學者工夫, 唯在居敬、窮理二事。此二事互相發。能窮理, 則居敬工夫日益進; 能居敬, 則窮理工夫日益密。譬如人之兩足, 左足行, 則右足止; 右足行, 則左足止。

⁵⁵⁴ Concerning this matter of “resonance” (*ganying* 感應) it is worth noting that, commenting on his forbearers, Zhu Xi pointed out that “Among Han scholars only Tung Chung-shu was pure; his learning was strictly orthodox.” Stephen H. West and Sin-sing Kong, “Tung Chung-shu” in William H. Nienhauser, Jr. *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, 2nd rev. ed. (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1986), 834. The reference given for the source of this quotation is *Zhuzi yulei*, ch. 137. This quotation is certainly a translation of the following: 漢儒惟董仲舒純粹, 其學甚正, 非諸人比. *Zhuzi yulei*, 137.5288. Dong Zhongshu based his philosophy on a world-view that assumed, based in part on five-phase (*wuxing* 五行) theory and *yin-yang* cosmology, that there was a direct link between human actions and the transformations of the universe.

thought that resonated with two of Li's most basic assumptions: Li's understanding of the soteriological process was also deeply influenced by the language of unity and the assumption that the changes represented by the sixty-four hexagrams applied to the individual just as they applied to the universe as a whole. Further, Li's belief that the Three Teachings shared a common core was premised on his belief that differences only operated on the level of names. It was language that supported the appearance of difference. Through transcending language the truth of unity could be perceived. Those engaged in the Learning of the Way assumed that truth, in the form of a universal Pattern, also lay beyond the domain of language. Language could only spark intuitive insight and then only if the reader was the right frame of mind. The claim here is not that Li and his circle of followers adopted this view of language from the writings of individuals such as Cheng Yi or Zhu Xi. It is clear that such views of language had been available much earlier in sources such as the *Zhuangzi* or, to a lesser extent, the *Daode jing*. Li also demonstrates a keen awareness of Buddhist sources for such ideas. The point is simply that the rhetorical position adopted by advocates of *Daoxue* vis-à-vis the limits of language provided fertile ground for Li's advancement of his own project of describing a Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth that lay beyond the confines of more formal, and culture-bound expression represented by each of the Three Teachings.

4.3 The Ru Verses

In Chapter Two the second of three sets of verses dedicated to each of the Three Teachings was examined. Here the first of those three, comprising the first set of fifteen *Ru* verses will be considered. As with the Buddhist verses those describing what Li takes

to be the *Ru* teaching are comprised of four lines of seven characters each. Each of the verses commences with a brief title that relates to the general theme presented. The verses will be examined in order to open up a wide-ranging discussion of terminology associated with the Learning of the Way in a manner that reflects both Li Daochun's understanding of this approach to cultivation and his sense of which terminology is most essential to the *Ru* teaching. By placing these verses front and centre it is hoped that the perspective reflected in the work of Li and his disciples will anchor the discussion.

The Principle of the Ru

[1]⁵⁵⁵ Extend Knowledge and Investigate Things

All things in the world embrace and contain the mystery of the Supreme Ultimate.

Preserve integrity, extend reverence and then you will know its inner workings.

It is without sound, without odour, and without any trace.

Embodying things, in its brightness Pattern is never far away.

This opening verse takes two of the most important *Ru* terms as its title: The *Daxue* is the *locus classicus* for the pair of terms, "extending knowledge" (*zhizhi* 致知) and "investigating things" (*gewu* 格物): "Wanting to correct their minds, they first made their wills sincere. Wanting to make their wills sincere, they first extended their knowledge.

⁵⁵⁵ Each of the verses has been numbered for the convenience of the reader. The verses are not numbered in the original.

Extension of knowledge consists of the investigation of things.”⁵⁵⁶ This is a description of how the ancients prepared themselves to order their kingdoms and reflects a process of inner discipline and refinement that naturally extends outward to the proper ordering of the world. This passage makes it obvious that Li is adopting an understanding of these two terms based on the views of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi.⁵⁵⁷ “The extension of knowledge lies in *kê-wu*.’ *Kê* means ‘arrive at’. *Wu* means ‘activities’. In all activities there are principles [Patterns]. To arrive at their principles [Patterns] is *kê-wu*.”⁵⁵⁸ For both Cheng Yi and Cheng Hao, extending knowledge meant comprehending the Patterns underlying and shaping objects and events. This type of knowledge coupled with their assertions that Pattern (*li* 理) and Nature (*xing* 性) were identical meant that comprehension of Pattern supported or, more to the point, actually was comprehension of one’s own inner Nature. This overarching unity is described by Cheng Yi, “As it pertains to Heaven, it is the Decree (*ming*); as it pertains to righteousness, it is Pattern (*li*); as it pertains to man, it is the nature (*hsing*); as ruler of the body, it is the mind (*hsin*). These, in actuality, are all one.”⁵⁵⁹ Again, more straightforwardly he states, “Nature is Pattern. It is what is called the Pattern of nature. All the Patterns of under heaven originally emerge from it.”⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁶ Legge, *The Great Learning in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 358. The translation of this passage is from Muller, *The Great Learning*, 2004.

⁵⁵⁷ The way in which *zhizhi* 致知 should best be understood was a point of contention. A.C. Graham notes that the variance in interpretation rests in the multiple possible meanings for *zhi* 致: “to correct”, “to arrive at”, or “to oppose”. Sima Guang (1019-1086) interpreted the term in the last sense. A.C. Graham, trans., *Two Chinese Philosophers: Ch’êng ming-tai and Ch’êng Yi-ch’uan* (London: Percy Lund and Humphries Ltd., 1958), 74. A more detailed account of the terms *zhizhi* 致知 and *gewu* 格物 and some of the significant variant readings they have been given can be found in Zhang Dainian, *Key Concepts in Chinese Philosophy*, trans. and ed. Edmund Ryden (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 451-460.

⁵⁵⁸ Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers*, 74.

⁵⁵⁹ Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 2, *The Period of Classical Learning*, trans. Derk Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 516.

⁵⁶⁰ Zhang, *Key Concepts*, 371.

This verse includes another significant assertion that points directly to one of Zhu Xi's important innovations: He understood *Taiji* 太極 (Supreme Ultimate) and Pattern to be identical; he states, "The Supreme Ultimate simply is the Pattern of the universe (*tiandi* 天地) and the myriad things. If it is explained in terms of the universe then in the midst of the universe there is the Supreme Ultimate. If it is explained in terms of the myriad things then in their midst each one of them has [a] Supreme Ultimate."⁵⁶¹ This represents a synthesis of positions taken by the Cheng brothers and Zhou Dunyi. The former made "Pattern" a foundational idea in their writings⁵⁶² while Zhou Dunyi is best known for his description of the world through his *Taiji tushuo* (*Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate*).⁵⁶³

According to the first line of Li's verse the Supreme Ultimate is in everything and is embraced by everything; and so, through the Supreme Ultimate as universal Pattern all things are unified and, at the same time, because a Supreme Ultimate is within each individual it acts as a source for insight into the individual's co-extensiveness with all that is. The third line emphasises that the Supreme Ultimate, and therefore Pattern, is

⁵⁶¹ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 1.65. The original reads, 太極只是天地萬物之理，在天地言則天地中有太極；在萬物言，則萬物中各有太極。

⁵⁶² According to Zhang Dainian the Chengs did not mention the term *Taiji* 太極 in their writings. Zhang, *Key Concepts*, 185.

⁵⁶³ Zhou Dunyi mentions "Pattern" (*li* 理) only a handful of times and in none of those cases does he present a view of "Pattern" that bears any resemblance to that of the Chengs or Zhu Xi. In section thirteen of his *Tongshu* for example he says simply, "The rites are Pattern; music is harmony." (禮理也樂和也). *Zhouzi quanshu* in *Guoxue jiben congshu*, vol. 44 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwuyin shuguan gongci, 1968), 153. He also makes the same point earlier in section three. *Zhouzi quanshu*, 127. In section twenty-two of the same work Zhou uses *li* 理 in the title (*Xing li ming* 性理明) but then does not use the term in that section. *Zhouzi quanshu*, 168.

beyond conventional modes of sensual perception, that is, beyond form (*xing er shang* 形而上).⁵⁶⁴

The method for realizing the formless Supreme Ultimate within is described, albeit in very condensed form, in the second line of the verse. The reader is urged to “preserve integrity” (*cuncheng* 存誠) and to “extend reverence” (*zhijing* 致敬). Once again these are mainstream *Ru* terms. *Cheng* 誠, translated here imperfectly as “integrity,”⁵⁶⁵ is not reducible to a simple moral virtue. The range of its function is much broader as it is meant to denote a state of integration or unity of the individual moral agent with the all-embracing Pattern of the universe.⁵⁶⁶ As such it is the foundation of what it means to be a sage.⁵⁶⁷ This sense of *cheng* 誠 as referring to the larger flow and order of the universe is already present in the *Mencius*: “As for integrity it is the way of the Natural Order. As for reflecting on integrity that is the way of human beings.”⁵⁶⁸ Near the end of section twenty in the *Zhongyong* it says, “Integrity is the Way of the Natural Order. Applying integrity is the way of human beings. As for integrity if you can be

⁵⁶⁴ Zhu Xi makes this precise point when he says, “Now the Supreme Ultimate is Pattern and is above form. Yin and Yang are *qi* and are below form. Being so [it follows that] Pattern is formless while the *qi*, moreover, has form.” 蓋太極是理，形而上者，陰陽是氣，形而下者。然理無形，而氣卻有形。Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 5.196.

⁵⁶⁵ This translation of *cheng* 誠 reflects agreement with Angus Graham. In part his argument states, “*Ch’eng* ‘integrity’ derives from *ch’eng* 成 ‘become whole’ used (in contrast with *sheng* 生 ‘be born’) of the maturation of a specific thing. Graphically it is distinguished by the ‘speech’ radical, marking it as the wholeness of or completeness of the person displayed in the authenticity of his words. We translate it ‘integrity’ (rather than the more popular equivalent ‘sincerity’) at the cost of some forcing of English; we use ‘integrity, integral, integrate’ to combine two senses, wholeness and sincerity, which in English are drifting apart.” A.C. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in China* (Illinois: Open Court, 1989), 133. An argument for this translation is also offered in Zhang, *Key Concepts*, 140.

⁵⁶⁶ The effect of *Daoxue* thought on this term is actually to amplify the notion of spontaneous accordance with the Way to the point that agency itself becomes a rather tenuous proposition. It is precisely “self-directed” and certainly selfishly directed activity that is to be transcended.

⁵⁶⁷ This sentiment is expressed clearly by Zhou Dunyi in the opening phrase of the *Tongshu*, “As for integrity, it is the basis of being a sage.” 誠者，聖人之本。Zhouzi *quanshu*, 116.

⁵⁶⁸ Legge, *The Works of Mencius in Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, 303. 誠者，天之道也；思誠者，人之道也。Zhu Xi quotes this line as part of a definition of integrity. Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 6.226.

centred without effort, attain to it without [the need for self-conscious] reflection, [with] natural ease the Way is attained and you are a sage.”⁵⁶⁹ Together these statements define “integrity” as another way of describing accordance with the Natural Order of the universe through a perfectly natural state reminiscent of Confucius’ assertion that at the age of seventy he could follow his heart without compromising appropriate conduct.⁵⁷⁰ Zhu Xi plainly associated integrity with spontaneity or naturalness (*ziran* 自然)⁵⁷¹ and equated this state with the Supreme Ultimate and with Pattern.⁵⁷² By viewing integrity as Pattern, Zhu Xi effectively breaks down or at least leaves no room for a distinction between is and ought.⁵⁷³ The universe *is* moral order; moral order is not the result of human creativity.

The state of spontaneous action resulting from perfect accord with the Supreme Ultimate is paired in the above verse with the need to “extend reverence” (*zhijing* 致敬). Translating *jing* 敬 simply as “reverence” is not entirely satisfactory, as it appears to connote a spectrum of inner states. In his *Daoxue* anthology, *Jinsi lu* (*Reflections on Things at Hand*), Zhu Xi provides the following description of the term: “ ‘Seriousness is

⁵⁶⁹ Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 413. 誠者，天之道也。誠之者，人之道也。誠者，不勉而中，不思而得，從容中道，聖人也。I have elected to translate 從容中道 in accordance with the adverb-verb structure prevalent in the three four-character phrases describing integrity. Muller renders this phrase as “and walk embracing the Middle Way.” This seems to stray too far from the characters available in the phrase and breaks the grammatical pattern. Muller, trans. *Doctrine of the Mean* at <<http://www.hm.tyg.jp/~acmuller/contao/docofmean.htm>>, 1993.

⁵⁷⁰ Legge, *Confucian Analects in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 147.

⁵⁷¹ See for example Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yǔlei*, 6.225, 226; 8.294.

⁵⁷² See for example Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 6.224-226 and his commentary in *Zhouzi quanshu*, 123, 126.

⁵⁷³ A seminal example of a defence for such a distinction can be found in David Hume, *A Treatise on Human Nature*, III, I, 1. A more recent review of this question cast in terms of the fact-value distinction and the demarcation of separate spheres of moral or aesthetic language and factual (“verifiable”) language is included in one of Logical Positivism’s sacred texts, A.J. Ayer, *Language Truth and Logic* (1936; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1983), 28-29; 141-143.

to straighten the internal life'⁵⁷⁴ means not to have the slightest selfish idea but to have the mind perfectly clear and completely one in all its aspects.'⁵⁷⁵ Not having selfish desires is connected to emotions of "reverence" by way of the "deference" implied in the lack of desires driven by selfish motives. In effect this deferent or reverent attitude makes room for something greater than the individual and his or her need for self-assertion. That something is the Supreme Ultimate within that connects actions to the flow of the universal Pattern. The self must be willing to defer, to step back so that spontaneous, and therefore truly moral action, can occur. The fact that seriousness leads to a unity of mind ties this inner quality directly to the notion of integration (*cheng* 誠) with which it is paired in Li's verse.

This understanding of "seriousness" (*jing* 敬) as reverent, or deferential reflects its passive function. Zhu Xi also gives a very clear account of its active function:

... the human mind cannot but interact with the myriad things, and it is difficult not to have it engaged in thinking. If one wants to avoid confusion and disturbance, his mind must have a master. What can be its master? Seriousness and seriousness only. With a master, the mind will be vacuous and if it is vacuous depravity cannot enter into it. Without a master the mind will be filled. To be filled means external things will seize it.⁵⁷⁶

Vacuity (*xu* 虛) is the ideal state. The passage acknowledges that the mind must engage in thought but that thought must be utterly free from selfish distractions if it is to accord

⁵⁷⁴ Zhu Xi is commenting on a quotation found in the *Zhouyi* and included in the comments appended to the hexagram *kun* 坤 (earth). *Zhouyi suoyin*, 2/5/5.

⁵⁷⁵ Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu in Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 145. The translation of this quotation is from, Wing-tsit Chan, trans., comp., *Reflections on Things at Hand: The Neo-Confucian Anthology compiled by Chu Hsi and Lu Tsu-ch'ien* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1967), 139.

⁵⁷⁶ Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu in Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 150. This passage is attributed to Yi Chuan 伊川 (Cheng Yi). The translation is from Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 144.

with Pattern. This focus on vacuity or emptiness is another way of equating the mind with the Supreme Ultimate, which is beyond form. Considerable emphasis is put on seriousness as the means for staving off a divided mind. Once again *cheng* 誠 understood as “integration” is what seriousness, as master, ensures.

Having pointed out two sides to seriousness: passive and active it is important to qualify the latter description by noting that Zhu Xi also accepts Cheng Hao’s opinion that seriousness is the master but must not be engaged as master or directed in any conscious way: “if one purposely uses seriousness to straighten his internal life, it will not be straightened, but if one is ‘always doing something without expectation,’ it will always be straight.”⁵⁷⁷ Thus, the active dimension of seriousness is not supposed to imply active effort on the part of the individual.

[2] Rectify the Mind and Integrate the Intention

Being integrated, clear, quiet, and settled are the foundation of the Way.

Movement and stillness cause each other and in no case are they not the same.

If you daily employ, without wavering, the preservation of uniform uprightness,

Spontaneously the influence of the Pattern of the Natural Order will penetrate everywhere.

The second verse continues with the same message of cultivating continuity with the Pattern of the Natural Order. The title is drawn from a phrase in the *Daxue*, which states that the ancients cultivated themselves by “first correcting their minds. Wishing to

⁵⁷⁷ Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu* in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 145. This passage is attributed to Ming Dao 明道 (Cheng Hao). The translation is from Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 139.

correct their minds first they integrated their intentions.”⁵⁷⁸ The *Daxue* continues by describing the achievement of integrated intention as contingent upon “investigating things” (*gewu* 格物). Through careful attention to events and the rhythms of the Natural Order it is possible to gain gradual insight into the Pattern within, a pattern that is coextensive with the great Pattern of the world comprised of the myriad patterns of everything in the world. Thus, to integrate the intention meant aligning the intention with the flow of the world or with the Way so that the moral order of the Way might prevail in the world. The traditional commentary to the *Daxue* attributed to Confucius glosses “integration of the intention” (*chengyi* 誠意) as allowing no self-deception:

What is meant by ‘integrating one’s intentions’ is refusing to deceive oneself. To be as though hating a bad smell, as though loving a beautiful sight, it is this that is meant by not being unfaithful to oneself. Therefore the gentleman is sure to be meticulous even in his solitude.⁵⁷⁹

No extended period of reflection is required in reacting to a foul smell. The perfume of “smelly doufu” (*chou doufu* 臭豆腐), for example, wafting through the air at a night market provokes an instant and unmediated response. Such an unmediated response, by implication, means a response that is not directed in any self-conscious way; actions are tied to or directed by the flow of Pattern. Sustaining this state of spontaneous action, linked by Zhou Dunyi to “non-purposive action” (*wuwei* 無爲)⁵⁸⁰ requires that no desires

⁵⁷⁸ Legge, *The Great Learning in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 357-358.

⁵⁷⁹ Legge, *The Great Learning in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 366. The translation is from Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, 133-134.

⁵⁸⁰ *Zhouzi quanshu*, 126. Zhu Xi explains in his commentary that genuine Pattern is spontaneous (*ziran* 自然) and so why should there be any mention of “doing” (*wei* 為)? He concludes by asserting that this refers to the Supreme Ultimate.

with their attendant, distracting emotions interpose themselves between the “agent” and Pattern. Clearing the way between Pattern and the actions of individuals is addressed in the first line. “Being integrated, clear, quiet, and settled are the foundation of the Way.” The smooth operation of the Way through the conduit of human moral conduct depends directly upon internal stillness and clarity. Through unwavering steadiness made possible by internal quiet and stillness and the integration fostered through seriousness, Pattern may be realized in human actions. It is significant that, in the last line of the verse, the “influence of Pattern” is said to “penetrate” (*tong* 通) everywhere. Free flow of Pattern occurs if there are no blockages or impediments to its “circulation.” This freedom from blockages is paralleled by the need for blood and *qi* to circulate properly in the body of the *Daoxue* “adept:”

The operation of the Pattern of the mind penetrates all as blood circulates and reaches the entire body. . . . For selfishness separates and obstructs, and consequently one and others stand in opposition. This being the case, even those dearest to us may be excluded. Therefore the mind that leaves something outside is not capable of uniting itself with the mind of Heaven.⁵⁸¹

The highest moral cultivation results in “nothing outside.” The individual becomes the universe as self is permitted to recede. In this state Pattern can move freely. Here “circulation” is employed metaphorically but it is clear that Pattern is closely linked in a very literal way to the physical constitution. The following passage refers to the force of the essence (*jing* 精), which is associated with the generation and preservation of life:

⁵⁸¹ Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu* in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 630, 71.

We must always cherish and nourish our energy [*jingli* 精力]. We shall get tired as soon as it is deficient, and shall then be labouring whenever we handle anything and shall lack sincerity [integrity]. This will be evident even in our speech when we entertain guests. How much more when we handle important affairs!⁵⁸²

Here, integrity is supported by the physical constitution. Weakness affects the speech and the unity of mind. Integrity permits Pattern to flow unimpeded and this state has implications for the healthy circulation of blood and *qi*. This idea is consistent with a passage from the *Mengzi* quoted by Zhu Xi,⁵⁸³ in which *qi* supports integrity and is in turn strengthened or increased by good conduct. A section of the original passage reads,

Mencius said, "The will influences the *ch'i* and the *ch'i* influences the will. For instance, jumping and running, though most directly concerned with the *ch'i*, also have an effect on the mind."

"May I ask in what it is that you are superior?"

"I understand language, and I am good at nourishing my vast *ch'i*."

"What do you mean by 'vast *ch'i*'?"

"That is difficult to explain. *Ch'i* can be developed to great levels of quantity and stability by correctly nourishing it and not damaging it, to the extent that it fills the space between Heaven and Earth. In developing *ch'i*, if you are connected with Rightness and the Tao, you will never be in want of it. It is something that is produced by accumulating Rightness, and is not something that you can grab from superficial attempts at Rightness. If you act without mental composure, you will become *ch'i*-starved."

"Therefore I would say that Kao Tzu has not yet understood Rightness, since he regards it as something external. You must be willing to work at it, understanding that you cannot have precise control over it. You can't forget about it, but you can't force it to grow, either."⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸² Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu in Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 134. The translation is from Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 127. The attribution of this saying is unclear. Wing-tsit Chan concludes that it is likely to reflect the understanding of Cheng Hao. Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 127, n. 13.

⁵⁸³ Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu in Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 158. This quotation from the *Mengzi* is included in a passage attributed to Cheng Yi.

⁵⁸⁴ Legge, *The Works of Mencius in Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, 189-190. The translation is taken from Muller, *Mencius (Selections)* <<http://www.hm.tyg.jp/~acmuller/contao/mencius.html#div-3A>>, 2003, 2A, 2.

There is no doubt here that Mencius linked proper conduct with an increase in bodily *qi*. It is significant that good conduct alone is not enough to ensure increased vigour. Unlike Gao Zi 告子 one must allow right conduct (*yi* 義) to issue naturally from within rather than making superficial attempts to appear to do the right thing. The essential element for generating rather than depleting the *qi* is that the heart should feel at ease with the actions one takes. In the translation above Muller refers to “mental composure” but this translation detracts somewhat from the idea that there exists a natural ease or comfort with one’s conduct (*qie yu xin* 慊於心). This sounds similar to being free from pangs of conscience with the added dimension of direct ramifications for one’s health. This idea is something Zhu Xi acknowledges with his inclusion of the following passage in the *Jinsi lu*,

The Teacher said to Chang I, “My physical endowment [lit. the *qi* I had received: *wu shou qi* 吾受氣] was very slight. By the time I was thirty, it had gradually become stronger. It was not fully developed until I was forty of fifty. I am now seventy-two. Compared to what I was during my prime, my tendons and bones are not any weaker.”

Chang I said, “Is it not true that because your endowment was slight you have taken great care of yourself?”

The teacher remained silent for some time and then said, “To me to neglect one’s life and submit to selfish desires is a great shame.”⁵⁸⁵

Thus, the unimpeded flow of Pattern through the activity of the human organism ensures not only stability and harmony of community resulting from balanced, stable, upright (*zheng* 正) behaviour but that behaviour itself, issuing as it does from a state of internal integrity (*cheng* 誠), helps preserve the “physiological” balance and stability of the

⁵⁸⁵ Zhu Zi, *Jinsi lu* in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 158.

individual. It is most interesting that in the classical Confucian corpus and later in that of the *Daoxue* movement such explicit references are found while in the two works of Li Daochun and his disciples under primary consideration here such explicit references are not found. Instead, discussions of *qi* are confined to realizing a reunion with the void (*xu* 虛). More will be said on the subject of Li's view of cultivation in the next section of this chapter where the place of the various terms and themes related in the present verses will be considered.

[3] The Human Mind is Dangerous

Alas, worldly men fervently cling to delusion.

According with sounds and following sights is the danger of being turned upside down.

If you are able to return to Pattern and thoroughly investigate it within yourself;

Then the Nature will be stable, the body at peace, and the spirit will be naturally harmonious.

[4] The Mind of the Way is Subtle

The Way is in ordinary people's daily employment of centeredness.

Illustrious benevolence secretly employed brings forth spiritual merit.

Without excess and without deficiency, always present.

How can it be that the eyes of ordinary people [remain] blind?

The titles of verses three, four, five, and six are contiguous quotations from the *Shu Jing* (*Book of Documents*) and so will be dealt with in pairs.⁵⁸⁶ The human mind (*renxin* 人心) is opposed to the mind of the Way (*daoxin* 道心) or celestial mind (*tianxin* 天心). Zhu Xi quotes these phrases frequently⁵⁸⁷ and explains them in terms of *qi* and Pattern. Both the human mind and the mind of the Way are mind⁵⁸⁸ but they are different aspects.⁵⁸⁹ Perhaps the clearest account of these two minds is offered in the *Zhuzi yulei* where they are said to be dual functions of a single mind. Knowledge and realization arising from desires associated with the senses is the human mind while knowledge and realization that arises from appropriateness (*yi* 義) and Pattern is the mind of the Way.⁵⁹⁰ The mind of the Way is the mind in a state of stillness also identical with nature (*xing* 性). The emerging of the emotions (*qing* 情) constitutes the human mind. In accordance with the *Zhongyong* Zhu Xi does not consider the emotions to be bad in themselves. Problems begin with the arising of desire that disrupt the proportioned expression of emotions. Wing Tsit-chun translates a helpful metaphorical account of this state of affairs:

Nature is the state before activity begins, the emotions are when activity has started, and the mind includes both of these states. For nature is the mind before it is aroused, while emotions are the mind after it is aroused . . . Desire emanates from emotions. The mind is comparable to

⁵⁸⁶ Legge, *The Shoo King in Classics*, vol. 3, 61. The full phrase reads as follows: 人心惟危，道心惟微，惟精惟一，允執厥中。

⁵⁸⁷ In the *Zhuzi yulei* for example they are quoted separately or, more often, as a pair no less than nineteen times.

⁵⁸⁸ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 4.162.

⁵⁸⁹ See Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers*, 63-66 for a discussion of how the Chengs' views on the mind of the Way and the human mind are expressed.

⁵⁹⁰ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 78.3252. The above paraphrase is based on the following: 或問「人心、道心」之別。曰：「只是這一箇心，知覺從耳目之欲上去，便是人心；知覺從義理上去，便是道心。人心則危而易陷，道心則微而難□。微，亦微妙之義。」

water, nature is comparable to the tranquillity of still water, feeling is comparable to the flow of water, and desire is comparable to its waves.⁵⁹¹

Zhu Xi sees nothing inherently wrong even with desires; it is only the destructive desires that are problematic. These are desires that compromise balance and proportion making it impossible to accord with the Nature and therefore with the Way. Beyond this metaphorical account relying on images of turbulence and stillness there is a second metaphorical account relying on clarity and turbidity. Human beings comprised, as are all things, of Pattern and *qi* can have their Natures obscured by cloudy *qi*. Pattern is described as immersed in *qi* in the way that a bright pearl appears in a pool of water. If the water is dirty the brightness of the pearl cannot be seen.⁵⁹² If the water is clear then the pearl shines forth.⁵⁹³ Desires can churn up the *qi* and obscure the Pattern or Nature within. Consequently, in addition to investigating pattern and extending knowledge one must also reign in the desires or channel them in positive directions. The aim is to permit the Nature as Pattern to preside over all actions of the individual rather than permitting the human mind to take control. As the final line of verse four states, the whole matter comes down to the daily employment of the "centre" (*zhong* 中). *Zhong* 中 connotes the accuracy of an archer hitting the target just as one who accords with Pattern will always hit the moral mark by always taking the appropriate (*yi* 義) course of action in daily

⁵⁹¹ Chan, *Chinese Philosophy*, 631.

⁵⁹² Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi Yulei*, 4.178. This summary is taken from the following passage: 理在氣中，如一箇明珠在水裏。理在清底氣中，如珠在那清底水裏面，透底都明；理在濁底氣中，如珠在那濁底水裏面，外面更不見光明處。 This attribution of moral failures to the *qi* with which one is born is drawn directly from the work of Zhang Zai.

⁵⁹³ The following description is also offered: "He who receives the Ether [*qi* 氣] in its purity is a sage (*sheng*) or a worthy (*hsien*). He is like a precious pearl lying in clear cold water. But he who receives the ether in its impurity is obtuse and degenerate. He is like a pearl lying in turbid water." Chan, *Chinese Philosophy*, 559. This is a translation of the following passage from the *Zhuzi yulei*, *juan* 4.177. 但稟氣之清者，為聖為賢，如寶珠在清冷水中；稟氣之濁者，為愚為不肖，如珠在濁水中。

conduct. *Zhong* 中 also connotes balance and stability. This reflects the sage's ability to be unbiased (*bupian* 不偏) as a direct result of freedom from selfish desires (*siyu* 私欲). Thus, *zhong* 中 captures both of Zhu Xi's metaphorically expressed visions of the relationship between the mind of the Way and the human mind. Li Daochun adopts the centre (*zhong* 中) as a pivotal concept in his description of the path of cultivation.

[5] Be Pure Be Unified

The substance and function of the Mind of the Natural Order [are] the inner workings of subtle profundity.

Reject recklessness and accord with the true then you will be beginning from the subtle.

"Minute [investigation into the subtle] meaning of things enters the [realm of the] spiritual"⁵⁹⁴ [means] simply settling on unity.

Extreme meritorious efforts will [cause you] to arrive at the inexpressibly profound.

[6] Sincerely Hold to the Centre

To attain profound and subtle [powers] of creation sincerely work on your conduct.

⁵⁹⁴ This is a quotation from the Appendix to the *Changes of the Zhou*. *Zhouyi suoyin*, 66/82/20. The meaning of this phrase is unclear and problematic in this context. Edward L. Shaughnessy translates this phrase (精義入神) as, "The seminal essence and propriety enter into the spiritual." Shaughnessy, *I Ching*, 207. Lynn renders it as, "Perfect concepts come about by entrance into the spiritual." Lynn, *I Ching*, 81-82. I have tried to maintain a literal rendering of the phrase while endeavouring to accommodate what I take to be the thrust of Li's intentions. The translation given above draws on an entry in the *Ciyuan*, 1297, s.v. 精義入神.

The venerable great Way is boldly impartial.

The subtlety of [dealing with] opposing views [lies in] employing the centre and in the settling of the mind.

As for being unsettled—[employ] peacefulness; as for the subtle—[employ] understanding.

The titles of verses five and six complete the full sixteen-character phrase that Li is quoting from the *Shujing*.⁵⁹⁵ The title of verse five suggests the purity (*jing* 精; lit. “unmixed”) of the water in which the pearl of Nature rests is to be preserved. Therefore “recklessness” is to be abandoned in the interest of preserving the equilibrium referred to in verse six (sincerely hold to the centre or mean). Unity once again suggests integration (*cheng* 誠). Both verses advocate effort directed toward cultivation of unity and improving one’s conduct in daily affairs. In this way one gradually attains the ability to become tranquil and clear which will support ones’ ability to follow the centre in all things.

[7] Thoroughly Investigate Pattern [and Employ] Nature to the Utmost

Most essential in preserving integrity is first to thoroughly investigate Pattern.

The spiritual merit of thoroughly investigating Pattern rests in utmost integrity.

The pinnacle of integrity and the thorough investigation of Pattern are the great root of the Natural Order.

⁵⁹⁵ Legge, *The Shoo King in Classics*, vol. 3, 61-62.

[In] the sky of Nature great brightness is uncovered.⁵⁹⁶

[8] Thereby Arrive at Destiny

The True Gentleman who rejoices in the Natural Order and realizes⁵⁹⁷ its dictates;

The Great Sage who exhausts Pattern and thoroughly researches the subtle.

They need only take centeredness as the Great Foundation.

Completely understanding the Great Origin they penetrate the spiritual.

Li has taken the headings for verses seven and eight from the “Explanations of the Hexagrams” (*Shuogua* 說卦) in the *Zhouyi*.⁵⁹⁸ The content of these two verses is bound together by the relationship of the two titles. The two four-character phrases represent a basic material conditional: If one can achieve A then B will follow. Investigating Pattern is the way to realize one’s own Nature. Having gained insight into Nature one must, through integrity and composure, permit Nature to shine; that is, to be expressed as moral conduct. In doing so one arrives at destiny (*ming* 命). Destiny is what *Tian* 天 decrees; however, that term must be understood from within the context of Song *Daoxue* conceptions of the world and its relationship to the subject. Cheng Hao equated the Pattern with *Tian* 天. It follows from this view that arriving at destiny refers to according, in one’s actions, with Pattern. The Oxford English Dictionary defines “destiny” as “The power or agency that (supposedly) predetermines events, invincible, necessity . . .”⁵⁹⁹ The whole process of investigating Pattern, and maintaining integrity is directed toward

⁵⁹⁶ See *Ciyuan*, 1168, s.v. 發露 for this meaning based on usage in the *Documents of the later Han*.

⁵⁹⁷ See note 345 for details concerning the translation of *zhi* 知.

⁵⁹⁸ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 67/85/12. The phrase reads, 窮理盡性, 以至於命.

⁵⁹⁹ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. destiny.

replacing the agency of the individual with that of the natural course of things. The role of the individual is confined to removing obstacles associated with propping up and gaining further advantage for self and following the dictates of their nature or the Pattern within:

This principle [Pattern] is the Mandate of Heaven. For anyone to obey and follow it is the Way. For anyone to follow it and cultivate it is so that everyone attains his function [corresponding to his nature] is education. From the Mandate of Heaven [what the Natural Order destines] to education, one can neither augment nor diminish this function. Such is the case of Shun,⁶⁰⁰ who possessed his empire as if it were nothing to him.⁶⁰¹

Cheng Hao is unequivocal here in his identification of Pattern with the dictates of the Natural Order.⁶⁰² He also makes the point that this fact is not subject to change through the powers of human beings. The order is set and moves along with indifference. The place of the individual rests in according with the course of the Way. The great sage-king Shun was a sage because he could set himself aside and follow the Way. It follows that the governance of the kingdom was quite literally not his doing. Verse seven explains that integrity and the investigation of Pattern are the prerequisites and once these are undertaken the condition of the sage is sure to follow as both are "the great root of the Natural Order." In verse eight the reader is told that success ultimately rests on the foundation of being centred.

⁶⁰⁰ Legge, *Confucian Analects in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, (8.18) 213-214. 子曰：「巍巍乎，舜禹之有天下也，而不與焉。」

⁶⁰¹ Zhu Zi, *Jinsi lu in Congshu jicheng*, vol. 630, 15. The passage, attributed to Cheng Hao, is taken from Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 20.

⁶⁰² Zhu Xi also identifies the dictates of the Natural Order with Nature when he glosses a phrase from the *Zhongyong*: "The dictates of the Natural Order are called Nature,' and are also Pattern. The dictates of the Natural Order are like the command of a lord. Nature is like the officer who receives the command from the lord." The original reads, 「天命之謂性」，亦是理。天命，如君之命令；性，如受職於君。 Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 383.

[9] Doing One's Utmost and Empathy: That is All

The mind that reproves others reproves itself.

The mind that has empathy for itself is empathetic to others.

When doing the utmost and empathy are both complete then one comprehends
Way.

In taking charge at the end or the beginning [of an affair] do not depart from
humanity.

Li takes the title of the ninth verse from the *Lunyu*.⁶⁰³ The focus here is on translating the more abstract discussion of Pattern, Supreme Ultimate, Nature, and the investigation of Pattern in the world into more conventional moral language. One should not depart from the range of qualities that comprise the character of the sage and are summed up in the concept of *ren* 仁. The ability to identify with the experience of others (*shu* 恕) and to do one's utmost in all that one undertakes (*zhong* 忠) is all that is required. The introduction of this verse after the previous eight would seem to suggest that the transformation and orientation of the individual described in those verses generates the practical behavioural outcome described in verse nine. Further, "That is all" at the end of the title implies that such behaviour supports the transformation to sagehood. The relationship is reciprocal.

[10] [In the Hexagram] Fu One Sees the Mind of the Natural Order

When the whole *yin* is pared down to depletion, a single *yang* is produced.

Securely close up the Mysterious Pass and do not recklessly open it.

⁶⁰³ Legge, *Confucian Analects in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, (4.15) 170.

When stillness is at its pinnacle, within that pinnacle one sees the start of movement.

The lustrous discerning of the mind of the Natural Order awakens to what originally came.

The title of the tenth verse is almost certainly taken from the commentary to the hexagram *Fu* 復 in the *Zhouyi*.⁶⁰⁴ The verse as a whole appears to be a comment on meditation wherein the pinnacle of stillness is achieved and out of that state of stillness movement commences. The description of this emergent motion is based on the metaphor of the hexagram *fu* 復 with its single *yang* line at the bottom symbolizing the commencement of motion out of perfect tranquility.



Figure 8: Fu Hexagram

Fu 復 (return), with its single *yang* line entering at the bottom position of the hexagram represents a moment of transition from pure *yin* equated here with stillness to the subtle commencement of motion represented by the single *yang* line. Cheng Yi comments on the same phrase from the *Zhouyi* to which Li is referring:

⁶⁰⁴ The title of verse nine is 復見天心. *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.22b. The phrase in the *Zhouyi* is 復其見天地之心乎. *Zhouyi suoyin*, 24/29/24.

When one yang element [line] returns at the bottom it shows that the mind of Heaven and Earth is to produce things. Former scholars have all contended that the mind of Heaven and Earth is seen in tranquility. They did not know that the mind of Heaven and Earth is seen in the beginning of activity. How can those ignorant of the Way know this?⁶⁰⁵

Li's verse is conveying the same message put forward by Cheng Yi. Sky (*tian* 天) and Earth (*di* 地) as *yang* and *yin* is a creative pair. The mind of Sky and Earth is able to follow their creative rhythms. It is the creative function (*yong* 用) of the mind of Sky and Earth (movement) that makes it visible and it is the emergence of this creativity out of the substance (*ti* 體) of tranquility that makes it so potent.⁶⁰⁶

Again Cheng Yi says,

When people explain the sentence, "In the *fu* hexagram we see the mind of Heaven and Earth" [復其見天地之心乎], they all say that in the state of perfect tranquility we can see the mind of Heaven and Earth. This is wrong. The line at the bottom of the hexagram *fu* indicates activity. How can we say that it is tranquility?⁶⁰⁷

Zhu Xi's comment on the second passage indicates that he does not view the tranquil state as completely dark and unaware. There remains an active awareness (the single *yang* line in *fu*). He refers to the *Zhongyong* when he notes that consciousness can be active while the emotions are not yet aroused. Later, commenting on tranquility in meditation practise he explains that in meditation one does not fall asleep. Again, tranquility does not imply a complete lack of consciousness. This implies that for Zhu Xi

⁶⁰⁵ Zhu Zi, *Jinsi lu* in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 630, 8. Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 12.

⁶⁰⁶ Zhu Zi, *Jinsi lu* in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 155.

⁶⁰⁷ Zhu Zi, *Jinsi lu* in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 154. Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 146-147.

the hexagram *Fu* embodies both the subtle commencement of motion and the ideal state of active tranquility.

The *fu* hexagram plays an important part in inner alchemy theory. It can refer to a stage in the cycling of *qi* through two major *qi* meridians in the body: the Governing Meridian (*du mai* 督脈) that rises from the *weilu* 尾閭 point near the base of the coccyx up to the *niwan* 泥丸 in the top of the skull and the Conception Meridian (*ren mai* 任脈) that descends from the upper *dantian* 丹田 between the eyebrows down through the middle *dantian* in the region of the solar plexus and terminating at the lower *dantian*. In the figure below these two meridians are correlated with the twelve hexagrams and are associated with each of the twelve double hours of the day.⁶⁰⁸

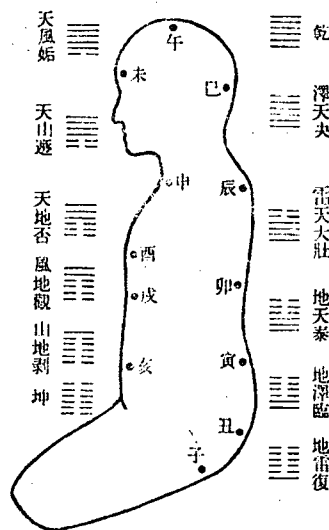


Figure 9: Correlation of Hexagrams with Twelve Earthly Branches

⁶⁰⁸ This illustration is taken from Wang Mu 王沐, *Wuzhen pian jianjie* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju chuban, 1990), 9.

Fu, located so that it corresponds with the transitional midnight hours of *zi* 子 (11pm-1am) represents a time when *yin* has peaked and *yang* begins to emerge. In inner alchemy this can be used to represent the climax of *yin qi* in the body and the emergence and rising of *yang qi*. An example of its use taken from verse thirty of a sixty-four verse section in the *Wuzhen pian*,

[When] the single *yang* line has just begun to move, that is the time for making the elixir; the lead reaction vessel⁶⁰⁹ gradually warms up illuminating the curtains.⁶¹⁰

It is easy to recognize when you begin to receive the *qi*; [while] carrying out the process of drawing out and augmenting you ought to guard against dangers.⁶¹¹

In this verse Zhang Boduan uses the first *yang* line in *fu* to symbolize building heat in the body associated with storing original essence (*yuanjing* 元精). Original essence, also referred to as true lead, is a form of pristine *yang qi* that can be “drawn out” of the mundane essence stored up through the reduction of sexual activity and desire.⁶¹² This stage makes it possible for original essence to support the augmenting (抽) of *qi*, also referred to as true mercury, which accumulates and then to begins rising through the body. “Drawing out and augmenting” (*chou tian* 抽添) is an abbreviation of “drawing out lead

⁶⁰⁹ The “reaction vessel” (*qianding* 鉛鼎) is a synonym for the elixir field (*xia dantian* 丹田). *Daojiao dacidian*, 814, s.v. 鉛鼎.

⁶¹⁰ There is no specific explanation for this term in any of the commentaries attached to this text. Wang Mu, *Jianjie*, 77, n.5, suggests that “curtains” (*huangwei* 幌帷) refers to the eyes. If this is correct then it would perhaps suggest that of the three possible elixir fields the “lead reaction vessel” refers to the upper one between the eyebrows.

⁶¹¹ *Wuzhen pian*, 26.21a.

⁶¹² It would be more accurate to think of original essence as arising naturally when the body’s *qi* is not depleted through excessive sexual activity.

and augmenting mercury” (*chouqian tiangong* 抽鉛添汞). This refers to the “advancing of the fire” (*jinhuo* 進火) or the ascending of the “river chariot” (*heche* 河車) both of which are references to the circulation of *qi* through the Conception Meridian (*ren mai* 任脈) and the Governing Meridian (*du mai* 督脈). The ongoing process of drawing out original essence to augment the *qi* results in the transformation of mundane *qi* into original *qi* (*yuan qi* 元氣). The increased reserve of original *qi* is then drawn out to supplement *shen* 神, the form of *qi* associated with cognition. Once again this process results in the transformation of mundane spirit into original spirit (*yuanshen* 元神).⁶¹³

Li manages to make the message of his verse somewhat ambiguous by avoiding any explicitly inner alchemical terminology and concludes with an assertion not far from the spirit of Cheng Yi’s reading of the quotation from the *Zhouyi* that comprises the title of Li’s verse: “The lustrous discerning of the mind of the Natural Order awakens to what originally came.” One can come to discern the mind of the Natural Order (*tianxin* 天心) and this makes it possible to become aware of what originally came. The opening of the *Zhongyong* appears to shed light on this: “What the Natural Order has imparted is called Nature” (天命之謂性).⁶¹⁴ It is significant that in a verse where Li has chosen to include *fu*, a central trope in inner alchemy writings, he elects to avoid obvious inner alchemy references and to conclude on a resoundingly *Daoxue* note in which one recognizes the mind of the Natural Order and, therefore, one’s own Nature.

⁶¹³ This account relies in part upon the comments related to the *Wuzhen pian* verse in Wang Mu, *Jianjie*, 78, n.8.

⁶¹⁴ Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 383.

One further term must be considered here. The verse refers to the Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan* 玄關), which certainly figures as an important inner alchemy term.⁶¹⁵ While it is possible to understand the Mysterious Pass as a more or less determinate location in or on the body⁶¹⁶ Li avoids this preferring instead to give it a reading more reminiscent of *Daoxue* thought. After a detailed account of various mistaken attempts to describe the Mysterious Pass as something with a fixed location Li adds the following caution:

Yet looking above forms and substance is also not right. Further, one must not depart from this body and turn toward the external. [You may] seek for it in the elixir scriptures but none of them explain the exact location. Thus it is impossible to make [the Mysterious Pass] manifest. The pen and the tongue cannot explain it. Therefore it is said that the two characters 'Mysterious' and 'Pass' are what cause the sages to write only the single character 'centre' (*zhong* 中) to make [the meaning of the Mysterious Pass] manifest to people. It is this character, 'centre' that explains Mysterious Pass.⁶¹⁷

Li goes on to explain what the character 'centre' refers to in terms of the three teachings all of which refer to stillness and he concludes with a reference to the Zhouyi:

The Changes [*of the Zhou*] says: "Quietly unmoving."⁶¹⁸ This is the substance of the centre . . .

The Changes [*of the Zhou*] says: "[In the hexagram] *Fu* (return) [one] sees the mind of Sky and Earth."⁶¹⁹ Moreover, in the hexagram *Fu* a single *yang* [line] is produced beneath five *yin* lines. *Yin* is stillness. *Yang* is

⁶¹⁵ It is worth noting that this term is not employed in the *Wuzhen pian*.

⁶¹⁶ See for example the entry for *xuanguan* 玄關 provided by one of Li's contemporaries, Xiao Tingzhi (fl. 1260), in the *Jindan wenda* section of the *Xiuzhen shishu jindan dacheng ji*, TY262, DZ122-131, 10.13a-b. Here is described as located in the head.

⁶¹⁷ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.4a.

⁶¹⁸ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/21.

⁶¹⁹ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 24/24/29.

movement. [When] stillness reaches its limit it produces movement. Only this place of movement really is the Mysterious Pass.⁶²⁰

More will be said concerning the mysterious pass but for now it is sufficient to note that Li's understanding of this ostensibly inner alchemy term is informed by ideas much closer to the *Ru* teaching than to those of inner alchemy.

[11] Knowing the Myriad Things in their Entirety

All of the things in the world make up the Pattern of the Natural Order.

From this, contemporary people are rarely able to [acquire] understanding.

Originating at the beginning and reversion to the end completes the Supreme Ultimate.

Exhausting the spirit in comprehending transformations one enters non-purposive action.

The title of this verse is found in the "Appendix to the Changes."⁶²¹ The subject once again is the investigation of Pattern in all things so that one's actions become spontaneous or non-purposive (*wuwei* 無爲) due their according with the rhythm of universal transformation embodied in the universal Pattern of the Supreme Ultimate and not the whims of selfish desire. Cheng Yi describes how the transformative interaction of Sky and Earth is complete because it is literally "without mind" (*wuxin* 無心). In a

⁶²⁰ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.4b.

⁶²¹ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/77/14.

parallel way the sage, though he has a mind, can follow along with these transformations by way of non-purposive action (*wuwei* 無爲).⁶²²

[12] Take Refuge in [what is] Hidden

The Pattern of the Great Changes of the prior realm is mysterious and deep.

The essence of the expansively great is subtle and profound—it cannot be commented upon.

To get the flavour of it seek for the mystery upon mystery within your self.

Cleansing the mind and hiding in withdrawal reach their peak [through] integrity.

The title of this verse is found in the “Appendix to the Changes.”⁶²³ Zhu Xi quotes this phrase along with the phrase that precedes it: “The sage, using his cleansed mind, secrets himself away in the hidden.” Zhu Xi explains that the mind can muddy the Pattern (心中渾然此理) and so it must be cleansed of distractions. He explains the retreat into hiding as a reference to the state of solitary stillness before the functioning of the mind becomes manifest.⁶²⁴ All of this, according to Li’s verse, is accomplished through integrity.

[13] Be Constantly Cautious when Alone

Gaze upon it but it cannot be seen; listen for it but it is soundless.

Whether the dark and obscure is hidden or manifest preserve utmost integrity.

⁶²² Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, *juan* 1.69. “Yi Chuan said: ‘Sky and Earth have no mind yet complete the transformations [of the world]; the sage has a mind yet acts non-purposively.’” 伊川曰：『天地無心而成化，聖人有心而無為。』 This phrase is repeated frequently by Zhu Xi in the *Zhuzi yulei*.

⁶²³ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 80\65\3. 聖人以此洗心，退藏於密。

⁶²⁴ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, 75.3121.

[Those who] respond to and apply the moving power of the spirit cannot be fathomed.

Illustrious intention of the Natural Order naturally shines forth.

The title of this verse paraphrases a near ubiquitous phrase from the opening section of the *Zhongyong*, which in full reads, "Nothing is more visible than the hidden; nothing more manifest than the subtle. Therefore the gentleman is cautious when alone."⁶²⁵ The subject of the initial two phrases is alluded to in the second and third lines of the verse. What is hidden and why is it so visible? What is so subtle and yet is manifest? In his commentary on a passage taken from Cheng Hao, Zhu Xi provides part of an answer. First, Cheng Hao's statement:

Confucius, standing by a stream, said, "It passes on like this, never ceasing day or night."⁶²⁶ None of the Confucianists from the Han dynasty down has understood the meaning of this. It shows that the mind of the Sage is characterized by "purity which is also unceasing."⁶²⁷ Purity which is unceasing is the character of Heaven. He who possesses the character of Heaven is able to practice the kingly way. The important point of all this lies in being watchful over oneself when alone.⁶²⁸

Zhu Xi explains Cheng Hao's statement in the following way:

The general idea of the passage is that things in the past have been unceasing just as the operation of the universe is unceasing. ...⁶²⁹

⁶²⁵ Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 384. The phrase from the *Zhongyong* reads: 莫見乎隱，莫顯乎微。故君子慎其獨也。 Li's verse title is 常慎其獨. *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.23a.

⁶²⁶ Legge, *Confucian Analects in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, (9.16) 222.

⁶²⁷ Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 421.

⁶²⁸ Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 140. Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu*, in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 145.

⁶²⁹ Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 140. *Zhuzi yulei*, juan 36.1615.

Things in the universe always pass on because the perfect sincerity of Heaven and Earth is unceasing. Affected by this unceasing process the mind of the Sage is pure and unceasingly so. To be unceasingly pure means to be completely identified with the Principle of Nature [*tianli* 天理] without any interruption by selfish desires. This is the character of Heaven. ...⁶³⁰

It is desirable that the student examine himself at all times without the slightest interruption. As soon as he stops examining himself, there will be interruption. This is why the important point lies in being watchful over oneself when alone, for one is often interrupted when alone.⁶³¹

Purity (*chun* 純), which in this context resonates with integrity (*cheng* 誠) as wholeness, unity, or completeness (*cheng* 成), is here, a state in which the sage is not polluted by selfish desires and is therefore able to identify (that is to be unified) with the Pattern of the Natural Order (*tianli* 天理).⁶³² Pattern is by definition, formless. Being above form it is neither visible nor audible yet its presence is obvious to all through the actions of the sage described by Zhu Xi as humanity (*ren* 仁): "Whenever one can reach the point of eliminating his selfish desires so that the Principle of Nature will operate, there is humanity."⁶³³ Humanity conceived as such is utterly spontaneous in its arising, and the results of Pattern, which itself is beyond form and therefore beyond perception, becomes manifest because of the results that naturally spring forth:

Humanity is rooted in the mind, demonstrated through the body, and revealed in movements and expressions. If there is the slightest selfish desire, the mind will not be broad, the body not at ease, and movements

⁶³⁰ Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 140. Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu*, in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 146.

⁶³¹ Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 140. *Zhuzi yulei*, *juan* 36.1620.

⁶³² Zhu Xi defines unity as integrity and as a lack of desires in his comment on a statement made by Cheng Hao: 一者誠也。無欲也。無欲則一。 Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu*, in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 145.

⁶³³ Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 146-147. This section of commentary translated above by Wing Tsit-chan and included in his *Reflections on Things at Hand* is not found in the *Congshu jicheng* edition of *Jinsi lu* but can be found in the *Zhuzi yulei*, *juan* 96.3971.

and expressions not in accord with the natural measures of the Principle of Nature.⁶³⁴
What is hidden but can “naturally shine forth” is “the illustrious intention of the Natural Order” known also as humanity.

The phrasing of this verse can certainly stand simply as an orthodox (taking Zhu Xi as the measure) *Daoxue* (or for Li Daochun, *Ru*) observation. It describes hidden humanity arising out of the sage’s unity with Pattern and manifesting in the world through the outward signs of human conduct. Also significant is the way in which such an account of the mysteries of Pattern and humanity shares the language used to describe the elixir fashioned within the inner alchemy adept. Consider for example the following description of the Golden Elixir offered to his disciple Dingan who is confused by his teacher’s apparently contradictory assertion that the Golden Elixir is without form and yet can be seen. The logical structure of this conundrum reflects the logical structure of the phrase quoted from the *Zhongyong* and alluded to in the above verse:
“Nothing is more visible than the hidden; nothing more manifest than the subtle.”
Li’s provides his answer:

“Golden elixir” is merely an expedient name. How could it have form? As for that which [I said] can be seen, it cannot be seen with the eyes. Buddhists say: In not seeing, one sees intimately. In seeing intimately, one does not see. The scriptures of the Way say “Look for it and it cannot be seen. Listen for it and it cannot be heard.”⁶³⁵ We have to call it “Way.”⁶³⁶
[8b] Looking for it and not seeing—it has never not been seen. Listening for it and not hearing—it has never not been heard. What I say can be seen

⁶³⁴ Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 136. Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu*, in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 142.

⁶³⁵ Here a portion of section 24 of the *Daode jing* is being paraphrased.

⁶³⁶ This is an allusion to section 25 of the *Daode jing*.

and heard is not what the eyes and ears can reach. The mind sees and the will hears and that is all.⁶³⁷

Roughly two-hundred years earlier Zhang Boduan made a similar assertion about the ingredients used for producing the elixir:

The woman wears green robes; the husband puts on white silk.⁶³⁸
What is seen cannot be used; what is used cannot be seen.
Within chaotic obscurity they meet each other; within dark abstruseness there is transformation.
In an instant the fire's flames fly up⁶³⁹ and the Realized Man⁶⁴⁰ naturally manifests.⁶⁴¹

What Li achieves through this careful use of language is the conveyance of a non-explicit assumption that the way of the Ru places the core of cultivation, Pattern and humanity in this case, in a sphere that lies beyond language and form in the same way that the inner alchemist declines to equate the elixir with any mundane substance.

[14] Penetrated by a Single Thread

Each thing naturally has a single Supreme Ultimate.

⁶³⁷ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.8a-b.

⁶³⁸ These two phrases are referring to the trigrams *li* 離 and *kan* 坎. The woman wearing green robes represents *li* which, in the earlier realm (*xiantian* 先天) arrangement of the eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦), corresponds to the colour green. The man in the white robes represents *kan* which, in the earlier realm (*xiantian* 先天) arrangement of the eight trigrams corresponds to the colour white. An error occurs in the commentary of Yuan Gongfu who explains that the green robe represents yang while the woman herself represents yin. He then goes on to state that therefore this is *yang* within *yin*. He makes the same mistake in describing the male counterpart. Other commentaries that provide the same kind of explanation do not make this error. See *Wuzhen pian zhushu*, 3.16a; *Wuzhen pian zhushi*, *shang*, 28a.

⁶³⁹ This is a reference to the phasing of the fire which must be controlled throughout the process of inner alchemy. Xue Daoguang explains that once the work of the fire has stopped the Realized Man appears.

Wuzhen pian sanzhu, 5.1b.

⁶⁴⁰ It is quite possible that the Realized Man is intended as a synonym for the Golden Elixir. *Wuzhen pian sanzhu*, 5.1b.

⁶⁴¹ *Wuzhen pian*, 28.22b-23a.

Its moving power binds [all things] to the creative transformations embodied by
Kun and *Qian*.

By exhaustively penetrating the single pervading Pattern of nature,
Thus, embrace the fundamental, return to the primordial, and join with the
spontaneous.

“My way is penetrated by a single thread”⁶⁴² is a description given by Confucius to his student, Master Zeng 曾子. After Confucius had left, others enquired of Master Zeng concerning the meaning of “a single thread.” Zeng defined the one thread in terms of two qualities as “doing one’s utmost” (*zhong* 忠) and “putting oneself in the other’s place” (*shu* 恕). Li’s verse appears to ignore Zeng’s position on how this thread is to be understood, preferring instead to focus on the single Supreme Ultimate that inheres within each individual and ultimately provides the means to “return to the primordial” and “join with the spontaneous.” The means for this reunion is the penetration or understanding (*tong* 通) of the Supreme Ultimate within. There is some justification for such a reading in the *Zhuzi yulei* where the one (*yi* 一) in this phrase is interpreted as referring to the Pattern of the Way (*daoli* 道理).⁶⁴³ Again, later in the same chapter one reads, “The single thread is simply the single Pattern; it is embodied in the mind.” Although the thread is single its manifestations in the world take on different, contextually defined qualities: “In dealings with one’s father it is filial piety; in dealings with one’s lord it is seriousness; when interacting with friends it is living up to one’s

⁶⁴² Legge, *Confucian Analects in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, (4.15) 169.

⁶⁴³ *Zhuzi yulei*, juan 27.1134.

word; these simply are the single thread.”⁶⁴⁴ Accordingly, the single thread, defined by Zeng as “doing one’s utmost” and “putting oneself in the other’s place” is also described as the source or wellspring (*yuan* 源) from which the Pattern of the Way emerges.⁶⁴⁵

[15] Return to the Limitless

Within the limit of the Limitless the Supreme Ultimate is complete.

The form of the Supreme Ultimate divides into the pair of emblems (*yin* and *yang*).

The myriad things and the three worldly constituents (sky, earth and humanity) are all complete [within] myself.⁶⁴⁶

[This is] the foundation of the Sage’s return to the primordial Limitless.

This verse appears not to commence with a quotation. The fact that, in the title, “return” is mentioned in connection with the “Limitless” (*wuji* 無極) is significant because this does not appear to be a *Daoxue* turn of phrase. The term “Limitless” is found

⁶⁴⁴ *Zhuzi yulei*, *juan* 27.1141. 曰：「一貫只是一理，其體在心，事父即為孝，事君即為敬，交朋友即為信，此只是一貫。」

⁶⁴⁵ *Zhuzi yulei*, *juan* 41.1733. 夫子所以說「吾道一以貫之」，曾子曰「忠恕而已矣」，是也。蓋為道理出來處，只是一源。

⁶⁴⁶ This phrase is an almost direct quotation from the *Mencius*: Mencius said: “The myriad things are all within me!” 孟子曰：「萬物皆備於我矣。 Legge, *The Works of Mencius in Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, 450. This phrase is also quoted in Zhangzai’s *Zhengmeng*. Zhangzai, *Zhangzai ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), 33. The phrase is also commented on in the *Zhuzi yulei*. There the myriad things are understood to imply the myriad Patterns are complete within the individual. See for example *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 4, 2339, 2342, 2543-4. In all of these cases, Mengzi is said to have referred to the Pattern of things rather than the things in themselves. The third example focuses on integrity (*cheng* 誠), first identifying integrity with the way of the Natural Order, and then referring to the second part of Mengzi’s statement that one should “turn back to oneself to become integrated” (反身而誠). The *Daoxue* interpretation is based on a straightforward line of reasoning: Integrity (*cheng* 誠) is the way of the Natural Order (*tiandao* 天道) and the way of the Natural Order is Pattern (*li* 理). Therefore integrity is Pattern and Mengzi’s admonishment to turn inward to integrity means to turn inward to Pattern. Since Pattern is in all things, it follows that the Pattern of all things is in the individual.

in the work of Zhou Dunyi and obviously figures prominently in his brief *Taiji tushuo*, which opens with what has proved a pregnant phrase: “The Limitless and yet the Supreme Ultimate (無極而太極).”⁶⁴⁷ According to Zhu Xi’s commentary, Zhou Dunyi’s opening statement equates the Limitless with the Supreme Ultimate. He is not trying to assert the Limitless as something in addition to (literally, beyond) the Supreme Ultimate.⁶⁴⁸ What Zhou describes in his *Taiji tushuo* is a process of cosmogonic unfolding passing through stages of increasing complexity and pictured in his “Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate” (*Taiji tu* 太極圖) below:

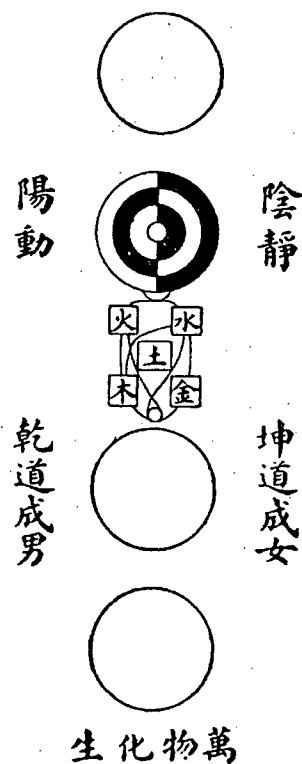


Figure 10: Zhou Dunyi's Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ Zhouzi quanshu in *Guoxue jiben congshu*, vol. 44, 4.

⁶⁴⁸ Zhouzi quanshu in *Guoxue jiben congshu*, vol. 44, 5. Zhu Xi states very straightforwardly, 故曰無極而太極之外復有無極也.

⁶⁴⁹ Zhouzi quanshu in *Guoxue jiben congshu*, vol. 44, 2.

Differentiation begins at the level of the Supreme Ultimate represented in a form unlike the better known, mutually embracing black and white figures. Through the movement of the Supreme Ultimate, *yang* is produced and with movement having then reached its limit *yin* is produced. This alternation of movement and stillness is the establishment of the two emblems (*liangyi* 兩儀). The next stage is the emergence of the five phases (*wuxing* 五行): water, fire, wood, metal, and earth and the movement of the four seasons. Through the motions of the five phases and two *qi* (*yin* and *yang*), the way of *qian* 乾 produces male and the way of *kun* 坤 produces female. Following their copulation the myriad things (*wanwu* 萬物) arise.⁶⁵⁰ While Zhou employs the Limitless as a term of central importance here, representing as it does the origin of the world, he at no time suggests the sequence outlined should be considered in reverse. Return to the Limitless is not raised as a possibility.

The Cheng brothers did not concern themselves with the Supreme Ultimate or with the Limitless, choosing to focus instead on Pattern as a foundation for their views. In the entire *Zhangzai ji*, the Limitless is referred to only three times but no mention of return is made in those contexts.⁶⁵¹ The term is found only a handful of times in the *Daoxue* anthology, *Jinsi lu*, and in each case it is associated with Zhou Dunyi.⁶⁵² In the *Zhuzi yulei* the Limitless occurs seventy-two times in thirty-three sections. After examining its use in each of these sections, Twenty-two of the sections comprising fifty-five examples are found in chapter ninety-four which is devoted to the subject of Zhou

⁶⁵⁰ *Zhouzi quanshu* in *Guoxue jiben congshu*, vol. 44, 6-14.

⁶⁵¹ Zhangzai, *Zhangzai ji*, 238, 404, 405.

⁶⁵² There is a single exception in which *wuji* 無極 is used in a quotation attributed to Zhangzai but is used there as an adjective with no cosmogonic overtones or implications. Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu*, in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 124. See Wing Tsit-ch'an's translation in *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 120.

Dunyi's ideas. In fifteen of the twenty-two sections the term is included in Zhou's phrase "The Limitless and yet the Supreme Ultimate" (無極而太極也). All examples of its use are descriptive of the Limitless including its relationship to Nature (*xing* 性), Pattern (*li* 理), and the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極). In no case is this term associated with return.

Looking back to early uses of this term in the Warring States period (403-221) and thus, outside the sphere of *Daoxue* understanding, the Limitless is referred to eighteen times in the *Zuozhuan* commentary on the *Qunqiu* but its use bears no relationship to the discussion at hand. Significant in the present context is another Warring States text, the *Daode jing*, which contains only a single, though very significant use of "Limitless" that is linked directly to the notion of return:

When you know the white yet hold on to the black,
You'll be the model for the country.
And when you're the model for the country,
Your constant virtue will not go astray.
And when your constant virtue does not go astray,
You'll return to the condition which has no limit.⁶⁵³

Return is a core motif within the *Daode jing* and was fully integrated into the various processes of cultivation described by the teachers of inner alchemy and it would seem that Li's use of "return" in the above verse matches its use within the *Daode jing* and, an understanding later adapted to the inner alchemy process of cultivation.

It can certainly be argued that return does play a significant part in *Daoxue* thought at least from the Northern Song through the Yuan. However, while the concept of return is not uncommon in *Daoxue* thought its application is far from that employed in

⁶⁵³ Henricks, *Te-tao ching*, 242.

the *Daode jing*, and later in inner alchemy literature. The *fu* hexagram for example, which for the inner alchemist is frequently a metaphor for the circulation of *qi*, is employed in two principle ways: Firstly, as a representation of the mind of the Natural Order present and visible prior to the emergence of the emotions.⁶⁵⁴ Secondly, the *fu* hexagram also represents the individual's need to return to the way of the sage, to the path of morality rather than being waylaid on the path of desire:

The sage opens the way for people to return to change toward the good, approves their return, and points out the danger of repeated failure. Therefore he said, "The position is dangerous but there will be no error." One should not be prohibited from returning because he has failed repeatedly. To fail repeatedly is to be in danger, but what error is there in returning repeatedly? The mistake lies in the failure not in returning.⁶⁵⁵

This return to the moral way is frequently characterised in more specific terms as a return to propriety (*li* 禮), an invocation of Confucius' observation that "[If one can] restrain oneself and return to propriety that is humanity (*ren* 仁). [If] for a whole day [one can] restrain oneself and return to propriety [then] all under the sky will accord with the humanity within him."⁶⁵⁶ This observation is repeated many times in the *Zhuzi yulei*.⁶⁵⁷ It is noteworthy that Li has demonstrated an obvious understanding of *Daoxue* terms and has used them in a consistent manner throughout and yet has chosen to conclude his fifteen verses on the *Ru* Teaching with what appears to be something of a departure from the *Daoxue* understanding of the Limitless. Such a departure is useful for Li's overall

⁶⁵⁴ Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu*, in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 631, 154. See the discussion of verse ten above (pp 30-32).

⁶⁵⁵ Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 269. Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu*, in *Congshu jicheng*, vol. 633, 305.

⁶⁵⁶ The complete phrase reads, "The Master said: 子曰: 「克己復禮為仁。一日克己復禮, 天下歸仁焉。」 Legge, *Confucian Analects in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, (12.1) 250. The first sentence is quoted from the *Zuozhuan*. See Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew with The Tso Chuen in Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, 638.

⁶⁵⁷ Some examples: *Zhuzi yulei*, 6.239, 244, 246; 12.389; 14.466; 20.829.

project, which is to locate a common ground between the Three Teachings. By employing important *Daoxue* terms in what would constitute an “orthodox” manner relative to the thought of Zhu Xi, and then adjusting one of them (*wuji* 無極) so that it resonates to a degree with the *Daode jing* and inner alchemy, he effectively creates a bridge between two otherwise “distinct” discourses. In this context it is important not to overemphasize the degree of distinctness involved. Clearly members of the *Daoxue* movement invested much time and energy establishing a rhetoric of difference in order to distance themselves from the various Buddhist groups and their positions on cultivation as well as the various sects identifying themselves as Taoist. A necessary and desirable implication of such rhetoric is the establishment of self-identity. Beyond this tactical manoeuvring it is undeniable that Li and his disciples shared a vast amount of common cultural ground. Li’s bridge did not span an ocean between islands but land between encampments. To determine how this bridge might best be characterized, consideration will now be given to the way in which the ideas identified by Li and his students as the *Ru* Teaching fit into the broader context of Li’s Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth.

4.4 Adaptation of Daoxue Terms to Li’s Way of Cultivation

Although the above verses convey precisely what Li takes the label “*Ru*” to be identifying in terms of a teaching, they do not provide much insight into how the terms he has highlighted actually fit into his own approach to cultivation. What follows is an account of how *Ru* ideas are woven into the Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth.

In the forward to the *Yingchan zi yulu* Li's disciple, Dingan, puts forward the rhetorical question: "How could this master (Li Daochun) fail to be one who discourses on the centre?"⁶⁵⁸ Li expresses his own belief in the fundamental importance of both the centre (*zhong* 中) and harmony (*he* 和) by way of a public gesture: "I take for the retreat where I dwell the two characters "Centre" and "Harmony" as the name [on its] signboard. Is this not fitting?" Li chose to elevate these two characters to the point of making them emblems for his entire teaching. One of the compilations of his teachings, the six *juan* compilation *Zhonghe ji*, prepared by a number of his disciples takes these two characters as its title. Thus this collection of Li's teaching also takes for its signboard "centre" and "harmony." The opening *juan* of the *Zhonghe ji* contains several diagrams one of which is reproduced below:

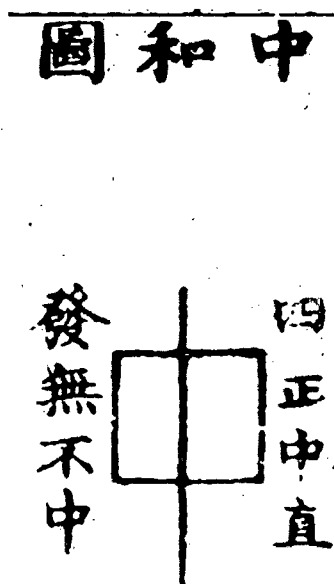


Figure 11: Diagram of the Centre and Harmony⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁸ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.1a.

⁶⁵⁹ *Zhonghe ji*, 1.2a. The original phrases are: 發無不中 and 四正中直.

The four characters on the left say, “issuing forth without failing to be centred” and those on the right say, “four sides centred on the straight.” The character “centre” is shown in a slightly adjusted form. The vertical line usually passes through an approximately rectangular shape but in this illustration the line passes through a square. The four equal sides of the square are proportionate and so, balanced. The straight line passing through the balanced form of the square is also linked to the character *zheng* 正, translated here as “side” but also connoting “straight” and “regulation” or “adjustment” as well as “correctness” and “uprightness.” The passage included beneath the diagram links its significance directly to the *Zhongyong*, which had become part of the orthodox canon of the *Ru* by Li’s time:

The *Book of Rites* says, “when joy, anger, sadness and happiness have not yet come forth [this is] called centred; [when,] having come forth, if they are all proportioned this is called harmony.”⁶⁶⁰ Not yet having come forth is called being attentive to what is preserved within tranquil stability. Therefore it is called the centre. Preserved yet without form; therefore it is called “the great root of everything under the sky.”⁶⁶¹ Coming forth and yet proportioned is called “when in motion attend to what comes forth.” Therefore it is called harmony.⁶⁶²

The “Diagram of the Centre and Harmony,” implies that “harmony” (*he* 和) is already implicit within the form of the character “centre” (*zhong* 中). In fact all things are also implicit within this state of equilibrium because it is a state beyond form and therefore logically prior to all things and affairs that take on specificity. Li clearly makes this connection when he says “Preserved and yet without form; therefore it is called ‘the great

⁶⁶⁰ Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 384.

⁶⁶¹ Legge, *Doctrine of the Mean in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 384.

⁶⁶² *Zhonghe ji*, 1.2a.

root of everything under the sky” (存而無體故謂天下之大本). The *Zhongyong* does not link the centre with formlessness, but Li makes this connection making it possible for him to transpose its significance to the contexts of the Buddhist and Taoist “teachings.” Li observes that the “Chan Buddhists” also speak of the centre: “Do not think of goodness; do not think of evil. When you are thus centered that is your original face and eyes.’ This is the centre of the Chan School.”⁶⁶³ The passage continues, “The Taoist teaching says when thoughts abide motionless it is called the centre.” The “centre” or “equilibrium” provides Li and his disciples with a means to demonstrate the underlying continuity between the Three Teachings.

Beyond allowing the construction of a shared discourse between the Three Teachings Li also employs this concept of the centred state of mind found in the *Zhongyong* in the context of his own teaching. He accomplishes this by using the centre to reinterpret an established inner alchemy term, the “Mysterious Pass” (*xuanguan* 玄關). This manoeuvre accords with Li’s more general strategy of elevating his own inner alchemy discourse above that of discussions concerning points in or on the body and certainly above those who see inner transformation as linked to bodily exercises or sexual techniques.⁶⁶⁴ Li first explains that the substance (*ti* 體) of the centre is described in the *Zhouyi* as “silently so, unmoving” (寂然不動)⁶⁶⁵ and the function (*yong* 用) as “affected it follows and penetrates (感而遂通).”⁶⁶⁶ A link is then made between the substance and function of the centre and the *fu* hexagram through the quoting of the sixteenth section of

⁶⁶³ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.4b.

⁶⁶⁴ See for example the list of practices listed in *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.2b. Also Li lists many lesser ways of cultivation in a lengthy system of classification found in *Zhonghe ji*, 2.12b-17a.

⁶⁶⁵ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/79/21.

⁶⁶⁶ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/ 79/ 22. *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.4b.

the *Daode jing*: “Bring about emptiness to the limit; preserve stillness earnestly. The myriad creatures together arise; thus I watch their return (*fu* 復).” Li gives an analysis of the *fu* hexagram in terms of the substance and function division he has just applied to the centre. The stillness of the centre he equates with the five *yin* lines and the movement emerging from within stillness he equates with the single returning *yang* line at the bottom of the hexagram. In a rather ingenious way Li has managed to combine the qualities of stability and stillness embodied in the centre (*zhong* 中) with the dynamism and responsiveness of harmony (*he* 和) within the single form of the *fu* 復 hexagram in a manner that parallels the combination of these qualities within the single form of the character *zhong* 中. He has based this play on images (the character *zhong* 中 and the hexagram *fu* 復) on references to a core canonical text of inner alchemy (*Daode jing*), and texts of great importance to the Ru tradition (*Zhongyong* and *Zhouyi*) and in the process has managed to support his own innovation, the Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth which assumes that the Three Teachings share a fundamental term, “centre.” Li’s description of the centre as a state of stillness that holds within the beginnings of motion concludes with the assertion that “Only this place of motion is the Mysterious Pass.”⁶⁶⁷ Li explicitly rejects any association of the Mysterious Pass with a part or region of the body:

Of those who presently study, many of them muddy the form and the substance. Some say [the Mysterious Pass] is between the eyebrows; some say it is the circle of the navel; some say it is in between the two kidneys. Some say it is behind the navel and in front of the kidneys; some say it is the bladder; some say it is the elixir field; some say the head has nine palaces and that these are the Mysterious Pass; some point to the gate of production, the place from which the body is born (the vagina); some

⁶⁶⁷ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.4b.

point to the mouth and nose as the Mysterious Female. None of these are [the Mysterious Pass].⁶⁶⁸

Li's account of the Mysterious Pass depends heavily on *Daoxue* language; as was described above in the commentary on the *Ru* verses three and four Li refers to the "human mind" (*renxin* 人心) and the "mind of the Way" (*daoxin* 道心) both of which, according to Zhu Xi, are aspects of one mind. According to Li preservation of the mind of the Way rests in one's ability to hold to the centre. When asked what holding to the centre means Li responds by defining "holding" (*zhi* 執) as "stability" (*ding* 定) and "centre" as being "upright" (*zheng* 正). If the mind exhibits the smallest fraction of bias (*pian* 偏)⁶⁶⁹ then one is in danger due to instability and precariousness (*wei* 危) a quality that the *Shujing* uses to define the essence of the human mind.⁶⁷⁰ Once again Li concludes by reaffirming this essential trait of the mind of the Way, the centre, as the Mysterious Pass and, he adds, as the pattern of the Way (*daoli* 道理). The Mysterious Pass defined in this way is then described as a key part of the inner alchemical process in the following way:

During the two [sets of] six hours (all day) you⁶⁷¹ begin the moving of the mind and the abiding of the thoughts, attending to carrying out the work. [After] an extended period the Mysterious Pass will spontaneously appear.

⁶⁶⁸ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.4a. *Xiuzhen shishu jindan da cheng ji*, 10.13a. An example of a physical account of the Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan* 玄關) can be found in the "Questions and Answers" section of the *Jindan dacheng ji* where the Mysterious Pass is described as located in the head though it adds, correctly employing this opening requires that students encounter a true teacher.

⁶⁶⁹ *Pian* 偏 literally means leaning to one side and so the play on the illustration of *zhong* 中 continues: The line through the middle should be upright (*zheng* 正) rather than leaning dangerously or precariously (*wei* 危) to one side.

⁶⁷⁰ Legge, *The Shoo King in Classics*, vol. 3, 61. The full phrase reads as follows: 人心惟危，道心惟微，惟精惟一，允執厥中。

⁶⁷¹ Here I am reading *gong* according to the account given in the *Jindan wenda* section of the *Jindan dacheng ji*, 4b. This text is found in the second of the ten books found in the *Xiuzhen shishu*, TY 262; DZ 122-131.

[5a] If you are able to see the Mysterious Pass then the medicinal substance, the phasing of the fire, “drawing out” and “supplementing”⁶⁷² and the functioning of circulation will all be arrived at. The transforming spirit shedding the womb⁶⁷³ definitely does not go out through this single opening (the Mysterious Pass).⁶⁷⁴

Here the Mysterious Pass, which has been defined in terms of the stability described in the *Zhongyong* and with reference to the human mind and the mind of the Way sets the stage, once it is seen, for the various processes common to inner alchemy literature generally. All of this occurs naturally and ultimately makes transcendence of the mundane a possibility.

The way of cultivation outlined in the *Zhonghe ji* and the *Yingchan zi yulu* locates the Mysterious Pass in an intermediary position on a vertical axis with the Supreme Ultimate occupying the top position and human activity occupying the bottom position. Recognition and preservation of the Mysterious Pass, which can be equated with holding to the centre (zhizhong 執中), makes possible a unity of the Supreme Ultimate (equated in this context with the Nature) with the individual as the point of origin for activity in the world. The *Zhonghe ji* presents this relationship in metaphorical terms comparing the individual to a marionette and the Mysterious Pass to the strings that act as a

⁶⁷² Within *neidan* texts *choutian* 抽添, translated here as “drawing out” and “supplementing,” is often glossed as drawing out the lead to supplement the mercury (抽鉛添汞). Li also does this but he adds, “When the body does not stir the *qi* is settled. [I] call this drawing out. When the mind does not stir the spirit is settled. [I] call this supplementing.” (身不動氣定謂之抽, 心不動神定謂之添) *Zhonghe ji*, 3.2a. Elsewhere Li describes “drawing out,” by employing the Buddhist-sounding language of cutting off worldly ties. Here he also describes “supplementing” as the realm of Original Nature (本性天). *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.26b.

⁶⁷³ The term *tuotai* 脫胎 occurs frequently in *neidan* texts and refers to escaping the pregnant womb, which in this context is a metaphor for the departure of the *yang* spirit from the mundane world. Li defines *tuotai* as the *yang* spirit going out from the shell. *Zhonghe ji*, 3.21b.

⁶⁷⁴ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.4b-5a.

secondary cause in activating movement.⁶⁷⁵ The puppeteer is the Supreme Ultimate, described as the formlessness of spontaneity. This metaphor unites the *Daoxue* notion of the Supreme Ultimate as Nature, ideally dictating the rhythms of human activity, with the cosmogonic perspective found in the *Daode jing* that describes what has “form” (you 有) (in this case human actions) emerging out of what “lacks any form” (wu 無), understood here to be the Supreme Ultimate as fundamental Nature (benxing 本性). The relationship between the Supreme Ultimate and the activity of the individual is presented in the *Zhonghe ji* and *Yingchan zi yulu* in terms of inner alchemy in the following way. First, Li, following a statement from the *Zhouyi* states, “The [Book of] Changes says, the changes are the Supreme Ultimate and this gives birth to the two signs.”⁶⁷⁶ The pair of signs (*liangyi* 兩儀) is described as a single *yin* and a single *yang*. On a universal scale these are correlated with the earth (di 地) and sky (tian 天). On a human scale the two signs are the body and mind. The Supreme Ultimate is the Original Spirit (yuanshen 元神) within the mind, also understood to be the Nature (xing 性). These relationships are then restated in terms specific to the generation of the Golden Elixir: “... the Supreme Ultimate is the mother of the elixir and the Two Signs are true lead and true mercury.” The standard inner alchemy disclaimer is then added that in the context of Golden Elixir training, lead and mercury should not be understood in material terms as referring, for example, to

⁶⁷⁵ *Zhonghe ji*, 3.3a.

⁶⁷⁶ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/80/9. This quotation from the “Appended Statements” of the *Zhouyi* is taken from a statement describing the settling of fortune and misfortune through the *bagua* 八卦 which is generated sequentially from the Supreme Ultimate: 易有太極，是生兩儀，兩儀生四象四象生八卦八，卦定吉凶。 This quotation and associated discussion is found in *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.1b-2a and in the *Zhonghe ji*, 3.15a-b.

liquid silver,⁶⁷⁷ vermilion sand,⁶⁷⁸ sulphur,⁶⁷⁹ or herbs. Furthermore, they are not to be mistaken for substances related to human physiology such as semen and saliva, mucus and tears, heart and reins,⁶⁸⁰ nor *qi* and blood. "Rather, they are the Original Essence (yuanjing 元精) in the body and the Original Spirit (yuanshen 元神) in the mind."⁶⁸¹

The set of relationships related to and emerging out of the Supreme Ultimate has been summarized below in the form of a diagram:

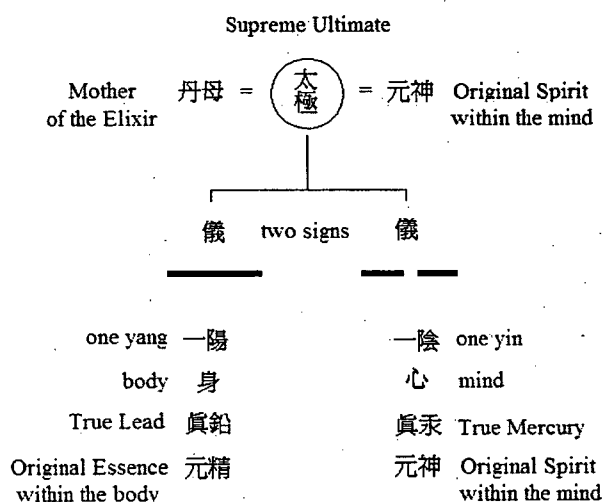


Figure 12: The Supreme Ultimate

⁶⁷⁷ Shuiyin 水銀 can refer to mercury or cinnabar (*Zhusha* 朱砂). Here, it appears to refer to the former. *Daozang danyao yiming suoyin*, 2362/277.

⁶⁷⁸ *Zhusha* 朱砂 is one of many synonyms for cinnabar. *Danyao suoyin*, 0437/50.

⁶⁷⁹ *Liuhuang* 硫黃. *Danyao suoyin*, 1514/174.

⁶⁸⁰ See footnote 266 for information on the translation of *shen* 腎.

⁶⁸¹ Neither the *Zhōnghe ji* nor the *Yingchan zi yulu* provide a clear positive account of these two terms however such an account can be found in the *Jindan sibai zi*: As for refining the essence it is the original essence [which is refined] not the [kind of] essence that is influenced by lewd and depraved [behaviour]. / As for refining the *qi* it is the original *qi* [which is refined] not the [kind of] *qi* [which is] exhaled and inhaled [through the] mouth and nose. / As for refining the spirit it is the original spirit [which is refined] not the [kind of] spirit [which is involved in] the anxious thoughts of the mind. *Jindan sibai zi*, TY 1070, DZ 741/1a.

If the adept is able to preserve stillness of mind and body then a reintegration of the Original Essence and the Original Spirit is made possible. This reintegration is described literally as a congealing (*ningjie* 凝結) of the Original Essence and the *qi* of the Original Spirit.⁶⁸² What is envisioned is a reversal so that the fragmented Supreme Ultimate is restored to its complete form as a circle equated with the Limitless (*wuji* 無極) in Zhou Dunyi's *Taiji tushuo*. This account of the process concludes with the claim that the united Essence and Spirit is the elixir (*dan* 丹) and that the elixir is finally brought to completion by drawing ○ out of the elixir. ○ is defined in this context as the True Nature (*zhenxing* 真性). Given Li's identification of the Nature with the Supreme Ultimate it would seem to follow that ○ is also the Supreme Ultimate prior to its division into *yin* and *yang*, that is, the Limitless aspect of the Supreme Ultimate (無極而太極也).

To this point a basic set of relationships has been established and reintegration has been set as the overall process to be undertaken. So far the *Daoxue* understanding of Supreme Ultimate as Nature located within the mind has been employed and Nature represented with an additional term more congenial to the language of inner alchemy, namely the Original Spirit. Reference is also made to the *Zhouyi*, and the Supreme Ultimate is recognized as the source of the Supreme Ultimate located within the mind and also, on the universal level, of Sky and Earth. Li represents the drawing out of the Supreme Ultimate from the elixir as the ultimate soteriological end toward which inner alchemical efforts are directed and there is a significant and explicit link drawn to the observations of Zhou Dunyi in this regard:

⁶⁸² *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.2a. Both the Original Spirit and the Original Essence are forms of *qi*.

This being known, what the Three Teachings esteem is tranquil stability [within]. This is what Master Zhou [Dunyi] called dwelling in tranquility. Now when a person's mind is tranquil and stable, not yet [having been] influenced by things and is imbued with the Pattern of the Natural Order, that is the wonder of the Supreme Ultimate. Once influenced by things then there is partiality, accordingly this is the transformation of the Supreme Ultimate. Indeed, when one is tranquil and stable if one is careful in what is attended to then the Pattern of the Natural Order will be constantly bright and the "Empty Numenon (spirit) will not be obscured."⁶⁸³ When moving, naturally one will have governance over the coming of all affairs and things; all are responded to. [When] the labour of tranquil stability is entirely complete (literally "cooked"), without delay one spontaneously arrives at the true return of the Limitless! [One arrives also at] the wondrous responsive illumination of the Supreme Ultimate. The Pattern of the myriad things in the heavens and on earth is entirely complete in oneself!⁶⁸⁴

The language of this passage draws on that of Zhou's *Taiji tu shuo* and casts the whole process in terms of seeing the Supreme Ultimate and realizing one's identity with it through the Pattern inherent in everything comprising the universe and existing complete within oneself. A term that may easily be overlooked is *shu* 熟, which means, "to cook," and is used here to describe completion of the return to the Limitless. This reference to cooking is significant because it inserts a basic inner alchemy metaphor drawn from operative alchemy in which substances had to be heated. Associated with heating is the phasing of the fire, which became a metaphor for the general process of careful internal monitoring undertaken by the inner alchemy adept. Thus, the reader is lead to understand this whole process described in *Daoxue* terms as another way of talking about inner alchemy cultivation.

⁶⁸³ This phrase occurs in the *Zhuzi yulei*, 14.482-483. The phrase "Empty Numenon will not be obscured" (虛靈不昧), occurs in the context of a discussion concerning the phrase "illuminate bright virtue" (明明德) found in the *Daxue*. Legge, *The Great Learning in Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, 356.

⁶⁸⁴ *Zhonghe ji*, 1b-2a.

This process of cultivation is envisioned as a union of pairs: body (*shen* 身) and mind (*xin* 心), spirit (*shen* 神) and essence (*jing* 精), lead (*qian* 鉛) and mercury (*gong* 汞). While the whole process can be viewed in terms of a binary relationship resolving itself into final reintegration, Li envisions this union of two as requiring a reunion of four held together by the centre. This set of relationships can be imagined on two axes, “North / South” and “East / West” with an intersection at the centre. Perhaps the most direct and clear description of this set of relationships is found in the description of the “Three Fives” and what Li refers to as “the fusing of the Three Fives” in a section of the *Yingchan zi yulu* titled “Illuminating Doubts Concerning the Yellow Centre”⁶⁸⁵ and in an answer to a question concerning the meaning of the Three Fives found in the *Zhonghe ji*.⁶⁸⁶ In “Illuminating Doubts Concerning the Yellow Centre” Li tries to communicate the Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth. Although it is beyond names the sages of the past have felt compelled to call it the Way.⁶⁸⁷ This Way can also be understood as the Golden Elixir. After recounting many false methods derived from failing to understand the metaphorical function of what is called the “Golden Elixir,” Li begins to recount the true procedure in conventional inner alchemy terms:

The Teacher said: As you are now attentively listening I will give a broad explanation. Well, as for the Golden Elixir, it is completed in grasping the creative transformations of Sky and Earth. Take *qian* and *kun* to be the reaction vessel;⁶⁸⁸ take the sun and moon to be the water and fire; take *yin* and *yang* to be the workings of transformation; take the raven and hare to

⁶⁸⁵ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.1a-9a. The phrase “the fusing of the three fives” (三五混融) is found on page 7a. A translation of this entire section is included in Chapter Two.

⁶⁸⁶ *Zhonghe ji*, 3.7a-b.

⁶⁸⁷ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.1a.

⁶⁸⁸ This line, 以乾坤為鼎器, is almost certainly taken from the first of sixty-four stanzas comprising the core of the *Wuzhen pian*, which reads: 先把乾坤為鼎器 (*Wuzhen pian*, 27.1a). For further detail on the function and meaning of *qian* and *kun* see footnote 287.

be the medicinal substance.⁶⁸⁹ Rely on the revolving of the Dipper's bowl. Depend upon the extending and shifting of the Dipper's handle.⁶⁹⁰ The gathering of the *qi* has its times and the revolving of the tally has its pattern: First the advancing fire, then the retreating tally;⁶⁹¹ the harmonious union of the four signs;⁶⁹² escorting the two forms of *qi* (*yin* and *yang*) back to the yellow road;⁶⁹³ bringing together the three natures in the primordial palace;⁶⁹⁴ reverting to the foundation; returning to the primordial, going back to the root; restoring life. [When all of this] work has been completed and the spirit prepared, the mundane is cast off and you will become an immortal. This is what is called the completion of the elixir.

Here, with reference to the "four signs" (*sixiang* 四象) the two axes are established, as is the centre. Throughout, the notion of a simple linear reversion is balanced against the counterpoint of ongoing cycles symbolized by the Dipper's handle, and the advancing fire and retreating tally. Through this set of cycles, contained within a more general trajectory of return, the ordinary world is let go and this is the completion of the Elixir.⁶⁹⁵

This entire description contains not a single obvious use of *Daoxue* terms. From this

⁶⁸⁹ According to the "Questions and Answers" section of the *Jindan dacheng ji* (*Anthology on the Great Completion of the Golden Elixir*) found in the *Xiuzhen shishu* (*Ten Books on Cultivating Perfection*) TY 262, DZ 122-131, the "golden raven in the sun" and the "jade hare in the moon" are associated with the fluid in the heart (心中之液) and the *qi* in the reins (腎中之氣). *Jindan dacheng ji*, 10.10a. Li states later in this text that the raven and hare are simply the Nature and emotions (鳥兔性情也). *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.3b.

⁶⁹⁰ *Tiangan* 天罡 is the bowl of the Dipper while *doubing* 斗柄 is the handle. The Dipper is an asterism of the Ursa Major constellation, known also as the Great Bear. The rotation of the dipper is a recurring motif in *neidan* texts. It is symbolic of cycles in general including the seasons and can also represent the continual circulation of the *qi* up the spine and down the front of the body. Needham, *Science and Civilisation*, vol. 5, 250.

⁶⁹¹ The tally (*fu* 符) refers to the two complementary phases of *qi* circulation which first advances up the spine and is referred to as advancing the fire (*jinhuo* 進火) and then the retreating tally (*tuifu* 退符).

⁶⁹² The four signs (*sixiang* 四象) are water, fire, metal and wood, four of the five phases to be reunited in the centre, which is earth, often represented by the pairing of the two celestial stems (*tiangan* 天干), *wu* 戊 and *ji* 己. In the forward to the *Jindan sibaizi* of Zhang Boduan, it is explained that the four signs are the eyes, ears, nose and tongue that must be closed off to external distraction. In this way the *hun* 魂, *po* 魄, spirit and essence can return and be stored in their proper organs allowing the intention to rest in the spleen (i.e. the centre). Once this occurs these four forms of *qi* can pay court to the centre where the intention resides.

⁶⁹³ *Huangdao* 黃道 refers to the direct route of circulation from the *huiyin* 會陰 point on the perineum up to the *niwan* 泥丸 region in the head. ZHDJ, 1180, s.v. 黃道. See also *Wuzhen pian*, 27.2a.

⁶⁹⁴ This is a quotation from the forward to the *Wuzhen pian*, 26.3a.

⁶⁹⁵ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.3a.

point Li goes on to redefine some of the terms used above and then to introduce not only *Daoxue* terms but a *Daoxue* account of the entire process.

Several terms are redescribed: the form and substance of Sky and Earth (*tiandi xingti* 天地形體) are said to be fire and water, essence and *qi*, *yin* and *yang* and more generally, body and mind. The raven and hare are recast as the Nature and emotions. The interaction of Nature and emotions stands on a human level for the cosmic interactions of Sky and Earth and the body and mind become the *materia-medica* for the whole curative process.⁶⁹⁶ The illness is fragmentation and in typical inner alchemy fashion, the mind and body alone provide the means to return to good health, properly understood as unity. Li then represents this unity in *Daoxue* terms when he explains that the movements of the Dipper's bowl are actually the Mind of the Natural Order (*tianxin* 天心). If the adept is able to bring his own mind into perfect accord with that of the Natural Order, the "inverting of *yin* and *yang* ceases in an instant."⁶⁹⁷ This agrees with the description of the elixir's completion mentioned earlier⁶⁹⁸ in which completion is equated with drawing the "O" out of the elixir where "O" is defined as True Nature (*zhenxing* 真性) and therefore the Limitless aspect of the Supreme Ultimate. Throughout this section, the place of *Daoxue* language appears dominant with inner alchemy terms considered as helpful metaphors. This view of inner alchemy terminology as metaphor is nothing new but what is significant is the move to present positive descriptions in *Daoxue* terms rather than simply permitting the negative assertion that language is only symbolic of a higher,

⁶⁹⁶ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.3b.

⁶⁹⁷ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.3b. "Inversion" can often carry a positive connotation in inner alchemy texts but here inversion of *yin* and *yang* (顛倒陰陽) appears to represent a failure to accord with the Natural Order and instead to follow the counter flow of worldly affairs.

⁶⁹⁸ See page 108.

inexpressible meaning. Li and his disciples appear ready to embrace *Daoxue* language as a means for making positive (though certainly abstract) assertions about what is fundamentally formless. Returning to the notion that the body and mind are what all of this metaphorical talk is really about Li explains again that stillness is the principal means for cultivation. While he often speaks of stillness with reference to the “centre and harmony” of the *Zhongyong*, here Li employs language more reminiscent of alchemy when he states,

Congeal the harmony of the ears; contain the brightness of the eyes; seal up the *qi* of the tongue; harmonize the breath of the nose. [When these] “Four Greats” do not move then essence, spirit, the *hun* souls and *po* souls and the intention (in the centre) all rest in their places. This is called the five *qi* paying court to the origin.⁶⁹⁹

By closing the body to external disturbances, the *qi* of the five phases come to rest in their proper locations. The “Four Greats” are then correlated with the four animals occupying the four cardinal directions in the diagram below (snake, tortoise, dragon, and tiger). At this point Li introduces the “Three Fives” also referred to as the “Three Households.” He borrows this is schema directly from the *Wuzhen pian*.⁷⁰⁰ The various correlations and relationships referred to in the three fives set of correspondences have

⁶⁹⁹ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.6b-7a. This appears to be a quotation, though in slightly different order, from the forward to the *Jindan sibaizi* traditionally attributed to Zhang Boduan. The text of the *Jindan sibaizi* goes on to explain the results of this state of meditative stillness. It provides a useful elucidation of the quotation found in Li Daochun’s text: “The eyes not seeing locates the *hun* souls in the liver; the ears not hearing locates the essence in the kidneys; the tongue making no sound locates the spirit in the heart-mind; the nose sensing no fragrance locates the *po* souls in the lungs; the lack of movement in the four limbs locates intention in the spleen.” All of this is described as “the five *qi* paying court to the origin” which is repeated in Li’s text. So this meditative exercise, in which all of the senses are muted or stopped, is a method for retaining various forms of *qi* in their proper bodily locations. The result is the establishment of the necessary foundation for transforming *jing* into *qi*, *qi* into spirit and spirit back to emptiness or the Way. *Jindan sibaizi*, 1a.

⁷⁰⁰ *Wuzhen pian*, 26.29a-30a. Li credits Zhang Boduan with the “Three Fives” in the *Zhonghe ji*, 2.8a.

been summarized in the diagram below, which it is hoped will orient the reader to the discussion that follows.

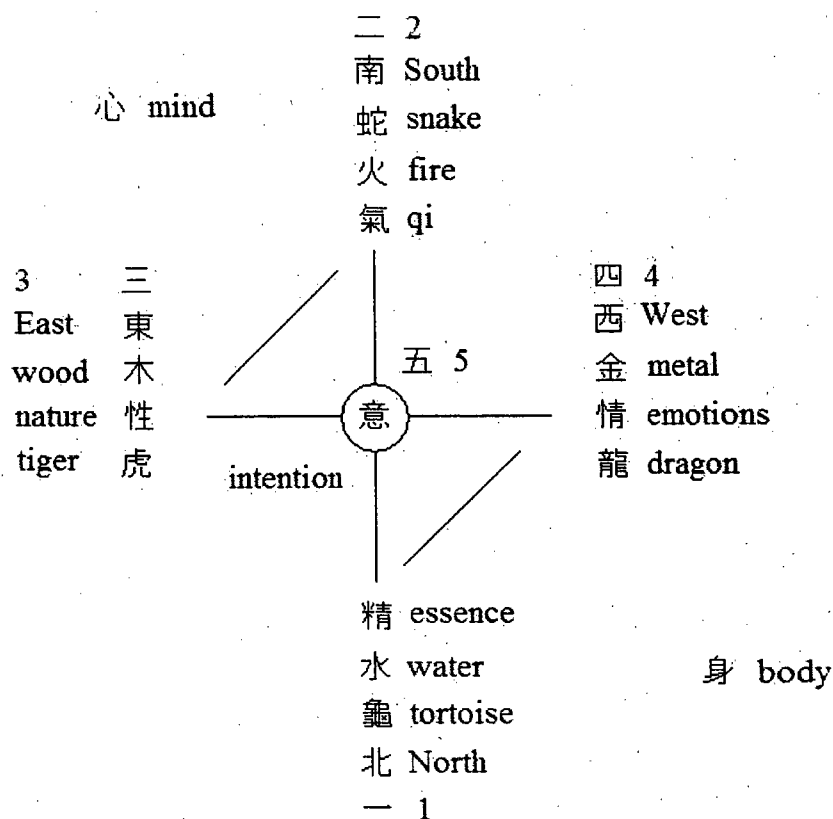


Figure 13: The Three Fives of "Households"

Each of the cardinal directions is assigned a number so that South-two and East-three constitute one "household" (*jia* 家) of five. The interaction of this household has a direct bearing on the mind. The second household of five is completed through the sum of North-one and West-four and this household is directly related to the body. The third of the households is the centre, which alone constitutes the third five.⁷⁰¹ The diagonal lines

⁷⁰¹ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.7a.

represent a dynamic tension between the elements constituting each household. Any disturbance or weakening of the *qi* disrupts one's Nature. In the west the emotions are linked to the essence and so the stability of the emotions relies on accumulating and maintaining a reserve of essence. Both of these lines of tension and mutual dependency affirm a connection between the well being of the body and one's state of mind. It would be a mistake to understand these lines of tension as a variant on a simple mind-body duality. They are mutually implicated and ultimately inseparable. Li holds that the relationship between essence and the emotions is integral to the body whereas that between the Nature and *qi* is integral to the mind but in order for the reunion along the horizontal and vertical axes to take place between the emotions and Nature, and the *qi* and essence the two diagonal sets (households) must be in a mutually supportive state. Thus, the diagonal pairs divided into mind and body are dependent on the horizontal pairs that blend one element from each. Finally, none of the four elements is unambiguously associated with either the mind or the body. It is this fact that opens a space for Li to employ *Daoxue* language in his description of this cultivation process.

Excessive desires weaken or deplete one's store of essence and compromise the harmonious functioning of the emotions. One must minimize desires so that essence can be preserved and accumulated in order to make possible the natural harmonizing of the emotions. This link represented by the diagonal line on the above diagram makes possible the union of Nature and emotions: "Using the Nature to take hold of the emotions is called equalizing metal and wood."⁷⁰²

⁷⁰² *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.7a.

The hard and unyielding cause anger and desire while the soft and yielding are said to correct anger and block desires. If anger and desires arise then flames are made to rise and the moisture to sink. [This] is fire and water in opposition. If anger and desire are cut off then *Yang* descends and *Yin* ascends, which is fire and water supporting [each other]. Why have further doubts?⁷⁰³

With the essence gathered and preserved and the emotions and Nature joined along the horizontal axis, the *qi* equated with the qualities of fire no longer flares up to scorch, weaken, and disrupt but descends toward the centre. The essence associated with water being plentiful and stable due to the diminished desires begins to rise rather than to sinking and leaking out. As a result, union is achieved along the vertical axis between the *qi* and essence: "Using essence to manage the *qi* is called the interaction of fire and water."⁷⁰⁴ This connection between emotions, desires and the essence and *qi* is made explicit in the following passage:

The hard and unyielding cause anger and desire while the soft and yielding are said to correct anger and block desires. If anger and desires arise then flames are made to rise and the moisture to sink. [This] is fire and water in opposition. If anger and desire are cut off then *Yang* descends and *Yin* ascends, which is fire and water supporting [each other]. Why have further doubts?⁷⁰⁵

When all four directions are restored to unity the "child" is completed, also referred to by Li as the fusing of the "Three Fives." In this state of unity and stability, continuous passage through the "Three Passes" is ensured. The Passes are equated with three stages of transformation rather than points on or in the body: transformation of *qi* by the essence;

⁷⁰³ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.3b-4a.

⁷⁰⁴ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.7a.

⁷⁰⁵ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.3b-4a.

transformation of spirit by the *qi* and transformation of spirit so that it returns to emptiness equated with the Limitless aspect of the Supreme Ultimate.⁷⁰⁶

Stillness of the body and mind provide the foundation for achieving the reunion envisaged above and expressed primarily in inner alchemy terms. *Daoxue* assumptions about the need to decrease desires and stabilize the emotions contribute to Li's method of reintegration. Fewer desires means the essence is retained which gives one the stability to settle the emotions. With the emotions in harmony they can rejoin the Nature. This is a state that reproduces the centre described in the *Zhongyong* and is symbolized in the form of the *fu* 復 hexagram. *Daoxue* language not only facilitates cultivation expressed in inner alchemy terms but also helps conceptualize the outcome:

If you do not extend your knowledge then you will be unable to investigate things (*gewu* 格物). If you are unable to investigate things then you will go along with the transforming and shifting of things. How could nature and life be established if indeed it is the case that "transformative motions do not stand still but flow through the six voids?"⁷⁰⁷ Sky and earth are united in me; "the myriad things are complete within me."⁷⁰⁸ Arriving at [the hexagram] *fu* 復 (return), one sees the mind of the Natural Order (*tianxin* 天心). The myriad [things] that there are, return to unified nothing and then creation and transformation cease!⁷⁰⁹

Here the inner alchemy ideal of stepping out of the flow of worldly affairs and concerns is tied to one's ability to investigate things so that knowledge of the Pattern within and, therefore, the mind of the Natural Order can be extended. The *Daoxue* realization that the Pattern of all things is within is then coupled to the final transcending of all--

⁷⁰⁶ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.7a.

⁷⁰⁷ *Zhouyi suoyin*, 66/84/12. The term 'six voids' (*liuxu* 六虛) refers to the six lines of the hexagrams through which the nature of change is evident to those who know how to read them.

⁷⁰⁸ This is a quotation from the *Mengzi*. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, 450-451.

⁷⁰⁹ *Zhonghe ji*, 6.23b-24a.

transformation through return to the formless equated with the centre or inner equilibrium.⁷¹⁰

4.5 Conclusion

During Li Daochun's lifetime the *Daoxue* movement had firmly established its own orthodox line of transmission and body of "doctrine" largely identifiable with the monumental work of synthesis achieved by Zhu Xi and firmly established through the mid to late thirteenth century. The content of Li's verses on the *Ru* make it obvious that for him and his disciples it was this *Daoxue* orthodoxy that they identified with the term *Ru*. The verses demonstrate a high degree of familiarity with *Daoxue* terminology and the nuances of its use. Repeated references to the *Zhongyong*, *Daxue*, and *Mencius* in addition to the *Zhouyi* also demonstrate an understanding and appreciation of these texts as the source to which *Daoxue* teachers looked for justification of their innovations. It is obvious that Li looks to the "Ru Teaching" to help justify his message of a "Teaching" beyond the "Three Teachings" by exploiting the theme of stillness and its corollaries of unbiased and therefore upright conduct. Here his message is also bolstered by references to the Limitless and the Supreme Ultimate, which are understood to be above form and thus beyond conventional comprehension. Through references to the *Taiji tushuo* Li is also able to emphasize the progenitive function of the Limitless as Supreme Ultimate and to draw parallels with the *fu* hexagram discussed in the *Jinsi lu* as a metaphorical representation of the perfectly tranquil state logically antecedent to the harmonious expression of emotions occasioned by the stimulus of worldly affairs. This notion of

⁷¹⁰ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.9b.

specific responses to affairs emerging out of stillness resonates powerfully with the cosmogonic generative function of the Way as the nameless mother of the myriad things. These associations need not have been made explicit to have had an impact on the educated reader. The organic coalescing of these insights helps generate a powerful sense of continuity between apparently divergent streams of teaching. References to the classics of *Ru* tradition focus on a state of internal tranquillity that parallels the cosmogony of Zhou Dunyi later adopted by Zhu Xi and reflected in the compelling symbol of the *fu* hexagram, that plays an important part in the discourse of inner alchemy cultivation.

As with the Buddhist teachings incorporated into his message Li is no passive imitator. It is difficult to find passages that reflect any abiding concern with issues of morality in the *Zhonghe ji* or the *Yingchan zi yulu*. References are certainly made to humanity (*ren* 仁), conduct (*xing* 行), uprightness (*zheng* 正), and even to propriety (*li* 禮) but such references are infrequent and do not show evidence of larger societal concerns. Humanity is referred to only twice in the material translated in Chapter Two and there it states simply that “Virtue manifests it [self] in humanity”⁷¹¹ and that one should not stray from humanity. Conduct is discussed only twice: The first example is found in the sixth of the *Ru* verses in connection with attaining “subtle powers of creation.”⁷¹² The second example links personal conduct directed to the needs of others to the Buddhist ideal of universal liberation.⁷¹³ Examples of references to upright conduct are included in a comment on the “virtues” of the *qian* 乾 and *zhun* 屯 hexagrams;⁷¹⁴ uprightness also figures in commentaries on sections fifty-seven and sixty of the *Daode jing* where

⁷¹¹ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.14a.

⁷¹² *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.10b.

⁷¹³ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.2b.

⁷¹⁴ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1.12a.

uprightness is used to govern the kingdom and ward of the harmful powers of spirits.⁷¹⁵

The single reference to propriety occurs in a comment by the disciple Dingan on section seventy-nine of the *Daode jing* where the reconciliation of enemies is discussed. Li does believe that the accruing of spiritual merit is beneficial to the adept but this appears to be construed in general Buddhist moral terms rather than in specifically Confucian terms. None of the material translated here shows any concern for the socially oriented dimension of Ru teaching. Naturally this need not rule out an assumption by Li and his group of students that their approach to cultivation might naturally yield a positive outcome in this regard. Clearly though, this is not a focal point.

On the matter of Li's conditional appropriation of the Ru teaching a final point is worthy of note. Much is made of Li's adoption of and comments on the *Taiji tushuo* of Zhou Dunyi. Certainly the Supreme Ultimate figures prominently in his teaching however Li does not accept the diagram as Zhou Dunyi presents it. Li reproduces the opening nineteen characters of Zhou's text exactly but then begins paraphrasing and finally diverges completely from the framework set out by Zhou. The basic outline for the sequence outlined by Zhou is included in the *Zhouyi* but Zhou departs from that sequence. The *Zhouyi* commences with the Supreme Ultimate, which divides into the two emblems (*liangyi* 兩儀) and they, in turn, generate the four signs (*sixiang* 四象). The four signs then produce the eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦) that settle fortune and misfortune.⁷¹⁶ Zhou's text moves from the two emblems (*liangyi* 兩儀) to the five phases (*wuxing* 五行). Zhou then moves on to the union of the essence of *yin* and *yang* and the five phases. Following this *qian* and *kun*, as male and female, copulate and produce the myriad things

⁷¹⁵ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 2.10a, 10b.

⁷¹⁶ The paraphrasing of this sequence is based on the description found in the *Zhouyi suoyin*, 65/80/9.

of the world. Li, on the other hand, appears to be restoring the sequence to its original form as it is found in the *Zhouyi*. He then goes on to append comments on what he calls the higher “○” and the lower “○.” The higher “○” seems to refer to the Limitless as prior to form (*ti* 體), while the lower “○” appears to refer to the transformations embodied in the alternations of *yin* and *yang* embraced by the Supreme Ultimate. Presumably based on Zhou’s assertion that the Limitless and the Supreme Ultimate are ultimately one Li adds:

The higher ○ is the beginning of the *qi*’s transformation. The lower ○ is the mother of the bodily transformation. If one understands the transformation of *qi* but does not understand bodily transformation then one will be unable to reach the limit of the expansive. If one understands bodily transformation but does not understand *qi* transformation then one cannot exhaust the essential and profound.⁷¹⁷

Li has completely transformed the *Taiji tushuo* by returning to the version found in the *Zhouyi* and has gone further still by adding his own insight that the duality of the Limitless and the Supreme Ultimate, which ultimately resolves into a unity, illustrates the need for dual cultivation of the body and mind. In a move reminiscent of Zhang Zai’s teachings Li appears to be equating the highest formless level (*xing er shang* 形而上) with undifferentiated *qi* and the secondary level of form (*xing er xia* 形而下) with differentiation of the *qi*. This is, of course, a fundamental departure from Zhu Xi’s understanding, which splits the world in a very qualified way, into formless Pattern (*li* 理) and the world of form constituted by *qi*. Li certainly credits Zhou Dunyi with the insights

⁷¹⁷ *Zhonghe ji*, 4a.

contained in the *Taiji tushuo* but clearly has his own agenda. This is one further example of how Li and his followers have actively shaped the "Teachings" they employed.

Li's general approach to the *Daoxue* reinvention of morality as it had been expressed through classical tradition and represented in texts such as the *Lunyu*, *Zhongyong*, *Daxue*, and *Mengzi*, was to adopt the general metaphysical framework but to shift the focus away from morality. The *Daoxue* project can be viewed as an extended effort to resurrect Han dynasty correlative moral theory in such a way that the Pattern of the cosmos itself took on normative value. Individual human agents as subsets of the larger world were described as coextensive with that pervasive normative dimension. The unity of the individual's Nature with the Pattern of all that is, implied that recognition of that unity was all that stood between the individual and perfect moral conduct. Li and his followers appropriated the theme of unity between human beings and the larger world. This put the Ru language game at their disposal and permitted not only the drawing of lines of continuity between teachings but broadened their vocabulary of cultivation. Human desires that, in a *Daoxue* context, obscure the moral Nature as a bright pearl is obscured in muddy water, become a destabilizing influence that weakens and depletes the essence. Emotions that must be expressed in a balanced manner so that conduct can remain upright and appropriate in the interest of preserving social harmony become the metal dragon that must be reunited with the wood tiger. Nature must embrace the emotions and fuse in order to consolidate stability and ensure the transformations described in terms of the Three Passes. In this way the unfolding out of chaos through successive stages of increasing complexity described by Zhou Dunyi but reinterpreted

and restructured by Li Daochun, can be reversed to ensure reversion to the root and the restoration of life (*ming* 命).

Chapter 5:

Concluding Remarks

5.1 Introduction

The first two parts of this concluding section will summarize the findings described in Chapters Three and Four pertaining to Li's use of Buddhist and Ru teachings including what he takes those teachings to be and how he puts them to use in the context of his own teaching. The final section will provide a discussion of how Li conceives of his own place in relation to the Three Teachings. Does he understand his own teaching as a variation of the Golden Elixir method of cultivation in such a way that the content of his way of cultivation falls within the categories of the Three Teachings? Or, is it apparent that Li's self-understanding depends on a reconstructed position that places his insights outside those categories of "teachings?" Comments related to this question are scattered throughout the material presented in Chapter Two and are found in a section of the *Zhonghe ji* in which Li carefully outlines nine levels of practice culminating in an account of what he takes to be the highest level.⁷¹⁸

5.2 The "Buddhist Teaching"

The works of Li Daochun and his disciples demonstrate clearly that they possessed a highly developed understanding of Buddhist doctrine. It is also clear that their familiarity with those doctrines rested in turn upon a familiarity with a variety of

⁷¹⁸ *Zhonghe ji*, 2.12b-17a.

texts. Beyond explicit references to the *Heart Sutra* and the *Diamond Sutra* the specific terminology employed points to texts and teachers that were foundational to Huayan, Tiantai, Yogācāra, and Chan Buddhism. Doctrines from these various sources are used with great facility reflecting not an adoption of Buddhist language for its mere emblematic function but for its power both as a means of strategic and rhetorical legitimation of Li's core message and as a potent epistemological critique.

The former function is served primarily through Li's appropriation of Chan pedagogy in the vein of Linji Chan (Rinzai) and demonstrated in Li's dialogic performance as the enlightened teacher operating outside the bounds of conventional teachings in just the same way that Chan teachers had done before him. By constructing a liminal position from which to present his Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth he could claim to be stepping beyond the three thousand six hundred teachings and teachings described on paper. Li too presented a *jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳, a transmission that was outside the mainstream and by implication, above it. This position beyond the bounds of "Teachings," relying as it does on the "performance" of teaching with its throwing away of scripture, shouting, and threats of violence rests in turn upon a suspicion of language. Li effectively harnesses this suspicion in his own teaching practices and in so doing exploits a line of continuity between his Chan pedagogical tactics and what Russell Kirkland has called Classical Taoist tradition.⁷¹⁹ Indeed the very subject of Li's lively discussions with his disciples in the second *juan* of the *Yingchan zhiyulu* underscores this link; the *Daode jing* is itself a text in which words are a hindrance to comprehending the Way. By combining Chan pedagogy with the *Daode jing* as subject

⁷¹⁹ Russell Kirkland, "The Historical Contours of Taoism in China: Thoughts on Issues of Classification and Terminology," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 25 (Fall 1997): 66.

Li conveys a powerful message of continuity between these “two teachings” to his disciples and readers. The force of the message is perhaps more potent precisely because it is not made explicit but rather shapes the very form of the discussion.

Li’s choice of pedagogy and his frequent focus on the critique of language imply and complement the epistemological critique undertaken in various sections of the translated material. His critique takes aim at the construct of self and that in turn depends upon a deconstruction of time. In terms close to those found in Mādhyamaka discourse Li strips permanence away from the concept of self, making the point that if time is not present as an absolute medium and self is something that, according to the constraints of logic, must persist over time then it follows that self cannot be. This style of argument is employed more broadly to help liberate disciples from their clinging to all forms of rigid conceptualizing. In the Buddhist verses the reader is told to abandon not only the notions of *you* 有 (“being” or “existence”) and *wu* 無 and (“non-being” or “non-existence”) but of *kong* 空 (emptiness). Once again Li achieves two ends: he exploits a classic Mādhyamaka argument, closely related to the kind of dialectical argument linked to Nagārjuna, for the purpose of freeing the mind of those who would engage in meditative practice. In so doing he also succeeds in identifying his own teaching with the ideal of no-position. All views must be refuted and this refutation amounts to an exposition on the right view without having to declare or describe it in positive terms as a particular position or, for the present purposes, as a specific teaching. The whole point is that all perspectives are relative and contingent. All view taking should be abandoned for pure refutation right up to the point of silence. This silence is conducive both to meditation practice and supportive of Li’s rhetorical position as transmitter, mind to mind, of the

Peerless Way of Orthodox Truth. Ultimately, though, Li and his disciples direct this epistemological critique to their own program of cultivating the three primary forms of *qi* in order to produce the Golden Elixir. Freeing the mind from its conceptual constraints appears to be perceived by them a means to further the inner alchemical process more than as an end in itself.

5.3 The “Ru Teaching”

As Wing-tsit Chan has observed the teachings of the Ru during the Yuan period are principally the teachings of Zhu Xi.⁷²⁰ If Chan’s estimation is accurate it should come as little surprise that Li Daochun focuses on the vocabulary and “lineage” of teachers that comprised Zhu’s newly constituted Ru orthodoxy. The terminology referred to by Li indicates that he assumed the views of the Cheng brothers, and Zhu Xi represented the Ru teaching. These references are supplemented by his use of the *Taiji tushuo* of Zhou Dunyi, to which Zhu Xi also referred. Frequent references to the *Zhouyi*, and *Zhongyong* and *Daxue* from the *Liji* 禮記 (*Book of Rites*) as well as to the *Lunyu* and the *Mencius* imply that Li accepted Zhu Xi’s notion of a lineage supporting the thread of the Way that linked thinkers in the Song to the sages of antiquity. Li and his disciples display a ready willingness to employ the basic conceptual framework associated with this particular brand of Ru thought though they show no obvious signs of interest in the project of cultural restoration so important to Zhu Xi and other members of his “lineage.” Certainly Zhu Xi’s historical circumstances gave him plenty of justification for his sense of cultural

⁷²⁰ Wing Tsit-chun, “Chu Hsi and Yuan Neo-Confucianism” in *Yuan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, eds. Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 197.

insecurity. One could argue though that Li Daochun had even more reason to feel insecure. He lived at a time when his homeland was not simply under threat as it was in the late twelfth century; by Li's time that tension had been broken and replaced with full occupation by a powerful cultural minority that had not been sinicized to any significant degree and for practical reasons chose to bring in Tibetan Buddhists and Muslims as well as Europeans to take charge of sensitive government functions. Despite these facts the texts of Li and his disciples indicate that his use of Ru thought was limited to their terminology and assumptions about cultivation rather than adopting the associated "nationalist" *Daoxue* ideology. Not only is the ideology absent but also there is very little direct discussion of moral matters. The ideal of the sage as one who acts in a perfectly balanced and thus, moral way after a lifetime of rigorous cultivation based on unrelenting self-examination and rectification is not mentioned. Instead, speculations on re-establishing a link with the great Pattern of the world, understood both as the Supreme Ultimate and the individual's inner Nature, are placed squarely in the foreground. Li appears to perceive a continuity between the Ru message of discovering the Pattern in which human behaviour is embedded and the inner alchemists Way to which he or she hopes to return. Return is an important theme for Li and his companions and they see the Ru yearning to operate in harmony with the universal Pattern as commensurate with their own soteriology of return to the Way. This means that Li can accept and employ the Ru language but it also means that he must fundamentally restructure its trajectory. Thus, in the *Zhonghe ji* Li must rewrite the *Taiji tushuo* so that it reflects the ideal of return rather than a synchronic description of how the universe hangs together. He is not so much

interested in how the universe unfolds but in how it can be reintegrated. Clearly, that universe is understood as the universe within as much as the universe without.

Li's willingness to be identified with the Ru language could not be more forcefully and publicly represented. He takes two of the most important characters from the *Zhongyong*: *zhong* 中 (centre) and *he* 和 (harmony) as the signboard for his dwelling; the terms also constitute the title of an entire anthology of teachings. Of course Li goes well beyond the significance of those terms as it is found in the *Zhongyong*, applying a "substance / function" analysis informed by language from the *Zhouyi* and equating them with the inner alchemy understanding of the hexagram *fu* 復 (return) that he then links to the theme of return as it is found in the *Daode jing*. The "Centre" (substance) becomes the internal stillness represented by the five *yin* lines of the hexagram while "harmony" (the function) is the first stirrings of motion out of the state of perfect equilibrium. While for Zhu Xi this metaphorical moment of movement symbolized by *fu* describes the sage's perfectly balanced and impartial response to life's shifting circumstances, for Li it also represents the moment of internal stability prerequisite for the stirring of the *qi* within the adept's body. As an inner alchemist Li does not see this employment of Ru terms simply as another way of envisioning and applying a method for circulating *qi*. The *qi* circulates as part of a larger program of cultivation culminating in a return to the Way that can be understood also as a return to the Supreme Ultimate as the Limitless. Li draws out these implications of inner equilibrium (*zhong* 中) in plain terms through his explicit identification of the "centre" or "equilibrium" with the Mysterious Pass (*Xuanguan* 玄關). The centre is the Mysterious Pass and it is opened through the cultivation of inner equilibrium, which for Li is both still and formless. By being in a state that actually is the

Mysterious Pass a conduit opens so that control of one's actions can be assumed by the Supreme Ultimate or the Limitless; in *Daoxue* terms this is equivalent to surrendering self-control to one's Fundamental Nature (*benxing* 本性). One is in perfect accord with the Way. In viewing the Mysterious Pass this way Li has discounted the possibility that it is simply a point on or region of the body. In doing so he has distanced himself from more obviously physical practices and has cleared the way for tighter integration of Ru, Buddhist and inner alchemy terminology within his own teaching framework.

5.4 Li Daochun's View of His Own Teaching

In a section of the *Zhonghe ji* titled "Names and Words Beyond the Three Teachings" (教外名言) Li states that the Three Teachings are only mind.⁷²¹ In the foreword to the *Yingchan zi yulu* Li's disciple Heian Guangchan zi notes that his teacher swept away the explanations of the Three Teachings recorded on paper in order to bring his disciples to the point of comprehending the formless.⁷²² The closing statement of "Names and Words Beyond the Three Teachings" reads in part,

Even so there is a matter yet higher in this teaching (*dao* 道). What is it that [I] call the higher matter? Ah! Turn [everything] upside-down without words; smash to pieces the emptiness of great vacuity and then [you] will comprehend the matter.⁷²³

⁷²¹ *Zhonghe ji*, 6.24a.

⁷²² *Yingchan zi yulu*, 1a.

⁷²³ *Zhonghe ji*, 6.26b.

Li goes to great lengths to convey to his students the realization that what he has to teach is utterly formless and ultimately indescribable. As such his own teaching cannot be confined within the discourse of any of the Three Teachings. Li goes so far as to assert a name for his own teaching, which in the strictest sense he does not claim as his own. Li is continuing the transmission of a way that has been passed down by sages from the remote past who also understood that the Three Teachings were conveying an ultimately formless way. The teaching he is transmitting to his own generation of students is the “Wondrous Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth” (Wushang zhengzhen zhi miao dao 無上正真之妙道). Li appears to view this Wondrous Way as simultaneously existing within and yet beyond each of the Three Teachings. Thus, for example, he focuses on the “centre” of the *Zhongyong* and explains it in terms of formlessness, establishing its commonality with the “Buddhist” and “Taoist” teachings. Harmonizing the emotions becomes a focal point for emphasising a return to stillness (also understood in terms of the formless) in a way that provides fertile ground for an acknowledgment of the “Buddhist” teaching that one must lessen desires so that delusion can be avoided and one can awaken to one’s true Nature. Of course it is Li’s own creative conceptual synthesis that is the Wondrous Way and as such it seems clear that his many references to specific texts and teachers representative of the Three Teachings yield a position outside any of them.

The difficulty with such a conclusion is that one must contend with Li’s own opinion that what he is teaching is the Way of the Golden Elixir:

The Teacher said: as for the Way of Peerless Orthodox Truth, it is above the peerless; a mystery upon mystery; able to appear with no appearance; spontaneously so, it is known as the extreme limit; the most profound. The sages, compelled to give it a name, call it the Way. The ancient ascended

immortals all proceeded from this position to completely comprehend (the Way). There have never been any who, failing to proceed from this, yet still achieved the fulfillment of [this Way]. Sages and teachers repeatedly explained it over successive generations; it is what they transmit to every mind and what is received is the meaning of the Golden Elixir. That is, the Wondrous Way of the Peerless Orthodox Truth.⁷²⁴

The question now becomes, what does Li understand by the term Golden Elixir?

Fortunately, an answer to that question is provide in a classification system in which various approaches to cultivating the elixir are described according to three levels. The first is a nine-fold system that proceeds from the lowest “vehicle” (*cheng* 乘) through the middle level to the highest vehicle. As is to be expected from an inner alchemist, the lower three grades are reserved for sexual practices and the formulation and ingestion of various substances.⁷²⁵ The middle level is comprised of practices that in some instances are reminiscent of early Complete Reality (*Quanzhen* 全真) practices such as regulating the diet through fasting or avoiding food with strong flavours or undergoing ascetic practices. Others include absorbing the radiance of the sun, moon, and stars. The highest of this middle group also include transmitting teachings related to observing the “five precepts” (*wujie* 五戒) against killing, stealing, adultery, false speech, and drinking wine as well as the “three refuges” (*Sangui* 三歸) of the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.⁷²⁶ The highest level of the nine grades of practice refer to practices that fall generally under exercises associated with “nourishing life” (*yangming* 養生) and include meditative

⁷²⁴ *Yingchan zi yulu*, 6.1a-b.

⁷²⁵ *Zhonghe ji*, 2.13a-b.

⁷²⁶ *Zhonghe ji*, 2.14a-b.

practices related to control of the breathing and circulation of *qi*, and more obviously physical exercises including massage and postures.⁷²⁷

Beyond these nine levels a second level of “gradual methods” (*jianfa* 漸法) is divided into three subsections of lower, middle and upper. Here various sets of metaphorical correlations are outlined. The metaphors are drawn from operative alchemy and the different meanings associated with each of the symbols are described. Some examples will serve to illustrate the content of this critique. The lower of the gradual methods “takes the body and mind to be the reaction vessel and stove; the essence (*jing* 精) and *qi* to be the medicinal substance; the heart and reins to be the fire and water.”⁷²⁸ The middle method considers “*qian* and *kun* to be reaction vessel; *kan* and *li* to be water and fire; and the raven and hare to be the medicinal substance; essence, spirit (*shen* 神), the *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄 souls, and intention are the five phases; body and mind are the dragon and tiger.”⁷²⁹ In the highest of the gradual methods “Sky and earth are the reaction vessel and stove; the sun and moon are the water and fire (this is probably an error in the text, which should read “fire and water”); *yin* and *yang* are the moving power of transformation; lead, mercury, silver, cinnabar, and earth are the five phases; nature and emotions are the dragon and tiger.”⁷³⁰

Li’s method of ranking entails a critique of all the other approaches to cultivation. At the highest level the critique it is not only directed at the practices involved but the way in which Golden Elixir language is employed. Li proposes a set of metaphorical correlates that he believes more fully describe and inform inner alchemical cultivation:

⁷²⁷ *Zhonghe ji*, 2.14b-15a.

⁷²⁸ *Zhonghe ji*, 2.15b.

⁷²⁹ *Zhonghe ji*, 2.16a.

⁷³⁰ *Zhonghe ji*, 2.16a-b.

Now the highest unified vehicle, the wondrous way of peerless supreme
 truth takes extreme emptiness as the reaction vessel;
 the Supreme Ultimate as the stove;
 clarity and stillness as the foundation of the elixir;
 non-purposive action (*wuwei* 無爲) as the mother of the elixir;
 Nature and life as lead and mercury;
 meditative concentration and wisdom as water and fire;
 stopping desires and restraining anger as the interaction of fire and water;
 the unifying of Nature and emotions as the uniting of metal and wood;
 washing the mind and cleansing anxieties as bathing;
 preserving integrity (*cheng* 誠) and
 settling the intention as the completion of stability;
 discipline, meditative concentration, and wisdom as the three essentials;
 the centre as the Mysterious Pass;
 the enlightened mind as fulfillment;
 seeing one's Nature as the congealing of the three primes;
 merging into unity as the sacred foetus;
 Nature and life completed as one as completion of the elixir;
 the body beyond the body as shedding of the womb;
 breaking through emptiness as the achievement.

The wonder of this highest unified vehicle, the best scholars are able to put
 it into practice. With this accomplishment fulfilled virtue intensifies. You
 will immediately leap beyond completely and suddenly; form and spirit
 together are wondrous. Together with the Way you are united with the
 real.⁷³¹

This description reduces all of the major inner alchemical terminology to a level of
 abstraction not apparent in the other levels of practice described above. This description
 incorporates several of the terms central to Li's project of integrating key concepts from
 the Ru and Buddhist teachings, as he understands them. He reaffirms the place of the
 Supreme Ultimate, the restraint of desires and anger, and the importance of the centre
 identified with the Mysterious Pass. The "three essentials" (*sanyao* 三要) are rendered in
 Buddhist terms as discipline, meditative concentration, and wisdom (*śīla*, *samādhi*, and
prajñā) and seeing one's Nature (*jianxing* 見性) contributes to unification.

⁷³¹ *Zhonghe ji*, 2.16b-17a.

What Li offers here is a re-description of Golden Elixir cultivation that accomplishes two objectives: First, it makes it possible for Li and his disciples to identify themselves as adepts following the way of the Golden Elixir and secondly it restates all of the key inner alchemy terms in a way that effectively permits them to claim a position outside the Three Teachings for their particular path of training.

5.5 Future Research

Observations concerning the link between inner alchemy and Buddhist and "Confucian" ideas about cultivation are encountered frequently. The purpose of the present undertaking has been to put some flesh on that bare-bones assertion. In order to accomplish this it has been necessary to look closely at many specific terms used in a selection of primary material associated with a single teacher. cursory readings of this type of material are insufficient for taking careful stock of specific terms employed and locating them in sources prior to or contemporary with the compilers of the texts under examination. The very nature of this kind of investigation is time consuming and narrow in focus. It is hoped that the shortcomings of a narrow view will be compensated for in some measure by the possibility that exposing very specific lines of influence may open new avenues for research.

An obvious and broader historical question that needs to be addressed is how the textual corpus of Bai Yuchan might be related to the ideas expressed in the works of Li Daochun and his followers. Does the work of Li and his disciples represent an evolution beyond that of Bai and his circle or merely a restatement of their position in relation to

the Three Teachings? It is often asserted that Li is a second-generation student of Bai but what are the specific textual grounds for this claim? What is the nature of the historical link between these two teachers?

Resolution of another problem would be helpful in filling out the historical narrative of what Russell Kirkland has described as New Taoism; what precisely is the relationship between Complete Reality Taoism and the teachings associated with Li Daochun, who is often described as a Complete Reality Taoist. In the material presented here and in the remainder of the texts generated by Li and his disciples there is no clear evidence of an institutional tie to Complete Reality Taoism. The term is used by Li but not in ways that justify making such a significant claim. There will no doubt be a measure of continuity between the terminologies employed by both but this comes as no surprise by the mid Yuan dynasty when China was once again united and ideas were being freely exchanged.

Finally, this study has looked at the category of the Three Teachings and has proceeded on the assumption that they do not exist outside the context of an attempt at self-definition. In the present context *Daojiao* 道教, the Teaching of the Way, only takes on meaning when understood in opposition to the other two: *Fojiao* 佛教, Teachings of the Buddhists, and *Rujiao* 儒教, Teachings of the Ru. There is no essence of identity associated unambiguously with any of the teachings. Their significance shifts with the specific efforts of individuals to claim them as a means of self-identification. Li Daochun was engaged in an effort to re-describe himself and the body of teachings that he both inherited and created. In doing so he exploited themes from texts and teachers that would not normally be considered adepts of the Golden Elixir. Recent work on the earliest texts

associated with Taoism, most notably on the *Neiye* 內業,⁷³² appears to reveal an early tradition of cultivation expressed in terms that are continuous with elements of the classical Ru tradition. The circulation of *qi* is unambiguously related to emotional states and behaviour, as it is in the *Mencius*, and tranquility and harmony of the emotions is seen as fundamental as it is in the *Zhongyong*. Poetry, music, the rites, and reverence (*jing* 敬) are all praised as ways to gain inner repose. What this material appears to indicate is that hard divisions between “teachings” have been mistaken and such mistakes can lead one down unproductive avenues of investigation as was the case over the past forty years with the late invention by academics of Taoist religion (Daojiao 道教) and Taoist philosophy (Doajia 道家). Future studies of Taoist traditions would benefit greatly from an acknowledgement that hard divisions are not to be expected because fluidity is the nature of the subject under consideration. Efforts by individuals such as Li Daochun are creative and often rhetorically charged but their efforts to cross boundaries between teachings are not just fabrications they appear to reflect in some measure, dare one say, the reality of the teachings themselves.

⁷³² Roth. *Original Tao*, 1999.

Appendix I: Twelve Hexagrams Representing the Phasing of the Fire

亥○亥●	戌○戌●	酉○酉●	申○申●	未○未●	午○午●	巳○巳●	辰○辰●	卯○卯●	寅○寅●	丑○丑●	子○子●
坤野戰上六	剝退火六五	觀六四	否六三	遁六三	姤初六	乾上九	夬九五	泰九三	臨進火九二	復初九	潛龍勿用
龍戰于野	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	飛龍在天	或躍在淵	見龍在田	見龍在田	見龍在田
黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉	黃裳元吉

Figure 14: Twelve Hexagrams and Fire Phasing

Source: Chenxu bai cuizhong zhinan, 陳虛白規中指南 TY242, DZ114, included in the Ming extra-canonical collection Daozang jinghua lu 道藏精華錄.

Appendix II: The Diagram of Letting Go and According With

Depending on how the reader's eye follows this diagram it can be rendered into verse form in at least two ways. Both of these are provided below.

Version 1

Let go and:

The body will be still.

The mind will be penetrating.

Society will be together.

Affairs will be natural.

Being so:

The body will accord with the Natural Order and its mandate will respond to people.

The mind will accord with the Natural Order and its Way will respond to things.

Society will accord with the Natural Order and its seasons will respond to transformations.

Affairs will accord with the Natural Order and its principle will respond to universal moving power.

Version 2

Let go and the body will be still.

Being so the body will accord with the Natural Order and its mandate will respond to people.

Let go and the mind will be penetrating.

Being so the mind will accord with the Natural Order and its Way will respond to things.

Let go and Society will be together.

Being so society will accord with the Natural Order and its seasons will respond to transformations.

Let go and affairs will be natural.

Being so affairs will accord with the Natural Order and its Pattern will respond to universal moving power.

Appendix III: The Diagram of Illuminating and Misleading

The illuminating mind is constantly still.

If it moves then it responds to the myriad transformations.

Although it moves its fundamental substance is constant stillness.

The misleading mind is constantly moving.

[Even] if it is still then there arise myriad thoughts.

Although it is still its fundamental substance is constant movement.

Appendix IV: Dongshan's Five Ranks

正中偏。三更初夜月明前。莫怪相逢不相識。隱隱猶懷舊日嫌。
偏中正。失曉老婆逢古鏡。分明覲面別無真。休更迷頭猶認影。
正中來。無中有路隔塵埃。但能不觸當今諱。也勝前朝斷舌才。
兼中至。兩刃交鋒不須避。好手猶如火裏蓮。宛然自有冲天志。
兼中到。不落有無誰敢和。人人盡欲出常流。折合還歸炭裏坐。

The following translation is taken from Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, India and China*, trans. James W. Heisig and Paul Knitter (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1988), 225-226.

1. The Bent within the Straight [Jpn. *shōchūhen*]

In the third watch of the night
Before the moon appears,
No wonder when we meet
There is no recognition!
Still Cherished in my heart
Is the beauty of older days.

2. The Straight within the Bent [Jpn. *henchūshō*]

The sleepy-eyed grandma
Encounters herself in an old mirror.
Clearly she sees a face,
But it doesn't resemble hers at all.
Too bad, with a muddled head,
She tries to recognize her reflection!

3. The Coming from within the Straight [Jpn. *shōchūrai*]

Within nothingness there is a path
Leading away from the dusts of the world.
Even if you observe the taboo
On the present emperor's name,
You will surpass that eloquent one of yore
Who silenced every tongue.

4. The Arrival at the Middle of the Bent [Jpn. *henchūshi*]

When two blades cross points,
There's no need to withdraw.
The master swordsman
Is like the lotus blooming in the fire.
Such a man has in and of himself
A heaven-soaring spirit.

5. Unity Attained [Jpn. *kenchūtō*]

Who dares to equal him
Who falls into neither being nor non-being!
All men want to leave
The current of ordinary life,
But he, after all, comes back
To sit among the coals and ashes.

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