THE BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF EARLY CH'ÜAN-CHEN TAOISM

By

STEPHEN EDWARD ESKILDSEN

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Department of  
The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, Canada  

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ABSTRACT

The following is an in depth analysis of the beliefs and practices of the Ch'üan-chen sect of religious Taoism during its early years (spanning roughly from 1160 to 1220 A.D.) under its founder, Wang Ch'ung-yang, and his direct disciples, Ma Tan-yang, T'an Ch'ang-chen, Liu Chang-sheng, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un, Wang Yü-yang, Hao Kuang-ning and Sun Ch'ing-ching (who are commonly referred to as the Seven Perfected). In undergoing this analysis, an attempt is made to clear up the many serious misconceptions of modern scholarship while bringing to light various vital aspects of the sect that have been largely ignored.

The essential point that is made is that contrary to the widely held notion that the Ch'üan-chen sect was a highly syncretic movement (some scholars have maintained that it was originally not actually a sect of religious Taoism) that tried to reform religious Taoism by doing away with its various "magical" and "superstitious" elements (physiological techniques for long life, belief in miracles performed by Taoist holy men, Taoist rituals, exorcistic healing etc.), the Ch'üan-chen sect primarily emphasized various beliefs and practices that were unique to the Taoist religion, including those that have tended to be considered "magical" or "superstitious". While it is acknowledged that the Ch'üan-chen sect was indeed highly syncretic in spirit and that its central doctrines (such as the definition of "Immortal-hood" and the methods of "Perfection Cultivation" which are undergone in order to attain it) had come to differ considerably from those of religious Taoism in its earliest years, it is pointed out that these changes had all taken place within religious Taoism prior to the Ch'üan-chen sect and were the result of a long, evolutionary process that had been going on for centuries. Out of discretion for the lack of thorough knowledge concerning the various religious Taoist movements that preceeded the Ch'üan-chen sect, no definite statement is made concerning what the unique contribution of the Ch'üan-chen sect...
towards the doctrinal development of religious Taoism may have been. However, the suggestion is made that the sect may have emphasized the importance of intense ascetic training more than any preceding religious Taoist movement.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCC- Ch’ung-yang Ch’uan-chen Chi 重陽全真集
CHL- Hsuan-feng Ch’ing-hui Lu 玄風慶會錄
CLC- Chin-lien Cheng-tsung Chi 金蓮正宗記
CYC- Tung-hsuan Chin-yu Chi 洞玄全王集
HC- Chin-lien Cheng-tsung Hsien-yuan Hsiang-chuan 金蓮正宗仙源像傳
HYL- Ti-hsuan Chen-jen Hsien-i Lu 體玄真人顯異錄
KSL- Kan-shui Hsien-yuan Lu 甘水仙源錄
MTC- Ch’un-yang Ti-chün Shen-hua Miao-t’ung Chi 純陽帝君神化妙通紀
NCC- Huang-t’ing Nei-ch’ing Yü-ching 黃庭內景玉經
NP- Chi-chên Nien-p’u 七真年譜
TJC- Yuan-shih Wu-liang Tu-jen Shang-p’ien Miao-ching 元始無量度人上品妙經
TTCC- Ta-tan Chih-chih 大丹直指
TYL- Tan-yang Chen-jen Yü-lu 丹陽真人語錄
YFC- Huang-ti Yin-fu Ching 黃帝陰符經
YSC- Ch’ung-yang Chen-jen Chin-kuan Yü-suo Chueh 重陽真人金閣玉鎖譜
INTRODUCTION

(a) Opening Comments

"There was a person who questioned the Perfected Man saying, 'People are born between Heaven and Earth. Even though they can be called the most worthy they are but one of the myriad living things. Who could possibly be able to escape the numbers of yin 陰 and yang陽? Who could be able to escape from the mechanisms of creation? What has a beginning always has an end. What has birth always has death. This is the constant principle of nature. If one is not endowed with extraordinary chi 力, Immortal-hood cannot be sought. If you do not meet with pre-determined fate, the Tao cannot be studied. Must you make your body suffer and impoverish yourself? [Longing for Immortal-hood] is like binding your shadow, catching wind, notching ice, or carving rotten wood. By [trying to] do things that definitely cannot be done, you seek results that are difficult to accomplish.'

The Perfected Man sighingly lamented saying, 'The marvelous principle of long life, people share. The woods of the Immortals; who is not able to seek [them]? There are those who are lazy and do not accomplish [Immortal-hood]. They are visible and they are very numerous. There are those who are diligent and have results. They hide [themselves] and are very few in number. People regard what they see much of as believable, and regard what they do not see as doubtful. Eventually because matters of Immortal-hood are not clearly visible, they regard them as something which cannot be hoped for. Let us try to examine this with the principles of things. Metal ore which is refined can be made into iron. Bronze which undergoes projection can be made into gold. A fish jumps over [Mt.] Lü-liang and becomes a dragon. A pheasant enters the water and becomes a shen bivalve. Ice which melts easily can

1 The Chinese conceived of two basic complementary principles that make up the universe. Yin 陰 is what is dark, cold, evil, heavy, moist, female etc. Yang 陽 is what is bright, hot, good, light, dry, male etc. The questioner essentially seems to be arguing that since humans are but a part of this universe of yin and yang they have a limit to the number of days that they can exist as does everything else.

2 Solid, liquid, gaseous and formless material that things are made out of.

3 "Projection" refers to a process conceived of within both Western and Eastern laboratory alchemy in which a large amount of a certain substance is transformed (usually into gold) by bringing it into contact with a very small amount of another substance.

4 A mountain in Shansi which was formed when the legendary emperor Yu 禹 dug a large ditch in order to tame the great flood.
survive the summer if you store it. Grass which withers easily can survive the winter if it is covered. If people are able to cut off what they cherish and get rid of their covetousness, preserve the female and embrace the One, make their minds travel to serenity and combine their ch'i with empty nothingness; they will also be able to rise high, reach far, climb the scenery, ascend to vacuity, wander freely, ride and control enemy winds, go about flying, respond to the staffs of the Perfected [Men], mount a whale and travel to Ts'ao-hai, mount a phoenix and ascend the blue darkness, transform after 1000 years like the cranes of Liao-tung (southern part of Liao-ning Province), and gaze at the sunrise like the wild ducks of She District (in Honan). With those like An Ch'i-sheng and Hsien Men, and those like Hung Ya who penetratingly perceive the profound, [they will] line up with the ranks of the Immortals. It is not difficult. Those who have acquired the Tao and lightly risen [to Immortal-hood] in past and present cannot be sufficiently counted. Your saying that there is no sign [of Immortal-hood and its attainability] is like a deaf person's inability to hear the sound of bamboo chimes or a blind person's not knowing that there are colors such as bright red or blue. With such shallow insight and slight hearing, how can one speak of the Tao?\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{5}A legendary island of the Immortals.

\textsuperscript{6}Refers to An Ch'i-sheng, a famous Immortal who is said to have instructed Ch'in Shih Huang-ti (259-210 B.C.).

\textsuperscript{7}A legendary alchemist-Immortal who Ch'in Shih-huang-ti frequently sent envoys out in search of.

\textsuperscript{8}A legendary Immortal who was active during the reign of the Yellow Emperor.

\textsuperscript{9}Perhaps this word would be better translated as "impossible" in this particular context.

\textsuperscript{10}pp.1b-2a of preface to Wang Ch'ung-yang's \textit{Ch'ung-yang Ch'il'an-chen Chi}, a poetry collection found in bound volumes #793-795 in the \textit{Tao-tsang} (Taoist Canon). From here on, the volume number in which a \textit{Tao-tsang} text appears will be denoted by the customary abbreviation, TT. This preface was written by Fan Yi, a scholar (Superintendent of Schools) of Ning-hai in Shantung. Frequently mentioned within the Ch'uan-chen hagiographies and poetry collections is a Fan Ming-shih, who was an ardent Ch'uan-chen believer and a long-time friend of Ma Tan-yang. This is probably the same person as Fan Yi. "Ming-shih" seems to have been the sobriquet or the style name of Yi. For the original Chinese text see Plate 1.
The above conversation allegedly took place between Wang Ch'ung-yang 王重陽 (1112-1170)\textsuperscript{11} and a sceptic and is recorded in the preface of Ch'ung-yang Ch'\text{\u0101}an-chen Chi 重陽全真集 (from here on I will use the abbreviation, CCC to refer to this work), a collection of Wang's poems. Wang was the founder of the Ch'\text{\u0101}an-chen 金真 (Complete Perfection) sect of religious Taoism, a sect which was to enjoy immense popularity during the latter part of the Chin 金 Dynasty\textsuperscript{12} (1115-1234) and throughout the Yuan 元 Dynasty\textsuperscript{13} which followed. The sect has survived (albeit with a severely decreased following) up to this day. Whether this conversation actually took place is questionable. Yet it conveys the fundamental spirit of the Ch'uan-chen sect very well. In it we see Wang arguing in favor of a basic standpoint of faith; faith in the existence of the Immortal, the human being who has transcended the normal boundaries of mundane existence, and faith in the ability of himself and other ordinary human beings to attain Immortal status. It was the faith in this Immortal-hood\textsuperscript{14} and its attainability which formed the cornerstone of the Taoist religion. Based upon this faith were two basic kinds of religiosity which were put into practice. One was primarily that of the Taoist clergy who engaged full-time in training aimed at attaining Immortal-hood. The other was primarily that of the laity who looked towards the benevolence and guidance of the Immortals to bring them good fortune in the

\textsuperscript{11}Ch'ung-yang was his Taoist sobriquet. Throughout this paper I will be referring to the Ch'\text{\u0101}an-chen masters by their Taoist sobriquets because such is the way in which they are usually referred to in Ch'\text{\u0101}an-chen literature. Wang's personal name was Che.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{12}This was a period of foreign rule under the Jurchen people.

\textsuperscript{13}The dynasty of the Mongols which unified China in 1279 and collapsed in 1367.

\textsuperscript{14}I use the term "Immortal-hood" so as to avoid confusion with "immortality" as it is ordinarily understood. As we will be seeing, Immortal-hood, as it had come to be defined in religious Taoism, no longer literally meant for the human body to bypass death.
present life and in future lives.\textsuperscript{15} Wang Ch'ung-yang was an accomplished monk\textsuperscript{16} who was regarded by his followers as a living Immortal or a Perfected Man, as were his famous top disciples (commonly referred to as the Seven Perfected\textsuperscript{17}); Ma Tan-yang 马丹陽\textsuperscript{17}, T'an Ch'ang-chen 譚長真\textsuperscript{18}, Liu Ch'ang-sheng 劉長生\textsuperscript{19}, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un 丘長春\textsuperscript{20}, Wang Yü-yang 王玉陽\textsuperscript{21}, Hao Kuang-ning 郝廣寧\textsuperscript{22} and Sun Ch'ing-ching 孫清靜\textsuperscript{23}. As Perfected Men (and a Perfected Woman), Wang and the

\textsuperscript{15}The Buddhist concept of re-incarnation had thoroughly been incorporated into the religious Taoist world view.

\textsuperscript{16}Although Taoist clergymen are usually referred to as priests due to the fact that the role that they perform today is primarily a ritual one, I will frequently be using the term "monk" because the Ch'üan-chen clergy practiced monasticism. Taoist monasticism seems to have begun in the early 6th century and at one point came to be expected of the Taoist clergy in general. The great Henri Maspero tells us that "...certain chiefs of sects such and Sung Wen-ming 宋文明 in the first half of the sixth century, adopting the ideal of the Buddhist religious life, require their disciples to "leave the family", chu-chia 出家, and to renounce marriage. Gradually that becomes the rule for the tao-shih 道士 (Taoist clergy), so much that at the beginning of the seventh century, under the Sui, the tao-shih of the Sung-yang kuan, Li Po, will have to make a report to the emperor to remind him that it was not forbidden for tao-shih to marry and asking, for himself and other tao-shih, to marry. Celibacy had become the rule under the Tang. From that time on the tao-shih constitute a clergy entirely similar to the Buddhist clergy, a clergy of celibate men and women clearly separated from lay believers and gradually losing their influence over them through that separation." (pp.390-1 of "An Essay on Taoism in the First Centuries A.D." in Taoism and Chinese Religion translated by Frank A. Kierman)

\textsuperscript{17}Personal name Yii/鈞. (1123-1183)

\textsuperscript{18}Personal name Ch'u-tuan/處端. (1123-1185)

\textsuperscript{19}Personal name Ch'u-hsuan/處玄. (1147-1203)

\textsuperscript{20}Personal name Ch'u-chi/處機 (1143-1227)

\textsuperscript{21}Personal name Ch'u-i/處一 (1142-1217). Yü-yang was his style name rather than his Taoist sobriquet. For some reason the hagiographies and poetry collections preferred to use his style name rather than his sobriquet Chu-yang/處陽 (this peculiar character "chu" was an invention of Wang Ch'ung-yang) or San-yang/桑陽. I will occasionally be referring to him as "Yü-yang" rather than with his surname so as to not confuse him with his master.

\textsuperscript{22}Personal name Ta-t'ung 太通 . (1140-1212)

\textsuperscript{23}Personal name Pu-erh 不二 . (1119-1183) She was the wife of Ma Tan-yang before he underwent his conversion by the hands of Wang Ch'ung-yang.
Seven Perfected were extremely dynamic, both in terms of the way in which they painstakingly strove for the attainment of Immortal-hood (also referred to as "Perfection") and the way in which they enthusiastically strove to meet the demands and needs of the ordinary lay believers. In this paper, I would like to examine in detail the way in which these highly intriguing personalities taught and practiced their religion.

What is particularly interesting about the arguments made by Wang is that they strongly (and perhaps intentionally) resemble the arguments made more than 800 years earlier by the great writer on laboratory alchemy, Ko Hung, in his classic, Pao-p'u-tzu:

"If you claim that all breathing things follow one fixed norm, your thesis cannot be sustained, for the pheasant turns into a shen bi-valve, the sparrow becomes a clam, earth bugs assume wings, river frogs come to fly, oysters are changed into frogs, hsing-ling plants become maggots, field mice become quail, rotting grass turns into lightning bugs, alligators become tigers, and snakes become dragons. If you claim that man, unlike other creatures, has an undeviating nature—that the destinies bestowed by August Heaven are not subject to vicissitudes—how can you account for instances where Niu Ai became a tiger, the old woman of Ch'u a tortoise, Hunchback a willow, the girl of Ch'in a stone, the dead came back to life, males and females interchanged sex, Old P'eng enjoyed great longevity, but a baby son died prematurely? If such divergences exist, what limits can we set to them?

If a genie (Immortal) nurtures his body with medicaments and prolongs his apportionment of life with special arts, illness will not arise from within him, nor will disease strike him from without. Though he attains everlasting vision and does not die, the body which he has long had undergoes no change. There is nothing difficult about this provided one possesses the divine process. The shallow-minded, however, cling to popular beliefs and preserve the ordinary ways: They merely say that because they see no genii in their world it is not possible that such things exist. But what is so special about what our eyes have seen? Why should there be any limit to the number of marvelous things that exist between the sky and earth, within the vastness of Unbounded? All of our lives we

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24 "Laboratory alchemy" needs to be distinguished from "physiological alchemy" which was an integral part of the Taoism of Wang Ch'ung-yang, as we will soon be seeing.
have a sky over our heads but never know what is above it; to the end of our days we walk the earth without ever knowing what is below it. Our bodies are our very own, but we never come to understand how our hearts and will become what they are. An allotment of life is ours, but we never understand how its actual measure is achieved. And this is even more true in the case of the more abstruse patterns governing gods and genii, and the dark mystery surrounding God and the natural life. Isn't it a sad spectacle to rely on the surface perceptions of eyes and ears in judging the existence of the subtle and the marvelous?\(^{25}\)

The Taoism of the Ch'üan-chen masters\(^{26}\), like that of their distant predecessor Ko Hung, can be said to have been an investigative proto-science of Immortal-hood. They strove to discover for themselves how they could undergo the transformation into the state of Immortal-hood. In the ensuing pages I will show in detail the methods that they used for this purpose. We will also see that the methods that had to be undergone in this quest varied from one practitioner to another; and that a certain degree of individual innovation was required for each person to attain Immortal-hood. Without any doubt, the definition of Immortal-hood along with the methods that were used for attaining it had changed drastically from what they were for Ko Hung.

Ko Hung believed that the ultimate requirement for Immortal-hood was the successful concoction and imbibing of of a special elixir pill of artificially-made gold. Therefore his *Pao-p'u-tzu* is a treasure chest of various detailed directions and recipes for producing this elixir. The Ch'üan-chen masters did not engage in any kind of laboratory alchemy. In his reply to the sceptic, Wang gives a rough summary of what his basic approach was; to cut off all worldly attachments, to rediscover one's innate good nature (which is equivalent to the Tao\(^{27}\) itself) by maintaining a flexible and non-forceful lifestyle and outlook (preserve

\(^{25}\)Here I have borrowed the translation of James R. Ware on pp. 37-38 in *Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of A.D. 320: The Nei P'ien of Ko Hung (Pao-p'u-tzu)*.

\(^{26}\)When I use this term in this paper, it refers to Wang and the Seven Perfected.

\(^{27}\)The Tao is not supposed to be definable by words, but for the sake of convenience allow me to say that it is the ultimate principle that transcends creation but yet is present within everything.
the female), to maintain a calm and undistracted mind, and to cultivate and refine the solid, liquid, gaseous and formless material or energy (ch'i 氣) that makes up the human body. This multi-faceted training that they underwent was called "Perfection Cultivation". 

For Ko Hung, an Immortal was a person who never underwent the death of the physical body, who would quite often become a sort of bird-man who possessed wings and feathers and was able to fly. 

For the Ch'üan-chen masters, an Immortal was a spiritually enlightened person in complete control of his body and its fate who possessed various supernormal qualities and who had the compassion and power to bring great benefits to others. This Immortal conceived of by Wang and his followers would undergo the inevitable death of the physical body, but upon his or her death would have a refined yang 精 spirit that would ascend into an everlasting, deified existence. In the ensuing pages, for the purpose of clarity, I will use the term, "Perfected Man" 真人 to refer to the Immortal prior to the death of the physical body and the term, "Immortal" 仙 to refer to the everlasting, deified mode of his or her existence. (Although the general tendency of the Ch'üan-chen texts is to use the terms, "Perfected Man" and "Immortal" in the way in which I will be using them, this distinction in their usage is by no means absolute.)

This very drastic change in the definition of Immortal-hood and the way in which it was pursued was the result of a very slow but steady evolution of religious Taoist doctrines and practices which very noticeably featured a large-scale incorporation of Buddhist ideas and ways, and a shift towards an emphasis on physiological alchemy rather than laboratory alchemy. Perhaps the most significant events that initiated the development of this trend were the alleged revelations that gave birth to the Shang-ch'ing 上清 and Ling-pao 靈寶
scriptures that took place in the same region where Ko Hung lived\textsuperscript{28}. The Ling-pao scriptures were allegedly revealed to Ko Hsuan, an uncle of Ko Hung, in the early third century, but were apparently actually written in the late fourth century by his descendant, Ko Ch'ao-fu. The Hsü family, among whom Hsü Mio and Hsü Hui acted as patrons of Yang Hsi, the recipient of the Shang-ch'ing revelations (which took place during the years 364-370), was related to the Ko family through marriage. The Taoism that developed out of the new doctrines that were thus "revealed" had emerged to an extremely prominent position the Chinese religious scene by the time of the T'ang Dynasty. The Ling-pao school seems to have been especially instrumental in developing various traits which became important traits of the Ch'uan-chen sect such as monasticism and an emphasis on ritual methods for the salvation of the dead.

Unfortunately, due to a lack of understanding of the fact that this adoption of Buddhist ideas and methods along with the emphasis on physiological alchemy was the result of a long evolutionary process, modern scholarship has tended to see the Ch'uan-chen sect as a reformist sect which took upon its own hands the task of ridding the Taoist religion of its various "superstitious" and "magical" tendencies and syncretizing it with Buddhism and Confucianism. This problem I will discuss in more detail shortly.

Going back to the conversation between Wang and the sceptic, we can see that, despite the drastic changes that had taken place in the concept of Immortal-hood and how to attain it, Wang (and his followers) venerated the prominent Immortals of yore such as An Ch'i-sheng, Hsien-men and Hung Ya. Even more important as objects of veneration for

\textsuperscript{28}The general vicinity of present day Nanking in Chekiang Province.
them were legendary Immortals such as Lü Ch’un-yang吕純陽29, Chung-li Cheng-yang
金童玉女金玉童 and Liu Hai-ch’àn劉海蟾31 who were particularly popular during their

time. The belief in such Immortals who were themselves at one time just mere mortals was
an important motivational force for the aspiring adepts of the Ch’üan-chen sect. There is in
fact ample evidence that such Immortals were believed to occasionally manifest themselves
in order to instruct and guide those who were deemed worthy in terms of their will and
moral character. Thus a vital part of the Ch’üan-chen belief system was that the founding
masters such as Wang Ch’ung-yang had themselves had mystical encounters with such
legendary personalities. The Ch’üan-chen masters themselves seem to have made such
claims of having had such seemingly impossible encounters. The fully enlightened and
accomplished Ch’üan-chen master was himself labeled a "Perfected Man" who during his
remaining lifetime was to devote himself to the merciful and compassionate salvation of all
living things and reveal the ultimate secrets of Perfection Cultivation to those whom he
deemed as fully worthy and deserving. Such a Perfected Man was considered to be not
only spiritually enlightened but also in full control of his physical health and immune from
hazards such as the diseases and demons which jeopardize the bodies of ordinary ignorant
people. Even after the crude, mundane body had reached its inevitable demise and the

29Personal name Yen 廣. Is also commonly affectionately referred to by his style name Tung-pin洞賓 .
Is said to have been born in 798 A.D. Whether or not he was an actual historical figure is highly
controversial. I am inclined to doubt it.

30Personal name Ch’üan 桂. Style name Yin-fang雲房 . Ch’üan-chen hagiographies say that he was
once a military general under the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D. and 25-220 A.D.). Chao Tao-i’s Li-shih
Chen-hsien Ti-tao Tung-chien歷世真仙體道通鑑 says that he served under the Chin金 Dynasty
(265-419 A.D.).

31Personal name Ts’ao 操 (fl. 1031). He is said to have been an official who served under the Liao
Dynasty (937-1125) of the Khitan契丹 people. He is also said to have been the teacher of the
outstanding physiological alchemist and patriarch of the Southern Sect南宗, Chang Tzu-yang 張紫陽
(d. 1082).
Perfected Man had entered his everlasting existence as an Immortal, he was thought to at times intervene with human affairs. Thus the Ch’üan-chen masters themselves were believed to at times manifest themselves to believers after their deaths, or to in mysterious ways bring aid to believers who sought their divine assistance. The phrase, "respond to the staffs of the Perfected [Men]", seems to refer to the ability of the Immortal (the emancipated yang spirit of the Perfected Man) to manifest himself or come to the assistance of the Perfected Men who call upon him, particularly within the context of Taoist rituals.

In the conversation between Wang and the sceptic, you will notice that the sceptic is not necessarily completely confident that Immortals do not exist. Rather, his main criticism of Wang is that he is toiling in vain. Arguing that Immortal-hood, if there is in fact such a thing, must be something that one is pre-destined towards from birth, the sceptic maintains that the hardships which Wang so constantly puts himself through are but ignorant exercises in futility.

This argument, even more than the argument against the very existence of the Immortals, aims at the essence of what the Ch’uan-chen sect in its earliest years stood for. The central endeavor that had to be undertaken on the road towards Perfection was the complete elimination of desires, and the attainment of total control over one's physical body and its feelings and urges. If a person could do this, he was supposed to be able to gain a total peace of mind and realize and preserve the One inside of him. The One is the principle of the Tao which is present within all people and all things which one can realize solely within oneself without seeking it outwards. This One is in fact the Immortal yang spirit. Essentially, Wang blames the inability of people to realize this innate potential towards Immortal-hood on "laziness". And in my opinion, perhaps the most definitive characteristic of the early Ch’üan-chen sect was their hard work. Realizing that the elimination of desires and control over the body was the most urgent task that needed to be
undertaken, the Ch'üan-ch'en masters underwent the most extreme and arduous ascetic practices in order to maintain self-discipline. From the eyes of their contemporaries, it was this emphasis on asceticism that seems to have distinguished them from other Taoist sects. While in Taoist asceticism was by no means a Ch'üan-ch'en innovation, it seems very likely that the Ch'üan-ch'en sect took Taoist asceticism to extremes previously unrealized.

Because I feel that this emphasis on relentless ascetic self-training was the most definitive trait of early Ch'üan-ch'en Taoism, the first chapter of my discussion will be devoted to this aspect. In it I hope to give the reader a sense of appreciation for the extreme measures which the Ch'üan-ch'en masters resorted to out of their sincere belief in the attainability of Immortal-hood. We will see how, while living an entire life of self-induced poverty and simplicity, the Ch'üan-ch'en masters each underwent a period of extremely intense self-denial during which, in some cases, their lives were endangered. We will also see how at this intense stage, each master strived individually, using his (or her) own judgement to discover and carry out the training methods best suited for him, until he could at some point convince himself that he had in fact attained Perfected Man status.

In Chapter Two, I will discuss the various theories and practices involving the curing and prevention of diseases. The opinion of many modern scholars has been that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters greatly de-emphasized Taoist theories of "life-nurturing" or even tried to do away with them. My opinion is that preventing and curing diseases was a very major concern for the Ch'üan-ch'en masters; and this is the major point that I will be arguing in the chapter. In doing so I will discuss how the Ch'üan-ch'en masters viewed the human anatomy, what they believed to be the causes of disease and death, and what methods they prescribed for preventing and curing diseases. During the discussion, we will see how many of the ascetic practices described in Chapter One were based upon these medical theories, and that many of the "life-nurturing" methods were designed to help the
adept withstand the various hardships such as extreme cold, heat, hunger or sleep deprivation which the adept would subject himself to. I will wrap up the second chapter by discussing how the Ch'üan-chen masters saw the various methods of life-nurturing as indispensable prerequisites for spiritual enlightenment and Immortal-hood.

Chapter Three will be a discussion of the vital role played by the ideal ethic of mercy and compassion, the sole feeling that was supposed to motivate the Perfected Men and the Immortals. We will see how the Ch'üan-chen masters, as self-proclaimed Perfected Men, endeavored to help all living things both spiritually and physically through charity and evangelism. While striving to fully exhibit the attributes of mercy and compassion which were defining characteristics of an authentic Perfected Man, the Ch'üan-chen masters also looked in hope towards the merciful and compassionate protection and intervention of the Immortals and strove to gain mystical encounters with them. We will also see how the lore involving Immortals like Lü Ch'ün-yang who would frequently intervene in human affairs was utilized to exhort the common lay believers towards proper conduct based on reverence, devotion, humility and kindness.

Chapter Four will be a discussion of the various types of miraculous power which the Ch'üan-chen masters allegedly exhibited. In the first part of the discussion I will discuss the doctrinal, theoretical framework within the teachings of the Ch'üan-chen masters which seems to have provided the basis for the ardent belief in miracles that is so clearly expressed within the hagiographies. We will see how the final stages of Perfection Cultivation were a process in which the adept comes in contact with the transcendant realm of supernormal experience and power, and engages in crucial "battles" with internal and external demonic forces. The second part of the discussion will then introduce the reader to the various alleged miraculous feats of the Ch'üan-chen masters and speculate as to what
degree the various miracle stories were actually based on the doings and claims of the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves.

In Chapter Five, we will examine the various Taoist rituals (aimed at bringing various benefits to people such as rain for the crops, protection from diseases and other misfortunes, and the deliverance of damned souls) performed by the Ch'üan-chen masters. In the first part of the discussion, I will discuss the degree of emphasis laid upon rituals within the Ch'üan-chen sect in its earliest years. Contrarily to the pre-dominant view of modern scholarship that claims that Wang Ch'ung-yang tried to de-emphasize or do away with "magical" Taoist rituals, we will see that the Ch'üan-chen masters always saw rituals as an important aspect of their activities and that the frequency with which they performed their rituals progressively increased as their reputations as powerful Perfected Men grew. In the second part we will examine, in as much detail as possible, how they performed their rituals and what it was they deemed to be the essential requirements for a ritual to be efficacious. Appended to Chapter Five will be a prefaced and annotated full translation of a liturgy to be performed in celebration of the birthdays of the Immortals Chung-li Cheng-yang and Lü Ch'ün-yang, which is quite likely representative of a type of ritual which was unique to the Ch'üan-chen sect and sects closely related to it.

As a result of having read these five chapters, I hope that the reader can come to understand as fully and accurately as possible what the Ch'üan-chen masters believed and taught, and the things which they and their followers did as a result. I hope that I will be able to refute some of the fallacies concerning the nature of the Ch'üan-chen sect along with some of the undeserved labels that have been pasted onto Wang Ch'ung-yang and the Seven Perfected. But before plunging into the body of my discussion, I am obligated to give a very brief historical summary of the Ch'üan-chen sect and the socio-political context
in which it developed, followed by a summary of some of the serious problems that I have come to see within modern Ch'uan-chen scholarship.

(b) Brief Historical Summary

The history of the Ch'üan-chen sect can perhaps be said to have begun with a bizarre event that transpired in the year 1159 in Kan-ho Township near present day Hsian-西安. Wang Ch'ung-yang was sitting in a butcher shop drinking liquor and eating meat in large quantities when he was encountered by an Immortal (who for some reason looked like two identical-looking young men clad in white garments) who transmitted secret lessons to him. From this time on, Wang (who had already acquired a reputation as a heavy-drinking, peculiar character) started to act even more like an insane wild man. In the following year he met the same Immortal(s) at Li-ch'üan. They then drank together at a saloon where Wang had more secret lessons transmitted to him. The hagiographies differ considerably with each other as to who exactly it was that he encountered on these occasions. Some do not specify who it was, most say that it was Lü Ch'ün-yang and one says that it was indeed two men; Lü and Chung-li Cheng-yang. Whatever it was that actually took place, it was from this time on that Wang began to

32 Who at this time seems to have answered to the personal name "Te-wei" and the style name, "Shih-hsiung"世雄.

33 Wang was often referred to as "Wang Hai-feng" (Crazy Man Wang).

34 "Chung-nan Shan Shen-hsien Ch'ung-yang Chen-jen Ch'üan-chen Chiao-tzu Pei" 終南山神仙重陽真人全真教祖碑 and "Chung-nan Shan Ch'ung-yang Tzu-shih Hsien-chi Chi" 終南山重陽祖師仙碑記 in Kan-shui Hsien-yuan Lu 甘水仙源錄 (KSL) in TT611.

35 "Chin-lien Cheng-tsung Chi" 金蓮正宗記 (CLC) in TT 75-76, Chin-lien Cheng-tsung Hsien-yuan Hsiang-chuan 壬蓮正宗仙源信傳 (HC) in TT76, Li-shih Chen-hsien Ti-tao T'ung-chien Hsü-pien 歷世真仙傳通鑑編 (TT149).

36 "Hu-hsien Ch'in-tu-chen Ch'ung-hsiu Chih-tao Kuan Pei" 鄭縣秦渡鎮重修志道觀碑 in KSL.
embark upon the process of building up his own sect. He first needed to attain Perfected Man status for himself through rigorous Perfection Cultivation. This he did at Nan-shih Village where he lived and meditated extensively inside of a burial mound that he had built for himself with a sign by it that read, "Grave of the Living Dead Man". The fact that he was already entertaining visions of large-scale evangelism was indicated by his symbolic act of planting four Hai-t'ang trees around the "grave". The character "hai" means "sea"; and thus the four trees symbolized the four seas throughout which Wang felt that his teachings would permeate and resonate. After two and a half years he left the burial mound and built himself a straw hut in Liu Chiang Village at the foot of Mt. Chung-nan (near present day Hsi-an) where he engaged in further ascetic training with a few disciples.

In 1164 he had a third mystical encounter. Wang was carrying a gourd of liquor back to his hut from Kan-ho Chen when he was confronted by a Taoist monk who asked him for a drink out of his gourd. When Wang gave him the gourd, the monk instantly gulped down every last drop, went to the river, filled the gourd with water, and gave it to Wang to drink. The taste was extraordinary, and after he drank the "liquor of the Immortals", Wang never drank liquor again. The monk introduced himself as Liu Hai-ch'an. What actually happened in these alleged instances, and whether Wang actually claimed to have encountered these Immortals is a highly controversial issue that cannot really be satisfactorily resolved. My own opinion, which I will be elaborating upon in Chapter Three, is that Wang probably did have these mystical encounters within his own subjective realm of experience; perhaps during dreams or meditational trances.

Wang's years at Nan-shih and Liu-chiang were greatly successful in that he managed to attain Perfection (or at least thought that he had) through his efforts and was able to have his required mystical encounters with Immortals. But in terms of acquiring a following, he
was not very successful, even though he had a few disciple whose names are known; Ho Yü-ch' an, Li Ling-yang, Yen Ch'u-ch'ang, and Shih Ch'u-hou. Eventually he seems to have realized that he would need a change of scenery in order to gain a substantial following. So in the early summer of 1167, he set fire to his hut and traveled alone on a long journey to the Shantung Peninsula. In Shantung he acquired a much larger following and came in contact with the Seven Perfected who were to carry on his legacy and make the Ch'üan-chen sect into perhaps the largest and most socially and politically influential organized religious movement in northern China. Wang arrived in Ning-hai about four months after his departure from Liu-chiang. There he met his eventual successor, Ma Tan-yang for the first time at a party held at the home of Ma's friend, Fan Ming-shih (who apparently authored the preface to CCC that I quoted at the very beginning). The wealthy Ma, who was intrigued by the eccentric and witty Wang, took him home with him. Wang set up a meditational hut in the southern garden of Ma's mansion and named it the "Ch'u-an-chen Hut" (Hut of Complete Perfection). This seems to have been the reason for why his sect came to be known by the name, "Ch'üan-chen". Eventually Wang succeeded in convincing Ma to abandon his wealth and his family life and become his disciple. During his stay at the Ch'üan-chen Hut, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un, T'an Ch'ang-chen, Hao Kuang-ning and Wang Yü-yang also became his disciples.

In the spring of 1168, Wang took his disciples to Mt. K'un-yu and trained them in a harsh, spartan manner in a cave that he named "Smoky Mist Cave". It is said that even though many people were attracted to Wang and wanted to become his disciples because they were impressed by the numerous miracles that he performed, they invariably would flee from him because they could not stand the ordeals (including
scoldings and whippings) that he would put them through. This was supposedly the reason for why he had so few disciples who trained under him.

But he soon began to make significant strides in expanding his sect's following. Early in the fall of 1168, Wang and his disciples left Mt. K'un-yu, and over the next fourteen months moved about throughout Shantung preaching to people. During that span, Wang succeeded in forming his Five Congregations 五會 37 which seem to have been primarily made up of lay believers who would regularly gather for joint worship, scripture recitation and perhaps meditation. During this period, Liu Ch'ang-sheng and Sun Ch'ing-ching became disciples.

At the end of 1169, Wang took Ma, T'an, Liu and Ch'iu with him to Pien-ching (present day Kaifeng) where he put them through more intensive training until the spring of 1170 (the first month of the tenth year of the Ta-ting reign era of the Chin Dynasty) when he passed away, designating Ma as his successor as the leader of the sect. 38

The early development of the Ch'iian-chen sect took place under consecutive periods of foreign rule; first under the Ch'in Dynasty of the Jurchen people and then the Yüan Dynasty of the Mongols. The Jurchens gained full control of northern China after a long and bloody war with the Chinese Sung Dynasty that lasted about seventeen years from

37Three Teachings Seven Treasure Congregation 三教七寶會 in Weng-teng District, Three Teachings Golden Lotus Congregation 三教金蓮會 in Ning-hai, Three Teachings Three Lights Congregation 三教三光會 in Fu-shan, Three Teachings Jade Flower Congregation 三教玉華會 in Teng-chou and Three Teachings Equanimity Congregation 三教平等會 in Yeh District.

38As sources for this summary of Wang's life and ministry, I have relied primarily on Kubo Noritada's Chūgoku no Shuukyoo Kaikaku—Zenshinkyoo no Seiritsu and Yao Tao-chung, Ch'ülan-chen: A New Taoist Sect in North China During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.
The Mongols began to attack the Jurchens in 1210 and succeeded in conquering the entire region north of the Yellow River in 1215. The Jurchens, whose kingdom had dwindled to just the regions of Honan and Shantung (one of the hotbeds of the Ch‘üan-chen sect) tried to make up for the territory that they had lost by engaging in another war with the Sung, but were unsuccessful. Pressure from the Mongols, the Chinese and the Hsi-hsia© kingdom in the west combined with peasant revolts brought the Chin Dynasty to its demise in 1234. Conflict and bloodshed continued throughout much of China until the Mongols conquered everybody in 1279, and set up what was perhaps the most inept and exploitative government in Chinese history (aside from perhaps, the present government).

Much thought has been given by modern scholarship concerning the impact that these painful political and social circumstances had in bringing about the founding and development of the Ch‘üan-chen sect. Modern Chinese scholars Ch‘en Ming-kui (a Ch‘üan-chen monk who wrote during the late 19th century) and Ch‘en Yüan (whose book was published in 1958) asserted that Wang Ch‘ung-yang was an ardent nationalist strongly motivated by anti-Jurchen sentiments who at times may have even engaged in combat with Jurchen troops. Because of this, Wang and his disciples have

39Ironically, the war had started with Chin and Sung as allies. Hoping to regain control of the sixteen Yen-yün prefectures (northern Shansi, northern Hopei and the southern tip of Chahar) that had been under the rule of the Liao Dynasty of the Khitan people, Sung negotiated an agreement with the Jurchens, who were a rising force that had liberated themselves from Khitan rule, that they would pay them the same amount of tribute that they had been paying Liao if they would help them in attacking the Liao troops. The plan was that the Jurchens would capture the central capital of the Liao Dynasty, Jehol; while the Chinese would capture Beijing. When the weak Chinese troops failed on their end of the agreement, the Jurchens conquered the entire Liao kingdom by themselves. So then the Chinese engaged in war with the Jurchens over the land that they had wanted to acquire but failed miserably, eventually losing all of the northern provinces and moving their capital to Hangchow to begin what is referred to as the Southern Sung Dynasty.
come to be portrayed in the highly popular martial arts novel, *Shen-tiao Hsia-lu* (written by the contemporary novelist Chin You), as martial arts experts who defended their people against the "barbarians". When I visited the Ching-chung (Ch’uan-chen) Taoist Temple in San Francisco, I was surprised to be told by the head priest, Rev. Yau, that the Ch’uan-chen sect under Wang practiced monasticism in order to maintain their secrecy and solidarity as they carried out their small-scale military resistance. Other Ch’uan-chen scholars, particularly Kubo Noritada of Japan have argued effectively against the idea that the Ch’uan-chen sect was a nationalist movement. This entire issue is not something that I wish to resolve or discuss in depth. I prefer to refer the reader to the books of Ch’en Ming-kui, Ch’en Yüan, Kubo and Yao Tao-chung (a good, balanced discussion written in English) that I have listed in my bibliography. But to merely state my own opinion, there is little or no evidence that the Ch’uan-chen sect was a nationalistic movement. To the contrary, the fact that there were non-Chinese people among its membership and its teachings emphasized non-violence would seem to indicate that the Ch’uan-chen sect had no anti-foreign or revolutionary intentions whatsoever.

But still, one cannot doubt that the unique political and social circumstances of the time had a great impact on the development of the sect. Wang Ch’ung-yang and his older disciples undoubtedly witnessed much of the anguish and bloodshed of the Chin-Sung war, and as a result sensed an urgent need for some way in which to alleviate the plight of human beings. It is also a fact that a lack of good employment opportunities under the Jurchen government probably caused a high number of Chinese intellectuals like Wang to turn towards the religious life. While the earliest years of the sect’s existence coincided with a brief period of relative peace and stability, the sect seemed to have really begun to

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40This contemporary Ch’uan-chen organization has abandoned the practice of celibate monasticism. I refer to the head priest as "Reverend" because this is what he calls himself.
reach its height during the miserable years of the Mongol conquest when much of the population began to greatly feel the need for saviors (which is what the Ch'üan-chen masters purported to be) who could somehow alleviate their plight.

After Wang had died and had been buried at the site at Liu-chiang Village where he had trained, his disciples dispersed in various directions to engage in training and evangelism. The new leader Ma Tan-yang evangelized in the Shensi region (the home area of his master which was at one time not very receptive to the Ch'üan-chen teachings) where he succeeded in winning over many people. But in the winter of 1181, the Jurchen government (which for some reason viewed the sect with disfavor and suspicion) ordered Ma to leave Shensi and return to Shantung. Ma obeyed, leaving his Shensi ministry in the hands of Ch'iu. Ma died in 1183, and in the ensuing years as the sect's leadership was handed down to T'an, Liu and Ch'iu; the sect continued to grow rapidly while eventually gaining recognition and support from the government, even though they were still occasionally given a hard time. In 1187, Wang Yü-yang was summoned by Emperor Shih-tsung for his advice on how to maintain good government and good health. Similar invitations eventually went out to Ch'iu in 1188 and Liu in 1197. As the Chin kingdom began to receive the deadly blows of the Mongol war machine, the Ch'üan-chen sect seems to have grown more rapidly than ever with Ch'iu and Yü-yang as its most

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41 Ma and Ch'iu trained and evangelized in Shensi. T'an, Liu and Sun did so in Honan. Yu-yang and Hao remained in Shantung.

42 In summarizing the accomplishments of Wang's disciples, I have relied on Kubo pp.169-188.

43 In the 1190's when the pressures of the rising Mongol forces on their borders were giving the Chin Dynasty financial trouble, they resorted to raising revenue by charging heavy permission fees to be payed for the ordination of monks and the establishment of temples. Because of this, some of the major Ch'üan-chen temples temporarily went out of operation until Wang Yü-yang visited the court in 1197 and payed the necessary fees the following year.
visible figures. The fame of Ch’iu grew so much\footnote{It is said that when the Chin armies were unable to subdue a peasant revolt in Shantung in 1214, Ch’iu stopped the uprising through verbal persuasion. It is also said that when a troop of bandits raided Ch’iu’s party on the journey to see Genghis Khan, the bandits changed their minds and went away as soon as they realized who they were raiding.} that Genghis Khan eventually heard of him and decided to summon him. Ch’iu (who was 76 years old at the time) complied, and in the spring of 1220 embarked on a long westward journey along the northern plains from the Shantung Peninsula to the Hindu Kush mountains in Central Asia. He finally arrived there in 1222 and is said to have primarily urged Genghis to be more lenient and less violent in his inevitable conquest of China, while also giving him some medical advice (some of which we will be examining in Chapter Two). As a result of this mission, Ch’iu is said to have successfully swayed Genghis towards using less violence, and as a result saved a countless number of lives. Also, the Ch’uan-chen sect was as a result able to receive a great amount of favorable treatment from the Mongolian Empire such as complete exemption from taxation. This heroic journey is perhaps the greatest highlight of Ch’lan-chen history which has to this day made Ch’iu the most famous and respected among the Ch’uan-chen masters. Yet, modern scholarship has frequently (and rightfully) pondered over what the actual motives of Ch’iu and Genghis Khan were. Did Ch’iu make his trek out of a sincere feeling of wanting to save the lives of his fellow countrymen, or was he primarily interested in attaining more political influence for himself and his sect? Did he really save all of those lives? Was Genghis really interested in hearing what this aging holy man had to say about government and health care, or was he just trying to bring under his thumb one of the most famous and popular men in China? These are all important and intriguing questions which I lack the time or the capability to try to answer.
Under Mongol rule, the Ch'üan-chen sect was clearly the largest and most influential Taoist sect in Northern China, and perhaps the most popular organized religion of any kind. One of the greatest accomplishments during this time was the compilation (completed in 1244 after seven years of hard work) of the *Hsuan-tu Pao-tsang* the largest Taoist Canon ever assembled, which had 7000 chuan. But less than four decades later, this Canon was destroyed by as a result of what was perhaps the most embarrassing event in Ch'üan-chen history.

The "event" was started when the Buddhist monk Fu-yu complained to the Mongol court about the *Lao-tzu Pa-shih-hua T'ü* (Diagram of the 81 Transformations of Lao-tzu) that the Ch'üan-chen sect, under the leadership of Li Chih-ch'ang, had printed and distributed. This diagram accompanied by the text of the *Lao-tzu Hua-hu Ching* (Scripture on Lao-tzu's Conversion of the Barbarians) was of a nature that was highly slanderous towards the Buddhists in that part of it portrayed how Lao-tzu (the legendary author of the Taoist philosophical masterpiece *Lao-tzu*) traveled to India and instructed the Buddha (some versions of *Hua-hu-ching* say that he became reborn as the Buddha). This complaint, along with accusations that the Ch'üan-chen Taoists had used their money to win the favor of the government, taken Buddhist temples by force, destroyed Buddhist images and pagodas and disseized Buddhist gardens and land, prompted the emperor to declare certain disciplinary measures.

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45 See Yao pp.191-193.
47 The leadership of the sect after the death of Ch'iü was succeeded by Yin Ch'ing-ho and Li Chih-ch'ang.
48 This text is generally believed to have been forged by a Taoist named Wang Fu during the Western Chin Dynasty (265-316 A.D.). However, Kubo Noritada has raised the interesting theory that the text was originally written by the Buddhists who at the time wanted to identify themselves with the Taoism so that Chinese people could feel more familiar with them.
against the Ch'üan-chen sect in 1255. But these measures were not actually carried out. This prompted further complaints from the Buddhists. So the emperor decided to resolve the issue by staging a debate between the two religions in 1256, which the Taoists failed to show up for. Further debates were held in 1257 and 1281 which the Taoists did show up for. Each time, the Taoists lost easily and were publicly humiliated. As a result, many of the leading Ch'üan-chen monks were made to shave their heads; and all Taoist scriptures (excluding the Lao-tzu book) were ordered to be destroyed.

Accusations involving the various misdeeds of the Ch'üan-chen sect seem to have started roughly around the time right after Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un had made his heroic trek and the sect had risen to the peak of its prominence. As we will be seeing later on, a major factor that distinguished the original Ch'üan-chen masters from their successors was the fact that the original Ch'üan-chen masters seem to have taken a very friendly and respectful attitude towards Buddhism. Complacency and arrogance seem to have already caused the sect to in some ways drift away from the original intentions of its founders.

But strangely enough, despite the humiliation and the disciplinary measures that resulted from the debates, the Ch'üan-chen sect maintained a considerable degree of official support, as can be seen from the fact that Mongol Emperor Wu-tsung bestowed honorary titles upon the Ch'üan-chen Patriarchs in 1281, right after the final debate.

There is not much to say about the sect's history after this point which is really of any concern to my discussion, other than the fact that it has continued to exist to this very day despite the fact that its following has dwindled severely over the centuries. On the mainland in Beijing, the Pai-yün Kuan (White Cloud Monastery) still operates as

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49 Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai's 耶律楚材 Hsi-yu Lu 凌駕録 accuses Ch'iu himself of various misdeeds towards the Buddhists.
a quiet monastic community and a major tourist attraction supported by government funds. Also, there is an international missionary organization called the Ching-chung Taoist Association* based in Hong Kong which has major branches in Taiwan, Australia, San Francisco and soon in Vancouver, British Columbia.

For a more detailed introduction to the history of the Ch'üan-chen sect, I recommend the following books:

Yao Tao-ch'ung, *Ch'üan-chen: A New Taoist Sect in North China during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (in English)

(c) Problems in Modern Scholarship

Now let me introduce the reader to some of the arguments that have been made by modern scholarship which I will be disputing in this paper. As can perhaps be seen from the above historical summary, a lot of good, thorough studies have been done on the Ch'üan-chen sect, as far as its history and development is concerned. It is definitely one of the most frequently studied and well known religious Taoist sects. So the natural question that would have to be asked is, "Is there a need for yet another lengthy study on this particular sect?" My answer to that question, of course, is "Yes." This is because I have come to realize that while my predecessors in this field of study have in many ways done an admirable job, they have failed seriously in coming to terms with the essential beliefs and practices of the early Ch'üan-chen sect. The following are some of the misleading
statements that were made in Ch'en Ming-kui's (1824-1881) ground-breaking piece of Ch'üan-chen scholarship:

"I, in my middle ages I sensed an extraordinary omen and studied the Tao at the Su-lao Kuan (Taoist monastery) of [Mt.] Lo-fu (in Kiangsu). The monastery is of the Lung-men faction of the Ch'üan-chen which originates out of Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un. During my spare time I studied the history books along with the books of the Taoist Canon. Essentially I realized that the doctrines of Ch'ang-ch'un are deeply founded in the essential sayings of the Tao-te (Lao-tzu), and are free of the corruptions of later men such as nuturing through refinement and ingestion (Taoist alchemy and medicine), or [using] registers (lists of names and descriptions of gods) and talismans to ward of misfortunes (Taoist rituals)."50

"Generally speaking, the origins of the ch'ai-chiao rituals, the k'o-i (special altar rites performed by an ordained priest), the talismans and registers, and the controlling and summoning [the gods] along with the ingestion of the Golden Elixir in later generations (after Lao-tzu) [can be traced to] men like Luan Ta, Liu Mi, Lin Ling-su, and T'ao Chung-wen who used these [methods] to deceive the rulers of men in hope of gaining wealth and nobility. Can they be compared to Ch'ang-ch'un? (No, Ch'ang-ch'un is far superior) Ch'ang-ch'un told his disciples not return the bones of Chao Hsu-ching to his hometown saying, "The false body made up of the four elements in the end is something which must be thrown away. For the Single Numinous Perfected Nature to be independent without bondage; this comes from quickly and thoroughly understanding the meaning of death and life."55

50translated from Ch'en Ming-kui, Ch'ang-ch'un Tao-chiao Yuan-liu p.2 of author's preface. See Plate 2.
51An alchemist and magician who drew the favor of Han Emperor Wu-ti.
52A Taoist alchemist who concocted the pill of artificial gold which poisoned and killed Emperor Hsien-tsung of the Tang Dynasty (r. 805-820 A.D.) of the T'ang Dynasty
53A Taoist priest who is said to have influenced and corrupted Emperor Hui-tsung of the Northern Sung Dynasty.
54A Taoist exorcist and healer who won the acclaim of the imperial family during the Ming Dynasty.(1368-1661).
Ch'en Ming-kui, was a prominent Confucian scholar and teacher (he was also a local militia leader who combatted local bandits) who seems to have undergone a mystical conversion experience late in his life ("sensed an extraordinary omen") which inspired him to become a Taoist monk. In saying that the Taoism of Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un (the Ch'üan-chen sect) did away with alchemy, he seems to have been correct. But as we will see later, he was seriously misguided in thinking that the same could be said about the ritual aspect of Taoism. What must be considered a mystery is why he did not know better and why he himself seems to have discredited the validity of Taoist rituals despite the fact that he himself was a member of the Ch'üan-chen clergy. As far as what can be seen from the activities of the sect today, rituals have remained an integral component just as they were in the sect's earliest days. Was the particular monastery where Ch'en studied any different? I do not know. Anyway, in Ch'en's statements is a clear attempt to vindicate the validity and worth of his sect by distinguishing it from the religious Taoists who had become so infamous over the centuries, particularly from the orthodox Confucian viewpoint, for their charlatanry. It seems almost as though this erudite scholar who had undergone his sudden, inexplicable transition to the religious life was trying to somehow vindicate his actions to his educated peers who may have begun to entertain doubts about his integrity or even his sanity. Whether such was the case, we will never know. Again, he was probably right in maintaining that early Ch'üan-chen Taoism was opposed to charlatanry, and was deeply concerned with maintaining the integrity of the faith. But in implying that the Ch'üan-chen sect sought to undo the heresies of the alchemists and ritualists and restore Taoism to what was intended by Lao-tzu, he was wrong. It is clearly evident that while they certainly emphasized the teachings of Lao-tzu, they were also greatly indebted to the various traditions of medicine, mysticism, Immortal lore, and ritual worship and healing that developed through the centuries; originating from the hands of the
alchemists and "magicians" (commonly referred to as *fang-shih*) of antiquity, and handed down through the various schools of religious Taoism. While they were critical of the potential charlatans amidst themselves, there is no evidence of their ever having been critical towards Taoist alchemists and ritualists such as those that Ch'en cited. To the contrary, they seem to have looked upon such characters with a high degree of veneration, as can be seen from the passage that I quoted in my opening comments. In his sermons delivered to Genghis Khan, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un spoke of an alleged incident in which the very same Lin Ling-su cited above takes the spirit of the Northern Sung Emperor Hui-tsung with him on a mystical wandering into the high heavens and shows him the palace where he lived before his incarnation as a ruler of human beings. When Hui-tsung expressed his desire to not return to the human realm, Lin talked him into returning and continuing his reign. This story that Ch'iu told certainly does not reflect a critical attitude towards Lin Ling-su's activities within the imperial court. As an example of how Ch'iu differed from the Taoist charlatans, Ch'en Ming-kui shows us how he clearly refuted the notion of immortality of the physical body (upheld by the *fang-shih* and the early religious Taoists) and maintained that immortality of the spirit was to be attained through proper insight of the essential truths of existence. We will soon be seeing that while they certainly upheld this basic attitude, the Ch'üan-chen masters still adhered to the various quintessentially religious Taoist methods of health care and also that the process undergone in attaining proper insight was very much a physiological one based on the methods that evolved out of the archaic immortality cult. What Ch'en failed to understand or perhaps simply ignored was the fact that religious Taoists that preceeded the Ch'üan-chen sect had

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56 *Hsiian-feng Ch'ing-hui Lu* 玄風慶會録 (CHL) p.5b
long since refuted the notion of immortality in its literal sense, and had adopted the Buddhist notion of the body as something which one must become emancipated from.

The redeeming quality of Ch'en Ming-kui's book that allows it to still be the most enlightening study on Ch'üan-chên Taoism to this very date (once the reader can see his way through Ch'en's apologetics and nationalist propaganda) is the fact that as an insider he makes frequent quotes from some of the the actual teachings of the Ch'üan-chên masters, and seems to have had some understanding of physiological alchemy along with the fact that the Ch'üan-chên road towards enlightenment was very much a physiological process as well as a spiritual one. He also acknowledges the fact that the belief in miracles, inspired by the doings and claims of the masters themselves, did play an important role in the expansion of the sect in its earliest stages.

Unfortunately, scholars during the middle of this century seem to have virtually ignored most of the valuable insights that Ch'en Ming-kui had to offer, while picking up and expanding upon the "reformist" theory. What also came to be continuously taken note of was the highly syncretic aspects of the sect. As a result, some scholars even denied that the early Ch'üan-chên sect was actually a religious Taoist sect, while others tried to draw a distinct line between the Ch'üan-chên sect and preceding forms of religious Taoism, frequently using the terms "New Taoism" and "Old Taoism":

"When the Ch'üan-chên [sect] first arose, it was nothing more than a gathering for reclusive cultivation [whose doctrines and methods] did not go beyond [the basic notion], 'If one can complete one's nature and life-destiny amidst a turbulent world, one need not seek to be heard and recognized by the various lords.' The world, because it was neither Confucianist nor Buddhist, mistakenly saw it as Taoist. In reality it originally called itself 'Ch'üan-chên' (In other words, they did not use the word 'Taoism' to refer to themselves.)
If one must regard it as Taoism, it is but a reformist faction of Taoism."\(^{57}\)

(Ch'en Yüan 錢遠)

"The Ch'üan-ch'en sect appealed for the union of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, and its goal was not to spread traditional Taoism. Perhaps they had the intention of preserving the traditional thought of the entire [Chinese] people........

He [Wang Ch'ung-yang] did not teach people to pray and recite scriptures, nor did he teach people to concoct elixirs and write talismans. Rather, he simply taught people to recite the Tao-te and Ch'ing-ching \(^{58}\) scriptures, the [Prajna Paramita] Heart Sutra and the Classic of Filial Piety. In actuality [his motivation] was in his intention to preserve the spirit of the Three Teachings (the culture of the Han [Chinese] people)."\(^{59}\)

(Yao Ts'ung-wu 焦從吾)

"Old Taoism such as the Heavenly Masters Sect traditionally from ancient times made this-worldly benefits their major concern, emphasizing ageless long life by means of methods such as talismans and charms or the taking of medicines, and thus strongly bore the form of a magical religion. Furthermore, when concerning matters of salvation, the solutions towards the spiritual suffering of people or solutions for the ultimate problems such as death, they evaded the issue; claiming, according to [the theories of] the Immortality Cult, that one could become an Immortal in the flesh. Therefore, generally speaking, they were inadequate [in the way they confronted such essential problems]. Actually, such points (worldly benefits, Immortality Cult) were the unique characteristics of Taoism, and were the reasons for why Taoism was popular among so many people, but were also what were severely attacked by [adherents of] Confucianism and Buddhism; particularly the latter.

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\(^{58}\) This refers to the religious Taoist scripture, *T'ai-shang Lao-chun Shuo Ch'ang Ch'ing-ching Ching* 太上老君說常清靜經 (TT341), which seems to date from perhaps the Wu-tai '5代 (Five Dynasties) Period (907-960 A.D.). This scripture, attributed to Lao-tzu, expounds the concept of purity and stillness while in some parts bearing a striking resemblance to the Buddhist Heart Sutra.

On the other hand, the sects of New Taoism\(^{60}\) did not speak of
ageless immortality and this-worldly benefits, but rather made the
salvation of the spiritual suffering of the people their aim. In regard
to the Ch'üan-chen sect, the fact that a person who had mastered the
great matters of life and death was called a stalwart of the Ch'üan-
chen, and that seated meditation which was a method of "seeing the
nature" 観性 was emphasized, clearly indicates that [the doctrines
of] the Ch'üan-chen sect went along the same lines as [those of]
Mahayana Buddhism in which the self was considered to be the
Dharma nature, and that the Ch'üan-chen sect considered the
ultimate solution to the problem to be to arrive at a peace of mind
that transcends death. In other words, [the Ch'üan-chen sect
sought] the salvation of the soul.
Also, the fact that while rejecting the Immortality Cult and the Way
of the Golden Elixir which had been popular, they used their (Way
of the Golden Elixir's) terminology with modified meanings
indicates that they aimed at internalizing the Old Taoism or that they
wanted to shed themselves from it and protest the secularization of
the religion. Also, it does not seem like a mistake to say that such
changes took on the tendency to erase the image [of Taoism] as a
magical religion.\(^{61}\)
(Kubo Noritada)

"The Ch'üan-chen sect arose to form a variety of secularized\(^{62}\) New
Taoism......
The Ch'üan-chen sect took 'the study of the Tao's inner power and
the nature and life-destiny'\(^{63}\) of [the variety that emphasized the
notion that] 'the Three Teachings correspond completely'. This was
a product of the unique social and political circumstances and at the
same time was an inevitable result of the fact that the religious

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\(^{60}\) This refers to the Ch'uan-chen sect along with the Chen-ta-tao sect and the T'ai-i sect which also developed in northern China under Jurchen rule.


\(^{62}\) For Ch'en Chun-min, a mainland scholar who seems to be writing from a Marxist viewpoint, the word "secularized" is apparently used with highly positive connotations meaning that the sect was relatively free of the "superstitions" that typically are found within Taoism and within religions in general. The contrast with Kubo is very interesting in that Kubo sees "secularism" (a lack of concern with spiritual matters and an excessive concern with attaining worldly benefits) as a drawback of "Old Taoism" that the Ch'üan-chen sect "reformed".

\(^{63}\) "Nature" refers to innate human nature, and "life-destiny" refers to a person's allotted fate and lifespan. Because the Taoism of the Ch'üan-chen sect also greatly involved the study and nurturing of "life-destiny", traditional religious Taoist methods of maintaining the health were emphasized by them.
Taoism of the T'ang and Sung 'reached the peak of its corruption and changed.'

(Ch'en Chun-min)

As you will be seeing in the ensuing chapters, most of the statements made in the above passages are misleading. The basic problems with the statements of Ch'en Yüan and Yao Ts'ung-wu is that despite the fact that they had little or no prior knowledge of what the Ch'üan-ch'en masters themselves actually wrote (unlike Ch'en Ming-kui), they apparently went ahead and made generalized statements about the teachings of the Ch'üan-ch'en masters based solely on assessments written by prominent Confucian scholars and Taoist monks of the Chin and Yüan Dynasties (which are generally found within the biographies of the Ch'üan-ch'en masters or within inscriptions on stone steles at Ch'üan-ch'en monasteries and temples which have been preserved within the Taoist Canon and other various literary collections) along with evidence that is to be found within the hagiographies. The following are two examples of the type of evidence that they relied upon:

"The flow of the Taoist school; its origin comes from Lao[-tzu] and Chuang [Chou]. People of later times mistook their original intentions and branched off into factions and practiced fang-shu (refers to various methods of magic, immortality, prognostication etc. practiced by the fang-shih ), registers and talismans, baking and refining, and chiao rituals using memorials. The more it became divided into factions, the more

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64 Translated from "Ch'üan-ch'en Tao-chiao Ssu-hsiang Yuan-liu K'ao-lueh" (January, 1984)p.167. See Plate 7.

65 Ch'en Ming-kui also referred primarily to these kinds of sources, but supplemented his insight thus attained with his considerable knowledge of the actual teachings of the masters.

66 Author of the fourth century B.C. Taoist philosophical masterpiece, Chuang-tzu 老子.

67 As we will be seeing later, chiao refers to a large-scale Taoist ritual in which priests typically present "memorials" to the various high gods of the divine bureaucracy.
their confusion distanced them [from the teachings of Lao-tzu and Chuang Chou], and this went on for a long time.

But when it came to the Chin period, Perfected Prince [Wang] Ch'ung-yang, without the guidance of teacher and friends became enlightened by himself away from people; virtually as though he had received a transmission from Heaven. [He] arose from [Mt.] Chung-nan, arrived at [Mt.] K'un-yu. [He] beckoned those who were like him, instructed and guided them, trained and disciplined them and established a school of teaching called 'Ch'üan-chen'. Their training generally took as its basis [the principles of] knowing the heart and seeing the [innate Tao] nature, eliminating emotions and getting rid of desires, withstanding humiliation and enveloping filth (enduring disgrace), and making oneself suffer in order to benefit others." (The passage then quotes some passages from Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu in order to demonstrate how the methods of the Ch'üan-chen masters restored the original integrity of Taoism)\textsuperscript{68}

"In the past when the Pien-Sung\textsuperscript{69} was about to perish, the teachings of the Taoist school had become worse than ever in their falsity and strangeness. There were then valiant stalwarts who wandered about madly making light of worldly concerns according to their own will, seeking only to return their Perfection. They were called, 'Ch'üan-chen'. Stalwarts who understood the mechanisms that brought about change and disorder all followed it (the Ch'üan-chen sect). The sect greatly expanded, and those who intermingled and came forth from amidst them cannot be sufficiently accounted for (because they were so numerous). They drank from the valley streams and ate from the valleys (lived as hermits), bearing severe hardships and coldness and heat; firmly withstanding what [ordinary] people cannot tolerate and with determination doing what [ordinary] people cannot sustain."\textsuperscript{70}

Statements such as the above without any doubt need to be seriously taken into account. What is clearly implied by these prominent men who witnessed the growth of the Ch'üan-chen sect or were perhaps a part of it is that it was the sect that reformed religious Taoism and reinforced the doctrines and practices based on the true intentions of the ancient Taoist philosophers. But the basic problems with the above statements as sources

\textsuperscript{68}This passage is come from a biography of the Ch'üan-chen master Hao Kuang-ning found in the second chuan卷 of KSL which was written by an official named Hsü Yen徐縟. See Plate 8.

\textsuperscript{69}The Northern Sung Dynasty which had its capital in Pien-ching (Kaifeng).

\textsuperscript{70}from the 50th chuan of Tao-yüan Hsüeh-ku Lu道園学古錄 written by Yuan Dynasty scholar Yú Chi虞集 (1272-1348). See Plate 9.
for determining the basic nature of the sect are virtually the same as those that I cited in the statements of Ch'en Ming-kui. These men were essentially writing with the apologetic aim of justifying the worth of the Ch'üan-ch'en sect. In order to do so they needed to clearly distinguish it from the Taoism that preceeded it which had quite clearly been labeled within intellectual circles as corrupt. There is no evidence whatsoever that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters themselves held any of these prejudices. Picking up on what was the most definitive and easily noticeable trait of the Ch'üan-ch'en masters, their extreme asceticism, their apologists identified them with the classical image of the hermit in order to emphasize the difference between them and the infamous magicians and alchemists that preceeded them. They did not care to point out (or some of them perhaps did not know) that their extreme asceticism was a means by which they sought to carry out the physiological processes for long life and Immortal-hood (the theories of which evolved out of the Immortality cult) and to obtain the power to perform miracles and efficacious rituals. While the above passages do imply very strongly that the masters sought to eliminate ritual worship and the use of talismans; evidence in poetry written by the masters themselves clearly proves that such was not the case. But in all fairness to the scholars that I am critisizing, because statements such as the above made by men of such high credibility who lived virtually contemporaneously to the Ch'üan-ch'en masters do exist in considerable abundance, it is certainly understandable that the "reformist theory" would have developed.

The "syncretist theory" is certainly valid to the extent that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters greatly borrowed elements from the other religions, especially Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism, and claimed that the Three Teachings (Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism) all pointed towards the same ultimate truth. It is a definite fact that Wang Ch'ung-yang used the term "Three Teachings" in naming all of his Five Congregations and encouraged the study of certain non-Taoist scriptures and classics. However, as we will be seeing in
Chapter Four, very basic doctrinal differences with Buddhism that had existed within the
doctrines of the Ch'uan-chen masters eventually seem to have caused their successors to at
times claim a certain measure of superiority for their holy men over those of the Buddhists
based on these very same doctrinal differences. In the final sentence of his brilliant article,
"Lueh-lun Ch'üan-chen Tao te San-chiao Ho-i-shuo", Ch'en Ping writes:

"To sum it all up, even though the Way of the Chüan-chen greatly
emphasized the coming together of the Three Teachings, the core of their
doctrines in the end never escaped the traditional path of Elixir Reaction
Vessel Faction Taoism which sought to attain Immortal-hood and ascend to
Heaven."72

The above words eloquently express how I myself feel. The work of Kubo Noritada
and Ch'en Chun-min can be considered definite improvements over that of Ch'en Yuan and
Yao Ts'ung-wu in that they have based their statements partly on what they have read from
among the voluminous writings of the Chüan-chen masters. However, their greatest
downfall comes from their not having realized that the Chüan-chen sect was but one
faction of what is called the "Elixir Reaction Vessel Faction" or "Way of the
Golden Elixir". The Golden Elixir tradition is a movement of religious Taoism
that lays its primary emphasis on methods of physiological alchemy (which will be
described in detail later on). The Golden Elixir movement seems to have developed from
within or evolved out of the the aforementioned Shang-ch'ing and Ling-pao factions of
Taoism, gaining prominence from around the late Wu-tai or Early Northern Sung periods.
The development of the Chüan-chen sect in the north and the Southern Sect in the

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71 In the January, 1984 issue of Shih-chieh Tsung-chiao Yen-chiu.
72 結論,全真道雖大力合一三教,其教义宗旨終未脱离丹鼎派道教传统的
求成仙升天的轨道。
south (which merged with the Ch'uan-ch'en sect after the Mongols re-unified China) seems to have represented the high water mark in the popularity of the Golden Elixir movement. The essential point that must be understood is that almost all of the "reforms" and "syncretism" attributed to Wang Ch'ung-yang are aspects that existed within the Golden Elixir tradition well before he was even born. The Golden Elixir movement, complete with its abundant and delightful lore involving the exploits of its patriarch Immortals (especially Lü Ch'ung-yang), had firmly established itself in the vicinity of Mt. Chung-nan (near Hsi-an where Wang trained himself. While I acknowledge that the statements of the official Hsu Yen that I have quoted above ("without the guidance of a teacher, he was enlightened by himself away from people") would seem to testify to the contrary; by examining the writings of Wang one can see that he must have been a monk who had somehow been thoroughly trained in various abstruse and esoteric teachings (involving both physiological alchemy and ritual methods) of the Golden Elixir tradition. It also seems very likely that from the time before he embarked upon forming his own sect he had been a fervent believer in the Lü Ch'ung-yang cult, and as a result underwent (strictly within his own subjective experience) a mystical encounter with the popular T'ang Immortal which marked the beginning of Ch'uan-ch'en history.

In all fairness to the scholars whose statements I will be arguing against, I must point out the that I have benefitted greatly from the fact that religious Taoism has been one of the most rapidly growing areas of Sinology during the past few decades. Recent scholarship has made giant strides in understanding what physiological alchemy was and how it developed. When Kubo Noritada wrote his book, he (and virtually everybody else) did not realize that the Way of the Golden Elixir taught by the Southern Sect was in fact physiological alchemy rather than laboratory alchemy. Thus his clearly stated position was that the two schools had nothing to do with eachother before their eventual merger. But
now, the fact that the Southern Sect taught physiological alchemy is commonly accepted by anybody who is knowledgeable in the field.

So what, if anything, was the Ch'üan-ch'ên sect's own unique innovation that contributed to the development of the Taoist religion? I cannot honestly say that I know, although they perhaps emphasized intense asceticism more than any other Taoist sect (or any other religious group for that matter) ever had. More than their doctrines, what seems to have made the Ch'üan-ch'ên masters such special religious men was the extremes that they went to in attaining what they considered to be Immortal-hood and the dynamic fashion in which they formed their vibrant full-scale religious movement that seems to have very effectively served the spiritual and physical needs of numerous people of various social backgrounds during some very grave historical times.

In the ensuing pages, I will go into great detail in examining the writings of the Ch'üan-ch'ên masters themselves along with the hagiographies and some sources from related religious Taoist schools in order to show you as accurately as possible what they and their followers actually believed and practiced. Understanding the doctrines of the Ch'üan-ch'ên sect is often very difficult because of the fact that there existed a highly esoteric element which was not even intended to be understood by the uninitiated. Because the theories of Perfection Cultivation that they had adopted from the Golden Elixir tradition are such a clever blend of Taoist Immortality theories and Mahayana Buddhist concepts, there are numerous paradoxes and seemingly contradictory elements that seem to exist with this complicated religious system. What makes the religious system even more complicated is the fact that it worked and was applied accordingly at various levels for different believers based on whether they were clergymen or laymen and on the degree of training and insight that they had. Trying to understand this complex yet fascinating religion has
been a tremendous challenge and a pleasure, and I hope that the reader will enjoy reading my work at least half as much as I have enjoyed doing it.
CHAPTER ONE: THE ASCETICISM OF THE CH'UAN-CHEN MASTERS

"From the time I left my house and separated myself from the dusty world,
I no longer coveted the fame and profits which are among people.
With messy hair and a filthy face I sit in solitude throughout the morning.
The livelihood of inner cultivation is inside old shrines and ceramic altar houses.
As I allow that red circle (the sun) to sink in the west, I recognize the being within the nonbeing, and I understand the white and preserve the black.
Lengthily and softly I control my breathing.
In my heart I have no other matters which bind me.
I have an arm bag and a cane which I carry about with me as I wear my grass sandals.
I do not eat tasty foods, my thighs are bare, and sheepskins clothe my body.
When I get hungry I go about begging from door to door.
When I have eaten my fill I sing 'Li-lien-lo-li'.
I allow people around me to laugh and say, 'You stupid, lazy bum!' Is there anybody who knows who I am?

To study the Tao the heart must be firm like iron.
Completely inside yourself fiercely and suddenly and break loose from the chain of profits and the leash of recognition.
Cut off and get rid of your feelings of wanting and completely abandon all affairs.
Have nothing to which you are attached to or which arouses you.
Do not stay in your straw hut or grass shack.
Reside within the shops and market places and properly preserve the Tao.
Rely on this activity, spanning over hours and months.
One who practices this way of poverty must rely on coarse food and not be concerned with coldness and heat.
With messy hair and a dirty face sit alone throughout the morning.
Internally cultivate your livelihood and earn an encounter with the lessons of an enlightened master.
People of the world will say, 'Here comes the windy wildman'........"
The above poem by Wang Ch'ung-yang vividly describes the lifestyle of the Ch'uan-chen monk as he undergoes his intense ascetic self training, aimed at the eventual attainment of Perfected Man status. This process of training involved a complete rejection of ordinary every day comforts. The monk was supposed to try to get by with the barest of necessities. By begging for his food and by frequently making himself present among the townsfolk, he was to intentionally put himself to shame and humiliation. By doing this, the monk essentially aimed at ridding himself of all of the feelings and longings which could hinder his enlightenment and perfection.

Perhaps the most definitive trait of the early Ch'uan-chen sect was this stress on asceticism. The quest for Perfected Man status, as carried out by the Ch'uan-chen masters, was an intense process of survival and perseverance that had to be carried out until the monk could somehow personally feel confident that he was indeed a full fledged Perfected Man who could work with full power and efficiency as a savior of all living things, both during the remainder of the life of his mortal body and during his existence as an Immortal. Also, from the standpoint of those who came to believe in the Ch'uan-chen way of Taoism, it was often this capacity of the Ch'uan-chen masters to overcome extreme ascetic ordeals which gave them their credibility as extraordinary religious men. Later chapters will deal in detail with the theories and methods of Perfection Cultivation and with how the believers came to view the Perfected Men as merciful saviours, miracle workers, and efficacious ritual performers. In this chapter I will try to give the reader an idea of the extent of self denial, trouble, misery and danger that the Ch'uan-chen masters put themselves through out of their sincere faith in the attainability of Immortal-hood.

In undergoing this discussion there are certain different kinds of aspects of their asceticism that need to be discussed. First of all, there is the ideal of "pure poverty" which the monk was to abide by throughout his entire life. After discussing this ideal, I
will move on to discussing the practice of begging and its significance. While "pure poverty" and begging pervaded the entire life of the Ch'üan-chen monk, his life also included a period of several years in which he had to undergo various severe physical and psychological ordeals. I will discuss how a monk had to maintain complete control of his physical and emotional urges and had to become completely free of anger or fear towards anything. We will see that the ascetic practices of the Ch'üan-chen masters were regarded by them as both a process of elimination of karma and a process of accumulation of merit points recorded within the heavenly bureaucracy. Ultimately, I would like the reader to appreciate how asceticism was seen by the Ch'üan-chen masters as the cornerstone of proper Perfection Cultivation and how they acted fully upon this conviction.

A good example of what is meant by "pure poverty" can be seen in the following description of the lifestyle of Ma Tan-yang in *Tan-yang Chen-jen Yü-lu* (The Collected Sayings of Perfected Man Tan-yang: TYL):

"The master resided in a shack furnished only with a desk, a long couch, a brush, an ink tablet and a sheepskin. It was empty without any extraneous objects. In the early morning he ate one small bowl of rice gruel and at noon ate one large bowl of noodles. Beyond this (gruel, noodles), never did fruits or spicy vegetables go through his mouth."\(^3\)

In the same book, Ma discusses the importance of maintaining this extremely simple lifestyle:

"A person of the Tao must not dislike being poor. Poverty is the foundation of nurturing life. If hungry, eat one bowl of rice gruel. If you become sleepy, spread out a grass mat. Pass the days and nights in tattered garments. Such is truly the lifestyle of a person of..."
the Tao. Therefore you must understand that the single matter of pure immaculateness cannot be acquired by the wealthy."4

What is worth taking note of here is that by saying "poverty is the foundation of nurturing life", Tan-yang is implying that his lifestyle of poverty not only helps erase the desires and attachments that hinder enlightenment, but is conducive to better health. I will be showing clearly in the next chapter that these two benefits were in fact regarded as completely interrelated. "Pure immaculateness" or "purity and stillness" refers to a state of mind that is completely free of desires and attachments. But as we will again be seeing in the next chapter, the term can also have definite physiological implications as it perhaps has here.

Liu Ch'ang-sheng, as a reason why his sect laid such importance on maintaining an ascetic lifestyle, pointed to the fact that the great enlightened men of old times were ascetics:

"Accomplished men of old, wanting to distance themselves from the dreams and mirages (the impermanent and illusory world), took on the outer appearances of fools. The Confucian Yen Hui (one of Confucius's best disciples) was pure and poor and owned only a rice bucket and a drinking gourd. The Buddhist Sakya (the historical Buddha, Gautama Siddhartha) begged for food and took one meal [per day] by begging from seven different households. The Taoist [Lü] Ch'un-yang was non-active. He lived like a quail (had no permanent home) and ate like a baby bird (ate only what was given to him without complaint like a baby bird receives the food given to it by its mother).5

Lu Ch'un-yang, the Immortal who was the putative teacher of Wang Ch'ung-yang, was the consummate role model for Ch'uan-chen monks. Folklore involving the life and

4pp.10a-b: 道人不厭貧難則養生之本食則一鉢粥睡來睡去至覺未終之時以度朝夕正是道人活計故知清淨一事要貴人不能得

5Wu-wei Ch'ing-ching Ch'ang-sheng Chen-jen Chih-chen Yu-lu p. 3a. See Plate 11.
the miraculous feats of this semi-legendary (if not entirely legendary) culture hero had become very popular and widespread during the century or so preceding the founding of the Ch'uan-chen sect. It can be said that this lore involving Lū, and the cult of "Golden Elixir" internal alchemy and patriarch worship that was connected with it probably formed the most important background tradition of the Ch'uan-chen sect. One of my favorite books among the wide variety of Ch'uan-chen literature available in the Taoist Canon is Ch'un-yang Ti-chūn Shen-hua Miao-T'ung Chi (The Chronicle of the Spiritual Transformations and Marvelous Penetrations of Imperial Prince Ch'un-yang: MTC), a compilation of Lū Ch'un-yang stories that had accumulated over the centuries and had been selected, edited and commented on by a Ch'uan-chen monk named Miao Shan-shih in the early fourteenth century. MTC tells us that Lū, after undergoing a miraculous conversion experience at the hands of the Immortal Chung-li Cheng-yang, abandoned all of his wealth and gave it to the poor during a severe famine. Throughout the various stories compiled in MTC, Lū wanders about various regions of China as a sloppy looking beggar, performing miracles and bringing salvation to people who are ready to open their hearts to him. This Lū, as depicted by MTC represented what the Ch'uan-chen masters were trying to become. As we will see in later chapters, the Ch'uan-chen masters sought to become able to perform as miracle workers and saviours, and in fact eventually claimed that they had become able to do so. As has been well documented by modern scholarship, the Ch'uan-chen masters taught that Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism were ultimately the same religion; three different expressions of the ultimate and only reality, the Tao. This basic attitude is clearly apparent here as Liu also points to Yen Hui (a famous disciple of Confucius) and the historical Buddha as examples of great ascetics who can serve as role models for Ch'uan-chen monks.
Taking after the example of men like Lū and the Buddha, Ch'üan-chen monks engaged in begging as their primary remunerative activity. For a newly initiated monk, begging was an extremely difficult activity to adjust to. The adjustment that had to be made was primarily mental, as there was a large amount of humiliation involved in appearing in the midst of the townsfolk as a beggar. Another important Immortal who served as a role model for Ch'üan-chen monks was Liu Hai-ch'än, another putative teacher of Wang Ch'ung-yang. In TYL, Ma Tan-yang tells his disciples the following facts about this Immortal which he frequently referred to as his "uncle":

"Sir Hai-ch'än was originally a minister of the land of Yen (a region that included present day Beijing. Liu served under the Liao Dynasty\(^6\)). One morning he realized the Tao. Thereby he cut off his family connections. His poetry includes the words, 'I abandoned and left the 3000 people of my household fires (domestic life and its attachments). I abandoned my personal troops which numbered one million.' After this he supported his livelihood by begging. Wherever he came to an open area he put on a playful performance (acted in an eccentric manner when in the presence of other people?). He got to the point where he would go into brothels carrying barrels of liquor. He did not feel any embarrassment.\(^7\)

Liu Hai-ch'än had in other words abandoned his status of extreme wealth and power in order to pursue the livelihood of a beggar. Begging was just one of the ways in which he intentionally put himself to shame so that he could train himself to be able to shed any kind of self conscious feeling of embarrassment. Thus not only did he beg, but he acted like an insane person and associated unashamedly with the more unsavory elements of society. In Chapter Three I will deal in detail with the significant role of prostitutes within Golden Elixir-Ch'üan-chen Immortality lore. But anyway, an interesting comparison can

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\(^6\)The empire of the Khitan people that included parts of Northern China including the area of present day Beijing. It existed from 937-1125.

\(^7\)pp.5a-b. See Plate 12.
be drawn between Liu Hai-ch'an and Ma Tan-yang in that Ma himself was a man who had come from an extremely wealthy background and had opted for the ascetic life. But in the case of Ma, this ability to shed all feelings of shame and embarrassment seems to have developed with much more difficulty. As we can see from the following passage from TYL, Ma had an extremely difficult time adjusting himself to the humiliation of begging:

"The Patriarch-Master (Wang Ch'ung-yang) one time ordered his disciples to go to Ning-hai and beg for grain, coins and rice. I wanted to have another disciple go for me [and thus said], 'Make another older or younger brother [of mine] (fellow disciple) go.' Later, [Ch'ung-yang asked me], 'Why [do you want me to do that]?' [I answered,] 'I, your disciple wish to not have to return to my home village [as a beggar].' The Patriarch-Master became furious and beat me continuously until dawn. Because of the many blows that I received, I had a regressing heart, and I left him. But Master-Brother Ch'iu [Ch-ang-ch'un] urged me into staying. Till this day, neither of us has forgotten [this incident]."

From the vehement reaction of Wang towards Ma's reluctance we can see how important it was regarded for a monk to have the humility to be able to shame himself in front of anybody, even the people in his home area. Although there is no evidence that he ever resorted to violence like his master frequently did, Ma himself eventually seems to have had to frequently cope with disciples who were reluctant to beg, after he took over the sect's leadership when Wang died.

"Mr. Shih of Li-ch'uan (in Shensi) came to see me at the tea room by the eastern gate. I asked him what his name was. He said,'I am the Crazy Man Shih. I am also a disciple of the school of Perfected Man Ch'ung-yang'.........
I had already sensed that this man was afraid of going into the streets and begging. Therefore I took him around with me. I

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8A respectful term used mostly to refer to founder Wang Ch'ung-yang or his putative Immortal teachers such as Lü-Ch'un-yang.
9p.12a. See Plate 13.
10This is the same Shih Ch'u-hou that I mentioned in the introduction who had been a disciple of Wang Ch'ung-yang during the days before he journeyed to Shantung.
wanted to share a round of drinks with this wise man. The master [of the saloon] hesitated to serve us (perhaps because of their appearance). Mr. Shih took some money out from his bosom. I said, 'Do not use this money. You must go into the streets and beg for the money to buy the liquor.' Mr. Shih stared [at me] and after a while finally went into the streets to beg. He returned with some liquor. I drank it [all] by myself.'

Thus whether through violence or by "skillful means"\(^\text{12}\) such as that which is described above, a master had to somehow bring his disciples into the state of dedication and humility in which they could become willing to go out into the streets and beg. This lifestyle of "pure poverty" maintained primarily through begging had to be carried out as a life-long commitment. However, the quest for Perfected Man status that the Ch'uan-ch'en masters underwent and expounded involved much more than just this. In order to become Perfected Men, and to prove to themselves and others that they had indeed succeeded in doing so, they had to toil and suffer in ways that exceeded the normal human capacity. The word, "suffering"\(^\text{45}\) is discussed as follows by Liu Ch'ang-sheng:

"To suffer means to suffer with the mind and body. The confused people of the world make themselves suffer by coveting life and entering into the road of death. Straining their minds they use their cleverness and thus their [innate] nature sinks into the land of punishments. One who understands the Tao makes himself suffer by training his body. In other words it is like shattering a rock to take out a piece of jade. Straining his will power he forgets cleverness and therefore his nature ascends the Nine Empyreans (Taoist heavens). The wise find enjoyment in the midst of suffering. The foolish suffer in the midst of enjoyment. For the wise, bitterness ends and sweetness arrives. For the foolish, enjoyment climaxes and then...

\(^{11}\)Tung-hsüan Chin-yü Chi بصره (CYC) chuan #1 pp.2b-3a (TT789). See Plate 14.

\(^{12}\)This is an Buddhist concept that was very important in Ch'uan-ch'en Taoism. Because the most vital and profound truths are beyond the comprehension of most people, a Buddhist Bodhisattva or a Taoist Perfected Man had to use "skillful means" to adeptly coax ignorant people towards goodness and progressively better understanding.
they are sad. A scripture¹³ says, 'Blessings are born from difficulties and difficulties are born from blessings.'¹⁴

Taoism as practiced by the Ch'üan-ch'en masters was a full scale rejection of the selfish seeking of worldly benefits and pleasures in favor of diligent and arduous training in pursuit of Immortal-hood. Rather than resorting to the clever conniving aimed at obtaining the things that most people enjoy in life, they preferred to abandon all such worldly pursuits and to suffer at the lowest levels of poverty, because they maintained that the proper cultivation of mind and body could not be carried out otherwise. As we will see in detail in the next chapter, the Immortal-hood sought by Ch'üan-ch'en and related Taoist sects was an emancipation from the mortal body and a spiritual ascension into the high heavens beyond the realm of suffering and re-birth. Yet, the quest for Immortal-hood that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters engaged in was a process of training and strengthening the body as well as the mind. Herein lies an important difference between ascetic monasticism in Ch'üan-ch'en Taoism (and similar sects) and that in Buddhism. The Buddha, after trying out various ways of seeking out the solution to the problem of human suffering including extreme asceticism, arrived at the conclusion that the enlightenment of mind which brings emancipation from samsara (the cycle of re-incarnation) must be sought through the "middle path", an approach which maintains a happy middle ground between self-denial and comfort. The Ch'üan-ch'en masters, on the other hand, seem to have felt that the stage of the utmost extreme asceticism was a necessary step that had to be taken. There are passages among their writings which advocate the "middle path" approach to cultivation, which modern scholarship has cited as examples of the syncretic nature of the Ch'üan-ch'en sect. But it seems as though such exhortations must have primarily applied to

¹³Huang-ti Yin-fu Ching (YFC)
¹⁴Wu-wei Ch'ing-ching Ch'ang-sheng Chen-jen Chih-chen Yu-lu (TT728) pp.6a-b. See Plate 15.
adepts who had undergone the required preliminary stages. As is evidenced by the above passage and by the teachings and doings of the Ch'uan-chen masters that I will be citing in the ensuing pages, it was definitely required that one test the limits of his mind and body through extreme ascetic practices. In order for the "rock" (the mortal body) to be shattered and the "piece of jade" (Immortal-hood) to be obtained, one was required to suffer through harsh physical training.

The quest for Perfection or Immortal-hood was understood as a process in which points (tabulated by certain gods in the heavenly bureaucracy) for "merit" and "deeds" had to be earned. Through a diligent accumulation of these points, it was hoped that an Immortal such as Lü Ch'un-yang or Liu Hai-ch'an would be moved to come to the aid and instruction of the monk, and that as result of further cultivation based on the contents of the Immortal's instruction, the monk could eventually be summoned to join the Immortal ranks. (This aspect of the faith which sought the aid and instruction of the merciful Immortals will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.) The number of points required for Immortal-hood was believed to be 3000 merit points and 800 deeds points. Chin Chen-jen Yu-lu (The Recorded Sayings of Perfected Man Chin) defines merit and deeds as follows:

"If you want [to accumulate] true merit you should clear your mind, stabilize your will, and control your vital spirit. Without motion and without action, truly pure and truly still; embrace your origin and preserve the One, visualize your spirit and solidify your ch'i (the solid, liquid, gaseous and formless components which make up the body). This is [the meaning of] true merit.

If you want [to accumulate] true deeds, you should cultivate your behavior and pile up virtuous acts. Help the poor and relieve those

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15 This book is a bit of a mystery. I have never been able to figure out who this "Perfected Man Chin" was. Perhaps he was a prominent Taoist monk at Mt. Chung-nan whom Wang Ch'ung-yang had studied under. The book is made up of a long sermon by Perfected Man Chin (from which the above quote is taken) which is followed by a series of poems and exhortations by Wang Ch'ung-yang.
who are suffering. If you see the tribulations of others, always be willing to help and rescue. Also, evangelize to good people so that they will enter the Way and train themselves. In whatever you do, put others first and yourself last. In dealing with the myriad objects, keep nothing for yourself. This is [the meaning of] true deeds.\(^1\)

In other words, "merit" refers to the degree to which the adept has effectively trained his mind to be enlightened and free of superfluous thoughts and the degree to which he has trained his body and solidified his \(ch'i\) (what was meant by this will be examined thoroughly in Chapter Two). Deeds refer to good deeds of charity and evangelism.

The following is the most comprehensive sermon on the diligent accumulation of merit and deeds that I know of which is found in Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's letter to the believers in Hsi-chou (in Shensi) that is included in *Chen-hsien Chih-chih Yu-lu* (Record of the Direct Instructional Sayings of the Perfected Immortals) in TT998:

"Generally speaking, in cultivating Perfection and cherishing the Tao you must rely on the accumulation of deeds and the stringing together of merit. If you do not strain your will power and have a determined heart, it is difficult to transcend ordinariness and enter into sacredness. To use your strength to perform a great amount of tiresome labor for the sect, to from your heart engage in merit (training methods), to completely abandon worldly affairs, to do nothing other than overcoming your self-consciousness and focussing your mind on the Tao; all of these things form the basis of bringing about blessings. However, the Tao envelops Heaven and Earth and its greatness is hard to measure. Slight goodness and slight merit cannot bring results immediately. Therefore it is said that the enlightenment of the Tao that takes place in an instant must result from training that spans over long \(kalpas\) (extremely long periods of time). The sudden enlightenment of the single mind must rely of thorough cultivation and myriad deeds.

The enlightenment of the Tao that takes place in this life is a result of one's having had merit during previous lives. Yet, not knowing of the causes from past incarnations and seeing that they have toiled for years without success, [people nowadays] regard [Perfection Cultivation] as hard labor that is but a hoax. Thus they give rise to laziness. What a shame! What they especially fail to understand is that even though their minds are reflecting upon the Tao within all

\(^{16}\) See Plate 16.
activities, their mind's ground has not yet been opened up. As time elapses, everybody has their accumulation of hidden merit. When one's merit is insufficient, then [one's unity with] the Tao is incomplete. Even if you have not yet acquired the Tao, if your roots of goodness are deep and solid, support from a holy sage will come to you in this life or the next. One who has no roots of destiny is far [from salvation] indeed! I only regret that the minds of people become regressing and lazy and that therefore the holy sages are unable to deliver and release them. If you do not backslide during this life, the next life or over the span of many lives, salvation [by the hands of a holy sage] will arrive suddenly, and you will accomplish and master [the Tao].

I did not have bones of destiny (a significant amount of merit and deeds accumulated from past lives). [Thus], even though I have met an insightful master (Wang Ch'ung-yang), I have not yet completed [my Perfection Cultivation], [even though I have undergone] 10,000 sufferings and 1000 harsh experiences. [Ma] Tan-yang and [T'an] Ch'ang-chen were predestined, and thus were able to rise and fly beyond the heavens at will after ten or five years. Even though I have not yet completed [my Perfection Cultivation], the difficulties that I have undergone surpass those of ordinary people.

In this long exhortation for diligent personal effort can be seen a tint of what could be called fatalism. Ch'iu says clearly that some people are destined towards attaining Immortal-hood during this lifetime and others are not. Also, we can see the element of the faith that relied upon the merciful intervention of the Immortals for ultimate salvation. Such elements of the faith could quite conceivably have functioned to undermine the sect's emphasis on ascetic personal effort. In fact, in the generations succeeding the original masters, it seems as though that may have been what happened. But in the above passage, Ch'iu effectively uses these elements to enhance his exhortation for relentless personal effort. Because the so-called "bones of destiny" were understood to be a product of diligent personal effort in past lives, Ch'iu maintains that it is essential to work hard and to maintain one's faith in the Tao, even if it only serves to build a foundation for eventual Perfection in the next incarnation or even an incarnation beyond the next. And although the

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17Upper chuan pp11b-12b. See Plate 17.
merciful intervention of an Immortal is a necessary step towards Perfection, Ch'iu reminds his students that an Immortal cannot and will not intervene unless the aspirant himself has acquired the appropriate amount of merit through his own efforts.

Yin Ch'ing-ho, who succeeded Ch'iu as the leader of the sect narrates the following very interesting episode about the novice days of Ch'iu in his Ch'ing-ho Ch'ing-jen Pei-you Yü-lu (Record of the Sayings of Perfected Man Ch'ing-ho during his Northern Journey) in TT1017:

"In the days when the Patriarch-Master (Wang Ch'ung-yang) was on Mt K'un-yu, the Master-Father [Ch'iu] Ch'ang-ch'un had already been his disciple for three years and was 23 years old. Because Master-Father [Ma] Tan-yang had an extremely great amount of merit and deeds from past lives, the Patriarch-Master always spoke to him about the profound wonders. But because Master-Father Ch'ang-ch'un was still lacking in merit and deeds, he made him perform arduous labor without allowing him to rest for even a moment. One day, while the Patriarch-Master was discussing a method of breath control with Tan-yang behind closed doors, the Master-Father eavesdropped from outside. After a while, he pushed the door open and entered, and [Wang and Ma] immediately ended their discussion. The Master-Father thought about this and decided that breath control is marvelous and that the arduous labor that he was doing contradicted it completely. Thus after this, whenever he could find time, he forcefully practiced the method that he had overheard.

The time of return (death) of the Patriarch-Master was imminent. Therefore during the three years [that Ch'iu trained under him], he trained the four masters (Ma, Ch'iu, T'an Ch'ang-chen and Liu Ch'ang-sheng) with ever increasing harshness. The work of each day was equivalent to that of hundreds and thousands of days in the past. As the seasons changed, his demands became more and more unreasonable and nothing could gain his approval. Nothing which they said or did ever went without blame and reprimand. The Master Father (Ch'iu) silently thought to himself, 'Since the time that I began to follow the Master I have been unable to understand what the Tao is. Everything that he has taught me (or made me do) has not had anything to do with this matter (the Tao).'. He had his

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18 A respectful and affectionate term used to refer to a master that one had directly studied under.
19 Another passage in the same book (chuan#3 p.6b) indicates that the method was called the "Breath Control Method of the Immortality of the Valley Spirit".
doubts and wanted to question [Wang] about them but was afraid of the harshness of the Patriarch-Master. He wanted to obediently practice what he had been told but his desire to seek the Tao was urgent and he could not stabilize his will. Thus when his frustration came to a climax he gathered up the courage to ask. The Patriarch-Master answered, 'It is upon your nature', and said nothing more. The Master-Father did not dare to ask anything more.

Later, when the Patriarch-Master was on the verge of his death in the middle of the last month (the twelfth month), the four masters had gathered some money by begging. [Wang] made them buy some firewood and build a large fire in the room in which he was sleeping. The room was very small. He made Tan-yang and Ch'ang-chen stand inside the room. The heat was unbearable. He made Ch'ang-sheng and Ch'ang-ch'un stand outside. The coldness was unbearable. He did not allow those inside to go outside and those outside to come inside. After a long time, Master-Father Ch'ang-sheng could not stand the suffering any longer and thus ran away.

On the fourth day of the first month the Patriarch Master was about to ascend [to Immortal-hood] (pass away) and the three masters stood by his bed. The Patriarch-Master said, 'Tan-yang has already acquired the Tao, Ch'ang-chen already understands the Tao and I have nothing to worry about [regarding them]. Ch'ang-sheng and Ch'ang-ch'un have not yet [acquired the Tao]. Ch'ang-ch'un in studying should listen to Tan-yang's orders. Ch'ang-chen should look after Ch'ang-sheng.' He then said to Ch'ang-ch'un, 'You have committed one great sin which you must get rid of. In the past you thought to yourself that everything that you had been taught had nothing to do with the matter [of the Tao]. You never understood that the point at which you do not seek is the the Tao.'

We can see from the way that Wang trained his disciples that the way in which one was to train himself varied accordingly with the amount of accumulated merit and deeds. I am not sure of why Wang determined that Ma had accumulated more merit and deeds than Ch'iu had during his past incarnations, but as a result he transmitted his breathing techniques to Ma only. As we will see in more detail in the next chapter, a complete detachment from superfluous thoughts, desires and attachments was a pre-requisite which had to be met before the various esoteric physiological methods could be practiced properly and effectively. Thus Ch'iu was made to accumulate merit by training his capacity to shut

\[\text{chuan}\ #2\ pp.8b-10a.\ \text{See Plate 18.}\]
out desires and attachments through constant engagement in undesirable tasks. Ch'iu's error lay in his inability to realize that hasteful longing for the Tao was what was hindering him from attaining it. As for why Wang was able to know what Ch'iu had been thinking, the implication is that Wang possessed the super-normal ability to know what is in the minds of other people. As we will see later, this kind of supernormal power was regarded as an important defining characteristic of a Perfected Man. We can see that Wang was a very harsh master towards all of his disciples. It was deemed necessary for a monk to suffer, and thus Wang made his disciples suffer. One biography\textsuperscript{21} tells us that during the few days before his death, Wang also tortured his disciples by making them eat large quantities of a stew full of rotten meat and fish. It was this near sadistic quality of Wang that made his inner circle of disciples a very exclusive and distinct group:

"Because he frequently manifested his divine extraordinariness (performed miracles), people of the east (Shantung 山東) all followed him. He cleaned off and parcelled out the earnest ones and cut off the pretenders. Hundreds of times he whipped them, and angrily insulted them. The unworthy fled."\textsuperscript{22}

After the death of Wang, it was up to the disciples to torture themselves. I will now leave it up to the Ch'iian-chen hagiographers to describe for you the difficulties which disciples put upon themselves in order to accumulate merit and accomplish Perfection:

"[Ma Tan-yang] cultivated true merit and accumulated true deeds. He wore clothes made of paper and hemp. He ate coarse food. In the severe cold of mid-winter he exposed his body and went barefoot."\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Li-shih Chen-hsien T'i-tao Tung-chien Hsu-p'ien} 历世真仙髙蹤仙録
\textsuperscript{22}\textit{Kan-ghui Hsien-yuan Lu} 青水仙源錄 (KSL) chuan \#1 p.9b: 會顔神異老人書從陶法真, 杜絕虛假, 結著顔, 骈端, 選楚怒罵, 鬱餘解散
\textsuperscript{23}ibid. chuan \#1 p.14a: 修真功德真行服紙麻之服食糠糟之食隆冬寒露體, 老足
"The teacher (Liu Ch'ang-sheng) hid his traces in Lo-ching (Loyang) and refined his nature in the midst of the intermingling of the dust. He nurtured his simplicity amidst the clamor of the shops and market places. [Sounds of] wind and string instruments did not disturb his inner harmony. Beautiful sights did not arouse his essence. His mind was like ashes, and because of this he regarded coldness as a benefit. His body was like a tree, and therefore did not act in lewd ways. If people gave him food, he would eat. But if not, he showed no traces of resentment. If someone asked him something, he would answer with hand gestures." 24

"After mourning [Wang's death] in a graveside hut for two years, [Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un] entered the P'an-hsi Gorge in the fall of the chia-wu 甲午 year (1174). He lived in a cave and begged for one meal per day, going about wearing a grass mantle. People called him 'Mr. Grass Mantle'. For six years he went day and night without sleeping. After this he hid himself in Mt. Lung-men in Lun-chou 龍州 (in Kansu 甘肅) and performed acts of suffering like he did in P'an-hsi." 25

"After this, [Wang Yü-yang] went back and forth between Teng-chou 登州 and Ning-hai (both located on the north coast of the Shantung Peninsula). At night he would return to the Cloud Radiance Grotto (a grotto located on Mt. Ch'a 堇山 where Yu-yang trained) where he stood at the entrance on one foot facing the great sea on the east for nine years, not once falling asleep. People called him 'Mr. Iron Leg'. Perfected Man Ch'iu [Ch'ang-ch'un] praised him saying, 'In the summer he stood facing the sun. In the winter he slept embracing the snow.' He trained his body like this for nine years and entered into the great marvelousness." 26

"The teacher (Hao Kuang-ning) roamed about Ho-pei. In the yi-wei 乙未 year (1175) he was begging in Wo-chou 沃州 when he suddenly understood the secret words of [Wang] Ch'ung-yang. [His insight] widely opened up. Consequently he went to a bridge and sat silently and motionlessly upon it. When he got hungry or

24 Chin-lien Cheng-tsung Chi (CLC) chuan #4 p.4b. See Plate 19.
26 CLC chuan #5 p.2a. See Plate 21.
thirsty he did not seek [food or drink]. Amidst coldness or heat he did not change his attire. If people gave him food, he ate. If they did not give him food, he would not [eat]. Even when there were people who insulted and ridiculed him, he did not get angry. His will was [concentrated] on forgetting his body. He was like this for three years. People called him 'Mr. Speechless:不語先生.'

One evening when the sky was dark, a drunkard accidentally kicked the teacher while crossing the bridge, knocking him down under the bridge. [Hao] said nothing and did not come out from under the bridge for seven days. People did not know what had happened and thus wondered where the teacher was. It suddenly happened that when a travelling official was trying to cross the bridge on horseback, the horse became startled and started to buck and would not advance even when whipped. The traveller got off his horse and asked [people] left and right, 'There must be something strange under the bridge. If not, why is my horse frightened?' He ordered [people] right and left to go and look [under the bridge]. They found a Taoist (Hao) sitting properly (upright in a meditative position) in a relaxed manner. When they questioned him he speechlessly wrote on the ground with his hand, 'I have not eaten for seven days.' The commoners of the district heard of this and hurried forth to offer him food, burn incense and beg him to come out [from under the bridge]. But he only waved his hand and refused. He just sat under the bridge for three more years. Water and fire overturned, yin and yang came together and the Merit of Nine Cycles 九轉功 was completed."^28

"For months, [Sun Ch'ing-ching] slept lying in the snow. Frostbite damaged her appearance but she did not regard it as suffering."^29

One can notice from the above passages that while all of the disciples put demands on their physical endurance and will power of degrees ranging from arduous to ridiculous (admittedly, the hagiographers seem to be stretching some of the facts to enhance the superhuman aura of their holy men), the specific methods and the environments which they chose also varied. This variation of methods for each individual seems to have been, and still is, an important characteristic of Ch'lian-chen Perfection Cultivation. Not only was

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^27 An alchemical metaphor meaning that he had successfully undergone the physiological processes of Perfection Cultivation.

^28 CLC chuan #5 pp.6b-7a. See Plate 22.

^29 ibid. chuan #5 p.9b: 度月臥雪眼霜顔紫而不知苦
diligent individual effort required, but one was also supposed to be able to use his or her own judgement and creativity to pursue the type of methods and environments which were the most effective for bringing about his or her Perfection. Thus the disciples, rather than sticking together and training themselves in a communal fashion, chose to disperse, as each one had a different strategy towards Perfection in mind. The biography of Ma Tan-yang in Chin-lien Cheng-tsung Hsien-yüan Hsiang-chuan (Golden Lotus Orthodox Sect Portraits and Biographies of the Source of the Immortals : HC) tells us that after Wang Ch'ung-yang died in Pien-ching (Kaifeng), the four disciples Ma, T'an, Liu and Ch'iu carried his coffin to Liu-chiang Village at the foot of Mt. Chung-nan in order to bury him. They then rebuilt the meditational hut in which their master had resided during his years of training. After this they gathered together to discuss what was to be done next:

"The master (Ma), together with the three masters T'an, Liu and Ch'iu stayed at the Chen-wu Shrine in the town of Ch'in-tu. On a moon-lit night, each proclaimed his will. The master (Ma) said, 'I will combat poverty.' T'an said, 'I will combat this.' Liu said, 'I will combat my will power.' Ch'iu said, 'I will combat laziness.'"  

I will have to admit that I am not entirely sure what each one of them meant. But it seems as though perhaps Ma was vowing to live a life of poverty, T'an was vowing to fight off the temptations which surrounded him in whatever environment that he was in, Liu was vowing to test the limits of his will power, and Ch'iu was vowing to combat his laziness. The approach that one was to take was thought to be something that must be determined by the ammount of merit and deeds points that one had accumulated in present

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30p.24a: 師與諸弟子夜宿秦渡鎮真武廟月夜各言其志師曰關食譚曰
開是劉曰關志丘曰開開

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and past lives and by one's degree of intelligence, strength, vitality and stamina. Ma had the largest accumulation of merit and deeds and was already in his later middle age (as were T'an and Sun). Thus he seems to have concentrated primarily on meditational methods practiced in seclusion in his hut and did not resort to methods that were quite as extreme as those of some of the others. Ch'iü, Yü-yang and Hao, on the other hand, felt (or were perhaps told) that they were inferior in terms of their points that they had accumulated. Also, they were still young men. Thus they seem to have submitted themselves to physical ordeals of a considerably more arduous nature.

Recently (December, 1988), I had the pleasure of visiting the San Francisco branch temple of the Ch'ing Chung Taoist Association and talking to its minister, Rev. H.T. Yau (I use the words, "minister" and "Reverend" because this is what he calls himself). Rev. Yau told me that an aspiring Ch'uan-chen priest (I do not use the word "monk" here because the Ching-chung Taoist Association has abandoned the practice of monasticism.) should spend a period of three to five years in training. During this training period, one's time should be equally devoted to three activities; studying scriptures, meditating and performing good deeds (evangelism and charity). But most importantly, he told me, an aspiring priest was supposed to use his own judgement to discover the training regimen that is best suited for himself. The three-fold regimen of scriptural study, meditation and good deeds is merely Rev. Yau's own suggestion. Realizing that the ascetic element was conspicuously lacking in Rev. Yau's description, I reminded him of the arduous ordeals that his 12th-13th century predecessors underwent and asked him why such methods were no longer being practiced. His reply was that the original Ch'üan-chen masters were trying out such methods in order to innovate new paths to salvation for themselves and for others. Thus, what they did was appropriate and
necessary for themselves and their contemporaries, but is not necessarily required or applicable for practitioners of the present day.

Part of what makes religious Taoism such a unique and interesting religion is the fact that it is not just a set of beliefs and practices based on adherence to certain designated and uncompromisable dogmas. Very often, particularly in the case of Ch’üan-chen and other similar sects, the Taoist religion takes on the complexion of a sort of proto-science of salvation and Immortal-hood. In other words, there was (and apparently still is) an attitude that always allowed for new developments in doctrine and practice based on newly discovered or revealed insights towards how suffering and death could be bypassed. There was a definite attitude of acceptance toward new ideas and ways if there was any kind of conceivable reason for why they would work. I really think that Rev. Yau’s remarks point us towards the proper direction in understanding the role of the Ch’üan-chen masters within the history of the development of religious Taoist doctrine and practice. Within the development of this proto-science of salvation and Immortality, they seem to have perhaps been the ones who "researched" the ascetic approach of "purity and stillness" more than anyone else.

So as they each went about in their experimentation in the ascetic approach towards Perfection, how were they supposed to know whether or not their efforts were bringing the proper results? For a great part, they seem to have gauged their progress based on the degree to which they could maintain an "unwavering heart" 不動心 in all situations. This meant to be devoid of bondage to feelings such as desire (especially lust) fear, sorrow and anger. MTC tells of five tests put upon Lű Ch’un-yang by divine forces, each of which he passed with flying colors. According to MTC, the first trial took place when Lu was about to leave his home town to pursue the life of a Taoist beggar monk. Suddenly, all of the members of his family died of illness. However, Lű felt and showed no sorrow but simply
gathered together the materials needed for their funeral. Thus he had passed the first test, and his whole family was miraculously brought back to life by the gods.

The second trial took place when a band of robbers plundered his house, leaving nothing behind. Lü simply watched it happen without saying or doing anything.

The third trial took place shortly after he had left his home town. He got lost, and as he wandered about he came upon a house in which a fisherman lived. The fisherman kindly let Lü stay overnight while he went out for some night fishing. While the fisherman was gone, a gorgeous young woman came knocking at the door and subsequently resorted to every method imaginable to try and seduce Lü. But Lü remained completely unaroused sexually all night long. He eventually woke up finding himself sitting alone under a large tree.

The fourth trial took place as Lü was crossing a river in a small boat. Lü remained completely unfrightened, and miraculously survived the storm.

In the fifth and final trial, Lü was staying at a travel lodge when he encountered a throng of demons and ghosts. One of them, the ghost of a badly cut and bruised prison convict, declared that he had been murdered by Lü during one of his previous incarnations, and that he wished to avenge his own death by beheading Lü. Lü calmly exposed his bare neck for the ghost to chop off. His life was spared when a loud shout was heard out of nowhere, and the demons and ghosts disappeared. The Immortal Chung-li Cheng-yang (who had let out the shout), seeing that Lü was ready, took him with him to Mt. Chung-nan to reveal to him the most profound secrets of Perfection Cultivation.

In much the same way, the lives of the Ch'uan-chen masters were filled with trying circumstances which had to be dealt with with an "unwavering heart". If they failed to do so, it served as proof of their unworthiness. T'an Ch'ang-chen engaged in essentially the same training methods as Liu Ch'ang-sheng did, begging in the streets of Erh-tsu Town.
in Tzu-chou (in Honan), exposing himself to all of the distractions and temptations of town life in order to improve his ability to maintain his composure under all circumstances. The following incident was perhaps his greatest moral victory:

"A drunk man asked the master (T'an), 'Where do you come from?' Before he could answer, [the drunkard] suddenly punched [T'an] in the mouth with his fist. His teeth were broken and blood was flowing, but with a very content expression he spat out his teeth into his hand and went off singing and dancing. People in the marketplace who saw this were furious. They made [T'an] report this [incident] to an official. But all that the master said [to the official] was, 'He was only drunk.' At the time, [Ma] Tan-yang was inside the Passage (was in Shensi). When he heard about this [incident] he praised [T'an] saying, 'By receiving a single blow he has erased the karma of his entire lifetime!'"31

In TYL, Ma himself reminisces about a very similar personal experience:

"The master said, 'When I first came inside the Passage and was going about begging, I arrived at a saloon. There was a drunk man [at the saloon]. Amidst the insults [that he was saying to me], I received a punch from him. Thereupon I ran, but he dragged me back and punched me again. All I could do was take it and bear it. Have any of you ever met with this kind of demonic hazard?' A disciple answered, 'No.' The master said, 'That's good. If you do encounter [such a situation], do not fight back.'"32

Life for a Ch'üan-chen monk was seen in such a way as a series of "demonic hazards" which he had to react to in a completely calm and passive manner, much like Lü Ch'un-yang allowed his house to get robbed and exposed his neck to the vengeful ghost. Chinese society in general has never had a high degree of respect for ascetic holy

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31HC p.27b. See Plate 23.
32CLC includes an alternate version of this episode in which T'an is battered by an angry Ch'an (Zen) Buddhist monk. I am almost certain that CLC's version is inaccurate because the writings of the first generation of Ch'üan-chen masters indicate that during the sect's early stages there was little or no animosity between the Ch'üan-chen Taoists and the Buddhists. But in later years, a very intense animosity did occur, and Ch'üan-chen writings frequently seem to try to make the Buddhists look bad.
33pp.11a-b. See Plate 24.

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men, unlike some other cultures such as India. Thus by living as beggars, the Ch'uan-
chen masters exposed themselves to constant derision and occasional violence. Thus here
we see virtually the same thing happening to both T'an and Ma; and Ma speaks of this
experience to his disciples as an example of a hazard that they themselves are very likely to
encounter some day.

While the Ch'uan-chen masters had to deal with derision and violence at the hands of
people while they trained themselves amidst the towns, they also had to deal with the
hazards wrought by Mother Nature when they trained themselves in seclusion. Such was
particularly the case with Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un and Wang Yü-yang. In the face of these
natural hazards, they continuously tested their capacity to maintain their composure under
adversity and temptation. Yin Ch'ing-ho narrates the following episode involving Ch'iu:

"My Master-Father, the Perfected Man [Ch'iu] Ch'ang-ch'un went
about straining his will power and encountering evils (dealing with
evils and fighting off temptations). Fearing only that his merit was
lacking, he went to and fro carrying rocks on top of mountains in
order to fight off his sleepiness. Only because he was yet lacking in
good deeds was he unable to stabilize his mind. After this he
encountered the evil of death twice. One time he exposed himself to
the cold and almost died at his own hands. On another occasion, a
flying rock hit him and broke three of his ribs and limbs. After this,
he came close to death many more times. Demons of illness hit him
and broke his arms three times. Amidst these demonic hazards, his
heart did not waver. Throughout his life he strained his will power
doing nothing but training himself.
If people have determination, they will overcome the evils. If one
has no determination, he will encounter no evils. [If such is the case
one] should experience an evil in order to acquire one layer of good
merit. [Each time you encounter an evil], you can enlighten your
mind and your [innate] nature can become numinous."

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34 This character, when used in this way as an adjective refers to something that has a certain
marvelous, sacred or miraculous quality to it.

35 Chen-hsien Chih-chih Yu-lu lower chuan pp.4a-b. See Plate 25.
The various perils which one would encounter were considered to be beneficial as long as they were ultimately overcome with an unwavering heart. Therefore Ch'iu deliberately exposed himself to life-threatening circumstances in order to create opportunities to accumulate merit. Yin Ch'ing-ho advises his disciples to do the same if they wish to be like him. Another life-threatening peril which existed in the wilderness was wild beasts, particularly tigers. Wang Chih-chin, a disciple of Hao Kuang-ning tells us the following about how Ch'iu dealt with this problem:

"In the past, when Perfected Man Ch'ang-ch'un was at the P'an-hsi Gorge, there were always tigers and leopards coming and going at night. On this particular evening, as [tigers and leopards] went in and out, one of the people (who was there training together with Ch'iu) became horrified, and in the morning wanted to build a wall (to keep the tigers out of the hut or grotto in which they were staying). [Ch'iu] thought to himself, 'If one has a frightened heart and wants to guard and protect oneself in this kind of a situation, how can one hope to avoid life and death (re-incarnation)?' Thereby he stopped [the building of] the wall and got rid of [the wall]. Firmly, with determination he resigned himself to life and death (did not long for his life to be spared nor did he fear death). His fearful thoughts naturally no longer existed. Thus he got to where he was unwavering like a mountain amidst the surroundings of life and death. In a single moment he was emancipated from his various forms of attachment. This is going to places which are difficult to go to."36

Fear in any situation, even a life-threatening one, was regarded as proof that one's spirit still had attachments to the temporal realm and was still incapable of attaining emancipation from the cycle of re-incarnation. If one wished to be an Immortal like Lü Ch'un-yang, he had to be willing to "bare his neck" in the midst of life-threatening circumstances. Of course, there is definitely a paradox here that results from the fact that the Taoist ideal of Imortal-hood had been equated with the Buddhist ideal of liberation from

th cycle of re-birth (a development that well preceeded the time of the Ch'üan-chen masters). While engaging in the life-long quest to overcome mortality, one was not supposed to want to avoid death. As we will see in the next chapter, the Ch'üan-chen masters were in fact very much concerned with how to avoid disease and death and lengthen the lifespan. Ultimately, their ascetic and sometimes dare devil-like activities were thought to be a means by which the health of the mortal body could be better maintained. While they ultimately did not want to die, they did not allow themselves to think it, because the fear of death and the desire to live were themselves causes of disease and death. Yet, even in their own time, this paradox was puzzling, and there is evidence that some of their believers may have taken the ideal of non-attachment to life much too literally without understanding the other side of the paradox:

"Hermit Liu of Mou-p'ing District (in Shantung) wanted to burn his own body. Thus I wrote the following poem quickly in order to save his life:

Mr. Liu, listen to my exhortation.
Studying Buddha-hood and studying Immortal-hood,
Is to rely on one's knowledge and insight in order to cut off and abandon the mind's dust.
It is not to be accomplished by burning and abandoning the body.

Intricately cultivate, refine and train the spiritual elixir.
Strive for the nine cycle completion of your merit and deeds.
Follow in the footsteps of Hai-ch'an, the brilliant Patriarch Liu."\(^{37}\)

Whether this particular Mr. Liu contemplated resorting to cremating himself alive as a result of the influence of Ch'üan-chen teaching, I do not know. But such could very likely have been the case. But anyway, Ma attempted to change his mind (I do not know whether he succeeded, although I certainly hope he did) by reminding him that he needed to keep

\(^{37}\)CYC chuan #10 p.3b. See Plate 27.
his physical body intact in order to do what is necessary to become an Immortal like Liu Hai-ch' an.

Aside from the fear of life-threatening hazards of the temporal realm, a Ch'üan-chen monk also had to conquer his fear of gods and demons. Apparently for Ch'iü Ch'ang-ch'un, this type of fear was particularly difficult to conquer:

"[Ch'iü] himself said, 'I am not scared by fierce tigers, but when I see a clay statue of a god slaying [evil spirits, sinners(?)], I feel scared.' Thus from time to time he went to look at it and sometimes stayed overnight in the shrine which housed that particular statue. It took him three years to overcome this fear."38

This fear of Ch'iü's may seem like a childish one. This, of course, serves to remind us of the fact that the world as perceived by people back in the 12th century was one which was filled with an infinite number of gods and demons, many of which were regarded as vicious bringers of misfortune. With the Buddhist concept of hell already well established in Taoist religion and in popular religion, men of faith like Ch'iü had to struggle with the fear of damnation and punishment at the hands of the gods. For Ch'iü, this type of fear was rooted much deeper than any of his fears toward what we would call the real world. Later on, we will see that not only was a Perfected Man not supposed to be afraid of any gods or demons, but he was supposed to be superior to them and have complete control over them. This was supposedly what would make him an effective healer and performer of rituals.

What is vital for us to understand about the perspective of the Ch'üan-chen masters is that they thought that to have a completely enlightened spirit (free of all superfluous thoughts, emotions and attachments) meant by definition to be in complete control of one's physical body and the ch'i that it is made out of. Thus the body's inability to withstand

38 chuan #3 p.10a. See Plate 28.
strenuous physical exertion, sleepiness, hunger, coldness or heat was regarded as proof that there was still progress that had to be made. A particularly traumatic and embarrassing failure for a Ch'üan-chen monk was the ejaculation of semen (intentional or unintentional) under any circumstance. The way in which a truly determined monk was to react to such personal setbacks was simple; more discipline, more suffering and more hard work:

"Master-Father Ch'ang-ch'un said, 'Looking at all of the [other] masters, I realized that they were all superior to me in their countenances of blessing and wisdom. Finally I exerted my heart. After three years my ambition was to refine my mind to the point where it is like cold ashes. After ten years of aspiring, my mind was beyond control and could not be subdued. I myself realized that my merit was lacking. Again I increased in my determination. Wearing a pair of sandals I tied them and untied them over and over again at night and ran seventeen to eighteen laps in order to keep my nature from getting darkened (falling asleep?). After fifty days of doing this I had an unwavering mind. My perfected heart was like a crystal pagoda.'

One day, [Ch'iu] fell [asleep (?)] and gave rise to thoughts. The Master-Father wept and wailed. It was from this time that [he knew that] his merit was shallow. Later, when a military general in Ch'ang-an summoned him to perform a chai ritual, he leaked [semen] three times during the night. The Master-Father himself realized that his merit was lacking and that he had been unable to accomplish the Tao. He experienced heavenly temptations and great temptations of the five emperors. Even when a flying rock broke three ribs and limbs, his heart did not waver. Later he reached the holy sages (the Immortals took notice of his gallant efforts) and heard a human voice (of an Immortal?) in the air say, 'You will acquire the Tao on the 15th day of the second month'."

"Grand Master [Wang] Yü-yang 王陽大師, from the time he was still living at home, did not know any erotic affairs. After leaving his home he never leaked [semen]. But later, one evening on Mt. T'ie-ch'ā 山 he suddenly had a leakage. He wailed and wept in extreme despair, and felt hungry. The [gods of] the various heavens thereupon spread about harmonious ch'i. Three days later

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39 Chen-hsien Chih-chih Yü-lu lower chuan pp.10b-11a. See Plate 29.
40 Because semen was retained to be used as nutrition for the body (as we will see in Chapter Two), it seems as though the understanding was that the leakage caused the hunger
he acquired his mind's ground. From then on he underwent 1000
rigors and 100 ways of training. One time, he knelt in rocks and
gravel until his knees became tattered to the bones. In mountains
full of rough rocks and thorn bushes he went about with bare feet.
This why [people of] the world call him 'Iron Legs'. In three years
his old karma disappeared."

Ch’iu and Yi-yang as they are portrayed in the above passages epitomize the basic
spirit of the first generation of the Ch’üan-chen sect. They trained and punished
themselves to the point where they themselves could finally believe that they had done and
had succeeded at everything that is necessary for attaining Perfected Man status. For them,
every day and every moment was a struggle to keep their minds free of thoughts, desires
and attachments and to maintain control over their bodies. By enduring all of their
hardships, they proved to themselves and their believers that they were legitimate holy
men. For Ch’iu, as we can see, realization of his own Perfection came when he heard the
voice of an Immortal tell him that he would soon "acquire the Tao."

The early Ch’üan-chen sect was a young, vibrant and highly inspired religious
movement in which a group of deeply dedicated and motivated people devoted a
tremendous amount of time, effort and hard work to create for themselves and others a path
towards emancipation from the cycle of re-incarnation and towards eternal life as an
Immortal. In the ensuing chapters we will be seeing how, along with this aspect that
stressed grueling and creative personal effort, the Ch’üan-chen sect featured various esoteric
theories and methods of life-nurturing (methods for combating disease and extending
the lifespan), an aspect of faith which sought the merciful intervention of the Immortals, a
strong belief in the ability of the Perfected Man to perform miracles, and a wide variety of
ritual activities. The sect soon came to have a large following of lay believers whose

41 This seems to refer to a spiritual enlightenment or a mental attitude that is conducive to successful
Perfection Cultivation.
42 Ch’ing-ho Chen-jen Pei-yü’ü-lu chuan #3 pp.11a-b. See Plate 30.
religiosity functioned more at the level of faith and reliance upon the mercy and compassion of the Perfected Men and Immortals and the observance of proper moral conduct under the guidance of their "skillful means". But somehow, it seems as though the aspect that I have discussed in this chapter served as a sort of a foundation upon which such other aspects which I will be discussing based their theories and their credibility.

In this chapter, we saw that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters believed that in order to get rid of superfluous thoughts, gain control of the body, erase bad karma, and accumulate merit, it was essential to live a life of poverty and humiliation (supported by begging) and to intentionally engage in the necessary amount of gruelling, painful or even life-endangering activities, based on the amount of merit one had previously accumulated in present and previous incarnations. Without accumulating merit in this way, one was unqualified to be taught esoteric life-nurturing methods, could not experience a mystical encounter with an Immortal, could not acquire the power to perform miracles, and was unworthy of performing important Taoist rituals. From the eyes of the most believers, anyone who lived comfortably and was unable to maintain his physical health and mental composure under the most trying of circumstances, was a sad excuse for a Perfected Man.
CHAPTER TWO: THEORIES AND METHODS OF LIFE NURTURING

"The womb is created and the egg is moistened. [It] transforms and gives birth to a person. If you are confused, how can you know the cause of your four fleeting elements? Truly this (body) is a ball of mud and a clod of dirt. When gathered together it becomes the body and when it scatters, it becomes dust."

Reincarnating in this world are many kinds of people. Each is allotted his spiritual nature and each has his cause [for his present incarnation]. One hundred years is their greatest limit from the womb until death. The five capacities will all return to the dust below the dust."

The above verses are from a poem written by Wang Ch'ung-yang titled, "Yin-tzu of the Living Dead Man" which is about his experiences and what he came to realize at Nan-shih Village from the fall of 1161 to the fall of 1163. These years were devoted to intensive meditative self cultivation inside a dirt burial mound which he had built for himself. What can be seen in verses such as these is an apparent full scale renunciation of the physical body as something that is essentially nothing more than a conglomeration of dirt which is doomed to ultimate destruction.

Such a view of the human body was without any doubt a product of the influence of Buddhism which had played a prime role in the development and evolution of the Taoist

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1. 4 quoted physical body which is made out of the four elements, soil, water, fire, and wind.
2. 2 mental capacities of a person.
3. 5 Five capacities that make up the mundane world of experience. 1) Sense data experienced through the sense organs. 2) Feelings of happiness, despair, anger, anger and enjoyment. 3) Volitional thought and action. 4) Cognition. 5) Knowledge.
4. 4 CCC ch'uan #2 p. 11b and pp.12a-b. See Plate 31.
5. 5 The name of a particular form of verse that developed during the Tang Dynasty.
religion for many centuries. By the time of the Ch'üan-chen sect, Taoism had long since also become a religion that took on the quest for freedom from the cycle of re-birth by means of getting rid of the ignorance that causes it.

Having made this observation, one might naturally want to deduce that the archaic and unmistakably Chinese ideal of long life and immortality had been undermined. Since antiquity the Chinese, particularly the devotees of immortality cult which later became an integral part of religious Taoism, had been obsessed with maintaining the health of the physical body, lengthening the lifespan and ultimately avoiding death altogether by means of alchemy, medicines, dietary practices, calisthenics, sexual techniques, breathing techniques, meditation, etc. But when one maintains that death is inevitable and compares his own body to mud and makes it his prime endeavor to get rid of ignorance, it would seem to follow that the pursuit of upkeeping the body and lengthening the lifespan would become obsolete or extremely insignificant at best. A statement such as the following one by Wang Ch'ung-yang would seem to back up such a conclusion:

"To leave the normal world does not mean that the body leaves, but rather that the mind leaves. The body is like the lotus roots and the mind is like the lotus flower. While the roots are in the mud, the flower is in empty space. People who have acquired the Tao have their bodies in the normal world, yet their minds are in the sacred realm. People nowadays who long for immortality along with leaving the normal world are colossal idiots who have not yet mastered the obvious facts." 6

It is passages such as this which have led reputable scholars to make statements such as this one:

"Because ageless long life 不老 長生 was the main goal in previous forms of religious Taoism, many life nurturing methods..." 6

6Ch'ung-yang Li-chiao Shih-wu Lun 重陽立秋十五論 (TT989) #15. See Plate 32.
such as the avoidance of grains were expounded. However, because the Ch'üan-chen sect took a viewpoint which did not expound the kind of ageless immortality that was expounded by the immortality cult, naturally it almost never spoke of such kinds of life nurturing methods at all.8

Can we thus conclude that the Ch'üan-chen sect was mostly indifferent towards matters involving how to keep the body healthy and extend the lifespan? Were spiritual enlightenment and release from the cycle of rebirth regarded as strictly non-physical phenomena? Absolutely not. Quite to the contrary, in depth study of the writings of Wang Ch'ung-yang and his direct disciples can reveal that they were in fact deeply concerned with the physical body in terms of how it is made up, how it works, and how it can be maintained. This fact can be observed clearly from theories expounded particularly in depth in works such as Ch'ung-yang Chen-jen Chin-kuan Yü-suo Chüeh 重陽真人全闕玉屑 (Perfected Man Ch'ung-yang's Lesson on the Golden Passage and Jade Chain: YSC in TT796), TYL, Ta-tan Chih-chih 大丹直指 (Direct Lessons on the Great Elixir: TTCC in TT115), Hsiian-feng Ch'ing-hui Lu 玄風應録 (Record of the Auspicious Meeting with the Profound Wind: CHL in TT76) and Liu Ch'ang-sheng's commentaries (in TT57 and TT149 respectively) to Huang-ti Yin-fu Ching 黃帝陰符經 (The Yellow Emperor's Yellow Talisman Scripture: YFC) and Huang-t'ing Nei-ch'ing Yü-ching 黃庭內景玉經 (The Jade Scripture of the Inner Scenery of the Yellow Court: NCC). Virtually all of the other written works of the Ch'üan-chen masters discuss or refer to theories and methods of upkeeping the body (although in a much more brief and abstract

7Grain-free. A term referring to a dietary regimen which prohibits the eating of grains. Quite often this term seems to have also referred to complete fasting.
8Translated from p.161 of Kubo Noritada, Chuugoku no Shuukyoo Kaikaku: Zenshinkyoo no Seiritsu. See Plate 33.
Hagiographies of the Ch’üan-chen sect are also valuable in giving us glimpses of the ideals that were sought by the masters in terms of physical health and prowess.

In this chapter I will attempt to discuss the Ch’üan-chen sect’s theories and methods of nurturing one’s life. In the first part of this chapter I will summarize how the Ch’üan-chen masters perceived the structure and mechanisms of the human anatomy. In the second part I will discuss what they believed to be the causes for disease and death. In the third part I will discuss the methods prescribed and used by the Ch’üan-chen masters for the purpose of combatting and preventing diseases. In the fourth part I will try to discuss the significance of life nurturing methods towards the ultimate goal of liberation from the cycle of re-incarnation and of spiritual ascension to the transcendent realm of the Tao. In doing so I hope to make it clear that to be free of ignorance and enlightened with the knowledge of the Tao within oneself (referred to by many different terms such as "Golden Elixir"金丹, "Single Numinous Perfected Nature"—壹真性, "Dharma body"法身, "primal ch’i" 元氣, "perfect ch’i" 真氣, "yang spirit"陽神等) also meant to be able to have complete mastery over one’s own physical body and its destiny.

We who attempt to understand the uniquely Chinese religion of Taoism must keep in mind the uniquely Chinese way of understanding the relationship between mind and body (which are also frequently described as nature性 and life destiny命 or spirit and ch’i). The mind and body were understood as interdependent in all circumstances, and it was thought that neither could possibly exist without the other. Also, one’s mental capacity was ultimately understood as ch’i (physical matter in solid, liquid, gaseous or formless form) in its most refined (formless) form. While Buddhist ideas had been incorporated into

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9 A person’s innate character and intelligence.
10 A person’s pre-determined fate in terms of health, good or bad fortune and lifespan.
11 The solid, liquid, gaseous or formless material which things are made out of.
Taoism on a large scale, this basic Chinese view of mind and body was never compromised. Thus, even for the Ch'üan-chen masters who are notable for their sincere veneration for the Buddha and his teachings, life nurturing was a prime concern in all of their activities.

(a) The Anatomy

Wang Ch'ung-yang's most comprehensive discussion of the human anatomy is found in YSC. YSC is made up of conversations between Wang and certain questioners who remain unidentified throughout the text. The first few exchanges of questions and answers set up the theme of what is to follow and also provide the reader with a few insights concerning the circumstances under which life nurturing methods had to be discussed and transmitted.

"Someone asked, 'What is the marvelous principle of Perfection Cultivation?'
[Wang] answered saying, 'First you must get rid of your nameless\(^{12}\) superfluous thoughts. Secondly, give up coveting, attachment, liquor, sex, money and anger. This is how to train yourself. A person's whole body completely has in it the principles of Heaven and Earth. Heaven and Earth contain and nourish the myriad things and therefore the myriad things abound between Heaven and Earth. The highness, brightness, vastness and greatness of Heaven and Earth have never been [completely] covered by the myriad objects. People who train themselves, whenever responding to myriad affairs must embody [this capacity of Heaven and Earth to encompass everything and yet not get overrun].'
[The questioner] doubted [and said], 'Heaven (the sky) gets dark, Earth trembles, mountains crumble and erode, seas dry up, the sun and the moon wax and wane, and people have illness and impermanence (death). How can one cure this?"

\(^{12}\) Perhaps this is supposed to mean ignorance or lack of insight. If not, perhaps it means that the superfluous thoughts are hard to identify and thus are hard to eliminate.
[Wang] answered saying, 'If you want to cure and get rid of these [difficulties], master the Most High [Lao-tzu's] Method of refining the Five Phases.'

[The questioner] asked, 'What is this Method of the Five Phases?'

[Wang said], 'A lesson says that first you must uphold the precepts. Be pure and still, withstand humiliation, be merciful and compassionate and practice goodness. Cut off and get rid of the ten bad deeds. With skillful means save and convert all living things. Be loyal to your ruler and be filial to your father, mother and [Taoist] master. This is the way to train yourself. After [doing all of the above], you can study true merit.'

The two important things that are to be noted from the above quote are that the human anatomy was regarded as a microcosm and that life nurturing methods in Ch'üan-chen Taoism were meant to be learned and practiced by members of the clergy who could be determined as worthy of being transmitted such methods by a bona fide master. For this reason, subject matter in Ch'üan-chen literature varies greatly according to the audience that the material is directed at. Much of the poetry is directed at laymen with the intent of converting them or urging them to pursue the monastic lifestyle. Such poems do not discuss life nurturing methods in any kind of detail, although passing references are made to them due to the fact that good health and long life were major selling points of the Ch'üan-chen lifestyle. Poems directed towards disciples or perhaps for recitation at ritual gatherings do deal extensively with life-nurturing methods, but they all use extremely abstract language and are at times nearly impossible to comprehend thoroughly. Reasonably understandable explanations of such methods and of anatomical theories using concrete language are basically confined to the prose texts directed at those who have

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13十恶行 If this is the same as the "ten bad deeds" in Buddhism, it refers to killing, stealing, lewdness, defiled speech, deluded speech, deceptive speech, derogatory speech, double-crossing speech, greed, anger, and wicked ideas.

14 Here this term refers to the various esoteric methods of life nurturing which were taught and practiced to properly initiated members of the clergy.

15 YSC pp.0b-1a. See Plate 34.
already committed themselves to the monastic lifestyle. "Lessons" like YSC or TTCC and commentaries to scriptures like NCC or YFC do describe anatomical theories and life nurturing methods in considerable detail and reasonable clarity.

Wang Ch'ung-yang, after listing the essential pre-requisites for being worthy of learning life nurturing methods, goes on to outline how the inside of the body functions:

"A lesson says that keng, chia, mao and you make up day and night. Chia and mao are the ch'i of the liver. Among the eight epochs it [corresponds to] the beginning of spring. At the spring equinox inside the mouth it becomes chin-tä saliva. Keng and you are the ch'i of the lungs. Among the eight semi-seasonal transition periods it [corresponds to] the beginning of fall. At the fall equinox inside the mouth it becomes ye-hä saliva. Kan and li are coldness and heat. The lead of li is the heart's ch'i inside the body. Among the eight epochs it [corresponds to] the beginning of summer. At the summer solstice inside the body it becomes blood. Kan's mercury is the ch'i inside the kidneys. Among the eight epochs it [corresponds to] the beginning of winter. At the winter

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16 Keng is the seventh of the ten kan symbols. It corresponds to the west, the season of fall and the phase of metal. You is number ten among the twelve shih symbols which also corresponds to the west and refers to the two hours between 5-7p.m or to 6p.m. Chia is the first of the ten kan symbols which corresponds to the phase of wood, the east, and 8p.m. Mao is the fourth of the shih which corresponds to wood, east, spring and 6a.m.

17 The beginnings of each of the four seasons, the fall and spring equinoxes and the summer and winter solstices.

18 Kan is the trigram within the I-ching (Book of Changes). Li is the trigram. Notice how kan represents yang (—) within yin (——), and li represents vice-versa yin within yang.

19 From a time long preceding the Ch'uan-chen sect, perhaps as far back as the Han Dynasty, the theories and terminology of laboratory alchemy blended with I-ching philosophy came to be used to explain in an abstract way the methods and theories of internal physical cultivation, forming what we now refer to as internal or physiological alchemy. The usage of the terms "lead" and "mercury" in this passage is a prime example of this. Unfortunately, there frequently exists inconsistency in the usage of these kinds of alchemical metaphors. TTCC tells us that "lead" is the "primal yang perfect breath" stored in the kidneys and "mercury is the "essence of proper yang" stored in the heart.
solar solstice inside the body it becomes semen. Semen creates the $p'o$
and blood creates the $hun$.Sem is the [innate] nature and blood is the life-destiny. For a person to understand and master his or her nature and life destiny; this is the true method of training oneself. A lesson says that semen
and blood are the basics of the body of flesh. Perfect $ch'i$ is the basis of the nature and life-destiny. Therefore it is said that those who have blood are able to produce perfect $ch'i$. Those whose perfect $ch'i$ is youthful and abundant can naturally for a long time bring together their semen and blood and constitute a shape."

The human body seems to have been understood as a mass of $ch'i$ that circulates and transforms into many different forms (such as saliva, semen and blood) by means of the cyclical functioning of the liver, lungs, heart and kidneys which correspond to nature's four seasons. Blood and semen are the two most basic forms of the body's $ch'i$ which

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20 The $hun$ and $p'o$ are two different types of soul substances which become separated upon death. The $hun$ is a spiritual, formless soul that ascends to heaven which is basically equivalent to the spirit or the [innate] nature. The $p'o$ is a heavy, turbid soul which ends up under the ground, which is more or less representative of the physical body, or perhaps just the skeleton. The body was thought to have three $hun$s and seven $p'o$s. The concept of these two soul substances predated the development of Taoist religion and had been somewhat awkwardly worked into the theories of physiological alchemy.

21 YSC p.1b. See Plate 35.

22 Basically, the passage seems to be saying that the cycle of the four seasons which takes place in the world over the span of a year takes place in the human body over the span of a single day. Apparently, the "spring equinox" at which the liver creates $chin$ saliva is 6 a.m. The "summer solstice" at which the heart produces the blood is noon. The "fall equinox" at which the lungs produce $yeh$ saliva is 6 p.m. The "winter solstice" at which the kidneys produce semen is midnight. Hachiya Kunio has written an excellent article on YSC which includes some very useful annotation to the text (see Bibliography). In this article, on p.108, he quotes a passage from Ling-pao Pi-fa which reads, "With one day, [the body] compares to one year. Use the eight trigrams in one day. The hours [of the day] correspond to the eight epochs. At the $tzu$ hour (midnight), $ch'i$ is produced in the kidneys. At the $mao$ hour, the $ch'i$ reaches the liver. The liver is $yang$. The $ch'i$ becomes vigorous and thus the $yang$ ascends and enters the $yang$ position. This is comparable to the spring equinox. At the $wu$ hour (noon), the $ch'i$ reaches the heart. The accumulated $ch'i$ creates a liquid (apparently the $ch'i$ is in a gaseous form up to this point). At the summer solstice, $yang$ rises and reaches Heaven. This is comparable to when the $yin$ is [first formed]. At the $wu$ hour (noon), the liquid in the heart is born. At the $you$ hour (6 p.m.), the liquid reaches the lungs. The lungs are $yin$. The liquid becomes abundant and the $yin$ descends to enter the $yin$ position. This is comparable to the fall equinox. At the $tzu$ hour (midnight), the liquid reaches the kidneys. The liquid accumulates and creates (gaseous?) $ch'i$. At the winter solstice, $yin$ descends to reach the Earth, and this is comparable to the birth of $yang." See Plate 36.
must be brought and kept together. The two can be kept together if a person has an abundant amount of perfect ch'ì. Perfect ch'ì should essentially be understood as ch'ì that is refined and light to the extent that it has no graspable or visible form. It seems to be basically equivalent to a person's spirit or his mental capacities. People are endowed with this perfect ch'ì from birth and can increase and strengthen it by refining their blood. The statement that the blood produces the hun conveys this concept because the hun is essentially understandable as a person's ethereal, spiritual soul substance, and is thus roughly equivalent to the concepts of spirit and perfect ch'ì. Semen, on the other hand, is what produces the turbid and heavy soul which is essentially understandable as the body's skeleton which gets lodged in the earth after a person dies, his mental capacities depart, and his body's fluids seep out. If the blood produces the ethereal soul (hun) and the semen produces the turbid soul (p'o), it would seem more natural to say that the blood is the nature (innate character and intelligence) and semen is the life destiny (a person's allotted lifespan). However, Wang has it the other way around. Hachiya Kunio says that this passage must have been miswritten and that the passage actually ought to read, "Semen is the life-destiny and blood

This reference is relevant in that it demonstrates that the seasonal cycle was thought to take place in the human body over the span of a day. However, you can see that confusing inconsistencies exist between what is described here and what YSC describes. While YCS speaks of each organ creating its own liquid, Ling-pao Pi-fa describes how the heart transforms gas into liquid and the kidneys transform liquid into gas. Perhaps the difference is explainable by the fact that Wang Ch'ung-yang is describing what goes normally within the human anatomy and Ling-pao Pi-fa describes what takes place within the body of an adept when he performs the proper methods.

Ling-pao Pi-Fa is a work that takes the form of a dialogue between Chung-li Cheng-yang and Lú Ch'un-yang, two putative patriarchs of the Ch'üan-chen sect and the Golden Elixir movement in general. When and by whom it was compiled is unknown, but it seems to have been written in the 12th century by someone within a tradition some how related the the Ch'üan-chen sect.
I disagree with him on this. The understanding was that all people possess an essentially good innate nature (which is the Tao within them) which exists within depths of the subconscious and involuntary forces and elements of the body. The functioning of kidneys, and the semen that they were thought to produce were sort of regarded as central mechanisms of the subconscious and involuntary aspect of a person. Whether or not one could be able to discover his innate good Tao nature depended on whether his subconscious and involuntary forces, epitomized by the kidneys and the semen, could be properly controlled. Very shortly we will see very concrete examples of what was meant by this. But anyway, for this reason, I think that Wang actually did equate the semen to the nature, and the blood to the life destiny.

Wang Ch'ung-yang's top disciple Ma Tan-yang, in his collected sayings (TYL), also discusses this same concept that the human body is built on the model of the universe and briefly summarizes how the body will continue in its functioning and circulation if the semen can be brought together with the ch'i (which seems to perhaps refer to the perfect ch'i which is produced from the blood, assuming that Ma is in agreement with YSC):

".....therefore a scripture says, 'If a person is able to be perpetually pure and still, Heaven and Earth will all return.' This 'Heaven and Earth' does not refer to the Heaven and Earth that cover and carry. I believe that it refers to the Heaven and Earth inside the body. From a person's diaphragm and up is 'Heaven'. Below the diaphragm is 'Earth'. If Heaven's ch'i descends to Earth, the blood vessels will have circulation. Above and below will be in harmony and the semen and ch'i will naturally be solidified."
In Ch'ung-yang Chen-jen Shou Tan-yang Erh-shih-ssu Chiüeh (Perfected Man Ch'ung-yang's Twenty-four Lessons Transmitted to Tan-yang), Wang Ch'ung-yang goes into detail in correlating parts of the human body with their cosmic counterparts.\(^{27}\) He says that the nine orifices of the human body correspond to the seven stars of the Big Dipper and the "Left Bulwark and Right Supporter" stars. The five viscera correspond to the Five Peaks of China.\(^{28}\) The four limbs are correlated to the four seasons. Correlating to the four elements of earth, water, fire, and wind are the body, essence, mind and breath respectively. The essence, spirit, and breath of a person are correlated with the sun, moon and stars and with the symbols of the Earth.\(^{30}\) Also, the heart correlates to the sun, and the kidneys correlate to the moon.

Breath and essence are needed for the body to function, and are constantly generously supplied to the body by Heaven and Earth. This concept can be seen from the following statement that Liu Ch'ang-sheng makes in his commentary to YFC:

"Heaven has the proper breaths of the five directions [which] inside the human body become the 'mother of spirit'......People eat the five grains and nurture the body......The essences of the five grains are preserved in the human body and become life destiny."\(^{31}\)

\(^{27}\) pp.2b-3a
\(^{28}\) This apparently refers to two stars located near the Big Dipper.
\(^{29}\) T'ai-shan (the Eastern Peak), Hua-shan (the Western Peak), Heng-shan (the Southern Peak), Keng-shan (the Northern Peak), and Sung-shan (the Central Peak).
\(^{30}\) Chi is the sixth of the ten kan symbols. Ping is the third of the kan symbols which corresponds to the phase of fire and the southern direction as does ting, the fourth of the kan symbols.
\(^{31}\) p.1b
Thus people eat the air that comes from Heaven (the sky) and are nourished by the essence of the grains that grow out of the earth. Essence, in other words can be understood as the nutrition in the foods that we eat. The concept that breath becomes the "mother of spirit" relates to the concept that ch'i can be refined from heavy forms to airy forms and ultimately to formlessness (spirit). Thus breath or air, is ch'i in its ethereal form and thus represents the stage of refinement right before formlessness. Breath is described as the "mother" because the spirit is "born" or produced from it.

This essence and breath which are so vital in keeping the body working were also understood as having been supplied to the body from birth by the mother and father. It was understood that the father's semen and the mother's blood which merge at the time of conception were the body's initial endowment of essence and breath. Semen and essence are written with the same character because the two were understood as being essentially the same thing. Semen was understood as the nutrition endowed within the body from birth. Blood, as we have already noted, could produce air, and was thus the body's breath endowment from birth. As we will be seeing throughout this chapter, Ch'uan-chen adepts preferred to sustain and nourish their bodies by means of their essence and breath given to them from birth (blood and semen). They tried to limit their consumption of Earth's essence (food) while attempting to breath the breath of Heaven (air) in a manner which the perfect ch'i in the Cinnabar Field could be supplemented. In

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32 The fact that the character  can refer to either "air" or to the "stuff which things in general are made out of or to both, is what makes the interpretation of many passages extremely difficult.

33 Because the Chinese did not have the concept of the egg cell that we have today (although in the poem that I quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Wang Ch'ung-yang compares the inside of the womb to an egg), they understood conception as a merging of semen and blood.

34 This seems to have to do with the fact that food produced from the soil was considered to be yin and therefore crude, heavy and perishable; not conducive to immortality.
fact, they seem to have sought as an ideal the state of the human fetus which lives in the
mother's womb and is nourished by her, without needing to itself inhale the air and eat the
food on the outside of the body. Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un provides for us a clear example of
the idealization of the fetal existence in TTCC, as he narrates the process that takes place
from conception up to birth:

"At first, because the *ch'i* of the father and mother come in contact, feel, mingle and merge, a pearl is completed which contains inside
of it a single speck of primal *yang* perfect *ch'i* and is surrounded on the outside by semen and blood. Its life stem (navel) is
connected to that of its mother. After the mother is impregnated, she
feels that there is an object [within her]. Every inhalation and
exhalation that she makes reaches that place [where the fetus is] and
makes contact with the *ch'i* of the prime which she received in the
womb. First, [the fetus] develops its two kidneys and the rest of the
viscera and bowels are produced consecutively one by one. On the
tenth month [since conception], the womb is completed and its *ch'i*
is sufficient. Before it is born, the fetus has its two hands covering
its face, and its nine orifices are unopened. It is nourished by the
mother's *ch'i*. In a state of primordial chaos it is completely pure
and unblemished. This [ch'i that nourishes the fetus] is the *ch'i* of
the time before creation. As soon as the breath abounds, the spirit is
supplied and the essence is sufficient, its navel will no longer accept
any more of the breath and blood of the mother and its life stem will
separate from that of the mother. Its spirit and *ch'i* will move
upwards, and its head changes its direction and faces downward,
[causing the fetus to] descend and to be born. Once it has left the
belly of its mother, its hands spontaneously uncover it eyes, and its
*ch'i* begins to scatter from its nine orifices. It exhales and inhales
through its mouth and nose. This [type of breathing] is of the time
after creation."^{35}

The concept of creation in Taoism (the philosophy and the religion) is that of there
having existed a state of original non-being or a state of primordial chaos (*hun-tun*
混沌) that preceded the time at which the single undivided mass of *ch'i* divided itself up
to create the various gaseous, liquid and solid forms of *ch'i* which became molded into the

[^35]: TTCC Upper *chuan* pp.1a-b. See Plate 38.
various objects of the universe. The Taoists idealized this period before creation 先天 as a time in which there existed no birth nor death, no joy nor sorrow, no good nor bad, and no other such distinctions which cause people (of course, there were no people either) to act in forceful, ego-centric, and eventually self-destructive ways. For religious Taoists like Ch'iu, the condition of the fetus in the womb correlates to the condition of the universe during the time that preceded creation. Therefore, Ch'iu sees the ch'i with which the mother nourishes the fetus as "ch'i of the time before creation" which is somehow better than the air that the newly born baby begins to breath which is but of the "time after creation". As we will see later, the mother's ability to send her inhaled air into her womb was supposed to be emulated by the adepts as they carried out their breathing methods. But probably the greatest asset of the fetal condition is that the eyes are covered and the nine orifices are unopened. As soon as the baby is born, uncovers his its eyes and begins respiration, its orifices open up and ch'i begins to go out of them. As we will see shortly, this was regarded as a serious problem.

Another important anatomical concept was the notion that the viscera which serve primarily as the agents that circulate and transform the ch'i within the body also correspond directly with parts of the face. This theory, which can be seen developed thoroughly in NCC 36 maintains that the heart corresponds with the tongue, the lungs with the nose, the liver with the eyes, the kidneys with the ears, and the spleen with the teeth. It was basically understood, as we will see later, that an ailment of a particular facial part was

36 If you are interested in knowing more about NCC, which is one of the earlier and most influential classics on physiological alchemy, you may want to consult my essay, "A Study of Liu Ch'u-hsüan's Commentary to The Jade Scripture of the Inner Scenery of the Yellow Court ". The Ch'uan-chen sect's veneration of NCC very much bears testimony to the fact that their doctrines carry on the legacy of the Mao-shan 山 and Ling-pao schools that were prominent particularly during the Tang Dynasty.
caused by a deficiency or a weakness of the *ch'i* of the internal organ that it corresponds to.

Thus so far, the main points that I have been trying to point out are: 1) The body was thought of as a microcosm endowed with correlates to every conceivable component of the universe. 2) The *ch'i* of the body was conceived of as circulating and transforming through the cyclical operations (which are correlative to nature's cycle of the four seasons) of the viscera which were also thought to correspond to various parts of the face. *Ch'i* was thought to be refinable from its heavier forms (solid, liquid) to its lighter forms (gaseous and formless). 3) It was thought that people are kept alive and nourished daily by the breath and essence of Heaven and Earth (air and food), and are endowed from birth with breath and essence from their mothers and fathers (blood and semen). The Ch'üan-chên masters, regarding the fetal condition as an ideal, were more interested in nurturing the body by means of the essence of breath from their parents rather than by means of the post-creation essence and breath from Heaven and Earth.

These were some of the most basic assumptions concerning the anatomy that underlied all of the theories and methods of life nurturing. In many ways, these assumptions are not too far off the mark from what we know today, particularly in terms of how they saw essence and breath (nutrition and oxygen) as indispensable resources of life. What ought to eventually grasp the reader as remarkable is how well these people understood how inalienably intertwined a person's physical and mental aspects were, and how a person's psychological growth is always related to and often governed by his involuntary physical forces, particularly the sex drive.

Having said that, I now have to point out several basic misconceptions of the human anatomy that were very vital assumptions of Taoist life nurturing theories and methods. The heart, not the brain, was considered to be the organ that does the thinking. The
kidneys were believed to be primarily sexual in their function as the producers of semen.
The spleen was thought of as a digestive organ and also as the place where the essence and
breath (blood and semen) of the body could be brought together if used properly. The
spleen, or the general vicinity of it within the belly was indeed the focal point of the adept's
concerns:

"1.3 ts'ın 寸 (1 ts'ın = 2.25cm) inside the navel is where the primal yang perfect ch'i is stored......The [area inside the navel] alone within the body is called the Central Palace 中宮, the Office of Life Destiny 命府, the Spirit Room of Primordial Chaos 混沌神室, the Yellow Court 黃庭, the Cinnabari Field 丹田, the Cavity of Spirit and Ch'i 神氣穴, the Orifice for Returning to One's Roots 歷根鬚, the Passage for Restoring One's Life Destiny 復命門, the Orifice of Primordial Chaos 混沌門, the Cavity of 100 Meetings 百合穴, the Gate of Life 出門, the Spiritual Hearth of T'ai-i (the North Pole Star) 太--神 廠, One's Original Visage 本来面目.
It has vary many different names. This place encloses the most exquisite [ch'i] 37 which penetrates the 100 blood vessels and nourishes the entire body." 38

Therefore a large portion of the life nurturing methods involve visualizing this area inside the navel (which is sometimes clearly specified as the spleen, but not in the above passage) in order to preserve this priceless "primal yang perfect ch'i" and to replenish it.

The brain was believed to be connected with the lower abdomen through the spinal column, and its function was seen primarily as a storage place for ch'i brought up from the

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37 This could also very conceivably be translated as semen and bone marrow. However, since other passages that I have encountered say that the kidneys produce and store semen and that the brain stores the bone marrow, I have opted to translate it in the above way so as to maintain some sort of consistency. If the above translation is accurate, the "most exquisite [ch'i]" is equivalent to the "primal yang perfect ch'i".
38 TTCC Upper Chuan pp.1b-2a. See Plate 39.
spleen and kidneys which it could transform into marrow and eventually send down into
the bones to strengthen them.

These various misconceptions made it possible for the heart, kidneys, spleen, spinal
column and brain to be seen as a potential adept's apparatus for physiological alchemical
procedures.

Thus I have discussed what I believe to have been the most basic assumptions upon
which Ch'uan-chen theories and method of life nurturing were based, and am about ready to
discuss their theories concerning the causes of disease and death, and their prescribed
methods of combatting them. But before I do so, there is one question that I would like to
address. If all people were seen as microcosms capable of working and refining their ch'i
from turbid yin forms (semen, blood, saliva etc.) into ethereal or formless yang forms
(air, spirit), were all people considered to be anatomically identical and equal? Apparently
not:

"The nine orifices [of the heart] are the yang roads of the nine
penetrations. [Their] not yet being open is [caused by] evil
hindrances of nine yin s. Peoples' hearts are squarish and
roundish (sort of oval shaped) and are empty and vacuous. Inside
they have numinous light. Hearts of superior people have nine
orifices. Middle quality people [have] seven orifices. Lower quality
people [have] five orifices. If the heart has no orifices, [such a
person] is called an ignorant person."40

The above passage from Liu Ch'ang-sheng's commentary to YFC shows how in
Ch'uan-chen Taoism, the difference between a superior (wise, enlightened) person and an
ignorant person was seen as existing in the rational mind's (the heart's) ability to control
the desires and urges of his body and its emotions. Thus it was apparently conceived that

39 This probably refers to the external stimuli which distract the mind and cause ch'i to leak out through
the nine orifices.

40 Liu Ch'ang-sheng, YFC Commentary pp.5b-6a.
the most superior people had nine orifices in their hearts to correspond to the nine orifices of the body, and that each heart orifice provided a passageway through which the heart's rational thinking capacity (numinous light) could go out and control each external body orifice. Thus, in this manner, wise people and ignorant people were apparently considered to be anatomically different. But the phrase, "not yet being open", does imply that a person born ignorant could open up more heart orifices and become enlightened.

Concerning the frequent disparity between people in terms of handsomeness and ugliness, YSC has a very interesting passage:

"[Someone] asked, 'What do you have to say about the reason why there are ugly people and handsome people?' [Wang Ch'ung-yang replied], 'A lesson says that the properness (handsomeness) of one's appearance [occurs because] on the day [of conception] the father's and mother's two ch'i s arouse and respond [to the] sun and moon before the wu (noon) hour and after the hour of ch'ou (2 a.m.). Thereby, [the child will have] properness, honesty, long life destiny and will have clothing and salary. The appearance of [the child] will bring joy to the hearts of the father and mother. If conceived after the wu hour and before the ch'ou hour, there will be [born] one whose appearance is not proper (is ugly) and may suffer from deafness or dumbness. His personality and intelligence will be inferior and he will not win the hearts of people. His life destiny will be limited, he will not have clothing and salary, and his lifespan will not be long. These are basic principles of creation.'"

Thus Wang Ch'ung-yang apparently believed that good or bad looks were a direct result of the time of the day or night during which the child is conceived. Obviously, he seems to have believed that handsome people also tended to be more intelligent and moral and also pre-destined with better fate. Thus it was thought that people whose allotments of

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41 Probably refers to status as a government official, something which Wang Ch'ung-yang had once longed for during his life.
42 YSC p.10b. See Plate 40.
essence and breath are brought together in a more timely fashion tended to be superior both physically and intellectually.

But for a Ch'üan-chen Taoist, physical beauty and social status were not considered to be benefits worth seeking, and as we will see, the problems of ignorance, disease and short lifespan were definitely thought of as curable.

(b) The Causes of Disease and Death

"I (Wang Ch'ung-yang) took [Ma] Tan-yang [with me] and stayed at the Smoky Mist Grotto on Mt. K'un-yü. Because his mind had not yet died (his mind had still not gotten rid of superfluous thoughts), [Ma] got ill. He had an ache throughout his head, and the pain was unbearable. [It was] as though he was being hacked at with an ax. I ordered him to descend from the mountain and treat [his headache] at his home. But the pain became even more severe. A man came up the mountain and reported [Ma's condition] saying, '[At this] moment at which I have arrived here, Mr. Ma has [most probably] already died.' Upon hearing this I clapped my hands, laughed loudly and said, 'I came [to Shan-tung] wanting to make him into an Immortal. I appreciate your telling me about his [supposed] death. He caught this disease because of his lack of faith."

Wang Ch'ung-yang, as we saw in the previous chapter, was notorious for putting his disciples through ordeals for the sake of training their will power to withstand hardships and thereby get rid of desires for and dependance upon ordinary everyday comforts and delights. Here we see an example of an occasion where the hardships and austerities had gotten the best of his top disciple Ma Tan-yang who had to be sent down from the mountain. Ma's inability to rid himself of his superfluous thoughts and his lack of faith in his master's methods and his own abilities, are cited for the reasons for his severe illness.

43 Ch'ung-yang Chiao-hua Chi 夏陽教化集 chuan #2 p.8b. See Plate 41.
Fortunately, Ma did recover from his illness. The narrative that I have quoted above is followed by poems exchanged between the master and his disciple involving this incident. In the first poem, Wang admonishes Ma for being unfaithful and thus vulnerable to disease, telling him, "because of your lack of faith, your whole head ached" 為公不信偏頭痛 and,"your sweet heart continued to long [for worldly comforts] and thus you entered the pond of confusion"甘心猶恋入迷津. Ma in his poem written in reply repents saying, "I limitlessly thank you, my master, for profoundly teaching me to repent"極謝師指懺悔. When the fully recuperated Ma begs to return to the mountain, his master turns him down saying, "When you [come to] live in the mountain, I will descend from the mountain. My heart always dislikes the ignorant and the stubborn"公住山時我下山我心終是厭愚頑. He also expresses his regret over the fact that all that he had taught Ma had gone to waste by saying, "In past days I wasted one thousand mouthfuls of breath."昔日漫虛千口氣. But the two are finally reconciled after Ma persists in his pleas for re-acceptance.

This theme of illness being caused by "lack of faith" or by wickedness of the mind probably strikes the reader as quite familiar and common to what has been believed (and in many cases still is believed) within many other religious traditions. But what probably makes Taoism unique is that this causal relationship between an unsound mind and disease becomes drawn out in very concrete medical terms. An excellent case in point is the following passage from YSC:

"Someone asked saying, 'As for people who do not die, why [can they manage to avoid death]?' [Wang Ch'ung-yang] answered, 'As for one who does not die, his body is pure and still 清靜 without defilement, and [he] cherishes

44To "have a sweet heart" means that one's mind is full of thoughts and wishes.
his perfect ch'i inside his Cinnabar Field (the spleen or its vicinity). His semen and blood do not decline, and he does not die.
The questioner doubted and said, 'I often see people nowadays who are pure and still who divorce their wives and yet are not able to accomplish the Tao. Why [is this]?'
[Wang] answered, 'Such people, while being pure and still, have not yet accomplished the merit of true purity and stillness. Such people, while their whole body is pure and still, are not yet able to stabilize their semen and their blood and to nurture the perfect ch'i.
As for such people, their bodies are pure, but their minds are impure. Their bodies are still, but their will is not still......
According to the treatises, as for those who are truly pure and still; inside their eyes are no tears, inside their noses is no phlegm, inside their mouths is no saliva, and they do not produce large and small waste. The men nurture their semen and the women stabilize their blood. The myriad evils return to correctness, and the myriad diseases do not arise.'"45

Thus as far as the Ch'üan-chen Taoists were concerned, the primary medical reason for disease and death was leakage of the body's ch'i in any form from any of the body's openings. This is why Ch'üan-chen monks were expected to be completely celibate (pure and still) and to have no spouses. Leakage of semen by men and of blood by women (in menstruation and in childbirth) were regarded as the most deadly forms of leakage. Leakage was considered to be preventable if the mind was free of superfluous thoughts.

One Ch'üan-chen related book that is a very informative source on life nurturing theories is CHL, which is a record of words of advice uttered by Ch'i'u Ch'ang-ch'un towards none other than Genghis Khan in the year 1222. Here I will quote a few passages from CHL that convey this same basic notion that superfluous thoughts and desires cause leakage of ch'i which is the primary cause of disease and death:

"If your eyes see colors, your ears hear sounds, your mouth enjoys flavors and your nature follows your emotions, you will scatter your ch'i. You are like a ball filled with air. If a ball is full of air, it is firm. If the air scatters (leaks), it is not firm. If people make their ch'i their masters (rather than being masters over their ch'i), they

45YSC pp.2a-b. See Plate 42.
will follow objects\textsuperscript{46}, give rise to thoughts, and their primal (perfect) \textit{ch'i} will scatter like the air scatters from an air-filled ball\textellipsis\textsuperscript{47}

When \textit{ch'i} goes through the eyes it becomes tears, when it goes through the nose it becomes phlegm and when it goes past the tongue it becomes saliva. When it goes outside it becomes perspiration, when it goes inside it becomes blood, when it goes through the bones it becomes marrow, and when it goes through the kidneys it becomes semen. If your \textit{ch'i} is complete, you live. If your \textit{ch'i} is lost, you die. If the \textit{ch'i} is vigorous you are youthful, and when the \textit{ch'i} declines, you age. Always cause your \textit{ch'i} to not scatter.'\textsuperscript{48}

It does not seem like such an unreasonable demand to tell someone to refrain from crying, spitting, sweating and blowing his nose. Such matters can be accomplished out of volition by maintaining one's composure. Thus discussions of such matters are scarce among Taoist writings. What are often too powerful to control are hunger and the sex drive. Hunger had to be controlled so that one did not have to eat large amounts of food which results in producing large quantities of solid and liquid waste. Ch'\textsuperscript{i}an-chen monks ate extremely small amounts and sometimes avoided eating altogether. Celibacy had to be maintained so as to retain semen (for men) and blood (for women), the two most basic and important forms of \textit{ch'i} in the human body. Actually, the practices of eating small amounts and of celibacy were interrelated, since by retaining his blood and semen, a Taoist was supposed to be providing the nutrition necessary for his digestive system. This dual and complementary practice of celibacy and semi-fasting was the basic core of Ch'\textsuperscript{i}an-chen life nurturing. Ma Tan-yang said:

"One who studies the Tao should not concern himself with anything other than nurturing his \textit{ch'i}. If the heart's fluid (blood) descends

\textsuperscript{46}To have feelings of attachment towards worldly objects.

\textsuperscript{47}CHL p.1a. See Plate 43.

\textsuperscript{48}CHL pp.4b-5a. See Plate 44.
downward and the kidneys' ch'i (vapor?)\textsuperscript{49} ascends upward and [each respectively] reaches the spleen, the primal (perfect) ch'i will be vigorous and will not scatter, and the elixir (of long life) will gather. [Organs] such as your liver and your lungs are the paths through which [the heart's liquid and kidneys' ch'i ] come and go.\textsuperscript{50}

The above is a very concise summary of what was thought to take place inside of the adept's body (Although the concept that ch'i ascends through the spinal column into the brain is conspicuously missing). It can be understood as a description of fasting and celibacy being successfully observed simultaneously in a complementary fashion. Blood and semen are retained and sent to the spleen, which was regarded as the organ which digests food. In other words, food is substituted for by the blood and semen retained through celibacy.\textsuperscript{51}

The development of such a theory was perhaps brought about partly because the Taoists realized that obese people tended to die sooner. YSC includes the following fascinating verbal exchange:

"Someone had doubts and said, 'Why do people who are fat decline sooner?'
[Wang] answered, 'Fat people cultivate the outside and do not cultivate the inside. Inside their bones they have no marrow and their Cinnabar Fields [spleens] allow their perfect ch'i to run out.'\textsuperscript{52}

In other words, people who nourish their bodies heavily with food are those who are neglecting to preserve and replenish the perfect ch'i which they are endowed with from birth and which has to be retained in order to keep the body intact. This, the Ch'üan-chen

\textsuperscript{49}Due to the fact he contrasts this ch'i of the kidneys to the "fluid" of the heart, it seems that Ma conceived of the ch'i (semen) of the kidneys first becoming refined into a vaporized form before making its ascent.
\textsuperscript{50}TYL pp.3b-4a. See Plate 45.
\textsuperscript{51}This state of mind and body is described by the phrase, "the semen is complete and the stomach is full." 精血滿實 in TYL p.7b.
\textsuperscript{52}YSC p.16a. See Plate 46.
masters believed, could only be done by avoiding any large consumption of food and by
nourishing oneself as much as possible with one's own ch'i. Because the Ch'uan-chen
masters tried to put their ideas into practice, they apparently had a tendency to become very
thin. One poem written by Ma Tan-yang is titled, "Friends of the Tao Marvel over my
Pure Thinness", and seems to have been written in response to lay believers who had
expressed concern over the seemingly excessive thinness of Ma:

"[My] thinness is thinness that accords with the Taoist teachings.
I am not allowing my skin to wrinkle.
The body of the crane and the shape of the pine tree,
Are the venerable elders of the woods and springs."\(^54\)

Thus he stubbornly insists that his extreme thinness is actually good for his health,
and points to the crane and the pine tree (both were, and still are, renowned for their
longevity) as cases in point.

When compared to the abstention from substantial amounts of food, the task of
retaining blood and semen may at first seem much simpler. Such would certainly be the
case if it simply meant that one had to remain celibate. But the body has within it voluntary
mechanisms to clear the body of excess semen or menstrual blood. Because the Ch'uan-
chen masters believed that there was no such a thing as excess semen or blood, they
maintained that such mechanisms had to be shut down, or else the whole purpose of
celibacy is defeated. This problem, in effect, is what was being discussed in the YSC
passage that I quoted on p. 87. In other words, celibate monks and nuns were constantly
afflicted with the loss of semen or blood through wet dreams or menstruation despite their
good intentions. Obviously, Wang Ch'ung-yang felt that with the proper mental discipline

\(^53\)A term which refers to lay people who were believers and/or patrons of the Ch'uan-chen sect.
\(^54\)Tao-hsuan Ch'in-yu Chi chuan #4 p.8b: "友友怪我清瘦」照則從教瘦不許復見君
鶴髥與松形正是林泉叟
and prescribed physical methods, the problem could be corrected. Thus the term, "pure and still"/清静 in many cases such as in this passage can be understood as synonymous with the word,"celibate"; and the term, "true purity and stillness"/真清静 can be understood as referring to the physical state in which the mechanisms of involuntary night time ejaculation and of menstruation have been shut down. Attaining this state was an arduous task indeed, and was an obsession for the Ch'uan-chen clergy. This problem is discussed quite explicitly in other parts of YSC:

""All men and women [in their] minds give rise to lustful pleasures, and [thus] covet and long for objects in their surroundings. During daylight they do not cut off their nameless superfluous thoughts and in the surroundings of night time are unable to get rid of the Three Corpses 三尸 and Yin Demons 陰鬼. [As a result], men lose their semen, and women lose their bloody ch'i (menstrual blood).""58

""If men are pure and still (celibate) for 64 days, their seminal ch'i will be abundant. If women are pure and still for 49 days, their bloody ch'i will abound. Things which climax will return [to their opposite]. Purity gets overturned by filth. Stillness gets overturned by movement. The mind and will thus scatters and lose [ch'i]. The nine orifices allow the perfect ch'i to run out. Defilement of ch'i causes the monthly water (menstrual blood) of women to come out in large quantities. Men at night dream of yin (evil, erotic)

55See footnote #12
56Three malicious demons living in the body who wish for the body to die. Thus they cause people to act in sinful, detrimental ways and then report their wrongdoings to the heavenly bureaucracy. Also frequently referred to as the "three worms" 六邪. The extermination of these creatures was one of the first steps that had to be taken within the process of immortality. This concept was an important part of the Taoist view of the anatomy from a quite early period, as we can see from the fact that Ko Hung describes them in great detail in his early 4th century alchemical classic, Pao-p'u-tzu Pao-p'u-tzu While the Ch'uan-chen masters frequently make passing references to them such as the above, I have yet to run across a detailed discussion of theirs exclusively dealing with how to exterminate the Three Corpses.
57This quite likely refers to evil, tempting dreams which accompany night time involuntary ejaculation.
58YSC p.10a. See Plate 47.
surroundings, and their seven valuables and eight treasures. This is why people have illnesses."

Thus I hope one can now understand why, in the episodes that I cited in the last chapter, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un and Wang Yu-yang were so humiliated and traumatized when they ejaculated by mistake. In doing so, they had committed what was probably the biggest mistake imaginable in Perfection Cultivation, the inadvertent loss of the most valuable form of ch'i in the body. How to prevent the wet dream was a central focus of the individual training of the Ch'uan-chen monk. In the last chapter, we also saw how Ch'iu and Yü-yang resorted to extreme measures in order to keep from falling asleep at night. I think that it is quite possible that the main reason for which they abstained from sleep was the simple fact that they were horrified of the possibility of the wet dream.

As we can also deduce from the above YSC passages, female adepts or nuns of the Ch'üan-chen and related sects were engaged in an intense struggle to shut down their menstrual cycles. I wish that I had an episode involving Sun Ch'ing-ching (the only woman among the Ch'üan-chen masters) which could attest to this apparent fact, but I do not. But instead I would like to cite a very interesting story that is included in MTC.

According to this story, there was a sixteen year old girl (who had aspirations towards Immortal-hood) who fled into Mt. Ssu-ming (located in Chekiang Province) because her parents were about to force her to get married. She got lost and became hungry. When she picked up a chestnut and ate it, a shiny blue-eyed old man with whiskers and eyebrows that drooped down to the ground (Lü Ch'un-yang in disguise

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59This most undoubtedly refers to the semen which is of value comparable to that of "Seven Valuables and Eight Treasures". As for what these "Seven Valuables and Eight Treasures" are, I am not sure, but they are most likely a list precious gems and goods which the Chinese especially cherished (gold, jade, fine silk etc.

60YSC p.15b. See Plate 48.

61Story#106
suddenly appeared before her. The old man pointed at the girl's belly and said, "I have already slain the Red Dragon for you. Because of this, you can now enter the Tao." The old man then transmitted "the profound meanings" to her. She thanked him for this and then said, "But I have not yet overcome my attachment to food. Can the Tao actually take the place of [food]?" The old man then gave her a luscious and ripe-looking chestnut about the size of a bullet to eat. After she ate it, "she no longer enjoyed cooked food and ate only fruits and drank only water. She no longer menstruated, and she moved about like a god. [Therefore], her father and mother no longer tried to force her to get married." The girl went on to become Perfected Woman Kuan.

This story, which seems to have come out of the Southern Sect tradition (it is set in Chekiang during the Ch'un-you reign era (1241-1252) of the Southern Sung Dynasty) reflects the fact that it was regarded as necessary for a female adept to terminate her menstrual cycle in order for Perfection to be attained. How a young woman was to be expected to stop her menstrual cycle is a mystery, but from the above story, one gets the feeling that perhaps it was accomplished as a result of the strict dietary restrictions. Under-nourishment is known to cause irregularity or stoppage in the menstrual cycle. But nonetheless, this attempt to terminate the menstrual cycle for female adepts, seems to have been an extremely arduous endeavor, much like the struggles of the male adepts to avoid the wet dream while remaining celibate. This difficulty is reflected in the fact that in the above story, the stoppage in menstruation is brought about through the merciful intervention of the Immortal Lü Ch'un-yang. An interesting question is whether or not "the Red Dragon" slain by Lü, refers to the menstrual cycle. As I will discuss in detail in the
next chapter, this concept of the merciful Immortal coming to the assistance of the adept to help him or her (by means of a "secret lesson" or a mysterious potion) to overcome the greatest difficulties in Perfection Cultivation, was a vital part of the belief system of Chʻüan-chen and Golden Elixir Taoism in general. From a sociological perspective, I think that the above story is of some interest in that it shows that perhaps a substantial portion of the women who joined the Taoist or Buddhist nun-hood did so in order to avoid the binding and demanding institution of marriage. An interesting implication of the above story is that this stoppage of the menstrual cycle was sought at least partly as a useful excuse (since it would would mean that the woman could not bear children) for not marrying.

Thus far we have seen how the Chʻüan-chen masters regarded the leakage of the body's chʻi caused by a lack of mental discipline and control over the body as the primary cause of disease and death. Was a person therefore regarded as solely responsible for all of his troubles? Were diseases regarded as solely a product of a person's own wrong thoughts and behavior? Just about, but not quite. Diseases were also understood to occur as a result of outside influences or circumstances that are originally beyond one's control.

"[Someone] doubted and said, 'For what reason do children [who are (by definition)] pure and still (celibate) and do not lose their three treasures (essence, breath, and blood) have illness and death?' [Wang Chʻung-yang said], 'A lesson says that a child who has a disease has in the past while in his mother's belly, received his mother's ten month womb chʻi insufficiently due to the fact that her bloody chʻi was feeble and weak. Also, [the mother] may have violated wind, lewdness, heat or dampness (acted in a lascivious way or exposed herself to adverse weather conditions?) and did not
avoid the four gatherings\textsuperscript{65} when she conceived. Children therefore have illness and death.\textsuperscript{66}

Thus it was understood that a mother needs to act responsibly during conception and pregnancy, or else the child’s health is damaged. You may also recall the passage that I quoted previously (p.\textsuperscript{54}) in which the time of conception was cited as a large factor in determining the child’s physical fate. Also alluded to here are the forces of nature which, if one is not careful, can cause harm. YSC has in it two different passages which discuss two different theories on the harmful forces of nature:

"A lesson says that the myriad diseases are all born from the improper breaths of the eight epochs......These breaths within the eight \textit{epochs} which cause people to enter into wickedness are hunger and satiation, labor and work, wind and coldness, and heat and humidity. When hunger comes, they fill themselves painfully (over-eat). When coldness climaxes, their minds become troubled. When they travel far, they become tired. In extreme coldness or heat, their bodies become drunk\textsuperscript{67}. Thus they become unable to practice merit, and instead give rise to severe diseases."\textsuperscript{68}

So without proper caution, people were seen as vulnerable to hazards such as severe weather, lack of food, or over work. When that happens, they become debilitated and incapable of performing the life-nurturing methods (merit)\textsuperscript{70} that the Ch’üan-chen masters would prescribe.

"The five phases include Metal, Water, Fire, and Soil. At spring time, Wood is vigorous. If the internal Wood (the liver) is not vigorous, people will ail greatly from eye diseases. In the summer, Fire is vigorous. If the internal Fire (the heart) is not vigorous, people will have a lot of diarrhea. In the fall, Metal is vigorous. If the internal Metal (the lungs) is not vigorous, people will have a lot of coughing. In the winter,\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{65}Unclear. Could refer to four different periods of preparation for major rituals during which certain dietary, sexual and hygenic rules had to be carefully observed.

\textsuperscript{66}YSC p.10a. See Plate 49.

\textsuperscript{67}This probably refers to the weakness or dizziness of a diseased body.

\textsuperscript{68}YSC pp.13a-b. See Plate 50.
Water is vigorous. If the internal Water (the kidneys) is not vigorous, people will suffer from many hernias.  

So here it is described how the forces of nature (expressed in terms of the five phases theory) make it necessary during each season for a particular part of the body to be taken special care of, or else the body becomes vulnerable to certain diseases which become common during that particular season.

The views that I have discussed so far can be described as quite rational and scientific in intention, although they suffer from lack of actual backing by means of experimentation; as is the case with most Chinese proto-sciences. But more likely than not, the majority of the Chinese population tended to see the doings of evil spirits and divine punishment for sins as the primary cause for disease and death, as did their western contemporaries. Such less scientific ideas were also subscribed to within the Ch'üan-chen sect. You may recall the reference to the Three Corpses and Yin Demons in the YSC passage that I quoted on p. 1. In such a manner, harmful thoughts and emotions leading the ch'i leakage were sometimes understood as being caused by temptation at the hands of evil spirits in one's surroundings or even within one's own body. There were also believed to be vengeful spirits of people who had died under resentment provoking circumstances such as execution for an uncommitted crime who could haunt people and make them very sick. There is a passage in YSC where the questioner asks Wang Ch'ung-yang, "Suppose that I met with a vengeful demon. How do I control it?" Wang then tells the questioner about a method with which to overcome the demonic hazard and prevent or cure the disease that the demon could cause.

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69 YSC p.20a. See Plate 51.
70 YSC p.10b
The Ch'üan-chen masters themselves were believed to possess a certain immunity from the power of evil which in theory gave them the power to combat the evil spirits that victimized ordinary people. I will be dealing with this concept in much greater depth in Chapter Four. For now I will just try to let it suffice to say that the diseases that were allegedly cured by the Ch'üan-chen measters were considered to be caused by a truly wide variety of evil forces. For example, *T'i-hsüan Chen-chen Hsien-i Lu* (The Record of Perfected Man T'i-hsüan’s Manifestations of his Extraordinariness: : HYL) tells us that Wang Yü-yang had a talent for discovering and pointing out the source of the evil force that was causing the affliction of his patient. One time, Yü-yang’s close friend and drinking companion71 Sun Fu of Fu-shan (in Shantung) was afflicted with a severe case of bloody diarrhea. Yü-yang cured him by destroying an animal-shaped rooftop tile whose resident spirit had been causing the disease. In Lai-yang (also in Shantung) he allegedly healed the wife of an innkeeper by making the innkeeper and his wife burn one of the figurines on their Buddha altar that had been causing the disease. Another story has Yü-yang chopping down a tree next to the local shrine of the Yang Master God and destroying the bed of the patient in order to cure a severe case of diarrhea. The concept of death as an instant punishment for deadly sin can be seen in a story in which Yü-yang revives Lady Li who had been killed by divine forces in the midst of a chiao ritual because she had broken the rules and had eaten a dog.

The Ch'üan-chen masters realized that the world was full of hazards, demons and sins which cause the agony of ordinary people. But they also believed that through mental

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71While many sources make it clear that drinking was strictly prohibited for Ch'üan-chen monks, hagiographies at times portray the Ch'üan-chen masters and the Immortals as being able to consume mass quantities of liquor. Perhaps the understanding was that while drinking was taboo for a monk who is yet to attain Perfection, a Perfected Man could drink as much as he wanted, since his body was immune from intoxication.
discipline and ch'i retention they could by themselves overcome such perils and become immune from them. Since they saw it as their duty as saviors of all living things to be merciful towards those who were ignorant and incapable of defending themselves, they also engaged in methods of combatting the natural and demonic forces that afflicted them. I will now try to discuss in some detail some of the specific methods by which they tried to accomplish their own mental discipline and ch'i retention, and also deal very briefly with some of the methods which they apparently used to heal those who were ignorant and defenseless.

(c) How the Ch'üan-chen Masters Combatted Disease and Death

"I (Ma Tan-yang) had been in my hut on [Mt.] Chung-nan with windy (bare) thighs and bare feet and with no fire or light for just six years. Suddenly my mind was moved. Trusting my steps I wandered westward, arrived at Hua-t'ing and took up residence in a ceramic chimney stack(?). By accident I became poisoned by a fiery poison inside some muddy soup, vomited blood and was afflicted with a coughing disease. A crowd came to the scene very quickly. Many friends of the Tao gave me medicine. I bowed and received it but refused to take it. [The friends of the Tao] said to me, 'You must eat raw onions and strong vinegar in order to antidote the poison.' I thought about this over and over. [I came to the conclusion that] when a Taoist has a disease, no other people are able to cure it and that I must cure myself by cultivating and refinings the priceless treasures in my body. [Eventually], the disease healed itself."  

The above episode shows how the Ch'üan-chen masters regarded themselves not only as enlightened and righteous religious people, but also as people who were in some

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72 Unclear. Could perhaps mean a brothel-inn. As we saw in the last chapter, one way in which the Ch'üan-chen masters trained themselves was by intentionally associating with the less savory elements of society.

73 I am not entirely sure of this phrase. Perhaps it is saying that his coughs came one after another and were very harsh and painful.

74 Ma Tan-yang, Tao-hsuan Chin-yu-chi (CYC)chuan #8 pp.15a-b. See Plate 52.
way physically superior and different from ordinary ignorant people. Thus, while medicine could be used to heal ordinary people, it apparently could not and would not be used to heal a true adept. The following passage from TYL indicates that the believers also regarded the Ch'uan-chen masters as physically superior and different:

"Mr. Ts'ao and Mr. Lai were originally Confucian students. While adhering to Confucianism they studied [the Tao]. For many years, without going against [the Tao], they always obeyed [the Tao]. [Ma Tan-yang therefore] accepted them [as partners in conversation] and asked them, 'When the Master (Wang Ch'ung-yang) was in the right of the Passage (west of the Han-ku Passage), how did he prepare [himself for attaining] the true Tao?' Ts'ao and Lai answered saying, "The Master-Father (Wang) in summer and winter slept with only one cover. In clothing and food, he was satisfied with what was crude. At the peak of winter in the snow and the cold, he used no fire in his hut and at all times used cold water. Because his spirit and ch'i were in harmony, he did not feel particularly cold. He was like this for ten years. If he had not had the Tao's ch'i (primal ch'i, perfect ch'i) in his belly, he could not have sustained it.""

The true Taoist's ability to withstand severe austerities was what distinguished him from ordinary followers of Taoist teachings. The ability to remain physically sound under adverse conditions and to care for one's own health entirely with one's own endowed physical resources ("priceless treasures", Tao's ch'i) was what gave a Ch'uan-chen master his credibility. The food poisoning at Hua-t'ing was a trial under which Ma's legitimacy and credibility as a real adept were at stake. To take the medicine would have meant admitting to himself and to others that he was not yet an enlightened adept, and that the six years of austerities on Mt. Chung-nan had been in vain. Fortunately, the poisoning was

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75 Apparently, Ts'ao and Lai were men who had met and studied under Wang Ch'ung-yang during the early years of his religious life that were spent in his home area in the vicinity of Mt. Chung-nan.
76 TYL p.7a. See Plate 53.
cured without the use of medicine, raw onions or vinegar; and Ma's self confidence and reputation were salvaged.

To start off my discussion of some of the specific life nurturing methods prescribed by Wang Ch'ung-yang and his first generation of disciples, I quote three passages (two from TYL and one from YSC) which give a sort of summary overview of the methods:

"You must limit your drinking and eating, get rid of your thoughts, sit quietly in order to regulate your breathing, and sleep peacefully in order to nurture your ch'i." 77

"People who study the Tao, when going, staying, sitting or lying down; must not for a slight moment not have their minds fixed on the Tao. When going, use your feet on flat roads (do not overwork yourself?). When staying, stabilize your emotions in Great Vacuity. When sitting, regulate the breathing on the tip of your nose. When sleeping, embrace the pearls below the navel (do not ejaculate)." 80

"On the tongue gather the Jade Liquid Elixir (saliva), in the nose gather the Primal Yang Elixir (air) and in the hall of the kidneys gather the Metallic Liquid Elixir (semen). As for those whose semen and marrow fill up their bones; their death will take place (as many as) one hundred years later, and the sinews and bones will not come apart." 81

From the above passages we can see that the important types of methods used were mental concentration, controlled breathing, restrained eating, saliva swallowing and semen retention. As we will be seeing shortly from passages that I will quote from TTCC, certain types of postures and simple exercises were also prescribed, particularly at the elementary stages. The quotes from TYL indicate that the controlling of respiration was a major

77 就寝. This probably means to sleep alone in a way in which ejaculation will not occur.
80 TYL p.10a. See Plate 54.
81 YSC p.13b. See Plate 55.
objective of the seated meditation which the Ch’üan-chen monks engaged in extensively. The Ch’üan-chen sect’s emphasis on seated meditation has been cited frequently as a product of heavy Ch’an (Zen) Buddhist influence. While there is a certain amount of truth to this observation, it is also true that the motives and objectives of seated meditation differed considerably between Ch’üan-chen Taoism and Ch’an Buddhism. Controlled breathing in Ch’an meditation is primarily a means for clearing and concentrating the mind. In Ch’üan-chen Taoism, it was a way of keeping the body healthy; although it simultaneously served the function of clearing and concentrating the mind. The above passages also indicate that methods for the retention of semen were most important at bedtime because it is during one’s sleep that that dreadful hazard, the wet dream, occurs. As we will be seeing shortly, the above methods were used as tools to resist health hazards such as hunger, thirst, coldness, heat and evil spirits which an aspiring adept is bound to encounter; particularly in his years during which he is undergoing the process of austere training centered around severe self-induced hardships which all of the Ch’üan-chen masters had to undergo.

Ideally, an adept was supposed to be able to sustain his good health by just being himself, without practicing any kind of specific physiological methods. Supposedly, if one’s mind is completely disciplined and detached from worldly thoughts and desires, and is in complete harmony with the body; ch’i is retained by just acting naturally according to one’s will:

"If you want to train yourself; eat when you are hungry and close your eyes when you get sleepy. Do not engage in seated

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82 While a high degree of Ch’an Buddhist influence is apparent within Ch’üan-chen beliefs and practices, I am opposed to the notion that Wang Ch’ung-yangs movement was distinctive and innovative in its incorporation of Ch’an elements. Ch’an influence is highly visible in Golden Elixir Taoism well before Wang was born.
meditation, do not study the Tao. You just need to eliminate all of your ordinary dusty (worldly) affairs and only use the purity and stillness of your mind. [Anything] outside of these two words (pure 清 and still 靜) is not [proper] training."^83

But one must understand that this is a description of the activity of an accomplished adept whose mind is completely detached from the world and is already in complete control of his body. Until this state of complete enlightenment and of complete harmony between mind and body could be attained, a Ch’üan-chen monk had to undergo rigorous training and hardships which put his body in constant jeopardy of breaking down, and inevitably diseases would at times afflict the aspiring adept. Therefore in Taoism there were many specific methods of remedying and preventing diseases with which Wang Ch’ung-yang was familiar and which he would mention or describe in "lessons" directed towards aspiring adepts such as YSC:

"Concerning the myriad diseases that people have; for each illness there is a method of true merit for curing it to which [the disease] naturally responds to. First there is the Method of Greatly Refining and Returning the Elixir in Nine Cycles, the method of the Yellow Sprouts and the Holes in the Knees, the Method of Shooting the Nine-Layered Iron Drum, the Method of Prince Travelling to the Four Gates, the Method of the Golden Whip and Ring, the Method of Treading Fire, the Method of Bulrush Straw Holes in the Knees, the Method of Hsiian-yuan’s (the Yellow Emperor) Method of Treading Fire, the Method of the Jade Girls Massaging the Body, the Method of the Sword on the Back, the Method of Angling Fish, the Method of Chung-li Chang-yang’s Method of Great Slumber, the Method of Venerable Lü Ch’ung-yang’s Method of the Sword on the Back. The details of these, and many more methods, are recorded in Wang Ch’ung-yang’s Chiao-hua Chi chuan #3 p.12b. See Plate 56. ^84

^83 Wang Ch’ung-yang, Ch’ung-yang Chiao-hua Chi chuan #3 p.12b. See Plate 56.

^84 Personal name, Tuan 才. Northern Sung adept (d. 989) who is regarded as one of the early patriarchs of the Southern Sect. His main area of activity was Mt. Hua located right near Wang Ch’ung-yang’s place of

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Very unfortunately most of the above mentioned methods are not described in detail in any texts belonging to the early Ch'üan-chen tradition, and so far I have never been able to find such descriptions in any other texts outside of the Ch'üan-chen school. There is a good possibility that such descriptions simply did not survive or were never written down, due to their esoteric nature. But obviously Wang Ch'ung-yang knew of such methods and transmitted them, although it seems to have been to a very limited group of followers. There are some methods which are described in detail in YSC, although they are terribly difficult to understand because of the abundance of highly abstract and specialized terminology. Fortunately, we also have access to Ch'iü Ch'ang-ch'un's TTCC which is a collection of illustrated descriptions of various different life nurturing methods written in a considerably more straightforward manner. We will now look at a few of the methods in YSC and TTCC and attempt to make some sense out of them.

"A lesson says, 'When you practice merit, sit like Mt. T'ai (solid and motionless), and stand like a precious pagoda (?). Close and block the Four Gates\(^86\). Firmly knock on the Dark Passage (knock the teeth together).\(^87\) Rinse your mouth with one mouthful of saliva, make three vigorous swallowings and below mix [the saliva] with the \(\text{ch'i}\) beyond the Heart (heart) and the diaphragm. If this is done vigorously three times, spontaneously the \(\text{ch'i}\) of the Dragon and the Tiger\(^88\) will position themselves one on top of the other (come together). In going, staying, sitting and lying down; close your mouth, shut your eyes, [make it so] your ears do not hear training Mt. Chung-nan. He is one of the key figures whose presence indicates strongly the original link that existed between what became Wang Ch'ung-yang's Ch'üan-chen sect and what became the Southern Sect.

\(^{85}\)YSC p.21b. See Plate57.

\(^{86}\) 三門 Eye, ears and mouth and nose.

\(^{87}\) The teeth, these are the lock to the Dark Passage. (YSC 11a)

\(^{88}\) Directly prior to the above passage is a phrase that reads, "The Blue Dragon is the \(\text{ch'i}\) of the liver. The White Tiger is the \(\text{ch'i}\) of the lungs." (YSC pp.16b-17a)
sounds, and [make it so] your eyes look at the inner scenery (visualize the inside of the body). For the entire day look directly at your Cinnabar Field and visualize it in your mind. Simultaneously with exhalations, [ch'i ] descends; and simultaneously with inhalations, [ch'i ] ascends. Without passing (looking at or visualizing an area above) the li and the diaphragm, do not direct your face upwards. Six ch'i s\(^{89}\) will reach the Middle Origin (the Cinnabar Field?) and see eachother. Pure ch'i will go right and dirty ch'i will go left. Each will revolve nine times, ch'i will go up and down, and will be unable to exit through the right or the left. The crucible and hearth\(^{90}\) are created and [thus] this is referred to as 'the Coiled Dragon and the Tiger Running in Circles and their Ch'i Spontaneously Reconciling'.\(^{91}\)

Thus it was believed that by concentrating one's senses on visualizing the inside of the body constantly, the ch'i inside the body could be made to combine and circulate within the abdomen without leaking and scattering. For the Dragon (ch'i of the liver) and Tiger (ch'i of the lungs) to come together basically means that the heart's ch'i (which is blood when it is in its crudest form) and the kidneys' ch'i (which is semen when it is in its crudest form) come together. You may recall from the YSC passage quoted on p.13 that in the scheme of the body's "year" of ch'i production and circulation; the kidneys, liver, heart and lungs correspond to winter, spring, summer and fall respectively. In other words, the liver's ch'i or the the Dragon goes through the heart and the lungs' ch'i goes through the kidneys before the adept brings them together at his spleen or Cinnabar Field. You may also recall that the TYL quote on p.\(^{89}\) tells us that the liver and the lungs are the routes through which the heart's liquid (blood) and kidney's ch'i (vaporized semen) pass through in order to come together at the spleen.

\(^{89}\)What these six ch'i s are is unclear. Perhaps the ch'i from the six bowels or the ch'i from the five viscera plus the brain.

\(^{90}\)Here, in the tradition of internal alchemy, the body is compared to alchemical equipment. "Crucible" refers to the mechanisms of the body for gathering together the ch'i in the Cinnabar Field. "Hearth"\(^{90}\) refers to the mind's (heart's) ability to visualize, heat and refine the ch'i.

\(^{91}\)YSC p.17a. See Plate 58.
TTCC describes a somewhat similar method in more detail and with more clarity:

"Close your eyes and visualize the Central Palace (Cinnabar Field) within you. Eliminate your thoughts, forget cognition and darken your heart (empty your mind). Fill your mouth with chin saliva without spitting it out or swallowing it. Concerning this and matters involving Swallowing the Medicine Spoon (saliva swallowing methods) there is another oral lesson, but I do not dare to reveal something so subtle. Curl up your body without raising or stretching [any part of it]. [Then] fold your knees and sit properly with a straight posture. {Sit in a full lotus position. Do not just sit normally} 92 [With your] left hand hold up your outer kidneys (testicles) [and with your] right hand cover your Gate of Life {the navel}. Close your Door of Joy {the mouth} and open your Gate to Heaven {the nose. This is the gate of the Dark Female}. You must cut off all [thoughts and concerns]. You can then draw air into the nose. {Drawing in means to inhale which is increasing which is yin which is "water". It is only important that you inhale softly so that your ears cannot hear the sound [of the air coming in]} With your mind lightly send it into the Central Palace and make it reach the tailbone. {This is what is called "filling and opening up the Pond of Primordial Chaos" or "ripping open the Orifice of Primordial Chaos".} When the breath climaxes it will go [up] through the spine's three passages 93 and into the nose. Lightly let it out. {Letting out is exhalation which is decreasing which is yang which is fire. Let it out lightly so that the ears cannot hear the sound [of the air being exhaled].} The breath which you inhale enters the Central Palace, making contact and merging with the primal yang perfect ch'i. {A scripture says, "Make contact with the eternal breath of Heaven and Earth and extend [the life of] your temporal body [given to you from your] father and mother." In other words you combine your virtue with that of Heaven and Earth.} Make the

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92 These are annotations done by an anonymous commentator. TTCC was compiled quite a few years after Ch'iu's death and is made up of Chiu's internal alchemical discourses accompanied by notes, commentary and diagrams which were apparently provided by those (presumably Ch'iu's disciples) who compiled it. In her book, A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries, Judith Boltz made the remark, "But, since the author of this work is identified according to the honorary title bestowed on Ch'iu in 1269, it actually may be more representative of the thinking of later devotees of Ch'uan-chen than of the master's own teachings." (p.160) Her speculation is accurate in that at some points, the commentary cites sources (such as Chang Po-tuan's Wu-chen P'ien) which the first generation of Ch'uan-chen masters may not have been familiar with and perhaps has incorporated some different elements of thinking. But as far as the portion purported to be uttered by Ch'iu is concerned, I see no decisive reason to discredit it as inauthentic.

93 There were believed to be "three passages" along the spine which the adept had to keep open in order to send various forms of ch'i up to the head.
two breaths of water and fire come and go upward and downward relying upon each other. {This is equivalent to the rising and falling of [the ch'i of] Heaven and Earth94} Bring together the perfect ch'i in the kidneys {the lead, the Tiger} and the wood liquid95 in the heart {the mercury, the Dragon}. Copulating, they will mix and merge in the Central Palace. {This is called "the five phases all completely harmoniously meeting in one house." Naturally [you will become] youthful and handsome.} {A scripture says, "For the ch'i (breath) to enter the navel is respiration. The spirit to enters the ch'i and makes the embryo. For the embryo and the respiration to merge with each other is called, 'T'ai-i encloses perfection'."} This is called "the Copulation of the Dragon and Tiger". This, in other words, is the medicine. Once you have the medicine you are like a mother who has a womb. You will thereby feel that your Central Palace has an object [in it]. {This is what is called "round (complete) and peppy".} You must use the fire talisman to refine and boil it in order keep the medicine from scattering.96

The above method is similar to what is described in YSC in that the adept is told to concentrate himself entirely on visualizing his Cinnabar Field and to bring his "Dragon" and "Tiger" together. While Wang Ch'ung-yang describes what to do with the saliva (rinse the mouth, make three vigorous swallowings), Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un for some reason shys away from describing how to swallow the saliva. But to sort of make up for this, Ch'iu gives a very good description of the kind of breathing that is supposed to be carried out. He tells us that by breathing very softly while visualizing the "Central Palace" (Cinnabar Field), an adept was supposed to be able bring the air into the Cinnabar Field and replenish the primal yang perfect ch'i endowed to him from birth which is so vital in keeping the body alive and well. In another passage in TTCC, Ch'iu laments the plight of ignorant people by remarking:

94This refers essentially to the water cycle of evaporation, condensation and precipitation. The Chinese saw this as being caused by the airy ch'i of Heaven coming down to the earth and rising up again; lifting up the heavy, moist ch'i of the earth with it, which eventually falls down because of its heaviness.

95In the internal seasonal cycle of ch'i circulation, the ch'i from the liver (spring, wood) is sent to the heart (summer fire). This seems to be why the liquid (blood) of the heart is described as "wood liquid".

96TTCC Upper chuan pp.6a-b. See Plate 59.
"I think that the reason why ordinary people are unable to be intimate [with their Cinnabar Fields] is because they are controlled by their seven emotions and six desires and confusedly forget the place where [their breath is] originally supposed to go. [Therefore], the air which they exhale and inhale comes and goes reaching only as far as the Sea of Breath. {The Sea of Breath is above the diaphragm. It is the Office of the Lungs.} Because they have never been able to make [their breath] reach the Office of Life in the Central Palace and come in contact with their primal \textit{ch'i} and perfect \textit{ch'i}, their metal (lung \textit{ch'i}, Tiger) and wood (liver \textit{ch'i}, Dragon) remain separated. How then can they make the Dragon and Tiger copulate and produce \textit{ch'i} that is pure and exquisite?\footnote{TTCC Upper \textit{chuan} p.2a. See Plate 60.}

The air eventually finds its way to the tailbone end enters the spine through a hole that was believed to exist in the tailbone. The air rises up the spine, into the head and out the nose. Apparently as the adept continued to breathe in this way, it was understood that perfect \textit{ch'i} (the Tiger) from the kidneys (which I think was probably thought of as being a fine vapor produced out of the semen) would rise up and liquid (the Dragon) from the heart (the blood) would come down; and the two would "copulate" in the Cinnabar Field. Through this internal "sexual intercourse" of the body's own elements, the adept became "pregnant" with an "embryo" which he (or she) must keep intact and through further engagement in more advanced method eventually give birth to an eternal yang spirit (we will see how this was supposed to be done in Chapter Four). The immediate good results are youthful health and appearance. YSC tells us that after the \textit{ch'i} is brought together within the belly, it is to be kept from leaking and scattering by the adept's sustained day-long concentration on his Cinnabar Field. As the adept continued this controlled respiration and mental concentration over a long stretch of time, he would experience various extraordinary physical sensations. In his description of "the Firing Times of the Revolving
of Heaven, Ch’iu describes the vital role played by the mind’s capacity to concentrate and generate heat (this goes on simultaneously with "the Copulation of the Dragon and Tiger" and continues on after "the medicine has been gathered"), and describes some of the sensations which the adept experiences:

"That which transports the fire and administers the fire at the proper times is the heart [which is equivalent to] the spirit, the [innate] nature, [the trigram] li , the sun and the mind. When you previously (during the method of the Copulation of the Dragon and Tiger) gather the medicine and the two ch’i s are ascending and descending; if you do not use your mind to preserve the medicine in the Central Palace, how can you be able to make [the embryo] stay, and how can you be able to move and transport?........As soon as the two ch’i s (the Dragon and Tiger? inhalation and exhalation?) ascend and descend, gathering the medicine, administer the fire in the Central Palace for an additional period of time (hours after hours?).........The Central Palace faces the Palace of Tzu^VQ (probably refers to the kidneys). If your mind points towards this one place (the spleen and the kidneys), a single yang will spontaneously be born...... At the Fu^Hexagram 99 arouse and administer [the fire (the mind’s concentration)]. When you arrive at three yang s100, water and metal (ch’i of the lungs and kidneys) will both halt, and the area from the bladder to the navel will feel harmonious and warm, responding to the T’ai^hexagram101 of Earth [on top of] Heaven. When you get to this point, all you need to do is sustain it without giving rise to a speck of dust. {Have no thoughts}. When you get the Dragon and Tiger to copulate, gradually the yang ch’i will rise upwards, causing the entire body to feel harmonious and warm, responding to the Ch’ien hexagram102. The medicine will penetrate the head, boiling over like tide and waves during a storm. When the medicine boils it

98Because it was thought that the stars in the sky rotated around the earth, the waxing and waning of yin and yang over the span of a day or of a year could be referred to as "the revolving of Heaven".

99This particular hexagram from the I-ching represents the point at which yin has climaxed and yang has just begun to show itself and is embarking on its way towards gradually assuming dominance.

100A point at which the intensity of the mind’s concentration is aptly represented by a hexagram with three yang (solid) lines rather than just one?

101A most auspicious hexagram in that yin and yang are at equilibrium with yang still in its youthful, growing stage.

102Six solid lines. The climax of yang.
changes into metallic fluid and spontaneously comes down [from the mouth] like a cool stream, responding to the \(K\ o\ u\) hexagram\(^{103}\). Gradually the coolness will come to the rescue (cool down the intense heat of the body), responding the \(P'\ i\) hexagram\(^{104}\). The force of the fire in the Cinnabar Field will gradually dwindle, responding the \(P'\ o\) hexagram\(^{105}\). Hereby you will have rotated [the cycle of] Heaven (gone through the full cycle of the waxing and waning of the \(yang\) and \(yin\) factors). This method is called, "the Firing Times of the Revolving of Heaven". Use an hour (hours?) to practice this. Curl your posture very slightly and with your sides and your belly lightly stabilize the rate of your breaths and set the weight (the depth of the breaths). Silently transport the heart's \(ch'i\) down to the Cinnabar Field. Breath through your nose, sustaining soft and long [breaths]. Do this without laboring yourself, simply always keeping your mind within the Central Palace. The mind is the son of the spirit. The spirit is the mother of \(ch'i\). \(^{104}\) If the spirit controls the \(ch'i\), the \(ch'i\) will spontaneously enter the three passages of the spine through the tail bone and directly rise to the Cavity of the Well Pulley and the Passage of Heaven. {This is at the back of the brain} Entering K'un-lun\(^{105}\) (the head) it descends back to the Cinnabar Field. Transport and circulate it unceasingly, making it flow throughout [the body]."\(^{105}\)

The above passage describes how the mind of the adept is supposed to somehow generate heat as it visualizes the Cinnabar Field. Apparently, by visualizing the Cinnabar Field, \(ch'i\) from the heart (which apparently was thought to be very hot) is supposed to be made to descend into it. Eventually this causes the medicine (the heart's liquid and kidneys' \(ch'i\), brought together at the Cinnabar Field by means of the breathing method of "the Copulation of the Dragon and Tiger") to boil over and spurt up into the spine and up into the brain. During this process the body of the adept is supposed feel increasingly warm, with the warm sensation gradually spreading out from the Cinnabar Field and the

\(^{103}\)The birth of the new \(yin\) after the climax of \(yang\)

\(^{104}\)This means that the mind must control the \(ch'i\) of the body like a mother looks after her child. This statement is rather puzzling in that, the Ch'uan-ch'en master's often spoke of how the \(ch'i\) is the mother of spirit, meaning that the spirit is produced out of \(ch'i\).

\(^{105}\)TTCC pp.8b-9b. See Plate 61.
kidneys. Eventually, streams of saliva start to gush out into the mouth of the adept, and as this happens, the body cools off. This saliva is supposedly the "medicine" that has been transformed inside the brain. This format in which this physiological process is compared to the waxing and waning of the *yin* and *yang* of the universe symbolized by the *I-ching* hexagrams is adopted from the format of the Latter Han Dynasty alchemical 106Classic, *Chou-I Ts'an-t'ung Ch'i*.  

My feeling is that at least part of the reason for why methods such as the one described above were emphasized by the Ch'üan-chen masters; was because they frequently exposed themselves to health-endangering circumstances such as extreme coldness, heat and hunger. They were required to become able to endure such difficulties without getting ill and without even feeling cold, hot or hungry. As we saw in the above passage that I quoted from TTCC, an adept was supposed to be able to raise the temperature of his body by concentrating his mind and producing hot *ch'i* from his heart and lower his temperature by drinking his saliva. Although the internal physiological phenomena which Ch'iu describes could not actually take place, the Ch'üan-chen masters evidently must have used such methods with some measure of success in order to adjust the temperature of the body so that it could withstand extreme coldness and heat (or to at least psychologically trick themselves into not feeling as cold or as hot as they might otherwise). Also, the swallowing of saliva was often carried out as a substitute for actual consumption of food or drink. It was also believed that by swallowing saliva and sending

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106 Whether this book was written as a manual for laboratory alchemy, for physiological alchemy or for both, is a difficult question. Apparently, most modern scholars feel that it was written with only laboratory alchemy in mind and that the physiological alchemists of the late T'ang period and later adopted it as the original classic of their own practices. Others, such as Joseph Needham and myself feel that due to the extreme abstractness of the book and scarceness in the variety of ingredients described (primarily just lead, mercury and cinnabar), it could very well have been written with physiological processes (which probably would have included sexual techniques) in mind.
it to the various internal organs, one could nourish and strengthen the functioning of each organ:

"When you practice merit, eat metal food when hungry and drink jade juice when thirsty. When you are cold, advance fire\textsuperscript{107}. When hot, advance water\textsuperscript{108}. Fire is true \textit{yang} and water is true \textit{yin}. This is the Method of Adjusting by Extracting and Adding and Increasing and Diminishing. 'Extracting' means to gather perfect ch'i from above (transform it into saliva inside the head and drink it?) 'Adding' means to advance warm ch'i from below (semen from the kidneys vaporized by the power of the 'fire'?) and make it enter the Cinnabar Field. If a person's Kidney Palace is warm, the myriad diseases will be eliminated.\textsuperscript{109}\n
"Swallowing saliva is \textit{yin}. Following after it is the guiding of breath (using the mind) which is \textit{yang}.......Swallow the Spiritual Water (saliva) and make the ch'i reach [various parts]. Inside the forehead, the [ch'i] of the lungs changes into yeh saliva which is good for curing coughing. Gradually it creates the p'o Chin saliva (produced by the liver) when swallowed reaches the heart and causes people's minds to open up understanding. [This is] also [called] 'washing the heart'. [If] Spiritual Water washes the heart, [you can] see your [innate] nature.....The Spiritual Water changes into blood. Also, swallow the Spiritual Water and make it reach the liver. The liver belongs to the phase of Wood and is nicknamed 'the Blue Dragon'. When the Dragon acquires water it will definitely be vigorous, and will heal all eyes effectively (will heal all eye diseases). [The liver's] ch'i changes into chin saliva. Swallow the Spiritual Water and send it to the spleen. The spleen belongs to [the phase of] soil. When it acquires water, it can grow Yellow Sprouts\textsuperscript{110}.

Thus we can see that the Ch'üan-chen masters thought that the swallowing of saliva had a very wide variety of beneficial functions. "Metal food" and "jade juice" both refer to

\textsuperscript{107}To concentrate the mind and send out the hot ch'i of the heart.

\textsuperscript{108}This probably means to swallow saliva.

\textsuperscript{109}YSC p.9b. See Plate 62.

\textsuperscript{110}An alchemical term referring to unoxidised bright lead or tin. In an internal alchemical context such as this one, it seems to refer to the initial stage of ch'i refinement leading up to the completion of the immortal spirit.

\textsuperscript{111}YSC p.8b. See Plate 63.
types of saliva that are swallowed. The following statements by Liu Ch'ang-sheng in his NCC commentary definitely indicate that the swallowing of saliva was thought to relieve both thirst and hunger and that both "jade juice" and "metal food" refer to types of saliva that are swallowed:

NCC: Eventually reach non-hunger, and the Three Worms will perish. (Liu's comment: Jade liquor and metal food; with three swallowings [of them] you forget hunger. With the worms and corpses already scattered, the nature's manifest radiance shines.)

NCC: Visualize and wash the five sprouts and do not hunger or thirst. (Liu's comment: The womb's Immortal bathes. Wash with gold, the jade sprouts. Inside, you will not hunger or thirst. Always drink the smoky mist.)

NCC: Bland and without taste is the food of the Heavenly man. (Liu's comment: Unselfishly and quietly, the Spiritual Spring can quench hunger and thirst. Completely wash away ordinary emotions and completely master [the Tao].)

As for the difference between jade juice and metal food, my guess would be that "metal food" refers to thick and sticky saliva or to phlegm in the mouth. "Metal" seems to refer to the fact that such saliva or phlegm was perceived as the semen of the kidneys that had been vaporized and bought up into the brain. Semen was often referred to as "metallic

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112 p.17a: 迷至不飢三蟲亡 王翳全飯三味蒸九飢色食氤氤性顯光輝
113 五芽 Misprint of五芽. Probably refers to the five viscera.
114 p.26a: 存漱五牙不飢渴 胎仙沐浴全漱五芽內無飢渴常飲煙霞
115 重泉 This probably refers to the salivary glands.
116 p.42a: 淡然無味天人糧 性淡重泉能使飢渴消尽凡情自然了達
essence" because the kidneys were believed to receive the ch'i from the lungs, the organ belonging to the phase of metal, before producing semen.

While I am having to base a large part of my discussion on mere speculation, the point that I think I can make with confidence is that the various kinds of complicated methods involving mental concentration, controlled and guided breathing and saliva swallowing were designed for and primarily practiced by aspiring adepts (initiated, instructed, and trained by a master up to a point where they were worthy of having esoteric methods transmitted to them), who were in the stages of undergoing the rigorous, self-induced hardships of thirst, starvation and harsh weather. By withstanding these hardships by means of these methods that rely only on the resources of one's own mind and body (rather than medicine, food and clothing), one could prove to himself and to others that he was a true adept, a Perfected Man like Wang Ch'ung-yang or Ma Tan-yang.

Along with overcoming the health hazards that he faced during his stage of extreme asceticism and self-induced hardship, the other major challenge of the aspiring Ch'ilan-ch'en adept was to try and prevent all kinds of leakage of semen or blood (in the case of women). For men, the greatest danger existed at night when wet dreams had to be prevented. Ma Tan-yang had the following advice for this situation:

"The secret to preserving your ch'i lies in keeping your semen complete. More than anything else, you must prevent [leakage] during your sleep. When you want to go to sleep, make proper thoughts appear and completely get rid of the myriad concerns. Curl up your body and lay sideways breathing long and soft breaths through your nose. [If you do so], your hun will not move within you and your spirit will not roam outside of you. If you do like this, your ch'i and semen will stabilize themselves."

The spirit's wandering outside was thought to be the cause of dreams, often of the erotic variety that accompany involuntary ejaculation. For the hun to move means that

117TYL pp.5b-6a. See Plate 64.
the body will be more susceptible to being mislead by the erotic urges stimulated by the
dreams. By consciously clearing the mind, lying down and breathing in a proper manner,
it was thought that the spirit and *hun* could be stabilized, and the wet dream prevented.

Now let us turn to a discussion of the same topic in YSC. Again the reader will
confront abstruse terminology and names of methods which to my knowledge are not
explained in any detail in any written text. But here we will see outlined vaguely the
concept that semen was to be retained and sent up the spinal column into the brain. Also,
an alternate method is mentioned for female adepts who (by definition) have no semen:

"[Someone asked], 'Suppose the White Ox (semen) is about to
leave. How can I capture it?'
[Wang Ch'ung-yang answered], 'A lesson says, 'When the White
Ox is leaving, close and knock on your Dark Passage\textsuperscript{118}, close the
Four Gates\textsuperscript{119} and quickly use the Method of the Immortal Angling
Fish\textsuperscript{118} Also use the Three Island Hand Signals
\textsuperscript{119} and cause the Yellow River to flow backwards\textsuperscript{120}. Hold
from above the Golden Passage\textsuperscript{118} and store it away with the Jade
Chain\textsuperscript{119}. If people gouge out their eyes (stop looking at
arousing sights?), the White Ox will of its own accord not run
away. This is the Method of the Inner Function Leaving the Water
and Climbing to the Other Shore\textsuperscript{121}. There are
ten methods of stabilizing one's nature and life-destiny\textsuperscript{122} (semen
and blood). A lesson says, 'One is called, 'the *Samadhi*
\textsuperscript{122} of the
Golden Passage and Jade Chain'. A second is called, 'the *Samadhi*
of Replacing Death and Returning to Life on the Three Islands'. A

\begin{footnotes}
\begin{enumerate}
\item See footnote \#87
\item See footnote \#86
\item This probably means to make the semen flow up the spine rather than out of the body.
\item This perhaps means to shut tight the mouth and plug up the exit of the semen. The "Golden Passage"
probably refers to the route of the semen. "Jade Chain" probably refers to the teeth when they are tightly
shut together.
\item In Buddhism this word refers to a condition where the mind is concentrated and free of all
superfluous thoughts. Perhaps that is what is meant here, as virtually all of the physiological methods
practiced by Taoists of Ch'uan-chen and similar sects called for the adept to empty his mind of superfluous
thoughts.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotes}
third is called, 'the Samadhi of Nine Curves of the Yellow River Flowing Backwards'. These [states of stability] are called, 'Non-leakage'. Those whose fruits [of non-leakage] are complete have all completed the way of Immortality. When the treasures have been stabilized, quit. [Or else you will] paralyze your hips and legs and blind your eyes.'

[Someone] asked, 'If a person has gathered and stabilized his three treasures, where should he transport them to?'

[Wang answered], 'First use the Method of the Holes in the Knees of the Bulrush Straw. Boil the ch'i (of the kidneys) and send it to the Treasure Fireplace (the Cinnabar Field). The bones will carry the ch'i and directly make it arrive at the bubbling spring and supplement the two feet. After this, [use] the Method of Returning the Elixir Seven Times. When the ch'i stagnates in the hips and legs, then carry out the Merit of the Iron Chariot and the Black Ox. After this open the Minister's Gates. In order to get the primal ch'i to fill the belly, first carry out the Method of Flying the Metallic Crystals Behind the Elbows. As for those who do not practice these [above] merits (methods), do not practice the Method of the Holes in the Knees and do not practice the Method of Returning to the Three Islands Seven Times, and thereby practice the Method of Transporting Semen and Supplementing the Brain hoping for long life and non-aging; people of nowadays who practice merit [in such a way] are looking above without looking below. [They are] like children building a tower (from sand? building blocks?) who do not solidify the foundation.

.........First, the spiritual nature is the cart of the great ox. You should tie up the Blue Ox and make him pull the cart. Inside the cart a treasure is loaded. This is the Deer Cart. Secondly, guide the White Ox that pulls a cart. Inside the cart is loaded a treasure. Thirdly, there is warm air and fire guiding. This is the Sheep Cart. The Red Ox pulls the cart. Inside the cart is loaded a treasure. When the three carts go, You can for the first time leave Mt. Ching and through the tail bone enter the earth's center, and go to Heaven's passage through the lower two passages. The two holes of the kidneys are these [two lower passages]. The hips and thighs enter the land of the Ts'ao Gorge where the spine ends. [As for] the two passages, the spine is this. Both passages [that go through the spine] aim at the Upper Garden Rock which has a second name, 'the Peak that divides Water' and a third name, 'Peak of Heaven's Tower'.

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123 Unclear. Perhaps an opening at the end of the tailbone.

124 These names apparently refer to the brain.
When a woman transports her treasures, first she must stabilize her Milk Fragrance\(^{125}\) and frequently advance true fire (concentrate the mind and perhaps guide hot heart \(ch'i\) towards her breasts). If she practices this merit for one year, she can cause a woman [like herself] to be like a young boy, and by visualizing her lead and mercury, the two pearls will shoot up towards P'eng-lai\(^{126}\), and open the back of her brain. Heaven's Gate will spontaneously open and [she will] penetrate the red mist. Perfect \(ch'i\) will enter the Sea of Marrow\(^{127}\) (the brain) [which] will naturally be warm, causing the white heads of people [who practice this method] to again turn black. This is called the method of Flying the Metallic Crystals Behind the Elbows.\(^{127}\)

Apparently, the milk produced in a woman's breasts was regarded as the female counterpart to a man's semen. This, in a way, makes sense. Since the semen was regarded as the body's endowment of "essence" or nutrition and as a potential food substitute (as we have been seeing, this was supposed to be done by vaporizing it with the heat generated by the mind and sending it to the spleen directly or via the spine and the brain where it is transformed into saliva which is swallowed) for an adept, a woman's milk (which actually is food) does seem like something that could have been regarded as performing a similar function in the female anatomy. But in a typical sexist way, for a woman to realize her potential to use her innate nutritional endowment, she first had to become "like a young boy".

\(Ch'i\) in its various forms is apparently supposed to be transported through the various parts of the body by means of visualization and refined by the body's heat that was thought to be caused by the heart's (mind's) concentration which is frequently referred to as "fire". The greatest and most important mystery lies in the part describing how to retain the "White Ox". What exactly is being described cannot be known because Wang Ch'ung-

\(^{125}\)Most likely refers to the \(ch'i\) in a woman's breasts.

\(^{126}\)One of the famous and legendary Three Island of the Immortals that were believed to exist in the P'o-hai. Here it seems to be a metaphor for the brain.

\(^{127}\)YSC p.6a, p.6b and pp.7a-b. See Plate 65.
Yang does not directly describe how the methods that he names are to be performed. But he quite possibly may have been describing certain kinds of methods involving gymnastics, massage, possibly masturbation or sexual intercourse. The reason why it seems possible that masturbation or sexual intercourse could have been involved is that he speaks about a moment when the "White Ox is about to leave" which seems to be taking place while adept is conscious rather than during his sleep.

Methods of sexual intercourse for long life originate from much earlier times than the Taoist religion itself. The concept of sending semen into the brain through the spine was derived from such theories of "bedroom artistry". The basic idea was that at the moment of orgasm, semen would run up the spine if one could prevent himself from ejaculating. I consider it highly unlikely that Wang Ch'ung-yang would have actually prescribed such methods, although he more than likely knew of them. Most evidence shows that complete celibacy was an absolute rule for the Ch'üan-chen clergy, as I have already said several times. But the passage that I have just quoted does make it necessary to open one's mind to the possibility that perhaps bedroom artistry was practiced by aspiring Ch'üan-chen adepts as another "ordeal" or test of their conscious mind's ability to control all of the functions of the body. Perhaps sexual intercourse could have been considered harmless and not sinful if performed without erotic passion and without ejaculation. As passage such as the above would indicate, there was a substantial number of female Ch'üan-chen aspirants, and there are quite a few stories about Ch'üan-chen patriarchs going to brothels to convert prostitutes (although nothing sexual ever happens in such stories). So if one wishes to let his imagination run wild, he can. But as of now, my opinion is that bedroom artistry was basically despised by the Ch'üan-chen sect, and that newer theories of the mind's ability to heat and guide the ch'i had made it unnecessary for an adept to be first aroused through sexual intercourse in order to send his semen up his
spine. The general attitude seems to have been that while such methods of bedroom artistry could possibly extend the lifespan for a certain number of years, the sinful lust that gets involved creates karma and provokes Heaven's wrath. Also, it was thought to exhaust the adept's supply of perfect ch'i surely but unnoticeably (perhaps because leakage takes place during intercourse even when the practitioner thinks that it is not). Therefore, it was thought that the practitioner would end up dying a very painful and unnatural death and fail to attain salvation.

MTC includes a story (story #85) about a certain Lou Tao-ming who was an expert at bedroom artistry who always surrounded himself with pretty and buxom young ladies and would regularly copulate with ten of them at a time. He was 97 years old but looked like he was only 50 years old. Thus he claimed to be a Perfected Immortal. He did not realize that over the years his sins had greatly accumulated and that he had actually been exhausting the perfect ch'i in his Cinnabar Field. Because he also happened to be a great philanthropist and had done many good deeds in that respect, Lü Ch'un-yang had the pity for him to at least come to warn him of his fate. The next day, Lou Tao-ming suddenly got a sick feeling, coughed up several pecks of a silver colored oily liquid, and died.

Essentially, the Ch'üan-ch'en masters believed that the less sexual intercourse one engaged in, the better off one was. Thus they thought that laymen who were for some reason unable to commit themselves to celibacy could still improve their health greatly by cutting back on their sexual activity as much as possible. In CHL, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un repeatedly warns Genghis Khan about the dangers involved in his excessive enjoyment of his harem. His prescription for Genghis Khan is to try sleeping alone for one month,

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128 One peck is 9.488 litres.
reasoning that just one night of solitary slumber is more beneficial than 1000 days of medicinal treatment. He also tells him about Emperor Shih-tsung of the Chin Dynasty whose over-indulgence had made him so weak that he had to be carried to the throne every morning. By heeding the advice of Ch'iu and cutting back on his harem activities, he was allegedly able to physically recover and reign for twenty more years.

TTCC includes descriptions of a method of Flying the Metallic Essence Behind the Elbows which is similar to the Method of Flying the Metallic Crystals Behind the Elbows described in YSC. Again, the descriptions in TTCC are much more straightforward, and we get a description of a simple exercise method for opening up the passage in the spine for the "metallic essence" to go through:

"This method is titled, Flying the Metallic Essence Behind the Elbows'. [For] this method use the time after the tzu hour (midnight) and before the wu hour (noon). This is the time when the ch'i is produced. Spread open your garments (for more mobility in the upper body), sit properly (with the back straightened to its "proper" posture), tighten your fists, and preserve your spirit (clear the mind and concentrate it). After first preserving [your spirit], stretch your body. After first stretching [your body], lean back; making your chest stick out and your spine curve in. This opens the middle passage (located at about the center of the spine). From a level seated position (relaxed posture), lift your head. This opens up the upper passage (located at the part of the spine at the bottom of the neck). After first stretching [your body], preserve [your spirit]. [With your] hips and from your belly (using the strength of the stomach and the hips?) gradually raise your hip

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129 A later passage in which Ch'iu quotes the late T'ang internal alchemist Shih Hua-yang reads, "At the tzu hour, because the most refined ch'i of the lungs combines [with the ch'i in the kidneys, it is called the metallic essence. The metallic essence is the ch'i of the lungs and kidney combined into one before the division of metal and water."

130 See footnote #131. Perhaps this "time when the ch'i is produced" refers to the tzu hour when the ch'i of the lungs and kidneys combine to produce "metallic essence".

131 This term can mean which is to put on clothing. But I decided to translate this in the above way as it seemed to make more sense to translated it as "spread open the garments" so as to provide the upper body with more mobility. I have often seen pictures of practioners of Taoist exercises who are naked in upper body or are wearing their garments loosely.
and stretch your body, making your chest stick out and your spine curve inwards. This opens up the lower passage (located at the bottom of the spine at the hip). After this, when the heat of the ch'i climaxes and rises up to the bottom of the passage, you should raise your hip, stretch your body and sit properly. The hot ch'i will thrust through all three passages, supplementing the marrow in the brain. Naturally, your complexion will become rosy, your bones will become strong, your skin will become white (apparently this was considered healthy) and your body will become light. This is called 'Returning to Youth from Old Age', and is a method of long life and Immortality. If a young person practices this, he will not age. If an old person practices this, he will return to youth.\textsuperscript{132}

Thus, by means of the above exercise, the passage through the spine was cleared for the semen (vaporized by the mind's fire) to rise up through. You may recall how the YSC passage that I quoted on p.\textsuperscript{115} criticized practitioners who wanted to practice "the Method of Flying the Metallic Crystals Behind the Elbows" without practicing other preliminary methods; likening them to children who build fragile (sand?) towers without solid foundations. In TTCC, Ch'iu Ch'ang-chun says something rather similar, discussing why the Copulation of the Dragon and Tiger\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{133}} and Flying the Metallic Crystals Behind the Elbows should all be practiced together for the maximum good results to be attained:

"Generally speaking, what is superior is based on what is inferior, and what is profound is begins from what is shallow. If people only practice the Copulation of the Dragon and Tiger, they can only supplement what they lack, benefit their ch'i, vitalize their blood and send it to their faces. If people only practice the Firing Times, they can only bring joy to their skin and invigorate their sinews and bones. If they practice [only] the method of Flying the Metallic Essence they can only return to youth from old age, strengthening their bones and lightening their bodies. If they are able to put into practice all of these lessons, they will greatly receive benefits. It is so that when the Dragon and Tiger intermingle and produce an object the size of a grain of rice or millet that moves around inside the Yellow Court; if you do not use the Firing Times you cannot refine and solidify it. As for [those who practice only] the Firing Times of the Revolving of Heaven; they will only have vacuous ch'i in their Cinnabar Fields and will be unable to make the Dragon and

\textsuperscript{132} TTCC Upper chuan pp.11b-12a. See Plate 66.

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Tiger Copulate. As for the Profound Pearls (semen?), they will be unable to make them stay peacefully. These two methods need each other. In using [the Method of Flying the Metallic Crystals] Behind the Elbows to extract the kidneys' \( ch'i \) [to make it] enter the brain; if you do not complete the yang inside the yin (extract the yang \( ch'i \) from the kidneys by means of the other two methods), you will cut up and violate the pure yang elixir\(^{133} \) [which is] the [most] profound amidst the profound, the marvel among marvels.

[If you practice all three together properly], after 100 days, you will produce sweet chin saliva in your mouth, your body will have spiritual light [emanating from it], your bones will be strong, your face will be rosy, your skin will be white and your belly will be warm. After 200 days, you will gradually come to dislike spices and meats, you will always smell an extraordinary fragrance, you will walk like you are flying, and when you sleep, your dreams will naturally decrease. After 300 days\(^{134} \), your drinking and eating will naturally stop, coldness and heat will naturally become tolerable, your saliva, perspiration and tears will naturally become non-existent, and diseases and misfortunes will naturally be eliminated. When amidst stillness (during meditation?) you will hear sounds of music in the distance, and the in dark room will gradually appear red shiny radiances. If you see these sights, do not regard it as strange. These are but minor effects. If you practice this (Perfection Cultivation) with utmost sincerity, the divine and extraordinary effects [which will result] cannot be sufficiently listed (there are too many of them)."\(^{135} \)

Each of the three methods, if practiced alone, was supposed to have extremely positive effects on the health. While bringing about good health was a major concern for the Ch'tuan-chen masters, as we have being seeing throughout this chapter; they wanted more than just good health. Ultimately, these methods had be utilized as initial methods for bringing about salvation, which meant Perfected Man status and eventual Immortal-hood. The three methods had to be practiced together for this to happen. After 300 days, the

\(^{133}\)Conceivably, there would seem to be two problems if the adept tried to send the semen to the brain without first refining it with the "fire", and combining it with the blood at the cinnabar field. First, there would be the problem of how the semen could possibly travel to the brain if it was not vaporized by the "fire". Secondly, he would only be be supplementing his brain without using any of his semen to create in the cinnabar field the beginnings of a pure yang Immortal spirit that is theoretically supposed to survive his body after its death. This, essentially would be my guess as to what is meant by this sentence.

\(^{134}\)The text here rereads, 300 eyes \( \Box \); most certainly a mistake.

\(^{135}\)TTCC pp.13b-14a. See Plate 67.

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practitioner was supposed to be able to take on some of the extra-ordinary traits of an authentic Perfected Man, obtaining a completely non-leaking body that felt no hunger, heat, nor coldness, and was immune from diseases and misfortunes. He was also supposed to start experiencing various strange sights, sounds and smells. As we will be seeing in Chapter Four, the more sophisticated methods Perfection Cultivation were designed to bring the adept into further contact with the realm of super-normal experience. As a result, a full-fledged adept or a Perfected Man was supposed to come to possess a wide variety of super-normal spiritual and physical powers which included the ability to perform efficacious rituals. Actually, the above passage gives me the impression of being somewhat self-contradictory. Ch'iu strongly implies that each method can indeed be practiced on its own with some degree of effectiveness. Yet, if the Dragon and Tiger had to "copulate" for the "fire" to have anything to refine, and the "fire" had to refine and vaporize the semen for it to go into the brain; one wonders how each method on its own could have been thought to have any kind of effectiveness at all.

But anyway, once having gained immunity from diseases by overcoming hunger, coldness and heat, an adept still had to contend with another type of hazard that could corrupt his body into a body of leakage, disease and death. This hazard was the various confrontations that would take place with evil spirits and demons. These demons are generally those of the variety that come to distract and corrupt the adept during his meditation. This conflict will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four. Apparently, aspiring Ch'uan-chen adepts also entertained fears involving the harmful influences of "vengeful demons" who might haunt them and bring their bodies to their demise. In YSC, Wang Ch'ung-yang describes a very strange and abstract method by which an adept could defend himself in such a situation:
"[Someone] asked saying, 'Suppose I met with a vengeful demon, how can I control it?'

[Wang Ch'ung-yang answered], 'A lesson says that you should be pure and still. Within fearful agitation steal calmness (be calm during the normally frantic situation), and within calmness take stillness. When a person is in danger he should quickly avoid the heart-king\textsuperscript{136} and should use the Method of Irrigating (drinking saliva) and Visualizing. Quickly command your spirit-will to enter the Spiritual Palace of the Ni-wan (brain). Sit properly and visualize in front of your eyes the male and female Immortals each playing the music of the Immortals. Knock your teeth together and stabilize your will. See the scenery of Mt. K'un-lun\textsuperscript{137}. See above you an ox, sheep, deer, horse and jade rabbit.\textsuperscript{138} The mind visualizes [the brain] above, grabs, keeps and ties up [the animals]. When your merit is stabilized, you will suddenly visualize a single treasure tree above you. On the tree is a flower. The flower blooms and produces a seed. With your mind, pluck it off and swallow it. One who is able to ingest this will eternally acquire a long-life of peace and joy.\textsuperscript{139}

So the idea was that the adept did not have to be fearful of vengeful demons, and that by just being calm and practicing the above method of visualization and saliva swallowing could be immune from their influence. Essentially, like other demons, vengeful demons apparently seem to have been believed to cause harm by causing the internal organs of the body to misbehave and cause harmful leakage of \textit{ch'i}. Therefore, defending oneself against them involved just maintaining one's own composure and maintaining control of one's own physical forces, rather than exterminating the vengeful demon itself.

Thus far I have discussed what seem to have been the basic methods of preventing and curing diseases that the Ch'\textit{\textl{\textd{i}}}an-chen masters knew of and practiced for their own

\textsuperscript{136}Unclear. In NCC, the heart is described as "the king of the five viscera"五藏. Perhaps this simply means to avoid thinking or worrying too much.

\textsuperscript{137}This refers to the head.

\textsuperscript{138}This probably refers to the \textit{ch'i} or to the resident gods of the five viscera. The jade rabbit probably refers to the \textit{ch'i} or the resident god of the kidneys, since according to legend, a rabbit resides in the moon, and the kidneys were regarded as the body's "moon".

\textsuperscript{139}YSC pp.10b-11a. See Plate 68.
health. Before I move on to my very brief discussion of the methods that they used to cure
the diseases of others, I would like to introduce the reader to a couple of passages from
YSC that show that they also had methods by which they believed they could detect when
the inside of the body was in potentially dangerous shape before the obvious symptoms
actually arose. It was understood that serious disease was imminent when the perfect $ch'i$
inside the Cinnabar Field was getting depleted or was declining in vigor. The condition of
the Cinnabar Field could supposedly be detected through the color of the urine and the
content of one's dreams:

"As for one whose urine is yellow; his Cinnabar Field is empty and
damaged and he is losing his perfect $ch'i$ of the lower origin$^{140}$. He must quickly use the Method of Penetrating the Nine Curves
穿九曲之法 which is also called the Nine Cycle Digging of the
Small Intestine's Nine Penetrations九軸穴小腸九透. Perfect $ch'i$
will enter the Hall of the Kidneys, and his urine will naturally
become a bluish-white color, and the whole body will acquire
peaceful comfort."$^{141}$

"At night, if you often dream of releasing an ox on top of a
mountain and that ox is a red ox or a blue ox, or [if you dream of] Immortals, Taoist monks, temples and monasteries, nice rooms and
large roads, tall chariots and nice trees or at night see little boys and
girls and great officials; this is because the $ch'i$ in your Cinnabar
Field is vigorous. If you dream and see small roads, rough thorn
bushes, evil people running about, ruined houses, buildings, towers
and graves, trees falling down or dream of being frightened while
crossing a river; this is all because your Cinnabar Field's $ch'i$ is
declining and is weak."$^{142}$

Thus we have seen how an adept was supposed to be fully endowed with the abilities
to carry out the proper methods to fully take care of their own health. But a true Ch'üan-
chen adept had to be a merciful sort of person who could not bear to see the suffering of the

$^{140}$The Cinnabar Field. The middle origin is the heart and the upper origin is the brain.
$^{141}$YSC p.11b. See Plate 69.
$^{142}$YSC p.22a. See Plate 70.
ignorant people who were unable to cure themselves. In treating the illnesses of those who were helpless, they apparently resorted to methods which they would have considered useless or unnecessary for themselves such as prescribing and administering medicines or performing exorcistic healing which at times required the use of incantations and talismans.

As we have already seen, the best and only real cure for disease was thought to be the complete retention of ch’i by means of controlling the body completely with the enlightened, undistracted mind. This concept had been developed by them and their predecessors within the Taoist religion, and refined to what can be described as a proto-science. But when faced with the demands of the ill who lacked the mental capacities and the determination to conquer their own diseases, the Ch’üan-chén masters had to resort to relieving their suffering by means of the best medicinal and exorcistic methods that were known and were available to them at the time. Thus while writings of the Ch’üan-chén masters at times tend to express a certain disdain for such methods, there is also evidence that they did in fact at times practice such methods because they saw it as their duty to do so. Wang Ch’ung-yang had the following to say about medicines:

"Medicine is the outstanding breaths of the mountains and rivers and the excellent essence of the grasses and trees. One kind [of medicine] is warm and the other is cold. You can nourish [the body] or excrete [bad ch’i which is causing the trouble]. One kind is rich tasting and the other kind is bland. With the medicine, you can bring the disease out and scatter it. Someone who is knowledgeable in medicine can keep alive the nature and life-energy of people. If one is a blind physician, he will damage the bodies of people. People who study the Tao must not be ignorant [regarding the subject of medicine]. If they are ignorant, they will lack the means to help the Tao. But you must not be pre-occupied [with medicines]. [If you are pre-occupied with medicines], you will thereby damage your hidden merit. Externally you will covet wealth and internally you will hinder your Perfection Cultivation. [Even if your sins] are not bad enough to bring misfortune in this life,
beware of the retributions in the life to come. High disciples within my gates must be thoroughly aware of this."\(^{143}\)

The above passage gives us an indication that Wang Ch'ung-yang had a considerable amount of knowledge about medicines and required his disciples to have this same knowledge. Talismanic healing methods are not mentioned in the above passage, but he apparently regarded talismanic healing in the same way. In fact, Ch'ung-yang seems to have considered himself to be more of an expert on talisman water\(^{144}\). When the education of a disciple reached the point at which the disciple had to learn how to prepare medicines, he would send the disciple to a specialist. In *Ch'ung-yang Chiao-hua Chi* ([Wang] Chung-yang's Collection of Instructions) is a poem titled, "Ordering [Ma] Tanyang to Descend from the Mountain and Join in Companionship with Immortal Lu"\(^{145}\), which about the occasion when Wang, who had apparently been teaching methods of using talisman water up in the mountains, sent Ma down from the mountain to study about medicines under the guidance of a certain Taoist master named Lu\(^{146}\). The first line of the poem reads, "I practice [the art of] talisman water, and the master [Lu] practices medicine."\(^{146}\) Interestingly enough, one of the hagiographies says that when Ma suffered from the severe headache that almost killed him (see pp.\(^{85\mkern-2mu}\)\(^\text{--}\)\(^{96}\)), he was cured by the talisman water given to him by Wang.

So why did Wang think that over-involvement in medicinal methods was something that could cause an adept to covet wealth and accumulate bad karma? Apparently the administering of drugs and of talismanic healing was done for remunerative purposes as well as humanitarian purposes. Offering such healing methods for a price was one of the

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\(^{143}\)Ch'ung-yang Li-chiao Shih-wu Lun \#4. See Plate 71.
\(^{144}\)Water in which a paper talisman has been soaked.
\(^{145}\)chuan \#2 p.3a 今丹陽下山與陸仙作伴
\(^{146}\)CLC chuan \#3 p.5a 我行符水公修藥餌
few ways in which a Ch’uan chen Taoist was allowed to support his livelihood. Actually, begging was regarded as the ideal way for a Taoist to support himself. But apparently it was impossible to make ends meet simply by begging, so Wang condoned the administering of drugs and talismanic rituals as alternate remunerative activities.

"When training yourself there are only three things by which you should rescue your hunger and coldness (feed and clothe yourself). Begging is superior [to the other two things in terms of desirability]. The practice of talismans is in the middle [in terms of its desirability as a remunerative means]. The administering of medicines is inferior [to the other two means in its desirability as a means for remuneration]." 147

Thus it seems that Wang, while condoning talismanic ritual and the administering of drugs as alternative remunerative methods, was also wary of the dangers of disciples getting involved in making large profits from such activities (rather than to simply make enough money to purchase necessary clothing and food); which would be the most appalling and counterproductive motive imaginable, strictly speaking from the standpoint of Ch’uan-chen Perfection Cultivation.

Evidence involving the Ch’uan-ch'en masters healing diseases by means of medicines and talismans can also be found in Ch’uan-ch'en hagiography. In such literature one can see that from the viewpoint of a great portion of the believers, it was this merciful healing dimension of the Ch’uan-ch’en masters that appealed to them and captured their imaginations the most. As is the case with many religions, such accounts of healing could tend to become exaggerated. HYL and MTC are particularly rich in stories involving Perfected Men healing diseases by means of fighting off evil spirits with talismans or talisman water, and by prescribing and administering medicines. It was also believed that

147 CCC, chuan #1 pp.6b-7a: 修行助念者唯三事能負上行符中設棄下
such men were such powerful healers that they could heal people simply by having some sort of direct or indirect physical contact with them. For example, Wang Yu-yang was allegedly able to heal serious diseases by making the patient eat his left over food and could revive people from death simply by blowing on them. Wang Ch'ung-yang himself naturally came to be regarded as capable of such feats. The hagiographies tell us that he healed the severe rheumatism of T'an Ch'ang-ch'en by making him sleep for one night cuddled up against his legs. The accounts tell us that the incredible warmth emitted by Wang's body on that freezing mid-winter night soon caused T'an's shivering body to flow with perspiration. When T'an cleaned himself the next morning, he was as if he had never been sick.

Interestingly enough, a Perfected Man's body was apparently supposed to be sensitive to the potentially harmful forces lurking within the mind and body of someone else. Wang Ch'ung-yang reminisces as follows:

"When I was in Smoky Mist Cave 我宿在煙霞洞 I slept together with [Ma] Tan-yang [in a position in which] our feet were touching. At sunrise I told Tan-yang to stretch out his arms and touch my lower back. In a few days an itchy section formed which was about one finger’s width in thickness."

The poems that follow the narrative explain that Ma's touch caused the skin irritation because Ma's mind was still not fully under control and was not yet free of worldly desires. Thus, while and adept, who was fully in control of his body, could heal the illnesses of the ignorant by mere physical contact, his body would react adversely to contact with and ignorant person, and could thus act as a sort of litmus test for the harmful ignorance that a person may have inside of him.

\[Ch’ung-yang Chiao-hua Chi\, chuan \#2 pp.10b-11a:\]
(d) Nurturing the Ч’и and Completing the Spirit

"In the fall of the chi-ch'ou 年 (1169), [Wang Ch'ung-yang] left Wang [Yu-yang] and Hao [Kuang-ning] at Mt. K'un-yu and took four of his disciples (Ma, T'an, Liu and Ch'iu) with him to return westward. When they reached Pien, they stayed at a certain Mr. Wang's inn. [Wang] suddenly called for [Ma] Tan-yang and conferred secret words to him. He had no illness, but he died. He had lived 58 springs and autumns."

For the purpose of the present discussion, the most important information in the above account of Wang Ch'ung-yang's death is the fact that he "had no illness". In the past when I discussed the topic of how the moment of death took place (or how it was idealized) for a Ch'üan-chen master, I seriously failed to understand the significance of the phrase, "had no illness". If one looks through the accounts in the Ch'üan-chen hagiographies regarding the deaths of the masters, he will be struck by the similarities in most of the accounts. The master is always depicted as dying a peaceful death in a seated position or lying on his or her side with the head rested on the elbow (like the Buddha is said to have died). As has been discussed in the past by myself and others, the dead master was regarded as having attained a spiritual form of immortality. In other words, the spirit is released from the material body and transcends the realm of cyclical rebirth and the yin and yang to enter the supreme heavenly residences of the Immortals. Because the spirit, not the material body, was thought to gain this immortality; Ch'üan-chen hagiographies, unlike many Taoist hagiographies, are frank in admitting that their Immortals did undergo a physical death, rather depicting them as ascending to Heaven on a cloud or going off somewhere never to be seen again.

149 KSL chuan #1 p.12a. See Plate 72.
But while the Ch'üan-ch'en sect is frank in admitting the impermanence of the body, we have also seen that maintaining the physical body was seen as an endeavor of prime importance in the life of a Ch'üan-ch'en monk and that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters were seen not only as spiritually enlightened people but as people who were in full control of their own bodies and as a result immune from diseases. One must realize that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters were depicted as dying diseaseless, painless deaths because as Perfected Men they were believed to be by definition in full control of their bodies and immune from disease and suffering.

Thus the Perfection of the Immortal spirit was as much a physical process of attaining indestructable health through complete \textit{ch'i} retention as it was a spiritual process of getting rid of all feelings of attachment to the mundane world. It is a simultaneous process of "nurturing the \textit{ch'i} to complete the spirit" 者全神, which Ma Tan-yang describes eloquently in the following passage:

"If you want to nurture your \textit{ch'i} and complete your spirit, you must completely get rid of your myriad attachments. Be pure and still on the surface and within. If you remain dedicated and devoted for a long, long time, your spirit will be stable and your \textit{ch'i} will be harmonious. If you do not leak [the \textit{ch'i} of the body (particularly semen or menstrual blood) for three years, your lower elixir will be brought together. If you do not leak for six years, your middle elixir will be brought together. If you do not leak for nine years, your upper elixir will be brought together.\textsuperscript{150} This [condition] is described [by the phrase], 'the Three Elixirs are Competely Sufficient and the Merit of Nine Cycles is Completed'. The bones and marrow will solidify, and the blood vessels will bring about Perfection. Inside, you will be complete and outside, your overflowing brightness will penetrate clearly. Calmly and unmovingly you will respond to and move with 1000 changes and 10,000 transformations without limit. Sitting, staying, standing or going, your 36,000 numinous gods (that dwell in the body) will dance and jump and roam throughout the world under Heaven and

\footnote{These lower, middle and upper "elixirs" apparently refer to three degrees of progressive accomplishment of Perfection Cultivation.}
the Three Realms, commanding and predicting. In the midst of the eight crises\[^{151}\], the 1000 misfortunes and 10,000 poisons will not be able to extinguish you. When the \[era\] arrives at the Transformation of the Great Kalpa\[^{152}\] and floods devastate the four directions, your spirit will fill up the great vacuity and have no obstructions. Therefore, Heaven has a \[pre-determined\] time when it will fall down, Earth has a time when it will cave in, the mountains have a time when they will crumble, and the seas have a time when they will dry up. Everything which has a form will end the kalpa in destruction. Only those who study the Tao will reach the stage where their spirits will reside together with the Tao and thereby be indestructible forever, and also have the power \[which is strong enough to\] raise nine generations of ancestors to \[the Realm of\] Upper Purity.\[^{153}\]

Thus if one nurtures his ch'i and completes his spirit, the spirit will not only be eternally indestructible, but it will be endowed with the power to know anything, go anywhere, withstand and control all other forces, and rescue the souls of the dead. I will deal in detail with these aspects of the Perfected Man in chapters Four and Five. But for now, we must once again go back to discussing the role of the physical body. Going by the logic of the above passage, the body has form and is thus doomed to death, unlike the spirit. But it is an unmistakable fact that "nurturing the ch'i " is an indispensable process that must be undergone for one to complete the everlasting and almighty spirit. This concept is discussed as follows in Chin-ling-tzu's\[^{154}\] commentary to YFC:

\[^{151}\]八難 A Buddhist term referring to eight existential situations in which one has not actually met with the Buddha, and thus has difficulty in seeking enlightenment: 1) hell 2) existence as a beast 3) existence as a hungry demon 4) the heaven of long life 5) existence in a remote region from where the Buddha lived 6) deafness and dumbness 7) hindered by wicked thoughts 8) existence in a time before or after the Buddha's lifetime.

\[^{152}\]大劫変化 The changes and disasters that take place at the end of a kalpa (a long era spanning hundreds of thousands of years) when the world becomes destroyed in order to be created all over again. Passages with millenarian overtones like this one are extremely rare among Ch'uan-chen writings.

\[^{153}\]TYL pp.15a-b. See Plate 73.

\[^{154}\]The sobriquet of a certain T'ang Ch'un who perhaps lived in what is present day Nanking (then called Chin-ling) during the Northern Sung period.
"As for the spirit being in the Cinnabar Field; ch'i comes together and becomes a 'womb'. If the ch'i does not scatter, spiritual light will spontaneously arrive. Therefore, for spirit and ch'i to preserve each other; is this not the way of long life? Spirit is the son of ch'i and ch'i is the mother of spirit."155

Chin-ling-tzu's YFC commentary seems to have been one of the favorite books of the Ch'üan-chen masters, who often quoted the above passage. The passage basically seems to mean that to retain, nurture and harmonize one's ch'i is a pre-requisite for being able to attain enlightenment (completion, Perfection) of one's intellectual and mental capacity (spirit). But it can also (and probably ought to) be understood much more literally as meaning that the "perfect ch'i" retained, produced and supplemented through the nurturing process produces or perhaps becomes spirit. This makes sense if you can understand that the intellect or spirit itself was regarded as ch'i refined to the point of formlessness and weightlessness. Thus perfect ch'i, if truly perfect, was equivalent to spirit.

Another very interesting passage concerning the relationship of ch'i (in this case, ch'i in its airy form in particular) and spirit is to be found in Liu Ch'ang-sheng's YFC commentary. Commenting on the part of YFC that reads, "the control of the bird is in the air", Liu says the following:

"Among the 100 [species of] birds, the outstanding one is the red phoenix of the southern mountain (the spirit or thinking capacity which resides in the heart). If it enters into light and pure air, the nature will be numinous and will ride the wind and enter the nine skies. If the air that it is in is turbid, it will sink to the earth....

155Upper chuan p.1a. See Plate 74.

156The heart is the organ that corresponds to the south. The Red Phoenix (or Vermillion Sparrow) is the legendary creature of the south.

157This term, which I will be translating as "numinous" throughout this thesis essentially means that something or someone possesses a certain divine or super-normal quality. When functioning as a noun, it refers to a soul of somebody who once lived.
If the three ts'un of the bird is harmonious and comes together with the primal ch'i without scattering; the air (primal ch'i) will penetrate the spirit, the spirit will penetrate the Tao, and the Tao will penetrate self-so-ness.159

So, strangely enough, we get a somewhat different picture here. Instead of speaking of how spirit becomes produced out of ch'i, Liu discusses how the mental capacity of a person can be propelled into heaven if infiltrated by the clean air (primal ch'i) which the adept produces in his body. Despite this puzzling inconsistency, Chin-ling-tzu and Liu are in agreement on the essential point that enlightenment and salvation had to result from the proper nurturing of ch'i.

For more insight, let us turn to YSC:

"Only the Single Numinous [Perfected Nature] is real. The fleshy body and its four elements [that it is made out of] (earth, water, fire and wind) are false.160 Borrow and refine the false to complete what is real. Move and combine and become one161. A lesson says that [the methods that deal with] the relaxation and comfort of the present body are of the Lesser Vehicle. But all such methods are the roots of the Greater Vehicle. The Dharma mind of the initial ground is the Lesser Vehicle which bears fruit to create the Greater Vehicle. The Lesser Vehicle is the root and the Greater Vehicle is the stems. A lesson says that the stems and branches borrow (rely on) each other. The stems borrow (rely on) the roots and are thus born. Practitioners of nowadays do not understand what the body acquires its nature and life-destiny from and how it got to be born. A lesson says that everybody is not separate from what is created by the yin and yang. You must borrow (rely) your father's semen and mother's blood.

158 Unclear. Perhaps a reference to the length or diameter of the heart. One ts'un is approximately 3.03 centimeters.
159 pp.14a-b. See Plate 75.
160 "Real" means that something has a permanent existense that relies on the existence of no other factors or entities for its validity.
161 Combine the various forms of ch'i into one.
162 Here the Buddhist concept of the Greater and Lesser Vehicles is adopted to refer to two different levels of Perfection Cultivation.
These two things are the basics of your body. People nowadays who train themselves all do not cherish their fathers' semen and mothers' blood. [They] waste and scatter their perfect ch'i and damage their primal yang. Therefore they have ageing, the ageing have diseases, and within diseases they have death............

For the practitioner to always be pure and still is the fundamental method of the Greater Vehicle. Those who want to practice the Greater Vehicle must begin by seeking and follow the Lesser Vehicle.\textsuperscript{163}

In other words the ultimate goal of attaining the enlightened and immortal spirit through a mental state and a lifestyle that is "pure and still" (the Greater Vehicle), cannot be realized unless one works gradually up to that level by first mastering the Lesser Vehicle; the various methods of attaining good, sound physical health. With this thought I would like to move the the conclusion of this chapter. I hope that in the preceding pages I have made it clear that theories and methods of upkeeping the health of the physical body were and integral part of Ch'üan-chen doctrine and practice. The major points that I have tried to make are:

(1) The body was seen as a microcosm, endowed with ch'i that was circulated and transformed by the internal organs in a seasonal, cyclical fashion. The two most basic forms of ch'i thought to keep the body alive were essence (nutrition) and breath (air) which are given to people daily from Earth and Heaven respectively. The body was thought to be already endowed with essence and breath from the time of conception in the form of the father's semen and the mother's blood. Ch'i was thought to be transformable and refinable into many forms; with the most refined form being spirit, formless ch'i.

\textsuperscript{163}YSC pp.2a-b and 4a-b. See Plate 76.
(2) Leakage of ch'i was seen as the prime cause of disease and death, and leakage was seen as being caused by lack of control by the mind over the body. Leakage of semen (for men) and blood (for women) were considered to be particularly deadly.

(3) The Ch'üan-chen masters knew of and practiced methods of preventing diseases strictly by means of one's own physical and mental resources. Such methods seem to have primarily involved controlled breathing, mental concentration and visualization, and saliva swallowing, along with some very simple exercises. Such methods seem to have been meant mainly for aspiring adepts who were in the most rigorous stages of ascetic self-discipline. The Ch'üan-chen masters also seem to have practiced certain forms of medicinal and talismanic healing in order to cure the diseases of ordinary people and also for remunerative purposes. (Although Wang Ch'ung-yang disapproved of his disciples making any money beyond the amount necessary for sustaining the bare necessities of their livelihood.)

(4) Mastery over the health of one's own body was considered to be a necessary prerequisite for one to be able to refine his spirit and make it transcendant, omnipotent and immortal.

Finally, before moving on to the next chapter, I would like to remind the reader that most or perhaps all of the theories and methods that I have discussed were not innovations of the Ch'üan-chen masters, but were handed down to them from the religious Taoist heritage out of which the Ch'üan-chen sect evolved. Therefore, it would be inaccurate to try to credit the Ch'üan-chen sect with the feat of ingeniously utilizing and incorporating Buddhist (particularly Ch'an) doctrines and methods (release from re-incarnation, seated meditation etc.) to enhance the Taoist theories of Perfection Cultivation. It would be
accurate to say that the Ch'üan-chen masters were the great virtuosos of Perfection Cultivation of their time who somehow succeeded in attaining a large amount of credibility and in capturing the imagination of many people as heroic and superhuman saviors of mankind.
CHAPTER THREE: THE MERCY AND COMPASSION OF THE CHŪAN-CHEN PERFECTED MEN (AND WOMEN)

"[People of] the school of the Tao have no friends and have nobody who is not a friend. They pity [living things], pity other people and pity their own bodies. Their hearts give rise to mercy and compassion and they practice great virtue. Their minds have no emotions and thoughts and they manifest their vital spirits. Surroundings of action\(^1\) they sweep away from time to time. Their gardens and pavilions of non-leakage are re-newed from day to day. Secretly they accumulate deeds and merits, and their merits and deeds fulfill [the required quota for Immortal-hood]. Accompanied by the clouds they leave to return and greet the Masters and the Perfected Men."\(^2\)

After having fully and successfully undergone the rigorous training for Perfection which for a great part involved eliminating oneself of all emotions and desires, a Perfected Man was supposed to possess only one kind of feeling; mercy and compassion. Mercy and compassion were to be directed towards everybody, without any preference or discrimination. The above poem by Ma Tan-yang deals with how their feelings of mercy and compassion cause Taoists to perform virtuous acts which leads them to accumulate deeds. These deeds, combined with the merit accumulated through non-leakage of ch'i and spiritual enlightenment, result in their ultimate ascension to Immortal-hood. Good deeds, which resulted from mercy and compassion, were considered to be absolutely indispensable if one wished to attain Perfection.

Universal and unlimited mercy and compassion were considered to be a defining trait of a Ch'ūan-chen Perfected Man both during his temporary life amidst the mortals and

\(^1\)Action which is not spontaneous but is forceful and somehow goes against the natural flow of things.

\(^2\)Ma Tan-yang, CYC chuan #3 p.11b. See Plate 77.
during his eternal life as an Immortal after his physical death. After attaining his own Perfection, the Perfected Man was supposed to exist entirely for the purpose of helping those in need. Ma Tang-yang had the following words of praise for his master, Wang Ch'ung-yang after he had passed away:

"In Praise of [Wang] Ch'ung-yang, the Perfected Man of Compassionate Transformations and Marvelous Deeds"

Wearing a cloud cap and a mist vest with crimson silk hems, His body entered the circular light and departed for Purple Purity. The Perfected Man of Marvelous Deeds fulfills his original vows, Rescuing those in danger, relieving those who suffer and bringing salvation to sentient beings.3

The term, "original vows" is a Buddhist term referring to the oath taken by a Bodhisattva to strive to save all sentient beings. The usage of this term here is very appropriate, since the Perfected Men of Taoism were in fact believed to intervene in human affairs in much the same way that a Buddhist Bodhisattva was. What Ma seems to be saying here is that Wang Ch'ung-yang, even after his death, will intervene in human affairs out of his feelings of mercy and compassion. As we will be seeing more clearly in later chapters, the Wang and his disciples were as deified and worshipped in hope that they would exhibit the qualities described here by Ma. Naturally, Wang Ch'ung-yang's putative predecessors in the transmission of the essential principles of Ch'uan-chen Taoism were also regarded as man-deities dedicated to helping others. Chin-lien Cheng-tsung Chi had the following to say about Chung-li Cheng-yang and Lü Ch'un-yang:

"From antiquity, Divine Immortals who have attained the Tao have been extremely numerous. But the names of Chung-li Cheng-yang and Lü [Ch'un-yang] alone are renowned throughout the world. Why is it that even woodcutting boys, boy servants, women and girls all know about them? It is probably because their hearts of

3ibid. chuan #1 p.1a. See Plate 78.

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mercy and compassion came in contact with [living] thing and benefitted the living, without having any place where they (their hearts of mercy and compassion) did not reach."4

This mercy and compassion was seen not only as an attribute of the Ch'üan-chen patriarchs, but as attributes of the highest deities and of the universe itself:

"Heaven and earth are square and round5 and [they] create the myriad [living] things. They do not favor and give life to [only] those that they love. They do not harm and bring extinction to those that they hate. The Most High [Lord Lao] 太上老君 (Lao-tzu) spreads out his virtue and saves the myriad souls. He does not love and cherish the noble, and he does not cut off the lowly. Heaven and Earth give birth to the myriad [living] things and spread out the air equally (for all living things to breath). The Most High [Lord Lao] saves the myriad souls and spreads out his inner power equally."6

Although the Ch'üan-chen sect laid an emphasis on good health, long life and salvation brought about through one's own effort, there was also a very identifiable portion of their system of beliefs and practices which looked towards a higher power for help in order to acquire happiness, health and salvation. This aspect of their religiosity was based on the notion that the universe, the highest deities and the Immortal patriarchs were merciful and compassionate entities.

Thus the ethic of mercy and compassion was important both within the dimension of the religion which sought Perfection through one's own effort (accumulating deeds) and the dimension that sought the assistance and help of the gods and Immortals. In this chapter I will discuss how, as a result of this concept of mercy and compassion, the Ch'üan-chen masters strove to act to their fullest capacities as saviors of all living things; and how they themselves, along with the lay believers of of the sect, looked to the Immortal patriarchs of the tradition for their merciful and compassionate intervention.

4 chuan #1 p.8a. See Plate 79.
5 Heaven was conceived of as having a round shape and Earth was conceived of as having a square shape.
6 Liu Ch'ang-sheng, Wu-wei Ch'ing-ching Ch'ang-sheng Chen-jen Chih-chen Yu-lu p.24b. See Plate 80.
In Chapter One, I mentioned briefly that the emphasis on asceticism and spartan self training which was so important to the original Ch'üan-chen masters seems to have virtually disintegrated today; at least as far as the Ching-chung Taoist Association is concerned. However, the basic emphasis on merciful and compassionate deeds still seems to remain very strong. Rev. Timothy Yau defines the role of religion in society very simply. He believes that the function of an organized religion is to help people both physically and spiritually. This definition of the function of an organized religion is basically equivalent to the definition of deeds (function) as understood by the original Ch'üan-chen masters. If you look back to Perfected Man Chin's definition of deeds (p.7) you will see that the accumulation of deeds involved serving both the physical ("Help the poor and relieve those who suffer") and spiritual ("evangelize to good people so that they will enter the Way and train themselves") needs of people. Also, the preface of MTC states:

"Our Way is to at times attract the dusty and vulgar people with spiritual penetration (miraculous powers) and to at times rescue the good people with medicines."

In other words, Ch'üan-chen practitioners sought to accumulate deeds through charity and evangelism, and believers sought both practical, this worldly help and spiritual guidance from the Perfected Men.

First of all, I would like to discuss the ways in which the Ch'üan-chen masters sought to help people physically. Among the Perfected Men who assumed leadership over the sect, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'ung seems to have been the most popular and perhaps the most responsible for making the Ch'üan-chen sect the dominant Taoist sect in northern China. CLC compiler Ch'in Shih-an (1188-1244), in his editorial comments which follow Ch'iu's biography describes a conversation that allegedly took place between three

\[吾道或以神通鎔鍊塵俗或以藥物救濟善良\]

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The topic of the conversation is the accomplishments of Ch'iu. Each man takes turns describing what he considers to be the accomplishment that made Ch'iu truly great. The first man cites his seven years of arduous training at the P'an-hsi Gorge, his successful completion of "the Great Medicine of the Golden Elixir" and the tremendous super-normal powers that he attained as a result. The second man disagrees and says that Ch'iu is to be praised most for his great success in spreading the teachings of the Ch'üan-chen sect and in building and restoring temples. Finally, the third man disagrees with both of them saying:

"What you two gentlemen have talked about looks at only his small accomplishments and fails to see his great accomplishment....... I think that [his greatest accomplishment] took place when the powerful Mongolian troops came south. When they watered their horses, the Yellow River came close to drying up. When they made their 弓 arrows\(^8\) whistle, Mt. Hua almost collapsed. Jade and stones were burned together. The wise and the foolish were slaughtered indiscriminately. Corpses piled up to form mountains so high that they almost scraped the Big Dipper. The sea of blood overflowed as though it was about to cover the heavens. Their wrath was like thunder and they were merciless like tigers. Fortunately our Ch'ang-ch'un, the Venerable Immortal Ch'iu, responded to the imperial summons [of Genghis Khan] and rose [to go on his journey to see him]. When they they had their first meeting, the dragon's expression gradually began to soften (Genghis began to mellow). After they had their second meeting, his [Genghis's] heavenly will was changed. [Genghis] ordered that those who obey orders not be executed and that the lives be spared of those who surrendered their city walls. By disbanding their troops, [the Chinese] could bail out their soldiers that had been taken as prisoners. With his mouth (by suggesting less violent and more efficient and diplomatic means of conquest), [Ch'iu] brought to goodness the 400 districts.\(^9\) Half of the people acquired a secure livelihood (rather than the entire nation getting slaughtered). Several tens of thousand \(li\) (one \(li\) during the Sung and Yuan periods was

\(^8\)A special type of arrow commonly used in battle which let out a shrill whistle while in flight.

\(^9\)Because CLC was written under Mongolian rule, "brought to goodness" means that he convinced the Chinese people to peacefully surrender to the Mongols. Without any question, some other phrase would have otherwise been used to refer to the act of making the people surrender to the Mongols (such as "collaborated" or betrayed).
552.96 meters) [of land] quickly received the Emperor's gifts (received the dubious privilege of being under his rule). [What Ch'iu did] was what is referred to by expressions such as "stretching out the arms to hold back a crumbling mountain" or "lying sideways to blockade an overflowing river". He rescued living souls out of the midst of an executional cauldron. He snatched living [people] away from under the executional sword and saw. [The lives that he saved were] no fewer than hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands. [The people whose lives he saved] were more numerous than the kernels of grain numbering tens and thousands of billions. [Because he had] this kind of hidden merit he corresponded above with the will of Heaven. He was definitely able to return to the blue skies and fly in broad daylight. Aside from this [great hidden merit obtained from saving all those lives], what use did he have for the Cinnabar Sand of Nine Cycles and Jade Liquid of Seven Returnings?

Apparently, what made Ch'iu the target of admiration for so many people was the belief that as a result of his meetings with Genghis Khan, he had brought about a much more lenient approach by the Mongolian conquest armies along with a quicker end to the fighting in northern China as a result of a willing surrender on the part of the Chinese who were assured of survival in the event of surrender. If such was the case, perhaps from a strictly nationalistic perspective, Ch'iu could be denounced as collaborationist who betrayed his people by helping to hasten the Mongol takeover of northern China. But what is seen as important in the above passage is not what racial group came to rule China, but rather the fact that much fewer people died as a result of the more lenient conquest policies and the hastened end of the war. (Also, the regime which the Mongols replaced in northern China was that of another so-called "barbarian" race, the Jurchens.) This saving of lives

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10Boiling to death was a fairly common method of execution.
11Within Taoist hagiographies, Taoist masters were of depicted as ascending to heaven mounted on the clouds, in broad daylight as people look on in amazement. Although such was not the case in Ch'uan-chen hagiography, the expression, "fly in broad daylight" is used here to refer the idea that Ch'iu had become an Immortal after his death.
12CLC chuan #4 pp.12b-13b. See Plate 81.
was what made Ch'iu truly great in the eyes of his believers, and was thought to have made for an accumulation of deeds points so great that he could have attained Immortal-hood even without the intense training of his younger days. Whether Ch'iu actually deserves this much credit for swaying the tactics of the Mongols is very hard to say. It is definitely possible, as it has been said\(^\text{13}\) that at one point, the Mongols had plans for a takeover that would have been much more violent and brutal than what actually transpired (even though it was an extremely brutal takeover nevertheless). The question, of course, would be whether or not this change of heart actually had anything to do with the persuadings of Ch'iu.

But what is important for this present discussion is the fact that the spirit reflected in the above passage was very much apparent in the teachings and the lifestyles of the Ch'uan-chen masters and their followers. Their writings very often show a deep concern for the plight of society in general. They definitely saw it as their own responsibility to relieve the physical sufferings of people and to assist them in their survival.

The poetry in Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's *P'an-hsi Chi* especially gives the reader a sense of how the Ch'uan-chen masters felt for the people in the midst of their suffering. It is because his career and his tenure as the sect's head spanned over the excruciating process of the Mongolian conquest that his poetry in particular reflects this

\(^{13}\) Allegedly, when Genghis Khan had first taken over northern China from the Jurchens, he pondered the idea of exterminating all of the Chinese residents and converting the land in grazing pastures. (The Mongols were nomadic herders.)
sense of pathos. Here I would like to give a few examples of how he felt when warfare took place:

"In the ting-wei year of the Ch'eng-an reign era (1197), after the winter solstice when we were troubled by heavy snow, there was an uprising in the north.

[From] the time before winter [till] the time after winter (during winter) the snow falls heavily. When the warm breath of spring dissipates, the myriad objects wither. Horses departing from the fortresses are scared of the treacherous mountain paths. People defending the borders suffer in the coldness of their iron garments (armor). While I despair over the suffering of the souls at the northern border by the sea, I am glad that the gentlemen and commoners of Shantung are safe. If you daily spend 300,000 in state funds [on warfare(?)], How can lives not wither and die?"

Here we apparently have voiced a poignant anti-war protest, directed at the government which concentrates its the use of its money on warfare rather than on the welfare of its people. Even without wars, society was rife with others ills such as widely spread poverty, homelessness, floods, droughts and epidemics which became aggravated even more by the added hardship of war. The Ch'üan-chen masters experienced these

14 Another Ch'üan-chen poetry collection which conveys this sense of pathos is Ch'un-yang Chen-jen Hun-ch'eng Chi (compiled in 1251), a collection of poems attributed to Lü Ch'un-yang that were dug out of the archives and compiled by a Ch'üan-chen monk named Ho Chih-yuan. One gets the impression that many of the poems may have been written by somebody during the Mongolian conquest (or perhaps the Jurchen conquest in the early 12th century) who idealized Lü Ch'un-yang as a merciful and compassionate Immortal who would have mourned and pitied the Chinese people during their plight.

15 This apparently refers to the coldest time of the year when the warm, life giving breath which had been produced in the spring time and had grown and intensified through the summer has completely dissipated as the seasons progressed into the fall and winter.

16 Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un, P'an-hsi Chi (TT797), chuan #1 pp.8b-9a. See Plate 82.
difficulties with the people and felt for them. In the following poem, Ch'iu mourns the fate of the people during a severe drought and pleads their case to the divine forces:

"Pitying [Living] Things' {Two verses. I wrote this because in this particular year a drought and an epidemic coincided.}

Heaven [the sky] is blue as it overlooks the soil below. Why does it not relieve the suffering of the myriad souls (all living things)? The myriad souls day and night together weaken and decline. Drinking air and swallowing their voices they die without speech. Facing Heaven they loudly cry out, but Heaven does not respond. [If people have but] one miniscule object (even the slightest of superfluous thoughts) and futilely belabor their bodies (live in an ignorant manner) [because of it], How can [I] be able to restore the great thousand realms of the universe, to the state of primordial chaos, And avoid causing the gods of creation to give life to the vital spirits (living things)?

Oh! Heaven and Earth vastly separated [from each other], And created the sentient beings numbering in the thousands, hundreds and hundreds of thousands. The violent and the wicked attack each other relentlessly. The suffering that they receive as they transmigrate [through samsara ]; what limits does it know? Emperor Heaven and Empress Earth each have their gods. [But upon] seeing death [the gods] do not rescue; do you know the reason for this? On the soil below [people] have sad hearts and still have no good fortune. Laboring futilely day and night they taste only what is sour and bitter."^18

While the poem ultimately points to the ignorance of people as the ultimate cause of their misfortune, it also sympathizes with their agony and joins in with their anguished plea towards the gods. Ch'iu himself almost seems to be cursing the divine forces for their cruelty. An enlightened Ch'üan-chen Taoist was a person who understood the causality of existence and the fact that misfortunes and blessings are things which people bring upon

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^17 A Buddhist term referring to limitlessly vast universe made up of various realms.
18 Ibid. chuan #3 p.9b. See Plate 83.
themselves. Ultimately (as far as the above poem implies) the very creation and existence of the universe as we know it was seen as an unfortunate deviation from the original and ideal state of primordial chaos when there was no such a thing as suffering. Ideally, Ch'iu would have liked to alleviate the suffering of the people permanently by restoring the entire universe to the state of primordial chaos. Thus he bemoans the fact that ignorance exists within the world which prevents him from doing this. Ordinary people who do not fully comprehend the principles of causality bring destruction (followed by rebirth and more worldly misfortunes) upon themselves and ignorantly curse the gods for bringing misfortunes. It was thus the mercy and compassion of a Perfected Man like Ch'iu that would move him to sympathize with them and plea to the gods on their behalf. In Chapter Five we will be seeing how the Ch'üan-chen masters acted as go-betweens between the high gods and the ignorant masses in the context of rituals in which they reputedly displayed an outstanding ability to sway the divine forces to bring blessings to those in need. Very likely it was this sense of duty and responsibility to work for the benefit of those who were too ignorant to help themselves, which provided the Ch'üan-chen sect with its tremendous vitality for growth during the traumatic Mongolian conquest years.

But at a much more practical and tangible level, the Ch'üan-chen sect was involved in relieving the suffering of people by providing food for the hungry and offering medical help for the ill. These kinds of activities were already important during the earliest years of the sect's existence. One major activity which the sect engaged in was to organize projects in which they would gather donations of rice which they would make gruel out of and feed to the starving people. These projects were referred to as "winter gruel" or "gatherings for giving to the poor". Ma Tan-yang's *Tung-hsüan Chin-yü Chi* (from now on I will use the abbreviation, CYC to refer to this work) has in
it a series of poems which include the following exhortations towards laymen to participate in or to donate to his winter gruel project:

"Pity the poor and feed them gruel without seeking anything in return.
If you establish your virtue like a thief\(^{19}\) (secretly, so as to not draw attention and recognition from people), you will enhance your cultivation of Perfection. . . .
[Let us] pity those who are hungry and together feed them winter gruel.
I bow to you gentlemen, wishing only for a slight amount of merciful rice (donations of rice) from the wealthy households,
In order to rescue those who are poor.
I would deeply appreciate your consent! . . . . Winter gruel should [be administered] for a long time. year after year.
If you do so with a pitying heart you will firmly sow seeds in your field of merit for your present and later incarnations and you will have no lack of wisdom.
Even if you give only a small amount of rice, you will acquire blessings which are limitless.
If you accumulate deeds and your merit is complete,
You will definitely in the future show [good] results and ascend the blue sky as an Immortal. . . .
Those who beg on the streets who are freezing and starving will be overjoyed by your [deeds of] pity and compassion.
Feed them as if they were Immortals (generously and with deep respect), worrying only that a sage may be hidden among them.
You must be diligent and devoted [in your service to the poor].
[To administer winter gruel] is better than performing a chiao ritual with 1000 altars.
You will plant your causes [for Perfection] even more [than you would with any other activity] and your [required quota of] blessed deeds will be completed.
You will definitely hereby in the future walk upon azure lotuses and go to visit the divine court of the highest gods. . . .
[If you contribute] one and a half handfuls of merciful and compassionate rice,
The merit and deeds [that you will accumulate] will not be slight.
[Contributing rice for the poor] is greatly superior to reading the scriptures.
[Those who act out of a] pitying heart reach the Jade Capital (draw favorable attention from the heavenly bureaucracy) and are recorded among the names of the Immortals.

\(^{19}\)The phrase, "establish your virtue like a thief" is a quote from Chapter Forty-one of the \textit{Lao-tzu} book.
Swords of wind and arrows of snow are the miseries of winter. 
You must pity the poor. 
On their bodies they have no clothes and in their mouths they have 
no food. 
They always feel hunger and are extremely lonely and miserable. 
People must willingly cultivate their meritorious virtue. 
They must give rise to mercy and compassion in order to rescue 
those who are drowning and to help those who are in danger."20

The plea of Ma is an urgent and earnest one in which he appeals to the desire of his audience to attain salvation as well as their innate instinct to feel pity for those who suffer. Ma reminds them that the accumulation of good deeds is a very indispensable and important part of Perfection Cultivation and tells them that to cooperate with his winter gruel project would be a very effective way of accumulating good deeds. While exhorting them in this way, he reminds them to give generously without any thought of receiving recognition or getting anything in return. Also, he tells them that they must revere those who they are helping because "a sage may be hidden among them". What Ma seems to be referring to and utilizing here is the important theme in Ch'üan-chen hagiography of the Immortal or Perfected Man who takes on the appearance of a filthy beggar in order to test the character of people who encounter him. In such stories where this theme occurs, people who are able to recognize the disguised holy man, or who simply treat the beggar kindly and respectfully regardless of his lowliness and filthiness receive blissful results; and those who mistreat him suffer unfortunate results. Such lore involving the Immortals, which pre-dated the Ch'üan-chen sect and formed a vital component of its background tradition seems to have been extremely popular among people in general at the time (not necessarily just those who were actively involved with the Ch'üan-chen sect). Knowing this, Ma seems to have utilized the theme of the disguised Perfected Man in order to urge people to help the poor ungrudgingly and generously with respect and dignity.

20CYC chuan #7 pp.16a-17a. See Plate 84.

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But perhaps more importantly, Ma exudes a tone of sincere concern for the plight of the poor and the sense of urgency in the face of a crisis. In a very practical way, he seems to have felt that there was perhaps enough food to go around if each wealthy household would be willing to give even a little. Thus Ma tells the wealthy that what may seem like a very small donation to them, would be extremely appreciated by those in need. The Ch'üan-chen masters understood very well that the bulk of the misfortune in this world is a result of the indifference of people towards those in need. In *P'an-hsi Chi*, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un addresses this problem as follows:

"When a dog gets sick there is no one who will cook gruel for it. When a donkey falls to ground because of the cold, its four limbs become stiff (it dies without any attention or help). This is because people do not know how to cultivate hidden virtue (perform benevolent acts). Changing shells (transmigrating through various incarnations), how can they avoid misfortunes?" \(^{21}\)

Ch'iu seems to have recognized an "epidemic" of indifference that was going around in the society in which he lived. He apparently was witnessing numerous cases of sick and injured animals dying in neglect, and this disturbed him. Indifference towards the well-being of another living thing, whether it be a lowly beast, was to Ch'iu an ugly manifestation of the ignorance that causes the world to be a place of such endless suffering.

Naturally, the emphasis laid on the performance of charitable acts seems to have increased more and more in times of social crisis, particularly when the Mongol, Jurchen and Chinese armies engaged in a blood bath that complicated the usual problems of coldness, droughts, epidemics and starvation. But even during the earliest years of the sect's existence under Wang Ch'ung-yang when the political situation was more stable and there was considerably less social strife, the preparation of rice gruel to be fed to the poor

\(^{21}\) *chuan* #2 p.6a. See Plate 85.
was an important activity. In a poem written for a disciple named Wang Ko 王克, Wang Ch'ung-yang wrote the following words:

"Live silently, always giving rise to mercy and compassion. Carry firewood and transport water with only yourself hearing about your work." 22

My guess is that this transporting of firewood and water refers to the labor involved in the act of cooking food to give to the poor. This work is to be done out of pure mercy and compassion in a manner that does not draw attention to the good deed. Here it seems as though charity work of a smaller scale participated in primarily or exclusively by the Ch'uan-chen clergy is being referred to. This kind of "gathering for giving to the poor" is also referred to by Wang Yü-yang in a poem titled, "Addressing my disciples, ordering them to Wen-teng and give to the poor"

"At the gathering for giving to the poor do not speak of low or high status. In the bitterness of the harsh winter, brave the wind and snow. Accept the labor and take it upon yourself; do not refuse it. Carry firewood and transport water and rescue [those in need] in accordance with the proper time. Do not wastefully throw away the grain and rice....." 23

In such activities there seems to have been a certain significance in cooking outdoors and sharing the experience of the poor. The above poem exorts the disciples to work diligently and willingly at all of the chores involved in preparing the food for the poor regardless of whether the chore may seem demeaning by the standards a person may be accustomed to from his own social background. Somehow, the concepts of "deeds" or of "mercy and compassion" are absent from the poem, and the reader gets the impression that

22 CCC chuan #10 p.2b. 開居敏起慈悲搬柴運水唯聞作
23 Yün-kuang Chi (TT792) chuan #4 pp.5b-6a. See Plate 86.
the whole affair of feeding the poor was primarily meant as an extension of the monk's ascetic training.

Perhaps it can be said that the charity projects of the Ch'üan-chen sect seem to have varied quite a bit in their scale and also in their degree of emphasis on the respective underlying motives. Certainly the determining factor in whether the prime motive would be the practical and efficient relief of the needy or the building of character through hard labor and identification with the poor, would have been the actual severity of the hunger crisis.

The Ch'üan-chen masters also saw it as their responsibility to cure the illnesses of people. The same poem by Wang Ch'ung-yang that I quoted on p. 150 also says, "The merit of rescuing people and administering medicines is extremely great." Because I have already discussed in the preceding chapter how the Ch'üan-chen masters took on the duty of healing the diseases of the ignorant, I will not discuss this topic at length again here. As you can recall, the major point that I made in the last chapter on this matter was that while the masters themselves did not use medicines and talismanic rituals to heal their own diseases, they frequently used such methods to try to heal the diseases of lay people. A substantial amount of knowledge of medicines and talismanic healing rituals was required for a full fledged Ch'üan-chen monk. In hagiographies such as MTC or HYL, the Perfected Men are frequently portrayed as experts of healing who heal sick people with many methods including talismanic and exorcistic methods along with the prescription or administering of medicines. Apparently such activities were engaged in in a remunerative fashion even though begging was supposed to be the primary way in which a Ch'üan-chen monk supported himself. While monks were allowed to heal people in a remunerative fashion, there are passages within Ch'üan-chen writings which criticize and warn against
excessive involvement in such activities for improper wealth-seeking motives. Modern scholars, perhaps picking up on such passages or perhaps through negligence have jumped to the conclusion that the Ch'üan-chen sect was primarily interested in bringing about spiritual salvation and thus sought to eliminate the involvement in various medicinal and "magical" healing methods that were so important in previous forms of Taoism. This is obviously not true. In CYC, Ma Tan-yang wrote a poem in honor of a certain K'un-yüan Liu Fa-shih 混元列法師 (Ritual Master Liu of the Chaotic Origin) who had just "ascended and transformed" 與化 (passed away). My guess is that this Liu Fa-shih was a Taoist ritual specialist who originally belonged to a religious Taoist tradition other than the Ch'üan-chen sect (although perhaps a very similar tradition) who had come in contact with Wang Ch'ung-yang and had come to be associated with the Ch'üan-chen movement; particularly in a ritualistic capacity. The following are some of the words of praise that Ma had for him:

"From your youth you followed the various elders and differed from the masses.
With your whole heart's ritual register you administered help.
Writing talismans and putting charms on water, you healed the ill and rescued those in danger.
Thus you established your virtue hiddenly like a robber.
Disliking what is lavish and extravagant you ate coarse food and wore rough garments.
You once personally met with a transmission from Master-Father [Wang] Ch'ung-yang and entered into the sublime..."  

25 A "register" usually refers to a list of names and descriptions of gods that are to be memorized so that the gods can be visualized and communicated with during ritual. "Whole heart's ritual register" perhaps refers to such names and descriptions of gods which Liu Fa-shih had memorized in order to perform beneficial rituals.

26 This refers to methods of "talisman water" in which a paper talisman is steeped in some water which the patient is made to drink.

27 CYC chuan #10 p.22b. See Plate 87.
Here, Liu Fa-shih is obviously being praised for his ability to help people through his ritualistic healing methods. If we can assume that Liu had met Wang Ch'ung-yang after he had already been active as a ritual healer, we can also see that the Ch'uan-chen sect, rather condemning or trying to eliminate the "magic" in previous forms of Taoism, approved of the efforts of Taoist healers in general and took them under their own wing. Another implication here is that Liu Fa-shih earned the privilege of meeting Wang Ch'ung-yang in person because of the deeds and the merit that he had accumulated through performing ritual healings and living the ascetic lifestyle. As a result of meeting Wang, he was able to receive the instructions that led him to the most profound level of enlightenment.

This observation leads us to the next major theme in this discussion of the Ch'uan-chen ideal of mercy and compassion, a concept which remains very important to the Ch'uan-chen faithful to this very day. What I am referring to is the concept of the merciful Perfected Man or Immortal who, out of his mercy and compassion appears before worthy men and women in order to bring them to faith, or to transmit secrets that will accelerate their progress towards Perfection. When I had the privilege of talking to Rev. Yau of the Ching-chun Taoist Association in San Francisco, the most interesting thing that he told me was that his life as a religious man got started as a result of several mystical conversion experiences. First, when he was nine years old, he saw the goddess, T'ien-ho (also known as Ma-tsu in a vision. Later, as a young adult, he began to occasionally hear the voice of Lü Ch'un-yang urging him to abandon the secular, self-serving lifestyle and devote his life to the service of others as a Taoist priest. He also told me that a prime motive and goal within the seated meditation the he and his fellows believers practice today is to communicate with the Immortals (among which Lü Ch'un-yang, Wang Ch'ung-yang and Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un are the most important). He also told me that the Immortals are good at identifying the talents of each believer that they communicate with, in order to
determine the type of esoteric insight that they will pass on. For example, even though the Ch’üan-chen patriarchs and masters are experts on medicines, they will only reveal secrets involving medicinal methods to those who have a certain aptitude in that area. Thus Rev. Yau told me that he himself has never been given any medicinal lessons during his mystical experiences. Also, Rev. Yau told me that although he has heard the voice of Lü Ch’un-yang quite a few times, he has never had the privilege of seeing what he looks like. He told me that he is hoping that some day Lü will recognize him as being worthy of revealing his countenance to.

This stress on achieving mystical encounters was very much present within the Ch’uan-chen sect right from its very beginning. Probably the most important event in the history of the sect from the standpoint of a believer was, and still is, the alleged encounters that Wang Ch’ung-yang had with the Immortals Lü Ch’un-yang, Chung-li Cheng-yang and Liu Hai-ch’an in 1159 (twice) and again in 1164 (hagiographies differ considerably as to who he met on which occasion). The fact that he had had these encounters and had had "secret lessons" transmitted to him by such famous and revered Immortals was a prime source for his credibility as a legitimate Perfected Man who could guide others towards Perfection. Of course, for those of us who are not believers, it is not possible to believe that Wang could have possibly met such men who were born during such utterly divergent times in history. Rev. Yau told me that his own personal opinion is that the encounters between Wang and Lü Ch’un-yang were not actual meetings in the flesh, but rather a "communication" of a spiritual, mystical variety much like he himself had experienced. I am inclined to agree with him to the extent that there was an encounter that took place that had a subjective reality to Wang Ch’ung-yang within his own personal spiritual experience.

28 Rev. Yau believes strongly that Wang encountered Lu, but strongly refuted the notion that he also encountered Liu Hai-ch’an.

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Neither do I rule out the possibility that such accounts of encounters with Immortals were
to a large degree fabricated by Wang or by his followers. I have no intention of trying to
make a definite conclusion on an issue like this which immediately places judgements on
the integrity of Wang and the veracity of the Ch’üan-chen faith. However, the testimony of
Rev. Yau added to the fact that Ch’üan-chen literature is abundant with references to
mystical encounters with Immortals that take place during meditation or within dreams,
leads me to feel that Wang probably did sincerely believe that he had had encounters with
Immortals. The belief that such communication with the Immortals was possible seems to
have been quite widespread within the social and religious environment in which Wang
grew up and lived.

The essential belief was that the Immortals would appear to people and instruct them
out of mercy and compassion. The Immortals want people to be successful in attaining
Perfection. But before the Immortals could step in and help them, it was thought that
people had to earn the privilege through their own efforts to accumulate merit and deeds.
We have already glimpsed at this theme briefly in the quote on p.49 in Chapter One. Ch’iu
Ch’ang-ch’un, in discussing the importance of diligently accumulating merit says "if your
roots of goodness are deep and solid, the salvation by a holy sage will come to you in this
life or the next". As we saw in Chapter One, the Ch’üan-chen masters underwent the most
arduous physical ordeals, even at times risking death, in order to accumulate merit.
Apparently, the belief that the Immortals exist and that they are concerned with helping out
those who strive for Perfection provided encouragement and motivation for the aspiring
advent in the face of adversity. This fact can be seen clearly from the following statements
by Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un:

"When you first become a Taoist you must strain the limits of your
will power for seven or eight years without relent, without giving
rise to confused thoughts, and without forgetting the aspirations that
you started out with. Rather [than forgetting your original aspirations], multiply [the intensity of] your determination. If you confront temptation, do not be distracted. The holy sages are secretly watching over you and will not allow you to be destroyed."29

The transmission of the profound secrets was believed to take place only after the Immortal recognized a certain degree of accomplishment within the training of the aspiring adept. This fact seems to be indicated by the following words of Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un, Ma Tan-yang, Liu Ch'ang-sheng, and Wang Yü-yang respectively:

"You must eliminate [your superfluous thoughts] completely. [If you do,] the sages will evaluate what is upon your heart, and naturally there will be a master of Perfection who will come to save you."30

"To understand completely you must rely on a meeting [with an Immortal or a Perfected Man]. To earn a meeting you must rely on your actions. If you carry out completely the merits (methods) of purity and stillness, Divine Immortals will naturally come to save you."31

"My heart has no thoughts and has hidden within it a perfected spirit. Relaxedly I sit without sorrows, And I joyfully reach (come into communication with?) the ascended Immortal Lü Tung-pin (Ch'un-yang)."32

"Purify your heart and [practice] quiet sitting. Because of this (your sitting still with a pure heart) Heaven will send protection. Demons and spirits from everywhere will respect you.

30ibid. upper chuan p.13a:业须除尽聖賢向汝心上校勘自有真師度

31CYC chuan #4 pp.6b:悟徹须即遇得遇須要著工夫清淨功神仙自來度

32Hsieh-y行为 Chi-仙集 (TT785) chuan #1 p.9a:心無想隱神中燕坐無憂喜達昇仙呂洞賓

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You will repeatedly feel the salvation and help of the Immortal sages. Good stars will captivate and trap the black section and get rid of the corpses\footnote{This seems to refer to how, in the life nurturing methods such as those discussed in Chapter Two, the adept gains control of the \textit{ch'i} of his kidneys (black section) and does away with the harmful "three corpses" within his body. Apparently here this is done with the help of the Taoist Immortals or astral deities (good stars).}, Reaching perpetual pleasure and everlasting peace and calm for 1000 years. Earn your encounter [with and Immortal] and your heart's incense\footnote{This refers to the mental capacity that the heart was believed to have.} will have no interruption. If you nurture your spirit you will definitely receive salvation by a master of Perfection.\footnote{\textit{Yun-kuang Chi chuan} \#4 p.17a. See Plate 89.}

The above passages are probably referring in part to what Rev. Yau told me about; a type of meditation in which an eventual mystical encounter is hoped for. Apparently, this kind of a mystical encounter was considered to be essential for one's attainment of Perfection. In \textit{Ch'ing-ho Chen-jen Pei-yu Yü-lu} Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un is quoted as follows:

"[As for] people who acquire the Tao, all of them naturally receive a transmission from a sage when their merits and deeds reach [the required quota]. [Ma] Tan-yang heard the Tao while begging for food. [T'an] Ch'ang-chen acquired it while walking along a road. [Liu] Ch'ang-sheng sat in the streets of Loyang for seven years and acquired it."

There also existed the idea that the extreme diligence of people like the Ch'üan-chen masters in their Perfection Cultivation was itself a result of the merciful intervention by Immortals during previous incarnations. Yin Ch'ing-ho reminisced as follows:

"Master-Father [Liu] Ch'ang-sheng used to frequently say, 'People within the sect today who serve the Tao with utmost sincerity all met

\footnote{\textit{chuan} \#3 p.15a. See Plate 90.}

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the Perfected Men [Chung-li] Cheng-yang and [Lü] Ch’un-yang in their previous lives."

What the aspiring adept attains as a result of these encounters is new insight concerning methods that will lead to Perfection, or just simply the realization that Perfection has been attained. Wang Ch’ung-yang describes his experiences as physiological alchemical dialogues which resulted in a degree of insight and spiritual purity which he have never before attained:

"At the age of forty-eight I earned an encounter. An oral lesson was passed on to me and thereby I had merit. One grain of cinnabar sand of an extremely good color, Showed its reddish black color atop Jade Flower Mountain."38

"I had an encounter at Chung-nan and a get together at Li Town. Both times my mediocre heart received a cleansing. Thereby we talked about the sustaining of cultivation. We extensively discussed the controlling [of the body’s ch’i]...."39

Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un, on the other hand, describes the merciful saving act of the Immortals as an internal bodily sensation which one experiences in the midst of meditation:

"Liu Tao-ch’ien asked, "If while training, your inner kidneys feel hot, your whole heart feels cool and your whole body emits heat; what about it?" Ch’iu answered, 'A sacred sage has come to your rescue. Do not become attached to what you see or hear from this point on.' He also said, 'If you see a only person’s head coming down from the sky, your Golden Elixir is completed.'"41

37 Ch’ing-ho Chen-jen Pei-yu Yü-lu chuan #2 p.13b: 長生師父授言今之數門中至誠之道之人人皆宿世傳承正陽純陽真人
38 Ch’ung-yang Ch’üan-ch’en Chi chuan #2 p.6a: 四旬八得道遺口衆傳來便有功一粒丹砂色愈好玉華山上現殷紅
39 ibid. chuan #3 p.5a: 終南一遇醴邑相逢兩次凡心蒙來便話修持重鎚燃攝
40 As opposed to the "outer kidneys" which are the testicles.
41 Chen-hsien Chih-chih Yu-lu upper chuan p.14a. See Plate 91.
What is being discussed here is the bodily sensations that an adept experiences in the midst of the various meditational life-nurturing methods such as those that I discussed in the last chapter. According to Ch'iu in the above passage, the adept is able to reach the stage where he feels these sensations because an Immortal has intervened in order to help him. Apparently then, the adept is supposed to feel the presence of the merciful and compassionate Immortal through the experience of these sensations. As for the numerous visions that ensue and why the adept has to ignore them, I will deal with in detail in the next chapter. What I am curious about is whether the "person's head coming down" refers to the countenance of the Immortal that has come to the rescue.

A very interesting reference to a mystical encounter experienced by Ch'iu himself is found in *Ch'ing-ho Chen-jen Pei-yu Yü-lu*. The encounter took place during the time when Ch'iu was training himself at the P'an-hsi Gorge. The Immortal that he encountered was none other than his late teacher, Wang Ch'ung-yang:

"One evening amidst my surroundings (visions during intense meditation? dreams?) I saw the Patriarch-Master (Wang Ch'ung-yang) with a child approximately 100 days old seated upon his knee. I woke up with the understanding that my Tao nature was still shallow. Half a year later, I saw surroundings similar to the previous one. The child had already reached two years in age. I awoke understanding that my Tao nature was gradually growing, and later I realized that I no longer had any evil thoughts. One year [later], I saw the same surroundings again. The child had become three to four years old and was able to walk and stand. After this I no longer saw this [vision]. Thereby I realized that salvation had come directly to me and that I myself had the means by which I could stand on my own."\(^{42}\)

It is hard to tell whether Ch'iu was seeing visions while he was awake meditating or whether he was having dreams. If he in fact stayed awake during his entire stay at the P'an-hsi Gorge as was widely believed, the former must have been the case. But the usage

\(^{42}\) *chuan* #4 pp.4b-5a. See Plate 92.
of the character "chüeh " 予", which I translated as "awoke", suggests that Ch'iu was sleeping, although perhaps it could refer to his coming out of a meditational trance. Anyway, as the reader has probably already figured out, the child that Ch'iu saw in his dreams was himself. The growth of the child on the knee of Wang Ch'ung-yang was an allegory for the progress in the Perfection Cultivation of Ch'iu who had been instructed by Wang and whose toils were being lovingly watched over by his Immortal teacher. When the child was able to walk on his own, it meant that Ch'iu had become a self reliant Perfected Man who could guide and help others instead of himself being guided and helped.

Ma Tan-yang gives us evidence in CYC that he too had experienced mystical encounters with the late Wang Ch'ung-yang. Ma engaged intensively in meditative self-cultivation in a shack 塔. At times he would lock the entrance and completely seclude himself (and perhaps a couple disciples) from the the world for periods of up to a hundred days. In the year 1177, he apparently had a mystical encounter while engaging in this kind of training (probably at Liu-chiang Village). When the time came for him to leave the hut, he wrote the following poem:

"On the lower origin day (fifteenth day of the tenth month) of the ting-you丁酉 year (1177) I came out of my shack.

Dancing I acquired the true exhortations that came before me."

43 A house which is one tu 塔 in length and width. One tu is said to be equivalent to one chang 丈 (about 3 meters) or to 40 ch'i h 尺 (one ch'i h is about 30 centimeters). The expression essentially refers to a very small house. Thus I have chosen to use the word, "shack".

44 Chin-lien Cheng-tsung Hsien-yuan Hsiang-chuan (HC) tells us that from 1174 to 1178 Ma "returned to the Patriarch Gardens (the temple built in memory of Wang Ch'ung-yang on site of his old meditational hut in Liu-chiang Village), chained shut his shack and lived there". After leaving this shack, Ma locked himself up for 100 days together with Li Ling-yang 李陵陽 in Hua-t'ing (Shensi) in 1179. He locked himself up for 100 days again in 1182 in Ch'ing-chao (Shensi).
I have come to know my original true countenance (innate Tao nature). My Master-Father and Master Uncle came to the lower realm. Joyfully I anticipate direct instructions in the northwest."45

While inside the shack, he had apparently seen a vision or had heard the voices of his "Master-Father" and "Master-Uncle" and had come to realize his innate Tao nature as a result. He was inspired to travel (probably for evangelistic purposes) to the northwest, perhaps because the voices of the two Immortals told him to do so, and apparently anticipated another encounter. The very next poem in CYC tells us that the anticipated encounter took place, and the comments added along with the title reveal the identity of the "Master-Father" and "Master-Uncle":

"Meeting Again' [With the Master-Father, [Wang] Ch'ung-yang, the Perfected Man of Merciful Transformations and Marvelous Deeds and the Master-Uncle, [Ho] Yu-ch'an, the Perfected Man of Universal Light and Clear Calmness] Just as I was going by Fu-feng (a district located to the east of Hsien-yang in Shensi Province) I received instructions to turn my head, And especially visit Ch'i-yang (a district in northeastern Shensi), to flaunt my blind eyes.46 Again I met my true master and acquired the Great Elixir. The [Ch'uan-chen] sect shall be established in the east, west, south and north."47

Thus the "Master-Uncle" who appeared together with Wang Ch'ung-yang was Ho Yu-ch'an, one of Wang's few disciples from his days in Shensi prior to his journey to Shantung. Apparently, when Ma was going through Fu-feng on his northwestern mission,

45 chuan #1 p.9a.

46 I do not know what this means. But "blind" can refer to an adept's capacity to remain undistracted by things that he sees. To flaunt one's blindness would perhaps mean to show people an example of the undistracted, unattached lifestyle of the Taoist so that they can begin to pursue it themselves. This, of course, is only my wild guess.

47 CYC chuan #1 p.9a. See Plate 93.
he had another mystical encounter in which Wang and Ho told him that he must change his
direction and go eastwards to Ch'i-yang. Ma, in carrying out his evangelism, apparently
felt that the Immortals of the Ch'üan-ch'en tradition were constantly present to guide and
direct him in the ambitious task of making the sect into a vastly thriving movement. For
Ma, mystical encounters seem to have been so frequent that they were almost routine affairs
for him. *Chen-hsien Chih-chih Yü-lu* has in it the following narrative:

"[Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un] also talked about the time when the Master-
Father Ma was still present (living) and there was a person who
came to talk about matters of staying in the world and extending
one's years. Suddenly out of empty space a person (an Immortal?)
said, 'You are nothing but small vessels (people of limited abilities).
The Ch'an (Zen Buddhist) school says that the two characters,
"pure" 純 and "still" 靜 are the two chariots (guidelines for proper
training). The body which has a form and is but manure and dirt
has always had its limit. Emotions and desires are vast and
limitless. Confused people are like the bees that covet honey.
Deluded people are like butterflies that love flowers. (Emotions and
desires cause people to have strong feelings of attachment.)"  

Upon hearing these words of wisdom from the unidentified Immortal, Ma expands
upon the discussion started by the mysterious voice by quoting a passage from NCC and
discussing why bedroom artistry was not a practice that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters approved
of. But the main fact that we are interested in right now is that Ma is portrayed as receiving
a kind of divine revelation suddenly out of nowhere. Upon hearing the voice he simply
expands upon what the voice said without any trace of surprise. The implication is that for
a Perfected Man of Ma's stature, mystical encounters were frequent, almost routine
experiences.

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48 Upper chuan p.16a. See Plate 94.
49 The passage from NCC reads, "To live long you must refrain from the perils of the bedroom. Why must
one engage in the workings of death and cause the spirit to weep?"
Among the more interesting mystical encounters that we can read about in the Ch'üan-chen hagiographies are those that were allegedly experienced by Wang Yü-yang and Hao Kuang-ning. CLC tells us that Yü-yang encountered Tung-hua Ti-chún (the putative teacher of the Immortal Chung-li Cheng-yang) when he was only seven years old and was given a "lesson on long life and eternal vision". When he was fourteen he met an old man seated on a rock who told him, "One day you will definitely have your name heard at the imperial gates and you will become a Grand Master of the Profound School." The old man then introduced himself as "the Master of the Profound Court Palace" and disappeared.

Hao Kuang-ning had a couple of encounters with "Divine Men", both of whom are unidentified. His encounters took place after he had become a disciple of Wang Ch'ung-yang. Shortly after the death of Wang, he met a Divine Man at Mt. Ch'i (in northeastern Shensi) who gave him the personal name "Ta-t'ung" and the sobriquet "Kuang-ning" (before this he answered to the personal name "Lin" and the sobriquet "T'ien-jan" that Wang Ch'ung-yang had given to him.). In 1182 at Luan-ch'eng in Hopei, he met a Divine Man who transmitted to him "the secret meanings of the Great [Book of] Changes." The experiences of Yü-yang and Hao are especially interesting because they both seem to be good examples of how the Ch'üan-chen sect developed and grew out of previously existing Immortality beliefs and theories that Wang and his disciples very open-mindedly studied, accepted and brought together to form their dynamic "science" of Perfection Cultivation. Yu-yang experienced an encounter with the putative original Ch'üan-chen sect founder (Tung-hua Ti-chún) well

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50 CLC chuan #5 p.0b: 
51 HC pp.39b-40a
before he had ever met Wang Ch'ung-yang, and well before the Ch'üan-chen sect ever came into existence. Apparently Yü-yang himself, not just the hagiographer, claimed to have had this experience. We can know this from the following words that he wrote:

"When I was seven years old I met Tung-hua Ti-chún who called to me and warned me from mid-air to not let my self become confused. In the wu-tzu/五-5- year of the Ta-ting reign era (1168) I again had an encounter, [this time with] Master [Wang] Ch'ung-yang."52

Yü-yang does not mention any encounter with the "Master of the Profound Court Palace" here, so perhaps he himself never claimed to have encountered such an Immortal. Also, the exhortation that he received from Tung-hua Ti-chún seems to have been more of a calling to leave the confusion of secular life in order to pursue the religious life, much like the message that Rev. Yau claims to have received from the voice of Lü Ch'un-yang. "A lesson on long life and eternal vision", does not seem to accurately describe what Yü-yang heard. But the important fact apparent here is that the concept of merciful intervention of Immortals such as Tung-hua Ti-chún was already popular and widespread enough prior to Wang Ch'ung-yang's ministry that even a seven year old child like the boy Yü-yang living in a region over 1000 km away from Mt. Chung-nan where Wang Ch'ung-yang trained himself and formulated his doctrines would claim to have experienced such an encounter. In a way, Yü-yang's claim seems like a very presumptuous one. Tung-hua Ti-chún, after all, was the putative teacher of the teacher (Chung-li Cheng-yang) of Wang Ch'ung-yang's teacher (Lü Ch'un-yang), who as far as I know Wang Ch'ung-yang never had the privilege of encountering. But this problem does not seem to have been an issue. What is important to see here is that Yü-yang considered his meeting with Wang Ch'ung-yang as an

52 Yun-kuang Chi chuan #4 p.0b: 丁酉七歳遇東華帝君於空中警喚不令昏迷
至大定戊子復遇重陽師父

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encounter of similar or equal significance with his childhood encounter with Tung-hua Ti-
chün. He seems to have felt equally honored and grateful about having gotten to encounter
and learn from both Immortals. The Ch'üan-chén sect blended smoothly into the Chinese
religious scene and gained a following very rapidly probably partly because there were
already a substantial number of people like the boy Yü-yang throughout China who were
deeply involved in cults involving the merciful Immortals. Such people flocked to the
Ch'üan-chén masters because they became sincerely convinced that they were true
Perfected Men; merciful Immortals in human flesh who could help bring them blessings
and guide them to salvation.

Hao Kuang-ning, on the other hand, met an Immortal who remained unidentified. As
a result of the new knowledge that he acquired from the encounter he wrote his T'ai-ku Chi
太古集, which includes what purports to be a concise annotated summary of Wei Po-
yang's 魏伯陽 second century alchemical classic, Chou-I Ts'An-t'ung Ch'i 
周易參同契

with 33 diagrams to go along with it. The influence that Wei's book had upon the
doctrines of the Ch'üan-chén sect and the other schools of the Golden Elixir Tradition was
enormous. Many of the basic theories and terminology of their physiological alchemy
along with their syncretic spirit that claims that "the Three Teachings (Taoism, Buddhism,
Confucianism) return to one" 三教歸 1
53 seem to have originated from this Latter Han
work. Yet, prior to Hao's writing of T'ai-ku Chi , detailed discussions and commentaries
to Ts'An-t'ung Ch'i were not written by the Ch'üan-chén masters, even though the masters
of the Golden Elixir school in southern China (which eventually merged with the Ch'üan-

53 Ts'An-t'ung Ch'i purports to be a three-way fusion of Confucianism (supposedly represented by the I-
ch'ing, Taoist philosophy and the immortality cult (alchemy). By the time that the Golden Elixir
movement (of physiological alchemy) had developed, Taoist philosophy and the immortality cult were seen
to together comprise Taoism, and Buddhism was added to complete a new three part synthesis.
chen sect and came to be known and the Ch'üan-chen Southern Sect (南宗) were writing extensive discussions on it. The most noteworthy among such Southern writings would be *Wu-chen P'ien* (悟真篇) written by Chang Tzu-yang (張紫陽) in 1075. Generally speaking, the Ch'üan-chen sect and the Golden Elixir movement in the south were remarkably similar in their doctrines and undoubtedly had some kind of a common root tradition behind them. But generally speaking, compared to the writings of the Ch'üan-chen masters in the north, the writings of the southern masters were more directly concerned with discussing the physiological theories and philosophy of *Ts'an-t'ung Ch'i* and seem to have placed more emphasis on abstract philosophical discourse and less emphasis on matters such as celibacy, ascetic self discipline and the practical performance of good deeds. When the two groups merged after the Mongols had conquered all of China, the northerners maintained leadership over the sect. However, most of the important Ch'üan-chen writings after the merger came from the south, and the southern emphasis on abstract philosophical discussion seems to have come to prevail throughout the sect's doctrines while the emphasis on asceticism began to wane. Hao Kuang-ning's *T'ai-ku Chi* is thus unique in that it exhibits the doctrinal trend that the sect was going to follow after the merger, well before the merger took place.

What seems to have happened was that somehow he may have interacted with somebody of the southern Golden Elixir movement or somebody of a Golden Elixir related movement in the north who was well versed in the *Ts'an-t'ung Ch'i*. However, the explanation that the hagiographies make for his sudden doctrinal innovations is divine inspiration caused by the merciful intervention of an Immortal. This, from the perspective

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54 The Ch'üan-chen sect in the north seems to have become familiar with this book around the time right after Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's death. Yin Ch'ing-ho, who succeeded Ch'iu as the sect's leader is the first Ch'üan-chen master that I know of who used quotes from *Wu-chen-p'ien* to instruct his disciples.
of a Ch’üan-chen believer, seems to be the only kind of satisfactory explanation that one can make concerning how the sect developed and evolved. While I am convinced that there was a long and slowly evolving Taoist tradition focussed around physiological alchemy which served as a common "ancestor" for the Ch’üan-chen sect and the Southern Sect, Rev. Yau seemed almost insulted when I suggested this to him. It seems to be a very vital belief within the Ch’üan-chen faith that Wang Ch’ung-yang’s doctrines were a result of the inspiration that he received during his mystical encounters, rather than a mere accumulation and synthesis of the Taoist beliefs that existed in the vicinity of Mt. Chung-nan where he trained. In the same way, it seems to have been important to the believers (and perhaps Hao Kuang-ning himself, although I have yet to find any evidence) that Hao’s innovations were results of divine inspiration rather than adaptation.

Yet, while believers may refuse to believe that the Ch’üan-chen masters developed their doctrines in any way other than from divine inspiration, I think it can be said that Hao arrived at his new insights because he made it a point to interact extensively with various kinds of religious people and to open mindedly learn from them and adopt any new ideas that could conceivably enhance the cause of seeking Perfection. This kind of activity was in fact encouraged by Wang Ch’ung-yang himself:

"Investigate and search for your nature and life-destiny. Seek and ask about what is marvelous and profound. Climb steep and tall mountains, visiting insightful masters without relenting. Cross over wide, roaring rivers to ask about the Tao without losing interest. If a single phrase comes to terms with you, circular light will emanate from within you. You will understand the great matters concerning life and death and become a stalwart of the Ch’üan-chen."

As the reader will recall from Chapter One, each person was supposed to rely on his own personal initiative to discover what training methods were most appropriate for him to

\[55\text{from Ch’ung-yang Li-chiao Shih-wu Lun #2. See Plate 95.}\]
use, based on how much accumulated merit he had. The Perfection Cultivation of Ch’üan-
chen Taoism was sort of an investigative "science" of salvation into which each practitioner
was in a way doing his own "research". The Ch’üan-chen masters considered themselves
as students and researchers of this science and were usually open minded in trying to make
some kind of use out of the teachings of other researchers, even those of other schools. By
interacting with teachers from other schools, they hoped to make innovations in their
science that would benefit themselves and all other practitioners. Hao’s T’ai-ku Chi can
perhaps be said to be this kind of an innovation that resulted from such interaction.

A very common context in which mystical encounters were supposed to be experienced
was during dreams. In fact, Ch’i-chen Nien-p’u 七真年鑑 (Chronological Record of the
Seven Perfected : NP) says that Hao had "the secret meanings of the Great [Book of] Changes" revealed to him during a dream. In a short poem entitled, "In the Midst of my
Slumber I had Sensations", Wang Yü-yang writes:

"Amidst auspicious five-colored clouds,
The sacred throngs of the three heavens preach.
The gods attentively listen,
As they exhort them to diligently cultivate Immortal-hood."56

As the reader may recall from Chapter Two, the content of a person’s dreams was
considered to be very important. Certain dreams, particularly erotic one’s, had to be
eliminated because they were the product of an impure state of mind and could arouse a
man to have a wet dream, which was regarded as a deadly health hazard. Also, the content
of dreams was thought to serve as kind of a barometer for determining the quantity and
quality of the supply of perfect ch’i in a person’s Cinnabar Field. Generally speaking,
images of sinfulness, old age, decay, and death were bad signs; and images of youth,

56Yun-kuang Chi chuan #3 p.10a: 五色祥雲薰三重聖經金神明側耳聽勵化降
修仙

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auspicious animals, religious architecture and religious people (Immortals and monks) were
good signs. The dreams that the Ch'üan-chen masters claimed to see or wished to see
frequently were the best possible kind of dreams; dreams in which they encountered
Immortals or supreme deities who kindly bestowed valuable lessons or exhortations upon
them.

CYC starts right off with the following narrative and poem:

"[Wang] Ch'ung-yang, the Perfected Man of Compassionate
Transformations and Marvelous Deeds, when he resided in a hut on
Mt. K'un-yü used a piece of blue cloth three and a half ch'ih 57
in length to make a turban. The top [of the turban] had nine
layers and nine stitches. He said that he had in the past seen it in his
dreams, and named it "the Hua-yang Turban of Nine
Cycles". The Master-Father's atmosphere and visage
were awe-inspiring. He had an appearance that was similar to that
of Chung-li [Cheng-yang] [even without the turban]. To add to
this, he propped up this turban on his head, enhancing his elegant
sparkle. Truly he was a man outside of objects (a man who had
transcended the ordinary world)! Thus I wrote this poem in praise
of him:

His visage is like Chung-li and a treasure is in his body.
Self-so, calm and pure; he has a good vital spirit.
How can I tell that he is not a traveler of the red dust (an ordinary
fellow)?
[It is because of his] Nine Cycle Hua-yang Blue Cloth Turban."58

If this sounds like a case of two grown men acting in a rather silly manner, it is
because it is difficult for non-believers to appreciate how much these dream encounters
with the great Immortals of their tradition meant to them, and how much they wished to be
like them. Ma obviously had a great deal of faith and reverence for Chung-li Cheng-yang
and had a vivid image in his mind, perhaps due to his own dreams and visions, of what he
looked like. Wang's physical resemblance to this image of Chung-li was one of the things

57 One ch'ih was 30.72 cm.
58 CYC chuan #1 pp.0b-1a. See Plate 96.
which gave him a certain charisma in the eyes of a fervent believer like Ma. When he accentuated the resemblance by wearing the special turban, it was cause for more praise to be showered upon him by his top disciple.

Thus I hope that I have shown that this intense belief in the Immortals and their merciful revelation and manifestations was a truly vital part of the Ch'üan-chen belief system. These kinds of mystical encounters were by no means confined to the Ch'üan-chen masters alone. The following passages are clear examples of this fact:

"Mr. Liu of Yao-chou dreamed of [Liu] Hai-ch'an and studied how to train himself. Thus I presented him with this poem:

Hai-ch'an entered a dream to exhort Immortal Liu.
He sent you (Mr. Liu) to study what is marvelous and profound...."59

"Li Chi-ch'uan acquired in a dream a poem transmitted by Mr. Ts'uan. I therefore joined [the following] verse to it in order to praise him (Mr. Ts'uan):

Mr. Ts'uan in the past bowed to me and made me his master.
Firmly sustaining his single will he never was distracted for a single moment.
He made clear his roots and origins,
And after he shed his cicada shell,
He unexpectedly returned to the lower realm and left a poem."61

"At the hall in Shantung there was a traveller who came for a visit [with Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un]. He asked about a wealthy merchant who in the past on the westward road encountered Perfected Man [Chung-li] Cheng-yang and had a sublime lesson transmitted to him. On the very same day he abandoned all of his wealth and calmly and spontaneously forgot all worldly desires that were in his heart. (Apparently the traveller wanted to know how he too could have the same experience that the wealthy merchant had.) The Master-Father

59 Ibid. chuan #3 p.16b.
60 A common analogy for the mortal body which the Perfected Man casts aside upon his death.
61 CYC chuan #1 p.10b. See Plate 97.
(Ch'iu) simply taught him [saying], 'Accumulate [causes for] blessings (merit and deeds) and carefully refrain from flaunting them on the outside. If other people know about them you must be even more careful, because if you have any means by which [your merit and deeds] can be damaged, it is difficult to accomplish the Tao. Hereby understand that even if you have encountered a true transmission you should pile up and accumulate [even more] merit and deeds in order to supplement your [causes for] blessings. [If you do so], you will have means by which you can accomplish [the Tao]."62

In the first of the above three passages, we can see an example of how it was thought that people who had not yet joined the Ch'uan-chen organization could become induced into doing so through a mystical dream encounter. This particular Mr. Liu may have been a previously ordained Taoist monk or priest of another sect, judging from the fact that Ma refers to him as "Immortal Liu" which seems to be a respectful way in which Taoist masters of other lineages were addressed.63

The second passage is interesting because it tells us about an incident in which allegedly a man who had once trained under Ma Tan-yang had attained Immortal-hood and had revealed himself to a certain Li Chi-ch'uan (another disciple of Ma). This incident becomes a cause for joy and praise from his proud and gratified teacher.

The third passage is interesting in that it describes the conversion experience of a layman who perhaps may have been somebody who was not affiliated with the Ch'uan-chen sect at all.

What is interesting to see from all three passages is that the Ch'uan-chen masters by no means claimed exclusive access to the legendary Immortals of their tradition and that they in no way felt threatened by or doubted the notion that a disciple, a Taoist clergyman of another sect, or a layman could encounter them. They also seem to have had no

62 Ching-ho Chen-jen Pei-yu Yü-lü chuan #3p.7b. See Plate 98.
63 You may recall that in the passage that I quoted on p.124, Wang Ch'ung-yang sent Ma to a certain Immortal Lu in order to study about medicines.
objections to claims that a dead disciple had become an Immortal and was revealing himself. The Ch'üan-chen masters acknowledged that anybody could encounter an Immortal if the Immortal saw the person as worthy of receiving his mercy. As I have already suggested and will be expanding upon shortly is the fact that cults and lore involving Tung-hua Ti-chün, Chung-li Cheng-yang, Lù Ch'ün-yang and Liu Hai-ch'an as merciful Immortals who out of compassion for mankind manifest themselves in order to help and guide people were already very popular prior to the founding of the Ch'üan-chen sect. While the Ch'üan-chen masters were perhaps responsible for molding this belief into a coherent and vibrant faith system that could form a foundation for a large scale organized religion that could function in a wide variety of capacities, by no means could they presume to claim their Patriarchs as being exclusively their own, nor did they ever denounce people as heretics for making claims about mystical encounters. The only reservation or worry they seem to have had concerning the mystical encounters of anybody was the danger of complacency setting in on the fortunate individual.

The Ch'üan-chen sect, particularly at its earliest stages, was a growing movement concerned with bringing spiritual salvation to as many people as possible and with creating a better society by instilling within all people a certain amount of the selfless mercy and compassion of the Immortals. The vigorous evangelistic spirit of the Ch'üan-chen sect is clearly reflected in Wang Ch'ung-yang's statement, "I, in the future will make the teachings of the four seas become one [teaching] (Ch'üan-chen Taoism)."64 which he made at Nan-shih Village when he built his "Grave of the Living Dead Man". Their ideal motives for spreading their religion are well reflected in the following poems:

64HC p.19a: 我将来使四海教风为一家耳

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"[I], Crazy Ma compassionately wish to emulate Wei-mo (Vimalakirti)\(^{65}\). The perpetually ailing sentient beings receive much suffering. I persuade them with poems; and if they repent and understand, They can avoid getting thrown into the fire like flying moths."\(^{66}\)

"Completely utilizing the Three Teachings I persuade and teach the sentient beings. I cause all of them to join above with Heaven."\(^{67}\)

"Ten varieties of sentient beings are in the sea of suffering. How painful! Is there anybody who has the will to establish the merit for Immortal-hood? For the instruction of the confused people there fortunately exist the Ch'\üan-chen doctrines. If you cultivate [the Ch'\üan-chen way of Perfection] completely under all circumstances, the Tao will merge with you."\(^{68}\)

The Ch'\üan-chen masters wanted to preach to and convert everybody because they grieved over the plight of the human condition and believed that they knew the way by which the pitiful, mortal state could be improved or even better, transcended. An important medium through which they appealed to lay people and exhorted the members of their clergy was poetry, which makes up the bulk of their writings that exist today. Because they believed (or at least claimed to believe) that Buddhism and Confucianism were essentially alternate paths which ultimately led to the same truth as Taoism, they used the scriptures (especially the Prajna Paramita Heart Sutra和 the Classic of Filial Piety) and teachings of both traditions to enhance their own teachings. What was also utilized greatly in order to bring people to faith, goodness and salvation was the

\(^{65}\)A famous disciple of the Buddha.

\(^{66}\)CYC chuan #1 p.11a: 你有一段話，四門法華經</br>此亦後世之佛</br>化之光，海上之無名</br>之火，</br>py</br>

\(^{67}\)P'an-hsi Chi chuan #5 p.11a: 特指此段經文<br>化群生皆當令上合天<br>理，</br>

\(^{68}\)Yun-kuang Chi chuan #2 p.31b: 十類眾生苦海中痛嗟呼，通仙功指迷，幸有金真
concept of the compassionate Immortal who will come to the aid of those who are worthy. Legends involving the merciful intervention of the Immortals provided role models for aspiring adepts and motivation for laymen to revere the Ch'üan-chen Patriarchs and to adhere to a moral lifestyle centered around unselfishness, humility and kindness towards others. Also, the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves sought to emulate as much as possible within their own ministries the deeds of the Immortals depicted within the various stories.

Legends involving Lü Ch'ün-yang seem to have been especially numerous and popular from times preceding the founding of the Ch'üan-chen sect. MTC, as I have already mentioned before, is a priceless collection of these stories that have been selected edited and commented on by Ch'üan-chen monk, Miao Shan-shih, in a fashion that best presents Lu's legacy from an orthodox Ch'üan-chen perspective.

Story #11 in MTC tells us that at the end of the Latter Chou (951-959) at 'K'ai-feng', Lü Ch'un-yang used to frequently disguise himself as a beggar wearing tattered clothing and with filth and bloody sores all over his body. Every day, he would go into the Shih family's tea shop and beg for tea. Nobody wanted to go near him except for the Shih family's young (4 to 7 year-old) daughter who never avoided him but instead always gave him the best tea in the shop even though her parents would scold her every time she did so. This had been going on daily for about a month when one day, after being given the tea as usual, Lü beckoned the little girl to come to where he was sitting and told her to drink the remainder of tea that was in the cup that he was drinking out of. Because the tea had become so filthy from having come in contact with Lü's mouth, the little girl could not stand to drink it and thus poured it onto the ground. As soon as she did this a wonderful aroma rose from the ground; so the little girl

69 Literally, the text says that she was at the age where a child wears bangs and is beginning to grow the permanent teeth.
quickly licked what remained inside the cup. When she did this her spirit and *ch'i* felt energetic. Lü then revealed his identity by saying, "I am Mr. Lü, not a beggar. I regret that you were not able to drink all of my leftovers (apparently it was an Immortality potion). But anyway, do you wish for wealth, nobility or long life?"\(^\text{70}\)

The little girl then answered, "I am but the daughter of a lowly family, and do not know what you mean by 'nobility'. I would like to have wealth and a full lifespan."\(^\text{71}\) The girl went on to marry an official, become the babysitter for a future empress, and live to the age of 135.

MTC #12 tells us that at Pa-ling 鄠陵 district in Yueh-chou 云州 (Hupei湖) at the foot of Mt. Pai-ho 淮許 there was an old, withered pine tree standing between two ponds in which there lived two gigantic water dragons 鳳蛟. When Lü was walking past there, the resident spectre 精 of the pine tree appeared before him and begged him to help him attain salvation. Lü responded by saying, "You are an evil spectre. Why must I speak to you? Tell me, from days gone by, do you have any hidden virtue (have you performed any good deeds)?"\(^\text{72}\) The spectre then told him that he had saved many people from the malice of the water dragons by disguising himself as a human being and warning people of the danger, and also by transforming himself into a gigantic sword and slaying the dragons. When Lü heard this he deemed the spirit as worthy, and made it become reincarnated as a man named Kuo Shang-tsao 軍上番. Many years later, when Lü was again going about disguised as a beggar, begging for tea and clad in filthy garments and with bloody sores and boils all over his body; Kuo was the only person who gave tea to him every day.

\(^{70}\) 謝先生非強者惜爾不盡食吾餘煞然願於富矣壽矣

\(^{71}\) 我小家子不識何謂貴富且壽足矣

\(^{72}\) 儘妖魅也或可語汝道平日亦有陰德否
without hesitation. Eventually, Lú revealed his identity, made Kuo his disciple, and led him to Immortal-hood.

In the above stories we can see an exaltation of the very simple ethic of kindness towards others regardless of who they are. In Pien-ching, the only person who was able to be kind to the repulsive beggar was the naive little girl. The rewards that she earned for her kindness were great. Thus the story serves as an exhortation towards all people regardless of their social status, age, or abilities to be kind and compassionate to those in need; because that very simple quality is in fact the most essential quality that the Immortals look for in people. To be kind means to be able to identify completely with whom you are dealing with and to share in their situation without any feelings of repulsion or derision. Thus the little girl missed out on the ultimate salvation when she was unable to drink out of the beggar's filthy cup. Kuo Shang-tsao got delivered from a sub-human, demonic existence because he had saved human lives. And when he exhibited the simple yet vital quality of kindness during his ensuing incarnation as a human being, Lú decided to guide him to Immortal-hood.

The image of Lú in these kinds of stories seems to have been emulated by the Ch'üan-chen masters who themselves went about as beggars, often becoming the target of derision and hostility, as we saw in Chapter One. You may also recall how Ma Tan-yang utilized the concept that a beggar may be an Immortal in disguise as a means to persuade people to donate their food and their services to his winter gruel project. In Ch'üang-yang Ch'üan-chen Chi (CCC) is a poem that indicates that after he had established a reputation for himself as a prominent Taoist master, Wang Ch'üang-yang disguised himself when he went out begging perhaps so that people in the streets would not give him any preferential treatment.
"When the teacher (Wang Ch'ung-yang) was begging on the streets of the district of Ning-hai disguised as a common beggar\textsuperscript{73}, he had [pasted to] his back a large piece of paper with the following two poems written on it persuading Ma Yu (Tan-yang) to go begging with him:.............

..White is the skeleton, red is the flesh. The red and white adornments complete the artificially fabricated corpse (the mortal body). Yesterday everybody was calling me 'Master Ch'ung-yang'. Today they all see a mere common beggar. In a different bodily appearance and an alternate physical countenance nobody recognizes me. When I change my face and change my shape nobody knows me........"\textsuperscript{74}

While the Ch'uan-chen masters engaged in begging primarily in order to instill humility within themselves, it also seems to have been a way for them to examine the spiritual state of people in general and to hopefully come into contact with people of good spiritual potential who are generous and willing to be in the company of somebody who is despised. Thus in Ning-hai, where he had won a great deal of respect, Wang went to the trouble of disguising himself much like Lu is depicted as frequently doing in MTC.

MTC \#50 tells us that the mother of a certain official in T'ung-lu\textsuperscript{76} (in Chekiang 浙江) named Shen Shih-chen 沈志真 was ailing from severe bleeding welts all over her back which could not be cured. Shen Chih-chen prayed for her recovery with a deep and sincere feeling of filial piety. The prayers "moved" Lú Ch'un-yang who showed up to cure his mother's disease. Lú told Shen, "Your extreme filial piety moved Heaven, which ordered me to come to your rescue. If I had arrived a single day later, the

\textsuperscript{73} I am not at all sure of how to translate this word. Perhaps he disguised himself as some kind of a traveling musician, since the character 可 can mean "to sing". Perhaps it was best understood as "companion" or "brother" [monk of the Ch'uan-chen order]; in other words a low status apprentice monk. Above I have translated the term under the assumption that it was colloquial term of the time that referred to a common street beggar.

\textsuperscript{74} CCC chuan \#1 p.1a. See Plate 99.
disease could not have been cured." He then transmitted to Shen the Ling-pao Ointment Method, a recipe for a medicine which eventually cured the disease. After this, Shen drew a portrait of Lu and worshipped it daily.

MTC #89 tells about a certain Man of the Tao in Chiang-ling (in Hupei) named Ch'uan who had a pure and righteous personality, worshipped a statue of Lu Ch'un-yang daily and trained himself by sitting alone on sun-parched roads. One day he was visited by a traveler with whom he came to frequently drink together with. At the time, Ch'uan was suffering from severe eye trouble (his vision was declining and in which tears frequently welled up in his eyes). The traveler prescribed a medicinal recipe for him which not only cured his eye trouble but made Ch'uan able to see clearly in the dark. Later, Ch'uan saw a statue of Lu Ch'un-yang which looked identical to the traveler, and only then realized that he had been healed by Lu Ch'un-yang.

In the above stories is reflected the side of Ch'üan-ch'en Taoism that is somewhat more akin to the realm of folk religion; the side which sought to bring benefits through the worship of the Immortals and gods rather than strictly through rigorous individual effort. In other words, Ch'üan-ch'en Taoism was also practiced in the form of worshipping Immortals and gods by means of statues and pictures. What must be noted however is that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters basically seem to have had a disdain for the forms of worship practiced in folk religion, viewing them as foolish, ineffective and even sinful. This issue will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five. For now I must let it suffice by saying that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters saw the popular gods as inferior to their own high gods and Immortals and also to themselves. They felt that popular religious ritual worship was

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75 The recipe calls for the *rhemannia glutinosa* herb and some Ssu-ch'uan pepper to be lightly heated and made into a powder which is to be combined with some honey and made into little pills.

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devoid of any ethical element, and as a result caused people, who thought that they could
bargain with the gods with their sacrifices, to complacently engage in immoral behavior,
which was (in the minds of the Ch'üan-chen masters) in fact the very cause of misfortune.
They also felt that popular religious rituals themselves were immoral particularly in that
blood sacrifices were used.

Thus, perhaps strictly speaking from the perspective of the Ch'üan-chen masters, the
worship of an Immortal through a statue or a picture for the sake of receiving his help such
as what is described in MTC was not the most ideal form of religious activity. Ideally, a
person was supposed to be able to bring blessings to himself and avoid all misfortunes
strictly by means of moral, disciplined behavior. But in reality, the majority of the
believers were highly vulnerable to all kinds of diseases and misfortunes, and felt a need to
have a higher power to rely on to care for them. Thus the higher power that they seem to
have most often relied upon was Lü Ch'un-yang, who symbolized all of the ideals of the
merciful and compassionate Ch'üan-chen Perfected Man. Also, as the stories in MTC
suggest, sincerity and moral daily behavior were regarded as indispensable attributes if a
believer wished to evoke the mercy and compassion of the Immortal whom he worshipped.

Yet, the ideal Perfected Man or Immortal was not somebody who sought to help only
those of outstanding moral conduct while ignoring or punishing those who are faithless and
morally flawed. The Immortals, who were once mere mortals themselves, were
understood to have realized that all people had inside of them an essentially good "Tao
nature", and thus had the potential for attaining Immortal-hood. Thus the ideal Immortal
was somebody who sought to help even the most sinful people to realize their innate
goodness and to cultivate it. Thus MTC includes several stories in which Lü Ch'un-yang
visits prostitutes.
MTC #75 tells us that during the reign of Northern Sung Emperor Hui-tsung (1101-1125) there was a Man of the Tao who called himself Ch'ang Hsü-chung (his true identity was Lü Ch'un-yang) who went about performing strange and super-normal acts such as drinking limitless amounts of liquor, eating incredible amounts of raw meat and fish, burying himself in the snow for 10 straight days, walking on water etc. In Pien-ching, there lived a beautiful prostitute named Yang Liu-ch'in whose home the Man of the Tao visited frequently in order to warn her to repent of her lifestyle. But she was never able to come to her senses. He frequently brought her gifts of gold and silk but never had sexual intercourse with her. One night Yang, who was drunk, offered her sexual favors to him. But the Man of the Tao declined saying, "From the time before my birth my body is endowed with *kan* and *li*. The husband and wife copulate inside me. When the sacred embryo has been completed and the countenance of the infant has been produced, no longer do I desire to have external sex. The pleasure of internal copulation far exceeds the pleasure of external copulation."

Yang did not understand him. Instead of repenting, she felt offended by his rejection of her and used her high governmental connections (she had been having an affair with a friend of the Grand Councilor) to try to get him arrested. The Man of the Tao fled into the Cloud Hall of the Hsi-yün Taoist Hermitage where he left a poem and disappeared. Later, when the Hermitage got destroyed by a fire, only the wall on which the poem was written survived.

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77 This is a play on words. This name means, "[the character] 'ch'ang' which is empty inside [the boxes]". If you delete the two lines inside the boxes that make up the character "ch'ang", you get the character "li".

78 As you may recall from Chapter Two, *kan* is the trigram that corresponds to the kidneys and the *ch'i* (semen) that they produce, and *li* is the trigram that corresponds to the heart and its *ch'i* (blood).

79 过於外交之乐甚
MTC #80 tells about a prostitute named Chang Chen-nu 賈珍奴 who, despite her sinful lifestyle, made it a habit every evening to change her clothing, burn incense and pray to Heaven for deliverance from her miserable state as a prostitute. During the Hsüan-ho 宣和 reign era (1119-1125), a scholarly gentleman (Lú in disguise) came to visit her. Somehow she sensed that he was no ordinary gentleman and thus treated him with great hospitality. The gentleman began to visit her frequently from this time on, but never showed any desire to sleep with her. One day, the gentlemen asked her what she did every day. She answered, "Having lost my body to this state (fallen into prostitution), what can I do? All I do is pray every night for riddance of my debts^80." The gentleman then asked her why she did not study the Tao. Chang told him that her work allowed her neither the time nor the opportunity to encounter a Taoist master and study under him. The gentleman then offered to become her master; and she accepted. Eventually Chang quit her work, devoted herself to putting into practice certain Perfection Cultivation lessons given to her by the gentleman, and to worshipping a statue of Lú. As a result she "escaped her corpse and left" 尸解而去, attaining Immortal-hood.

MTC #87 tells about a prostitute named Ts'ao San-hsiang 曹三香 of An-feng District 安奉縣 (in Jehol 熱河, approximately 160 km north of Beijing) who was suffering from a severe disease. She operated an inn which catered to travelers. One day, Lú Ch'un-yang came disguised as a pauper and asked for a room in which to stay overnight. A servant at the inn tried to turn him away because of his filthy, tattered clothing but Ts'ao let him stay; and she treated him with utmost hospitality. Before long, Ts'ao's disease was cured. Lú then poked her in the crotch and said "Turn your heart around, turn your heart^80 Apparently she had to become a prostitute because of heavy debts of her own or of her family's.
around "turn your heart around" (repent). On the next day, Lü revived an old withered tree outside the inn by throwing some medicine on it. Ts'ao then realized who he was and that he was giving her a hint when he told her to repent.\textsuperscript{81} Ts'ao quit her profession, travelled to a far away place, built a shrine to Lu Ch'un-yang, and worshipped him. At the end of the Shao-hsiang reign era (1131-1162) she returned to An-feng, but her appearance had changed so much (became more youthful?) that no one recognized her. She then left An-feng and was never seen again.\textsuperscript{82}

In analyzing the above three stories, an essential problem is understanding what place in society these prostitutes held. There seems to have been various kinds of prostitution going on at this time. Some prostitutes were more or less equivalent to the hookers that we are commonly accustomed to. Others were actually of a somewhat lofty and respected social status and catered to only very wealthy customers. Prostitutes of this variety were entertainers who were well trained in singing and dancing, and would not necessarily be expected to carry on sexual relationships with their customers. R.H. van Gulik, in his book, \textit{Sexual Life in Ancient China}, tells us that men of high society who were already more than sufficiently occupied with sexual activities within their own household circle of wives and concubines; sought a kind of romantic "courtship" with these beautiful and highly culturally refined women in which no sexual obligations were involved.\textsuperscript{83}

Regardless of what kind of esteem society held these women in; from the Ch'üan-ch'en perspective they were a very unsavory element of society because any kind of erotic

\textsuperscript{81}The character "hui" (turn around) in the phrase, "turn your heart around" is made up of two squares like the character "li" and was intended as a hint of his identity.

\textsuperscript{82}A common ending to Taoist tales. The implication is that she never died, but sort of silently went into seclusion or ascended to Immortal-hood.

\textsuperscript{83}van Gulik discusses the various varieties of prostitutes and their social role on pp.171-184, 230-234 and 252-253.
activity was thought of by them as detrimental and sinful. But rather than avoiding or condemning prostitutes, Lü becomes closely involved with them out of his compassionate desire to lead them out of their self-destructive lifestyles. In the midst of such endeavors, Lü is never once swayed by any erotic urges. This ability to go into sinful, corruptive environments in order to make people reform, without oneself becoming corrupted; is described as "merging with the dust". A true Ch'üan-chen adept was supposed to possess this quality. In Chapter One, we saw how Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un and Wang Yü-yang cultivated their Perfection primarily by undergoing extremely arduous physical ordeals while in seclusion. T'an Ch'ang-chen and Liu Ch'ang-sheng on the other hand seem to have emphasized self-training in the midst of boisterous, frivolous environments of the kind that would provoke lust and greed:

"After this, (the three year mourning period for the death of Wang Ch'ung-yang) [T'an Ch'ang-chen] hid his traces between the Yi and Lo rivers , controlling his spirit and refining his ch'i. Even when he resided in the midst of red streets, purple streets (city streets) and liquor shops; his mind was like dirt and wood. Not once was he moved to [give rise to evil] thoughts."  

"The teacher (Liu Ch'ang-sheng) alone hid his traces in Lo-ching (Loyang), refining his nature amidst the chaotic intermingling of the dust (worldly distractions). He nurtured his simplicity amidst the frantic and hectic crowds of the markets and shops. [The music of] wind and string [instruments] could not disturb his harmony. The flowers and willows could not arouse his essence (semen)."

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84 This quite likely refers to parts of town where there are brothels.  
85 CLC chuan #4 p.1b. See Plate 100.  
86 This definitely refers to district where prostitution goes on.  
87 ibid. chuan #4 p.4b. See Plate 101.
Of course, the main implication of the above two passages is that T'an and Liu exposed themselves to the temptations of city life primarily as a means of putting their own self-discipline to the test rather than for the sake of influencing others to become like them. But without much doubt, evangelism was also carried out by them during the process. You may recall the passage that I quoted from TYL in Chapter One on p.43 in which Ma Tan-yang praised the Immortal Liu Hai-ch'an by saying, "He got to the point where he would go into brothels carrying barrels of liquor. He did not feel any embarrassment." There is a relevant question as to what kind of embarrassment was thought to be incurred by associating with prostitutes. Whether visiting prostitutes was an action that society frowned upon regardless of who you were, or whether this rather implies that it went against the expected pattern of behavior for an ordained religious man; is hard to say. But what can be understood here is that the Ch'uan-chen masters realized that it was important to put aside one's self-righteous feelings and to function as a holy man while constantly mingling and identifying with even the most despicable elements of society; both for one's own training and for the salvation of others.

MTC #'s 75, 80 and 87, while having the same basic theme; each have different morals to be learned by the reader. Yang Liu-chin in #75 seems to have been a very high class prostitute and perhaps a singer or dancer, judging from the usage the the character chi (which can refer to an entertainer as well as a prostitute) and the fact that Lü sort of "courted" her by bringing her lavish gifts. Lü's tactics were more "obvious" than in the other two stories in that he performed many miracles which should have made it quite apparent who he was. When offered sexual favors by her, he urged her to give up the lascivious life in favor of the pursuit of Perfection Cultivation by giving a very lucid allegory of Perfection Cultivation as a sort of internal sexual intercourse which makes ordinary sexual intercourse obsolete. But despite all of these attempts on the part of Lü,
Yang is so ignorant and so evil that she is unable to repent; thus passing up the golden opportunity that she had been given.

Chang Chen-nu also seems to have been a comparatively high class prostitute in that she is also described as a *chi* and because Lú visited her in the disguise of a "scholarly gentleman" and carried on a "courtship" with her. She differed completely from Yang in that she felt very ashamed and guilty of her lifestyle, and prayed daily to Heaven for deliverance. She was therefore able to recognize that the "gentleman" was someone extraordinary, and when offered the opportunity to cultivate Perfection, she jumped at it.

Ts'ao San-hsiang is described as a *ch'ang* (a word which strictly means "prostitute"), meaning that she was perhaps more of a low class prostitute; although she seems to have been well off financially, judging from the fact that she operated an inn. Lú put her to perhaps the most difficult test, showing up disguised as a filthy pauper. But she was equal to the test. She thus opened up her path to salvation simply by being kind enough to have pity on the pauper and to treat him with dignity.

Another important implication of these stories is that perhaps prostitutes represented a significant portion of the following of the Ch'üan-chen sect, and similar sects that preceded it. Quite likely, a fairly significant number of women who eventually pursued careers as Taoist nuns were former prostitutes or were woman who quite easily could have ended up as prostitutes. Women usually ended up as prostitutes as a result of inevitable circumstances such as poverty (parents would often sell their daughters to brothels in order

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88 In fact, van Gulik, citing biographies of prostitutes in "Ch'ing-lou Chi" ("Records of Green Bowers (brothels)"), a Yuan Dynasty work writes, "Some singing-girls were bought as concubines by wealthy men, and then left them to join a private theatrical troupe owned by another man, and finally married their master or drifted back to their original profession. Others became Taoist nuns and roamed all over the larger cities of the Empire, earning their living now as actresses and then as prostitutes, to end in misery, or in the harem of a Chinese or Mongol official."
to make ends meet) or being orphaned. Whatever the circumstances were, these were women who existed outside of the conventional respectable woman's role and function within the family context as a good wife and mother (of male children). Virtual outcasts from the traditional family oriented religion focused around ancestor worship, these women perhaps felt the need for some kind of an alternate source of comfort and assurance for protection and good fortune in this life and beyond. Naturally, the Taoist and Buddhist nun-hood was a viable alternative to prostitution which also assured them of a means of maintaining their livelihood. And for many women who had immersed themselves in the lascivious life, belief in an Immortal like Lü whose mercy could extend to anybody with innate goodness (which these women all had) became a necessity.

What resounds through all of the MTC stories that I have introduced so far is an exaltation of the moral goodness (particularly kindness) and reverence (towards Lü Ch'un-yang) possessed by the lowly and humble people in society. These stories for the most part seem to originate somewhere within the hundred years that directly preceded the founding of the Ch'uan-chen sect. During those years there seems to have been a rapid growth of a faith tradition that was quite populist in nature, which hoped and relied upon the merciful and compassionate saving power of Immortals like Lu who were sensitive to the needs of the humble portions of society. This populist-oriented sentiment seems to be reflected by the fact that among the three prostitutes, Yang Liu-chin (who was a high society prostitute with high government acquaintances) is the one whose ignorance and wickedness causes her to lose her opportunity for salvation.

Another story which also seems to reflect this negative side of the populist sentiment of the Lü Ch'un-yang cult is MTC #65 in which a wealthy literati named Ch'en Tan-jan misses his opportunity for salvation despite the fact that he was a devoted believer and patron of Taoism. According to this story, Lü Ch'un-yang disguised himself as a
hired laborer and had been working in Ch'en's vegetable garden. Ch'en was very fond of him because he was a very efficient worker. One day, Ch'en was having a discussion on the *Yin-fu Ching* (YFC) with a friend when they suddenly heard the hired laborer shout out his own commentary to the particular passage that they had been discussing. Rather than giving serious thought to Lü's comments, Ch'en and his friend reprimanded him for his rudeness in presuming to instruct two erudite scholars despite his plebeian status. Lü left Ch'en, vowing to never return again.

Thus in this story the moral seems to be that arrogance and bigotry towards low class people are detrimental attributes that can cause even a person who is a deeply devoted and knowledgeable Taoist to miss out on salvation. All of this is by no means to say that the educated elite were not a part of the Lu Ch'ūn-yang cult or the Ch'üan-chen sect that developed under its strong influence. The developers of the faith system were probably the same type of people that Wang Ch'ung-yang and Ma Tan-yang were; Taoist monks of reasonably wealthy backgrounds who were extremely well educated (and had perhaps failed the civil service examinations). But as we have seen already, the Ch'üan-chen masters insisted that the wealthy laymen treat the poor with kindness and respect. Thus in a world ruled by wealth, status and greed which was full of injustices, the Ch'üan-chen sect and related movements provided a kind of oasis where at least in theory all people were equal and all that mattered was one's sincerity, faith, dedication and kindness towards others.

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89YFC and the *Lao-tzu* book were the two scriptures that were the most frequently studied and discussed by Ch'üan-chen monks. The reference to YFC here seems to strongly indicate that prior to the Ch'üan-chen sect YFC had already firmly established itself as one of the most widely read scriptures among the Taoist clergy and laity alike.
The ideal role model for a wealthy Taoist layman is found in MTC #98. The story is about Ch'iao Erh-lang, a wealthy man who "was humble, kind and flexible. He identified with other and [out of] benevolence and mercy benefited [living] things. He contributed wood with which to build coffins and buried the lonely and the poor. He contributed gruel and beverages and accommodated and rescued those who were dying of starvation. He always fed the Taoist monks and venerated the Perfected Immortals. Because of this he was able to move the Patriarch-Master (Lú Ch'ün-yang)." The story then tells us that Lú frequently came (disguised as an ordinary Taoist monk) to beg for money (with which to feed the needy) or to drink liquor with him. Whenever Lú came, Ch'iao was never stingy with his money or his liquor. Often, Lú would act like he was crazy and would say things that were insulting or revolting. But Ch'iao never became angry. Thus after many years of this kind of interaction, Lú eventually transmitted profound secrets to him and guided him to Immortal-hood.

This ideal image of the benevolent and reverent wealthy person is also the image in which most of the Perfected Men of the Ch'üan-ch'en tradition are portrayed in the hagiographies, in regard to their years prior to their conversion experiences. The conversion experience, whether it takes place in the form of a personal meeting with a Perfected Man or in the form of a mystical trance or dream encounter; is understood by the hagiographers as being a result of benevolent and reverent behavior. Some of the hagiographies briefly trace back the ancestry of the Perfected Man several generations and portray his ancestors as men similar to Ch'iao Erh-lang in MTC #98. As we saw in  

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90 I am somewhat uncertain of how to translate this phrase. It could seemingly also be translatable as "worshipped the Tao".
91 See Plate 102.
92 KSL chuan #1 p.18a tells us that Ma Tan-yang's father, much like Ch'iao, earned an encounter with Lu Ch'ün-yang because of his good personality and his good deeds.
Chapter One, (particularly from Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's long lecture that I quoted on pp.48-49) Ch'uan-chen Taoism primarily adhered to the notion that the accumulation of merit and deeds in previous lives was what created one's fate in the present life. It is interesting that the hagiographies greatly convey the notion that merit and deeds which bring about good fate are passed down to a person from his or her ancestors. This concept which obviously comes out of a much more traditional Chinese family-oriented religious mentality is rarely, if ever, conveyed by the writings of the Ch'uan-chen masters themselves. But contrarily, as we will see in considerable detail in Chapter Five, the Ch'uan-chen masters strongly believed that their own merit and deeds could bring benefits to their ancestors, as well as to the ancestors of others.

Of course, the primary reason why the theory of hereditary causality of fate is conveyed in the hagiographies is because the hagiographers wanted to powerfully reinforce the values of benevolence and faith in the minds of the readers. Whether or not the Perfected Men themselves actually subscribed to such a theory, seems to have been beside the point.

The essential point that I would like to make is that there seems to have been a substantial portion of the elite during the times contemporary to and prior to the career of Wang Ch'ung-yang who were deeply interested in Taoism (as an intellectual philosophy and a spiritual religion), who patronized it financially and liked to entertain Taoist monks and engage them in intellectual discussions. If one were to presume that the stories in MTC originated roughly from the time periods in which they are set in (which is plausable for some of the stories and risky for others) one would also have to conclude that already before the Ch'uan-chen masters could have had any impact, organized religious Taoism was already greatly involved with charity work. If so, it was naturally the wealthy laymen that they relied on to provide the financial backing for such charitable projects.

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A problematic aspect here is that in the hagiographies, the Perfected Men and Immortals are often depicted as heavy drinkers. Strictly speaking, the consumption of alcohol along with meats and spicy foods was prohibited among the clergy of the Ch'üan-ch'en sect. Apparently the Perfected Men were regarded as being immune from alcoholic intoxication and the negative effects that it has on the health. This seems to have been one of the super-normal capacities that a Perfected Man was supposed to possess. Thus, apparently, such rules involving eating and drinking that were designed for those who were still in the process of Perfection Cultivation did not necessarily apply to one whose cultivation has been completed and who had risen above the level in which he could be harmed or corrupted. You may recall the passage that I quoted on p. 44 in Chapter One in which Ma Tan-yang makes "Crazy Man Shih" beg for money in order to buy liquor, and then drinks all of the liquor himself. Perhaps the understanding was that Ma was at a level where he could remain unaffected by liquor, while Shih was at the initial stages of Perfection Cultivation where drinking had to be refrained from. But the main reason for why the Ch'üan-ch'en Perfected Men are depicted as drinking with laymen is because they in fact seem to have spent a considerable amount of time at parties and gatherings in which members of the elite engaged in intellectual forms of leisure such as poetry writing and philosophical discussion while consuming large quantities of liquor and meat dishes. The following poem by Wang Ch'ung-yang seems to confirm this fact and explains why he chose to frequent the type of setting that epitomized the decadent mentality which he stood so strongly against:

"Day after day they have parties in here and eat meat.  
The various gentleman are all good.  
Even if the Wild Man Wang is here do not think that it is strange.  
I frequently come and show my face [to the] District Magistrate, [to the] District Magistrate."
Truly I like to utilize my skillful means with people.93

While the Ch'üan-chen masters disapproved of much of what probably went on at such parties, it was also their duty to mingle in such environments as a means of gaining acquaintances with people, skillfully exhorting them towards proper conduct, and hopefully finding somebody worthy of training and transmitting esoteric training methods to. And because Taoist texts were popular topics of discussion among the elite; insightful and witty monks like Wang Ch'ung-yang were welcome participants in their gatherings. In fact, it was in exactly this type of environment where Wang acquired his favorite disciple:

"On the leap month94 of the seventh year of the Ta-ting reign era [Ma Tan-yang] was partying at the Yi-lao Pavilion at the house of Fan Ming-shih. At the peak of the festivities they were reciting poetry. [Within the poetry] there was the phrase, 'A person comes to the rescue amidst the drunkenness'. Suddenly [Wang] Ch'ung-yang, braving the heat in a cloth pao jacket (a thick and warm type of jacket filled with cotton) and a bamboo hat, came walking towards the party location. The master (Ma Tan-yang) asked, 'Where did you come from?' Ch'ung-yang answered, 'I came alone from Mt. Chung-nan in order to rescue a drunk man'. The master was mystified by this. He took a melon and gave it to Ch'ung-yang to eat. Ch'ung-yang started to eat it from the stem. The master thought this was strange and asked [him his] reason [for eating the melon in such a way]. Ch'ung-yang said, 'Sweetness comes from within bitterness.' [Ma] then asked him his surname and personal name. [Ch'ung-yang] said, 'Wang Hai-feng (Wild Man Wang). The master then asked, 'What is the Tao.' [Ch'ung-yang answered], 'It is the place where the five phases do not reach and the [time] before the father and the mother were born.'

93 CCC chuan #7 p.8b: 日此中間食肉雜公緇書唯有客風玉揀在於而見面知話知話正好與人方便

94 According to the Chinese lunar calendar, a "leap month" occurs once every three years, twice every five years and seven times every nineteen years so as synchronize the progress of the calendar year with the evolution of the seasons. Thus in 1167 there were two seventh months, the ordinary seventh month and the "leap" seventh month.
The master, while this was being said, became enlightened. They conversed and discussed very amiably. [Ma] asked Ch'ung-yang to come home with him and [eventually] took him as his master. \(^95\) \(^96\)

The name, "Yi-lao Pavilion", which seems to mean "pavilion for the enjoyment of the Lao-[tzu] book" or perhaps "pavilion for the enjoyment of old age", is perhaps suggestive of the fact that the host of the party, Fan Ming-shih was a strong patron and believer of Taoism and that his circle of friends consisted of people who had a liking for Taoism. At this party, Wang's "skillful means" was to demonstrate the principle of attaining Perfection (sweetness) through asceticism (bitterness) by eating a melon from its bitter part. The "skillful means" of his that was even more powerful was his timely arrival at the moment the words, "a person comes to the rescue amidst the drunkenness", were being recited and his utterance of a nearly identical phrase. This type of "skillful means", in which the Perfected Man uses his psychic powers to amaze people and attract their attention, will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. What needs to be taken note of here is the very fact that such a poem was being recited at this gathering. Was this poem an evangelistic poem of the variety that can be frequently found within the poetry collections of the Ch'üan-ch'en masters? Can it be said that at such gatherings, these sophisticated men entertained hopes that somebody extraordinary would show up and bring them salvation?

What seems apparent here is the possibility that prior to Wang's ministry there was, throughout much of China, a rather large number of intellectuals who were fond of Taoism.

\(^95\) HC pp.23a-b. See Plate 103.

\(^96\) KSL chuan #1 pp.19b-20a gives a more detailed version of the episode which tells us that the poem had been recited at a previous gathering. The poem is given in its entirety and reads, "Holding to the origin and preserving the One is exerting effort. I the lazy guy, till now, have nothing. All day long, holding a cup to my mouth, my thoughts are free. When I am drunk, who is going to help me?". Also it tells us that a Taoist ritual master named Chan Fa-shih was present at the gathering each time.
both as a religion and a philosophy and who were in some way involved in the cult of the eccentric and ascetic Perfected Men and Immortals who mercifully and compassionately bring salvation to people. Wang Ch'ung-yang himself prior to his mystical encounters with Lü Chun-yang seems to have belonged to such a category of intellectuals (He came from a wealthy family and once held ambitions of passing the civil service examinations). The fact that Ma and his circle of friends who lived about 1200 kilometers from where Wang grew up shared this same religious inclination would seem to indicate that this belief involving the merciful Perfected Men was fairly widespread among intellectuals throughout China prior to Wang's ministry. If such was truly the case, it would also probably be accurate to say that this high degree of pre-occupation with this type of salvation religion among the intellectuals, was at least in part a result of their disenchantment with the non-Chinese regimes that ruled northern China at the time.

Thus over the last several pages I have tried to make two things clear:

1) The saving mercy of the Perfected Men and Immortals was to be directed at anyone of any age, sex, or occupation; provided that that person was able to display certain very basic traits of their innate goodness amongst which unselfishness, modesty, kindness and faith (in the Immortals) seem to have been the most important.

2) Faith in the merciful and compassionate Perfected Men and Immortals as physical and spiritual saviors seems to have already been considerably widespread throughout much of China well before the ministry of the Ch'üan-chen masters.

This faith in the merciful and compassionate Perfected Men and Immortals can by no means be said to have been an innovation of the Ch'üan-chen sect. But it can most likely be said that the Ch'üan-chen sect, more than any other group, succeeded in molding this faith system into the basis for a religious organization which effectively catered to the spiritual needs of a truly diverse assortment of believers.
Within any organized religious system, particularly one like the Ch’üan-chen sect that emphasized mystical experience, miraculous powers and ritual healing; there always exists the danger of the sincere faith of the believers becoming exploited by clergymen with insincere motives. The Ch’üan-chen masters, very much to their credit, recognized this danger and addressed it:

"How can those who are hateful and vicious possibly understand the profound truth? [They] envy the wise and resent the talented, bringing about misfortunes. [They] covet life and fear death, thus committing sins. [They] write talismans and sell their techniques and thus deceive people. [They] administer medicines and heal diseases [in order to] receive heavy remuneration...........
I do not approve of preaching to people with confusing word. Also, I disapprove of attracting others by means of dishonest methods. I sternly tell you superior stalwarts of the Ch’uan-chen to help and persuade the confused people in the world to each and everyone understand the words of the Wild Man (Wang Ch’ung-yang) so that all people will together ascend to the orthodox teaching."97

"Admonishing those who Speak of Non-existent Supernatural Phenomena"98

Because of the windy wildmen (the Ch’uan-chen masters) you escaped from the bondage of your home. Having completely escaped your familial attachments you now need to purify your heart’s ground (eliminate superfluous thoughts). Stop speaking of non-existent supernatural phenomena and deceiving good people. Do not make light of the spirits and insult the ghosts."99

It is partly passages like these which have caused modern scholars to think of the Ch’üan-chen sect as a movement that tried to rid Taoism of the "superstitions" which had always permeated it. I believe I have already made it clear that in Ch’üan-chen Taoism,

97from "Ch’ung-yang Tsu-shih Hsien-loh-hsing Pi-chueh" in Chin Chen-jen Yu-lu pp.5a-b. See Plate 104.
98This is a colloquial term which means to make up or "mold" a story that is "strange."99
99CYC chuan #8 p.21b: "我捏怪做風狂脫髮易脱了家縁妻清心地休捏怪詐做好人莫談神鬼鬼"
medicinal and talismanic healing were practiced and that there was a strong emphasis on mystical experience. I do not think that it can accurately be said that the early Chüan-chén sect was significantly less "superstitious" than the major religious Taoist schools that preceded it. What can be observed from the above passages is that because the sect emphasized healing diseases and having mystical experiences, there were monks who abused their positions and the faith of their believers in order to make large sums of money and to deceive people. While Wang Ch'ung-yang and Ma Tan-yang were themselves healers and mystics, they also knew where to draw the line between properly and improperly motivated healing and preaching. Healing was properly motivated if it was done for the purpose of helping the patient with little or no remuneration. Preaching was properly motivated only if it was done in a way that led people to a proper understanding of Taoism without resorting to dishonest methods aimed merely at drawing crowds. To speak falsely of spirits and ghosts was regarded as an insult to the spirits and ghosts that actually exist.

In other words, the Chüan-chén sect had within it the same essential problems that plagued all large scale Taoist movements. To the extent that the sect's leadership clearly drew the line between what was properly motivated healing and preaching and what was charlatanry and blasphemy, the Chüan-chén sect may have differed from a considerable number of the other Taoist sects. But by no means could they have been the first and only religious Taoists to do this. Certainly religious Taoism would have died out long before Wang's lifetime if there were not those before him who strove to maintain a certain measure of integrity and credibility within the religion.

As I just said, the evangelism of the Chüan-chén sect had to be done in a way which would direct people towards a correct understanding of Taoism. Of course, because their ministry was to be directed at all people, and each person varied in his or her capacity to
understand; their teachings varied from elementary moral exhortations to extremely esoteric instructions on Perfection Cultivation. Therefore, Kan-shui Hsien-yuan Lu (KSL) has the following to tell us about Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un:

"In bringing salvation to his disciples he always examined their capabilities. The superior ones he guided with [teachings about the Tao]. Those who were next in their ability he educated on the principles of merit and deeds. Those of even lesser ability he brought to goodness by [speaking of] punishments and blessings."¹⁰⁰

Thus the basic understanding was that only the most extraordinary disciples (usually those who had already undergone intense ascetic training) could be taught about the abstract principle of the Tao itself. Most aspiring adepts needed to be frequently exhorted towards diligence and perseverance in accumulating merit and deeds. But most laymen had to be persuaded towards repentance and goodness by means of warning them of the punishment that is brought on by bad conduct and the rewards that come from good conduct. To wrap up this chapter, I would like to show you an example of some of the "skillful means" that the Ch’uan-chen masters used in their poetry to guide towards goodness the lay folk of shallow capacities:

"Those who Accord with Heaven will Flourish"

If your good doings [accumulate as high as] mountains,
You devotedly sustain [your efforts] always using your merit,
And you establish your body (make yourself worthy) and spread the great Tao,
Your Dharma nature will naturally become complete and pervasive.

' Those who go against Heaven will Perish'

The wicked and the lazy are clever with their scheming hearts.
With stubborn emotions they do not accord with Heaven.

¹⁰⁰ chuan #2 p.8b: 度弟子皆視其才何如 高者識以道其次仁以功行 又其次化以罪福
These (wickedness, laziness, cleverness, stubbornness) are what plague and harm the sect,
And are what cause [people] to suffer in hell."101

"How many people get to be white-haired elders? (Not many)
Birth, aging, illness and demise; this [is how everybody] begins and ends.
Filth, defilement and rancid mutton eliminate years from your allotted lifespan.
Stinginess, covetousness, envy and jealousy transfer you into ignorance.
If you have [things that you] hate and [things that you] love, it is difficult to transcend the world.
If you have no desires and emotions you will surely escape from emptiness (the temporal realm).
Fortunately there are [distinctive] roads to the halls to Heaven and to the Underground Prison (hell).
[Whether you become] sacred or [remain] ordinary and [whether you remain] confused or [become] enlightened, is up to you sir."102

"'Liquor'

Liquor, liquor harms the lips and bribes the mouth.
Your nature becomes severely darkened, and your spirit no longer excels.
It damages and harms your true origins and erodes your lifespan to half [of what it was supposed to be].
Drunken merriment depresses the bowels and intestines.
Heavy drunkenness begrieves the heart and the head.
Alone you only revel in your depravity,
Feeling no shame towards others.
It is not as good as not drinking and being forever sober.
Without misfortunes and without disasters cultivate [according to]the nine nines (the eighty-one chapters of the Lao-tzu ?).

'Sex'

Sex, sex increases misfortunes and erases blessings.
It makes you lose metallic essence (semen) and damages your jade liquid.
It destroys and devastates your ch'i and spirit.
It damages and destructs your benevolent virtue.

101 Wang Yü-yang, Yün-kuang chi chuan #3 pp.15a-b. See Plate 105.
102 T'an Ch'ang-chen, Shui-yünn Chi 水雲集 upper chuan pp.1a-b. See Plate 106.
It definitely causes the Three Fields\(^{103}\) to become empty, and can make the five viscera confused. It kills the numinous radiance of your single nature. It completely exhausts the muscular strength of your four limbs. It is not as good as abstaining, and being eternally long-lasting. Without misfortunes, without disasters be forever vigorous.

'Wealth'

Wealth, wealth is the initiator of misfortunes. It only buys lust and beckons the drinking vessel. It also causes your virtue to perish, thereby bringing about disasters. Later it accumulates and produces the sufferings of the Three Realms [of \textit{samsara}].

It is hard to escape the disasters of the Nine Dark Realms. Even if you have caused your family's wealth to increase, How can you avoid \textit{samsara} ? It is not as good as not wanting [wealth] and being in perpetual enjoyment.

Without misfortunes, without damages, always be relaxed.\(^{104}\)

The above poems contrast the consequences of bad behavior with that of good behavior in the hope of directing and motivating the reader towards the proper way of life. The bad consequences that are cited are damnation, shortness of lifespan, illness, worldly misfortunes, and eternal transmigration in \textit{samsara} . It is interesting that detriments to the health are stressed particularly in the poem warning about the dangers of sex. Understanding that some people had be scared towards repentance and good conduct, the Ch'uan-chen masters also wrote poems that focussed strictly on the bad consequences:

"'Lamenting that People Only Know How to Eat Food and Defecate, Without Ever Assigning their Minds to their Nature and Life-Destiny'

The grain cart enters and the manure cart exits. They take turns coming and going. When will it come to an end? Even if [people can] cause their life to span 100 years,

\(^{103}\)In the passages that I cited in chapter one, "Cinnabar Field" referred to the spleen. There was also a concept of the "Three Cinnabar Fields" which referred to the brain, heart and spleen or more abstractly to a person's supply of spirit, essence and breath.

\(^{104}\)Wang Ch'ung-yang, CCC \textit{chuan} #1 pp.17b-18b. See Plate 107.
This is only 36,000 days."\textsuperscript{105}

"The skeleton, the skeleton its countenance is ugly. [This is] simply because he loved flowers (sex) and liquor during his lifetime. Endearing himself to fine furs and plump horses, he took enjoyment in his mind. His blood, flesh and skin gradually declined and rotted, gradually declined and rotted. Yet he coveted and sought; coveting wealth. A leeking can cannot hold [water]. If lust and desire are limitless, the body will have its limit. Eventually he caused himself to today become a skeleton, become a skeleton..........."\textsuperscript{106}

"The appearance of the donkey is an ugly form. Its very long ears and snout are disproportionally big........... Exposed to whippings and exposed to beatings, its flesh is tattered and its hide is broken. I asked, 'For what reason did you receive punishment severe as this?' Suddenly it shed tears and spoke to me saying, 'It is because I strayed from the path and had not paid the debt for my deceitfulness.'\textsuperscript{107}

"The demons and gods wield their whips and clubs. Kneeling and despairing [people who have committed sins during their lifetimes] open their eyes to look at their forceful desires, thoughts and crafty plots (in order to repent of them). At their head is held a karma mirror.\textsuperscript{108} High above, the names of the families that they have murdered are posted. Pulling out their tongues and gouging out their hearts, [the demons] make [the sinners] pay for their pleasures. [This punishment] is nothing like the fragrant aromas and delectable flavors [that they enjoyed] in previous days.

\textsuperscript{105}{\textit{CYC chuan} #1 p.16a: '嗟人只會喫飯癖屋未曾留心於性命。軋車入死囊車出殞途。往來何日畢假使百年壽命長大都三萬六千日'}

\textsuperscript{106}{\textit{Shui-yun Chi} upper chuan pp.18a-b. See Plate 108.}

\textsuperscript{107}{\textit{CCC chuan} #3 p.3a. See Plate 109.}

\textsuperscript{108}A Buddhist term referring to a mirror on that sinners in purgatory are made to look at. On it appears scenes of all their acts that caused bad karma.
Amidst the Three Roads they are exposed to a hundred poisons and to execution by slow slicing.

The Ch’üan-ch’en masters scared sinners by telling them that they would die some day (probably prematurely), would not attain salvation, would end up in purgatory and would be reborn in some kind of an undesirable form. Of course, many of the people who came in contact with the Ch’üan-ch’en masters were people suffering from diseases who had come to them in hope of healing. Such people did not need to be told of the misfortunes brought by bad conduct since they were already experiencing them. Instead, they were informed by the Ch’üan-ch’en masters of the benefits of Perfection Cultivation, both in terms of its effectiveness in improving the health and of how it could bring transcendance over the bodily existence of suffering:

"'Healing Diseases'

If ch’i does not flow [properly] and your legs and knees are ailing, Mica ointment should be applied and spread and should always be kept available.
If you want to cure tetanus, what could be better that finely ground flower stamen rock?
To heal diseases of the heart [you should use] the Pure Heart Powder.
To heal your nature [you should] avoid the (poisonous) wolfsbane plant.
The pill inside the principle is the Ling-pao Elixir. Imbibe it in large quantities and exchange it with your skeleton.

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109 Three types of subhuman existence that result from bad karma; damnation in purgatory, existence as a beast and existence as a demon.
110 P’an-hsi-chi chuan #6 p.10a. See Plate 110.
111 A lustrous, auburn colored rock found in the Tien-t’ai district of Chekiang province that was commonly carved to make printing blocks and stone seals. Also known as "blossom rock" 花斑石.
112 This probably means to engage in Perfection Cultivation (Ling-pao Elixir) in order to shed the mortal body and become an Immortal.
113 CYC chuan #8 pp.15b-16a. See Plate 111.
"The wife of the provincial judge who was ailing from an illness came seeking healing.

Heaven gives birth and Heaven nurtures; cultivate in accordance with Heaven.
Do not speak of the dusty world and the worldly skeleton.
The four fleeting elements (that make up the body) are unable to visit the Phoenix Palace (the realm of the Immortals).
How can the Three Corpses go to Ying-chou?¹¹⁴
Understand Perfection, illuminate the inside (of yourself) and and forget [about making] new [worldly] contacts.
Reach the origin and with a heart like ashes eliminate old worries.
Formless perfect emptiness transcends to the other shore.
Secretly ride freely the Great Divine Boat."¹¹⁵

"Wang Ya-ssu, because of an illness sought my instructions.

Lengthily and intricately nurture your harmony.
Serenely cultivate your heart and depart from the river of desire.
Increase and lengthen your Valley Spirit,¹¹⁶ always without leaking.
Make flow your blood vessels and forever have no illnesses.
The way in which the Ch’uan-chen expounds the Tao is to forget about birth and extinction.
See your nature and communicate with the noumena (divine spirits),
and get rid of obstructive demons.
For many kalpas probably because your meritorious virtue is proper,
Ten thousand gods will carry you out of the world of suffering."¹¹⁷

The first poem, written by Ma Tan-yang, is particularly interesting because it gives two precise medical prescriptions which are followed up with an abstract exhortation towards spiritual cultivation. The term, "Ling-pao Elixir" probably refers to a highly

¹¹⁴ One of the legendary three islands of the Immortals which were believed to exist in the Gulf of Chihli.
¹¹⁵ Yun-kuang-chi chuan #1 pp.1a-b. See Plate 112.
¹¹⁶ This term is taken from the sixth chapter of the Lao-tzu and has frequently mystified its interpreters. Ho-shang-kung’s commentary interprets the character "valley" as a verb meaning to nurture. Thus the famous phrase, "the Valley Spirit does not die," is interpreted by him as meaning that if one nurtures his spirit, he will not die. It is hard to say what Yu-yang means here, but he is perhaps referring to the person’s enlightened spirit which is to be nurtured towards Immortal-hood.
¹¹⁷ ibid. chuan #1 pp.2b-3a. See Plate 113.
accomplished state of spiritual enlightenment gained through Perfection Cultivation, and "avoid the wolfsbane plant" probably means to rid oneself of worldly attachments. You may recall that in MTC #50 Lü Ch'un-yang healed the mother of Shen Shih-chen by prescribing the Ling-pao Ointment Method. As you will recall "Ling-pao" is the name of a major Taoist tradition that traced its roots back to Ko Hsiian, a Taoist adept and uncle of alchemist Ko Hung, who seems to have been active primarily in Mt. T'ien-t'ai (Chekiang) during the third century. It seems to be extremely likely that the Golden Elixir tradition originally developed from within the Ling-pao school. The fact that the Ch'uan-chen sect and related traditions frequently studied the Inner (NCC) and Outer Yellow Court Scriptures (scriptures of the Ling-pao tradition that glorify the Ling-pao legacy) along with the fact that they emphasized rituals for the deliverance of the dead (as we will see in Chapter Five), seem to support this notion. Within the Golden Elixir tradition the word "Ling-pao" (Numinous Treasure) came to be understood as equivalent to the perfected immortal spirit variously known as the "Single Numinous Perfected Spirit" "Dharma body"， "Golden Elixir" etc. Ch'en Kuan-wu's commentary to Ling-pao Wu-liang Tu-chen Ching (TJC) says that "ling" refers to essence and that "pao" refers to breath. Thus the two characters represent the two major bodily endowments that need to be kept together and refined in order to produce the Perfected ch'i or spirit. This essentially seems to be what Ma meant by his usage of the word "Ling-pao". His metaphorical usage of the term in a medical context and MTC's specific reference to the "Ling-pao ointment" reflect the fact that there also seems to have been a medicinal healing tradition affiliated with or started by the Ling-pao school which the Ch'uan-chen monks inherited some knowledge of.

118 A prominent Ch'uan-chen monk of the early 14th century.
The second poem (written by Wang Yü-yang) does not mention any medicinal or ritual methods of healing, but seems to have been written and given to a patient after some sort of healing had been performed. Perhaps the patient was ill beyond any realistic hope of recovery. (Yes, I may be reading too much into this.) In the poem, Yü-yang speaks frankly about the impermanence of the physical body, but seems to be offering hope and consolation by speaking of how the spirit, emancipated from the suffering body, can attain Immortality. In the third poem (also written by Yü-yang), the good physical health that can result from Perfection Cultivation is emphasized, rather than the aspect of spiritual transcendence and salvation. Perhaps this particular patient was not suffering from a very serious disease, judging from the fact that he sought instructions rather than healing.

Whatever the particular situation of a patient happened to be, the Ch'üan-chen masters purported to provide what was most needed whether it was practical medical advice, exhortation towards repentance of the sins which cause disease, or comfort and hope in the face of one's imminent and inevitable physical demise.

Thus in this chapter I hope that I have adequately documented how the Ch'üan-chen masters, based on the ideals of mercy and compassion, sought to help all people both physically and spiritually through charity, healing and evangelism. I also tried to show how the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves sought for and relied on the merciful and compassionate intervention of the Immortals, who they seem to have frequently encountered in a subjective, mystical fashion during meditational trances or within their dreams. They apparently felt that they needed to have this assistance of the Immortals in order to succeed in the arduous task of Perfection Cultivation. This type of belief in merciful and compassionate Immortals who would come to help those in need seems to have captured the imagination of a large number of people well before the career of Wang Ch'ung-yang. The Ch'üan-chen sect developed with this faith tradition at its core, and
seems to have utilized the many legends involving Immortals like Lú Ch'un-yang as a means to exalt their essential moral and religious values. The Immortals as they appeared in such stories also seem to have served as role models for the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves. I would now like to move on to discussing how this physically and spiritually refined human being called the Perfected Man or the Immortal who sought to help all people both physically and spiritually was believed to exercise a tremendous amount of super-normal ability.
"The Dharma body is an appearance with no shape. It is not empty, and yet it does not exist. It has nothing after it nor nothing before it. It is neither low nor high nor long nor short. If used it has no place where it does not penetrate, and if stored it is obscure and silent without a trace. If you acquire this Tao, truly you should nurture it. If you nurture it a lot, your merits will be numerous. If you nurture it only a little, your merits will be few. You should not wish to return\(^1\), and you should not cherish the world. In going and coming you should be self-so."\(^2\)

The Dharma body that Wang Ch'ung-yang discusses above is equivalent to the human spirit, refined to a Perfect state, which was believed to transcend the mundane world and the cycle of re-incarnation (samsara) to merge with the Tao and join the ranks of the Immortals. One who had realized and brought forth this Dharma body within himself was thought to be completely free of feelings of attachment to this world. Thus he was supposed to neither fear death nor long to stay alive. Yet neither was he supposed to wish to die. This Dharma body is in fact the Tao itself, the ultimate underlying reality (actually, the only reality) present within everything, that has no traits nor attributes that can be described or explained through words. Thus when "stored" or left to be as it is, it is utterly unrecognizable. However, what we will be concerned with in this chapter is what happens when the Dharma body is "used". When "used", the Dharma body was theoretically understood to penetrate everywhere, which when understood in a concrete sense could mean that a person who was able to "use" it was able to exhibit various mental and physical capacities which went beyond the reach or comprehension of ordinary people.

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\(^1\) Here this means to die; with the understanding that the death of the physical body is a return to an alternate mode of existence that preceeded this life and that goes beyond it.

\(^2\) from Ch'ung-yang Li-chiao Shih-wu Lun. See Plate 114.
who remain as slaves to their physical bodies and the limitations of ordinary sense experience.

The ability to perform supernormal acts or have supernormal knowledge and sense experience was a vital defining characteristic of the Perfected Man as idealized by the believers of the Ch'üan-chen sect. While the common believers greatly idealized their Perfected Men as prolific miracle workers, the monks and nuns who dedicated their lives to seeking Perfection doubtlessly wished to attain such powers and more often than not claimed to possess a certain degree of such power. The hagiography of the Chüan-chen sect is full of miracle stories. Keeping detailed records (or making up stories) of such miracles was an important way in which the hagiographers bore testimony to their belief that their Perfected Men were authentic. People always have been and always will be fascinated by feats that go beyond the boundaries of ordinary human experience. Thus in many religious traditions throughout the world, the performance of miraculous deeds has served a vital function in bringing people to faith. China is no exception, and the rapid growth of the Chüan-chen sect in northern China in the 12th and 13th centuries provides an excellent case study of this phenomenon.

What we must be constantly aware of is the fact that the miracle stories in the hagiographies may have been largely a product of the imagination and religious fervor of their authors rather than being based on actual events or on claims made by the Perfected Men themselves. In fact, there is a considerable amount of evidence that the Perfected Men themselves along with some of the other more educated and sophisticated believers were critical of the exaggerated emphasis that had come to be placed on miracles, claiming that it obscured the true essence of Taoism as taught by the Chüan-chen masters.

"The Master-Father (Wang Ch'ung-yang) opened below him his school of teaching hoping that each [monk] would cultivate Immortal-hood. I now see disciples all over the place creating
karma. They speak of strange and deceitful things such as entering dreams and sending out the spirit.  

"I assigned myself to writing the above account so that those who study [the Tao] in the future will know that the traces of where the master (Wang Ch'ung-yang) came from, his meritorious deeds and his character were great like this (what I have described) and [so that they] can be able to contemplate, observe and carry on [his legacy]. Matters such as sending out his spirit and entering dreams, throwing his umbrella, tossing his cap and other matters such as his ascension, transcendence and extinction and sinking are all matters of his power and wisdom, and are not the basic teachings of the master. [For] students who wish to hear the great Way, it is advisable that they do not become infatuated with tricks."

You may also recall the passages that I quoted on p. of Chapter Three in which Wang Ch'ung-yang and Ma Tan-yang spoke out against dishonest monks who exploited the faith of the believers by making dishonest claims. As I mentioned in Chapter Three, the Ch'uan-chen masters recognized this problem and harshly spoke out against such charlatanry. For this reason, modern scholarship has tended to idealize the Ch'uan-chen masters as Taoist "reformers" who attempted to cleanse their religion of the magic and superstition that it is infamous for. As an alternative they have been said to have offered a new syncretic approach which laid an emphasis on meditation, spiritual enlightenment, morality and good deeds.

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3 This refers to a variety of miracle that occurs frequently in the hagiographies which will be dealt with extensively in this chapter.

4Hao Kuang-ning, from Chen-hsien Chih-chih Yü-lu upper chuan p.21a: 師父開下教門望箇久修 
仙吾今偏覩門人多造異言詭語或作入夢出神

5biography of Wang Ch'ung-yang

6see pp.285-296.

7I am not sure what this refers to. It perhaps ought to be interpreted as a compound with meaning to become extinct and non-existent, or perhaps to disappear suddenly and miraculously. Left in the way I have interpreted it, it perhaps refers to his ability to go into the underworld and rescue lost souls.

8from Chung-nan Shan Ch'ung-yang Tsu-shih Hsien-chi Chi 車南山重陽祖師仙碑記 by Liu Tzu-ch'ien 劉祖謙 included in KSL. See Plate 115.
My own perspective differs considerably, as has already been stated above. Syncretism and the emphasis on meditation, spiritual enlightenment, morality and good deeds, were indeed important traits of the Ch'üan-chen sect. But the same was true of the Taoism that preceded the Ch'üan-chen sect. Although the Ch'üan-chen masters were very conscious of the dangers involved in becoming overly concerned with supernormal deeds and experiences, they themselves were intensely mystical people who very much sought to attain various supernormal mental and physical capacities. Careful analysis of their writings shows that the Ch'üan-chen masters believed in and frequently spoke of a supernormal realm of experience and power that could be reached through their various methods of Perfection Cultivation. They all seem to have claimed to possess some sort of supernormal power, particularly powers to foresee future events and perform efficacious rituals. For them and most of their predecessors in the religious Taoist Tradition, the performance of miracles (authentic and properly motivated ones) was seen as a means by which they could exhibit their sincere morality centered around mercy and compassion. The syncretic (particularly Mahayana Buddhist) and meditation-spiritual enlightenment oriented aspects of their faith helped to form the theoretical framework out of which supernormal powers were thought to be attained, along with the Taoist philosophy and the quintessentially Taoist methods and theories aimed at controlling and upkeeping the physical body.

In this chapter I will discuss in detail how and why the ability to perform miraculous deeds was regarded as an important defining characteristic of the Chüan-chen Perfected Men. The discussion will be divided into two parts. In the first part I will examine the writings of the Ch'üan-chen masters in order to try to dig out some of the basic underlying theories which seem to have provided a basis for the claims which they and their believers made involving supernormal power and experience. I will then examine some of the
discussions of the latter stages of Perfection Cultivation in order to demonstrate how such stages seem to have been understood as a process during which the practitioner came into contact with supernormal realm of power and experience. In the second part I will introduce the reader to the various types of miracle stories which are present in Ch’üan-chen hagiography. I will also try to balance these stories with the evidence available in the writings of the Ch’üan-chen masters themselves which attest to the fact that some of the miracle stories were based on their own claims and that they did actually claim to possess such miraculous power.

If the reader is willing to bear with me, hopefully he or she can come to fully appreciate the importance of the power of (alleged) miracles in bringing about the credibility of the Ch’üan-chen Perfected Men and the vibrant activity and growth of their sect. Also I hope to make it clear that such miracles and the belief in them were much more than mere magic and superstition. The "magic" was the full fledged external manifestation of the Perfected Man's painstakingly acquired merit and his mercy and compassion for living things. The "superstition" was the faith in the capacity of certain people to overcome the limitations, sufferings and perils of ordinary mortal life through proper insight and devotion; and thereby also use such capacities to benefit others.

(a) How to Attain Miraculous Power

"It is so that the Tao gave birth to Heaven and nurtures Earth. The sun, the moon, stars, demons, gods, people and objects are all born from the Tao. People only understand the greatness of Heaven and do not understand the greatness of the Tao. I, during my lifetime, abandoned my parents and left my home so that I could concentrate on studying only this (the greatness of the Tao). The Tao gave birth to Heaven and Earth [which] separated [and] gave birth to people. When people were first created, [their] spiritual light shined on its own, and they went about walking as though they were flying. The Earth produced mushrooms which on their own had an excellent flavor and did not require any
cooking. People all ate them. At this time they still did not cook with fire. The mushrooms were all fragrant. Their (the peoples') noses smelled the fragrance and their mouths enjoyed the flavor. This gradually brought about the heaviness of their bodies and their spiritual light was soon thereafter extinguished because of the deepness of their wants and desires.10

Here we see a kind of a Taoist "fall from grace" myth (although a personified God or a devil is conspicuously missing). The claim made here is that when human beings were first created by the Tao and were in their original state, they possessed spiritual and physical capacities which far exceeded what ordinary people have become accustomed to in later ages. Their spirits were so powerful that they took the form of a bright light that emanated from their bodies. The strength and vitality of their bodies was so tremendous that they moved about swiftly yet easily as though they were flying. The desires which were stimulated by the mushrooms severely diminished their spiritual and physical capacities.

The story is part of a sermon delivered by Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un to Genghis Khan. It was perhaps nothing more than an allegory which Ch'iu used to communicate, to the uninitiated Khan, a concept that lies at the very crux of the Taoist religion. The concept is that there is a whole realm of power and experience which completely transcends the ordinary limits of the temporal realm, yet is present within every part of creation. Most people know of and have access to only the ordinary realm of power and experience (the greatness of Heaven) and cannot comprehend the transcendant realm of power and experience (the greatness of the Tao) which is present right within themselves. Thus the quest of the Taoist adept is to come into contact with this transcendant realm which

9 At times during the process of Perfection Cultivation, an adept would refrain from eating cooked food. Very likely, that practice was related to this concept that people in their primitive stages did not cook their food because they did not need to, and were better better off because of it.

10 CHL pp.0b-1a. See Plate 116.
ordinary people shut themselves off from because of their desires and attachments to the various objects and affairs within their worldly surroundings. Actually, coming to grips with the transcendant realm, the Tao, is a process of restoration; a return to the innocence and simplicity of the people of the most primitive times, attributes which we all still have within us if we are only able to realize them.

Let us now turn our attention to some of the passages among the writings of the Ch’üan-chên masters which discuss this transcendant realm and its potential use as a source of unlimited experience and power:

A "The power of the Tao and the merit of the spirit cannot be [sufficiently] spoken of. It creates and completes the myriad transformations and is alone transcendant. It knows the weight of the great mountains and ocean peaks. Without limit it floats amidst emptiness for 10,000x10,000 years."11

B "The Tao’s inner power is originally without form. The vermilion and blue pictures are not Perfect. The holy sages secretly save [living] things. Into the past and the present they quietly penetrate with their spirits……..

C Great simplicity envelops primal ch'i. Without square borders it is endowed with the ultimate spirit. The ultimate spirit penetrates creation. Primal ch'i merges with the governing principles [of the universe]."12 (Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’üen)

D "Praising the Astral Prince of the Fire Virtue13"

11P’an-hsi Chi chuan #2 p.13b: 火德神功不可言生成萬物獨超然大山海嶽知輕重 没底空浮萬千年
12ibid. chuan #4 pp.15a-b. See Plate 117.
13火德星君 This may be a metaphor for the heart, the organ that corresponds to the phase of fire. The internal organs of an adept were each thought to be resided by a deity, which had its correlate among the supreme astral deities who are the objects of worship in major Taoist rituals. Understood strictly as the name of an astral deity, the term would refer to the deified Shen-nung  of Yen-ti (Fire Emperor) who is said to have first taught people how to grow crops.
The chaotic primal single ch'i takes charge,Transforming and creating Heaven, Earth and people.
Illuminate the Perfect (the Tao) and transcend the dharma realm\textsuperscript{14}
Rescuing [living] things and marvelously penetrating with the spirit."\textsuperscript{15}

E "The heart (the mind), this is the Tao.
The Tao, this is the heart.
If the heart merges with the Tao, Past and present will be penetrated."\textsuperscript{16}
(Wang Yu-yang)
F "If you fathom and penetrate the Tao, Heaven and Earth will be penetrated. If Heaven and Earth are penetrated, the myriad transformations\textsuperscript{17} will be penetrated. If the myriad transformations are penetrated, [you have] spiritual penetration\textsuperscript{18}. If you have spiritual penetration, you will respond to circumstances with myriad changes. [Thereby] you will embrace the One\textsuperscript{19} without letting go, and serenely nurture Perfection and return to simplicity."\textsuperscript{20}
(Liu Ch'ang-sheng)

G "It is like the fact that when the Great Ultimate\textsuperscript{21} first divided the three ts'ai三才 (Heaven, Earth and human beings) and established their positions, it spread out the five phases to the dark extremes and lined up the eight trigrams amidst the empty vastness.
It brought forth the orbits and rules of the Seven Governments (the sun, the moon and the planets Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury

\textsuperscript{14}The temporal realm filled with the various temporal objects (dharmas).
\textsuperscript{15}Yun-kuang-Chi chuan #3 p.14a: \textsuperscript{16}ibid. chuan #3 p.19a:
\textsuperscript{17}The way in which everything in nature transforms constantly into various modes of existence with no eternal form.
\textsuperscript{18}A commonly used word that refers to the miraculous capacities that are born as a result of profound insight.
\textsuperscript{19}The perfect eternal Tao which is present within every person.
\textsuperscript{20}YFC commentary pp.10b-11a. See Plate 118.
\textsuperscript{21}The origin of all things. The basic substance of the universe. The single entity that has existed from the time before the dualities of Heaven and Earth, \textit{yin} and \textit{yang} etc. came into being. Essentially equivalent to the Tao.
and Saturn). It suspended the myriad heavenly bodies up above and it nurtures the on the soil below.

Therefore the sages gaze up to observe [the workings of the Great Ultimate] and look down to oversee [living things]. They plan and complete, support and aid. Trusting the four seasons they bring life the myriad [living] things. Penetrating the changes and transformations they employ the demons and gods. They understand thoroughly the gateless, and store their spirits [in a place] without openings. Serenely and unwaveringly they feel and penetrate accordingly.

In regards to stalwarts who cultivate Perfection and master the Tao; if they use it, their virtue converts [the people in] the ten directions and their wisdom transcends the Three Realms.

"The merit of the spirit" described in passage A most likely refers to the power of the refined, enlightened spirit of the Perfected Man, which is in fact equivalent to the omnipotent, all-pervading power of the Tao itself. The word "merit" can be rather tricky to understand. In certain contexts (such as some of those that we saw in Chapter Two) it refers to specific techniques (meditation, visualization, gymnastics, massage etc.) used to improve one's health and lengthen one's lifespan. In other contexts it can refer to the degree to which an adept has progressed in his Perfection Cultivation, primarily in terms of how well he has been able to rid his mind of desires and attachments and gain control over his body's . This type of merit, as we saw in Chapter One, was often thought of in

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22Living things

23A Ch'an Buddhist term referring to a state of mind in which all matters are penetrated because the entire universe is but a manifestation of the Dharma body. In other words, because the distinctions we make between different places and objects are actually false and non-existent, one ought to be able go into any place without having go through any gates or boundaries.

24I am not sure of the meaning of this. Is perhaps synonymous to "without gates" or perhaps refers to how an adept prevents leakage from his bodily orifices.

25A Buddhist term referring to three realms or three states of consciousness that constitute samsara; the Realm of Desires (the ordinary realm where human desires are rampant), the Realm of Forms (a realm where desires are gone, but different forms and distinctions still exist) and the Realm of Formlessness (a realm where all desires and forms do not exist).

26Tai-ku Chi chuan #1 pp.0b-1a. See Plate 119.
terms of points which the heavenly bureaucracy tabulated as it observed the adept's progress. But here, "merit" seems to refer to the power which is acquired as a result of the adept's progress and accumulation of merit points. The rest of the poem goes on to describe in an abstract manner how this omnipotent power within the Tao and the perfected spirit can do anything, know anything, and exist eternally. Passage B outlines two very basic ways in which the sages utilize the Tao's inner power. One is to "save [living] things", and the other is to know of anything past and present. As we will see later, the Ch'üan-chen masters greatly used their special powers to bring relief to people through rituals and the healing of diseases. The ability to know of past and future events (particularly the latter) was a power which perhaps all of the Ch'üan-chen masters seem to have claimed possession of. Passage C basically repeats the theme presented in the "fall from grace" story, telling about how the most potent spiritual (ultimate spirit 至神) and physical (primal ch'i 元氣) capacities exist within a state of primitive simplicity.

Passages D and E, written by Wang Yii-yang (perhaps the greatest miracle worker among the Ch'üan-chen masters), echo the same basic concept that a realization of and an identification with the fundamental force that lies in the background of every object and event (the Tao, the chaotic primal one ch'i) results in a transcendant state of being and in omnipotent power which is used to bring help to others and to know of past and future events. Passage E strongly re-inforces the notion that the Tao is an innate part of us by saying that the Tao is the heart, and the heart is the Tao.

Liu Ch'ang-sheng, in passage F taken from his fine commentary to YFC, basically tells us that since the principle force transcends everything and yet is present in everything, an understanding of the Tao immediately leads to an understanding of everything that there is to be understood. When this stage has been reached one possesses the quality which is called "spiritual penetration", which if explained in the most concrete terms, is the
ability to perform miracles. Liu essentially tells us that once you have spiritual penetration, you are able to do whatever is necessary in any particular circumstance (respond to the myriad changes). In other words, he seems to be saying that anything imaginable can be done at will. Hao Kuang-ning makes a comparison between the creative, life giving powers of the universe activated by the Great Ultimate (Tao) and the great deeds of the "sages" and the "stalwarts who cultivate perfection and master the Tao". The problem in understanding this passage lies in determining who he is specifically referring to when he speaks of the "sages" who bring life to objects and have dominion over the spirits and demons. He could be referring to the supreme Taoist deities (Primordial Heavenly Worthy, Most High Lord Lao, Jade Emperor, etc.) or to legendary Immortals such as Lü Ch'ün-yang or Tung-hua Ti-chün who are objects of Taoist ritual worship. But just as likely, the role of the "sages" as it is described here could be understood as being attributed to the living Ch'üan-chen masters themselves who use their ritual powers to control spiritual and demonic forces and to benefit the livelihoods of people. Actually, the distinction between the Ch'üan-chen masters who perform the rituals and the deities and Immortals who are the objects of their veneration inevitably becomes blurred because of the fact that the masters, being Perfected Men, were in effect living gods who themselves became objects of worship upon their deaths. In writing about the "stalwarts" who use the Tao to convert people and attain transcendant wisdom, Hao undoubtedly had himself and his peers in mind. Perhaps in talking about the "sages" and "stalwarts", Hao was outlining two different facets of the Perfected Man's function; that within ritual activity and that outside of the rituals and within everyday activity.

To say that by understanding and identifying with the transcendent, undescrivable Tao one can come to emulate its omnipotent and all-pervading capacities, exposes the
inevitable question of how one can come to terms with the mysterious and elusive Tao. I will now continue my discussion by first dealing with some of the more abstract theories concerning how this could be done, and then gradually ease into my analysis of some of the more detailed discussions of certain specific methods which purport to bring the adept into contact with the realm of supernormal power and experience.

The following are some passages which reflect some of the fundamental ideas concerning how one was to go about finding the ultimate underlying truth which is the source of unlimited spiritual and physical power. Notice the various ways in which the Perfected human spirit becomes comprehended and allegorized:

H "If you get rid of and eliminate 100 evils, [you will have] a face refined like jade.  
(Comment): If you are pure and still and without action, your heart will be like frost and snow (pure and calm). Round and illustrious amidst emptiness, ten directions are thoroughly illuminated."27

I "Immortals and Taoist Stalwarts (priests, monks) do not have a spirit.  
(Comment): Understand that the spirit is not the self and that that which has no spirit is in other words, divine. Be careful not to give rise to arbitrary ideas, and respond to objects while understanding Perfection."28

J "If you are free of desires like the blueness of the sky, Naturally the myriad heavenly bodies will be clear. Your revolving soul will merge with the Tao, And responding to transformations you will speak like scriptures."29

K If objects are eliminated [from your thoughts], the Tao's light is born. Like the blueness of the sky, your precious mirror will be clear. Your life-destination will be pure and complete without deficiency,

27 NCC commentary p. 3a: 禅定無為心如霜雪明光空天照彻
28 ibid. p.33a: 神非我神非神恐怖生断知物明真
29 Hsien-yueh Chi 仙樂集 chuan #2 pp.5a-b: 欲往天青自然萬象明巨靈與道合}

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And your responding to changes will naturally be miraculous."\(^{30}\)

L "If you do not compete, your good ch'i will be pure. Your light's radiance will be like [that of a] shooting star. Your chaotically merged body and spirit\(^{31}\) will be extraordinary, And you will go about beyond the azure mist and clouds."\(^{32}\)

M "Among the myriad [living] things, only humans are of the utmost worthiness and nobility. Usurp [the principle of] creation and internally cultivate the body outside of the body. This is called 'acquiring the Tao'. Penetrate the myriad transformations, and externally rescue [living] things and pity the living masses. Understand the golden stocks and jade shackles, the spark from the stone, the light against the wind, and the fact that the world is but a dream or mirage. Distance yourself from filth and evil, and stay near to purity and goodness. Externally respond to the ways of people and internally put into practice the true intentions of the Most High [Lord Lao] and the Patriarch-Buddha. Ten thousand dharmas (temporal objects) will return to the One (the Tao) and in the midst of the world your [innate] nature will be like a lotus flower coming out of the water. This is called, 'completing his virtue'. This is in other words the superior Immortal's mastery of the myriad transformations."\(^{36}\)

(Liu Ch'ang-sheng)

N "The Blue Sky Song'

In the blue sky do not give rise to floating cloud barriers. If clouds rise up in the blue sky, they will obstruct the myriad heavenly bodies.

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\(^{30}\)ibid. chuan #5 p.10b

\(^{31}\)A state where mind and body are in complete harmony with each other like the time before creation when everything was intermingled in a primordial chaos.

\(^{32}\)ibid. chuan #5 p.18b

\(^{33}\)Metaphors for the worldly attachments which bring about the continuous suffering in samsara.

\(^{34}\)Metaphors for the fleeting impermanence of life.

\(^{35}\)A Ch'an Buddhist term which refers to Bodhidharma, the putative founder of the Chinese Ch'an movement.

\(^{36}\)YFC commentary pp.2b-3a. See Plate 120.
If the myriad heavenly bodies line up in great numbers, the hundred
evils will be subdued.
If your light's radiance does not shine, the evil demons will rule.

When I first opened up [my] Heaven and Earth\textsuperscript{37}, [I was] pure.
[The people of] ten thousand doors and one thousand gates\textsuperscript{38} sang
in Great Peace\textsuperscript{39}.
Then came a time when a single fragment of black cloud arose.
My nine orifices and one thousand bones all became insecure.

Therefore forever make your wind of wisdom blow strongly.
In the Three Realms and ten directions wander about and reach
[everywhere].
If the clouds scatter from the vacuous space, the body will on its
own be Perfected.
Spontaneously you will bring out and manifest the moons of each
family.........

The jade notes ring out without sounds of Cheng\textsuperscript{40}.
Lightly and purely they penetrate throughout, reaching the hearts of
people.
From the One I acquire the assistance of the demons and gods.
Entering into Earth and ascending into Heaven, I transcend past and
present."\textsuperscript{41}
(Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un)
O "'Profound Penetration'

With human affairs completely eliminated,
Cultivate Perfection and treasure the single yang\textsuperscript{42}.
Transport and move about, the eternal inner power of the Tao.
Transform, manifesting the old auspiciousness\textsuperscript{43}.

\textsuperscript{37}If a physiological metaphor is being made like I think it is, "Heaven and Earth" refer to the portion of the
body above the diaphragm and below the diaphragm respectively. Ch'iu seems to be referring to his pure,
innocent state he was in at his birth.

\textsuperscript{38}Perhaps a metaphor for the various parts of the body.

\textsuperscript{39}A kind of utopia which people gradually came to idealize during the Han Dynasty. One of the first
organized religious Taoist sects was the T'ai-p'ing Tao (Way of Great Peace) which staged a rebellion at the
end of the Latter Han Dynasty in hope of bringing about this utopia.

\textsuperscript{40}Lewd music. The vassal state of Cheng\textsuperscript{41}(located in present day Honan Province) that existed under the
Chou Dynasty was famous for its lewd music.

\textsuperscript{41}P'an-hsi Chi chuan #3 pp.0b-1a. See Plate 121.

\textsuperscript{42}The innate good nature, clear insight and pure chi.

\textsuperscript{43}A primitive, simplistic state?
The moon[light] of your nature illumines the Three Realms, 
And the spiritual pearl brightens the eight directions. 
Marvelous profundity permeates proper consciousness, 
And for vast kalpas spews heavenly fragrances."45

P "Congregational Chairman Wang of the congregation in Wen-
t'eng (Shantung) asked about Taoist techniques.

Devotedly uphold the true Great Way.
If you master the principles, your [innate] nature will fly and 
ascend.
The one dot (the enlightened spirit) will penetrate present and past.
And golden light will fall and rise on its own."46
(Wang Yu-yang)

Q "'The Ode to the Sword'
The enlightened Treasure Sword is most clear.
Having undergone sharpening and polishing it is presented before 
me.
Raised high it slices open the new eye of the Tao 47.
With one sweep it cuts off my old heart's emotions.
In the morning it creates an illustrious purity which is chaotic48
without defilement.
At night it spits out rays of light and also has a sound.
Fighting off evil demons and wicked ch'i powers,
It completely disposes of empty external artificially completed 
shapes."50
(Wang Ch'uang-yang)

To sum up the above passages, the way to grasp the transcendant power of the Tao is 
to shed oneself of all distractions in order to thoroughly understand and accept the basic

44Buddhist term. An extremely long period of time in which an entire process of creation and destruction 
of the world can take place.

45Yun-kuang Chi chuan #3 p.1a. See Plate 122.

46ibid. chuan #3 p.9a

47Insight which sees through the illusions and penetrates the profound realities of the Tao.

48"Chaotic" as in the primordial intermingled, undifferentiated state prior to creation and civilization.

49To not have any kind of real existence which is permanent and entirely self-sufficient and self-defining.

50CCC chuan #10 p.6a. See Plate 123.

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unchanging realities about the way things are. The concept of the pure state of mind which is free of distractions is described by many metaphors such as "a face refined like jade", "blue sky", "precious mirror" etc.

Probably the most basic reality which has to be realized and which if realized can function to help keep away distractions; is the fact that this whole world before us has no permanent and self-sufficient existence of its own. It is but a dream or a mirage made up of various illusions such as "misfortune and good fortune", "sadness and joy", "life and death" etc. which come and go and whose so-called "existence" is dependent on the so-called "existence" of its counterpart. What is also nothing more than an illusion is the notion that the self exists as opposed to people and objects which are not a part of the self. Strictly speaking, what one may regard as the individual's spirit (mental and intellectual capacities) and ch'i (physical matter that makes up the body) is simply part of the whole single ch'i and single conscious spirit which are the only legitimate reality which is present in everything; in other words, the Tao. Only when a practitioner understands that even his own very existence and consciousness are not real, and is completely free of viewpoints and feelings based on self consciousness; can he become a real part of the omnipotent, omni-present single reality. Once this is accomplished, the powers which are obtained are unlimited.

MTC #107 is a story which illustrates very well the concept which I have summarized above. According to this story, there was an ex-military officer in Yang-chou (in Kiangsu) named Mo Ti who in repentance of his sins had left his home and occupation to become a Taoist monk. Because he diligently served the Tao by preaching to people and

51 Seems like a play on words. Literally, Mo Ti means that there is nobody strong enough to be one's enemy. Seems to refer to his prowess as a military officer.
performing philanthropic deeds, Lü Ch'un-yang had mercy on him and came to see him. When Lü asked Mo, "What Way do you study?" Mo answered, "I simply perform penance for the crimes of murder that I have committed during my lifetime. How can I presume to hope for the Tao? I topknot my hair and joined the army and participated in about 100 battles, killing thousands and hundreds of people. Now I am 73 years old. When my old age came upon me, I started to frequently regret it, and at times I am haunted by the vengeful souls [of those whom I had killed]."

Hearing this, Lü said, "Death and life are of one principle. Punishments (for sins) and blessings (for good deeds) are originally empty. If the mind regards [something] as punishment, appearances of punishment naturally appear. If your mind thinks that there is no such a thing as punishment, evil appearances will all be non-existent. The forms and appearances of the vengeful families are all born from your mind and do not actually exist. People of antiquity thought of great goodness and great evil as things which ultimately reside in within the revolving mechanism of the single thought. [Therefore], their power was extremely great."

After saying this, Lü took Mo with him to a river where Mo suddenly saw more than 100 bloody, mutilated bodies approaching him and was horrified to the extent that he wept and begged for his life to be spared. When Lü let out a shout, the vengeful ghosts fled and disappeared. Lü then showed Mo three pills and told him that if he took one of them he could become a master in the underground, if he took two he would become

52 生生懶追人罪耳何敢望道耶吾從軍大小百戰殺千百人今七十三矣老矣頃以為恨時見冤魂

53 死生本一故凡未空心以為罪則罪自見心以為無罪則冤自嘆冤家形影自心生非實有也古人為大善大惡極處一念迥機其力甚大

54 Unclear. Perhaps a divine official in command of souls of dead people in the underworld or perhaps a protective god of an administrative district similar or equivalent to the ch'eng-huang地隍 (in charge of a
an earthly Immortal\textsuperscript{55}, and if he took three he would become a heavenly Immortal\textsuperscript{56}.

When Mo held the pills on his hand, one flew away and another fell off; meaning that Mo's destiny after his bodily death would be as a master in the underground. After Mo took the pill, he no longer ate cooked food, and was able predict peoples' fortunes. When he was 103 years old, he underwent his death peacefully in a seated position.

Thus in the above story we have a strong contrast shown between Mo and Lú. Mo, despite his reformed and worthy lifestyle, lives in bondage to his feelings of guilt and fear; and is thus frequently tormented by evil spirits. Lú, on the other hand, understands the illusory quality of everything that is experienced. Thus, not only does he not live in fear of evil spirits, but he is able to make them come and go according to his own volition. As a result of the instruction that he receives, Mo attains divinity in his next existence, will power to abstain from cooked food, clairvoyant powers, long life, and a peaceful death.

The concepts that I have tried to summarize so far which involve seeing through the "emptiness" of the temporal realm in order to grasp the ultimate underlying single reality

\textsuperscript{55}An inferior type of Immortal who has no supernormal power and cannot ascend to the high heavens.

\textsuperscript{56}A full-fledged omnipotent Immortal.
which is omnipotent and omni-present, are based on the theories of Taoist philosophy and Mahayana Buddhism. But an unmistakably religious Taoist concept that can be found amidst the writings of the Ch'üan-chen masters which has a quintessentially Chinese anthropocentric ring; is that of "usurping creation" 奪造化, mentioned in passage M. While Liu Ch'ang-sheng interprets this term as referring to the process of seeing through emptiness, he also exalts the superior capacities of the human being, the noblest and worthiest creature, which enable him to attain the insight which leads to the "usurping".

The interesting paradox that we see which greatly characterizes the teachings of the Perfected Men of the Ch'üan-chen sect and other related traditions is that while they understood the human body and consciousness to be things which are strictly impermanent and illusory; they also highly exalted the capacities of these impermanent and illusory things for what they were, maintaining that the human body and mind used together in harmony are the best possible apparatus with which one can come to transcend the illusory world and thereby manifest omnipotent, divine power over it. Thus the complete liberation from distractions and the ultimate realization of the Tao were sought through rigorous ascetic training of body and mind and through cultivating and manifesting the innate human good nature through good deeds. Also, the merciful intervention and assistance of previously liberated human beings was deemed to be a necessary step towards a person's salvation.

So far, I have been trying to summarize what the Ch'üan-chen sect saw as the basic way of grasping the source of omnipotent power which allows the Perfected Man to be able to perform miraculous deeds. Of course, whether or not the Ch'üan-chen masters had the question, "How can one become able to perform miracles?" in mind when they wrote the passages that I have been quoting, is a troubling question. The writings of the Ch'üan-chen and other Golden Elixir schools are so very often designed to be understood with
equal validity on several different levels. A typical "Golden Elixir Poem" 金丹詩 loaded with the typical set of metaphors such as mercury 汞, lead 鉛, water 水, fire 火, dragon 龍, tiger 虎, infant 嬰兒, and pretty girl 嬌女 is to be understood with equal validity as a discussion of various different kinds of physiological operations involving the manipulation of the internal organs and body fluids whether by means of meditational, gymnastic, respiratory, massage, or sexual methods (although the Ch'üan-chen masters seem to have basically disapproved of the sexual methods). Golden Elixir poems can sometimes also be interpreted as descriptions of purely psychological processes involving various modes of consciousness, cognition and feeling. How one understands and utilizes the discussion depends on who the reader is and at what stage of Perfection Cultivation he or she is at.

In a similar way, the passages which I have been quoting seem to be for a great part understandable and applicable at more than one level. First and foremost, they are to be understood as internalized discussions of Perfection Cultivation dealing with how to, through proper training, make your mental capacities or spirit gain complete command of your physical capacities (in a harmonious sort of ruler-subject relationship) in order to create a healthy body and an enlightened, immortal spirit. At this level of interpretation, all references to the spirit's understanding of and dominace over all worldly forces are to be interpreted as an understanding of the microcosm which is one's own body, and dominace over the body's organs, fluids, senses, emotions etc. To deal with such passages as theories of how to attain the ability to perform miracles may seem like a gross injustice towards the intentions of the authors. But when one examines the kinds of metaphors used in reference to the enlightened spirit and its capacities, one cannot avoid receiving the impression that the author was also leaving open the possibility for interpretation at the externalized level dealing with knowing things beyond the ordinary
range of sense perception and doing things which cannot ordinarily be done. Phrases like "you will speak with responses and transformations like a scripture" (passage J) and "your responding and changing will naturally be numinous" (passage K) seem to be intentionally ambiguously written in order to imply a limitless ability to perform miracles to anyone who wishes to interpret them in such a way. Many passages seem to be open to valid interpretation as references to the Perfected Man's power to communicate with the universe's divine forces and to subdue the wicked. As we will be seeing later on, this very often was the level of interpretation at which the believers understood the teachings of the masters, and was by no means a level of interpretation which the masters denied the validity of. They merely saw the external level as an auxiliary complement to the internal level, and were at times wary of the dangers involved in the possibility of the internal level getting obscured by the external level.

Thus now let me run through some of the possible externalized interpretations of some of the metaphors. First of all, there is the metaphor of light or brightness which refers to the enlightened spirit which emanates and illuminates all directions (passages H, K, L, N, P, Q). This metaphor was probably often taken to refer to the ability to know of and to see things which are beyond the ordinary limits of sense perception. Also, this led to stories being transmitted involving brightness literally emanating from the body of the Perfected Man, as we will see later.

The metaphor of "the body outside of the body" (passage M) seems to have inspired numerous stories of miraculous deeds. At the internal level of Perfection Cultivation, the term refers to the eternal spirit which is completely liberated from and unattached to the mortal flesh and other mundane illusions. However, the concept that the Perfected Man had a "body outside the body" also meant that he could be in different places at the same time by manifesting his "body outside the body" in some place other than where
the physical body was. A very prevalent belief which the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves clearly seem to have believed in was the idea that a Perfected Man could send his "body outside of the body" into the dreams of other people.

The metaphors of the "blue sky" (passages K and N) in which the "myriad heavenly bodies line up in great numbers" (passage N), or of the spirit's radiance that is "like a shooting star" (passage L) strongly imply a capacity to come into communication with the highest Taoist deities, or to exhibit divine saving power by oneself; the kinds of capacities which were particularly significant in the context of Taoist rituals. Internally interpreted, it means to be able to see and communicate with the thousands of gods which were believed to reside within the human body. Stars were regarded as pure yang manifestations of the highest gods and as sources of cosmic power. The understanding was that an accomplished Taoist who could communicate with the gods of his body, at the same time also had access to the astral deities of the cosmos, since his own body was a miniature equivalent of the cosmos. If the spirit is as bright as a "shooting star", the externalized interpretation would probably be that the Perfected Man's spirit had become one of the astral deities and would thus exhibit that kind of power, and was perhaps guaranteed a stellar, deified existence after the death of the mortal body.

Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's "Blue Sky Song" (passage N) becomes even stronger in its ritual implications as it goes on to speak of "subduing 100 evils", "jade notes" penetrating and "reaching the hearts of people", acquiring "the assistance of demons and gods, entering into Earth and ascending into Heaven". As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter Five, a prime function of the rituals performed by the Ch'üan-chen masters was to bring salvation to all things living and dead. The phrase, "reaching the hearts of people", just as much as it can refer to the Perfected Man's ability to convert people through skillful preaching, is also understandable as a reference to his alleged power to send out the profound truth and
power to all corners of the universe to influence all things living and dead in order to bring them to salvation. The phrase, "entering Earth" seems to imply that the Perfected Man could send his radiance into the underworld in order to bring souls out of purgatory. The concept of gaining the assistance of divine forces and subduing evil forces again implies ritual power but also implies the ability to have dominion over divine and demonic forces during all moments and to thus be immune to any harmful or tempting forces. This validates the physical indestructability of the Perfected Man and his ability to perform exorcistic healing with utmost effectiveness, concepts that are very prominent within the hagiographies.

These implications aside, the prime theme of the "Blue Sky Song" is the struggle to make clear and utilize the limitless divine forces within the body (the functioning of the internal organs, bones, blood vessels and muscles to properly circulate the ch'i ) to control the body's demonic forces (desires and urges which cause ch'i leakage). Because the body was understood as a microcosm which contains within it correlates to all of the universe's components, an adept's ability to tap the divine force of the Tao within him to completely control his internal divine and demonic forces immediately translated into the ability to control all external divine and demonic forces. After all, the divine and demonic forces outside of the body were ultimately the same thing as the internal divine and demonic forces; empty illusory objects which are utterly powerless when matched against the only real entity and power, the Tao.

The metaphor of the innate human nature as a moon has similar yet somewhat different and perhaps more profound implications than the star metaphor. The moon is yet another very sacred heavenly body, but it is also regarded as the manifestation of the yin principle in the sky and is sometimes referred to as the Great Yin. The physiological correlate to the moon is the kidneys, which were regarded as the primary
internal sexual organ which produced and stored the semen. As you will recall from Chapter Two, a Ch'uan-chen adept was supposed to be able to use the heat generated by concentrating the heart's thinking capacities (fire) to somehow burn and vaporize the semen (water) stored in the kidneys, causing it to rise into the spleen (Cinnabar Field, Yellow Court) where it meets and merges with the blood from the heart; rather than allowing it to leak outwards and cause harm to the adept's health. As this physiological process is going on, the conscious mind (heart, fire) is burning through the evil and erotic urges of the subconscious realm which exist deep within the physical body (kidneys, water) in order to bring manifest the essential good Tao nature which exists at the very depths of the "water" (emotions and urges; among which the lust which results from the kidneys' production of semen is the epitomy) that had been obscuring it. When the heart's fire has completely burned through the dark, wicked pool of desires and urges, the nature which was like a beautiful, brilliant moon trying to shine through from the depths of the yin can emerge and assume its rightful celestial position. When Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un wrote that his "Perfected body" will "manifest the moons of each family", he may have meant that he can see into the subconscious minds of others and perhaps is in some way able to almost effortlessly help others to manifest their "moons".

The metaphor of the "precious mirror" being clear, is yet another reference to clear, unobstructed insight, and also may be intended to have some divinatory connotations, as there did exist methods of predicting future events which involved the use of mirrors. In Wang Ch'ung-yang's CCC is a poem titled "Yu-mei-jen" which is preceeded by a narrative about the time (in 1164 during his training period at Liu-chiang Village) when Wang had a mystical encounter with an Immortal (generally believed to have been

57The famous consort of the famous warlord Hsiang Yu (232-202 B.C.). The poem seems to have been written to a tune which happened to have this title.

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Liu Hai-ch'an (劉海蟾) who made him drink a mysterious potion. The poem then reminisces about the effects that the potion had on him:

"Hai-feng 鹳 飛 58drank water and now understands much and few. Because of this I penetrated the profound and the marvelous. ...........
I no longer need a mirror.
In the past and the future I illuminate things.
In my mind I understand all matters.
Amidst the dream I understand the body within the dream.
Thus I am a person who wanders carefreely and reaches the other shore." 59

In the above poem, Wang says that as a result of the encounter which awakened him to the truths of emptiness and impermanence, he no longer needs a mirror to know of and understand everything in the past and future. This perhaps implies the notion of a mirror as as instrument of divination, and in a way is synonymous with saying that the enlightened and all-knowing insight is Wang's internal clairvoyant mirror.

An important metaphor commonly used in Ch'üan-chen writings to refer to the Perfected Man's power to combat evil internally and externally is that of the "sword" 62. The "sword" described in passage Q by Wang Ch'ung-yang is an internal sword used to combat the evil forces within the body in order to open up true insight on the Tao (the eye of the Tao). It is the adept's conscious will power exercised to resist the harmful bodily forces which become aroused during the course of daily life. It is perhaps, more specifically speaking, a reference to the self discipline which the Ch'üan-chen masters had to exercise in the midst of the numerous ascetic ordeals which they put themselves through. The phrase, "presented before me", implies that the sword is a gift from a higher being, a merciful Immortal like Lú Ch'ün-yang who watches over, guides and protects the

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58 Wang's nickname which meant "Wild Man".
59 CCC chuan #5 p.12b. See Plate 124.
practitioner throughout the course of his training. However, the fact that the phrase, "fighting off evil demons and wicked ch'i powers", can also refer to combat with external demons is well documented in MTC which in two different places gives us clear explanations of the internal and external uses of the "sword". Story #7 in MTC quotes at length Chung-li Cheng-yang's instructions to Lù concerning "swordsmanship"剑法. This, according to MTC, was one of the final lessons that Lù was given by his master before embarking on his eternal life of compassionate miracle working:

"In cultivating Perfection and embodying the Tao, completely rely on the Sword of Wisdom. Hold onto it tightly in order to enter the marvelous and go to the profound. First you need firmness of will and decisive determination. Thereby in the ultimate end and ultimate beginning nothing between Heaven and Earth will be able to move you. As you greatly use your great mechanisms, none among the demons and gods will be able to fathom (outsmart, prevail over) you. Therefore sages carry a treasure sword which overturns the Big Dipper, 60 and hold a powerful lance which directly destroys demonic monsters. Therefore I use the metaphor of 'swordsmanship'.

As for [how to produce] this sword; gather the ultimate essence of the limitless, combine it with the primal ch'i of the time proceeding Heaven (primordial chaos), borrow the furnace and bellows of ch'ien 61 and k'un 62, and move the fire chopsticks and hammer of the Primordial [Heavenly Worthy] 62. the fire of wisdom refines and completes it, and the Numinous Spring 63 polishes and sharpens it. Take the Great Ultimate as the hilt, the strong middle as the handle, beauty (of character) as the blade, and pure immaculateness as the sheath. Vacuously and plainly, [the

60 This refers to a tremendous ability to move the divine forces. The Big Dipper was regarded as the source of cosmic power and a manifestation of the most divine forces in the universe.

61 Trigrams from the Book of Changes (I-ching ) Ch'ien here represents Heaven and k'un represents Earth.

62 The highest god in Taoism. A personification of the Tao itself.

63 Saliva swallowing which is part of the physiological cultivation process.

64 Refers to the yang line between the two yin lines in the kan trigram. It is a metaphor for the innate good Tao nature buried within the subconscious.
sword] glitters and shines. Purely and simply it is firm and strong. It moves the mechanisms of creation and holds the command of benevolence and might. Raise it without [distinction between] present and past, and hold it back without [distinction between] before and after. [If you do so], the demons and gods of the Six Heavens will descend at your request, and wicked demons of the Three Realms will beg for you to spare them their lives. Destroy the barrier of superfluous thought. Eliminate attachments, coveting and wanting. Slaughter the seven emotions and slay the six bandits. Cut off fury and anger and kill depravity and wickedness. When matters and affairs come before you they will meet with the blade and become dismembered. If you store it (the sword), the body can become free of birth and death. If you wave it and govern [with it], you can pacify the nation and purify all under Heaven. It shines and radiates, it is good and sharp, it is completely chaotic and is strong within. The evil and wicked will take one look at it and tremble within their hearts. As for those outside the [Taoist] faith; as soon as they hear of it, they will burst their gall bladders (be horrified).”

Thus this "sword", the product of diligent and correctly guided Perfection Cultivation brings Immortality at an internal, personal level, and omnipotent power and influence at the external, worldly level. The idea of "governing" and to "pacify the nation and purify all under Heaven" seems to be basically a metaphor for the Perfected Man's dominance over the gods and demons. But perhaps it was also intended to be taken quite literally to mean that a Perfected Man has the ability to carry out good, effective political government. By the time that MTC was compiled, the Ch’üan-chén sect had become quite politically influential, and its leadership may have entertained some pretensions of acting as the advisors to the emperors and the spiritual leaders of the entire empire. This feeling may have been greatly aroused as a result of Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un's historic meetings with Genghis Khan. Anyway Lü, in Taoist and popular religious iconography is almost always depicted carrying a sword. MTC #52 is a story about the time when Lü was greeted by a

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65Joy, anger sorrow, fear, love, hate and desire.

66Desires caused by the six senses; vision, hearing, taste, smell, touch and cognition.

67See Plate 125
Taoist monk named Hou You-hui ildo while fire-refining and polishing his sword. When asked by Hou what he used his sword for, Lú answered, "To eliminate all injustice from the face of the earth." The two of them then sat down and drank together and after a while Hou asked about the difference between the "Method Sword" and the "Tao Sword". Lú then explained as follows:

"The Tao Sword is formless. [To have] the Method Sword means to have techniques. The administering of it can be witnessed by worldly eyes. It is only able to eliminate evil monsters and get rid of vengeful spirits. The Tao Sword is a sword of integrity. It only slays your own wickedness and depravity. The Method Sword is techniques, but the Tao Sword is not. Take the spirit to be the mother and take the ch'i to be the child. If the spirit is preserved, the ch'i is preserved. If the spirit leaves, the ch'i scatters. Simply value your spirit and treasure your ch'i, and thereby slay the likes of the heterodox demons and spirits."

After saying this, Lú flew away and disappeared. The fact that this "swordsmanship" was thought to be in some way handed down by Perfected Men or Immortals to their disciples by means of personal contact (which can often take place in the context of mystical experience) and that its acquisition was thought to result in various supernormal powers is well documented in the following editorial comments of MTC's compiler, Miao Shan-shih:

"The Treasure Sword existed within the [original] non-being. The Most High [Lord Lao] personaly transmitted it to the hands of Tung-hua [Ti-chün]. The various Patriarchs and Immortals [throughout history] secretly transmitted it. If you acquire this wisdom, your marvelous luminous stars will be in control of metallic lightning and will subdue the Jade Dragon. Going in and out of the vertical and......"}

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68 地上一切不平事尽皆去之
69 Take care of your ch'i with your spirit. You may recall from Chapter Two how the Ch'uan-chen masters, to the contrary, often spoke of the ch'i as the mother and the spirit as the child in order to essential state that the enlightened spirit is a product of ch'i refinement. How the roles of "mother" and "child" got crossed up like this is a good question.
70 See Plate 126.
horizontal (everywhere, in all directions) you will manifest the Six Penetrations.\(^71\)

The idea of there being six types of supernormal power or "spiritual penetration" which can be attained by an adept is a concept which was adopted from Buddhism\(^72\). An interesting discussion of what these "Six Penetrations" are is "Lun Liu-t'ung Chüeh" 錦六通經 (in TT999) written by a certain Ch'ing-hsia Chen-jen 青霞真人 (Perfected Man of the Blue Mist) who seems to have been a rough contemporary of the first generation of Ch'üan-chen masters who belonged to the so-called Ch'üan-chen Southern Sect, which was (as I mentioned in Chapter Three) a school that existed south of the Ch'in-Ch'i border which was extremely similar to Wang Ch'ung-yang's school and seems to have developed out of a common background tradition. Specific and detailed discussions of the Six Penetrations are unfortunately lacking in the writings of the Ch'üan-chen masters that are available today, although frequent references to "penetration" or "spiritual penetration" can be found in them. Although "Lun Liu-t'ung Chüeh" is not actually a writing connected with the faction of Taoism that this discussion is concerned with, allow me to cite parts of it as an example of the basic kind of ideas that the Taoists of the Golden Elixir tradition had concerning what the Six Penetrations were and how they could be attained. Due to the fact that the basic teachings of the Ch'üan-chen sect and its southern counterpart were extremely similar, I like to think that the Southern Sect's writings can be used as leads towards understanding Ch'üan-chen doctrines more deeply.

\(^71\)See Plate 127.

\(^72\)The Six Penetrations in Buddhism are: (1) Penetration of the Divine Foot - ability to go wherever you want, no matter how far, instantaneously. (2) Penetration of the Heavenly Eye - ability to see into the past and future of oneself and others. (3) Penetration of the Heavenly Ear - ability to hear sounds that most people cannot hear. (4) Penetration of the Hearts of Others - the ability to know what others are thinking. (5) Penetration of Destiny - ability to know of one's past incarnations. (6) Penetration of Eliminating Leaks - ability to get rid of superfluous thoughts.
although there are dangers involved in taking passages such as the following one as directly representative of what the Ch’uan-chen masters believed in. Anyway, for what it is worth, here is what Ch’ing-hsia Chen-jen had to say about the Six Penetrations:

"While sitting motionlessly, concentrate your will on regulating your breathing deeply and softly. The body, because of the [innate] nature (because the conscious mind is in control of it), is never confused and is calm and motionless. This is called, 'pacifying the heart' 

\[\text{心}\] . [While you are doing this], at night the whole room becomes bright as if it was daytime. The heart is pure like ice and clear like jade. When you reach this point, do not make it out to be a great matter. It is yet but like gazing at the sky from the bottom of a well or through a tube (You have not even yet begun to experience the real marvels).

In the midst of motionless sitting suddenly your [innate] nature leaps out of the body disliking the smelly filth of the four elements \[\text{土, 水, 火, 風}\] (the physical body). If at this time your wise nature experiences this, this is the Penetration of the Mind’s Surroundings \[\text{心境透} \]

If your merit of stillness (motionless seated meditation) is relentless, while residing in a room or shack, before you know it; the door and yard (the scenery outside of the room or shack?), and all matters of times yet to come will spontaneously be known. It is like being able to see a pin which is on the other side of the wall. It is a result of the merit of stillness which is called "Penetration of the Spirit's Surroundings" \[\text{神境透} \].

When you arrive at this moment, you truly need to increase your determination and refine and polish your sleep (abstain from sleeping). Suddenly your heart's spirit \[\text{心神} \] will close and plug up (The mind will be completely concentrated?). Before you know it, chaotically (as in primordial chaos) you will not discriminate between east and west. If you arrive at this moment you will stop having anxieties of the heart. If your wise heart senses this, amongst the chaos your heart’s ground \[\text{心地} \] will suddenly greatly open up and you will see inside of you landscapes of mountains and rivers as though they were within your own palm. Your heart’s spirit will leap and jump and your \[\text{ch'i} \] will climax without limit.

This is the Penetration of the Heavenly Eye \[\text{天眼透} \].

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73 The entire sky cannot be seen from the bottom of a well or by looking at it through a tube.

74 A Buddhist term that refers to the four elements of earth \[\text{土} \], water \[\text{水} \], fire \[\text{火} \] and wind \[\text{風} \] that make up the body.
If in the midst of sitting you suddenly hear the words of heavenly people 天人, push it away; taking care of the possibility that these [voices] may be evil surroundings 邪境 (tempting voices of demons). This is the Penetration of the Heavenly Ear 聽境. In the daytime or night time enter into release and great samdhi 入放大定, and see through all of the causes and results 因果 of the Three Realms. If you arrive at this point on the ground surface of Perfection Cultivation, this is in other words the Sudden Penetration of the Truth of Destiny 突信忍 匿。 If your heart is constant (unwavering, devoted) and the light of your wisdom lamp shines throughout the long night and in the clear night without thoughts and obstructions and if you are calm and always faithful; without leaving the main room you will manifest a body outside of the body which shows itself in all other places. This is the [kind of] penetration which is possessed by the gods and sages. This is the Penetration of the Hearts of Others 神心魔。"

Thus it was thought that through deep meditation practiced over long hours even to the extent of shunning one's ordinary hours of sleep, the adept could gradually progress into deeper and deeper stages of supernormal experience and power. The very first such experience (which is not regarded as significant enough to be given a place among the Six Penetrations) is that of the body's spiritual light 神光, actually emanating out of the body much like the first people which Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un described to Genghis Khan. The ultimate "penetration" which is obtained is the ability to manifest the "body outside of the body" 身外之身 which is so often mentioned in Ch'üan-chen writings. While the writings of the Ch'üan-chen masters do not ever specifically describe this progressive acquisition of the Six Penetrations, each of the "penetrations" described here can be seen described in Ch'üan-chen discussions of Perfection Cultivation and poetry describing meditational experience, or are ascribed to the Ch'üan-chen masters in their hagiographies.

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75 Perhaps better translated as "[gods of the] heavens and people."
76 To enter into a completely concentrated mental state in which all attachments are cast aside. Buddhist term.
77 See Plate 128.
Now I would like to show you some examples from the writings of the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves which describe how one can come into contact with the realm of supernormal experience and power during the deep meditation and internal visualization that they underwent in the culminating stages of Perfection Cultivation.

"The light amidst non-being has,
The divine incantation of marvelous penetration.
Jade Liquid and Red Jade Juice,
Are up above the multi-tiered pavilions.78
When I am sober I am pure and Perfect,
And my life-destiny is extended to a blessed lifespan.
The four verses of the Diamond79;
Inside the [Diamond] scripture [are teachings of] compassionate rescuing.
The heavenly Tao is hard to speak of,
And what is formless does not decay.
Overturn yin and yang,
And mao will rise to meet you.80
Sublimely in a self-so manner,
The three lights81 become numinous and excellent.
The Immortal flowers of the vast garden,
Are superior to the flowers and willows of spring time.
If you move and rotate the southern star,
Your wisdom will see the Northern Bushel (stars of the Big Dipper).
Greatly master [the principle of] non-action,
And fly and run according to your own will."82
(Liu Ch'ang-sheng)

78 The throat and esophagus
79 He seems to be referring to four particular verses from the Buddhist Prajna-Paramita Diamond Sutra
80 Mao refers to the ch'i from the liver. You refers to the ch'i from the lungs. To overturn yin and yang means to retain the body's ch'i by keeping what is yang from evaporating out of the upper part of the body and keeping what is yin from going down and leaking out. Rather, you want to make the yang descend and the yin rise so that they will meet in the middle of the body. Liver ch'i is mostly yin (because it comes from the kidneys) and is thus made to rise and meet the lung's ch'i (which is mostly yang because it comes from the heart) which had been made to descend.
81 Can have various meanings; (1) the three hun souls (2) eyes, ears and mouth (3) spirit, breath, and essence in their primal forms (4) mind, nature and will.
82 Hsien-yueh Chi chuan #3 p.3a. See Plate 129.
The above poem describes a state of mind and body which is Immortal and supernormal (particularly in terms of ritual power) which is described by phrases such as "divine incantation of marvelous penetration" and "wisdom will see the Northern Bushel". It is a result of the various methods of Perfection Cultivation ("overturn yin and yang") which also result in a longer physical life and a lifestyle motivated by compassion. What should be particularly noted here is the fact that this new and special state of mind and body is accompanied by the sensation of "Jade Liquid and Red Jade Juice", two very special kinds of saliva, welling up inside the mouth. This is one of the many sensations which the adept would experience within the deep trance stages of meditation which indicated that he was coming into access of the realm of supernormal experience and power. In his comprehensive collection of lectures on Perfection Cultivation Methods, TTCC, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un describes the following sensations:

"The Responding Efficacies of Practicing Merit'

At the first time [at which you enter the trance state], you will gradually feel like there is something in your Cinnabar Field or Yellow Court which is soft and warm. Perfect ch'i will come upwards and your ears will hear the sounds of wind and rain. Gradually inside your head there will be the sounds of harps and of gold and jade. Within the gate of your jaws, which is called the Heavenly Pond, there is Metallic Liquid which will gush out like a cool stream and flow down. Some of it will flow onto the face, some of it will flow up into the brain, some of it will be in a pearly dew-like form, and some of it will enter the mouth through the upper gums. Its flavor will be sweet and delectable. After a long while, inside the head there will be the sounds of sheng flutes, se and ch'in harps, and bamboo chimes. Also there will be sounds such as a crane's call, a monkey's cry and a cicada's chiming. These various sounds of nature have nothing that is comparable to them. However, when you first practice this, amidst your dreams you will hear the noise of ferocious thunder. This is your Perfect ch'i

83 It is hard to tell whether this refers to dreams during one's sleep or to what is experienced during a meditational trance.

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thrusting open the head's *yang* bone and thereupon penetrating the Nine Palaces. When the spirits first enter the room (the Cinnabar Field), they will after a short while jump upwards. You will naturally be frightened and close your eyes. If while sitting, there is at times a single big object which jumps in fright, open your eyes. This is not a *yang* spirit. When you are not yet mature it is vital that you do not become frightened and give rise to thoughts. After a long while the spirit will become mature. Of itself it will not be hidden or manifest; unfathomable, it changes and transforms without limit. The future will spontaneously be known, and you will have no attachments to anything you see or hear. Only give heed to the self-so-ness. If you become attached to appearances, these are but illusions.

Sophisticated Ch'uan-chen life-nurturing methods, as we saw in Chapter Two, were designed for the adept to circulate the *ch'i* of the various organs of the body and make it *yang*; in other words, energetic, light, airy and eventually, formless. *Ch'i* which had been "perfected" in such a manner was understood to rise upwards and become sweet saliva in the mouth, and create musical noises in the process. As the trances deepened, it was understood that a *yang* spirit was created within the body which at the climax of the trance experience would rise from the spleen area (Cinnabar Field, Yellow Court) through the spinal column and in a very dramatic fashion break through into the brain, the location of nine sacred palaces and the body's most sacred and mysterious region. This ascent of the *yang* spirit into the sacred palaces of the brain was analogous to an Immortal's ascent into heaven, and seems to have been regarded as a physiological phenomenon which coincided with and was closely related to a sudden enlightenment which brings about salvation and Immortal-hood.

*Ch'i* that had been refined to its utmost was thought to become spirit, which seems to be understandable as one's conscious mental capacities on the internal level and as

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84 Nine palatial chambers that were believed to exist inside the brain.
85 Upper chuan pp.17a-b. See Plate 130.
divine status and power on the external level. In other words, while Perfection Cultivation was a process in which the ch'i of the various body parts was refined into formless, everlasting mental capacity, it was also a process in which the ch'i throughout the body was made into visible gods whose divine powers could be utilized. To a true adept, a vast scenic panorama full of gods which reside in each body part was supposed to be visible:

"The Tongue God is T'ung-ming (Penetrating Life-Destiny). His style name is Cheng-lun (Proper Ethics).

(Comment): The tongue gushes out sweet saliva and the ghee cleanses the head. Spontaneously feel the purity of your spirit and marvelously penetrate the inner scenery."  

The above passage from NCC tells us the personal and style names of the resident deity of the tongue. Liu Ch'ang-sheng's comment then describes the same thing that Ch'iu tells us about in the passage quoted on pp.24-25, a sudden gushing of saliva which is followed by a new level of spiritual experience which is here described as the "inner scenery" 内景. The "inner scenery" gets described in Ch'uan-chen writings with a wide variety of terminology to describe the extremely numerous spiritual entities in the body. In the newly acquired realm of meditational experience, the adept was supposed to be able to somehow see this marvelous panorama of internal deities and focus at will on whichever deity he pleased.

"The Heart God is Tan-yuan (Cinnabar Origin). His style name is Shou-ling (Preserving the Soul)

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86 The saliva is compared here to a type of high quality Indian butter called ghee.
87 Liu Ch'ang-sheng, NCC commentary p.7a: "神通命字正倫"
(Comment): The heart stores the spirit. Inside, it illuminates the subtle and the profound. The ultimate phenomena are enclosed within, and the lead and mercury overturn."88

"The Liver God is Lung-yen (Dragon Smoke). His style name is Han-ming  (Enveloping Light).
(Comment): The liver stores the hun魂. Its god illuminates the female door90. Its style name corresponds to the eye of wisdom, which is calm and without hindrances."91

"The Lung God is Hao-huai (White Flower). His style name is Hsu-ch'eng  (Vacuous Completion).
(Comment): The lungs store the p'o肺. The spiritual light shines and radiates and the Tao combines the three ts'ai 三才 (Heaven, Earth and human beings). Naturally you will understand everything."92

"The Kidney God is Hsuan-ming (Profound Darkness). His style name is Yii-ying  (Rearing the Infant).
(Comment): The kidneys store the metallic essence. Their god regulates womb breathing. The style name corresponds with holiness and sublimity, reaching the bright Great Ultimate."93

"The Spleen God is Ch'ang-ts'ai (Perpetual Existence). His style name is Hun-t'ing  (Hun Stop).
(Comment): The spleen stores the will. Embrace the Tao without letting go. The spirit will illuminate the pivotal essentials 88

88This passage, along with those about the resident deities of the liver, lungs and spleen, seems to make better sense if the character, is ignored. Perhaps it merely serves the function of maintaining the four character pattern.
89ibid. p.8a:

90This word can refer to the vulva. It is a metaphor for the profound origin out of which all things come.
91ibid. p.8b:

92ibid. p.8a:

93ibid. p.8b:
(concerning the Tao). Use kan (ch'i of the kidneys) to welcome li (ch'i of the heart)."94

For each of the above passages which give the names of the resident gods of the five viscera, Liu elaborates by equating each god to the spirit, the hun, the p'o, the metallic essence and the will respectively. If one was to attempt to understand the distinctions and relationships between these five things properly, I think that it would be best to understand it as follows:

The spirit and the hun of the heart and the liver are closely related and virtually equivalent things which make up a person's conscious, thinking capacity, as opposed to the metallic essence (semen) and the p'o which are a person's involuntary physical forces and subconscious thoughts. To sustain the painstaking process of bringing together and harmonizing the spiritual with the physical, and the conscious with the subconscious; a person needs the will and the determination to endure the various austerities which become involved. Thus it makes sense that the will resides in the spleen, the place where the spiritual and physical forces from throughout the body are brought together.

This alignment of the spirit, the hun, the p'o, the metallic essence and the will with the five viscera is by no means an innovation of Liu's. He seems to have adopted this concept from Ho-shang-kung's commentary to the Lao-tzu book. Liu uses this theory out of the Ho-shang-kung commentary to help him as he goes on to expand on the vital and useful function that each visceral god will perform during the process of Perfection Cultivation. If one combines the meaning of what is being said in the primary text and in Liu's commentary, the concept which can be evoked is that each organ contains

94ibid. p.8b: "脾神常在字魂傍" (脾藏於志魂道無離神明枢要用坎迎離)
marvelous instrumental functions or "gods" which an appropriately accomplished adept can see, identify and utilize for Perfection Cultivation or for external uses.

An outstanding example of how it was believed that the inner visualizing powers of the adept could be utilized to perform miracles outside the body is found in MTC #35. According to this story, a certain Ch'en Shih-chung was hosting a party in celebration of his passing the civil service examination when a filthily clad Taoist monk (Lü Ch'un-yang) walked in. When Ch'en asked him if he possessed any skills, the Taoist answered, "I have a piece of Immortal music which I would like to play to help liven up this celebration." and showed Ch'en a picture scroll depicting twelve gorgeous Immortal girls, each holding a musical instrument. When the Taoist called for them, each one came out of the picture and stood before Ch'en in full life size. When Ch'en asked who these beautiful lasses were, the Taoist answered, "These are the Six Chia Jade Girls and Six Ting Jade Girls. If a person studies the Tao, the three hun, seven p'o and the various gods of the five viscera and the six bowels will become like this." Ch'en was still not brought to faith and regarded the stunt as some kind of a hoax; so the Taoist made the Jade Girls return to the picture scroll, swallowed the scroll, wrote a poem and left. Ch'en, upon reading the poem finally realized who the Taoist was, and lived to regret his own stubborn scepticism.

A specific method designed to make present the gods of the respective organs is described quite clearly in Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's TTCC. Ch'iu tells us that each of the five viscera has its appropriate day and hour at which it should be "refined". The liver is to

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95 我有仙樂一部欲奏以侑燕席
96 此穴甲穴六丁玉女字道成則身中三魂七魄五臓六腑諸神仙而為此
be refined during the mao 早 hour (5-7 a.m.) on chia 甲 and yi 乙 days, the heart during the wu 午 hour (11 a.m.-1 p.m.) on ping 午 and ting 丁 days, the lungs during the you 遠 hour (5-7 p.m.) on keng 歌 and shen 神 days, and the kidneys during the zu 子 hour (11 p.m.-1 a.m.) on jen 金 and kui 犀 days. On wu 戊 and chi 乙 days, the adept does not do any refining since the spleen only receives the refined ch'i of the other organs and does not undergo any refining of its own. These instructions are followed by some commentary (written by an anonymous commentator) which specifies what this "refining" involved:

"Sit still in a dark room, offer a stick of incense and knock your teeth together twenty-four times. Straighten your posture, sit relaxedly, and internally visualized the organ which you are refining. Breath long and soft breaths with your nose as though you were preserving (your perfect ch'i). When your stillness climaxes, ch'i will be born. When the ch'i climaxes, the god will appear. It will be like a dream, yet it is not a dream. Amidst darkness the god and the ch'i will ascend. You must not be inconsistent with the days and times designated above. With your spirit follow the day, and your perfect ch'i should follow the hour, and thereby you should move and transport them. You must observe the proper time and day. If you refine them (the viscera) for 100 days, your ch'i will be sufficient and the gods will appear. Truly if you wish to ascend to Immortal-hood, do not stop at long life and no death."

Wang Ch'ung-yang wrote a poem titled "Hsing-hsiang-tzu" which seems to be describing what the adept experiences during the midst of this kind of intense meditational visualization aimed at encountering the divine forces within the body. Here are some excerpts:

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97 Perhaps the passage is better understood as saying that the refining starts at 6 a.m. and lasts indefinitely rather than just the two hours of mao. If so, it would have to be understood as saying that the refining starts for the rest of the organs at 12 p.m., 6 p.m. and 12 a.m. respectively and lasts indefinitely.

98 Days were grouped into cycles of ten days each designated by the ten kan 十 symbols.


100 ibid. lower chuan pp.1a-b. See Plate 132.
"Just as the first drum 一鼓 101 sounds I offer incense to the water virtue (kidneys).
I see the Black Tortoise on top of the waves showing his auspiciousness.
The nose does all the breathing and the blindness of my eyes 102 shines and illuminates.............
Just as the second drum mingles [with the drumstick?], I offer incense to the metallic virtue [lungs].
Mounted on a tiger is the Male Infant,
Who hangs a bright shining blade from his hip and holds a blue steel handle in his hand.
100 demons are expelled, 1000 demons are slain and 10,000 demons perish.
Vastly appearing and lining up in large numbers spewing silver rays throughout,
The stars pay their respects to the Big Dipper before them.
The southwestern position 103 points out the fragrance,
Acquiring causes for good results, opening up causes for favorable results,
And opening up causes for fortunate results, I flourish.
Just as the [the sound of] the third drum is distinguished apart, I offer incense to the fire virtue (the heart).
At the beginning of the moon I properly illuminate the Heart King 104, [Who] shines brilliantly in bright red colors.
I see the original perfect life 真性 105, the numinous perfect wisdom and great perfect rectification............
Just as the fourth drum has subsided, I burn incense to the wood virtue (the liver).
On top of the Blue Dragon sits the Pretty Lass 娘娘.
Her mouth spews red ch'i 106 and she wears a vermillion skirt.
She also wears red jade flowers on her head, eats red jade pollen and drinks red jade juice............

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101 This refers to the first of five "drums" which designate five equally divided time periods during the night. Since at each "drum" new guards went on duty, the five "drums" were also called the five "changes [of the guard]" or five "watches 五更.

102 Probably refers to the fact that the adept visualizes internally without looking at anything externally.

103 Physiologically, "the southwestern position" would refer to the ch'i route from the heart to the lungs.

104 Because an adept wants to control his ch'i with his spirit or his thinking capacity, the god of the heart (the thinking organ) is supposed to preside as king over the other visceral gods.

105 Perhaps a mistake which was supposed to read, "perfect nature 真性.

106 Red is the color associated with the heart. Perhaps what is being referred to here is the blood produced by the heart which is mixed with the ch'i of the liver (Blue Dragon).
Just as the [striking of the] fifth drum is completed, I burn incense to the soil virtue (the spleen).
Being thoroughly able to take the four appearances\(^107\) (Black Tortoise, Male Infant, Heart King, Pretty Lass),
I wrap them up and store them.
Having now made all of them appear, I gather them in the center........
Since I have already realized empty vacuity,
I will therefore leave K'un Hill\(^108\).
Golden Youths come forth and secret words are widely proclaimed.
The Emperor of Heaven gives me an audience and transmits and gives to the Windy Madman.
Eternally I reside in pure serenity.
Perpetually pure and still, I acquire pure coolness.\(^109\)

The process described here by Wang Ch'ung-yang seems to perhaps work on a different time scheme from what is described by Ch'iu in TTCC, as the inner visualization of each organ here seems to be taking place in immediate succession in one sitting, and also the order is backwards. According to Ch'iu, the liver was supposed to be refined first followed by the heart, lungs, kidneys before the \(ch'i\) is gathered in the spleen. According to the above poem by Wang the organs were to be refined in the exact opposite order before the final gathering in the spleen. However, both Ch'iu and Wang are speaking of a process of visualization designed to make deities appear from each organ during which breathing is to be controlled and which was to be preceeded by the offering of incense. The offering of incense was a way of paying respect towards a deity. What the object of reverence is supposed to be here is not clear, but my guess would be that it is the god of the particular organ being refined or perhaps one of the great Immortals of the Ch'\'ian-chen tradition

\(^{107}\)The term, "appearances" very often refers to heavenly bodies visible in the sky. The connotation here seems to be that these four personified visceral spirits are astral in nature.

\(^{108}\)The K'un-lun mountains where the legendary Immortal land of Hsi-wang-mu (Queen Mother of the West) was believed to exist. "K'un-lun" is often used as a metaphor for the head. If such is so in this case, the passage seems to refer to how the enlightened yang spirit of the adept departs from the body through the head.

\(^{109}\)CCC chuan #8 pp. 4b-5b. See Plate 133.
such as Lu Ch'un-yang who were thought to serve as the adept's guardians during his Perfection Cultivation.

The imagery used here by Wang to describe the visceral gods and the rest of the inner scenery differs considerably from that which is used in NCC. Wang's imagery is for a great part derived from that of the Latter Han alchemical classic Chou I Ts'an-t'ung Ch'i. Ch'iu, in TTCC largely eliminates the elaborate description and imagery, never referring to the gods by any name or title. We can see that Liu, Ch'iu, and Wang knew and spoke of internal visualization methods that were not necessarily precisely the same in the way they were carried out, and which often varied drastically in the type of metaphorical terminology which they utilized. These discrepancies basically seem to be caused by two things. First of all, the Perfection Cultivation of the Ch'uan-chen masters was based on the various theories of the various Taoist internal alchemical traditions which developed and evolved over many centuries and which over the years produced many influential "classics" (particularly Ho-shang-kung's Lao-tzu commentary and Chou I Ts'an-t'ung Ch'i of the Latter Han Dynasty, the Huang-t'ing or Yellow Court scriptures of the Six Dynasties Period, and YFC and Ch'ing-ching Ching which seem to have gained prominence during the T'ang Dynasty and Wu-tai period respectively) which were simultaneously revered and drawn upon to formulate the various "secrets" of Perfection Cultivation. Secondly, Ch'uan-chen Taoism laid emphasis on the individual's creative effort to "cultivate his Perfection" by means of the methods and daily activities which were best suited for himself. For this reason, interaction with religious men outside of the immediate tradition for the purpose of absorbing new and useful insight that could hasten the accomplishment of the ultimate goal, was encouraged.

Specific methods and terminology aside, what all of the Ch'uan-chen masters spoke of and put into practice was to through intensive meditation and visualization come to terms
with the various divine forces in their bodies and to conquer all of the evil forces inside and outside their bodies. The result, on a personal level would be good health, long life and Immortal-hood. Externally, this "Perfection" brought about the ability to possess tremendous ritual power and to perform numerous other supernormal feats both mentally and physically. The battles with the evil forces, briefly referred to in the passages which I have quoted from TTCC and "Hsing-hsiang-tzu" were understood to take place frequently, whenever the desires of the flesh and ego attempted to thwart the adept's quest towards Perfection. Ch'iu tells us in TTCC that one of the most treacherous battles takes place at the decisive moment when the body's gods, which had been refined out of the ch'\(i\) of the internal organs, are about to rise from the belly into the brain:

"In accordance with the proper day and time, refine the five viscera. The Perfection of ch'\(i\) will spontaneously appear, and the Perfection of spirit will come out on its own. Illuminate both of them (visualize and concentrate on them), and they will ascend and enter the Heavenly Palace (the brain). Defend yourself against the yin demons who confuse the truth by means of what is false. At this time, the ch'\(i\) will follow the spirit and rise; and the spirit, adhering to the ch'\(i\) will rise from the Central Field (spleen) into the Upper Field (the brain). Yin demons wish for people to age quickly and external devils do not rejoice when people are at peace. [Thus] they falsely create illusions of armies and deceitfully give rise to floating flowers (visions of wealth and grandeur). They also disguise themselves as yang spirits, mingling and rising up together with them (the real yang spirits). It will thus be confusing and hard to distinguish between who is a real form and who is a false form. The sound of flutes will surround you, and chariots and horses will together arise. If you wish to tell them apart, nothing is better than to arouse the perfect fire (concentrate the mind) inside the vermillion (the heart). One [type of burning] is called 'burning the body', a second is called 'subduing the demons', a third is called 'expelling the Three Corpses', a fourth is called 'chasing away the seven p'\(o\)', and a fifth is called 'gathering the yang spirits'. Amidst stillness, visualize inside and naturally [the distinction] will be clear. Just look at the people mingling with each other amidst the fire. In a short while, the ones who rise up singing music will be
your y<sub>yang</sub> spirits, and the ones wailing and sobbing and going away will be the yin demons in your body."<sup>110</sup>

Thus by applying extra concentration ("fire"), the inner demons were to be subdued, and only the y<sub>yang</sub> spirits made to enter the brain. Wang Ch'ung-yang, in a poem titled "Te Tao-yang" (Acquiring the Tao's y<sub>yang</sub>) describes vividly this type of a meditational process where the y<sub>yang</sub> spirits are made to prevail over the evil:

"Unwaveringly I give re-birth to the girl inside 心 (the heart). Cheerfully she smiles and kills the seductress inside the moon.<sup>111</sup>
Brilliantly and clearly I illuminate the rivers throughout the world.
I now turn my head and leave the high slope.
My 36,000 divine brilliances gather.
And in my multi-tiered pavilion my twelve salivas are abundant...........
In the sixth month the pure y<sub>yang</sub> completely enters its lodging.
The yin demons are expelled and [they] leave the streets and districts (of the body).
On the 九 ki<sub>ui</sub> day in the north, I add kidney water.
On the 平-ting 日 day on the southern peak, I burn the Perfect incense.
The demons, ghosts, monsters and devils all become desperate.
The demonic throngs have trouble assembling and lack any kind of defense."<sup>113</sup>

However, according to Ch'iu's TTCC, ultimate victory and dominance over evil is not attained until the "external devils" are also overcome. TTCC tells us that after the y<sub>yang</sub> spirits have prevailed over the internal demons and have ascended into the brain, a vast panorama of mountains and rivers appears before the eyes of the adept as the "fire" (mental concentration) is extinguished and a "clean and cool" sensation is experienced. Aside from this vast natural scenery, the adept must make sure that he ignores everything

<sup>110</sup>TTCC lower chuan p.4a. See Plate 134.
<sup>111</sup>The evil desires within the kidneys, the subconscious.
<sup>112</sup>Days were also designated in this fashion within a 60 day cycle of different combinations of the 10 <i>kan</i> symbols and 12 <i>shih</i> symbols.
<sup>113</sup>CCC chuan #8 pp.7a, 8a. See Plate 135.
else because "ten devils" 十魔 from outside the body will try to deceive the adept by creating ten different evil, tempting visions or sensations. The temptations by the ten devils are:

1. The devil of the six desires: Flute music, beautiful flowers, sweet flavors, excellent fragrances and good feelings.
2. The devil of the seven emotions: Nice breezes, pleasant sunshine, violent thunder and lightning storms, nice music, pathetic wailing voices.
3. The devil of wealth: Sights of various luxuries.
4. The devil of nobility: Sights of royal and military pomp and gallantry.
5. The devil of love: Sights of family and relatives undergoing severe difficulties and tragedies.
6. The devil of calamities: Sights of one's own body facing various hazards.
7. The devil of swords and soldiers: Sights of armies engaging in battles.
8. The devil of the Sacred Sages: The sight of the Three Pure Ones 三清, the Jade Emperor 玉皇 and other supreme deities.
10. The devil of women and sex: Sights of gorgeous women trying to seduce you.

114 Three supreme deities; Primordial Heavenly Worthy 元始天尊, Numinous Treasure Heavenly Worthy 重寶天尊 (also known as Most High Lord Tao 太上道君) and Tao's Inner Power Heavenly Worthy 道德天尊 (Also known as Most High Lord Lao 太上老君) who reside in the Three Pure Realms 三清境 of Jade Purity 玉清, Upper Purity 上清, and Great Purity 太清 respectively.

115 Also referred to as the Heavenly Emperor 上帝, he was regarded as the supreme actively reigning deity in Taoism from around the Wu-tai Period and on. Also regarded as the supreme deity in the pantheon of popular religion.
If the practitioner becomes deceived and distracted by these kinds of visions, he never will be able to get to the ultimate stage where his yang spirit can leave and re-enter the physical body at will. Only when the yang spirit has achieved victory over both the internal yin demons and the external devils within the process of meditational trance experience, has the adept achieved the complete freedom from the mundane realm which binds his spirit to his body.

Thus at the end of TTCC, Ch'iu describes a method specifically designed to make the adept able to send his yang spirit out and bring it out at will:

"Simply every day, [from] Heaven's illumination (sunrise) till the yellow darkening (sunset) which is daytime, and from sunset till when the five watches 五更 (the timespan from sunset to sunrise divided into five time periods) kill the dots (when the sun rises and the stars stop being visible) which is night time; do not be concerned with going, staying, sitting or lying. Simply during the daytime practice the Way of the Life Stem inside the Navel. At night, practice the Way of the Nature's Root, the Head's Gate. When you have no [notion of] earliness or lateness and no longer feel hunger nor thirst, practice this for 100 [more] days and the elixir will be brought together. After 300 days, the elixir medicine will be brought together, and after three years, the womb's Immortal will be brought together, and naturally your yang spirit will come out from and go into the head's gate, going and coming without hindrance. This is called 'The Marvel of the Perfected Elixir'妙丹之妙."  

What is being described here seems to be the kind of extremely rigorous ascetic training which each of the Ch'uan-chen masters put themselves through for several years before they were able to feel satisfied that they had reached Perfection. This crucial stage

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116 This means that the prescribed process of cultivation is to be undergone at all moments during all activities.

117 This probably means that one does not ever become tired or sleepy.

118 "Elixir", "elixir medicine" and "womb's Immortal" are abstract metaphors for progressive stages of enlightenment, ch'i control, and power.

119 TTCC lower chuan p.11a. See Plate 136.
of the adept's life involved denying oneself of the most basic comforts such as proper rest and nourishment. The mind of the adept was to remain concentrated on his training at all times and in all activities. Ideally, the adept was supposed to be able to go without sleeping or eating at all. As we saw in Chapter One, Ch'iu Ch'ang-chun is said to have stayed awake for six years during his training period at the P'an-hsi Gorge. An adept's ability to endure extreme deprivation of ordinary every day comforts and necessities was yet another super-normal capacity which gave him his credibility as a Perfected Man.\textsuperscript{120}

So what exactly was it that the adept was to concentrate on in this final stage of the quest for super-human status? In the above passage, Ch'iu speaks of the Way of the Life Stem Inside the Navel and the Way of the Nature's Root, the Head's Gate, which he goes on to describe as follows:

"To practice the Life Stem in the daytime, simply rub your hands together and make them warm and hold them against the circle of your navel. Devote your mind to this, and simply preserve [the gathered and refined \textit{ch'i}] in the circle of the navel. Without thinking nor contemplating, simply make it stable and motionless. Spontaneously you will feel \textit{Spiritual Water} (saliva) descend to the navel. The \textit{Perfect Water} will then spurt up from the Cinnaber Field below the navel and jump directly up to the head's gate. Leaving yourself to self-so-ness (spontaneously, with no conscious effort), again [repeat this] an infinite number of times. Simply use your whole will to preserve the circle of the navel. If your desires cease, your going and coming are completed (your activities have served their purpose) and you no longer need to be concerned with it.(Everything will be under control without using any kind of a prescribed method.) After a long while, your Cinnabar Field will be like fire, your vital spirit will be vast and beautiful, and your spiritual marvels will be undescrivable.

To practice the Nature's Root at night, simply press your upper gums with your tongue and gradually plug up and stabilize the two passage of the throat. Devote your will to this. Only preserve the head's gate without thinking or contemplating. Simply unmovingly stabilize [your will]. Spontaneously you will feel the true fire

\textsuperscript{120}\textit{See Chapter Two pp. 98 -10 .}
coming up from below, jumping up and directly reaching the head's
gate. If your desires cease, come and go as you please without
concern. After a long time, the inside of your head will gradually be
like it is hearing sounds of the music of the Immortals off in the
distance. A perfect fragrance will come forth within the nose. The
spiritual marvels will be hard to describe. The secret lessons of the
Golden Elixir all culminate at this."\(^{121}\)

Thus, to an adept in these final stages, the realm of the marvelous is accessible
through extremely simple (though excruciating) methods which themselves become
obsolete once all desires have ceased. (More specifically this probably refers to the state
where the adept stops getting hungry or sleepy and is never aroused towards ejaculating
voluntarily or involuntarily.) He experiences all of the super-normal trance experiences
without the complicated (although much less excruciating) methods of seated meditation
and internal visualization. The battles with the external evil forces no longer take place
within him. Ma Tan-yang, at the end of TYL (quoted in the conclusion of Chapter Two)
says that after the adept has gotten rid of his attachments and is "pure and still" on the
surface and within (celibate, and in control of all bodily mechanisms which can cause
leakage if the mind is distracted and loses control of them) and as a result does not leak
(primarily means to not leak semen or menstrual blood) for long periods of time, the adept
will (along with attaining long life and spiritual immortality) "respond and move limitlessly
with 1000 changes and transformations" and have his "36,000 numinous spirits dance and
jump and roam through the world under Heaven and the Three Realms commanding and
predicting." In contrast to Ch'iu who speaks of a period of three years of concentrating on
the Life Stem and the Nature's Root for the yang spirit to be made free to come and go at
will, Ma speaks of this happening after a period of nine years in which the adept's training
is divided into three three-year processes in which different levels of Perfection (described
as the lower, middle and upper elixirs) are attained. Perhaps Ch'iu also perceived of six

\(^{121}\) TTCC pp.11a-12a. See Plate 137.
years before the final three year stage during which the adept was to concentrate on the more detailed but less arduous processes such as those described in the other parts of TTCC. But anyway, since the Ch'üan-chen masters stressed individual effort, investigation and innovation, the more specific aspects of their theories and methods did not necessarily have to be identical. For now, for the sake of my present discussion, I hope that it can suffice to say that the Ch'üan-chen masters generally seem to have claimed that through their various training methods, they not only could gain good health, long life and Immortality; but they also could come more and more in contact with the supernormal realm of experience and power, eventually becoming able to experience and perform the supernormal without any special exertion or effort.

Thus I hope that I have sufficiently outlined the theoretical foundation upon which beliefs involving the miraculous powers of the Perfected Men came to develop. It can clearly be seen from the writings of the Ch'iüan-chen masters that in theory the attainment of Perfection which led to Immortality simultaneously led to the attainment of unlimited spiritual and physical capacities. What is more, the various methods of Perfection Cultivation involved trance experiences in which the supernormal realm was experienced and one's internal divine forces were brought forth and made to prevail in combat over the evil forces. The final result was not only a yang spirit that would merely survive after the death of the physical body, but one which could be sent in and out of the body at will and exert tremendous power during the adept's mundane existence. Thus the Ch'iüan-chen masters, as Perfected Men, by definition virtually had to be miracle workers. And that is how the hagiographies came to depict them.

(b) The Miracles

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We will now examine the various miracle stories in the hagiographies while trying as much as possible to find confirmation for such stories in the writings of the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves. I will also be commenting on the purposes that the miracles serve within the hagiographies and the purposes for which the Ch'üan-chen masters exhibited or claimed to exhibit their miraculous powers. We will also see how this image of the miracle-working Perfected Man was in large part based on the model of Taoist hagiography that preceded the Ch'üan-chen sect, particularly the numerous stories involving Lü Ch'ün-yang, such as those compiled in MTC.

As we saw in the first part of this chapter, the Perfection Cultivation of the Ch'üan-chen masters was seen as a process in which the adept progressively refined his body's ch'i to create a "yang spirit" or a "body outside of the body" which, because of its being yang, was very often conceived of as giving off a bright radiance called "spiritual light" which, according to Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's "fall from grace" story, was present in all people at the beginning of creation. You may recall that in "Lun Liu-t'ung Chúeh", the Perfected Man of the Blue Mist spoke of a sensation experienced by the adept before the actual Six Penetrations, in which the room in which he is sitting becomes bright as daylight in the middle of night time. The fact that many believers (if not all of them) conceived of this spiritual light literally as an actual visible radiance rather than simply a metaphor for profound insight or a trance experienced by the adept alone is illustrated clearly in the following passage from one of Wang Ch'ung-yang's biographies:

"In the fourth month of the chi-chou year, the ninth year [of the Ta-ting reign era] (1169), a certain Chou Po-t'ung of Ning-hai invited the Perfected Man (Wang Ch'ung-yang) to live in a
[The Perfected Man] put up a sign that read, 'Golden Lotus Hall.' At night there was spiritual light shining and radiating [from Golden Lotus Hall] as bright as day. People thought that it was on fire, but when they went close to it, they saw the Perfected Man going about in [his] light's brilliance."

Also, the hagiographies make it clear that most (if not all) believers literally thought that when the adept's yang spirit travelled outside of the body, it was actually visible to others. As we will see later, its capacity to be visible to others was thought of as an important defining characteristic of the Perfected Man's yang spirit. One of the many miracle stories in *T'i-hsuan Chen-jen Hsien-yi Lîl* (HYL) tells about the time when Mr. Liu, the Liquor Official (an official who oversees the brewing of liquor which is to be consumed in the imperial palace) of Ts'ang-chou (in Hopei) invited Wang Yu-yang to have a few drinks with him. After a few drinks Yu-yang lay on his side and fell asleep. While he was sleeping inside Mr. Liu's house, he also appeared in Mr. Liu's storehouse, drinking massive quantities of liquor. Having witnessed this incredible miracle, Mr. Liu and his wife were moved towards faith in the Tao, and thereby left their home, joined the Ch'uan-chen clergy and gave all of their money and property to the poor. *Kan-shui Hsien-yuan Lu* (KSL) and *Chin-lien Cheng-tsung Hsien-yuan Hsiang-ch'uan* (HC) tell of similar feats performed by Wang Ch'ung-yang, T'an Ch'ang-chen and Liu Ch'ang-sheng:

"Sometimes [Wang Ch'ung-yang] manifested two heads. While he was sitting in his hut, people would see him wandering amongst the shops."
"One day the master (T'an Ch'ang-chen) chained shut [the entrance to] his hut and went to Wei-chou (in Honan). In the evening the Temple Director Wen Liu saw a fiery radiance inside the hut and saw the master sitting while holding fire. The Temple Director was amazed and sent a person to go to [Wei-]chou and look for the master. The master was found sleeping in an inn by the northern entrance of the town and had not yet wakened. When [the person sent to look for him] returned to the hut, the fire and cinders had not yet burned out."

"In the second year of the Ming-ch'ang reign era (1191), the Commandant-escort (a high ranking military official) P'u San-chu was in charge of Lai-chou (in Shantung). He became deceived by a slanderous accusation and ordered Commandant of the Capitol Patrol Luan Wu-chieh to pursue and arrest [Liu Ch'ang-sheng]. A short while after he was put in prison, the people in the marketplaces saw the master (Liu) conversing with friends of the Tao (laymen) as usual at the south of the city walls. Cheng the lackey and Wang the receptionist also saw this and thought that the master had escaped. When they went and looked inside the prison, the master was in there, sound asleep. The two of them were bewildered and they told of what they had seen to the Commandant[-escort]. The Commandant[-escort] realized that the master was a person who has the Tao and immediately ordered his release."

One thing that is interesting in the above passages is that the Perfected Man sends out his yang spirit while sleeping. The popular theory as to how dreams were caused (in China and in other cultures) was that the spirit of a person wandered freely on its own accord (not according to the conscious mind of the person) outside of the body during his sleep. What distinguished a Perfected Man from an ordinary person is that his yang spirit

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125 Perhaps better translated as "surrounded by fire".
126 HC p.27b. See Plate 139.
127 HC p.30a. See Plate 140.
was visible, acted according to his conscious volition, and could do physical things such as eat, drink, converse with people etc. In these situations, it ought to be said that the real Perfected Man, spiritually and physically, exists where the yang spirit is seen, and the body is temporarily cast aside like a cicada shell or a snake skin.

The hagiographies also tell us that a Perfected Man was supposedly able to communicate with people by sending out his yang spirit and making it appear in, or influence the contents of their dreams. This special power is commonly referred to as "sending out the spirit and entering dreams" 出神入夢. According to some of the biographies, this was a principle method by which Wang Ch'ung-yang converted his top disciple and successor, Ma Tan-yang, and his wife, Sun Ch'ing-ching. Chin-lien Cheng-tsung Chi (CLC) tells us that Wang "sent out his spirit and entered their dreams with various kinds of changes and manifestations, scaring them with [scenes of] purgatory and inviting them with [scenes of] heaven."^{128} KSL includes a much more elaborate account in which Wang, who had had himself locked up into a meditational hut for a hundred days during which he undergoes partial fasting, appears frequently before Ma who is sleeping in the second story of his own house, as a strange spirit whose "left eye turned clockwise and right eye turned counter-clockwise and sometimes appeared as old, young, fat, skinny, yellow, vermillion, blue and white with no constant form nor color."^{129} He also causes Ma to see several different dreams which turn out to be pre-indications of certain names and titles which Wang eventually gives to Ma.

You may recall how TTCC described intense ascetic abstention from eating and sleeping as a technique aimed at becoming able to send out the yang spirit from the head.

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^{128} CLC chuan #5 pp.8b-9a: 出神入夢謂之受現, 小瞿玄以地獄縛之以天堂。^129^ KSL chuan #1 p.4b: 左目右轉, 右目左轉, 或現老少肥瘠黃牛, 色自形自無定
Perhaps it was a certain familiarity with this kind of a method that caused the formation of the story about Wang sending out his yang spirit while undergoing rigorous meditation and fasting inside the locked hut. Perhaps the locking of the hut and the fasting are to be understood as preliminary procedures which Wang took in order to send out his spirit.

What also seems to have been a very likely source of inspiration for the stories about Wang converting Ma through his dreams is the story about the "Yellow Millet Dream" which Chung-li Cheng-yang used to convert the reluctant Lú Ch'un-yang who was entertaining his ambition to pass the civil service examinations. According to this legend (MTC #2), the 21 year old Lú was in Ch'ang-an in the year 810 in order to take the civil service examination when Chung-li (disguised as a Taoist beggar-monk) visited the inn where he was staying. When Chung-li told Lu to become a Taoist monk, Lú told him that he would, but only after he had passed the examination and had brought glory to his family. Chung-li then begged to be fed, so Lú ordered a servant to cook some yellow millet (a large-grained variety of millet). Suddenly while the millet was cooking, Lú became sleepy. Chung-li gave him a pillow called the "as you wish pillow", telling him that it would cause him to see pleasant dreams. As soon as he fell asleep, Lu dreamt of an entire lifetime of 50 years in which he attains all of the fame, wealth and women that he wants, only to eventually plummet into poverty, illness, old age and death. When he woke up, the grain had not yet finished cooking. From this experience, Lu came to realize that life is but a temporary and illusory dream in which nothing is worth becoming ecstatic or upset over, and thus abandoned his worldly ambitions and his family ties in order to pursue the Tao.
From the fact that Ma Tan-yang cites this particular legend in one of his poems, we can tell that the story of the Yellow Millet Dream was known of by the Ch'üan-chen masters. It is really quite likely that the stories about Wang entering Ma's dreams while locked up in the hut were started by Wang and Ma themselves or by the group of believers surrounding them at the time, partly in order to emulate the tradition involving the master-disciple relationship of Chung-li and Lü which had already captured the imagination of numerous people involved with the Ch'üan-chen sect or other Golden Elixir schools throughout China. Unfortunately, I have not found any evidence in the writings of Wang or Ma that can prove that they had claimed that Wang had entered Ma's dreams when locked up inside his hut. However, I have found the following passage from TYL which can perhaps serve as proof that Ma did himself claim to have been instructed by Wang within the context of dreams during his disciple-hood:

"The master (Ma Tan-yang) said, 'When I was in my home village (Ning-hai), the Patriarch-Master (Wang Ch'ung-yang) ordered his disciples to go into Lai-chou in order to beg. For several days I hesitated. [One] night I dreamed of the master saying, 'Tomorrow straighten your posture (sit on the ground with your back straightened) for a long time, and go about your task in an orderly way. Good fellows hold out their hands in the streets.'"  

Thus it seems that Ma did claim to have seen dreams of Wang instructing him, which we may perhaps understand as theoretically caused by Wang sending out his yang spirit. Among Wang's disciples, T'an, Yu-yang, Hao and Ho Yu-ch'uan have
passages written about them stating that they sent out their spirits and entered dreams. The story involving T'an is particularly interesting:

"In the sixteenth year [of the Ta-ting reign era] (1176), [T'an] went up to Lo-choup [Loyang]. [Living] by the Pai-chia Rapids was a farmer with an illness which he had been treating for months without any good results. [One night,] he dreamed of a Taoist monk giving him some red colored medicine which he then swallowed. When he woke up, the illness was cured. The next day he saw the master (T'an) and exclaimed, 'This is the master who gave me medicine in the dream!' He wanted to thank him, but the master paid no attention to him."\(^{133}\)

Ch'üan-chen miracles generally fall into two categories in terms of their motive and function. The first category is that of miracles performed to make believers out of non-believers or to instruct those who already believe, towards more profound insight. Most instances of "sending out the spirit" belong to this category. But the above episode belongs to the category of miracles performed to help people physically, particularly by healing diseases. For the most part, the Ch'üan-chen masters were thought to utilize their miraculous powers in order to help people both spiritually and physically. As an enlightened being motivated in his mundane life only by feelings of mercy and compassion for all people, the Ch'üan-chen Perfected Man was idealized as being able to use his powers in a completely versatile manner to accord with any person's needs in any given situation. From the popular lay perspective, this is how phrases such as "rescuing objects and marvelously penetrating with the spirit" (passage D on pp.271-272), "respond to circumstances with myriad changes" (passage F on p.272) and "serenely and unwaveringly they feel and penetrate accordingly" (passage G on pp.272-273) were probably understood, and were partly intended to be understood by the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves.

\(^{133}\)HC pp.27b-28a. See Plate 141.
The *yang* spirit of the Perfected Man was believed to be immortal. Thus naturally the hagiographies include accounts of the *yang* spirit performing miraculous deeds after the physical death of the Perfected Man. As we saw in Chapter Three, the popular belief that Immortals such as Lü Ch'un-yang at times, out of mercy and compassion, manifest themselves to mortals, was an integral part of the Ch'üan-chen belief system. Various passages within Ch'üan-chen literature depict the Ch'üan-chen masters after their deaths appearing in such a manner or functioning more or less in the role of a deity ready to come to the rescue of his worshippers. CLC includes the following narrative of the events that took place following the death of Wang Ch'ung-yang:

"After the death of his exterior, (Wang Ch'ung-yang) spoke of the profound and persuaded the heart of Old Man Tsang under the Chun-yi Bridge. By the Liu-chiang Gorge he healed Mr. Chang's disease by giving him medicine. At times [he was seen] dancing by the right side of the K'un-ming Pond and at times [he was seen] singing and reciting [poetry] around Mt. Chung-nan. There are [such incidents] which prove that he did not die."\(^{134}\)

The narrative goes on to say that when Ma, T'an, Liu and Ch'iu were traveling westward from Pien-ching (where Wang died) towards the Shensi region carrying Wang's coffin (in order to bury him at Liu-chiang Village), the following was what happened:

"At every place they arrived, when they were about to pay for their lodging and food, the innkeeper would always say, 'A Taoist monk came by and has already paid for everything.' [The disciples] would then pursue [the Taoist monk], but were never able to find him. When they had the innkeeper describe his appearance, they would [always] realize that it was the Patriarch-Master's manifestation body.\(^{135}\)"

\(^{134}\)CLC chuan #2 p.6b

\(^{135}\)CLC chuan #2 p.7a
The narrative then goes on to tell of how Wang continued to manifest himself even after he was buried:

"First he wandered off to Teng-chou (in Shantung). Outside of the Immortal Gazing Gate he saw a very steep and perilous looking decorated bridge and said, 'Some day, this bridge will encounter Ho and will definitely be destroyed.' Nobody among the masses understood what he meant. Twelve years later, the Prefect Sir Ho disliked the extreme steepness of the bridge and had it destroyed and replaced by a flatter bridge paved with rocks. This bridge is now known as the Meeting Immortals Bridge. Later, a chiao ritual was being held in Wen-teng District (Shantung). Amidst five-colored clouds appeared an extremely large white tortoise with a lotus flower on its back. The Patriarch-Master was seated upon the lotus flower. After a while, he lay down on his side and left. The district magistrate Ni personally witnessed this and thus burned incense and reverently worshipped him. He ordered a painter to make a portrait of his Perfected countenance. People of three regions gazed upon it in admiration."

Thus we can see that Wang after his death allegedly appeared before people in order to preach and heal and to provide for the needs of his disciples as they carried his coffin westward. After his burial he performed a prognostication much like he did from time to time before his death and appeared at a chiao ritual, inspiring people to make him into an object of worship.

Concerning alleged instances of the Ch’uan-chen masters manifesting their yang spirits prior to their deaths, there is very little reference in the writings of the Ch’uan-chen masters themselves. Perhaps this is because such legends developed later and were not based upon their own claims. But on the other hand, some very clear references are made in their writings concerning miracles involving the yang spirit of the Perfected Man after

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136 A large-scale Taoist ritual.
137 This sounds like a foreign name. He was probably a Jurchen.
138 CLC chuan #2 pp.7a-b. See Plate 142.
his death. In Ma Tan-yang's CYC, there are two poems written in praise of his late teacher which refer to the exact same incidents mentioned above along with a few others which were more personal experiences of his own:

"In Praise of Perfected Man Ch'ung-yang's Manifestations of his Extraordinariness

The Perfected Man of Compassionate Transformations, Master-Father [Wang] Ch'ung-yang; He had a penetrating understanding of all things, And predicted the time of his death,139 His speech was like the heart's wind, And his prediction came true in the southern capital. He went upwards ascending the mist, And later instructed Sir Tsang...........

At Ch'i-yang Town (Shensi) he came down to the world wearing a cap. For me he once again transmitted merit (methods of Perfection Cultivation). West of the Hua-ting city walls, He appeared and cured my agonizing disease, And ch'i was distributed throughout my body. At Wen-teng atop the clouds, He manifested his compassionate countenance. The district magistrate Ni-mang Hu saw him. After a while he again returned to the Heavenly Palace. Matters of Perfection and truth, Are rare amidst past and present. From these things [my master is] worthy of being worshipped by people."140

"In praise of the Appearance of Perfected Man Ch'ung-yang

At the ancient province of Teng-chou, Outside of the Immortal Gazing Gate, The decorated bridge was difficult for carriages and horses to cross. The Master-Father Ch'ung-yang, Manifested his school's tradition (for the people as an illustration).

139see p.277
140CYC chuan #10 pp.15a-b. See Plate 143.
He predicted that it (the bridge) would encounter Ho and definitely be destroyed.
After twelve years the Provincial Governor Sir Ho,
Disliked its steepness.
He ordered his men to destroy it,
And ordered a carpenter to build a new one.
The Perfected Man of Marvelous Deeds,
Master-Father Ch'ung-yang,
Met his master Patriarch Lu, And profoundly penetrated for ten years.
Accomplishing the Tao before he left to return (to merge with the Tao),
And was able to ride the wind.
In twelve years he descended to the world three times.
He was by nature honest and upright.
In all matters he was fair.
In Heaven above he manifests,
The workings of non-action,
Manifesting the merit of self-so-ness."

Thus we can see that not only did Ma confirm the numerous posthumous manifestation stories described in CLC, but he also claimed to have met the Immortalized Wang a couple of times himself and that he was cured of a disease on one of those occasions. Apparently he is referring to incidents that I have already introduced you to in Chapters Two and Three. In Chapter Two, we examined the incident at Hua-t'ing in which Ma suffered food-poisoning but refused to take medicine. While Ma vowed to cure it on his own, the above poem indicates that he had had a mystical encounter with Wang during this ordeal which he believed to have cured him. The encounter at Ch'i-yang that he mentions in the above poem is probably the same one that we examined on pp. 141-142 in Chapter Three. The above poem seems to have been written to serve the same function as the miracle accounts in the hagiographies; to bear testimony to the fact that Wang was no ordinary man and that his teachings and methods are efficacious. We can also see evidence

141 ibid. chuan #10 p.23a. See Plate 144.
in the above poems that Ma also claimed that his teacher possessed the ability to see into the future.

A majority of the miracle stories in the hagiographies are probably products of the imaginations of the believers in later years. We also know that the Ch'üan-chen masters were at times critical of those who they felt were abusing the faith of the believers by fabricating stories which were not true or by performing deceptive tricks. But passages like the ones above which I quoted from CYC prove that certain miracle stories were actually based on claims made by the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves who utilized such stories to attract the disbelieving. It seems that the narratives of the posthumous appearances of the Perfected Men are particularly prominent within the writings of the Ch'üan-chen masters for two reasons:

(1) As we saw in Chapter Three, their own personal faith was largely centered around the faith in merciful Immortals who come to the rescue of people motivated by mercy and compassion. Perhaps the most instrumental background tradition which helped form the Ch'üan-chen sect was the vast variety of legends involving the miraculous manifestations of Lü Ch'un-yang. For the Ch'üan-chen masters, some kind of an encounter with a merciful Immortal, whether through direct personal contact, trance experience or dream experience; was regarded as a necessary step in the path towards Perfection. Thus naturally it was important to be able to believe that the Immortals did in fact manifest themselves and that the Ch'üan-chen masters did the same after their deaths.

(2) Posthumous manifestation accounts were extremely valuable for confirming the fact that the late master was indeed a Perfected Man, in order to thereby legitimimize the act of deifying the master and developing various forms of devotion and worship towards him. Posthumous worship of the Ch'üan-chen masters along with the legendary lineage of patriarchs, Lü Ch'un-yang, Liu Hai-ch'an, Chung-li Cheng-yang and Tung-hua Ti-ch'un;
was instrumental in providing the Ch’üan-chen sect with its own unique and defining focus of worship, and perhaps provided believers with new deities who would seem more accessible and ready to answer to their needs than some of the other powerful yet more aloof deities like Most High Lord Lao or the Primordial Heavenly Worthy.

Thus naturally, the hagiographies tell us that eventually Ma Tan-yang, Sun Ch’ing-ching and Ho Yü-ch’an followed the same path to Immortality and deification. The stories involving Ho are especially interesting. Ho was a disciple of Wang Ch’ung-yang during the years prior to when he travelled eastward to establish his ministry in Shantung. Ho met Wang’s disciples from Shantung (Ma, T’an, Liu and Ch’iu) for the first time when they came to Shensi to bury their master. Under the guidance of Wang’s successor, Ma, Ho felt that he had managed to attain Perfection. Thus he allegedly expressed his gratitude to Ma by uttering the following words at his death:

"I received great favors from you but have no [other] means by which to pay you back. If in the future you have any great troubles, I just beg you to burn incense and silently recite my name. Thereupon I shall come to your rescue."142

Thus he is depicted as obviously confident that upon his death he would become an Immortal who could act as a deity who could come to the aid of those who needed him and looked to him for help. CLC goes on to show that he was indeed right by telling us that after his death he appeared in the dream of a certain Old Man Chang who had been suffering from an illness. In the dream, Ho prescribed for Chang a certain medicinal recipe. When Chang woke up he prepared the medicine for himself as prescribed and took it, and his disease was healed.

142 CLC chuan #2 p.11a: 我蒙子厚恩無以為報汝若將來有大患難但請焚香密語吾名即當救汝
According to CLC, the following is what happened right after Sun Ch'ing-ching passed away:

"At this time (when Sun passed away), [Ma] Tan-yang was residing in his shack in Ning-hai. He looked up and saw the Immortal Girl (Sun) riding five-colored auspicious clouds floating lightly in mid-air. She smiled and said, 'I will be heading home towards (the realm of the Immortals) before you. When Tan-yang heard this he swept up his garments and rose up and started dancing.'

Ma and Sun had been married to each other until Ma decided to become a disciple of Wang Ch'ung-yang. Even after Sun also joined the ranks of the Ch'uan-chen clergy, the two always lived separately so as to not arouse any passions detrimental towards Perfection Cultivation. As for why Ma is depicted as celebrating his loved one's death, my hunch is that the hagiographers have tried to emulate the famous passage of the Chuang-tzu book where Chuang Chou is depicted carrying on happily on the day of his wife's death. CLC (and other biographies) seems to be harkening back to some of the themes and imagery in the ancient Taoist philosophical classic in order to enhance the image of the Ch'uan-chen masters. Of course the reasons for the rejoicing of Chuang Chou and the rejoicing of Ma differ in that Chuang Chou saw life and death as nothing more than two alternate modes of existence and saw no reason to be sad, while in Ma there is a definite joy over his ex-wife's salvation and its promise of his own. But for the purpose sought by the hagiographers, that distinction was in effect, trivial.

The hagiographies also tell us that Wang Ch'ung-yang and Ho Yü-ch'an appeared together in mid-air before Ma in order to tell him that his time to shed his mortal body had

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143 Refers to Peng-lai (island of the Immortals in the Gulf of Chihli) and Lang-feng (mountain of the Immortals in the K'un-lun mountain range).

144 CLC chuan #5 pp.10a-b: 此際丹陽寧海長空之中仰而視久見仙姑乘五色祥雲飄然在空懸之中笑而言曰吾先歸蓬萊閣丹陽聞之弗衣而起舞
come. Right after his death, Ma allegedly appeared in two different places and left poems. On another occasion he was seen floating in mid-air together with Wang. On yet another occasion, 21 of his believers saw him amidst the clouds attended by Immortal Youths at each side. Confirmation of Ma's posthumous \textit{yang} spirit manifestations is provided within the writings of Wang Yü-yang:

"Half a month after completing the Tao (dying and ascending to Immortal-hood) [Ma Tan-yang] suddenly manifested his true extraordinariness in mid-air. Miraculous words of Immortality were reported down below.\textsuperscript{145} Thinking about this I realized that this must be [the doings of] Ma Tan-yang. His flying spirit rescues those in trouble in the various counties. Throughout the nation let us rejoice and praise him while sitting in the place of the Tao (Taoist ritual arena)."\textsuperscript{146}

The very interesting implication of the above poem is that in instances such as that which is described above, it was the Ch'uan-chen masters who would provide the confirmation that a particular miraculous event was in fact the doing of a Perfected Man or an Immortal. It seems as though in the above instance, some kind of a miraculous occurrence (what it was cannot be specified from the information given above) took place which was reported to Yü-yang who provided the opinion that it was the doing of the late Ma Tan-yang. Perhaps the hagiographies include so many instances of the masters appearing after their deaths because the masters themselves influenced the believers into interpreting any mysterious and auspicious occurrence as the result of the divine workings of the Immortals. Thus whatever it was that took place in such instances, the hagiographies reported it as a posthumous \textit{yang} spirit manifestation. If such was indeed the case, it can

\textsuperscript{145}It seems as though some mysterious occurrence had taken place which people were puzzled over.

\textsuperscript{146}Yün-kuang Chi chuan \#2 p.4a. See Plate 145.
be said that the Ch’uan-chen masters were more responsible for bringing about the believers’ obsession with miracle stories than anybody else.

Perhaps the most interesting passage within Ma Tan-yang’s biographies is one which indicates that even prior to his death, he was already serving the role of an efficacious guardian deity in the minds of some believers:

"An ox-driven cart belonging to the Seven Treasures Hut\textsuperscript{147} loaded with a large wooden pillar was passing through a steep and treacherous road. A man who was driving the cart tripped and fell onto the path of the wheels. But inside his mind, the man recited the personal name and sobriquet of [Ma] Tan-yang and thus went completely unharmed."\textsuperscript{148}

If the above story is actually based on any kind of a testimony by the cart driver himself or anybody who had witnessed such an event, it is an outstanding example of how the Ch’uan-chen masters had their believers convinced that they were virtual living gods; and also of how the belief in the divine saving power of the Perfected Men and Immortals formed an integral part of the faith of the common believers. To the most ardent Ch’uan-chen believers who had reached the point where they would recite the name of the sect’s leader in a time of emergency, the "living divine Immortals"\textsuperscript{148} were equal in power and efficacy to the legendary Immortals such as Lü Ch’ün-yang or Chung-li Cheng-yang.

We have already seen how for a very large part, the underlying theories which serve to justify the Perfected Man’s ability to attain supernormal power were drawn from Buddhist concepts. I discussed how it was understood that once a person had become able to see through the emptiness of the temporal realm and see into the transcendant yet omnipresent reality, he was able to understand and know of things beyond the limits of ordinary

\textsuperscript{147}The temple of one of the Five Congregations started in Shantung by Wang Ch’ung-yang.

\textsuperscript{148}CLC chuan #3 p.10a: 七寶庵牛車載巨木路經險峻駕車人僵蹲於轎間輪軸脣破其人念丹陽名號並無所損
sense perception and do things beyond the ordinary capacities of the human body. In Buddhism there is the concept of six types of supernormal powers that an enlightened person could attain called the Six Penetrations, which the Taoists also adopted, as we saw from the passage that I quoted from "Lun Liu-t'ung Chhieh". If so, what, if anything, distinguished the Perfected Man of Ch'üan-chen and other related sects from a miracle performing enlightened Buddhist in terms of his range of powers and the source of power? In the minds of the Ch'üan-chen believers, there came to be a clear distinction, particularly after the spirit's emancipation from the body after death.

This is clearly demonstrated in MTC #18. According to this story, Lú Ch'ün-yang was walking past an old Buddhist temple in Honan in the middle of the night when he saw an apparition of a Buddhist monk. The apparition came forward and bowed to Lú. When questioned by Lú, the monk-apparition said, "I used to be the elder monk affiliated with this temple." As they continued to converse, Lú saw that the monk was sharp and insightful in his responses. Thereupon Lú said, "It is regrettable that you are but a yin spirit." When asked why this was so, Lú went on to say, "I am pure yang. I accord with situations and respond to transformations. People can see [these transformations]. What are you capable of doing?" To prove his point, Lú took the monk-apparition with him to a house where a vegetarian feast was being held. When they arrived at the feast, the host gave Lú a single serving of food. When Lú told him, "There are two people in my party," the host went and got him another single serving of food.

149 甲午元統本寺長老
150 可惜汝為陰靈耶
151 吾純陽隨機充應人皆見之汝何能也
152 吾二人也

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While Lu ate his serving, "the monk inhaled air and [consumed] nothing else." When the host asked Lü where the other person in his party was, Lü told him that he never showed up. Because the monk was but a yin spirit, he was not visible to mortals and was also unable to eat the food that was given to him. The monk thus realized his shortcomings and begged Lü for instruction. Lü then said, "In order to be able to blend together your nature and life-destiny and make your body and spirit both marvelous, you must borrow the ch'i of your father and mother; and cultivate, refine and complete them." After saying this, Lü made the monk enter the womb of the Empress Ts'ao (of the Northern Sung Dynasty) and become reborn as an ugly princess. Because she (formerly he) was so ugly, she was brought up by her grandmother and made to become a Taoist nun. Eventually she encountered Lü, cultivated Perfection properly and became an Immortal.

This story clearly re-inforces the fact that the attainment of Immortality and supernormal capacities within the Golden Elixir tradition of Taoism was seen as a process that had to begin with various physiological methods of ch'i circulation and retention. Particularly in the case of the early Ch'üan-chen sect, this process involved undergoing severe physical ordeals and rejection of ordinary everyday comforts and necessities. The yang spirit which is immortal and which possesses omnipotent power has to be produced by circulating, retaining and refining the ch'i through such practices. This entire aspect of physiological theory and methods is for a large part unique to Taoism, and from the above story we can see that the Taoists came to claim that their holy men were superior to those of Buddhism, specifically in that they had undergone this entire physiological process which

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153 而唯吸熱而已

154 若得性命雙融形神俱妙必假父母元氣修鍊而成
was virtually absent in Buddhist theory and practice. The Buddhist monk who gets portrayed as someone very insightful who had ended up as a weak, powerless, invisible \textit{yin} spirit due to his failure to know of and undergo the necessary physiological processes; is a personification of what the Taoists saw lacking in Buddhism.

This same concept is discussed in Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un’s TTCC. In one passage, Ch’iu quotes several metaphors used by Liu Hai-ch’an, Wang Ch’uang-yang, Chung-li Cheng-yang and Lü Ch’un-yang to describe the \textit{yang} spirit’s escape from the physical body. This passage is followed by the following comments written by the book's anonymous commentator:

"What is described above is ‘the Merit of Refining the Spirit and merging with the Tao, Abandoning the Shell and Ascending to Immortal-hood’ which arrives at self-so-ness. As for Buddhist monks who enter into \textit{samadhi} and die while seated in meditation and Taoists who enter into stillness and thus send out \textit{yin} spirits; these [spirits that they let out] are [nothing but] ghosts of pure vacuity and are not pure \textit{yang} Immortals. They are distantly faint with no appearance and in the end have no place to go to. Why do people who study [Perfection Cultivation] make these mistakes? They especially do not understand that pure \textit{yang ch'i} is born after the essence is refined and made into an elixir. After you refine the \textit{ch'i} and complete the spirit, the Perfected Numinous Divine Immortal transcends the ordinary and enters into sacredness 超凡入聖."\textsuperscript{155}

In a later passage, Ch’iu himself says:

"Generally speaking, if you have a body you will have suffering. If you have no home, you will have no attachments. In the past and present [wise men] all say that arduous effort arrives at non-action\textsuperscript{156}. How can [one who has arrived at non-action through arduous effort] bear to love his body and not leave it? Thus he abandons his shell and ascends to Immortal-hood by coming out from the top of his head. Refining his spirit he transcends ordinariness and becomes an Immortal. People of the world do not like to cultivate and refine, but only want to abandon their shells and"

\textsuperscript{155}TTCC lower \textit{chuan} pp.8a-b. See Plate 146.

\textsuperscript{156}The stage where everything can be accomplished by acting spontaneously according to one's will.
thereby complete the Way of Immortality. How mistaken they are! With their bodies in a dark room they sit still, eliminate their thoughts and forget ideas without allowing outer surroundings to enter and inner surroundings to exit. They are like withered trees and their hearts are like dead ashes (completely devoid of emotion or thought). Their spirit's consciousness protects the One inside, and their minds are not distracted. Amidst their samadhi they let out their spirits which are yin souls. Dark and without appearance, they are not pure yang Immortals."

Thus the essential point is that no matter how thoroughly one has mastered the method of meditational concentration, the best that one can do in terms of sending out the spirit (it is hard to tell whether the above passages are speaking strictly of spiritual liberation at death or are also speaking of the capacity to send the spirit outside prior to death) is to send out a weak, invisible yin spirit which is not at all comparable to the radiantly manifest and almighty yang spirit or Immortal produced by a true Taoist Perfected Man who has undergone the full necessary process which must involve the circulating, retaining and refining of the body's gasses and fluids. It is the power of this yang spirit before and after death which clearly makes a Taoist Perfected Man superior to an enlightened Buddhist adept or a Taoist adept who chooses not to bother with the painstaking process of physical training.

There seem to be a couple of points which distinguish Ch'iu's comments from those of his commentator and from the ideas expressed in the MTC story. First of all, Ch'iu uses the term, "arduous effort" to refer to the methods of physiological training which must precede the emancipation. This perhaps serves to support my hunch that the original Ch'ian-chen masters perhaps emphasized ascetic ordeals more than their predecessors or successors did. Also, while being critical of those who engaged in seated meditation aimed at spiritual emancipation and power without undergoing the physical training, Ch'iu does not point his finger at the Buddhists. Again, this seems to reflect what seems to have been

157 TTCC lower chuan p.9a. See Plate 147.

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a distinguishing trait of Wang Ch'ung-yang and his direct disciples. In all of their writings they always reflect a very friendly attitude towards Buddhism, and there is even evidence that they at times engaged in joint worship with them. Even though they required that the quintessentially religious Taoist physiological training processes be undergone, they never seem to have criticized or discredited the Buddhists for their differences. The mudslinging seems to have started after the first generation of masters had died out and when the Ch'üan-chen sect had come to rival or even temporarily surpass Buddhism in the size of its following and in its political influence.

Another power that the Perfected Man was thought to possess was the ability to communicate at will with the Immortals and supreme deities and call upon their assistance and guidance. I will not deal with this concept in much depth here, as it is a concept which was a significant part of the theories underlying the many rituals which they performed. Thus I will deal with this concept in more detail in Chapter Five. For now I would like to let it suffice to point out that the hagiographies and the writings of the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves indicate quite clearly that the deities and Immortals of recent times and of remote antiquity were entities that existed in a very real way in the minds of the Ch'üan-chen masters and their believers as their spiritual instructors and physical protectors; and that theoretically an accomplished adept could communicate with them freely.

Here I will just give a few examples. CLC gives an alternate version of the story concerning the arrest and release of Liu Ch'ang-sheng which I quoted on p.256. In this version, Liu is rescued by the Immortal Li Ch'un-yang who descends to the world mounted on a unicorn and causes the actual criminal, for whose crime (murder) Liu had been unjustly arrested, to confess. KSL says that T'an Ch'ang-chen learned of his

158Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's P'an-hsi Chi chuan 2 p.0b tells us that in the vicinity of Ch'ang-an, the Taoists and Buddhists gathered and held a joint scripture recitation and confession session.
imminent death when his spirit wandered outside his body and communicated with the late Wang Ch'ung-yang and Ma Tan-yang. Wang Yu-yang's *Yün-kuang Chi* (chuan #4 pp.3a-b) includes a narrative and poem dealing with a bizarre incident that took place at Elixir Hearth Mountain north of Wang Yuan Village in Fu-shan district (in Shantung). Wang Yuan is the name of a legendary alchemist-Immortal from the Han Dynasty. Cinnabar Hearth Mountain was so named because it was said to be the place where Wang Yu'an trained and concocted his Immortality potion. When a group of Ch'uan-chen believers (perhaps Yu-yang was among them) gathered there and happened to be discussing the legend associated with the place, "there was a response from empty space". Yu-yang's poem goes on to describe this "response" as a vision of "five-colored auspicious clouds" accompanied by "clanging Immortal sounds which [are] responses from Golden Youths". The following verses from Wang Ch'ung-yang's CCC serve as a confirmation of the fact that Wang claimed to be able to communicate with Immortals and supreme deities as a result of his Perfection Cultivation:

"You must properly cultivate and organize your original primal nature.  
You should hereby overturn yang and yin.  
Thus you will definitely create a pure song,  
And elegantly recite it to the wise sages.  
The wise sages will give their approval and line up [before you] as if commanded in a dream.

"Last night in my dreams I invited the Eight Immortals."

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159 飄中忽有報應
160 仙韻琅吟童報
161 chuan #8 p.0b: 約正修整互基元性須是返陽陰決作清吟雅詠賢聖賢聖容許陳如夢令
162 The "Eight Immortals" refers to an extremely popular group of eight legendary Immortals which includes Lü Ch'ün-yang and Chung-li Cheng-yang. I am almost convinced that concept of the Eight Immortals more or less as they are known today had been established prior to the Ch'üan-chen sect.
Thereby they gave me phoenix garments and sent down Jade Volumes.......
They vastly left me their teachings and [ritual(?)] methods and opened up my mind's ground.
Righteously I copy their poems and songs and sow seeds into my field of merit.
The secrets and the mechanisms of Heaven;
Who is able to understand them?
[I,] Hai-feng 風, the windy hazard, alone is able to transmit them."

What is strongly implied by Wang in the second poem is that his poetry was a product of divine inspiration. A very interesting episode concerning divinely inspired writing involves Hao Kuang-ning's T'ai-ku Chi 太古集. KSL tells us that in 1182, Hao had an encounter with a Divine Man 神人 who transmitted to him "the secret meanings of the great Book of Changes 大易秘義." From that day on, he was able to predict the fortunes of people with flawless accuracy, and crowds of people came to hear him preach every day. One day, he decided that he wanted to draw diagrams to illustrate the profound meanings of the Book of Changes, and thus told a disciple to of his to bring him a brush and some paper. When the disciple suggested that he wait till after breakfast, Hao said, "I have just now acquired (understood?) the meaning. How could I possibly have the time to be eating gruel!" When he took the brush, he drew 33 diagrams (now part of T'ai-ku Chi ) "quickly like wind and rain" 疾如風雨. KSL then tells us that "their gist and meaning was the profound insight of Heavenly Men which the sages of antiquity had yet to expose." Unfortunately, none of the writings of Hao or the other Ch'üan-chen masters confirm this incident.

163 chuan #10 p.6b. See Plate 148.
164 KSL chuan #2 p.21a: 我方得窺何暇食粥
165 ibid.: 其旨義皆大人之藴奧昔賢所未發者
An interesting aspect of the above story is that Hao allegedly gained the power to predict the future as a result of his mystical encounter with the Divine Man. The Ch'üan-ch'en masters allegedly possessed the power to know things beyond the normal range of knowledge, particularly things in the future. And in many instances, their own writings lay claim to this kind of power.

Now let us glance through some of the alleged feats involving psychic power that are mentioned in the hagiographies. In 1165, Wang Ch'ung-yang wrote a poem on the wall of the Upper Purity Great Peace Shrine 上清太平宫 on Mt. Chung-nan predicting that he would die at the age of 58. In 1167, when he was training at Liu Chiang Village at the foot of Mt. Chung-nan, he suddenly one day burned his meditational hut. When people saw the flames and came to his rescue, they saw him singing and dancing joyfully in front of the burning hut. When asked why he was acting so happy despite the fact that his hut was burning, he said that it was because he knew that somebody would restore it in three years. The prophecies were fulfilled in 1170 when Ch'ung-yang died in Pien-ching at age 58 and Ma, T'an, Liu and Ch'iu carried his coffin back to Liu-chiang where they buried him and restored the hut. Also in 1167, Wang wrote a poem on the wall of the Upper Purity Shrine on Mt. Pei-chiung which predicted that he would acquire Ma, T'an, Liu and Ch'iu as disciples (even though he had yet to meet them). The poem was carved and preserved on a stone stele.

After burning his hut, Wang embarked on his journey to the Shan-tung peninsula where he was destined to acquire his large following. As he was going through Hsien-yang, he painted a picture of a triple top-knotted Taoist monk surrounded by clouds, pine trees and cranes and gave it to his friend and disciple Shih Ch'u-hou.  

166 This represented Ma Tan-yang who wore three top knots after his teacher's death, which represented the three chi s in Wang's personal name, Che.  

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saying, "Wait for me to on another day capture a horse (Ma 马) and return. Take [this picture] to use as a tally of identification." 167 This prophecy was also fulfilled after Wang's death when Ma (horse) Tan-yang came to Shensi carrying Wang's coffin, and Ma presented Shih with a picture identical to the one that Wang had given him. When begging in the streets, Wang was able to predict who would come and give him food. 168 He was allegedly also able to know things through his dreams. On one occasion, Ma disobeyed his teacher's rules and drank liquor. Wang saw this taking place in his dreams and thus scolded Ma the next day. 169

Ho Yu-ch' an, as a result of having learned "the Method of Training and Refining in Nine Cycles" 九還鍛錘之術 from Wang, had "vision to see what is ahead". 170 When Ma, T' an, Liu and Ch' iu were headed towards Liu-chiang with the coffin, Ho took some money to a cake shop and left it there saying, "Today four traveling Immortals will arrive [here]." 170

Ma Tan-yang once playfully predicted correctly that a rooftile would fall down and hit a Taoist monk in the head. 171 KSL tells us that one day during the 12th month of the 22nd year of the Ta-ting reign era (1182), Ma suddenly said, "Today I am exceptionally joyful. 172, and started singing and dancing. A month later, word came that his ex-wife Sun Ch'ing-ching had "returned to Perfection" (died) in Loyang. We already saw that CLC says that Ma knew of her death because her Immortal spirit had come to tell him. But

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167 CLC chuan #2 p.4a: 他我他日擒得馬來以為勤同
168 KSL chuan #1 p. 6a
169 CLC chuan #3 p. 5a
170 ibid. chuan #2 p.10b: 今日有四客仙至
171 ibid. chuan #3 p.7a
172 KSL chuan #1 p.23b: 今日有非常之喜
as far as KSL is concerned, Ma was simply somehow able to know about what had happened.

It seems that the greatest psychic was Wang Yü-yang. CLC tells of an occasion when Yü-yang was preaching to a large group of believers late into the night when suddenly he wrote the word, "robbers", and then shouted, "There are robbers [here]! 有賊 " When the believers all went outside to look, they saw several armed robbers who fled when they realized that their crime was about to be witnessed. 173 Ch'i-chen Nien-p'u (NP) tells us that in 1210, Yü-yang predicted that the Mongols would invade. In 1189, when a certain Liu Chi complained that he had no sons, Yü-yang wrote the words, "Four-four Respond to the Perfected" 四四應真. The next year, a son was born to Liu Chi on the fourteenth day of the fourth month. When Liu Chih, out of gratitude, went to ask Yü-yang to name his son, Yü-yang said, "I have already named him "Ying-chen" (Respond to the Perfected). Today happens to be the day when the Perfected Lord [Lü] Ch'un-yang descended into the world (was born)." 174 On the fourteenth day of the seventh month in 1190, Beijing was in the midst of a bad drought. When asked to predict when rain would fall, Yü-yang said that it would rain on the seventeenth day. He was correct, of course. HYL tells of the time when Yü-yang was talking and drinking with a certain Wang Chung of Fu-shan (in Shantung) when Chung suddenly went out horse riding despite stern warnings by Yü-yang not to do so. Chung fell from his horse and died, but fortunately Yü-yang came to the scene and resurrected him.

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173 CLC chuan #5 p.3b
174 NP p.13b: 尔已與名應真今日純陽真君降世辰也
An essential point being made by such narratives, of course, is that the Ch’üan-chen masters were authentic Perfected Men who possessed psychic powers as a result of their intense training leading to the acquisition of profound insight. But perhaps more importantly, the feeling that many of the narratives, particularly those involving Wang and Ma, are trying to evoke is that somehow Wang Ch’ung-yang and his movement was predestined to become great, and that the Ch’üan-chen masters knew of and acted upon a certain master plan that had been outlined by the Tao, or the Heavenly Bureaucracy of deities and Immortals that personify it. This seems to be the prevalent theme in CLC particularly. CLC’s version of Wang’s mystical encounters with Lü Ch’un-yang says that Wang received five poems (which are quoted in their entirety) which prophesied many details of his career such as his intense training in Shensi and his death in Pien-ching. It also says that Lü told Wang, "Quickly go to the eastern sea. Among Ch’iu, Liu and T’an there will be a swift horse (Ma)."\textsuperscript{175} Thus the implication is that not only did Wang know of what lay ahead, but that he was also acting upon a divine master plan laid out for him. In the legends involving Yü-yang and Hao, we see the psychic powers of the Perfected Man being utilized more to accommodate the practical needs of the believers. Perhaps as the sect grew, it more and more developed special services to accommodate the everyday needs of the lay believers, one of which was fortune telling.

By looking at the poetry of the Ch’üan-chen masters, it becomes quite clear that these traditions involving psychic powers were largely based on claims made by the masters themselves. Included in Wang Ch’ung-yang’s CCC is the poem that he wrote which predicted his age at his death:

\textsuperscript{175}CLC chuan #2 p.2a: 追往東海有驥騄中有一俊馬
"Hai-feng, Hai-feng, an old disease will come forth,\textsuperscript{176}
And his lifespan will not exceed fifty-eight.
Two teachers came decisively,
And [therefore] my Single Numinous Perfected Nature will truly be
found and established."\textsuperscript{177}

Thus unless this poem is a later fabrication by a believer, it shows that Wang himself
did indeed predict his age at his death. Actually, whether this prophecy was truly fulfilled
is controversial. Wang was born on the 22nd day of the 12th month of the second year of
the Cheng-ho 政和 reign era (1112) of the Northern Sung Dynasty and died on the fourth
day of the first month of the tenth year of the Ta-ting reign era (1170) of the Chin Dynasty.
According to the traditional Chinese way of counting a person's age in which a person is 1
at the moment of his birth, and officially adds a year to his or her age on every New Years
Day, Wang had already turned 59 when he died. NP (p. 8b) explains rather unsatisfactorily
that since the official first day of spring was on the eleventh day of the first month in that
particular year, the prophecy had indeed been fulfilled. This whole issue perhaps serves to
support my assertion that Wang himself claimed to have prophetic powers, since if the
above poem had been a fabrication, one would think that it would have been written in a
way which would have made it clearer that the prophecy had been fulfilled.

Also to be found in CCC is a poem allegedly written at the time at which he burned
his hut, predicting that it would be built later:

"The straw hut has burned completely but it does not matter.
There will definitely be people who will want to restore it.
Thereby they become enlightened truly ferociously.

\textsuperscript{176}A troubling contradiction occurs here in that the hagiographies tell us that he had no illness when he
died. This, as I explained in Chapter Two seems to be because a true Perfected Man was supposed to be
immune to disease. Wang's admission that he will fall victim to a disease seems to contradict the image
that his believers idealized him in. Perhaps by "old disease", he is referring to the bad karmic deeds of his
past which have shortened his allotted lifespan.

\textsuperscript{177}chuan #2 p.6b: 穗風西風舊病不復，過五十八兩箇先生決定未一重真性
誠惶誠恐
How can they study and acquire the flow of my wind (teaching)?

This poem does not specifically state that the restoration will take place three years later, although CLC says that he did in fact specify three years later as the time at which the restoration would take place. Actually, the above poem may have been more of a statement of his own confidence that he would be successful enough that he would have believers who would care to restore his hut in his memory. But again, it seems to have been a certain sense of divine mission or destiny that moved him to write these words.

A long narrative in Ma Tan-yang’s CYC tells us that in fact Wang in his death bed had told Ma about his old hut at Liu-chiang and had told him to bury him there and set up a hut of mourning. Thus, the fulfillment of his prophecy was for a great part a result of his own maneuverings. Whether or not he actually gave these instructions so that his previous prediction could be fulfilled cannot be known for sure. The same narrative also mentions Wang’s painting the picture for Shih Ch’u-hou and speaks of the first time that Ma met Shih in Ch’ang-an. However, Ma does not say that he himself possessed an identical picture. Also in this interesting yet puzzling narrative, Ma says that several months before Wang came to Shantung for the first time, he (Ma) had dreamt of an Immortal Crane bursting its way out of the ground in his southern garden. When Wang came, he pointed to the exact same spot in the garden from which the crane had emerged in the dream, and asked for permission from Ma to build his meditational hut there. Thus again we can see that while some aspects of the traditions involving the psychic powers of Wang may have been fabricated or exaggerated by later believers, for a great part they were at least partly based on actual events or on claims made by Wang and his disciples.

178 chuan #2 p.7b: 事休久定也後却要修修做做悟悟铁坚强烈怎生学得我风流

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As I have already said, Wang Yū-yang appears in the hagiographies as the most prolific among the Ch'uan-chen masters in terms of predicting the fortunes of people for their benefit. Several passages in Yū-yang's Yun-kuang-chi confirm the fact that he himself claimed to have the ability to see into the future:

"In the keng-wu 庚午 year (1210), the master (Yu-yang) was at Chi-chou 齊州 (in Hopei), Yū-tien 玉田 District. When the chiao ritual was over, he said to the masses, 'In the north the Tao's breath is about to turn. In the sky there are signs of gods going back and forth and swords clashing. Is it not so that living souls are about to undergo suffering?' He wrote a poem and gave it to the officials and citizens and bid farewell. Later there were occurrences in the north (Mongol invasions).

(poem by anonymous narrator)

(poem by Yū-yang):
The radiance of the Tao's light made a single rotation.
In the clouds' [military] encampments in ten directions, stars and thunder run about.
Emperor Heaven and Empress Earth let down true forms,
Worldly toil and fleeting elegance are but one dot of ashes." 179

Apparently Yū-yang claimed to have the power to see a divine harbinger of the impending military catastrophe. While his words quoted in the narrative evoke a genuine sense of pity for the doomed masses, his poem pays tribute to the grandeur of the divine realm (with which only certain people like himself are in contact with) which dwarfs the significance of the struggles of the mundane realm.

Later on in the same poetry collection is a narrative about the time in Beijing when Yū-yang predicted the rainfall that would save the crops by saying, "The empty sky will allow a foot of rain to fall tomorrow." He was right. The narrative is followed by the following poem which Yu-yang had written on that occasion:

"Auspicious breath meets vigorously with the sky of blue.

179 chuan #2 pp.26b-27a. See Plate 149.
Transforming and giving life to the many living things, the Great Tao is wonderful. Its light transforms in the ten directions always without night. In one instant all will be rescued and the fragrance will abound in the skies."  

Yü-yang also seems to have had the ability to see how long a person was destined to live:

"In the past at the home of Chih Erh-weng in Mou-p'ing District Ku-shui Ch'uang (in Shantung), he (Yü-yang) was expounding the teachings and greatly exposing the mechanisms of Heaven. The whole family knelt and listened. Everyone was like a deaf person (listened attentively without lending ear to anything other than what was being said by Yü-yang). When he saw that Mr. Chih's remaining lifespan was not long, he warned him with these words:

Stop engaging in the banter and frolic of the Yellow Springs (underworld).
Inside of your body you embrace what is rare and precious.
If you go against Heaven, 100 misfortunes will approach your body.
If you master the Tao, myriad noumena will be influenced and moved [by you]."

As we can see, Yu-yang saw a sinful lifestyle as the cause of Chih's impending demise. He also expresses in a nutshell an essential belief held by the Ch'iian-chen masters which I tried at great lengths to explicate in the first part of this chapter; the conviction that by attaining the Tao, one attains dominance over the workings of the universe rather than being vulnerable to them.

But perhaps the most prominent witness to Yü-yang's psychic powers is Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un, who wrote the following poem in his P'an-hsi Chi:

"In praise of Mr. Yü-yang"
[He is] the Perfected Immortal of the old country, And the great adept of the eastern direction. Pure and high, how he differs from the vulgar! Vibrant and excellent, he is not the same as the dust (ordinary people). On the exterior and the interior, Heaven gave it all to him. Whether active or in recluse, he is far superior to the world. From time to time he predicts misfortunes and blessings. Showing his efficacy he silently communicates with the divine."

Thus while Yu-yang seems to have been considerably more involved in fortune telling than most of his colleagues were, we can see that his activities were fully acknowledged and approved of by the mainstream leadership of the sect as represented by Ch'iu, who was probably already in charge of the sect when he wrote the above poem.

The hagiographies also tell us that the Ch'üan-chen masters also performed a large variety of miracles involving things which ordinarily cannot be physically done. Here are a few examples:

One day, during the third month of the eighth year of the Ta-ting reign era (1168), Wang Ch'ung-yang and his followers were digging a cave (for a place to live while carrying out their rigorous training) on Mt. K'un-yü. They were gathering rocks to use for building the cave when suddenly a gigantic boulder came falling down towards them. While everybody was shuddering in fear, Wang let out a mighty shout, and the boulder came to a sudden stop just as it was about to crush everybody. This deed was witnessed by many lumberjacks and firewood gatherers who were at the mountain, and thus Wang's reputation spread rapidly after this. At times he ate rooftiles and rocks. One day he was invited over to eat at the home of a certain Mr. Chang, where he showed the children in the house visions of rare gems and treasures which disappeared as soon as they started to beg for them. One day, Wang went to the P'eng-lai Pavilion in Teng-chou which overlooked

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183 Shantung, which was also Ch'iu's home area.
184 chuan #4 p.3a. See Plate 151.
the ocean. Suddenly, a gust of wind came and blew him into the ocean. After a while, as his followers stood in utter amazement and confusion, Wang leaped back out from the water unharmed aside from the fact that he had lost his cap. After a while, the cap came leaping out of the water too.  

Wang also performed a miracle to make a disciple out of Liu Ch'ang-sheng. One day, Liu saw a poem written in fresh ink high up on the wall of his neighbor's house beyond the reach of any person. The poem read, "In Wu-kuan (where Liu lived), nurturing his nature and ground for Perfect Immortality, there shall be the man of long life (A pun. Long life in Chinese is "ch'ang-sheng", the sobriquet which Wang eventually gave to Liu) without death." During the same year (1169), Liu heard that Wang was approaching the vicinity of Wu-kuan with his disciples Ch'i'u, T'an and Ma; and out of curiosity and the desire to meet an actual Perfected Man, went to see him. As soon as Wang saw Liu's face he said, "Do you know of the ink marks on the wall?" The three disciples snickered as he said this. Thereby Liu realized that "the poems had appeared because of [Wang's] spiritual penetration and transformation", and became a disciple. 

One day, Wang was traveling with Ma, T'an, Ch'i'u and Hao from Wen-teng to Ning-hai when suddenly he threw his umbrella into the air. The umbrella continued its flight until it reached Wang Yu-yang's meditational hut on Mt. Ch'a, over 200 li (one li at this time equalled 552.96 meters) from where it had been thrown. Written on the handle of the umbrella were the words, "San-yang-tzu", which became Yu-yang's
sobriquet.\textsuperscript{189} Even after he died, Wang's corpse was no ordinary corpse. When the disciples opened his coffin and took a look at his corpse, "his body and spirit 形神 (this basically seems to refer to the complexion of the corpse) still had vigor".\textsuperscript{190} This probably means that his body had not withered and his complexion was still healthy as though he had never died.

Ma Tan-yang also allegedly had an extraordinary corpse after his death. CLC tells us that when he was buried seven days after his death, his complexion was still very good. After the burial, there were many people who suspected that Ma's believers might try to steal his body. Thus, a little over a year after Ma had died, the District Magistrate 業宰 dug up the coffin to make sure that the corpse had not been stolen. When he looked inside the coffin, he saw that "[the corpse's] appearance and visage was like that of a living person and its limbs were soft and supple".\textsuperscript{191} CLC also tells us that when Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's coffin was opened up three years after his death, "his arms and legs were like tapestry (nice skin tone?) and his face was like that of a living person".\textsuperscript{192}

T'an Ch'ang-chen and Wang Yu-yang are unique among the Ch'üan-chen masters in that they each did extraordinary things during their childhoods. When T'an was six years old, he fell into a well while he was playing. People saw this and came to rescue him. They found him sitting peacefully on the water, and when they pulled him out, they saw that he had not received even the slightest injury. Another time, also when he was six, his house burned down while he was sleeping inside of it, but he survived without any harm. During the fire, a huge pillar came falling down in front of his bed, but he 

\textsuperscript{189}KSL chuan #1 p.7a
\textsuperscript{190}CLC chuan #2 p.7a: 形神尚有生意
\textsuperscript{191}chuan #3 p.12a: 容貌若生 肢體柔軟
\textsuperscript{192}chuan #4 p.11b: 手足如錦 頭顔如生

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of the sleeping T'an made the pillar stand up.\textsuperscript{193} The explanation given by the author of KSL is, "A stalwart who has the Tao cannot be destroyed or defeated by water and fire (natural hazards)."\textsuperscript{194} Yü-yang died without a disease when he was seven years old and then miraculously came back to life and "from this [experience] was able to understand death and life".\textsuperscript{195}

Yü-yang went on to become perhaps the most prolific Ch'iüan-chen miracle worker, aside perhaps from Wang Ch'ung-yang. HYL tells us that he once miraculously made the food at a chiao ritual multiply, in order to feed all of the believers that were present. On one occasion there was a gigantic boulder perilously overhanging the entrance to the Sheng-shui Cave (in Shantung) which the believers were trying to destroy and remove with their hammers. But they were not having much success at doing this. When Yü-yang saw this he laughed and struck the boulder three times with a hammer, giving off a thunderous sound. The boulder came falling down, and purple smoke filled the valley for three days.\textsuperscript{196} While these feats helped to increase the number of his believers, there were also those who thought that he was deceiving the common people, and thus plotted to poison him with liquor in which the wings of the poisonous chen\textsuperscript{197} bird had been steeped. As he left his residence to head towards the place where he had been invited over for a drink (so that he could be poisoned), Yü-yang told his disciples to dig a hole and fill it with water. When he was offered the tainted beverage, he gulped down the entire contents of the cup and said, "I am a poor man. Not once have I begged and received [something as

\textsuperscript{193}KSL chuan #1 pp.27b-28a
\textsuperscript{194}盖有道之士非水火所能强越也
\textsuperscript{195}KSL chuan #2 p.12b: 由是若知死生
\textsuperscript{196}CLC chuan #5pp.4a-b
\textsuperscript{197}An extremely poisonous bird similar to the secretary falcon that has a long black neck and a red beak.
delicious as this]. I have now been fortunate enough to receive this invitation. I beg of you to give me another cup of this liquor so that I can drink all of it". The wicked host, who was already in disbelief of the fact that Yü-yang was still alive, gave him a refill which he promptly gulped down. When he returned to his residence he shed his clothing and jumped into the pond that his disciples had dug for him, which started to boil in a short while. Yü-yang survived the poisoning but lost all of his hair on his head and face. In 1187, Yü-yang was summoned by Emperor Shih-tsung to speak about methods of health care and proper government. After hearing what Yu-yang had to say, the Emperor asked about the poisoning incident, expecting to be told whom the culprit was who had poisoned him. Yü-yang's answer was, "I, your subject, hold no grudges. Truly because of an illness I have brought on this (his baldness?).". Within the court there were enemies of Yü-yang who had talked the Emperor into testing the authenticity of the poisoning incident by secretly giving Yü-yang the poison again. The Emperor did this but Yü-yang survived the poisoning again. The Emperor "saw that he could not be killed. He was regretful and angry [about what he had been made to do] and thus had the slanderers arrested". HC and CLC include somewhat different versions of this incident. HC does not mention the second poisoning at the hands of the emperor, and says that he denied his having been poisoned when government officers came to question him in order to investigate the case. CLC, on the other hand, mentions only the incident at the palace and says that a group of jealous Buddhist monks had bribed a high official to talk the emperor into poisoning Yü-yang.

198 吾食人也無曾從人丐取今見招願丐餘杯以尽
199 臣素無取仇人者良由得疾致然
200 見不可殺悔怒而逐讒者
201 KSL chuan #2 pp.13b-14a
What is made clear from all that I have just summarized is the fact that it was important for the Ch'üan-chen believers that their holy men were physically different from ordinary people and were able to do things which normally cannot be done. While the hagiographies cry out that the miracles were real, they also indicate that there existed a certain amount of conflict with those outside of the faith (often Buddhists) or within the government who wished to disprove the authenticity of the miraculous powers of the Perfected Men. What the reader is perhaps immediately reminded of is the conflicts that existed between the earliest followers of Jesus Christ and those who crucified him and had his grave guarded in order to prevent his body from being stolen. The theme of the Taoist adept's corpse remaining supple and life-like was fairly common in Taoist hagiography long before the Ch'üan-chen sect. Often in Taoist hagiography, one can find stories about people digging up and opening coffins of Taoist adepts only to find a sword or a cane, meaning that the adept had actually ascended to the high heavens and had magically disguised a cane or a sword to look like a corpse. This seems to be why non-believers feared that Ma's body would be stolen. They apparently realized that stealing the body and making it look as though Ma had "faked" his physical death would have been a viable means by which the Ch'üan-chen sect could expand its popularity and social influence even further. At the common lay level, the popularity of the masters was largely based on the way they drew upon and emulated the tradition of Immortality lore that preceded them. Thus it seems entirely conceivable that some of the more fanatical or perhaps dishonest Ch'üan-chen believers would have tried to steal the body.

As far as the more sophisticated believers and the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves were concerned, these miracles which fascinated the believers were probably little more than window dressing intended to skillfully attract and guide people towards the really important concerns of the sect; to help each individual attain salvation through physical and
spiritual training, and to help alleviate the sufferings of the world through numerous deeds motivated by mercy and compassion. Theoretically speaking, because Immortality in Taoism for the most part had long since been re-defined to mean a spiritual emancipation, and the physical body had been dismissed as impermanent, there was really no reason for trying to steal the corpse nor was there any reason to assert that the corpses did not decay; other than to perhaps show that the life-nurturing methods that the adept underwent during his Perfection Cultivation were so effective that they had a certain lasting impact even after the adept had been emancipated from his impermanent body. Thus in the writings of the masters that I have encountered, references to such corpse miracles do not exist, and references to the kinds of miraculous deeds involving visible, physical feats such as those which I have just described, are quite sparse. It seems that most of the above stories are products of the fervent faith and imagination of their believers.

Yet on the other hand it can probably be said that the Ch’uan-chen masters were as responsible as anybody for making themselves into protagonists in such marvelous stories. First of all, as we have already seen in the first part of this chapter, much of what they wrote was written in a way which could be interpreted as meaning that a Perfected Man could perform super-normal feats at will. Secondly, to attain Perfection they underwent and endured extreme physical ordeals which probably stimulated the minds of the believers to create stories involving extraordinary physical strength and the ability to survive any circumstance without harm nor injury. Actually, there is one poem existing which was written by Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un which confirms some of the most incredible Wang Ch’ung-yang miracle stories:

"He sent out his spirit and entered dreams, and people were frightened by him. He threw his umbrella and hurled his cap and I reached the conclusion,
That when the master resided by the eastern sea, he was like a dragon. (Chiu's comments explaining the contents of the poem): In the fourth month of the chi-chou 乙年 of the Ta-ting era (1169) in the summer, [Ma] Tan-yang and I along with several other people followed Master Ch'ung-yang from Wen-teng to Ning-hai. As we neared Lung-ch'uari the sun's force was gradually beginning to scorch. The master told us to go ahead. He was walking approximately half a li behind us and was carrying an umbrella. Suddenly, when I turned my head to look behind me I saw the umbrella rising and ascending into the air. I immediately ran back to ask about it. [Wang Ch'ung-yang] told me, 'It caught a powerful breeze and rose up. I do not know why it is so, but it is so.' At first, the umbrella rose to the northeast. As I gazed upon it it gradually fell into the midst of the desert. I went searching for it in the direction in which it went but could not find it...........Chu-yang-tzu, Sir Wang (Wang Yu-yang) was making his hermitage on Mt. Ch'a by the Eastern Sea. From the mountain to Wen-teng is 110 li, and from Wen-teng to where the umbrella arose is another 70 li. The umbrella rose at about the ch'en 㝬 hour (8 a.m.), and at sunset it fell in front of Sir Chu-yang's hut. On its handle was written the Taoist sobriquet, 'Chuyang-tzu'. Thus this sobriquet was bestowed upon him. The character, 'chu' did not yet exist, but had been invented by the master. Ever since this incident, the family of Sir Ti has kept this umbrella. Originally it had been borrowed [by Wang] from the house of Fan Ming-shih in Ning-hai. Fan later heard about this incident, and went to get it back, but [Ti] refused to give it to him.

'Threw his cap' refers to when the master first went to the north of the city walls and was overlooking the ocean. The bamboo cap on his head suddenly fell into the water and drifted away. But in a little while it came back. The pronunciation of 蓷 is 'chu' ㄓ.203

Thus it can be seen that in the case of the miracles described above, claims made by Ch'iu and perhaps the other masters were what got the stories started. Whether or not the claims were based on what had actually been witnessed, and if they were, whether or not

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202 This is how Confucius is said to have described Lao-tzu, meaning that Lao-tzu's insight was so profound that it was beyond his comprehension.

203 P'an-hsi Chi chuan #3 pp.2b-3a. See Plate 152.
Wang had pulled off some kind of a trick on his disciples; are not issues that I am capable of resolving. But it is interesting to see how the facts described in the above passage and those described in the hagiographies differ on certain points and that the versions in the hagiographies tend to stretch the facts to make them somewhat more remarkable. Thus we can see how stories like these at times must have originated as certain claims made by the masters themselves, and were gradually spiced up by the believers as they spread from ear to ear. What is also interesting to see is that at the earliest stages of the sect's development there were believers who liked to keep and treasure certain relics associated with their holy men. Thus it becomes quite clear that at the very earliest stages of the sect's development there was a deep concern with the miraculous feats which fascinated the common believers and which was in many ways intentionally encouraged and stimulated by the masters themselves, although they so frequently warned against miracle tales and tricks of the false, deceptive variety.

MTC includes an interesting story (#84) which quite likely pre-dates the activities of the Ch'üan-ch'en masters, which depicts a confrontation between the omnipotent Lü Ch'un-yang and a sceptical, unrepenting Buddhist monk. The story is set in Ch'ang-sha 長沙 (in Hunan 湖南). Lü was disguised as Man of the Tao Hui 道人 and was begging in the streets holding a small ceramic pot. Mysteriously, the pot never became full no matter how many coins were put into it. Lü announced that he would transmit the Tao to anyone who could fill the pot, causing hordes of people to gather around him and throw coins into it. But still, the pot never became full. Trying to foil Lü's "trick", a Buddhist monk came by with a whole cartload full of coins and mockingly said, "Are you able to contain this [in your pot] or not?" Lü said, "Yes." and made the whole cart with the money in it go into the pot (It does not say how he did this). The monk then asked, "Are
you a Divine Immortal or is this just a deceptive trick? Lù responded by reciting the following poem:

"It is neither a matter of being divine nor being Immortal.  
It is neither trickery nor deception.  
Heaven and Earth will come to an end.  
Mulberry fields will soon undergo changes.  
The body is not truly your body.  
Therefore why is it worth cherishing?  
Why not follow me and wander about,  
Riding a whale and rising without limits?"

This only made the monk angry; angry enough so that he wanted to kill Lù. Lù then said that he would return the money and thereby threw a piece of paper in the pot and shouted, "Quickly! Cart! Come Out!" Nothing happened, so Lù then jumped into the little pot. The angry monk, seeing his opportunity for revenge, then smashed the pot, only to find a piece of paper which read:

"In order to seek Perfection you must be able to recognize who is Perfected.  
Even though you met a Perfected Man, you were confused and did not realize it.  
With one laugh you shall meet me again,  
Pushing the cart on the road at Tung-p'ing (in Shantung)."

The monk went home, still angry over having lost his money. Suddenly in Tung-p'ing (MTC does not explain how, why or when he got to Tung-p'ing which was about 1000 km from Ch'ang-sha, although it implies that it was on his way home.) he saw Lu again, just as the poem had predicted. After finally getting his money back, he asked to be

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204 Just as what was once a mulberry field, on another day becomes part of the ocean, every existing thing is temporary and fleeting.

205 非神亦非仙非術亦非幻天地有終窮桑田轉變身固非沐身則亦何足恥
昌不從吾游踐踏騰汗漫
206 昔貞季詎見真運未悟一笑再相逢駕車車平路
taught the Tao, but was turned down because he had completely failed to discard his concern over his lost money in favor of what was really important, Immortal-hood.

Thus in this story, which quite likely pre-dates the Ch'üan-ch'en masters and was very likely known by them and their believers, is shown the contrast between an eccentric, miracle-working Taoist beggar monk who fascinates the populace; and a jealous, greedy and perhaps wealthy Buddhist monk. What gives Lü his power and ability to understand the impermanence and "falseness" of the illusory temporal realm is his complete detachment from it. The Buddhist monk, on the other hand, is denied access to this power because of his inability to forget about his lost money. Thus we have this concept of miraculous power based on the basic religious Taoist doctrines (which are heavily influenced by Buddhism) of non-attachment, clearly expressed within the Immortal lore which formed a major part of the background tradition of the Ch'üan-ch'en sect. Whether or not eccentric Taoist beggars were already enjoying the popularity that Lü does in the story, before the flourishing of the Ch'üan-ch'en sect, and whether or not the contrasting images shown in the story (the eccentric Taoist beggar vs. the arrogant and greedy Buddhist) were common stereotypes that existed in the minds of many people at the time, are interesting questions. Anyway, we can clearly see how the lore involving Immortals like Lü, presented a role model upon which the Ch'üan-ch'en masters molded their own image as ascetics and miracle workers.

The stories such as those involving Wang Ch'ung-yang eating rooftiles and stones, or of Yu-yang being unharmed by deadly poison seem to have been at least in part inspired by the way in which they survived and overcame many self-induced ascetic ordeals. The understanding was that their ability to survive such austerities caused their bodies to be somehow different from and superior to ordinary human bodies. This concept is expressed by Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un, who wrote the following poem in honor of Wang Yü-yang.

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"In the summer he stood facing the sun.
In the winter he slept hugging the snow.
Moreover he is on the verge of being like those,
Who tread on fire without getting burned,
And enter water without getting wet!"

Unfortunately, this poem is not included in Ch'iu's P'an-hsi Chi poetry collection, and perhaps the above exact words were not actually uttered nor written by Ch'iu. But it does indicate strongly that the ordeals were perceived as a direct reason for the indestructability of the Perfected Man's body.

An interesting and amusing story in HYL shows us a good example of how Golden Elixir internal alchemical metaphors could be taken very literally by believers who would create stories concerning supernormal physical capacities. The story tells us that one day Wang Yü-yang came begging to a certain home where the head of the household promptly told his wife to cook some noodles for him. But Yü-yang told them that they needed not to cook the noodles, and requested that they bring the noodles to him raw. Yü-yang then amazed his hosts by eating an entire tray full of raw noodles. The text goes on to explain that Yu-yang's "reaction vessel" has "cinnabar sand" and his "hearth" has "true fire". In other words, metaphors originally referring to the body's capacities to retain, circulate and refine the body's ch'i could in this way be taken to mean that the Perfected Man has a powerful digestive system like an alchemist's hearth.

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207 KSL chuan #2 p.13b: 夏陽冬雪夜不裹 citizens of the three seasons

208 Perhaps the poem ends with the character "sleep". If so, what follows is the exclamatory remark of KSL author, Ch'in Chih-an.

209 The body's (particularly the spleen) capacity to gather its ch'i.

210 This perhaps refers to the blood or perhaps the hot ch'i that was thought to be sent down by the heart.

211 The heart.

212 The heart's capacity to concentrate and generate heat.
and reaction vessel which can cook and digest anything. Perhaps this is how Wang Ch'ung-yang's ability to eat tiles and stones was understood. Some of the final ordeals which Wang put his disciples through before he died involved eating tremendous amounts of spoiled food. Perhaps the masters themselves sought to create this kind of a powerful digestive system within themselves.

One other factor which comes into play within the issue of the indestructability of the adept's body is the sense of divine destiny and protection. Ho-shang-kung's Lao-tzu commentary which was regarded by the Ch'üan-chen masters as the most reliable and authoritative commentary to the Lao-tzu book, includes the following very interesting and significant passage:

"One whose endowed inner power [of the Tao] is abundant (Comment){This refers to someone who is abundant in his embracing and advancement of his inner [Tao] power} is like a baby, : {The gods protect and help people who envelop the inner power like fathers and mothers do so for their babies.} who does not get stung by poisonous creatures. {Bees, scorpions, snakes and intestinal worms do not sting them.} Wild beasts do not seize him and birds of prey do not grab him. {Babies do not get harmed by creatures. Creatures do not harm them. Therefore in the world of Great Peace213, there were no noble nor lowly people and everybody had hearts of benevolence. Things with stingers returned to their origins and poisonous creatures did not injure people.} His bones are weak and his muscles are soft, yet his grip is firm. {A baby's muscles and bones are soft and weak, but in making contact he is firm because his mind is concentrated and his heart does not waver.} Without yet knowing of the union of female and male, he has erections. This is brought on by his vitality. {The phenomenon of a baby's penis becoming aroused even though he does not yet know of the union of man and woman is brought about by his abundance of essence and ch'i.} He can wail all day without his throat drying out. This is brought about by the harmony. {A baby's [ability to] cry and wail from morning till evening without changing his voice [without becoming hoarse] is brought about by the abundance of his harmonious ch'i.} To understand harmony is

213Ho-shang-kung seems to have conceived of a bygone age of "Great Peace" in which everybody lived in a state of simpistic and primitive innocence.
called 'permanence'. {If a person is able to understand the softness
and weakness of the harmonious \( \text{ch'i} \) and have benefits towards
others, it is because he understands the permanent [principle] of the
Tao.} To understand what is permanent is called 'insight'. {If a
person is able to understand the constant patterns of the activity of
the Tao, he will day by day come to clearly master the profound
marvels} To enhance life is called 'auspiciousness'
{'Auspiciousness' refers to the Tao. [But] in speaking of enhancing
life desires naturally become born.}, and for the heart to control
the \( \text{ch'i} \) is called 'forceful'.\(^2\) \(^\text{14}\) {The mind should be concentrated,
harmonious and flexible. Thereby the spirit and \( \text{ch'i} \) will abound
within. Thereby the body will be soft. But if one on the contrary
causes himself to deludedly have action, his harmonious \( \text{ch'i} \) will
leave his interior. Thereby the body will each day become harder
and stronger (and thus more vulnerable to destruction).}\(^2\)\(^\text{15}\)

The stories about T'\(\text{an Ch'ang-chen}'s childhood accidents strongly evoke the
imagery of the baby that lies unharmed in the midst of poisonous and ferocious beasts.
What the hagiographies seem to be trying to say about the Ch'\(\text{\'uan-chen}' masters is that they
were endowed from birth with the type of simplistic virtue which evokes the protection and
guidance of the gods and Immortals. Their methods of Perfection Cultivation stressed
celibacy and the retention of semen and blood (for women) so that this state of blissful and
divinely protected simplicity could be restored and retained. As a result the body also
attains good health and exhibits capacities that go beyond what is normally expected (firm
grip, erection, exhaustless wailing). When contemplating the original roots of the
Perfection Cultivation of the Ch'\(\text{\'uan-chen} \) sect, the above passage is one of the vital ones
the must be referred to as one of the earliest sources around which their theories were
formulated.

\(^{2\text{14}}\) Much of Perfection Cultivation involves controlling the \( \text{ch'i} \) with the conscious capacities of the heart.
But this passage tells us that such a way of doing things is "forceful" and counterproductive. Thus, in
Perfection Cultivation, the ideal stage is when mind and body are in harmony without any kind of
conscious maneuverings. But in the early stages when \( \text{ch'i} \) left on its own is liable to run away, various
methods involving conscious control were deemed as necessary.

\(^{2\text{15}}\) See Plate 153.
I would now like to wrap up this discussion by summarizing and analyzing some of the alleged incidents involving the ability of the Ch'üan-chen masters to miraculously cure diseases, restore life to living things and exhibit tremendous ritual powers. So again I will summarize some of the noteworthy feats of the Ch'üan-chen masters.

As I have already mentioned in Chapter Two, Wang Ch'ung-yang healed the rheumatism of T'an Ch'ang-chen by making him sleep for one night cuddled up against his legs. CLC tells us that when Ma Tan-yang came down with a severe headache while training on Mt. K'un-yü, Wang put a charm on some water (perhaps soaked a talisman in it) and gave it to him to drink. The headache, which had almost killed Ma, was cured immediately. (This apparently refers to the same incident that I cited on pp.85-86.)

Ma is also reported to have been an expert at healing by means of charms. CLC tells us that one day he met a poor crippled man who was wailing because of extreme pain. When Ma made him drink charm water, he was able to "go about as if he was flying". On another occasion he healed the rheumatism of a military man by laying a charm on some fruit and making him eat it. Ma's ritual power benefitted people in many other ways. When the populace of Tung-mou (in Shantung) was suffering a drought in 1182, Ma prayed for rain successfully and saved the year's crops. One day, when Ma saw that the water coming out of the in front of the Golden Lotus Hall was salty and bitter, he put a charm on it and made the water sweet. He later did the same thing for a well in front of the home of a certain Mr. Han of Teng-chou. Ma's powers were also used to give life to plants. On one occasion he revived a dying chin tree (a species of the pyrus tree) in front of his hut in Hua-t'ing (in Shensi), and on another occasion he revived some

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216 chuan #3 p.5a
217 chuan #3 p.9b
218 ibid. chuan #3 p.7a
withering bamboo trees which had been transplanted in front of the Ch'üan-chen Hut (located in Huang District in Shantung) and on yet another occasion he revived some small pine trees that had been planted in front of the Gold and Jade Hut (located in Huang district in Shantung).

Ma, being the life-giver that he was, could not bear to see people take any kind of life. Thus perhaps the most prolific miracle which he was allegedly involved with resulted from his convincing fishermen to stop killing fish. On the eighth day of the second month of the 12th year of the Ta-ting reign era (1182), Ma succeeded in getting everybody in Lung-ya Village in Tung-mou to burn their fishing boats and nets. As soon as they did this, the snow that had been falling stopped, the skies cleared up, and marvelous visions of multi-tiered pavilions and beautiful green mountains appeared. When he visited Chih-yang two months later, visions again appeared over the horizon on the ocean which lasted from sunrise until noon. Realizing that the visions were caused by the arrival of the holy man, a certain Gentleman of Service (honorary title for a high ranking official) Ma, as an expression of his reverence and repentance burned thousands of debt statements for grain which he had lent to poor people. There was also a certain Chu Pu who gathered the fishing nets in the village and burned them. Again, visions appeared over the ocean which looked like dragons, chariots and cranes. When two men named Kuo Hsiang and Luan Chou also gathered nets and burned them, visions of heavenly troops appeared amidst the clouds.

T'an Ch'ang-chen seems to have been an outstanding calligrapher. He was especially fond of writing the characters "tortoise" and "snake". He was so good at writing

219 ibid. chuan #3 pp.8b-9a
220 CLC chuan #3 p.7b
them that the characters looked like they were about to fly off the paper. Many believers came to receive pieces of his calligraphy which they kept and treasured. One day, a fire started in the palace at Loyang which rapidly spread and burned down several hundred homes surrounding the palace. Only the houses which had pieces of T'an's calligraphy survived the disaster.  

Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un one day broke off a branch from a pear tree and gave it to a lay devotee named Chang Ch'ü-hua saying, "This is an auspicious omen for a male child." Chang kept the branch in a pot of soil, and in the fall it bore 24 pears. At the same time, a son was born to him. When Ch'iu saw a withering *huai* tree (*Sophora Japonica*) in front of a Taoist monastery, he struck it with his cane and shouted, "Withering *huai*! Revive!" It did. In 1225, the planet Mars was seen intruding upon the *wei* constellation (a constellation made up of most of the same stars as Scorpio); a very ominous sign that war was imminent. Mongol King Chuan-wu who was in charge of the Yen (Beijing) area summoned Ch'iu in order to rectify the situation. Ch'iu promptly performed a *chiao* ritual which caused Mars to back off into a constellation well behind *wei*. Thus the impending disaster was thwarted. On another occasion, a *chiao* ritual performed by Ch'iu caused rain to fall heavily for three days after a long, harsh drought. 

Wang Yü-yang was perhaps the most prolific healer and demon fighter among the Ch'uan-chen masters. One day, while Yü-yang was going about begging, he saw a corpse being lowered into its grave. Yü'-yang covered both ears and shouted, "The

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221 ibid. *chuan* #4 pp.1b-2a
222 A large tree used to make yellow die and hemmorhoid medicine.
223 HC pp.34a-b
224 It is hard to tell whether he covered his own ears or the corpse's.
Underground Ministry must not receive him!" 地府不得收 In a little while, the corpse rose back to life and started to eat and drink as it pleased. The sons of the resurrected man offered a large sum of money to Yu-yang in order to express their gratitude, but Yu-yang just smiled and walked off without the money. On one occasion two wicked men invited Yu-yang to drink with them, plotting to club him to death as soon as he got drunk. But before Yu-yang ever got intoxicated, the two got into an argument and clubbed each other to death. Yu-yang then shouted, "The Eastern Peak must not receive them!" 东极大山 is commonly believed to be the entrance into the underworld.

In a little while, the two scoundrels came back to life. HYL tells us that once at a chiao ritual at the Hua-yang Taoist Monastery 華陽觀, a corpse started running about shouting and wailing in terror over its imminent damnation into purgatory. Yu-yang appeased the corpse and its restless spirit by performing a rite which delivered its soul from its fate of damnation. You may recall from Chapter Two that during a different chiao ritual, a woman who had broken a taboo by eating a dog, automatically died on the spot for her deadly sin. Yu-yang brought her back to life by blowing on her. You may also recall the stories from HYL (which I mentioned in Chapter Two) telling about how Yu-yang healed demonically caused diseases by destroying certain objects whose resident spirit was the cause of the disease or by making the patient eat some of his left over food. Again, as a giver of life, Yu-yang could not tolerate any kind of killing, and in fact duplicated Ma's feat of making fishermen burn their nets and boats and causing visions to appear. An amusing story in HYL tells us that one day Yu-yang had a friend capture and boil a chicken, which they then ate together. The next morning the
very same chicken was seen running about in the yard as full of life as ever. The story is then followed by the following words of wisdom by a certain Li Shou-ch'ing 李壽卿:

"The gentlemen of the world cannot bear to see death and cannot stand to eat meat. One who has acquired the Tao can mold together the two yi二儀 (yin and yang), dig out from the nine soils, send out his spirit and enter dreams, penetrate metal and stone, and transform and fly reaching any place he wishes."  

The above miraculous accounts bear testimony to the outstanding reputation (at least among their believers) which the Ch'uan-chen masters had acquired for themselves as efficacious ritualists and healers. As I have previously explained, healing by means of talismans, charms, exorcism and medicine was an integral component of the merciful and compassionate deeds which the Ch'uan-chen masters sought to perform daily. Also, ritual and medicinal healing were prescribed by Wang Ch'ung-yang as alternate means of remuneration to support their modest livelihood which could supplement their main and most ideal remunerative activity, begging. As we will see in the next chapter, the performance of large scale rituals, primarily aimed at delivering damned souls and bringing favorable weather for the crops, was also regarded as a very important part of the Ch'uan-chen monk's duty to humankind, and was a focal point of the sect's activity right from the very beginning. The essential needs and longings of the vast majority of the believers are reflected in the above stories; productive crops, the birth of male children, protection from natural disasters, the healing of diseases, the prolonging of the lifespan, and the avoidance of damnation. The believers came to recognize their holy men as people who could miraculously bring them all of the above.

228 This probably means to bring salvation to damned souls.
229 天地之君子不忍見死不忍食肉得道者可以陶冶二儀延埴九土出神入夢透金貫石变化飛騰無所不至
While the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves wanted to be and perhaps claimed to be exactly that, their own writings include very little mention of their miraculous ritual life-giving power, with the exception of a few hints in a few places. Perhaps this is because modesty was considered to be such an important virtue for a Taoist. However, some poems in Ma Tan-yang's CYC attest to the fact that Ma did in fact revive bamboo and pine trees:

"'Putting a charm on the withered bamboo at the Ch'üan-chen Hut in Huang District'

The school of Taoism is titled, 'Long Life'.
My mind wishes to change and transform the shapes of what is withered and dried.
For a long time cause these several poles (of bamboo) to be forever green,
Do not allow a single leaf to not be green."\textsuperscript{230}

The above poem seems to have been the actual incantation which Ma used in reviving the bamboo trees in front of the Ch'üan-chen Hut. This poem is immediately followed by a poem written in celebration of his success at reviving some pine trees:

"'Rejoicing over the Life of the Pine Tree'

I understand thoroughly the method for [bringing forth] life and I restore life.
If \(ch'i\) spreads through the shape and skeleton, the body will be changed.
Outside of the windows not only is the gentleman (refers to one of the pine trees?) green,
But in front of the hut I also rejoice over the greenness of the prominent stalwart (another pine tree?)."\textsuperscript{231}

\textsuperscript{230}CYC chuan \#1 pp.22a-b: "呂黃縣全真庵村竹匠家門戶高生意要使秧枝改玉影長使數竿常綠不數一竿不青之"

\textsuperscript{231}ibid: "喜松佳，我兩生枝，榆生桑桑形隨形換形，外不喧君子錦，前又喜丈夫青"
If the above poems were in fact written by Ma, it can be said that he definitely saw himself as a powerful giver of life. But in some instances, Ma seems to have performed life-giving acts by calling upon and utilizing the divine power of his late teacher, Wang Ch'ung-yang. The following poem describes how Ma allegedly revived six small pine trees in front of the Gold and Jade Hut by using his master's power, and yet ended up receiving all of the credit for the feat himself:

"In the sixth month I planted six pine trees in front of my hut. But they fell over as though they had died, Ma Feng-feng 風風 232.

Three times I dispersed my breath (blew on the tree?) without great force.
Six times I wished for them to revive, and had great merit.

The time was fu伏 (the sixth month) which corresponded to the number [of trees],
And therefore I planted the pine trees.
Friends of the Tao calmly examined Ma-feng (to see if he could revive the trees).
I told them that the six trees were not revived by myself,
But people passed on the word that the Triple Top-knotted One 神 233 has true merit.

On the third day of the sixth month I planted the pine trees.
The color of the six trees changed when they met with Fu-feng 扶風 234.
In praying for their revival I borrowed the force of [Wang] Ch'ung-yang.
Responding to the efficacy people passed on word of the merit of the Triple Top-knotted One." 235

When Ma died, his younger colleague, Wang Yü-yang wrote the following poem in praise of Ma's power to overwhelm the evil forces of the world:

232 This probably refers to himself.
233 A nickname for Ma referring to the way he wore his hair in memory of his master.
234 Another nickname for Ma. Refers to a place in Shensi from where his family originally hailed.
235 CYC chuan #1 pp.22b-23a. See Plate 154.
"Dashing light and flying thunder erupt in the great sky,
As the great vessel (highly talented person) of the prior realm (Ma)
gives vent to his might and bravery.
Wicked sprites and evil monsters are swept away by the wind,
And shining by itself roundly (full, complete) and completely is his
merit of the Tao's inner power." 236

The above poem seems to be understandable in two different ways. It could be
referring to the might which Ma displayed as a ritual performer during his worldly career as
a Taoist monk. On the other hand, it could be understood as referring to the might which
Ma continues to possess, after his physical death, as a deified Immortal who can become
the object of worship and a source of power that his living colleagues could utilize in their
ritual activities. Thus we can see how the Ch’üan-chen masters were regarded by
themselves and others as dynamic sources of life-giving and demonifuge power during
both their mortal and Immortal modes of existence.

Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un tell us that this life-giving power was not necessarily confined to
the Ch’üan-chen masters alone. In his P’an-hsi Chi 237 is included a long narrative about
a certain Chan-ku, the wife of a certain Mr. Tsou. Chan-ku, who was extremely
famous for her skill at embroidery, was also an ardent believer and patron of Taoism who
lived frugally, built a hut, and provided food for Taoist monks. When somebody ridiculed
the poor condition of the pine and bamboo trees in front of her hut, she pointed to a
withered  tree (a species of the catalpa tree) in her yard and addressed the
Immortals saying, "Now, Immortal sages up above, even at the cost of my body losing all
of its hair, I wish for this tree to revive. If this does not happen, I will take the
responsibility." 238 Months went by without her wish being fulfilled, and thus people

236 Yün-kuang Chi chuan #2 p.7a: 走電飛雷擊太空先天大器悠威雄妖精魔怪隨風
散獨顯圓成道德功

237 Chuan #4 pp.0b-1b

238 今仙聖在上尊身若無毫顧顧樹復榮否或不然再自負矣

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ridiculed her even more. Eventually the tree died, but exactly a year after Chan-ku had put a charm on the tree, a vermillion colored "numinous sprout" started to grow from under the dead tree. The sprout rapidly developed into the tallest tree in the vicinity. Ch'iu tells us that he himself heard of this incident and went to see the revived tree. He was convinced of the authenticity of the story after seeing how the tree was at least twice the height of any of the other trees around it and was like no other tree that Ch'iu had ever seen. Ch'iu then goes on to praise Chan-ku by saying, "Utmost sincerity influences objects, and brilliant virtue moves Heaven." 239

This, of course, is the basic explanation for why marvelous visions appeared over the ocean when Ma Tan-yang and Wang Yü-yang succeeded in making people repent and burn their nets, boats and debt statements. Fortunately, evidence exists in Ma's CYC that such stories were very much based on claims made by Ma himself and that perhaps some of the visions were actually experienced by them:

"The livelihood of the seamen [causes them to] not understand emptiness.
Long amidst the big waves and great tide,
Day after day they catch fish and beckon damnation.
Time after time they send forth their boats and turn their backs on the palaces of the Immortals.
From what were they able to find it in their hearts to repent of their wrongdoings?
Meeting me and diligently persevering is better than maneuvering skillfully.
Leaping joyfully, they burned their boats and nets,
And their mercy and compassion (towards the fish in the sea) moved the gods and the dragons.
Ocean mirages spread across the sky and amazed the eyes of the masses............" 240

239 至誠感物明德動天
240 CYC chuan #3 pp.0b-1a. See Plate 155.

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The poem then goes on to describe some of the images which appeared. This poem is followed by several similar ones dealing with the same incident. What the images probably were was the mirages which are known to frequently appear on the shores of the Shantung Peninsula. Whether such is the case or whether a feeling of religious fervor and ecstasy caused them to see something more marvelous than what normally appears in such mirages, we cannot know. But whatever it was they saw, it was understood as having been caused by divine forces expressing their approval over what was taking place. At least, this was certainly the way in which the Ch'üan-chen masters wanted people to understand such phenomena.

In such a way, even though the Ch'üan-chen masters may not have been as obsessed with the belief in miracles as a many of their believers were, they seem to have greatly utilized the common believers' fascination with miracles as a useful means to guide them towards merciful and compassionate behavior. To give up killing fish or to forgive debts were certainly to be regarded as steps in the right direction; the absolutely selfless, life-affirming, life-giving lifestyle of the Perfected Men.

I would now like to bring this long chapter to a close. The following are the main points which I hope the reader has gotten out of it:

(1) Miracle stories were an important medium through which the Ch'üan-chen sect attempted to bring people to faith.
(2) The Ch'üan-chen masters, while fully aware of and critical towards the inherent dangers involved in over-emphasizing miracles, were themselves deeply mystical people.
who maintained that supernormal power was in fact attainable through their methods of Perfection Cultivation.

(3) With thorough examination, one can see that the writings of the Ch'üan-chen masters do lay out a theoretical framework out of which supernormal power and experience can be obtained. Many passages which were perhaps not written primarily as discussions pertaining to the divine or the supernormal, seem to almost intentionally contain many metaphors and connotations that make a miraculous interpretation possible.

(4) The final, climactic stage of Perfection Cultivation was a time at which the adept finally attained complete control of his body's  
ch'i and a realization of the eternal Tao within him which assured him of Immortality. At the same time, this final stage was a time when the adept experienced deep mystical trances while bringing before himself the vast panorama of omnipotent divine power in within his body. When his internal divine forces triumphed over the internal and external evil forces, he had "a body outside of the body"  
which provided him with mental and physical capacities that transcended the boundaries normally set by the mortal flesh.

(5) Thus, while perhaps a large number of the miracle stories within the hagiographies are creations of the imaginations of later believers, the teachings and practices of the Ch'üan-chen masters did play a very large part in causing such stories to be created. We can also know for a fact that some of the stories are actually based on their own claims.

I believe it can be said that the Taoism taught and practiced by Wang Ch'ung-yang and his disciples was probably just as concerned with the realm of the supernormal as other preceeding religious Taoist schools, if not even more so. They certainly seem to have utilized the mystique and lore of the ancient Taoist Immortals to the fullest. Only when they felt that believers were being mislead, or that the ideals of mercy and compassion were
not being made the top priority, did they speak out as opponents of "magic" and "superstition".
"In the fourth year of the Ch'eng-an reign era (1199), during the winter in the tenth month, We held the Yellow Register [Festival] on a grand scale and performed the Golden Liturgy. The Red Book and the Jade Letters exist from the time proceeding Heaven (the prior realm before creation). The White Tablets and True Talismans defeat the wicked eternally. Triple-tiered ornate jade altars gleam with precious brilliance. Nine liquor vessels and divine lanterns capture the stars. The majestic peak to which we used up our (paper?) money\textsuperscript{1} is Mt. Feng-t'u\textsuperscript{2}.

Ascending to Immortality over its many peaks; it cannot be climbed. For four nights we reverently lined up our incense fire and sacrifices. For nine mornings we awaited and listened (for the gods' response?), circumambulating by pacing the void.\textsuperscript{3} 1000 gates and 10,000 doors (all households and families) gave rise to rejoicing. Six streets and three marketplaces together lined up their contributions. Golden flowers and silver torches together shined and glimmered. On the surface and in the interior the light's brilliance naturally penetrated. Suddenly we heard joyous auspiciousness manifested outside in the sky. There was something extraordinary which was lonely and twisted.\textsuperscript{4} The Jade Emperor passed on his proclamation and carried out great forgiveness. Immortal Youths descended to Nan-ch'ang mounted on cranes.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{1}He is perhaps he is referring to the special paper "money" that is burned at Taoist, and popular religious rituals.

\textsuperscript{2}This refers to the underworld made up of six hells that was believed to exist in Mt. Lo-feng\textsuperscript{3} in Szechuan.

\textsuperscript{3}"Pacing the void" refers to a part of the ritual where the priests circumambulate the altar while reciting special verses for the various gods that have been invited to the ritual arena.

\textsuperscript{4}I have no idea what this refers to.

\textsuperscript{5}This probably refers to a river in Hopei.
The imprisoned hun souls and stagnant p’o souls all transcended and were delivered. White[-haired] old timers and yellow[-haired] youths were all reverant and faithful. To the furthest limits of the heavens a better thing [than this] has never been heard of. We have completely subdued [the harmful forces of (?)] of the regions of Shantung and Hopei."6

The above poem written by Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un describes the on-goings at a typical Yellow Register chiao festival which the Ch’üan-chen masters were frequently involved in, and for a great part seems to be equivalent or similar to the chiao rituals which are carried out frequently to this day, particularly in Taiwan. How to define a chiao (particularly as opposed to a chai ) is a rather difficult and tricky issue, since the term has been used to convey several different meanings over the years, as I will be discussing briefly later on. But basically I think that the chiao , as it appears in Ch’üan-chen writings and as it is performed in the present day, can be understood as a very special large scale community ritual in which Taoist priests7 are hired to administer their special skills to bring a wide variety of long lasting benefits to the entire community. Among the many varieties of Taoist chiao and chai rituals which have been carried out in China over the centuries, the Yellow Register chiao or chai 8 is the one that for the most part seems to have enjoyed the greatest popularity and credibility, and was definitely the one type of ritual that the Ch’üan-chen masters carried out most extensively. A chiao ritual is designed to bring about an extensive range of benefits, and in the case of the Yellow Register chiao , the

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6P’an-hsi Chi chuan #3 pp.11b-12a. See Plate 156.
7As this chapter is involved exclusively with ritual practices, the Ch’üan-chen masters will frequently be referred to as "priests" rather than "monks" in order to denote their role as the principle performers of the rituals.
8The term Yellow Register chai seems to denote the basic performance of the liturgy. The term, Yellow Register chiao which appears very frequently in Ch’üan-chen writings came to be used when the basic Yellow Register liturgy performance came to be followed by a sacrificial worship ritual and feast.
prime aim is to deliver the damned souls of the dead out of purgatory and into Immortalhood. Of course, the act of delivering damned souls alone is thought to bring an extensive range of benefits to the community, not only because the souls which are saved are the souls of the loved ones of the members of the community, but also because the suffering and often vengeful souls of the dead are believed to be what cause many of the misfortunes and illnesses that plague the lives of the living. To perform a task as grand as delivering the dead from the steep mountain cliffs of the underworld, no ordinary effort can suffice. Thus the community calls upon the Taoist ritual specialist who has mastered the required liturgies and possesses access to the proper registers (of the names, titles and physical descriptions of the gods to be called upon) and talismans. The ritual will usually go on for several days and nights. The full participation, reverence and financial support of the entire community is vital. As a result, in the case of the poem that I have just quoted, the Jade Emperor (who is the most powerful active ruler of the divine realm) is moved to extend his pardon to the damned souls, and the entire area of Shantung and Hopei obtains the security which results from immunity to the hazards that would normally be caused by the unhappy souls of the dead. The Yellow Register chiao that Ch’iu describes must have been one that was performed on a grand scale indeed, judging from the extremely vast region over which its efficacy allegedly spanned.

While the evidence which attests to the fact that the Ch’uan-ch’en masters were heavily involved in the above kind of ritual activity is overwhelming, the dominant tendency of modern scholarship to want to portray the Ch’uan-ch’en masters as reformists has caused this particular aspect of their activity to be seen as a rather unfortunate deviation from the original intentions of the sect’s founder, Wang Ch’ung-yang. Kubo Noritada wrote the following words in his conclusion to his book, *Chuugoku no Shuukyoo Kaikaku: Zenshinkyoo no Seiritsu*:
"Previously I mentioned that one of the special characteristics of New Taoism was its tendency to abolish the magico-religious tendencies of prior forms of Taoism. It is definitely true that this characteristic can be identified. However, this characteristic faded as time passed on. One aspect that is worth mentioning as an example of this is the traditional *chai* and *chiao* rituals. "Chai" refers to ritual abstinences, "chiao" is a rite in which liquor is poured onto the ground in order to worship the gods; but later on these terms came to refer to prayer and worship performed at an altar by a Taoist priest. In other words, *chai* and *chiao* rituals are rituals in which a Taoist priest cleanses his body, builds an altar, and commands and controls demons and gods or prays to and worships them. In the case of the Ch'uan-chen sect; even though Wang Ch'ung-yang himself did not perform them, the Seven Perfected and the Ch'uan-chen Taoist priests who followed them carried them out frequently."

This statement brings to light the first issue that I would like to address in this chapter. Careful examination of the writings of Wang Ch'ung-yang makes it clear that Wang was involved in various forms of ritual activity and was by no means opposed to the kind of ritual such that which is described in the poem that I quoted to start off this chapter. After proving this point, what I will try to do is to discuss the evolution of the attitudes of the Ch'üan-chen masters towards ritual activities, and trace the gradual increase in the emphasis that came to be put on the performance of rituals. We will be seeing how the Ch'üan-chen masters held both negative and positive attitudes towards rituals. On the negative side, they saw certain dangers in getting overly involved in ritual activities, and showed a definite disdain towards certain kinds of ritual conduct which they deemed improper. But on the positive side, as we have already seen to a certain degree in the preceding chapters, the Ch'üan-chen masters, as a result of their diligent and painstaking

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9 The Ch'üan-chen, Chen Ta-tao and T'ai-i sects that developed during the Chin Dynasty.

10 Kubo seems quite accurate in his description of what the original meaning of *chai* was. I am do not know where he got his definition for *chiao*.


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Perfection Cultivation, were regarded by themselves and others as possessors of extraordinary power to communicate with and control the divine and demonic forces in order to bring benefits to people. Moreover, as merciful and compassionate Perfected Men, the Ch’üan-chen masters very much saw it as their duty to benefit living things by exercising these special powers through the performance of rituals. Generally, we will be seeing that while both the negative and positive attitudes were held by Wang and his successors alike, the positive attitudes gradually came to overshadow the negative attitudes as the sect grew, the nation plunged into wartime miseries, and the demand for the ritual services of the Perfected Men grew substantially.

We will also be seeing that Wang Ch’ung-yang and his disciples had very definite ideas on how to perform rituals properly, and on what the requirements were for a ritual to be efficacious. While examining these basic theories that they upheld, I will also try as much as possible to present a concrete picture of the types of rituals they performed, the scriptures, liturgies and talismans that they used, the deities which became the objects of their rituals, and the different benefits that were sought as a result. A lack of understanding about such issues has led to misleading viewpoints such as the following one:

"Aside from chai and chiao rituals aimed at praying for the good fortune of the dead in the after-life, [the Ch’üan-chen sect] discredited superstitious benefit-seeking beliefs such as those involving incantations and talismans, and instead expounded an austere internal cultivation centered entirely around seated meditation."^12

Quite contrarily to the above statement, we have already seen that the Ch’üan-chen masters did in fact make use of certain incantations and talismans in order to perform ritual

^12 Akizuki Kan-ei, "Dookyoshi," in Dookyoo 1: Dookyoo to wa nani ka, p.64: 死者の冥福を祈る素隠しだ外形の渡辺の説く符巻が禁呪等の迷信的な利益信仰を排除し Chrysler を全然やった蔵部（い）内面的な修行を説いており…...

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healing. In this chapter we will be seeing how such special incantations and talismans were
deemed as important by the Ch'üan-chen masters as an important component of their large
scale rituals. This high regard for such seemingly "superstitious" elements is clearly
expressed in Ch'iu's poem in the words, "The Red Book and Jade Letters exist from the
time preceding Heaven. The white tablets and true talismans have been defeating
wickedness for a long time." But as we will be seeing, what was thought to go hand in
hand with the proper use of the proper talismans and incantations in bringing about an
efficacious ritual, was the sincere inner devotion and ritual abstinence of all the participants
and the mystical internal visualizations of the priests in charge of the ritual. The "austere
internal cultivation entirely centered around seated meditation" stressed by the Ch'üan-chen
masters was incorporated as an integral component of the ritual process, and had been so
for centuries. Also, the good after-life fortune of the dead was only one of the many
benefits which the Ch'üan-chen masters sought to bring to people through their rituals.

Yet, it is also a fact that Wang and his disciples do not seem to have innovated any
important new ritual methods or written any important texts dealing exclusively with how
to perform rituals. On the other hand, their closely related counterpart to the south, the
Southern Sect, is well known for its extensive contributions to the development and
transmission of Thunder Magic. The only identifiable trait of the Ch'üan-chen sect's
ritual practices which seems to distinguish it from the other Taoist sects is the worship of
the Ch'üan-chen Patriarchs. Evidence of this aspect of their ritual practices is abundant in
their poetry. Fortunately the prolific early 14th century Ch'üan-chen monk and writer,
Ch'en Kuan-wu has included a delightful little liturgy for the worship of the
Patriarch Immortals Chung-li Cheng-yang and Lü Ch'un-yang in his

13Although we now know that this "Perfection Cultivation" involved many aspects other than seated
meditation as understood in the conventional Buddhist sense.
master work, *Chin-tan Ta-yao* 金丹大要. I will wrap up this chapter by providing a full, annotated translation of this text prefaced by a brief discussion of this Patriarch Immortal worship which seems to have given (and continues to give) the Ch'üan-chen sect a certain measure of its own unique identity as a ritual tradition.

Overall, I hope that this chapter will help the reader to appreciate the vital role of ritual worship within the activities of the complex and multi-faceted religious movement which was the early Ch'üan-chen sect.

(a) Attitudes towards Rituals

As we have seen in previous chapters, Wang Ch'ung-yang was a multi-faceted religious man. He was an ascetic practitioner of various types of life-nurturing methods, a teacher, a preacher, a healer and a renowned performer of miracles. In addition to all of these attributes, he was also a man of considerable expertise concerning the performance of rituals. My feeling is that a discussion of the religiosity of this intriguing personality is incomplete without making mention of his ideas involving rituals and his involvement within them. It can probably also be said that Wang regarded the ability to perform rituals effectively as an indispensable attribute of a truly accomplished Taoist practitioner. When a layman asked him about his ideas on what constituted proper training and self-cultivation for a Ch'üan-chen monk, he wrote the following verses:

"Cleanse yourself, protect your [good] heart and dedicate yourself to great goodness. Always act in ways of pity and sympathy. Be merciful, compassionate, pure and still, And frequently observe the mysterious and profound inner meanings, Completing [your understanding] of the Three Teachings.

Leave your children and divorce your wife to become a superior stalwart. Get rid of all your wealth and sexual activities.

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Perfection food constantly makes whole the five viscera. Acquiring long and healthy years, your merit will be accomplished and your deeds will abound, And your Perfected nature will enter the altar of the Immortals.

[Using] T'ai-i's Chaotic Primal True Ritual Register, The pure-heared virtuoso carries out [the ritual]. First capture those worms and corpses within yourself. The smoke from the incense penetrates into the upper realm, And the mighty power is secretly administered.

Rescuing and delivering lost hun souls, erases old karma. Watch and visualize, vastly acquiring great blessings. Demons will be startled and gods will be scared, afraid of getting captured and pursued. Your deeds and merit alone will stand out, And on another day colorful clouds will follow you."15

Thus after briefly summarizing some of the basic priorities within the Ch'üan-chen lifestyle (morality, compassion, celibacy, asceticism, life-nurturing, accumulation of merit and deeds), he describes how the accomplished adept who has a "Perfected nature" assumes his place at the ritual altar. The True Ritual Register most likely refers to a list of names, titles and physical descriptions of the various gods which the priest addresses and visualizes. T'ai-i is a deity that was thought to manifest himself as the North Pole Star and which personified the profound central working principle of the universe. (This god apparently originates from Han Dynasty state religion.) The Ch'üan-chen priest communicates with the divine realm and possesses mighty power because he has already overcome the wicked forces (worms and corpses) within him, as we already saw in Chapter Four. Because of this power he brings all kinds of blessings to himself and others, and is able to deliver damned souls. All of the demons and gods are powerless against him. Thus the ritual power of the priest is clearly a result of proper Perfection Cultivation. Later on, I will be discussing in some detail how certain meditative and

14 Perhaps refers to a vegetarian diet or to a diet of little or no food at all.
15 CCC chuan #12 pp.8b-9a. See Plate 158.
visualizational methods similar to those practiced within Perfection Cultivation were utilized right within the ritual process. The main point that I am trying to make here is that this integral connection between rituals and Perfection Cultivation had clearly already been understood and taught by Wang Ch'ung-yang. To say that the extensive ritual activities of his successors represented a corruption and deviation from his original intentions holds virtually no truth at all.

What is true, however, is that Wang seems to have been a much less prolific and renowned ritualist compared to his disciples. Why this was so is hard to say, but the most likely explanation that comes to mind is that Wang's following and his reputation during his lifetime were much less substantial than what it was to become later on. In general, the organization of chiao rituals is initiated by lay people who figure to benefit from them, at times when the feeling is present that there is a substantial need to hold a festival of such large scale. In his book, *Chuugoku Dookyoo no Matsuri to Shinkoo* 中国道教の祭りと信仰 (The Festivals and Beliefs of China's Taoism)\(^{16}\), Liu Chih-wan 劉枝萬 describes the process by which a three day-long chiao was organized to be held at the Ch'ian Temple (dedicated to a popular god named Pao-sheng Ta-ti /保生大帝/) in Shu-lin (樹林鎮) in Taipei District of Taiwan in 1967. Plans for this particular chiao were initiated by influential local residents and people affiliated with the temple for the essential purpose of celebrating recent renovations that had been made on the temple and to express gratitude to the gods for taking good care of the temple and the community. A committee made up of mostly these same influential locals and people affiliated with the temple, was then responsible for selecting a reputable Taoist priest who they regarded as best suited for the job. Liu goes on to tell us that the elderly priest who was eventually selected accepted

\(^{16}\)pp.498-521
the job despite the extremely paltry salary that he was offered. Liu's explanation for this is that this aging priest had never had the honor of being hired for such a great task, and felt that it might be his last chance to perform a full scale chiao ritual. After getting hired, the elderly priest was free to select his own group of about twenty other priests to assist him in performing the extremely wide variety of tasks during the three day extravaganza which required the skills of trained ritual specialists.

Very likely, most chiao s during Wang Ch'ung-yang's time were organized in a similar fashion. In certain cases, a wealthy believer would singlehandedly initiate and finance a chiao, quite often in the event of a personal or family misfortune (most typically a severe disease) which is "diagnosed" as being caused by the doings of an unhappy dead ancestor. But in any case, the decisions involving when to hold a chiao and who to put in charge of the festivities were usually in the hands of the laymen. Selection to be in charge of such a ritual must have been a rare and great honor, which Wang perhaps never got to enjoy. But this does not mean that he was not at times an active participant in such rituals. CCC includes the following poem which was written by Wang in order to invite the Taoist believers in Ching-yang (in Shensi) to participate in a chiao hosted by a certain Mr. Lü:

"In the past [Mr. Lu] started to embrace [his faith in the Tao],
And this morning he is holding a chiao.
[At this chiao ] more than anywhere else there is a special kind of purity and joy.
Windy companions and misty friends have all arrived.
We all devote our sincere hearts,
And only wait in hope for our old acquaintances of Ching-yang to join us in clearing and cleansing (pre-ritual purification and bathing?).
With our vision spread out, we devotedly invite and beg you gentlemen and superior stalwarts.
We all wish for you to come to the altar of the Immortals.

When we gather together to worship the Great Tao,
We do not need chien (a type of incense wood) and jiu (frankincense).
And what need do we have for garoo wood or sandalwood?
We take our heart's incense and burn it, and the throngs of sages come to observe and inspect.
We attain the completion of our merit and our deeds.
[Their] (the gods?) returning and responding is all a matter of Perfection Cultivation at the edges of the clouds.\footnote{This perhaps means that proper Perfection Cultivation by the priest is necessary in bringing the gods to the ritual arena and making them respond to the prayers.}
This evening we shall together rejoice, and one by one ride on luan \footnote{A mythical bird. A phoenix with five-colored feathers.} birds."\footnote{CCC chuan #11 p.2b. See Plate 159.}

This poem was undoubtedly written during the earlier years of Wang's religious life, prior to his journey to Shantung in 1167. I really do not know whether or not he had any disciples at all when he wrote this poem. Certainly, there seems to have not yet existed a "Ch'ii-an-chen sect" that can be spoken of. What seems to be quite apparent from the contents of the poem is that Wang was an active member of a considerably large circle of Taoist clergymen and laymen who on certain occasions would gather for joint worship and prayer. Since the gathering is described as a chiao, the various liturgical rituals, sacrifices etc. aimed at attaining various practical benefits did go on at this particular gathering. But in the poem, Wang extolls the virtues of the gathering as an occasion for believers to come together and join in worship, cultivation Perfection in a mutually supportive, morale-inspiring communal atmosphere. What Wang considers to be the most efficacious component that makes the gathering so meaningful is not the lavish adornments such as the various types of fragrant wood, but rather the inner sincerity of each and every participant, which he refers to as the "heart's incense". Thus we can see that just as much as chiao rituals were ceremonies aimed at seeking various benefits through various methods of swaying the divine forces, they were also opportunities for people who shared the same
faith in the Tao to strengthen their group's solidarity and and grow in their faith. This latter function, as we will see, came to be of utmost importance in later years when the Ch'uan-ch'en sect attained its individual identity and gained momentum as a full scale organized movement.

Yet, we can also see that the benefit-bringing dimension which utilized the power of special scriptures, liturgies and talismans was also very important to Wang:

"In the outer courtyard we submit a jade message....... We submit new sentences and poems. Together they are passed around and the letters [to the gods] are burned. When the flames rise up, clouds and rain will arrive. And the gods will efficiently and continuously pass [the letter] on, Reaching the ruler of Heaven......."

On a white tablet I write golden lessons and registers. Lost hun souls of other surnames are startled and gods are scared. Each [one of the lost souls] thinks and reflects and receives deliverance; and you receive the gate of life........ [I] make people harmoniously merge with the light of the [Primordial] Heavenly Worthy; A single point of light which eternally remains unextinguished. The brilliant moon illuminates the water and departs for [Mt.] K'un-lun.20

What seems to be going on here (although I had great difficulty in translating the above poem and have omitted parts which I simply do not understand) is the writing of various memorials to be sent up to the highest deities by means of burning them. Clearly we can see that Wang must have been well trained in the performance of this kind of ritual. Described here is the efficacy of presenting these messages. He seems to be claiming that rainfall for the crops will be brought immediately, and that the message will be passed on to all of the important deities. He then describes how some of the messages are requests to deliver certain lost souls. As we will see in more detail later on, the deliverance of lost souls of other surnames are startled and gods are scared.

20CCC chuan #6 pp.3b-4a. See Plate 160.
souls consists of a process in which through divine power, the lost souls are made to undergo the physical and spiritual (which Wang is perhaps referring to by the words, "each one of the lost souls thinks and reflects") process of Perfection Cultivation which can qualify them for salvation. The Primordial Heavenly Worthy is the highest god in Taoism. He is a personification of the Tao, and it is his divine mercy and power manifested in his primordial expounding of efficacious scriptures such as the Wu-liang Tu-jen-ching (Scripture for the Limitless Salvation of People TJC); which makes it possible for every single living or dead soul to be saved. To be saved means to become one and the same with this supreme god. This is because the innate Tao nature which exists, albeit obscured, within every person, is equivalent to the Primordial Heavenly Worthy himself.

The fact that Wang believed in the efficacy of the scriptures is well expressed by the fact that he always carried them with him when he travelled:

"My gourd contains medicine, and the scriptures in my arm bag help and rescue people from their suffering." 21

What he seems to mean here is that he always carried medicines and scriptures so that he could provide his medical and ritual healing skills on demand for those who needed it.

There is very clear evidence that Wang seems to have seriously felt that the talismans that he wrote were capable of alleviating the sufferings of people and preventing disasters. He also seems to have felt that people who received these benefits could be brought to faith as a result:

"Begging for ink at the place of Ch'ing-chao Superintendent of Schools Lai Yan-chung"

The tip of my brush returns to my paper.
Life comes from my ink tablet.............

21CCC chuan #5 p.1a. 蘇藥詩藥又脇袋經文拯救人苦
Day and night I search for my spirit and stabilize my thoughts.......
[I] write numinous talismans and precious seals,
Rescuing those who suffer and eliminating disasters.
I wish to cause each and every household to honor the Tao,
And each and every person to be enlightened.
Thereby they will all avoid samsara and accomplish their merit and deeds.
With a secret road ahead of them, they will together go and celebrate
at P'eng-lai (legendary island of the Immortals). \(^22\)

Provided that I have understood the above poem correctly, Wang here is begging an
official to give him some ink so that he can continue to carry out his worthy cause of
bringing blessings and ultimately salvation to people through the writing of talismans.

Bringing benefits to people through rituals was regarded by Wang as an important
way for an adept to acquire the necessary merit and deeds (especially the latter) points for
Perfection. Included in CCC is a poem written to a certain fa-shih (Taoist ritual specialist) named Li who had sought his advice. After going through his usual abstract
description of how to retain and control the ch'i and of the visualizational processes that an
adept undergoes, Wang finishes by saying:

"Venerate the evaluation registers and the method registers\(^23\) and
copy the golden books.
Alleviate disasters, bring back blessings and and attain conversion
of the non-believers (?)
When your merit and deeds are sufficient, your Golden Elixir will
appear.\(^24\)

Thus so far we have seen that Wang Ch'ung-yang was apparently thoroughly
initiated and knowledgeable concerning various ritual methods including the use of the
various scriptures, liturgies and talismans. He strongly approved of rituals in that they

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\(^{22}\) CCC chuan \#3 pp.15a-b. See Plate 161

\(^{23}\) I wish I knew what the distinction was between these two types of registers was or is. Perhaps the "evaluation registers" are lists of the damned people that are to be delivered and the method registers are lists of the gods to be visualized and addressed.

\(^{24}\) CCC chuan \#6p.6b: 萬祥鍊結靈全能拯救災回福及歸依功行足現金丹

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promoted and strengthened the faith and solidarity of the believers, were efficacious in bringing the wide range of benefits that people sought, and provided another means by which a practitioner of Perfection Cultivation could accumulate merit and deeds.

Although Wang was usually an enthusiastic and willing participant in the various rituals that were organized by the various people in the various places at which he set foot, there is also evidence that there were certain types of rituals which he despised, and refused to be a part of:

"The District Magistrate invited me to worship lost souls. I did not go along.

The head monk rings the cymbals and praises the losts souls. There is only Windy (Crazy) Wang who is sober all by himself. If this (my body) was a skeleton it would go along the worship, [But] by not going along to the worship, I eliminate my skeleton shape."

The reason that he gives for not participating is hard to understand, but he is perhaps saying that this particular ritual is worthless and is furthermore counterproductive in enhancing the human condition. By not participating, Wang felt that he was helping himself to avoid the sad conclusion of ordinary human existence; death and decay into the form of a bare, dried out skeleton.

Quite clearly, this ritual which he shunned must have been a ritual of a more popular religious variety (in which some Buddhist monks had also become involved), and of a nature quite foreign to the ritual tradition that Wang was involved in. A defining characteristic of the Perfected Man in the ritual context was his superiority and dominance over all spiritual and demonic forces. For Wang to worship lost souls would have been meaningless and self-degrading. Purporting to himself be essentially a living yang deity,

\[25\] CCC chuan \#2 pp.6b-7a: 翼簇邀余杖生靈命不從師僧鼓鉦言聲音靈唯有王風 獨自醒若是骨古骨忌從拜禮不從拜禮沒骨形

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the only gods that Wang would have been willing to deal with from a subordinate position would have been the most sacred (usually astral) gods who were personifications of the Tao and its marvelous workings, or the Immortals who had accomplished Perfection during their worldly lifetimes. While Wang and his disciples would frequently deliver the lost souls by pleading to the high gods, it was out of the question for them to worship the lost souls.

In popular religious practice, on the other hand, souls leading miserable existences were frequent objects of worship and sacrifice because they were regarded with much fear as potentially harmful forces that could wreak tremendous havoc upon the living. Many of the major gods of popular religion were in fact people who were deified because they had died under unfortunate circumstances (unjustly murdered or executed, killed in battle, died without descendants to honor them with ancestral sacrifices) that made it necessary for them to be deified and worshipped so as to comfort and appease them for the prevention of any disasters that they may cause.

Partly because they felt superior to such popular religious gods, the Ch'uan-chen masters seem to have held a strong disdain for popular religious, non-Taoist rituals in general. Another important reason for this disdain lay in the feeling that people tended to live in a careless, immoral and non-repentant manner; and therefore worshipped their gods only when it was convenient or necessary to do so, so as to attain whatever benefit they may have wanted. This disdain is expressed eloquently by Liu Ch'ang-sheng in his YFC commentary:

"Worldly people only know of earth deities  and yin gods  and thus think of them as gods. They take gods carved from wood and molded from mud to be [real] gods. The foolish do not understand that whenever one creates a single portion of sin and transgression, Heaven will send down a single portion of misfortune and suffering. [Thus they] murder boars and sheep and
vastly burn coin horses in order to pray and worship. [Only] when they have illnesses do they seek comfort [from the gods], and [only] when they have misfortune do they seek for blessings [from the gods].

[Worldly people] do not know that up in Heaven the ultimate gods of the yang Tao each take their direction and position to secretly observe the goodness and badness among people. If people of the world create goodness for three years: before 1000 days go by, [Heaven] will send down auspicious blessings. If people create evil for 1000 days, within three years [Heaven] will send down disaster. Worldly people do not understand that among the myriad [living] things, that which is the most numinous and the most penetrating is their own primal spirit which has the capacity to penetrate Heaven and abound through Earth with brilliant radiance. Wise sages of old; all of them understood the Tao, cultivated Perfection and went from ordinariness into sacredness."

As we have already seen, Wang Ch’ung-yang cherished the functions of Taoist rituals as occasions for the faith and devotion of the believing community along with the merit and deeds of the practitioner of Perfection Cultivation to be enhanced. The above statements by Liu Ch’ang-sheng show us that the Ch’üan-chen masters felt that this entire element was lacking in the rituals of the common people. What is more, they also felt that such rituals defeated their own purpose by bringing about bad karma and misfortunes and ultimately went against the essential motive of the Ch’üan-chen sect; the salvation of all humankind from mortal suffering through the power of the transcendant Tao that exists within everything and everybody. As we will be seeing shortly, the successors of Wang Ch’ung-yang inherited his expertise and enthusiasm for proper ritual performance. But at the same time they also came to see certain faults in the way in which Taoist rituals were often being performed. These faults were essentially equivalent to the faults of popular religious worship which Liu Ch’ang-sheng criticized.

26 Unclear. Perhaps refers to paper coins and figurines which are burned as offerings.
27 pp.9a-b. See Plate 162.
Ma Tan-yang, who succeeded Wang Ch'ung-yang as the leader of the Ch'üan-chen sect seems to have been even more involved in ritual activities than his teacher. Evidence of his extensive ritual activity, and his sincere belief in the efficacy of rituals can be seen in poems such as the following:

A "'Praying for rain in Ch'ang-an on the twenty-fourth day of the eighth month of the keng-tzu year (1180)'

[I], Barefoot Crazy Ma pray for rain,
My heart's incense wafts up to the Headquarters of the Immortals.
How long will we have to wait before the moisture is sufficient to plough?
Five time five, not beyond the twenty-fifth [day].

The sprouts are on the verge of withering,
And all the people are in despair.
[I] burn up my heart's incense and auspicious breath floats.
Again I pray to the Three Perfect Ones that in all of the lower realm,
A torrential stream will bring forth a good fall harvest.28

B "'[The gods] answered [our] prayers'

The heavens were extremely high (clear, without clouds or precipitation).
[So we feared] that our sprouts would dry up.
The Immortals responded to our prayers,
And we had downpours for three mornings."29

C "When enlightenment arrives I enjoy the Tao and have fun according to my will.
For food at the chiao one must ask for just one bowl of noodles.
Fortunately I have met up with yellow caps (Taoist priests) administering their rites.
To help this immaculate chiao to solemnly get rid of disasters,
I add my support by purifying myself and residing in a shack.30"

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28 CYC chuan #1 p.12a. See Plate 163.
29 ibid. chuan #4 p.12a: 天極髙仙亀仙
30 This apparently refers to a type of prayer or incantation which he would perform in the shack. This term is commonly used in esoteric Buddhist sects to refer to special incantations made by monks.
To give posthumous recommendation for lost souls who ascend to
the Jade Terrace (Heaven).31

D  ""To all of the Friends of Taoists at the Wen-teng District Yellow
Register Chiao '"

[I], Triple top-knotted Crazy Ma of [Mt.] K'un-yü sing.
Having earned a meeting and cultivated Immortal-hood, I avoid
doing many things.
I reside in non-action and act upon my original vows (to save all
people).
People come seeking posthumous recommendation for the
demons of painful appearances.

I help the chiao by adding support while residing in a shack.
I rescue the lost souls and raise them up to Ta-lo.32
The stagnant p'o souls and lonely hun souls are truly fortunate.
All together they are risen with unsurpassed joy.

From the time that I acquired a meeting [with Wang Ch'ung-yang] I
enjoy pure poverty.
I enjoy living in a shack and fear giving rise to dust.
I refine my chi and my chi is harmonious; and my spirit loves my
chi.
I nurture my spirit and my spirit is vigorous; and my chi pacifies
my spirit.
The manager of sacrifices requested me to administer
posthumous recommendation for small sons.
My merciful heart sends up good karma.
I rescue the lost souls who rise to the upper realm.
Lonely hun souls and stagnant p'o souls all visit the Perfected
[Men]."34

E  "To Wang Yung-chi, chairman of the chiao in Lai-chou,
and all of the friends of the Tao.

'Receiving Punishment'

If during your life your wickedness has been extreme,
After your death your karma for punishment will be great.

31ibid. chuan #3 p. 19b. See Plate 164.
32The highest heaven of the Immortals.
33The person who is in charge of the sacrifices that are offered at the local shen temple dedicated to the
local earth deity.
34CYC chuan #7 pp.5b-6a. See Plate 165.
You will definitely enter the prison of the boiling cauldron,  
And will have difficulty escaping from the iron net.

'Posthumous Recommendation'
If filial sons provide posthumous recommendation,  
Lost souls will acquire great blessings.  
Definitely they will leave purgatory,  
And avoid having to meet Yen-lo.  

'Ascension and deliverance'
Seven generations of ancestors vastly ascend.  
Among the Nine-Hundred Ancestors those who are delivered and escape are numerous.  
Attended by the clouds they visit the Jade Emperor.  
Mounted on cranes they see him and line up in his presence.

'Inviting the Sages'
Holding jade tablets we lie prostrate.  
The star caps which touch the ground are many.  
The blue poems are decorated with blue lists (of gods' names?),  
And the yellow[-capped] Taoist [priests] spread out the yellow net.

'Ritual'
Going to the chiao the star caps are vast.  
Ascending to the altar, the moon garments are many.  
The [Primordial] Heavenly Worthy's pervasive harmony arises,  
And the ritual overcomes the demons of Asura.

'Complete and Full'
Luan and cranes descend from throughout the skies.  
The sacred sages who come to the gathering are numerous.  
The talismans and tablets are all completely ready,  
And the clouds fly up and rise to Ta-lo."

Poems A and B deal with praying for rain on the occasion of a drought, which was perhaps the second most important purpose for which the Ch'üan-chen masters would

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35Yama-raja, the king of the underworld.
36Unclear. Perhaps describes what the yellow caps of the many prostrated yellow-capped Taoists look like from above.
37A Buddhist term referring to evil demons who try to destroy the Buddhist teaching.
38CYC chuan #7 pp.5b-6a. See Plate 166.
typically administer their ritual powers. These poems have a definite ring of sympathy for the plight of the farmers. In A, a reference is again made to the "heart's incense", the sincere, heartfelt devotion of Ma who is saying the prayer. The object of worship (the Three Perfect Ones 真 三 or perhaps three of the Ch'üan-chen Patriarchs (Chung-li Cheng-yang, Lü Ch'un-yang and Wang Ch'ung-yang?)). It seems very likely that A may be a poem which was written to be burned as a plea and offering to the high gods. B on the other hand was apparently written at a certain occasion when rainfall had resulted from Ma's prayers. In it, Ma credits the Immortals for bringing three consecutive days of rain.

The most important function for which the Ch'üan-chen masters utilized their ritual power, of course, was the salvation of damned souls. For some reason, Ma seems to have been rather unique in terms of the way in which he went about delivering the souls of the dead. He apparently liked to go off alone into a shack in order to do it. As we will be seeing in detail later, ritual purification and various types of restrictions (sexual abstinence, avoidance of liquor and meats etc.) were deemed as essential for the efficacy of the ritual. We can see how Ma, upon entering his shack to pray, purifies himself and limits his food consumption to one bowl of noodles (poem C). Of course, as we have seen repeatedly, the life of a Ch'üan-chen monk was a lifelong abstention from all kinds of ordinary physical comforts and pleasures, and purity of both mind (elimination of superfluous thoughts) and body (prevention of leakage of the body's ch'i, especially semen and blood) was emphasized in all situations. In a way, Ma's life was a constant and endless period of ritual purification and abstention. Thus in discussing his role as a ritualist, he constantly makes references to his ascetic lifestyle and to how he practices his asceticism within the ritual process. In poem A he calls himself "Barefoot Crazy Ma", and in poem D he again calls himself "Crazy Ma" and speaks of how, ever since his meeting with Wang
Ch'ung-yang, he has undergone a life dedicated to ascetic Perfection Cultivation ("cultivated Immortal-hood", "avoid doing many things", "reside in non-action", "enjoy pure poverty"). By speaking of how he refines his ch'i and nurtures his spirit, he is referring to his various training methods consisting primarily of ascetic self-discipline, meditation and internal visualization aimed at retaining and controlling the body's ch'i, and at freeing the mind of superfluous thoughts. His basic point seems to be that this lifestyle which he carries into the ritual site is what makes his prayer efficacious. Apparently, many people agreed with him on this point, causing his services to be regarded as a beneficial addition to a chiao ritual. When requested to help out at a chiao, Ma made it a habit of consenting because he saw himself as a merciful and compassionate person, who had vowed to bring salvation to all living things. In the situation described in C, he seems to have coincidentally encountered a group of priests performing a chiao ritual, and thus willingly volunteered his services.

Ma seems to have seen his primary ritual role as a supportive one; and we really have no clear evidence that he was ever hired as the chief priest at a chiao. While the "yellow caps" underwent the elaborate processes at the altar, Ma would support their efforts by praying in solitude. But C also shows us that at least in some instances, Ma would emerge from his shack to perform the rites of "posthumous recommendation" on behalf of the damned souls. E is a very interesting sequence of poems written about the on-goings at one particular chiao. The poems, "Receiving Punishment" and "Posthumous Recommendation" are good examples of how Ma and the rest of the Ch'üan-chen masters saw the chiao as a useful opportunity to exhort people towards proper reverence and morality. "Receiving Punishment" warns (and scares) the participants of the miserable consequences of immoral conduct. The belief that punishment in purgatory results from bad conduct is what necessitates the Yellow Register chiao, and naturally Ma saw the chiao
as an ideal context at which he could exhort people at this very elementary level. "Posthumous Recommendation" extolls a type of morality very close to the Chinese heart, filial piety. While endorsing filial piety as an essential component of the successful deliverance of the souls of the ancestors, he is also in turn endorsing and justifying the chiao. From an orthodox Confucian family-oriented perspective, it is hard to think of a more honorable justification for holding a Yellow Register chiao than the fact that it is a filial act. It has already been pointed out by several modern scholars that Wang Ch'ung-yang, being the great syncretist that he was, told his followers to read and recite the Confucian Classic of Filial Piety. I rather suspect that his emphasis of this particular Confucian book had a lot to do with his sect's involvement in the Yellow Register chiao.

The rest of the poems in E go on to describe how the large crowds of lavishly clad priests appeal to the high gods and Immortals with talismans, poems and prostrations; and how their efforts are rewarded. Primordial Heavenly Worthy sends down his saving power to everybody, evil forces are subdued, damned souls are delivered, and the Immortal throngs come to benevolently oversee and bless the proceedings.

We can see that Ma, like his teacher, believed in the importance and efficacy of rituals, and saw it as part of his duty to be involved in them. While it is true that Wang and Ma laid their primary emphasis on ascetic self-cultivation, they both essentially saw rituals as places for their basic doctrines of Perfection Cultivation to be re-inforced and carried out in a group context, and also as an opportunity to act upon the ideals of mercy and compassion by utilizing their meritorious power acquired through their Perfection Cultivation to help other people in a limitless variety of ways.
However, Ma at times also seems to have expressed the concern that by getting too involved in these lavish rituals, his disciples might become distracted from the quest for Perfection:

"Friends of the Tao of Chih-yang have come to Wen-teng..........

The manager of sacrifices sent a letter inviting me to be in charge of a chiao and rescue the lost souls. I am very pleased, but there is one thing that I need to consider. I only fear that my successors will emulate me, frequently going to chai and going to chiao, without cultivating the Tao. How can they thus accomplish Immortal-hood?.......... Why do friends of the Tao seek for posthumous recommendation?

Incessantly they pray to me to rescue the yin convicts (prisoners in purgatory), to rescue the yin convicts. Why is this?

I am a stalwart of non-action and pure immaculateness. Never before have I gone to a chiao with the [Primordial] Heavenly Worthy. I do not know how to ascend the altar and administer the rites, let alone perform inner visualization. I will go and add my support while in a shack. I will silently pray to my true master, the Heavenly Immortal Official, the Heavenly Immortal Official. He is [Wang] Chʻung-yang. Letting out a sigh (of pity), he gives rise to mercy and carries out his compassionate transformations. The 1000 layered shackles and chains of purgatory are opened, and all of the lost souls are cleared of their guilt."39

The reader may have already recognized some inconsistencies between what Ma is saying here, and what he seems to have been saying in the previous poems that I quoted. While there seems to be evidence that Ma at times did go to the altar to perform "posthumous recommendation" and did pray to the Primordial Heavenly Worthy, here he clearly says that he has and does not know how to. Either he is being modest, or this poem

39 ibid. chuan #6 pp.3b-4a. See Plate 167.
was written before the others. This particular occasion described here may have been the first time that a Ch’üan-chen monk had been asked to be in charge of a chiao. This might be the reason for Ma’s reaction of joy mixed with the feeling of uncertainty over the direction that the sect that he had inherited would take as a result. He is worried that the example that he would set would be detrimental to the Perfection Cultivation of his successors. Thus he modestly relegates himself to his familiar role; silent, secluded prayer in a shack. Furthermore he opts to pray to his late master, who he believed to have become an Immortal in a position capable of prying open the gates of purgatory.

To be asked to be in charge of the chiao was a compliment to the credibility that Ma and his following had obtained. The ritual services of the Ch’üan-chen masters soon became extremely coveted throughout northern China; so much that Liu Ch’ang-sheng, Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’ün and Wang Yü-yang were at various times summoned by the imperial court to utilize their ritual powers. Ma perhaps sensed that such was the direction that the sect was on the verge of taking, and feared that success, fame and wealth would obscure the Ch’üan-chen clergy from their two essential objectives; ascetic self-training and altruistic service towards others. Thus occasionally he clearly implies that there are pursuits other than rituals to which one’s time, money and energy are more worth devoting, and that ideally speaking, rituals should not even be necessary:

"If a son of good nature embraces his good nature,
He does not need incense, and he does not need chai rituals.
He receives from above the envelopment of the clouds (receives divine protection),
And completely avoids disasters.
Internally cultivating his extraordinary womb (the perfect ch’i in his Cinnabar Field),
He forgets his plans, cuts off his worries and gets rid of his dust.
He gives birth to a miraculous child that has great talents (the immortal and omnipotent yang spirit)."\(^{40}\)

\(^{40}\)ibid. chuan #8 p.3a. See Plate 168.

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"[Feeding the street beggars] is better than holding a chiao with 1000 altars. The merciful and compassionate blessings of helping the poor and rescuing those who suffer; the meritorious virtue [attained by it] is limitless! It is superior to that of burning chien and garoo wood."\(^{41}\)

So were Ma's fears justified? This is hard for me to say, as I lack sufficient knowledge concerning the sect's history after the first generation of masters had died off. The condition of the Ch'\'uan-chen sect today would indicate that despite the sect's heavy involvement in rituals, their founder's legacy of austere self-cultivation, charity and evangelism has been maintained to a certain degree. But what can be said for certain is that Liu Ch'ang-sheng, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un and Wang Yü-yang, as far as can be seen from their writings, did not allow themselves to become spoiled by their tremendous success in the ritual arena. Their writings show that they performed their rituals with the proper motives in mind, were fully cautious of the possible drawbacks of over-emphasizing rituals, and recognized the priorities that had to be set ahead of the performance of rituals:

F "Praying for rain, I go from village to village. If the people are good, Heaven sends down its blessings. Non-killing brings about miraculous blessings, as the incense, lanterns, tea and fruit are sustained (the proper sacrifices continue to be made?)."\(^{42}\)

G "As the chiao draws near people listen to, [My instructions to] refrain from [eating] meats and spices and keep the body still (abstain from sex). Altruistically and selflessly they acquire a bit of merit and deeds. If they go against the rules of Heaven, they will have annual disasters and monthly illnesses. Respond to objects while forgetting the dust (worldly matters),

\(^{41}\)ibid. chuan #7 p.16a: 請如修建千壇頌——濟貧拯危慈悲福德功德無疆

\(^{42}\)Hsien-yueh Chi chuan #2 p.3b: 為雨各逐村寨普天懇恩英骸生重福祉燈燭早升
With your small noumenon like a mirror. 43
Commander gods secretly observe you.
Rectifying your heart with every thought,
Get rid of [feelings of] hatred and eliminate [feelings] of love,
And purely understand equanimity 44.
If you want to avoid re-birth,
Take refuge in the sacred sages." 45

H  "A superior stalwart does not compete.
Responding to objects with constant equanimity,
He does not covet external treasures........
Rescuing the dead and pitying the living,
He has a mind that forgets worldliness,
And does not think of personal glory........
Completing one's merit and deeds,
Is better than becoming entrapped in fame.
If one completes Perfection he returns 46 and goes,
To visit the court of the Three Pure Ones. 47
(Liu Ch'ang-sheng)

We can see that Liu maintained a strong grasp on the internal, moral element which gave the rituals their fundamental significance. F and G stress the proper conduct and dedication of all participants as mandatory requirements for a ritual to be efficacious. In G we get a glimpse at how, prior to and during a chiao, lay people were made to undergo ascetic practices like those observed daily by the Ch'üan-chen clergy in order to acquire a certain (albeit small) amount of merit and deeds which may be useful in making the ritual work. While these ascetic observances are but temporary for the majority of the participants, we can see how Liu utilized these occasions to remind them that they were

43 Here he seems to be borrowing the common Buddhist analogy of the mind as a mirror that should always be kept polished and clear of "dust" (superfluous thoughts) so that it can always have clear insight.
44 To hold no differentiation or discrimination between different objects including oneself.
45 Hsien-yueh Chi chuan #3 pp.7b-8a. See Plate 169.
46 In this passage the ascension to Immortal-hood is understood as a return in that a person originally comes from the Tao, and thus his union with it as an Immortal is in effect a return.
47 Hsien-yueh Chi chuan #3 p.18a. See Plate 170.
always under the scrutiny of the gods, and that good moral conduct and reverence towards the Immortals is vital at all times.

H, on the other hand, is a description of the proper attitude of the clergyman. While he utilizes his ability to contact the Three Pure Ones and bring benefits to all people living and dead, he acts strictly out of his feelings of compassion, and is at no time concerned with enhancing his own wealth and reputation. The poems of Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un and Wang Yu-yang present to us a picture of them as Perfected Men who have completely identified themselves with the daily struggles of the people and who are ready to perform their rituals as often as possible in order to help them:

"Going to the Northern Sea chiao at Wei-chou^11t H^.

The yin wind of the northern extreme blows across the sea.
The scenery of the sea and the mountains is all desolate.
Snow has piled up on the north side of the mountains and coldness has enveloped the land.
The layers of ice on the sea have frozen [and piled up high enough to reach Heaven].
The swans have already migrated 1000 li away.
The water dragons are in deep sleep at the bottom of the nine-layered pools.
The man of the Tao preserves his incompetence^48, so why must he lend an ear (pay attention to these arduous conditions?) Sternly he braves the ice and frost and goes to the chiao feast."^49

"The mountains and rivers have been stabilized, and shields and lances are no longer wielded.
In a time of Great Peace there are truces in the eight directions.
We carry out chai and chiao rituals frequently in order to answer to these responses (give thanks to the gods for the peace that has arrived).

^48This is a concept that comes from the Lao-tzu book which refers to the way in which the Taoist sage does not boastfully flaunt his talents outwardly but maintains on outer appearance of incompetence.

^49P'anhsi Chi chuan #1 p.12b. See Plate 171.
To the vacuous emptiness and to Heaven and Earth we give thanks for their abundant blessings and their secret mercy and compassion."\(^{50}\)

(Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un)

"The flooding of the Yellow River came in contact with the various directions (extended over a large area).
At every place, all living souls were injured.
Therefore I went to see Chao-yuan\(^{51}\) and we discussed matters together.
[We decided to] quickly perform the Yellow Register and pray for high and clear skies."\(^{52}\)

"Amidst the violent waves of the sea of suffering I escaped the danger and difficulty.
Having completed my Perfection I spread out an incense altar at every place I go.
I climb mountains and cross rivers, never turning down a request.
I rescue the living and the dead and this vow (to save everybody) is vast."\(^{53}\)

"The good man of the Perfect One;
Only his virtue is his assistance.
He widely performs his mercy and compassion,
Delivering the dead and rescuing those who suffer."\(^{54}\)

(Wang Yu-yang)

Thus we can see that by the time when Ch'iu and Yu-yang were the most prominent personalities of the sect, there was no longer any hesitation involved in administering their ritual services. In fact, the feeling seems to have been that a Perfected Man would be balking from his duty if he ever turned down a \textit{chiao} invitation.

\footnote{ibid. \textit{chuan} \#6 pp.12a-b. See Plate 172.}

\footnote{This refers to a person although I cannot tell whether it is his name or a title of some kind. He is perhaps a Taoist priest as the word \textit{chao-yuan} in Ch'uan-chen writings means to visit the court of the Primordial Heavenly Worthy or the Three Pure Ones.}

\footnote{\textit{Yun-kuang Chi chuan} \#2 p.15b. See Plate 173.}

\footnote{ibid. \textit{chuan} \#2 p.27b: 前海流波出離難渡處布發音說登涉水無聲結救度存亡此願覩}

\footnote{ibid. \textit{chuan} \#3 p.27b: 真人善人唯度是輔長演慈悲拔亡俗苦
But even while the Ch'uan-chen masters' emphasis on rituals and the frequency with which they performed them increased, we also know (from the preceding chapters) that Wang Ch'ung-yang's disciples never stopped putting their main emphasis on intense ascetic self training, charity and evangelism. As important as rituals were to them, they never advocated the performance of rituals at the expense of their most basic priorities, as the following statements of Liu Ch'ang-sheng indicate:

"It is better for the myriad [living] things to be free of misfortunes (presumably because of their good daily conduct), than it is to hold a chiao."55

"It is better to rid one's mind of hate and love, than it is to perform a large chiao."56

"It is better to complete your nature and life-destiny, than it is to repeatedly perform chiao s."57

I think it can be said that the Ch'uan-chen masters regarded their rituals as something that they would not have to perform in an ideal world. But because the real world is far from ideal, they took it upon themselves to help alleviate the plight of the world through rituals.

(b) How to Perform Rituals Properly

When the master (Ma Tan-yang) returned to the [eastern] coast,58 every household was diligently observing the abstentions and ordinances and had affiliated themselves with the Five Congregations which had been established by the Patriarch-Master

55Hsien-yueh Chi chuan #3 p.2a: 萬物無故勝如作醮
56ibid chuan #3 p.3a: 慘除懼愛勝修大醮
57ibid. chuan #4 p.6b: 完全性命勝似重修醮
58In the year 1181 the Chin Dynasty which had come to look on the activities of the Ch'ian-chen sect with some suspicion (the relationship between the government and the Ch'ian-chen sect eventually improved dramatically) ordered Ma Tan-yang, who had been training and evangelizing in Shensi to leave Shensi and return to Shantung where he came from.

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(Wang Ch'ung-yang). When a servant (child, student?) of the master heard that Master Ma was in Teng Prefecture, he gathered a group of 100 and some people and said to the master, 'The disciples have each already bathed, remained celibate and avoided meats, spices and liquor for seven days. I wish for you to join our Pure Gathering in order to pray for blessings and erase future karma.'

The master said, 'I am pleased about your being pure and immaculate for seven days. Furthermore I say you will have blessings. The disciples of Crazy Ma are all pure and immaculate throughout their lifetimes, eliminating their wants and desires and avoiding meats, spices and liquor. Their blessings are even greater.' Those assembled all bowed to him and exclaimed, 'The Teaching of Pure Immaculateness (the Ch'uan-chen sect) is truly beyond comprehension and discussion (profound and marvelous)!' From this time on, every household within the three chou received his teaching. Gradually, people in the ten directions heard his wind (teachings) and were brought to faith. The great revival of the sect began from the master.'

The above passage shows how, in order to pray to the gods for various benefits, it was a common practice for all of the participants to undergo a period of ritual purification and abstention. In order to enhance the efficacy of their gathering, the people in Teng Prefecture invited Ma Tan-yang to participate and to utilize his renowned ritual powers. Whether these people were lay people of the Five Organizations or were ordained priests of the locality, I am not sure; although I suspect that the former was the case. Anyway, Ma commends their seven day observation of ritual purification and abstention and then tells them that he and his disciples go through an entire lifetime doing what the people of Teng Prefecture were doing. What is interesting to see here is how this statement enhanced Ma's reputation as a ritualist so immensely. The people seem to have had a strong belief that there was a directly proportionate connection between the length of a person's ritual purification and the effectiveness of the ritual gathering.

59I am not sure what kind of a person this refers to. Perhaps it is somebody who was a servant of Ma during his previous days in Shantung (prior to his conversion) or perhaps even a son of his. Maybe ("master-child") was some kind of a title for a lay leader within one of the Five Congregations.

60A political division which has varied in its size during the course of history, but at this period was perhaps equivalent to or larger than a prefecture.

61TYL pp.13b-14a. See Plate 174.
purification and abstentions, and the efficacy of his prayers. Provided that these people were members of one of the Five Congregations started by Wang Ch'ung-yang, we can see that the activity of the organizations was apparently focussed around various gatherings which involved group worship, devotion and scripture recitation preceded by ritual purification and abstentions. What is rather puzzling here is the surprised reaction of these people upon hearing about the austere lifestyle of Ma and his disciples. One would think that they would have known about this definitive characteristic of the Ch'uan-chen clergy if they were indeed affiliated with the organizations started by Wang. Perhaps during the years following Wang's death when the sect's leadership had moved its focus of activity westward to Shensi, the lay sector had largely been left on its own and had forgotten about this particular aspect of their holy men. But anyway, the fact that Ma and his disciples were celibate, non-drinking vegetarians convinced the people of Teng Prefecture and its surrounding regions that they must indeed be powerful bringers of blessings.

While the Ch'uan-chen masters were not innovators in the area of ritual methods, from many passages such as the one above we can see that they were ardent ritual purists who were interested in making sure that rituals were being carried out properly. Generally speaking, they asked that all participants (priests and laymen) observe proper conduct and be sincerely devoted internally. For the priests, they required that the proper stage of Perfection Cultivation be previously attained, and that the proper scriptures, liturgies and talismans be used correctly. Also, financial profit was not supposed to be sought by the priest. I will now examine the various exhortations of the Ch'u'an-chen masters involving the proper performance of rituals at both the lay and priestly levels. In doing so, I will show that in making these exhortations, the Ch'u'an-chen masters were re-inforcing the vital theories which Taoist rituals were originally based. I will also attempt some
speculation as to what specific texts, liturgies and talismans they may have used and which may have influenced their ideas involving what correct ritual practice was.

First of all, to perform efficacious rituals, the Chüan-chen masters stressed the importance of understanding what causes good and bad fortune. Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un conveyed this basic principle eloquently in the two following poems.

"I composed [the following poem] because of a drought.

The Great Tao of the Profound Origin controls yin and yang. [It] creates and transforms ch'ien (Heaven) and k'un (Earth), and all things flourish.
If the high and the low were each able to be content with their lot,
They would be able to avoid misfortune.
As for now, why are there so many disasters and obstacles?
It must be because the hearts of people are corrupt and reckless.
They eat good food, wear elegant clothes and for equipment use what is lavish.
Depraved scoundrels and shady fellows are ruled by wickedness and lust.
The mingling and clashing of yin and yang has been passed down from antiquity.
Blessings and misfortunes give birth to each other in accordance with nature.
People are continuously unable to be frugal day after day,
And their complacency directly brought about the year-long drought.

One time [I] took a group with me to pray for rain.
Sliced meat decorated their plates and they drank while choking themselves (on all of the food and beverages that they were consuming).
Out of carelessness they inflicted this harm on living things (by eating meat).
How can their loud shouts suffice to move the gods and deities?
How sad is their vulgar behavior, with reckless [attachment to] music and sex!
Each of them are putting themselves on the brink of danger and are overturning their bodies (driving themselves to their graves).
How can I get the hearts of people to be like my heart,
And thus avoid the disasters that are imminent?"

P'an-hsi Chi chuan #3 pp.8b-9a. See Plate 175.

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"'Going while Gazing into the Distance' {Because of a drought I wrote this poem for the friends of the Taoist, the shiao of Mr. Wang T'ian of Wei-nan}

For the nine months of summer we have been exhausted by Heaven's drought.
The myriad living things have been damaged by the heat during this span.
The sum of all of this is all because of the hearts of people.
Outside of their lot they go on deviant paths, Competing in the elegance of their clothing and the vigor of their horses......
Devotedly practice abstentions and think of practicing goodness. Throughout the years and months look to the holy stages to aid you from amidst the emptiness."

Ch'iu's opinion is that misfortunes are ultimately created by the doings of the victims themselves. If people could be unselfish and content with what is given to them by the spontaneous workings of the Tao, there would be no misfortunes, and life would be (and should be) one big blessing. But people, in their selfishness, want more than what is allotted to them, and engage in over-indulgences which they end up having to pay for later on. To correct their inadvertently self-induced plight they need to do two things; beg for the mercy of the gods, and reform their ways. Ch'iu laments about how people only do the former and ignore the latter. And in pleading to the gods, they only aggravate their plight by doing it the wrong way. Worst of all is the use of meat for the sacrificial feasts which take place after the sacrificial ritual. Ch'iu's solution to the problem is to sincerely and devotedly participate in ritual abstention and prayer, make an effort to be righteous and to venerate the Immortals (holy sages) daily. The Immortals are much more likely to be pleased by rituals centered around abstention, good intentions and solemn reverence than by rituals featuring lavish sacrifices and adornments. We can also observe in Ch'iu's words a definite disdain for the raucousness that popular rituals would often take on.

63 ibid. chuan #6 p.17b. See Plate 176.
Ch'iu's sentiments are echoed in the following exhortations by Liu Ch'ang-sheng directed towards ritual participants:

"If you want to move Heaven and Earth,
Be pure and still (celibate) and eat bland food.
In the several days preceding the chiao,
While you go about your daily activities,
There will be divine officials secretly watching over you day and night....."64

"Before and during a chiao it is vital that the participants restrain their desires.
Also, they must distance themselves from meats and spices.
If they act arbitrarily, their lifespans will be short.
Divine officials are secretly watching, and the punishment and blessings are not small.
Near [the time of] the chiao in visiting the Perfected [Men] do not yell......"65

"At the time of the chiao, all of you gentlemen must restrain your conduct.
[If you do so,] your purity will move Heaven, and the blessings which result will not be light.
Water will refresh the precious fields and the farmers will all rejoice.
In the fall the pearls of the grain fields will mature,
And long bean sprouts will be born.

If you wish to repay Heaven's blessings,
You must venerate the Tao's inner power.
Accord with your fate, know what is sufficient,
And do not compete with each other.
At dawn gaze [up with reverence at the Immortals (?)], burn incense and eat bland meals.
Without hate and with a fair mind,
Speak like an Immortality scripture."66

Ultimately, what in theory would have been most efficacious would have been for all people to become ascetic monks like the Ch'uan-chen masters whose entire life was a

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64 *Hsien-yueh Chi chuan* #3 p.1a: 聽動天地清靜餐素臨頭發日行之往之謂有知神靈夜

65 *ibid chuan* #3 p.14b: 臨頭發人戒欲為妙且速服長年從容壽天神暗察罪福非小

66 *ibid chuan* #4 p.17a. See Plate 177.
process of ritual purification and abstention. But since this was not possible, the basic idea seems to have been that by getting large groups of people to undergo intense purification and abstention before and during the chiao, the gods could be moved, and the crops could be saved. Apparently part of the reason for why this kind of temporary purification and abstention could be deemed as effective was that a chiao was a time when the gods, who have been attracted to the festivities by the prayers and sacrifices of the priests and laymen, were overlooking every action of every person much more closely than usual. The blessings or misfortunes which result from good or bad conduct were therefore thought to be greater than usual. This seems to be what Liu means when he says, "the punishments and blessings are not small". As we can see, generous drought-relieving rains were expected as an immediate blessing that would be brought about by proper purification and abstention. On the other hand, misconduct during a chiao was thought to be capable of bringing about illness or even death on the spot. You may recall from Chapter Two and Chapter Four, the episode in HYL in which Wang Yu-yang resurrects a woman who had been died on the spot as a result of divine punishment for having eaten a dog during a chiao. While such a dramatic event is not recorded in the writings of the Ch'uan-chen masters themselves, we can still see evidence of this kind of belief in the immediate divine punishment for improper ritual conduct:

"Written to a certain Mr. Ch'iang amongst the chiao participants who suffered from choking:

"In setting up a chai feast you must exercise restraint. You must refrain from excessively lining up food for the guests. Even though [the chiao] is supposed to bring about blessings and seek grace, You are on the contrary summoning disasters and causing misfortunes.

The elderly Mr. Ch'iang; did you see what happened to him? There is none of this [excessive indulgence] that does not have an effect on the body."
His great mistake just now was to indulge in the hundred-flavored delicacies,
With his eyes staring and while swallowing his drool."67

While Ch'iu had no dramatic illness or death to point to, the choking of Mr. Ch'iang was enough for him to use to demonstrate his point. What concerned Ch'iu was the distractions that were being caused by the lavish feasts which customarily followed the sacrificial rites. In Ch'iu's opinion, Ch'iang had become distracted from the proper attitude of restraint and reverence and had become defeated by his excessive enjoyment of the feast. His choking was perhaps seen as an example of divine punishment for improper ritual conduct. In such a way, it was felt that even a seemingly trivial mistake could bring about immediate punishment during a chiao.

The fact that the rites were followed by a large feast seems to have been a frequent factor that caused discrepancies to occur between the lofty ideals of the Ch'üan-chen masters and the actual conduct of the ritual participants. After many days of rigorous self-restraint, it is inevitable that one would look forward to the large feast that would follow. CYC includes a poem that Ma Tan-yang wrote to the "high merit priest"at a chiao in which he was participating. Apparently, during the prayers, the high merit priest had taken a peek at the food that had been spread out. In the poem Ma says, "While rectifying our thoughts during the leap month during the winter inside the hut, how dare you think of the lavish spread!"69

It is hard to tell what the relationship between Ma and this high merit priest was in terms of status, but the fact that Ma had the audacity to reprimand a high merit monk in this fashion seems to be a reflection of how the Ch'üan-chen masters somehow saw it as their

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67*P'an-hsi Chi chuan* #6 p.10b. See Plate 178.
68This term is used even today to refer to a the head priest who takes on the responsibility of performing the most vital and esoteric rites of the chiao.
69chuan #2p.1a: 正念三冬閏月寒邊中恆敬憶華筵
duty to make sure that rituals were being performed properly in the proper spirit of reverence. For Ma, when something was being done seriously wrong at a ritual site, it was an agonizing experience:

"While I was adding my support at the Shrine of the Purple Extreme 我是為之助, I heard the voices of pigs being slaughtered. Therefore I wrote this poem:

When the Taoist thongs of Lai-chou hold the Yellow Register [chiao ],
All of them are solemn and sincere, and none of them are not devoted.
They invited me to add my support by silently reciting a scripture to save the lost souls.

Why are they butchering and chopping heads off in the neighboring houses?
Without thinking of what lies ahead in the future they slaughter and kill living things,
Causing pigs to cry out in painful agony.
I cannot bear to hear it! It hurts my feeling more than anything else does."70

Whether or not these pigs were being slaughtered in order to be eaten at the chiao feast, I do not know. If they were, the reason for Ma's being appalled is obvious. But even if such was not the case, the shrieks of the poor creatures and the cruelty of their slayers in such close proximity to where the gods had been assembled were doubtlessly seen as extremely harmful to the well-being of the community and the effectiveness of the ritual.

By briefly tracing the history of how Taoist rituals developed over the centuries, we can see that discrepancies such as the above between the ideals of Taoist ritual purists and the actual conduct of the participants must have been largely inevitable phenomena71. As

70 CYC chuan #7 p.13a. See Plate 179.
71 In making my comments about the origins of chai and chiao rituals, I have relied on two sources; Liu Chih-wan, "Chuugoku Sai-Shoo Koo" 中国祭神考 (Chuugoku Dookyoo no Matsuri to Shinkoo

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we have been seeing, the words "ch'ai" (particularly the latter) are used to refer to Taoist rituals. It seems that by the time of the Ch'üan-chen masters, the distinction in the meanings and usages of the two words had become virtually identical and interchangeable. This seems to have been largely because Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 the great Taoist ritual codifier of the late T'ang and Five Dynasties periods had combined the two originally distinct forms of ritual and had made it customary for chiao rites to be performed after the ch'ai rites. The ch'ai and chiao differ considerably in terms of how they originated and evolved. The eventual union of the two can perhaps in a way be said to have represented a union of the personally oriented worship and confession rituals of the Taoist clergy and laity (the Heavenly Masters Sect and the Great Peace Sect of the late 2nd century immediately come to mind as the possible originators of this mode of ritual) with the community oriented popular rituals that have their origins in antiquity. Evidence in the *Sui-shu* 修書 *72* tells us that the ch'ai seems to have originated as various methods of intense purification, abstention and confession performed by aspiring priests within their own process of initiation and training as a pre-requisite for receiving the various registers from their masters. In some cases, the ch'ai involved standing before an altar day and night with both hands tied together behind the back, continuously for one to two weeks, while confessing one's sins to the gods. But also, during the Six Dynasties Period (220-588)

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72 The official history of the Sui Dynasty (589-618) written during the reign of Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 (r.627-648) of the T'ang Dynasty.
these rituals of self-discipline and confession came to be utilized as ways of bringing benefits to other people and to deliver the lost souls of the dead. Particularly responsible for establishing theories and methods of self-discipline and cultivation as the doctrinal backbone of rituals to be performed for the benefit of others was the Ling-pao faction of Chekiang. As a result, the various types of chai rituals that developed were frequently and appropriately referred to the Ling-pao chai.

I think that it can more or less be said that the Ch’üan-chên masters were in a constant struggle to maintain the integrity of the chai component of the rituals of their time by stressing the merit-building self discipline and reverence of the participants as the central working "power source" of the ritual.

The chiao, on the other hand, seems to have been a type of ritual based more on the conventional popular religious model of worship through sacrifices. The earliest known reference to the word "chiao" dates back to the 6th century and defines it as equivalent to a tsai or common religious festival. Sui-shu defines it as a type of worship directed at towards the Heavenly Emperor, T’ai-i, the five planets, and the constellations in which liquor, dried meats, rice and grain cakes and gifts are offered as sacrifices and certain messages are presented. The chiao was mostly aimed at bringing forth the blessings of the gods in practical everyday life and did not purport to bring benefits to the dead. What distinguishes the Taoist chiao as described in the Sui-shu from popular rituals is that the deities worshipped were the pure yang astral deities of Taoism who were regarded as far superior to the gods of popular religion. The chiao form of Taoist ritual seems to have been developed primarily by priests of the Heavenly Masters Sect. When

73Li-shan’s comments to "Kao-t’ang-fu" in Wen-chuan written during the Liang Dynasty (502-557).
the chiao was incorporated as a part of the Yellow Register chai, it was made to serve the function of giving thanks to the gods for coming to the chai and lending ear to the prayers of the participants. Also, it came to be regarded as undesirable for any kind of meat to be included among the sacrifices. In fact, Tu Kuang-t'ing defined the difference between the chiao and the sacrificial rites of popular religion as the fact that the chiao uses no blood sacrifices.

In performing the chiao component of their rituals, the Ch'uan-chen masters certainly tried to adhere to the definition given by Tu Kuang-t'ing. But the sacrificial chiao rites came to cause problems, as the participants too often tended to indulge themselves excessively in the lavish food sacrifices that were eaten after the performance of the rites in what was understood as a sort of communal feast with the gods. In doing this they erased the good merit which had been acquired and utilized in the chai component of the ritual, and also obscured the supposed purpose of the the chiao feast itself, which was to express gratitude towards the gods. In the few centuries proceeding the emergence of the Ch'uan-chen sect, the major trend taking place was that the rituals based on Taoist or Buddhist liturgies which required the services of ritual specialists from one of the two religions were becoming incorporated into the milieu of popular religious activity, and were replacing many of the rituals of the popular cults. Generally this did not mean that the popular gods were being done away with, but rather that they were becoming incorporated into the lower ranks of the Taoist pantheon as gods subservient to the Taoist astral gods and Immortals. A notable difference between Tu Kuang-t'ing's liturgy for the Yellow Register chai and that compiled during the Southern Sung Dynasty by Chiang Shu-yü

\[74\] Taishang Huang-lu Chai-i 太上黃籙氣儀
is that the latter incorporates earth deities of popular religion as gods to which the priest sends out official orders. (To the Taoist astral deities and Immortals the priest sends out official memorials and requests. It is hard to tell whether the Yellow Register ritual performed by the Ch’uan-chen masters was more similar to what is described in the newer liturgies or whether it was more similar to what was prescribed by Tu Kuang-t’ing. However, we can see glimpses of how this incorporation of popular religious deities was well under way within the doctrines of the Ch’uan-chen sect. You may recall the story on p. 220 about the repentant ex-military officer Mo Ti who became an earth deity. In Chen-hsien Chih-chih Yü-lu, Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un speaks of the following two episodes:

"In the first year of the Ta-ting Reign era (1161) an official of Lung-chou (in Kansu) named Li Yuan-t’ung was living a life of peaceful poverty and enjoyment of the Tao. One day he declared that he would become the Earth Deity of the Wu-shan District. Also, in P’ing-lu District of Chieh-chou, Li Te-ho and his disciples organized a Ling-pao gathering and performed a ritual for the lost souls, and had good merit. Suddenly at night in his dreams a blue-clad Immortal descended from Heaven, gave him a Heavenly Message. He then proclaimed, 'You have been given the status of Mt. Chung-t’ao Earth Deity.' Mr. Li said, 'For my whole life I have been fond of the Tao, yet I do not even get to become an inferior Immortal but only get to take this post (earth deity)!' The Immortal Youth said, 'In three years you will fulfill your duty and will..."

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75 Wu-shang Huang-lu Ta-chai Li-ch'eng
76 e.g. Prefectural City Wall Gods, District City Wall Gods, Earth Shrine Commanders of the Nine Prefectures, Masters of the Various Prisons, etc.
77 This portion of the text could quite conceivably be translated as "worshipped lost souls". But for reasons that I have already discussed, it is very unlikely that the lost souls would be the object of worship. The ritual mentioned here is most likely a ritual in which the priests pleaded to the high gods for the deliverance of the lost souls, or perhaps it was a ritual in which food is given to the lost souls to help alleviate their suffering.
be promoted to the status of Immortal official at a prosperous region." 78

Thus we can see that earth deity status was considered to be a part of the divine bureaucracy which could be attained by accumulation of merit. However it was a position of considerably low status, which a prominent monk-priest like Li Te-ho would have been disappointed at attaining.

As the popular gods became incorporated into the Taoist pantheon and their ritual process, it seems that some of the traditional methods of worshipping these gods at times would infiltrate the Taoist rituals. The Ch'üan-chen masters seem to have been involved with trying to prevent this from happening so that the integrity of the Ling-pao chai could be maintained and the sacrificial chiao rites and feast could be practiced in the proper spirit. If they saw the way in which chiao s are being performed nowadays, they would quite likely be dismayed by the extreme and often excessive amounts of money and food that is poured into staging the sacrificial feast. Nowadays, most chiao s are held at popular shrines and temples, and serve the function of recharging the power and efficacy of the statues of the local temple deities (along with the other various functions). There is apparent evidence that some of the chiao s that the Ch'üan-chen masters participated in were also held at local non-Taoist shrines and temples. Wang Yü-yang's Yün-kuang Chi has in it poems which were written on the occasions of chiao held at the Stone God Shrine and the Various Kings Shrine. The fact that Ma Tan-yang refers to "the manager of sacrifices" in his poems would seem to indicate that the rituals he participated in were often held at local temple dedications to earth deities. Whether or not these chiao s also served the function of recharging the statues of the temples and shrines, I do not know. Anyway, the Taoist

78 Upper chuan pp.17a-b. See Plate 180.
chiao seems to have already embarked upon a path of evolution towards the ways of the present day which are very likely too lavish and perhaps too vulgar (similar to popular religious ritual) for the liking of the Ch'uan-chen masters.

While the Ch'uan-chen masters would probably bemoan the excessive extravagance which chiao participants indulge themselves in today, they would probably be even more grieved over the fact that for most Taoist priests (who generally come out of the tradition of the Heavenly Masters Sect) the performance of ritual is their profession. Aside from his ritual activities, a typical Taoist priest today carries out an everyday lifestyle that is really not much different from that of a lay person (he is typically married and has children). His livelihood is supported by the fees that he charges for his ritual services which can at time be exorbitant. One of the most intriguing questions involving the history of Taoism is whether there was a time when celibate monk-priests like the Ch'uan-chen masters were more common than the non-monastic ritual specialists such as those that are predominant in the present day. If so, it would be interesting to know when and why the Taoist monkhood started to come to near extinction. For the latter question I really can think of no answer; but concerning the former question, my inclination would be to think that since Taoist monasticism seems to have been developed by the Ling-pao faction, Taoist clergymen were more often then not celibate monks during the periods when the Ling-pao faction and traditions that developed out of it (among which, in my opinion, is included the Ch'uan-chen sect) enjoyed a high degree of social influence and popularity. Anyway, because the Ch'uan-chen masters were monks, they disapproved of the concept of performing rituals as a profession, and often exhorted priests (perhaps some of them were non-monastic priests) to perform rituals for little or no remuneration at all:

"...Upon your mind organize and administer the true ritual register. Place names, surnames and deaths should be naturally allotted and designated."
Nice gifts and golden treasures; none of these should be received by you.”
(Wang Ch'ung-yang)

"When the elderly monk Leng Ch'i ascended (passed away), his family held several *chai* rituals. At the ritual arena I sincerely urged the men of the Tao to not demand a scripture reading fee. Read the scripture for no money and just eat the food at the *chai*. A feather garmented person (an accomplished Taoist) himself wishes [to be at (?)] the place of the Tao (ritual arena) and likes to read [the scriptures]."

"The talismans and registers of the Most High [Lord Lao] have 24 levels. The Tao stores the essential marvels and the precious altar is always open. The heavenly plane passes on [the secrets] and instructs those with aptitude for Immortal-hood. The Perfected [Men] cultivate their nature and life-destiny, and the pretenders nurture their physical bodies. The confused sink into the six paths of existence and the enlightened leave and do not come (do not become reincarnated?). Amidst empty space the wise sages save the world with a pitying heart. Purify the *hun* souls and cleanse the *p'o* souls, embracing and preserving the Immortal embryo. Rationally and clearly with 10,000 wise insights, [Engage in (?)] the utterly serene true *chai*. From time to time sublimely and marvelously move about the Three T'ai Stars. Doing nothing [forcefully] in a self-so manner, be peacefully righteous without going against [the Tao].

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79CCC chuan #6 pp.5a-b:

80This is a reference to the more archaic image of the Immortal that is a semi bird-man that has wings and is able to fly.

81Hsien-yueh Chi chuan #3 p.4a. See Plate 181.

82Six types of existence within *samsara*; purgatory, hungry ghost, beast, human, Asura (demonic), and heaven.

83Three of the stars in the Big Dipper.
The Orthodox Method of the Heart of Heaven does not love the money of people.\textsuperscript{84}

(\text{Liu Ch'ang-sheng})

The above poems say that a monk-priest must offer his ritual services willingly out of his own desire to benefit living things. If he is properly motivated, the satisfaction of being able to help people ought to be a sufficient reward for his efforts. The Ch'\u'an-chen masters were by no means the first ones to stress the importance of performing rituals as a community service rather than a financial enterprise. Liu Ch'ang-sheng's statement, "The Orthodox Method of the Heart of Heaven does not love the money of people", is extremely interesting and valuable in that it indicates the name of an extant ritual manual which the Ch'\u'an-chen sect apparently must have made use of. This particular manual features instructions on how to write and use various types of talismans. It also does in fact include instructions telling the priest who uses the talismans to be generous in offering his services and to not demand exorbitant fees when performing \textit{ch'\ai} and \textit{chiao} rituals. According to the manual, if the \textit{ch'\ai} and/or \textit{chiao} is performed for a poor family, the priest himself is to be expected to provide all of the necessary materials and sacrifices for them. (Although it also says that rich clients who are not generous in paying for the priest's services will suffer unfortunate consequences.)\textsuperscript{85}

The Ch'\u'an-chen masters, in undergoing their disciplehood, were not only taught methods of Perfection Cultivation but were also apparently initiated into the use of certain ritual scriptures, registers and talismans. CLC makes several references to major alleged master-to-disciple transmissions of ritual texts that took place within the Ch'\u'an-chen tradition. It tells us that the legendary founder Tung-hua Ti-ch\u\u0101n\textsuperscript{86} had "the Blue

\textsuperscript{84}Hsien-yueh Chi chuan \#3 pp.6a-b. See Plate 182.

\textsuperscript{85}Preface to "Shang-ch'\ing Pei-ch\u\i Ti\'en-hsin Cheng-fa" \textit{in T'ai-shang Chu-kuo Ch'\u\i-min Tsung-chen Pi-yao}\textsuperscript{87} chuan \#1 p.2b
Talisman青符, the Jade Script玉篆, the Golden Rules金科, the Numinous Writings灵文, the Secret Lessons of the Great Elixir大丹秘诀, the Firing Times of the Revolving of Heaven天运火候, and the Blue Dragon Sword Method青龙剑法 " transmitted to him by a certain Superior Perfected Man of the White Clouds白雲上真. 86 Tung-hua Ti-chun later transmitted the above (except, for some strange reason, the Blue Talisman was replaced by the Red Talisman赤符.) to Chung-li Cheng-yang. Chung-li transmitted the Sword Method of the Heavenly Hermit天仙剑法 to Lú Ch'un-yang. 87 The compiler of CLC tells us that Chung-li "designated the Jade Script玉篆 to be used to communicate with Heaven, and took the Golden Rules to move Earth." 88 He also tells us that Lú "carried about the thousand year-old technique of the Vermillion Script朱书千金符 and recited "both of the Yellow Court scriptures"黄庭内景经. 89 CLC also tells us that Wang Ch'ung-yang transmitted "secret lessons on the Heavenly Talisman and the Cloud Script"天符云篆秘録 to Sun Ch'ing-ching. 90 The following poems serve as clear evidence that Ma Tan-yang's training under Wang Ch'ung-yang involved learning special methods of reciting scriptures and writing talismans to be presented to the gods and Immortals in a ritual context:

"Presented to [Ma] Tan-yang' (from Wang Ch'ung-yang):

...If you recite the true scripture(s) there will be nothing that will not respond.
Abide by the marvelous lessons and diligently present [sacrifices and messages (?)].
When [presenting] the Jade Messages you should abide [with the proper method(?)].

86 chuan #1 p.Ob
87 chuan #1 p.3b
88 chuan #1 p.4b: 分玉篆以通天授金科而動地
89 chuan #1 p.8a
90 chuan #5 p.9a
Wear a golden cap and naturally merge with Heaven.

Tan-yang's verse in response:

"[The person who] distinguishes the trigrams and heavenly bodies;
this is the Windy (Crazy) Immortal (Wang).
Below him is Fu-feng (Ma) whose merit is not yet complete.
When the lessons are transmitted, I must nurture my nature.
To scare off the demons with a shout is better than swinging my fists.
Holding the ivory brush I write the talismans and messages.
Piercing the silver moon, and illuminating the grotto heavens." 91

It is not possible to figure out what specific scriptures and talisman writing methods were being transmitted within the early Ch'üan-chen sect. The best that I can do is to speculate. The aforementioned "Orthodox Method of the Heart of Heaven" includes instructions on how one must go about writing talismans. I would now like to very briefly cite some of these instructions, as they may very likely be describing the type of methods practiced by the Ch'uan-chen masters.

First it says that the writing of the talismans and the purpose for writing them must be announced to the envoys of the Three Realms so that the various gods can send their mighty radiance to charge the talismans. It then states that if a priest wishes to write talismans for people, he must properly "cultivate Perfection, walk the rope and tread upon the [Northern] Bushel (the stars of the Big Dipper) 92 daily in a proper manner; or else the talismans will not be efficacious. It then describes how to charge the brush with the vital force of the Three T'ai Stars of the Big Dipper. The priest does this by visualizing the upper, lower and middle and lower T'ai stars emitting respectively vital force of yellow, white and blue color, as he lays his brush on to the paper. After this

91 Ch'ung-yang Chiao-hua Chi chuan #1 pp.5a-b. See Plate 183.
92 The phases, "walk the rope" and "tread upon the stars", refer to certain kinds of a cosmic ritual dance steps.
the priest is to recite the "Three T'ai Incantation" and write the talisman using various esoteric script formats.

It then gives instructions on what to do in the moments prior to the writing. The priest must first calm his mind and eliminate all distractions. He is then supposed to visualize his own master (who transmitted the various methods to him) in front of him, and the Patriarch-Master (who is specified by the name, The Great Emperor of Upper Purity) in back of him; attended by numerous heavenly generals and strategists. The priest visualizes himself as an envoy of the Department for the Expulsion of Wickedness, dressed like the Heavenly Master and standing on top of the kang star93 with his front foot and on the k'ui stars94 with his back foot. He then must imbibe the breaths of the sun, the moon and the kang star which are five-colored, silver-colored and red-colored respectively, and then swiftly exhale them. The manual then has written down in it the Incantation of the Proper Vital Forces of the Three Lights and the Incantation for Blessing the Brush, which are to be recited after the process of visualization. It then shows diagrams of the Three T'ai stars and the rest of the stars of the Big Dipper, and describes their color and the efficacy of their respective breaths.

After this it gives specific instructions on how to write Heavenly Kang talisman. After describing the uses for the talisman (warding off disasters, curing illnesses, combating evil spirits and spectres etc.), it tells the priest to offer incense, flowers and liquor to the Great Sage of the Heavenly Kang and lay the brush, ink and paper out on the altar overnight on the night before the writing of the talisman. It

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93The star on the end of the handle of the Big Dipper.

94The stars that make up the "cup" portion of the Big Dipper.
also says that it is vital for the priest to be "pure and still" in mind and body and to not have any superfluous thoughts. Following these statements are stroke by stroke diagrams of how to write the Heavenly Kang talisman, the Three Lights talisman and the True Warrior talisman along with listings of the names of the gods that are to be visualized while writing each stroke.

If it is correct to assume that the talisman writing of the Ch'üan-ch'en masters basically resembled what I have just summarized above, we can see that this aspect of their activity involved much more than just copying down certain shapes. It was a process in which an accomplished adept of Perfection Cultivation had to utilize fully the cosmic stellar power that he had gained access to through his daily training. As we saw in Chapter Four, because the body was seen as a complete microcosm containing all of the components and principles of the universe, an adept was supposed to be able to visualize, contact and utilize all of the universe's divine forces which were present right within himself. This same principle seems to be working in the talisman writing procedures of the Orthodox Method of the Heart of Heaven.

It is very difficult to determine what scriptures the Ch'üan-ch'en masters recited at rituals. It can be said with confidence that the Lao-tzu book, YFC, Ch'ing-ching Ching, and NCC were the scriptures that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters emphasized the most as guides for proper Perfection Cultivation. Whether or not these same scriptures were recited in order to enhance the efficacy of rituals, I do not know. A poem by Ma Tan-yang does imply quite strongly that the Lao-tzu book and YFC were used in such a way:

"...Carrying the scrolls of the Tao-te (Lao-tzu) and Yin-fu (YFC) Scriptures, I wear a star cap, a moon vest and radiant cloud garments."95

95CYC chuan #1 p.19b: 足德陰符輕愛握皇冠月帳冕雲衫
I am also inclined to think that NCC may have also been used in such a way. This is because it consists largely of descriptions of the resident gods of the body, and seems as though its contents could have been utilized by the priest at the altar as he visualizes and communicates with the gods. The following passages from NCC along with Liu Ch'ang-sheng's comments to them suggest that the Ch'uan-chen masters also used NCC for ritual recitational purposes:

"Burn incense and put your hands together in front of the Jade Flower.
(Liu's comment): If you worship the sages and burn incense, the light of the Tao will reach your friends. Completely understand non-action and P'eng and Ying (island of the Immortals) will pull your hand." 96

"With ten recitations and four bows visit the Most High [Lord Lao].
(Liu's comments): Recite the scripture to the ten extremes and bow towards the four directions. The wise sages are in empty space and the sentient beings are in the sea of suffering." 97

NCC (or at least the extant version of it) is a scripture that came out of the Ling-pao school.98 Judging from the fact that the Ch'uan-chen masters participated in the Yellow Register ritual more frequently than any other kind of ritual, I think that it would be fairly accurate to guess that scriptures from the Ling-pao corpus made up the bulk of scriptures they used in rituals. Ling-pao was the tradition that was responsible for developing the Yellow Register chai. Thus quite naturally the Southern Sung liturgy for the Yellow Register chai, Wu-shang Huang-lu Ta-chai Li ch'eng I, in listing the scriptures to be used

96 p.28a: 「捏香指手花蓮前」(諸聖賢曾遠至天庭無為祖海指手)
97 p.44b: 「十結四拜朝太上」(十極結經圍台拜夢福虛堂衆生吉祥)
98 Allegedly, NCC was one of the texts revealed to Yang Hsi in the Shang-ch'ing revelations. If so, it actually pre-dates the writing of the Ling-pao corpus. Yet, the extant version of it has passages in it that exalt the efficacy of the Ling-pao corpus of scriptures rather than the Shang-ch'ing.
during the ritual lists 34 scriptures which all bear the title, Tung-hsuan Ling-pao 洞玄靈.

The question that has to be asked is how many of the Ling-pao scriptures did Wang Ch'ung-yang and his disciple have access to. Unfortunately, this question cannot be answered satisfactorily. In an extremely abstruse passage in YSC, Wang Ch'ung-yang speaks of how the Dharma body is represented by the Most High Lord Lao who ordains 3000 blue-clad Taoist monks who are carrying "Yellow scrolls of the Blue God, the Worthy Ling-pao Scriptures in 36 sections". While this attests to the fact that he held the Ling-pao scriptural tradition in high esteem, it does not necessarily mean that he had access to the scriptures that he was talking about or ever used them for ritual purposes.

While the scriptures of the Ling-pao tradition perhaps provided the bulk of the ritual texts used by the Ch'üan-chen masters, there is also reason to think that they also possessed and used certain ritual texts that came out of the Heavenly Masters Sect. Ch'iü Ch'ang-ch'ün, in summarizing the history of Taoism for Genghis Khan said, "The Most High Lord Lao descended upon Lin-ch'ün 聖明 in Shu 蜀 (the area of present day Szechuan) and transmitted the Southern Bushel 南斗 and Northern Bushel 北斗 scriptures along with over 1000 scriptures of the 24 levels of Method Registers to the Heavenly Master, Chang Tao-ling 張道陵." Certainly this statement by no means serves as proof that the scriptures and registers mentioned were actually owned and used by the Ch'üan-chen masters. But the fact that Ch'iü chose to mention this particular revelation (out of the hundreds of such alleged Taoist revelations) is perhaps a hint that such could well have been the case. The reader may also recall that in the poem quoted on

99p. 12a 黃巖三十六部靈寶真經
100CHL p. 3b: 太上降龍臨印授天師張道陵南斗北斗經及二十四階法篆錄訣靈書千條卷

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According to KSL, T’an Ch’ang-chen, prior to becoming Wang Ch’ung-yang’s disciple, became ill with rheumatism as a result of having fallen asleep in the snow while drunk. Because his illness was incurable by any medicine, T’an tried to cure it by silently reciting the Northern Bushel Scripture. One night, the Stellar Prince of the Northern Bushel appeared to him in a dream. This experience deepened his faith in the Taoist religion and inspired him to become a disciple of Wang. As we have already seen, Wang eventually healed his disease by making him sleep cuddled up next to his legs for one night. From this alleged incident in KSL we can see that the Northern Dipper Scripture was considered within the Ch’uan-chen sect to be an efficacious scripture if recited.

There is thus a good possibility that the Ch’uan-chen masters used a considerably wide variety of scriptures from both the Ling-pao and Heavenly Masters traditions in their rituals. This is really quite natural as their rituals did involve both the repentance and self-discipline oriented chai component (developed mainly by the Ling-pao school) and the chiao component (developed mainly withing the Heavenly Masters sect) which is essentially centered around sacrificial worship of astral deities. But as we have already seen, the Ling-pao chai tradition which stressed ritual efficacy based on thorough self purification and discipline seems to have been perhaps somewhat closer to the hearts of the Ch’uan-chen masters.

Among the numerous scriptures that came out of the Ling-pao tradition, the one which was apparently the most influential in providing the doctrinal foundation of the entire ritual tradition was Tung-hsuan Ling-pao Wu-liang Tu-jen Shang-pin Miao-ching.
TJC is said to have laid out the essential doctrinal framework involving the bringing of limitless salvation to all people living and dead through the merciful power of the Primordial Heavenly Worthy. The pervasive impact of TJC can be seen in the sheer bulk of texts in the Taoist Canon today which are commentaries to this one scripture. It would probably be a fair guess to say that Wang Ch'ung-yang more likely than not used TJC in his ritual practices or at least came under its influence. We can know that TJC eventually did come to be used in Ch'uan-chen Taoism from the fact that Ch'en Kuan-wu 102, a brilliant Ch'uan-chen monk of the early 14th century wrote a long and extremely informative commentary to it. We can also know that TJC was widely read and used by monk-priests of the various schools of the Golden Elixir tradition prior to and contemporary to Wang Ch'ung-yang. Unfortunately, because quotes from it and specific references to it are not present within the actual writings of the Ch'uan-chen masters themselves (or at least I have been unable to find any), it cannot be said for certain that TJC was actually used by them. Still, I am strongly inclined to feel that by taking a look at some of the ideas present within TJC, one can gain some valuable insights involving the theoretical framework of how universal salvation was to be brought about through the chai rituals performed by the Ch'uan-chen masters along with a glimpse of some very interesting parallels that exist between the doctrines of the Ling-pao faction and those of the Ch'uan-chen sect.

So let us now examine some of the key passages from TJC that deal with how and why universal salvation can be brought about through the power of the scripture. Preceding the main body of TJC (made up of words allegedly uttered by the Primordial

102 Kuan-wu seems to have been his style name. I am using it here because it is the name which he himself uses to refer to himself in his TJC commentary. His sobriquet was Shang-yang and his personal name was Chih-hsu.
Heavenly Worthy) is a series of explanations concerning how the text originated, its efficacy, and how to properly recite it. These explanations each begin with the heading, "The Tao says". First comes a narration of the events that took place when the Primordial Heavenly Worthy first expounded the scripture in the most remote antiquity (prior to the creation of the universe as we know it) in a certain Great Land of Fu-li located within the Original Blue Heaven. When he expounded the scripture for seven days and nights in front of all of the gods of the universe who had been called forth for the occasion, the rotation of all of the heavenly bodies came to a halt, the skies became clear, and all of the land became level. He expounded the scripture ten times, and with each time, a remarkable phenomenon took place. Deaf people regained their hearing, blind people acquired clear vision, the dumb began to speak, cripples began to walk, people with chronic ailments were cured, white haired people regained their black hair of their youthful days, people whose teeth had fallen out grew new teeth, old people were restored to their prime, infants grew to maturity, all women and female creatures became pregnant, all of the valuable stones and metals in the ground came to the surface, and the dead came back to life.

For an adept such as Wang Ch'ung-yang or one of his disciples, the above myth is much more than just a narration of an event that took place once upon a time. An adept was supposed to identify himself with the Primordial Heavenly Worthy, and be able do the kinds of marvelous things that he did. This is because the Primordial Heavenly Worthy is a personification of the Tao; and as I explained in Chapter Four, the Tao is present within every person. Ch'en Kuan-wu, in his commentary states that the Primordial Heavenly Worthy is equivalent to a person's primal spirit or his perfect nature. In Ch'ung-yang Chen-jen Shou Tan-yang Erh-shih-ssu Chueh, Wang Ch'ung-yang gives a somewhat different theory, quoting a passage from a
certain "Yellow Court Scripture" 

which reads, "Visualize your essence, this is the Primordial Heavenly Worthy. Visualize your spirit, this is the Most High Lord Tao. Visualize your breath, this is the Most High Lord Lao." But anyway, the clear Ch'uan-ch'en standpoint is that the Primordial Heavenly Worthy is an entity that is present right within the adept.

The fact that the adept, through recitation of the scripture, was supposed to be able to emulate the feats of the Primordial Heavenly Worthy is articulated quite clearly in the following passage that comes after the myth narrative:

"The Tao says, 'The words that the Primordial Heavenly Worthy spoke as he expounded the scripture are all the hidden sounds which are the inner (secret) names of the Superior Emperors of the various heavens, the inner titles of the Deva (demon) Kings, and the hidden names of the 100 noumena. They are not the ordinary phrases of the world. Superior sages who have already become Perfected Men who penetrate the profound, penetrate the subtle and understand the chapters (of TJC); if they recite this [scripture] ten times [the gods of] the various heavens will sing in the distance and the ten thousand emperors will pay their respects. Rivers and seas will become still and silent, mountains and peaks will store the clouds (the skies will clear up), the sun and the moon will stop their appearances and the Big Dipper will not go. (The heavenly bodies will stop rotating and come to a standstill?) The demonic throngs will be tied up and demons and spectres will be defeated. [Superior sages] will resurrect the dead and the white bones will become [living people]. If stalwarts of utmost education recite it ten times, the Five Emperors (of the five phases and directions) will stand in attendance [for them] and the Three Realms will bow to them. Demons and spectres will lose their eyesight, and ghosts and monsters will be defeated. They will rescue those on the verge of death who will thus acquire life. The reason for why this is all (why they can only help people avoid death but cannot bring those who are already dead back to life) is because the student has not yet eliminated his filthy

103Because this passage does not appear in the extant versions of NCC and Huang-t'ing Wai-ch'ing-ching 

104p. 2a:  

105Clouds were thought to come from the mountains.
ch'i and his body has not yet penetrated Perfection. While they summon and control the powers of the ten directions, they do not yet control the bureaucracy of Heaven. While they are able to subdue the earth deities and tie up the demonic souls, they are only able to put aside death and are unable to resurrect [those who are dead]. If you carelessly recite this scripture, your body will receive misfortunes.

This passage tells us that maximum efficacy cannot be attained by just anybody through simple repetitive recitation. To be able to communicate with and control the highest ranking deities of Heaven, one has to be a Perfected Man. We can see that this must have been why the services of the Ch'uan-chen masters came to be at high demand among people throughout northern China who held Yellow Register rituals. If a Perfected Man recited TJC, the archaic feats of the Primordial Heavenly Worthy could supposedly be duplicated, including the salvation of the dead which is the ultimate feat and the central goal of the Yellow Register chai. The reason for the ability of the Perfected Man (and the inability of the "student" who has not quite attained Perfected Man status) to be able to control the bureaucracy of Heaven and save the dead is both mental and physical. Mentally, he has the capacity to understand the most profound and subtle meanings of the scriptures. Physically, he has a body that abounds with pure, refined ch'i and has no filthy ch'i. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, these two defining characteristics of the Perfected Man described in TJC, are essentially equivalent to how a Perfected Man was defined within the Ch'uan-chen tradition. If we can assume that the Ch'uan-chen masters emphasized the Ling-pao scriptures in their ritual practices, we can see that it was because the Ling-pao ritual tradition was a tradition that first and foremost stressed the importance of proper mental and physical Perfection Cultivation on the part of the priest.

The following words of Wang Ch'ung-yang echo this same emphasis:

106Upper chuan pp.20a-b. See Plate 184.
"The body is the incense burner and the heart is the fragrant smoke of the incense. When your single nature is clear, you can burn it in accordance with the proper time. Penetrating into K'un-lun (the head?), the fragrance will climb and waft into the sky, And bring forth the auspiciousness."\textsuperscript{107}

"In undergoing training, you must know the short cut\textsuperscript{108}; How to place the burner and how to pacify the hearth,\textsuperscript{109} And thereby grasp the treasures of the Cinnabar Field, Making the myriad heavenly bodies all line up. All of your prayers are to be directed at this place........ Up amidst the clear sky meet with the Jade Emperor and summon the Blue Child, Diligently presenting the Golden Proclamation. This is brought about by your merit and deeds. When both \{your merit and your deeds\} are sufficient, auspiciousness will spread throughout."\textsuperscript{110}

Thus in both the Ling-pao tradition and the Ch'uan-chen sect, the ability to successfully pray and communicate with the highest levels of divinity in order to bring benefits, was based on the degree to which the priest had trained his mind and body.

Before the words in TJC that are to be recited, directions are given involving the preliminary process which must be undergone before the actual recitation:

"The Tao says, 'On the day that you practice the Tao (perform the recitation), everyone must bathe in fragrant water, observe ritual abstentions and then enter the room. Facing eastwards, knock your teeth together 32 times so as to be heard in the 32 heavens and bow with your heart 32 times. Close your eyes, stabilize your thoughts and quietly visualize your body sitting amidst blue, yellow and white cloud vapors gathering on the inside and outside. In the darkness there is the Blue Dragon, the White Tiger, the Vermillion

\textsuperscript{107}CCC chuan #7 p.12b. See Plate 185.

\textsuperscript{108}The most efficient way of seeking Perfection.

\textsuperscript{109}Perhaps"burner"\textsuperscript{109} refers to the body as it does in the other poem and "hearth"\textsuperscript{109} refers to the mind. Essentially Wang seems to be saying that efficient Perfection Cultivation is carried out by maintaining the peace and stability of the body and mind.

\textsuperscript{110}CCC chuan #11 pp.7a-b. See Plate 185.
Bird, the Dark Warrior\textsuperscript{111}, a lion and a white crane lined up from left to right. The light of the sun and moon illuminates the room and your head will produce a circular form which illuminates the ten directions.\textsuperscript{112}

The above process bears similarities to the preliminary processes for talisman writing that which we examined earlier. You may recall that the breaths of the Three T'ai Stars which the priest was supposed to charge his brush with were blue, yellow and white just like the cloud vapors described above. Any way, both the processes of scripture recitation and talisman writing required preliminary purification, abstention and visualizational processes similar to those undergone in Ch'\uannotation{u}an-chen Perfection Cultivation.

Finally, before the actual recitation of the scripture, the priest is supposed to make the following incantation:

"Most High Lord Tao of the Profound Beginning without a Superior; summon forth the Three-Five Meritorious Judges \textsuperscript{113}, the official envoys of the left and right, the Golden Boys who attend the incense, the Jade Girls who transmit the words, the direct tallies of the Five Emperors, and the incense officials on duty today. Make the 32 of them proclaim and spread the words [that I proclaim]. Today amidst auspiciousness we have undergone lengthy abstention and have trained ourselves in a hall of purification. The ultimate scripture, [the Scripture of] the Limitless Salvation of People; circulate this scripture and receive life. I wish for my pronouncements to complete the journey towards the

\textsuperscript{111}The legendary beasts of the four directions; east, west, south and north respectively.

\textsuperscript{112}Upper chuan pp.37a-b. See Plate 186.

\textsuperscript{113}This perhaps refers to the gods of the five viscera and the three Cinnabar Fields (located in the head, heart and belly). In Golden Elixir writings, references are often made to the "three fives" which refers to how the \textit{ch'i} from the liver and the heart meets the \textit{ch'i} from the lungs and the kidneys at the spleen. Because the heart corresponds to the number two and the liver to the number three, the \textit{ch'i} which comes by route of these organs is the first "five" (2 plus 3 equals 5). The kidneys correspond to the number one and the lungs to the number four, so the \textit{ch'i} from these two organs is the second "five". The third "five" is the spleen (which corresponds to the number five) where the first two "fives" come together. If this definition of the "three fives" can be applied to the above passage, the "Three-Five Meritorious Judges" refers rather abstractly to the bodily gods which help bring about the essential kind of \textit{ch'i} circulation that needs to take place within the adept's body.
It is quite probable that the above preliminary routine of ritual purification and abstention along with visualization and incantation served as an important model for the methods of the Yellow Register *chai*. Tu Kuang-t'ing's liturgy for the Yellow Register *chai* includes a description of a similar type of internal visualization followed by an incantation that is almost identical. Tu's incantation bears the title of *fa-lu*, meaning that it is a process where the various gods are sent out of the body (the incense burner, the *lu*). Tu's version differs slightly in that it tells the 36 (rather than 32) gods to come out from the body in order to summon the local divine officials to the place of the ritual. The *fa-lu* (along with the *fu-lu* which returns the gods back into the body) is an integral part of the Taoist rituals as they are practiced today.

Ch'en Kuan-wu, throughout his TJC commentary, interprets the classic at two levels; as a scripture for the adept to recite in rituals for bringing various benefits, and as a manual for Perfection Cultivation. Because a Taoist ritual is a process that functions both as an opportunity for the personal cultivation and devotion of the participants and as a means of swaying the divine forces favorably; Ch'en's way of interpretation probably in many ways conveys fairly accurately the original intentions of TJC's author(s) and the way in which the text was understood by Taoists (including Wang Ch'ung-yang and his disciples) throughout the centuries that preceeded him. In his comments to the TJC passages that we have just looked at, Ch'en states his case eloquently:

"This scripture explains the way to train oneself, and expounds upon the Perfection of the patriarchal (original) *ch'i*. The reason why it says, 'on the day that you practice the Tao' and does not say, 'on the day you recite the scripture' is because you must understand that the scripture is in other words (is directly equivalent to) the Elixir (one's innate Tao nature). The Elixir is in other words

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114Upper *chuan* p.38a. See Plate 187.
the Tao. The Tao is in other words the scripture. If one is not [in accordance with] the Tao, one cannot produce the scripture. If one is not [in accordance with] the scripture, one cannot produce the Elixir. If one is not [in accordance with] the Elixir, one cannot accomplish the Tao. There is but one, unchanging principle (the Tao, the scripture, the Elixir), and no separate path. This [principle] must therefore be comprehensively interpreted by both the Tao's function (as principles of Perfection Cultivation) and the worldly method (as ritual methods). Generally speaking, there are two ways of practicing the Tao; internal practicing of the Tao and external practicing of the Tao. I will now first instruct you on the external practicing of the Tao. To practice the Tao externally is to bathe, observe abstentions and restrictions, to reverently set up the altar and ritual land plot, to burn incense, recite the scripture, pace the void and have an audience [at the divine court]..."115

Because both the TJC scripture and the priest's own innate nature are equivalent manifestations of the Tao, the priest's Perfection Cultivation and his performance of rituals (using the scripture) are but two alternate ways by which he comes into contact with the Tao. Ch'en goes on to specify what the pre-ritual prohibitions are (spices, meats and most importantly; sex and lust) and then gives a phrase by phrase explanation of the visualizational process. He explains how the knocking of the teeth is supposed to function as a sort of gong for addressing the gods and that to "bow with the heart" means to make the body motionless and concentrate the mind. He tells us that the blue, yellow and white cloud vapors are "the chi of the Profound One", "the chi of the Primal One", and the chi of the Beginning One which represent the Three Pure Ones. He then says that if one concentrates on visualizing these Three Pure Ones, all external sights will be shut out and the "inner scenery" naturally becomes visible. He tells us that the dragon, tiger, bird and warrior come out of the liver, lungs, heart, and kidneys respectively and that the lion and crane come out of the bowels. The left eye transforms into the sun which emits purple and red light, and the right eye

115 Upper chuan p.38b. See Plate 188.
transforms into the moon and emits yellow and white light. Ch'en then says that the incantation must be made silently. After the incantation, the priest must visualize the animals and gods that have been called out from his body and are sitting in front of him as his audience. He is then to recite the abstruse words originally uttered by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy out loud, but must do it without the slightest distraction or interruption in order for it the words to be heard. Ch'en then goes on to explain that at the internal, "Tao's function" level, the adept puts into practice the instructions on Perfection Cultivation present within the mysterious utterances of the Primordial Heavenly Worthy for his own Immortal-hood, instead of reciting the words for the salvation of others. Within this level of interpretation, the instructions involving purification and abstention are to be understood as exhortations for the monk to maintain the ascetic and celibate daily lifestyle. The ensuing visualization that is described allegorizes the long daily process of concentrating oneself on refining the proper type of \textit{ch'i} on the proper day and time in order to eventually manifest the resident gods of the various body parts.

It would seem to naturally follow that since Perfection Cultivation involved a long, painstaking process of refining the body's \textit{ch'i} in order to make the body's resident gods appear, and the pre-recitational procedures required the priest to visualize and control these spirits immediately on demand; recitation could not be carried out properly without a complete mastery of Perfection Cultivation. Ch'en affirms this notion by saying, "When your concoction of your Elixir has been completed, you can then make your proclamation; and the hun souls and p'o souls within your body will all transform into gods."\cite{noteCHEN}

We can thus clearly see in the words of TJC (written in the late fourth or early fifth century within the Ling-pao tradition) and the words of Ch'en (a 14th century Ch'üan-chen

\footnote{Upper chuan p.42a: 為丹訖就，然後聞告而身中魂魄皆化為神矣}
monk), an inalienably intertwined relationship between the Taoist adept's personal training as a monk and his ritual activities as a priest. The former is undergone partly so that the adept can eventually help other people through the latter (although his own attainment of Immortal-hood is the main goal), and the latter is not possible without the former.

Such was undoubtedly the essential standpoint of the Ch'üan-chen masters who carried on the legacy of the Ling-pao tradition and whose own legacy was carried on by Ch'en. Because the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves never wrote at length on the specific methods that they used to perform rituals, I have been having to resort to the round-about method of speculating through the use of what seems to have been an important background tradition and what is clearly the tradition that took after them. But quite often in the Perfection Cultivation poetry of the Ch'üan-chen masters, we can see that they understood Perfection Cultivation as a process that led to the attainment of the ability to perform efficacious rituals, and at times allegorized it as a sort of preliminary personal chiao in which one's own internal "altar" is built and one's own ancestors are delivered from purgatory:

I " If you identify the Three T'ai Stars, you will furthermore be able to irrigate the Three Fields. Relying on self-so-ness, the Three Lights will gather together. the breath, essence and spirit. Move the Three Carts in accordance with the Three Teachings, And eternally sink (stay away from, eliminate) the Three Bad Roads. You must penetrate the Three Treasures (spirit, essence and breath). When you see the Three Pure Ones your good Perfected Nature will illuminate the Three Peaks(?) . Quickly avoid the doings of Three Burners and quit discussing matters.

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117Existence as a demon, a beast or a convict in purgatory.
118I am virtually stumped by this phrase, but perhaps Wang is exhorting the practitioner to refrain from eating and conversation. The "three burners" refers to the esophagus, the passage that the food follows
[If you do so], the various Buddhas of past, present and future will appear and come before you. If you acquire the Three Vehicles you will wander into samadhi, and glowingly return to the Three Islands [of the Immortals]."\(^{119}\) (Wang Ch'ung-yang)

J "The Elder of the Moon of the Five Platforms\(^{120}\) came and made tea for me.

Elder of the Moon of the Five Platforms; 軍月長老
If you penetrate the Three Essentials you will thereby grab and exterminate the Three P'eng's\(^{121}\).
Moving and using the Three Carts, cleanly carry the wonders of the Three Vehicles.
If the heart makes clear the Three Meetings of the Dragon Flower (?)\(^{122}\),
You will suddenly sense the Three Lights each radiating.
If you administer a chiao at this internal triple-tiered altar,
Your own Three Pure Ones will be completed."\(^{123}\) (Ma Tan-yang)

K "When you have cultivated and refined sufficiently,
The nine cycles will complete the fungus grass 菇草\(^{124}\).
The supreme Immortals of the Eight Ranks will know about this,
And will rescue seven generations of your ancestors."\(^{125}\) (Wang Ch'ung-yang)

L..."If you want to repay the deep kindness of your father and mother,
Listen to what I say.

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while in the stomach and the urethra. Diagrams in TTCC imply that the term can also be used to refer to the esophagus alone. Perhaps Wang is saying that one should refrain from using the digestive system.

\(^{119}\) CCC chuan #5 p. 5a. See Plate 189.

\(^{120}\) I have no idea who this is. Could perhaps be an aged Taoist monk.

\(^{121}\) The Three Corpses. P'eng is their surname.

\(^{122}\) In a Buddhist context, this would refer to the three preaching assemblies of the Buddha of the Future, Maitreya.

\(^{123}\) CYC chuan #10 p.6a. See Plate 190.

\(^{124}\) A special type of fungus which was believed to exist which could bring Immortality if eaten.

\(^{125}\) Ch'ung-yang Chiao-hua Chi chuan #1 p.7a: 十分修鍊九轉成芝草八位上仙知救七祖
With your differentiation between self and others eliminated, capture and bring under control your heart's monkey\textsuperscript{126}. If your chi flows through your eight blood vessels your merit will abound in your Three Fields. Your nine profound venerables\textsuperscript{127} and your seven generations of paternal ancestors will together become Immortals.\textsuperscript{128}

(Ma Tan-yang)

M "[Love all] women and men like they were your mother and father. If you rectify your thoughts, the Sacred Sages will accept you. If you are truly still your Pretty [Girl] (god of the heart) and Infant (god of the kidneys) will be visible. If the Tao is accomplished you will rescue seven generations of ancestors."

(Liu Ch'ang-sheng)

Passage I describes a process highly reminiscent of the visualizational processes in the Orthodox Method of the Heart of Heaven and TJC. Throughout the poem, various different groups of three get mentioned. First Wang mentions the Three T'ai Stars which, according to the Orthodox Method of the Heart of Heaven emit blue, white and yellow breath. Blue, white and yellow are also the colors of the cloud vapors amidst which the Three Pure Ones are supposed to appear before the adept, according to TJC. Wang then speaks of irrigating the Three Fields (the body's allotment of primal essence, breath and spirit; the body's Three Treasures) which at the final stage become manifest as the Three Pure Ones. As a result, the adept attains salvation and avoids damnation.

An interesting twist to the poem is the reference to the Three Teachings and the various Buddhas that appear before the adept. Because the Ch'uan-chen sect, like the other schools of the Golden Elixir tradition, asserted that Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism were all valid in that they lead up to the same ultimate truth, it is of no surprise that Wang

\textsuperscript{126}This refers to the mind's capacity to be restless and easily distracted.

\textsuperscript{127}This probably refers the nine oldest generations of ancestors.

\textsuperscript{128}CYC chuan #7 p.9a. See Plate 191.

\textsuperscript{129}Hsien-yueh Chi chuan #5 p.5b: 女子和父母正念聖賢許真誠地眾道成敬七祖

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tells the practitioner to abide by the doctrines of all three religions in his Perfection Cultivation. But what one must begin wonder about is that if the Ch’üan-chen masters visualized Buddhas as well as Taoist gods during their meditation, could they have at times visualized Buddhas during their chai and chiao rites and made them into objects of their worship? While I am inclined to think that they abided by pre-set methods and included only Taoist gods in their visualization and worship at formal Taoist rituals, I am far from ready to rule out the possibility. There is clear evidence that they at times engaged in joint group scripture recitation with the Buddhists and that they were fond of the Prajna Paramita Heart Sutra and the Diamond Sutra. It is very much conceivable that they may have visualized and/or worshipped Buddhas on such occasions. We also have to consider the possibility that they may have recited Buddhist scriptures at chai-chiao rituals, or included Buddhists among their participants.

Buddhist rituals, as they have come to be commonly practiced in China, are actually very similar to the Ling-pao Yellow Register rituals in that the deliverance of damned souls is one of the most important purposes that is served. The similarity is such that one would almost have to conclude that there was some very close interaction that was taking place at the ritual level between the Taoists and the Buddhists during the late part of the Six Dynasties Period when the Ling-pao faction was assuming prominence and rituals for the dead were becoming an important aspect within Buddhism with the emergence of more popularly-oriented Mahayana sects (especially the Pure Land Sect). The real question would be whether this interaction actually took place in the form of joint, intermingled worship involving the lay folk (such as what took place in the case of the Ch’üan-chen sect), or was simply a matter of the clergy of one tradition cleverly adopting the methods of the other. TJC (even though it does not tell the priest to visualize and worship Buddhas) provides evidence that there was a considerable amount of interaction that must have taken
place between the Buddhists and the Ling-pao ritual tradition. About half of the text consists of lists of the names various heavens and their resident gods and deva kings, which for a large part are transliterations of Sanskrit words.

Passage J, like I, lists various groups of three. The "Three Essentials" is a term from YFC which Chin-ling-tzu interprets as meaning the eyes, ears and mouth. Liu Ch'ang-sheng on the other hand says that it refers to a person's lead (primal spirit), mercury (primal ch'i) and Perfection. If we abide by Liu's interpretation (as we probably ought to), the poem would seem to be saying that by being able to use one's primal spirit and primal ch'i to attain Perfection, one can rid oneself of the Three P'engs (corpses). Ma then speaks of the Three Chariots. This terms seems to refer to three different body functions; the concentration of the mind, the ability to retain semen and send it upwards, and the ability to guide hot ch'i to various parts of the body which play vital roles within the process of Perfection Cultivation. Anyway, the point is that what results is the completion of an internal "triple-tiered altar" at which the adept can conduct his internal chiao.

Passages K, L and M tell us that when the full process of Perfection Cultivation is completed, the merit will be so great that not only will the adept gain Immortal-hood, but also his ancestors will be brought out of purgatory and into Immortal-hood. We can see that this idea that one's ancestors attain salvation if one can attain Perfection was stressed considerably within the Ch'uan-chen sect. Because filial piety was supposedly one of the important moral values on the Ch'uan-chen agenda, the salvation of one's ancestors served as a major goal and motivational factor for the monk. This fact can be seen clearly in the following admonishment that Ma Tan-yang made towards his disciples:

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130 See p.115
"I now ask of you to simply clear your mind, get rid of your desires, and not become defiled by the myriad attachments. For the spirit and chi to be harmonious; this is the Tao. Accord with this way of training and do not get confused. If you lazily go through the motions and your conduct is insufficient it is not my fault. It must be that you are not thinking of your seven generations of ancestors who during their lifetimes committed various acts that cause bad karma and are receiving various punishments and tribulations amidst the darkness [of purgatory]. They are wishing for [one of] their descendants to complete the Tao and rescue them so that they can live in Heaven. Each of you must keep this upon your minds and give forth a firm heart, embracing the Tao before you die. This is what I wish. Take care."

When the disciples heard these words of mercy, they were startled and naturally increased their diligence in their efforts."

Now if one was to take a more cynical viewpoint, one could say that this idea of saving one's ancestors through attaining Perfection must have been contrived by the Taoists to serve the function of justifying the act of leaving the home to become a celibate monk; an act that was frequently criticized throughout the centuries as a blatantly unfilial act. While such is perhaps the case, the above passage seems to indicate that Ma and his disciples were sincere in their belief in the deliverance of ancestors through Perfection, and used it for their own motivation to persevere in the harsh daily training rather than exclusively as rhetoric to gain social respectability for the sect.

Thus it can be said that in Ch'uan-chen Taoism, Perfection Cultivation was often understood as the adept's personal life-long "ritual arena". Until he had undergone years and years of effort to create his internal altar equipped with his own Three Pure Ones and had as a result rescued his own ancestors; he could not be able to go into the external ritual arena, ascend the altar visualize and produce the many gods before him, and rescue the ancestors of others.

The main portion of TJC (the words allegedly uttered by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy which are to be recited by the priest) begins by introducing itself by saying that it

saves people when repeated ten times, works in a spontaneous manner, and has nothing that is superior to it or that preceded it. Then it describes how it, the scripture, acted as the creative force of the universe. It says that in the original primordial kalpa it created the various heavens along with the sun, moon and stars. It then says that the Five Scripts "planted all of the spirits and souls" (created all living things?). It also says that "Only the Tao makes up the body [of the script]" and that "Without the script there would be no light, without the script there would be no brightness, without the script there would be no establishment, with no script there would be no accomplishment, with no script there would be no salvation and with no script there would be no life." It then says that the scripture is also equivalent to the highest of heavens which emits its immaculate breath which circulates throughout the universe to work its wonders. Within this breath reside "gods of non-death who save people"; the Prince of Long Life of the Southern Extreme, the Great War Minister God of World Salvation, The Elder Prince Han who likes Life and the Worthy God of the Southern Supreme who Oversees Lifespans and Records, Extends Lifespans and Saves from Misfortune. These gods "restore skeletons, raise the dead, and save people limitlessly".

132 This portion of the scripture also refers to itself as "the Upper Rank Marvelous Verses of the Primordial [Heavenly Worthy's] Tung-hsuan Ling-pao Basic Chapter", "the Red Scripts of the Chaotic Grotto", and "the Hidden Sounds of the Hundred Devas".

133 Apparently the main portion of TJC is made up of "Five Scripts", although I am unable to identify where the divisions between the five parts are supposed to occur.

134 Without a script, without a mind, without a body, without a mind, without a body, without a mind, without a body.

135 These gods "restore skeletons, raise the dead, and save people limitlessly".

136 For the original text of the what I just summarized (middle chuan pp.2b-3a) see Plate 193.
The Ch'uan-ch'en masters, if they indeed read and recited TJC, certainly understood the above description both literally and allegorically. Such is how Ch'en Kuan-wu comments on it at great length. As TJC itself implies by saying that "only the Tao makes up the body [of the script]"; "the word" that existed prior to creation and acted as the creative agent of all living things, is equivalent to the Tao. What would thus follow is the notion that it is also equivalent to the innate Tao nature of the adept. As you may recall from Chapter Two, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's TTCC tells us that the primal yang perfect ch'i 元陽真氣 formed at the merger of the father's semen and the mother's blood generates the entire creative process in the fetus that starts with the creation of the kidneys. Ch'en's TJC commentary articulates the same basic notion, telling us that this primal ch'i that first appears between the two kidneys is equivalent to the primal spirit or the innate nature, and that this "ch'i of marvelous transformation"妙化之気 acts as the agent that brings about the formation of the rest of the "microcosm".

The completion of Perfection Cultivation is a process of physical restoration of this primal yang perfect ch'i, and a simultaneous fathoming of the most profound principles of the Tao. Once having recovered his innate creative force, the adept can utilize it as a saving force for others. As we have seen in previous chapters, the Perfected Man was supposed able to control the urges and desires of his body and retain his ch'i without any particular conscious effort, and that his Perfected spirit was the power source which enabled him to communicate with and influence the divine forces of the universe. Ultimately, there seems to be an allegorical correlation between how the "word" (which is equated to the highest of heavens and its emanating vital force that envelops the "gods of non-death who save people") saves the universe and how the the Perfected spirit spontaneously retains the turbid mortal ch'i of the body and refines it into an immortal yang state. Ch'en's commentary tells us that "...if spirit and ch'i abound through the body, the..."
gods of long life and no death will reside within there, just like the immaculate vital forces of the Jade Capital move about; and thereby [the body will] have no destruction."

TJC continues with an announcement to the Unlimited Gods of Long Life and World Salvation of the ten directions (N, S, E, W, NE, NW, SE, SW, above and below) to assemble. This is followed by the command from the Primordial Heavenly Worthy towards the various high gods to perform the basic tasks necessary for the salvation of damned souls:

"...Proclaim throughout above the limitless homes of the gods, the Ministries of the Crooked Springs, the Northern Capital of Lo-feng, the Three Officials, the Nine Offices, and the Twelve River Sources of the Three Realms to release the ancestors and deceased fathers and relatives of 100,000 kalpas, and to quickly erase their record of sin and eliminate their bad roots. Tell them to not hold them in captivity and make them join the demonic hordes. [According to the specified] time of the auspicious omen of the Primordial [Heavenly Worthy] raise and transfer from the Cold Pond of the Northern Capital. Control and protect their bodies and souls. Protect and raise them into the Southern Palace for the Salvation of the Ranks where the dead souls will undergo refining and be immortally transformed to complete a person and form a body. Receiving salvation they shall exist eternally for kalpa after kalpa. With each kalpa they will turn about (go through re-incarnations) and equal Heaven in their longevity and be eternally free from the three roads, five sufferings and eight difficulties. They will transcend the Three Realms and freely wander in [the realm of] Upper Purity. The Heaven of Upper Purity is the Formless Realm of the Heavenly Emperor and the Jade Perfected Men. They will immaculately go there."

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137 Middle chuan p.10b: 若一神無緣則長生不死神居其中亦如王發宏福而無湮

138 The translation of this term is tricky. Ordinarily my inclination would be to interpret it as "the orders of the talisman of...". But this term conventionally refers to an auspicious omen sent by Heaven to indicated the person who is worthy of becoming the emperor.

139 Middle chuan p.13b. See Plate 194.
The surprising thing about the above passage is that it seems to be taking a favorable attitude towards reincarnation as long as it means rebirth into a healthy and happy human state. What apparently is supposed to happen to the souls is that they are freed from the underworld (the Crooked Springs, the Northern Capital Lo-feng, Twelve River Sources) and made to undergo "refining" in the Southern Palace so that they can become reborn as human beings. After living numerous long and happy human lives they eventually attain Immortal-hood and transcend \textit{samsara}. What is reflected is a very quintessentially Taoist life-affirming attitude along with an apparent departure from or misunderstanding of the Buddhist concept of salvation. Much of this would seemingly have to do with the fact that \textit{TJC} was written at a time when Buddhism was still trying to establish its roots in China and its teachings were being received without a full understanding of its essential concepts of life as an eternal process of suffering and of the denial of the concept of an eternal soul. The important question for us would be whether the above passage reflects what the Ch'üan-ch'en masters had in mind in terms of the salvation of the lost souls. Even though we have seen in the previous chapters how they were essentially life-affirming, and that they were concerned with bringing about good health and good fortunes in the worldly existence; it seems quite doubtful that they would have verbally glorified the ideal of continuous reincarnation in a human state. This could perhaps serve as a reason to suspect that the Ch'üan-ch'en masters may have preferred to use some other scripture with a function similar to \textit{TJC} that better fit their own ideals.

But anyway, after the above passage ensues a long list of the 32 heavens of the Three Realms. After the list follow instructions to various divine forces throughout the universe involving what role they must perform in bringing about the miraculous salvation of all living things. I will just jot down a few of the highlights here. But I would like you to take note of the major objectives which prevail. As is also expressed in the above passage,
the gods have to intervene and free the doomed people (destined towards damnation) from the grips of the evil gods of punishment. Because punishment and rewards are determined by records kept within the divine bureaucracy, these records must be revised to the favor of the people. Because Taoist salvation must involve a physiological process of retaining and refining the body's *ch'i*, the gods must do this for the hapless doomed people and lost souls who are incapable of doing it for themselves. Because the world is rife with demonic forces who seek to bring sin and misfortune into the lives of people, the good gods must either subdue them or annihilate them:

"The Eastern Bushel is in charge of calculating, the Western Bushel records the names, the Northern Bushel drops its death register, the Southern Bushel raises [the dead] to life and the Central Bushel, the Great K'ui oversees the various souls. The Blue Emperor protects the hun, the White Emperor attends to the p'o, the Red Emperor nurtures the ch'i, the Black Emperor circulates the blood, and the Yellow Emperor in the middle takes charge of the myriad spirits......(list of the Five Deva Kings).....The Five Emperors and the Great Devas are the leaders of the myriad gods. They fly about mobilizing and commanding the demon troops.....The golden battle axes of the Superior Perfected Men slay the Giant Heavenly [Strongmen] in front of them and behead the murderous demons behind them. The vigorous wind and fire are ceaseless. Thousands of heads are chopped off and tens of thousands of bodies are slain. The devils no longer violate, and among the demons there are no longer any wicked spectres......".

The Great Prince of Long Life, the Prince of Non-elegance, the Worthy God of the White Origin, the Life-Destiny Controller of T'ai-i, Peachy Health and Combined Extension hold in their hands the talismans and the registers and preserve life. The roots of life wander above to Upper Purity......Below they control the bodies of people. Inside the Ni-wan (the brain) and the Crimson Palace (the heart) they organize the five ch'i s and combine the 100 gods. With ten rotations they restore the noumena and the myriad ch'i s all

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140 Apparently the Taoists designated five different "bushel" constellations in the sky. The Northern Bushel is equivalent to what we call the Big Dipper, but I do not know exactly what stars the others refer to.

141 Middle chuan pp.32a-33a. See Plate 195.
become Immortal. The Way of the Immortals exalts life and
limitlessly saves people. Above they open the eight gates. [Because
of] the Dharma Wheel\textsuperscript{142} that flies in Heaven with punishments and
blessings, prohibitions and ordinances, [people with] accumulated
destiny and cause and effect all receive enlightenment and salvation.
Dead \textit{hun} souls form a body and the body gets born. Above they
listen to [the gods of] the various heavens; and above the various
heavens, each [person] has a gate of life."\textsuperscript{143}

Through the recitation of TJC, the priest who has produced from his body an
audience made up of the various gods of the universe acts as the Primordial Heavenly
Worthy, commanding the gods to bring salvation to all people living and dead who (unlike
the priest who is suposedly a Perfected Man) cannot save themselves. Just like in the
Perfection Cultivation of the priest, the salvation orchestrated by the gods is a physiological
process. Ch'en Kuan-wu equates the doings of the stellar gods who re-adjust the records
favorably for people, to certain abstract Perfection Cultivation terms in the following
manner:

The Eastern Bushel is in charge of calculating-- The golden flower\textsuperscript{144}blooms.

The Western Bushel records the names-- Take out the \textit{yang} from \textit{kan} (the kidneys, the
subconscious).

The Northern Bushel drops its death register- Fill in the empty space in \textit{li} (the heart, the
conscious mind).\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{142}A Buddhist term referring to the Law of the Buddha that overcomes heathens and their heresies. In this
case I guess it would have to be understood as the Law of the Primordial Heavenly Worthy or the Tao.

\textsuperscript{143}Middle chuan p.40a. See Plate 196.

\textsuperscript{144}This seems to refer to the innate Tao nature within the subconscious or the primal \textit{yang ch'i} within the
semen of the kidneys.

\textsuperscript{145}This essentially seems to mean to get rid of the superfluous thoughts in the conscious mind and
concentrate on rediscovering the innate Tao nature. Physiologically it perhaps means to make the heart's
\textit{ch'i} meet with the kidneys' \textit{ch'i}.

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The Southern Bushel raises [the dead] to life. The ch'i returns to the Yellow Court.146

Whether or not the author(s) of TJC had such physiological correlates in mind, I do not know. But then we immediately see that the gods (the Five Emperors) are indeed made to perform the proper physiological operations in the bodies of the doomed people (which they would be able to do for themselves if they were adepts) by protecting the hun and p'o souls, nurturing their ch'i and circulating their blood. If interpreted internally (as Ch'en does), the Five Emperors are equivalent to the resident deities of the five viscera, who the adept can visualize and control. But because ordinary people (the living ones and the dead ones) have no control over them, the priest (acting as the Primordial Heavenly Worthy) must tell the gods residing inside the bodies of all people to behave in a manner that brings about good health, long life and Immortal-hood. It is also the responsibility of the Five Emperors (along with the Five Deva Kings) to engage in warfare with the evil forces of the world. Demons are to be subdued and mobilized as troops serving the Five Emperors, and all defiant demons are to be slaughtered. This correlates, as Ch'en says, to the adept's struggle to overcome his desires which become aroused by the tempting demons inside and outside of the body.

The basic theme of the gods controlling and upkeeping the bodily functions of the helpless people then gets repeated, although different names are used for the gods that do it. However, Ch'en tells us that the Great Prince of Long Life, the Prince of Non-elegance, the Worthy God of the White Origin, the Life-Destiny Controller of T'ai-i, Peachy Health and Combined Extension are in fact the gods in charge of the heart, liver, lungs, head, spleen and liver respectively.

146 Middle chuan p.33b
What can be said about TJC is that it seems to have been a text which laid out the doctrinal foundation around which the Yellow Register rituals performed by the Ch'üan-chen masters were based. By this I mean that it outlines the process in which an accomplished adept like Wang Ch'ung-yang could play the role of the Primordial Heavenly Worthy and mercifully bring salvation to all people by commanding the gods of the universe to rescue people from death and damnation, and bring them through all of the physiological processes necessary for eventual Perfection.

In the approximately 700 to 800 years that elapsed between the writing of TJC and the founding of the Ch'üan-chen sect, there is no doubt that many important changes and developments took place in the way that rituals were performed. An important aspect of Ch'üan-chen rituals that obviously distinguished them from the original Ling-pao chai rituals was the inclusion of their own Immortal Patriarchs as objects of worship. This aspect will be focussed upon shortly. It is also apparent that while they used various scriptures and talismans handed down to them by their predecessors in the Taoist faith over the centuries, they also composed their own poems to be recited at the ritual gatherings. The poem by Wang Ch'ung-yang that I quoted on p. 32 shows that he did in deed compose poems that were to be burned for presentation to the high gods. Quite likely, a fair amount of the material in the Ch'üan-chen poetry collections was originally written for this purpose. An obvious example of this would be a poem in Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's P'an-hsi Chi entitled, "Poem for Pacing the Void" 步虚詞 (chuan #3 pp.5a-b).

"Pacing the Void" is a part of the chai during which all of the priests circumambulate the altar while reciting a poem and doing a special dance step. The "walk through vacuity" is designed to emulate the holy throngs who are believed to circumambulate the Jade Capital Mountain 玉京山 (believed to exist above the highest
of heavens) in such a manner, and is performed to be seen by all of the holy throngs of the universe who have assembled at the ritual arena.

But it can still be said that the Ch'üan-chen masters gallantly carried on the legacy of Ling-pao tradition within the ritual arena in that the efficacy of their rituals was largely based on the special meditational and visualizational powers of the priest, who supposedly needed to undergo a lifetime of intense training to become a Perfected Man before these powers could be obtained. The Ling-pao ritual tradition, as we can clearly see from TJC, was a tradition firmly based upon the theories of Perfection Cultivation and focussed around the powers of the Perfected Man. While the methods and theories of Perfection Cultivation, along with the ritual methods evolved and changed considerably during the ensuing centuries, the strong bond between Perfection Cultivation and ritual continued to exist; and the Ch'üan-chen masters strove to keep it that way. In the preceding chapters, we saw how Perfection Cultivation involved both the self-reliant element of accumulating merit and deeds through ascetic training, charity and evangelism and the element that looked toward the mercy and compassion of the Immortals for protection and guidance. We saw that a certain amount of diligent personal effort was deemed as necessary for the adept to be able to hope for the merciful intervention of the Immortals. In the same way, we saw in this chapter that when performing rituals for the benefit of the community, the Ch'üan-chen masters insisted that everybody first make a personal effort to right the wrongs which cause misfortune by observing special strict rules of conduct before and during the ritual. They could then look to the merciful services of the Perfected Man who could then use his miraculous power to communicate with the gods and bring benefits.

Undoubtedly, the tendency of modern scholars to regard the performance of chai and chiao rituals as an activity that deviated from the original intentions of Wang Ch'ung-yang stems from the failure to thoroughly recognize and understand this integral relationship that
existed between the Taoist Perfection Cultivation and rituals long before Wang Ch'ung-yang’s time. The tendency to want to see Wang as a reformer of "magic" and "superstition", rather than a successor to the Ling-pao-Golden Elixir legacy, seems to have caused the ritualistic aspect of his activities and teachings to be ignored. Essentially, we need to understand that Wang and his predecessors sought to relieve the plight of the human condition at both the personal and community levels by acting in a way that eliminated what caused misfortune, and by appealing to the merciful help of the highest divine forces who are fundamentally sympathetic to the human cause.

(c) Annotated Translation of the Ritual for the Joyful Birthdays of the Two Immortals

Chung and Lü

Preface

To wrap up my discussion of rituals within the early Ch'üan-chen sect, I have decided to present a full annotated translation of a liturgical text written within the Northern Ch'üan-chen tradition. The text, Chung-li Erh-hsien Ch'ing-tan sets forth an order of worship for celebrating the alleged birthdays of two legendary patriarchs of Ch'üan-chen Taoism (and the Golden Elixir Tradition in general); Chung-li Cheng-yang of the Han Dynasty and Lü Ch'un-yang of the T'ang Dynasty (b. 798).

In the preceding discussion of the ritual practices of the Ch'üan-chen masters I mentioned briefly that while they seem to have essentially carried on the traditional methods for performing chai-chiao rituals and particularly laid emphasis on the Yellow Register

147 Ch'üan-chen hagiographies say that he was originally a military general for the Han Dynasty. Chao Tao-i's Li-shih Chen-hsien Ti-tao T'ung-chien places him in the Chin dynasty (265-419).
ritual for the salvation of damned souls, they also seem to have developed a form of worship that was uniquely their own; the worship of the patriarchs of the sect who had passed beyond into Immortal-hood. In the preceding pages we have already seen a few examples of how the Ch'uan-chen Patriarchs became important objects of worship after their deaths for both the members of the clergy and the laity. I have chosen to provide a full translation of Chung-lü Erh-hsien Ch'ing-tan I because it concretely describes a ritual procedure unique to the Ch'uan-chen tradition which may well have been equivalent or similar to a type of ritual activity which Wang Ch'ung-yang and his disciples carried out.

The text was authored by the same Ch'en Kuan-wu (Ch'ih-hsu) whose TJC commentary was frequently cited in the preceding section. Obviously, the main reservation we must hold in considering the text as representative of the ritual activities of the original Ch'uan-chen masters comes from the fact that it was written at around the year 1335, 165 years after the death of Wang Ch'ung-yang. Ch'en claimed to be a direct heir of Wang Ch'ung-yang's lineage of teaching, and seems to have held the northern Ch'uan-chen tradition in the highest esteem. However, because he wrote well after the Mongols had conquered and re-united northern and southern China and after the Ch'uan-chen sect had merged with the Southern Sect, his writings exhibit a strong degree of southern influence. This, of course, was natural because he was himself a southerner (he lived in Lu-ling 在江西) Thus in the text that I have translated there are numerous elements which are much more representative of the attitudes of the Southern Sect which would be misleading if taken as examples of what the Ch'uan-chen masters would have said. Generally speaking, I think that in places where Ch'en uses extremely abstract references to Perfection Cultivation procedures by means of language strongly reminiscent or directly taken from the physiological alchemical classics Chou I Ts'an-t'ung
The ritual described in the text seems to have been primarily participated in by Ch'üan-chen monks, with perhaps some limited participation by lay sect members. It does not seem to have been a large community affair like a typical chiao ritual (although the text does use the word chiao to refer to the ritual that is being performed). I say this because of the basic objectives which are apparent within the text.

As the title would indicate, the ritual is a celebration and commemoration of the births of Chung-li and Lü to be performed by those who have carried on their teachings and legacy. At the same time, certain requests are made towards the Immortals. First and foremost, the plea is for them to intervene and bring to the adept practitioner, who recites the celebratory memorials, the final assistance that will bring about Perfection. Especially urgent is the plea to assist the adept in resisting the various perils and temptations that confront and hinder him during his training. This plea is accompanied by descriptions of certain vital insights that the adept has already gained within his Perfection Cultivation. The impression that I get is that the aim of these abstract summary Perfection Cultivation discourses is to show to Chung-li and Lü that the adept has exerted the amount of effort and acquired the amount of insight that makes him worthy of their compassionate attention and intervention. The fact that this personal plea of the thoroughly initiated adept

\[148\] This book was frequently interpreted by members of the Golden Elixir tradition as a manual of physiological alchemy. Whether it actually was originally written for that purpose rather than for laboratory alchemy, is highly controversial.
comprises the bulk of the requests is what leads me to believe that the ritual was primarily designed for the participation of the clergy. However, we can also see that pleas are also made for the Immortals to bring benefits to all unenlightened people by bringing those who have faith to enlightenment and by bringing the unfaithful to faith. The ritual seems too have taken the form of a kind of "family" celebration in which not only Chung-li and Lü, but numerous other Immortals regarded as major predecessors of the tradition (the oldest being Lao-tzu) are invited to attend. The list of Immortals that are invited is quite interesting, as it shows a good example of how the Ch'üan-chen sect saw itself as firmly rooted in a long lineage of Immortals of various regions and periods in history. It is hard to determine how many of these Immortals would have been objects of veneration for the original Ch'üan-chen masters. We can obviously presume that the names of the Southern Sect Patriarchs and the Ch'üan-chen Patriarchs of the later generations which come towards the end of the list would not have been invited to a ritual performed by the original Ch'üan-chen masters. But otherwise, the list seems to represent a group of Immortals which they would have invited. Immediately succeeding Lao-tzu on the list is Yin Hsi (the guardian of the Han-ku Passage to whom Lao-tzu dictated his 5000 words that came to be known as the Lao-tzu or the Tao-te-ching) and his legendary lineage of disciples who were allegedly active as ascetic monks at the Lou-kuan monastery on Mt. Chung-nan, the mountain where Wang Ch'ung-yang underwent his basic training as a monk. Also prominent on the list are names of Immortals affiliated with Mt. Hua, another very important northern center of monastic Taoism located in very close proximity to Mt. Chung-nan. (The most prominent figure affiliated with Mt. Hua to whom the Ch'üan-chen masters themselves at times made references to was Ch'en Hsi-i who curiously is not on the list, but gets referred to in the memorial presented to Lu.) Also on the list is Ho-shang-kung, author of the favorite Lao-tzu commentary of the
Ch‘uan-chen masters. Also worth noting are the names of Wei Po-yang (魏伯陽) and Ko Hsüan (葛玄) (Venerable Immortal Ko of the Great Ultimate). Wei is the author of the *Chou I T’san-t’ung Chi*. Ko Hsüan (164-244), the uncle of the great fourth century alchemist and writer, Ko Hung (葛洪), was regarded as one of the founding fathers of the Ling-pao scriptural and ritual traditions. His name figures prominently in the legends involving the transmission of various important scriptures including TJC, NCC and *Ch‘ing-ching Ching*, scriptures which came to be emphasized within the Ch‘uan-chen tradition. Even though Wei and Ko were southerners, they seem to have been extremely important figures in the background roots of the both the northern and southern Ch‘uan-chen traditions.

Thus, even though *Chung-lu Erh-hsien Ch‘ing-tan I* has its obvious drawbacks as an indicator of the kinds of ritual patriarch worship that the Ch‘uan-chen masters engaged in, I still think that it can be useful in helping us grasp a better understanding of the very personal and intimate tradition of faith and worship practiced by the early Ch‘uan-chen masters towards their predecessors. It is quite obvious that the Ch‘uan-chen masters not only venerated their predecessors as people who helped bring about and carry on their great tradition, but also saw them as very real, living entities whose presence they frequently acknowledged and appealed to through types of worship similar to what is described in this text.

"[Chung-li] Cheng-yang is my Brilliant Patriarch,  
And [Lü] Ch’un-yang is my Master-Father.  
As my training deepened there was yet another Perfected Worthy [who instructed me].  
This is my uncle [Liu] Hai-ch’an.  
They (Chung-li, Lu and Liu) reside in the Three Islands.  
Their disciple [Wang] Ch’ung-yang attends and venerates them."

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149CCC chuan #3 p.7b: 正陽的祖又純陽師父修持涅槃更有真尊惟是救海螺
同居三島弟子重陽侍奉

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"Cheng-yang of the Han is the Brilliant Patriarch.
Ch'un-yang of the T'ang is the Master-Father.
Hai-ch'an of the land of Yen is the Uncle-Master.
Ch'ung-yang of Chung-nan is their disciple.
I gather and make make my disciple hereby attend and venerate them."

The above verses were written by Wang Ch'ung-yang who is said to have personally encountered Chung-li, Lu and Liu. The above poems strongly indicate that Wang himself claimed to have encountered them. As I have already discussed, Wang's veneration and worship of them (especially Lu) most likely preceded these alleged encounters, as there is abundant evidence that Lu had long since become a very popular object of worship in Wang's home area. In all likelihood, Wang had been a worshipper of these legendary Immortals well before he started his own sect. Whether the above verses are actually referring to some kind of concrete form of worship (such as offering prayers and sacrifices to paintings or statues of them), or whether he is just referring to an overall attitude when he says "attend and venerate them", I cannot tell. But I strongly suspect the former possibility.

Wang, as we know, became deified by his followers after his death. As we can see from the poem that I quoted on p. 33 along with the following poem, Ma Tan-yang would pray to Wang Ch'ung-yang for the deliverance of lost souls at Yellow Register chiao rituals:

"I pray and ask Master-Father [Wang] Ch'ung-yang to rescue lost souls,
So that they can ascend the blue sky.
Luan and cranes will pull up the lonely hun souls and stagnant p'o souls,
Who will follow each other and all wander in a carefree manner."

150 ibid. chuan #9 p.0b; 现正陽子為的祖還純陽子做師父先生海壇玄是叔主耕南時陽子弟子聚為弟子便歸依侍奉
151 CYC chuan #10 p.24b; 福告重陽師父救亡靈得上青霄鷲鴻引孤魂至魂相從歸道遺
Whether or not the rest of the Ch’üan-chen masters followed suit and frequently called upon Wang to bring about salvation to lost souls at chiao s is hard to say. However, the incident that I mentioned in Chapter Four in which Wang appeared at a chiao after his death would seem to indicate that the Ch’üan-chen masters perhaps were often made into objects of worship at such large scale community rituals after their deaths.

After his death, Ma also became an object of worship for his successors. Wang Yü-yang’s Yün-kuang Chi includes a poem directed towards the late Ma Tan-yang urging him to exert his divine influence upon the people of the Shensi region whom Yu-yang felt had become corrupt. Also to be found are two poems written on an occasion when a shrine was being built to Ma. In these poems, he tells two men named Chung Shou-chung and Chiang Shou-ching (perhaps the monks designated to be in charge of the shrine or donators of building funds) to "move Fu-fehg (Ma) with utmost respect" and to "invite Tan-yang in and rescue the various souls." In such a way, we can see how the Ch’üan-chen masters were deified after their deaths and worshipped primarily for the sake of bringing guidance and salvation to mortals. Therefore it is natural that from the early years of the sect, Wang Ch’ung-yang and Ma Tan-yang were frequently worshipped through statues or paintings much like Lu Ch’un-yang was. A narrative in Ch’iu Ch’ang-ch’un’s P’an-hsi Chi (chuan #3 p.6a)tells us that after Ch’iu was summoned in 1188 by Emperor Shih-tsung of the Chin Dynasty to be the head priest at the Wan-ch’un chiao (chiao in honor of the emperor’s birthday), he was made to live in a hut near the palace (so that the emperor, who

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152 chuan #4 p.25a "Asking the Dharma body of Tan-yang to Go to the Western Passage" 請丹陽法

153 chuan #4 p.24b

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had taken a great liking to him, could summon him frequently) in which clay statues of Lü Ch'un-yang, Wang Ch'ung-yang and Ma Tan-yang were installed by order of the emperor.

Thus while the Ch'üan-chen sect inherited and affirmed the methods of ritual worship that had been handed down within the Taoist religion over the centuries, it also had its own unique cult of worship. This Ch'üan-chen cult of patriarch worship has remained as an important component of Ch'uan-chen Taoism to this day, as can be seen from the fact that contemporary Ch'üan-chen temples feature portraits of their patriarchs at their altars. Due to the fact that the Ch'üan-chen patriarchs were once actual human beings whose benevolent actions were known and witnessed, the cult of worship directed at them perhaps possessed a certain feeling of intimacy between the worshippers and the objects of worship which was not present in other forms of Taoist worship. My guess is that this ritual system designed to maintain contact with the benevolent Immortals was a source of inspiration and vitality which helped aid the growth and maintain the identity of the sect. In the hope that we can gain a more concrete idea of how exactly this type of ritual worship was carried out, I present the following translation of Chung-lü Erh-hsien Ch'ing-tan I for what it may be worth:

**Ritual for the Joyful Birthdays of the Two Immortals Chung and Lü**

Respectfully having heard that the time is the fourth month amidst the favorable pure harmony of the beginning of summer when the

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154 The small temple in San Francisco has one large altar that features a picture of Lü Ch'un-yang flanked by pictures of Wang Ch'ung-yang and Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un at each side. The White Cloud Monastery in Beijing (which I have never been to but have seen photographs of) among its various buildings filled with statues of most of the major Taoist gods has a building devoted to statues of Wang Ch'ung-yang and the Seven Perfected and a building devoted entirely to Lü Ch'un-yang.

155 See Plate 197.
hexagram is full with six yangs, we rejoice amidst the pure ch’ien. As we come upon the morning of the birth of our holy masters, I call upon later men (successors of the tradition of the Immortals) to have an audience [with them] and celebrate this. [Let us] sincerely and purely together join our voices, [present] incense and flowers, and submit our requests.

{Offer incense and flowers. Make three sounds of inviting.}

Solemnly bow and invite [the following Immortals]:

The Taoist Patriarch from the Prior Realm, the Most High Lord Lao (Lao-tzu) and the Previous Holy Immortal Masters of the Three Teachings who have Acquired the Tao:

Master Yin, the Heavenly Worthy of Cultural Beginnings
T'ai-ho, the Perfected Man Yin
T'ai-chi, the Perfected Man Tu
T'ai-ch'ing, the Perfected Man P'eng
T'ai-ch'ing, the Perfected Man Sung
Hsi-yueh (Western Peak), the Perfected Man Feng

156The fourth month of the Chinese lunar calendar coincided with the time of the year at which the daytime is at its longest. Thus it was understood as a time of pure yang and was represented by the hexagram ch'ien which is made up of six solid (yang) lines.

157I am not sure what exactly is supposed to be done here. Perhaps "an invitation" is constituted by a ring of a bell or a gong. Perhaps the recitations that follow these directions are to be uttered three times.

158Putative disciple of Lao-tzu who built the meditational hut on Mt. Chung-nan which developed into the Lou-kuan monastery. Chung-nan Shan Shuo-ching-t'ai Li-tai Chen-hsien Pei-chi tells us that Lao-tzu transmitted the "5000 words" to him in the 25th year of the reign of King Chao of the Chou Dynasty (ca.1050 B.C.). His personal name was Hsi. Ma Tan-yan wrote a poem titled "In Praise of Perfected Man Yin" (chuan #9 p.9b)which is apparently a poem that lauds the efficacy of worshipping Yin Hsi. The second half of it reads, "The Dharma body of Perfected Man Yin is a square and round medicine. If people would immediately venerate him from their hearts they would erase the various evils, erase the various evils. The original numinous substance would thus avoid being swept away and dropped."--- 伊真人方圓藥人還心敬消諸惡消諸惡本末靈物免致流落

159Personal name Kui. Disciple of Yin Hsi.

160Personal name Ch'ung. Another disciple of Yin Hsi.

161Personal name Tsung. A disciple of Tu T'ai-chi.

162Personal name Lien. Another early Chou Dynasty Immortal who came from Loyang.

163Personal name Ch'ang. An official who served under King Hsüan of the Chou Dynasty (ca. 820 B.C.) who left his post to cultivate Perfection on Mt. Chung-nan.
Hsüan-chou, the Perfected Man Yao
Pa-su, the Perfected Man Chou
Tai-wei, the Perfected Man Yin
Huang-t'ing (Yellow Court), the Perfected Man Wang
Immortal Elder Li of the Western Peak
The Elder Ho-shang-kung
Perfected Man An Ch'i-sheng
Perfected Man Ma Ming-sheng
Perfected Man Yin Ch'ang-sheng

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164 Personal name Tan. An early Chou Immortal from Fen-shui (in Shansi).
165 Personal name Liu. A disciple of Yao Hsüan-chou who was allegedly active during the sixth century B.C.
166 Personal name Ch'eng. An Immortal from Fen-yin who trained at Mt. Chung-nan.
167 Personal name Tan. Once served in the court of Empress Lü (d.180 B.C.) of the Former Han Dynasty.
168 Personal name T'ai. Once served in the court of Empress Lü (d.180 B.C.) of the Former Han Dynasty.
169 All of the Immortals up to here are probably strictly legendary figures. Information on all of them is found in Chung-nan Shan Shuo-ching-t'ai Li-tai Chen-hsien Pei-chi compiled in the late 13th century by Chu Hsiang-hsien of Mao Shansi who had visited Lou-kuan on Mt. Chung-nan (restored in 1232 by Yin Ch'ing-ho, Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un's successor as leader of the Ch'üan-chen sect) in 1279 and found the various biographies of these Immortals among its archives. Information on this same line of Immortals is also to be found in Yin-ch. Ch'i-ch'ien. The stories involving these men were quite likely created in order to assert the claim that the Taoist religion, particularly the monastic tradition of Mt. Chung-nan and Mt. Hua can be traced back to the transmission of the "5000 words" to Yin Hsi and that the Taoists had strong support from the Chou kings and Han emperors. The truth, of course, is that religious Taoism probably originated in the latter Han Dynasty and that the original Lou-kuan monastery was not built until the Six Dynasties Period. The question that would concern us is whether or not Wang Chung-yang, who trained at Mt. Chung-nan, would have known of and venerated these Immortals. I think it is quite possible that he would have.
170 A Taoist holy man who is said to have instructed Former Han emperor Wen-ti (r.180-157 B.C.). Although he is also most likely a legendary figure, his Lao-tzu commentary can be dated to the Latter Han Dynasty at latest.
171 An Immortal of Lang-yeh (in Shantung) who is said to have instructed Ch'in Shih-huang-ti.
172 An Immortal from Shantung who trained and had mystical encounters at Mt. T'ai. A disciple of An Ch'i-sheng.
173 A disciple of Ma Ming-sheng who was active during the Latter Han Dynasty. He hailed from Hsin-yeh in Honan.
Perfected Man Hsu Ts'ung-shih
Perfected Man Wei Po-yang
Perfected Man Liu Chin-pi

The Great Methods Master of the Three Heavens
The Great Methods Master Amidst Profoundness
Tso-hsuan, the Perfected Man Wang
Yu-hsuan, the Perfected Man Chao

The Venerable Immortal Ko of the Great Ultimate
The Grand Scribe of all the Immortals of the Nine Provinces
Wu Huang, the Perfected Prince of the Eleventh Position.

Respectfully we wish for [you] Immortals to mercifully descend and attend the chiao.

{Solemnly bow and invite [the following Immortals]:}
The Patriarch Master Tung-hua, the Great Emperor of the Purple Ministry who Assists the Origins and Establishes the Ultimate
Chung-li Cheng-yang, the Imperial Prince who Opens Up Enlightenment, Transmits the Tao and Sends Down the Teachings
[Lü] Ch'un-yang, the Imperial Prince who Performs Correctness, Warns and Converts, and Nurtures and Helps
[Liu] Hai-ch'an, Imperial Prince of Clear Enlightenment who Spreads the Tao, and Purifies and Helps
[Wang] Ch'ung-yang, Imperial Prince of Complete Perfection (Ch'uan-chen) who Opens Up Conversion and Assists the Ultimate.

174 A disciple of Wei Po-yang who allegedly wrote the first commentary to Chou I Ts'ian-hung Chi.
175 I have been unable to find information on an Immortal by this name.
176 Unclear. But this could very likely refer to Chang Tao-ling, the founder of the Heavenly Master's Sect.
177 This refers to Wei Chieh, a man of Tu-ling (Shensi) who once served under the Northern Wei Dynasty (385-566) before becoming a Taoist.
178 Probably refers to Wang Yen, a monk at the Lou Kuan monastery during the sixth century. He was a man of Fu-feng (Shensi).
179 Unclear.
180 Ko Hsuan Unclear.
181 Unclear.
182 Unclear.
183 The putative founder of the Ch'üan-chen sect who acquired the Tao from Lord Lao and trained on Mt. K'un-yü in Shantung. The dates of his birth, conversion etc. are completely unspecified in the hagiographies. After his ascension he is said to have become a high official in the Divine Bureaucracy and is said to have played important roles in the transmission and revelation of NCC and Ch'ing-ch'ing Ching. He may be equivalent to Lord Blue Child (Michel Strickmann translates this name as "Lord Green Youth) who played a prominent role in the Shang-ch'ing revelations.
We respectfully wish for [you] Immortals to mercifully descend and attend the *chiao*.

{Solemnly bow and invite [the following Immortals]:}

Patriarch-Master [Ma] Tan-yang, the Perfected Prince who Embraces the One and Converts Everybody with Non-action.

[T'an] Ch'ang-ch'en, the Perfected Prince of [Roaming about like] Clouds and Water, Solidification of Spirit, Profound Stillness and Accumulation of Virtue

[Liu] Ch'ang-sheng, the Perfected Prince who Assists Conversion, Venerates Profoundness and Clarifies Virtue

[Ch'iu] Ch'ang-ch'un, the Perfected Prince who Performs the Tao, Completes Virtue, Transforms with the Spirit and Responds Insightfully

[Hao] Kuang-ning, the Perfected Prince of Penetrating the Profound, the Ultimate of Marvels and Great Antiquity

[Wang] Yu-yang, the Perfected Prince who Embodies Profoundness, Spreads his Mercy and Saves Universally

[Sun] Ch'ing-ch'ing, the Primal Princess of Deep Properness and Profound Vacuity who Accords with Creation.

Respectfully we wish for [you] Immortals to mercifully descend and attend the *chiao*.

{Solemnly bow and invite [the following Immortals]:}

Perfected Man [Chang] Wu-chen Tzu-yang of [Mt.] T'ien t'ai

Perfected Man [Shih] Ts'ui-hsuan Hsing-lin

Perfected Man [Hsueh] Tao-kuang Tzu-hsien

Perfected Man [Ch'en] Ni-wan Ts'ui-hsu

Perfected Man [Pai] Tzu-ch'ing of Hai-nan

Respectfully we wish for [you] Immortals to mercifully descend and attend the *chiao*.

{Solemnly bow and invite [the following Immortals]:}

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184 純淨 (pure and immaculate). This is a mistake. Sun's sobriquet was 聖靜 (pure and still). These two terms are very close in meaning and have virtually the same pronunciation, and are thus used almost interchangeably within Taoist and Buddhist writings.

185 (d. 1082?) Personal name Po-tuan 伯遠. Southern Sect Patriarch and author of *Wu-chen P'ien 恬真篇*.

186 (d. 1158) Personal name T'ai 蒼.

187 d. 1191

188 Personal name Nan 南. (d. 1213).

189 Personal name Yu-ch' an 御覲. (fl. 1209-1224). The most prolific writer of the Southern Sect tradition.

399
Patriarch-Master Sir Huang-fang P’i-yùn, the Perfected Man
Sung

T’ai-hsu, the Perfected Man Li

Tzu-ch’iung, the Perfected Man Chang

Ordination Master Yüan-tu, Perfected Man Chao

Ordination Master Ku-yün, Perfected Man Liu

To all of the sacred sages past and present who cultivated Perfection, studied for Immortal-hood and acquired the Tao; we respectfully wish for [you] Immortals to mercifully descend and attend the chiao.

Devotedly we extended our proclamations and requests and now we are sincerely grateful for your light amidst us. We gaze upon you hoping you will stay for a while and receive our devotion and veneration. Now as we meet with the auspicious morning of pure yang, we ignorantly proclaim our foolish [yet] devoted reverence in celebration.

It is so that the [candle] light is one speck of numinous light which has not diminished in past and present. In the ten directions of the world [whether in] darkness or brightness it penetrates everything. People who do not understand take it to be [merely] fire. People who transmit the understanding of it correctly say [that it is innate human] nature and wisdom. This causes them to sprout a heart (give rise to a pure, enlightened mind) amidst a dark room and to know how to carefully restrain themselves. Illuminating back [within themselves] and reversing their light (vision) [back towards themselves], they trust that the halls of Heaven have a road [by which they can be accessed] and that they can ascend; transcending ordinariness and entering sacredness. Once again bowing [to you Immortals] above, we offer up the [candle] light of [long] lifespan.

Rites

Personal name Te-fang. A Ch’üan-chen monk who was in charge of the compilation of the Hsuan-tu Pao-tsang Taoist Canon that was completed in 1244.

Personal name Hsi-chen. A disciple of Sung Te-fang.

Personal name Mo. A disciple of Li T’ai Hs’u.

Personal name Yü-ch’in (fl.1329). The teacher of Ch’en Kuan-wu, the author of this text.

Probably a disciple of Chao Yü-ch’in.
It is so that the incense is the one branch that grew out way back in the beginning of antiquity. After serving the Three Emperors it has let flow its fragrance for many kalpas. Inferior fools have noses but cannot smell it. Superior stalwarts smell the incense and distinguish the smells like the holy masters mold clay. All over the place the fragrance permeates with the inner power of the Tao and is forcefully named. Everybody receives its function. Again we bow and upwards [towards you Immortals] offer the incence of [long] lifespan.

It is so that the tea is the sparrow tongues (tea sprouts) of last spring. The spears and flags of the grain rain scoop up the crab-eyed hot water. White flowers float upon the surface of the bowl. [When we (?)] scoop up the water of the Dragon Spring, the winds of Immortality are drawn from P'eng-lai. Lu T'ung [drank] six cups and communicated with the Immortal souls. Chao-chou [drank] one bowl and visited the Buddha nature. It brings to enlightenment the fellows who are asleep. It brings eyesight to blind Immortals. Again we bow and offer the tea of [long] lifespan.

It is so that the liquor is the sweet dew let down from Heaven, the sweet spring that spurts out of Earth and the ghee of superior taste. Those who drink it are always sober and do not become drunk. The dregs of the holy men; if you acquire them you will use being to return to non-being. If with one mouthful you suck up the West River, your appearance and visage will not age. With three cups you will penetrate the great Tao, and your Dharma body will eternally exist. Again we bow and upwards [towards you Immortals] put forth the liquor of [long] lifespan.

Rites

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195 A set of three legendary emperors of remote antiquity. Here it probably refers to Tien-huang, Ti-huang and Jen-huang, although the term can also refer to Sui-jen, Fu-hsi, and Shen-nung, or Fu-hsi, Shen-nung and Nu-wa.

196 This fragrance (which seems to be a metaphor for the Tao) is beyond description but is given a name because we need some term by which to refer to it.

197 Everybody has the inner power of the Tao within them?

198 This refers to the early spring rains which are vital in bringing about good grain crops.

199 A poet who died in 835 A.D.

200 This apparently refers to a Ch'an Buddhist monk of the T'ang Dynasty named Ts'ung-shen, who lived to age 120 and was commonly referred to as "the old Buddha of Chao-chou (in Hopei)."

201 Use the body of the present temporal existence as an apparatus to create the "Elixir" and return to the eternal state of original non-being or primordial chaos.
Recite the Scripture of the Heart Seal\textsuperscript{202} and the Scripture of Meritorious Virtue in 30 Ranks\textsuperscript{203}. [To be recited] along with these are the Memorials of Celebration. Solemnly present them while kneeling.}

Memorial in Celebration of the Birth of Patriarch-Master Chung-li:

[I], (Priest's name), a disciple of the great Tao respectfully meet with the fifteenth day of this month. It is the day of the auspicious birth of the Patriarch-Master, the Imperial Prince Chung-li Cheng-yang. In advance on this day, the fourteenth, I solemnly present this memorial in celebration. Reverently I prostrate myself because of the worthiness of the Tao and the nobleness of its inner power. I look upon the lineage of masters of the myriad eras. As the yin dissipates and the yang [becomes] pure, it is the morning of the high Immortal's celebration. The moon is full up in the sky, and auspiciousness is abundant among people. I, (priest's name) knock my head against the ground and again bow respectfully thinking:

Patriarch-Master Chung-li Cheng-yang, Imperial Prince who Opens Up Enlightenment, Transmits the Tao and Sends Down the Teachings; from the origin, from the roots, before Heaven and before Earth, you grasp ch'ien and k'un as your reaction vessel\textsuperscript{204}. You refine kan and return [what was in kan ] to li .\textsuperscript{205} You take (?) the crow (heart ch'i ) and rabbit (kidney ch'i ) as your medicine. You subdue the Dragon and Tiger and the Tao [within you (?)] transcends the Great Ultimate. Your grace spreads throughout the living masses. Kalpa after kalpa you exist eternally, and all people receive salvation. After [Lii] Ch'un-yang; [Liu] Hai-ch'an and [Wang] Ch'ung-yang succeeded you and transmitted it, and the hearts of the sages reached [Ma] Tan-yang, [Ch'iu] Ch'ang-ch'un and [Chang] Tzu-yang. Ever since you contacted and saved [people] you became the father of the masses; and your fatherly

\textsuperscript{202}This probably refers to T'ai-shang Shuo Chiu-you Pa-tsui Hsin-yin Miao-ching 太上說九幽拔罪心印妙經, Taoist Canon #32, a very short (three pages) scripture allegedly expounded by the Primordial Heavenly Worthy which is intended to serve a function similar to that of TJC. It seems like a scripture which the Ch'uan-chen masters may have very likely used.

\textsuperscript{203}Unclear. There is no scripture by this name extant in the Taoist Canon. This could be a Buddhist scripture. There are scriptures in the Buddhist Tripitaka which include the words, "meritorious virtue" 功德 within their titles.

\textsuperscript{204}This probably means to use Heaven and Earth (the universe or the "Heaven and Earth of the body") as an apparatus for cultivating Perfection.

\textsuperscript{205}vaporize the ch'i of the kidneys and make it merge with that of the heart. To rediscover the innate Tao nature hidden in the subconscious and make it a part of the conscious mind.
merit cannot be sufficiently praised by mere words. Your benevolence is identical with that of creation.

I, (priest's name) am of ordinary bones and am not yet numinous. With a sincere heart towards the Tao I have been fortunate enough to receive instruction from my master. The Dark Female is the Roots of Heaven and Earth. The details are in the Elixir Books. Essence and breath are the basics of yin and yang. The Divine Water of the Flower Pond is entitled, "ch'ien gold". The Flowing Pearls of the Earthen Pot are named, "wood mercury". When the two chords merge, one embodies a womb for ten months. What is important is to marvelously use the slight moments. What is most difficult is to respond to objects with true stillness. What is more, the Head Scripture is of utmost value and this is said to be extremely perilous. The Male Tiger limits his emotions and because of this is deeply scared. Hereby because of this, as I celebrate I also speak of the dangers and difficulties. I look up [to you] in hope that [you will] mercifully and compassionately look down and take pity on the insignificant and the lowly and give us relaxation of body by means of your skillful means. Cause us to enter the room with no temptations. The days and months of the school of Immortal-hood.

206 Ho-shang-kung's Lao-tzu commentary says that the "dark" refers to the nose and the "female" refers to the mouth. The mouth and nose are the "roots" sources of Heaven and Earth because the nose takes in the "five breaths" of Heaven (among which the finest breaths are transformed into vital spirit or rational mental capacity by the heart) and the mouth takes in the "five flavors" of the earth (which nourish and replenish the physical and emotional capacities).

207 This seems to refer to the saliva that flows down into the adept's mouth during the intense stages of meditation. "Flower Pond" refers to the mouth. Why it is called "ch'ien gold" is a little bit puzzling. "Ch'ien" perhaps refers to the fact that this saliva flow takes place when the body's heat generated by the heart has climaxed and the body has reached its utmost yang stage which can be represented by the ch'ien trigram ☰. "Gold" is perhaps better translated as metal. The question is whether the character refers to the lungs' ch'i (metal) that has infiltrated the kidneys' ch'i before it was sent up the spinal column, or whether it refers to the ch'i (gold, golden elixir) brought together and refined in the Cinnabar Field and sent up to the brain.

208 The "earthen pot" refers to the spleen (Cinnabar Field) and the "Flowing Pearls" refers to the ch'i brought together in there which is made to boil over and spurt up by the heat generated by the heart. "Wood" is the ch'i from the liver that has come through the heart and down into the spleen, and "mercury" refers to the ch'i of the kidneys that has combined with the "wood" in the spleen to create the "wood mercury".

209 The "Head Scripture" refers to the "Head Scripture of the White Tiger" appears in Chang Tzyang's Wu-chen P'ien. The term has been understood in many ways. Practitioners of bedroom artistry have interpreted it as the female menstrual blood. But the more orthodox and abstract way to understand it is as the yang ch'i, of the yin lungs (tiger) which infiltrates the semen of the kidneys or enters the mouth and becomes saliva. It is precious and can leak out if the practitioner cannot maintain full control.
are long. Why then must you wait for the celebration and praise of the dusty ordinary folk? In another year [help my] merit and deeds to become full, completely due to the molding of my master. Next I hope that the superior stalwarts and the good and wise people will all understand the ultimate Tao, and that those confused, ignorant and dishonest people will repent and give rise to a faithful heart. I hope that the koumiss will become a river and the ghee will cleanse our heads, and that the soil will all become azure jade and the earth will be covered with gold. I make these unreasonable requests to [you] the Master-Perfected, in unavoidable cold sweat. Diligently I supply this memorial in order to praise and celebrate and to let you hear my sincere rejoicing and sincere applause. I knock my head to the ground, bow my head, and bow again to solemnly pronounce these words.

On the (day, month and year of the ritual), memorialized in celebration by (name of the priest), a disciple of the great Tao.

Memorial in Celebration of the Birth of Patriarch Master [Lû]Ch'un-yang:

I, (name of priest), a disciple of the great Tao, respectfully meet with the fourteenth day of this month. The Patriarch-Master, Imperial Prince Ch'un-yang came down [to this world] to be born on this day. Solemnly I provide this memorial. Respectfully I extend my [words of] celebration, sincerely prostrating myself because the season has reached pure Yang (Ch'un-yang). The moon has become full before this night. The activity of the primal ch'i of the Heavenly Bell has already abounded over many years; and the universe rises in joy. The Immortals and the ordinary folk wish you a happy birthday. I knock my head to the ground, bow again and respectfully think:

Patriarch-Master Ch'un-yang, Imperial Prince who Performs Correctness, Warns and Converts, and Nurtures and Helps; the Tao is high and is the auspicious purity of the milleniums of antiquity. The numinous throngs observe their hearts internally and observe their bodies externally. Therefore they are able to acquire the profound principle of completing the shape. With being they observe their orifices and with non-being they observe the marvelous. [Thus] they all return to the gate of the various marvels.

[You] fetched the purest from the river's source, refined the

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210 The sky which was conceived of as having an oval shape that somewhat resembles that of a large bell.

211 From what follows it is obvious that from some point Lu Ch'un-yang becomes the subject. I have taken a guess and started making Lu the subject from this particular point and presumed that "numinous throngs" (among which Lu would presumably be included) is the subject of the four preceding sentences.
Golden Elixir and promptly completed [it]. With Blue Snake you went past Lake Tung-t'ing (in Hunan) and happily sang in front of the Yellow Crane Multi-storied Pavilion. You hid among the shops in the marketplace and played the flute. You teased [Ch'en] Shih-chung and transformed Immortal Girls. For T'u-nan (Ch'en Hsi-i) you went several times to Mt. Hua. Mounted on a blue ox, you entered the grotto heaven. Mounted on a white deer, you went by Ts'a-hai. High above you ascended to the rank of Imperial Prince.

Throughout past and present you vastly spread the true faction (sect) of the Tao and its inner power. From south to north you, sir, want to save the world, but people do not know this. I wish to seek for you, sir, but have not yet been able to gain a connection. Secretly I reflect over the fact that I have yet to understand the meaning of the Dark Female. But luckily I have met with a vowed relationship and transmission from a true master and thus understand that the Tao cannot be manifested through words. I truly understand that the matter [of transmitting the Tao] requires transmission by heart. When seeking eight liang s of ch'ien gold, I must first understand the guest and master. Then I should transport a half chin of wood mercury. Portioning and combining yin and yang, I should refine it and produce an Elixir. Preserving and completing it for ten months, I silently listen to the Dragon sing and the Tiger roar without allowing the water to dry out or the fire to cool off and thereby stop. [I must] do this with great care, working hard without relent and ceaselessly while forgetting about eating. If I receive your mercy and compassion and get to drink from the

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212 This refers to a sword that Lu was believed to carry with him inside his sleeve.

213 Perhaps this means that he traveled to various places swiftly and effortlessly as though he held the world inside of his sleeve.

214 See p.234

215 Ch'en Hsi-i (895-989) was a prominent Taoist monk and expert on physiological and laboratory alchemy who allegedly had numerous meetings with Lü Ch'un-yang. You may recall the passage quoted on p.99 where Wang Ch'ung-yang mentions a "Chen Hsi-i's Method of the Great Slumber".

216 A legendary island of the Immortals.

217 One liang is 37.3 grams.

218 "Guest" refers to the yin part of the body (the ch'i) and "master" refers to the yang part (the spirit). For the practitioner to be able to produce and utilize the the ch'ien gold (ch'i that comes down as saliva) and wood mercury (ch'i in the spleen that spurts up) in their proper amounts, he must maintain complete control over his body with his mind.

219 One chin is 16 liang s


medicine spoon\textsuperscript{220}, I can bring to life this declining and rotting [body of mine] and completely understand the firing times. Even though I have nothing with which I can repay you, I depend upon your love for life. Here we fortunately meet upon a time of flourishing and rejoice upon meeting with this auspicious morning. I have had the audacity to line up the sincere feelings of this ordinary fellow (myself) and bow from a distance towards the countenance of [you] the Immortal and sincerely venerate the [gods of the] Bureau of Judicial Investigation\textsuperscript{221} who reside up in Heaven. I wish for you to send down your pity towards those who study [the Tao] after you. Even though you do not rely upon the celebration and adoration from the midst of people; because I am pleading from my innermost feelings I hope that you will secretly give help to this ordinary body. Cause it to quickly hold the medicine and gather the utmost treasure of the Head Scripture with no misfortunes internally and externally. [Cause this body to] refine the single \textit{ch'i} and go to [the age] prior to heaven (return to the state of the pre-creation era) righteously from beginning till end with no demonic hindrances. [Cause it to] meet with the hearts noumenon and thereby take action to quickly cultivate. Generally speaking, who does not wish [for you] to give them relaxation of body through your useful means so that what they do can be easily accomplished? (So please help us) Next I hope that superior stalwarts and wise and good people will all understand the supreme Tao. {[continues with] the same [words] as before (the memorial to Chung-li)}

{Along with these [memorials] is the statement for them confirmation of the vow. Respectfully spread it out and proclaim it before [the Immortals]}

[I], (name of the priest), a disciple of the great Tao on the fourteenth day of this month respectfully meet with the auspicious birthday of Patriarch-Master, the Imperial Prince Ch'un-yang. On this day, the fifteenth day, I respectfully meet with the auspicious birthday of Patriarch-Master, the Imperial Prince Cheng-yang. On this day we solemnly provide incense and candles. Because today is the fourteenth day we present memorials and together proclaim our celebration. Hereby, as we have already thoroughly gazed upon and received the high Immortals and sacred throngs and have together received our sealed vows and sincerely presented our paper money, we all respectfully pronounce our gratitude and pray for you to protect those who study the Tao so that they will have no demonic temptations and their cultivation of Immortal-hood will have an allotment (of destiny for Perfection?). We look up in hope to your

\textsuperscript{220}Swallow the special saliva that flows down in the midst of deep meditative trance.

\textsuperscript{221}
merciful compassion and secret assistance in the face of perils and hazards. Cause us to accomplish our merit when we enter the room by not mistaking the firing times. [Cause us to] quickly escape our embryos, spiritually transform, and greet (by putting forward crossed arms and moving them up and down) the Immortal hosts. Next we hope that the superior stalwarts and the good and wise people will all understand the ultimate Tao, and that those confused, ignorant and dishonest people will repent and give rise to a faithful heart. [We hope that] the koumiss will become a river, the ghee will cleanse our heads, the soil will become azure jade and that the earth will be covered with gold. To make these unreasonable requests to [you] masters, we solemnly spread out and proclaim [these] foolish [words]. Already having provided this statement on the right, we knock our heads to the ground and bow above to the Tao Patriarch of the [Time] Before Heaven, the Most High Lord Lao and the Preceeding Holy Immortal Masters of the Three Teachings who have Acquired the Tao:

Mr. Yin, the Heavenly Worthy of the Beginning of Culture
{In the same way as before, request to the positions of the gods as in the order [previously] without increase or decrease [in the number of gods requested to].}

Script for Sending Off the Gods

Up till now we have been, from our sincere feelings, violating and defiling [you] insightful [Immortals] in hope that you will pity us simple [fellows] and vastly enlighten, attract and guide [us] by bending your Immortality flag and coming down to this dusty world. [As we] ceaselessly tremble, you turn back your flag fringes and return to P‘eng Island. Clingingly and longingly we only regret that this is the time for us to bow and send you off. Bearing the shame of empty residence (mortal-hood?), I prostrate myself and proclaim that if I go by myself and sit by myself, my surname and personal name will return and move the Emperor’s heart. Nobody understands and nobody knows. The verses of poetry are loudly passed on to the ears of the Chief Minister. How much can the naked eye of the ordinary fellow understand? The single Golden Elixir stabilizes long life. Hereby when we turn around and look at eachother, we are not without connections. (We all have potential for Perfection). Sincerely I feel like I want to call out to the whole world to seek the Tao (the Way of salvation). This matter is hard to understand. Even if one acts and quickly cultivates, he is still very late. Who amidst the world is able to do it? This body [of yours] has already exited the 3000 realms (that make up the universe). In the past you gave it (divine assistance and
instruction) to the monk Chang222. Allow me to in the same way travel to the realms of the Five Emperors. I now wish for you to take pity on those with ordinary bones who are without the Tao, ordinary folk who waste their lives, [along with] the lowly beggars and poor scholars. [You] Perfected Men of the Elixir that Transforms Bones are already wandering amidst Jade Purity. Your swords span across both river shores. After [you] masters leave I will respond to difficulties and old age with my body in Ta-lo Heaven, coming with no form and leaving with no traces. The Divine Immortal Register Up in the Heaven of the Chiu-shih: you cannot hear it if you listen, and you cannot see it if you look. Serving as a minister of the Jade Emperor you return to Great Purity. Presumptuously with my whole heart I bow and see you off.

222This perhaps refers to a monk on Mt. Heng (in Hunan) who receives instruction from Lu Ch'ung-yang in MTC #108.
CONFESSION

In lieu of what can be referred to as a true conclusion to the preceding study, I make the following confession. I confess that I have fulfilled but half of my original objectives. In the preceding chapters I have examined in considerable detail certain vital aspects of the doctrines and practices of the early Ch’ü’an-chen sect. In doing so, I think that I have helped to clear up some of the misunderstandings that have existed while bringing to attention some of the vital characteristics of the sect that have largely been ignored. I think the reader has been able to see that despite the highly syncretic tendencies, the monks and laymen of the Ch’ü’an-chen sect still primarily emphasized various beliefs and practices that were unique to the Taoist religion, including the so-called "magical" and "superstitious" ones. This can particularly be seen from the way they greatly emphasized methods of life-nurturing, ardently revered and sought the mercy of the Immortals, sincerely believed in the miraculous power of the Perfected Men, and frequently engaged in large-scale Taoist rituals. The desire to become Perfected Men and to emulate the great Immortals of the Golden Elixir tradition was what greatly motivated the Ch’ü’an-chen masters to engage in their extreme ascetism and perform their great deeds of charity which won them their recognition and acclaim from many of their contemporary intellectuals (who wrote the various statements that modern scholars have cited to expound what I call the "reformist theory"). I hope that the reader has come to see that the early Ch’ü’an-chen sect was not a Taoist reform movement and that it certainly was not a "secularized" (in the sense that Ch’en Chun-min uses the word in the passage that I quoted on p.29) form of Taoism.

However, when I first started my research on this project, I had intended to trace back the roots of the sect’s doctrines and give the reader a clear picture of where Wang Ch’ung-yang had inherited his form of Taoism from. As I have stated repeatedly, the Ch’ü’an-chen sect (and its "brother", the Southern Sect) was a school that grew out of the
Golden Elixir tradition of physiological alchemy and the Immortal lore and worship that was associated with it. The Golden Elixir tradition seems to have developed within or evolved from the Shang-ch'ing and Ling-pao schools. The large-scale incorporation of Buddhist ideas and the shift of emphasis towards physiological rather than laboratory alchemy seem to have been developments that gradually took place over the centuries that spanned between the career of Ko Hung and the mystical conversion of Wang Ch'ung-yang. In my discussion, I believe that I have demonstrated in various places that the content of the Ch'uan-chen doctrines makes the most sense when understood from the perspective of these hypotheses that I have outlined above. But I had originally intended to prove these hypotheses and trace the great evolutionary process that took place. Obviously, this whole endeavor was much too ambitious, and as a result I had to abandon it when I was half way into my project. As a result, I have left open and untouched various important questions which I think merit thorough investigation in the future. Here are just a few:

(1) Was Chou-I Ts'an-t'ung Ch'i the first classic of physiological alchemy? If not, when did it come to be seen as such, and why? Did it represent the ideas of what could be called an organized religious movement? How and when did the alchemical tradition that it represented come to be connected with the various Taoist ritual practices?

(2) When did celibacy, monasticism and intense asceticism come to be important aspects of some schools of religious Taoism? From what point can these traits be clearly identified in the Shang-ch'ing and Ling-pao schools?

(3) If it is correct to assume that Golden Elixir theories originated and developed primarily in Southern China, how did they find their way to prominence in the north (especially Shensi) where the Ch'uan-chen sect developed? My inclination is to think that the Taoism
of Mt. Chung-nan (which claimed its origins back in the early Chou Dynasty when Lao-tzu gave his instructions to Yin Hsi) developed under the influence of the Ling-pao faction that had risen to a status of great influence in the capital Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an) during the T'ang Dynasty.

(4) What are the most important differences between the teachings of the Ch'uan-chen sect and those of its highly similar "brother", the Southern Sect? How did these differences develop?

(5) How and why did the concept that stressed the coming together of the Three Teachings develop within the Golden Elixir tradition? When did they begin to emulate the practices and teachings of Ch'an Buddhism?

(6) Exactly how, where and when did the lore involving Lu Ch'un-yang develop? When did the more layman-oriented aspects of the Lu Ch'un-yang cult emerge?

(7) What was the role of women? It is evident that nuns made up a significant portion of the clergy of the Ch'uan-chen sect and its related traditions. But how was their role defined (could they perform in the ritual arena?) and how did it evolve over the years? Who developed the Perfection Cultivation methods designed for women?

I could go on and on. If I can be able to address and sufficiently answer any one of the above questions in the future, I will have to consider myself fortunate. But for now, I hope that the above study has given as clear and accurate a picture as possible of what the beliefs and practices of Ch'uan-chen sect were when Wang Ch'ung-yang and the Seven Perfected were active. What has made this very detailed study possible is the sheer abundance of material that exists on this particular sect. I doubt that there is any other religious Taoist movement on which a study quite like this one could have been done. In general, the Taoist religion today lacks the kind of active and devoted lay following that the
early Ch’üan-chen sect enjoyed. Most Taoist clergymen today are primarily professional ritualists who apparently do not engage in the kind of intense ascetic Perfection Cultivation that the Ch’üan-chen masters underwent. Thus I like to think that the prime value of this paper is that it shows in detail how the Taoist religion in its heyday functioned as a truly multi-faceted religious system based on the belief in Immortal-hood, which served the needs of its various believers (clergy, laymen, educated, uneducated) through its wide range of activities (asceticism, physiological alchemy, rituals, charity, evangelism).
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全真教作为一种世俗化的新道教，以“三教圆融”的“道德性命之学”为其宗旨，这既是特定社会政治的产物，同时又是唐宋道教“物极而变”的必然结果。

天師道などの旧道教は、古くから伝統的に、符や呪い、もししくは僧侶・その他の方法による不老長生を重視していた。現在の利益を中心にしたように、といえども喩術宗教的な色彩が濃厚であった。そうした人間の精神的な苦悩の解決や解決、たとえば死と立つような究極の問題の解決などの点については、神仏説にある Established portion が示していると考えられる。このために、従来の宗教的活動に登場していた、また世俗化への反省を物語っていると思われる。そうしてそれはまた、喩術宗教的な色彩の払拭という傾向をもっていたあらゆるとしても、あらゆるややもしかなろう。
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曰庚甲卵酉者為畫夜甲卵者是肝之気八
節中立春分口中為津也庚酉者是肺之
暑離鈷者是身中之氣八節中立夏至
中為血也坎元者是腎中之氣八節中立冬
至身中為精也精生魂血生魂精為性血為
命人通性命者便是真修行之法也詎曰
精血者是肉身之根本真氣是性命之根
本故曰有血者能生真氣也真氣壯實者自
然長久聚精血成形也

通上下沖和精氣自固矣

故
清静不措三寔亦有疾病無常者何也詁曰
小兒有病者昔在母腹中因母血氣虧弱
受母十月胎氣不足又或犯風溼暑濕四集
不殆受胎小兒故有疾病無常也

除中氣令人入邪者是飢飽勞役風寒暑濕
飢來痛飽寒極憂心遂行困倦及冷熱身醉
亦不可行功變成大病也

五行合金

水火土塵木旺內木不旺人多病眼疾夏
火旺內火不旺人多嘔痢秋金旺內金不旺
人多咳嗽冬水旺內水不旺人多疝氣

在終南居於環堵飄飄赤腳並無
火毒吐血發嗽病勢來之甚緊眾道
友饗藥拜而受之不敢嘗又謂子曰
當食生蔥醞醋可解其毒子再三思
之道家有病他人莫能醫當以自治
乎修鍊身中至寶厥疾自瘥

【437】
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经口和性传播是该病的主要传播途径。症状包括发热、乏力、肌肉痛等。该病的诊断依赖于血液检测。预防措施包括避免接触病人和使用口罩。
太

1.60

1997年7月起，新任行政长官董建华与特区政府

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1997年7月

97年7月
黑土区土质疏松

土质疏松不利于保水保肥

1. 土壤表层的水容易流走，土壤水分容易流失。

2. 土壤有机质含量低，肥力低。

3. 土壤通气性好，不利于植物根系的生长。

4. 土壤易受风蚀和水蚀，造成土地荒漠化。

因此，黑土区需要采取适当的农业措施，例如

- 覆盖作物：覆盖作物可以减少土壤水分的蒸发，防止土壤表层的水流失。
- 耕作措施：通过合理的耕作措施，如浅耕、深耕等，可以改善土壤的结构，提高土壤的保水保肥能力。
- 土壤改良：通过施用有机肥、增施磷钾肥等措施，提高土壤的肥力。
- 保护措施：采取合理的保护措施，如合理利用水资源，防止土壤的风蚀和水蚀。
天苍苍兮，地茫茫。
物两相仍兮，敌也。
夜相凌迟，饮气吞声。
神见死不救，知何因？
下土悲心，却无福徒劳。

德如偷更好真，修。
慈悲非求，报建。

德如偷更好真修。
慈悲非求，报建。
457
123

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458
日本年表

天老

138

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475
道言元始天尊说经中所言，即是诸天上帝内名隐匿之音，亦是魔王末世说真言。”

“性魔啾咽胜挥拳持象管书符简射银蟾跃洞天。”

“命真经无不。”
I. 考查上期考核

<table>
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| 张三 | 2022.10.1 | 上期考核结果公布
| 李四 | 2022.10.2 | 上期考核结果公布

II. 明确下期考核目标

- 提高工作效率
- 完成工作任务
- 优化工作流程

注：以上内容为示例，具体考核内容需根据实际情况调整。
三教永没三道，须通三宝方见三清好，真性照三焦，无了三焦做造休论三世诸佛，现前来得三乘游三昧，莹莹归三岛。

五台月光通三要便把三彭除，勤运二车皎皎般载三乘妙，龙华三会心明，眼，觉三光盈照，筒内三坛设醮，自己三清了，八昧功满三田救九玄，尊七祖父成仙。
4%
斗大魁總監東靈齊帝護魂白帝侍魄赤帝
五帝大魔萬神之宗飛行從總領鬼兵
上真金鉦
首萬萬剪形鬼元千犯鬼元妖精
長生大君元英公子白元尊神太乙司命
挑康合延執符把錄保命生根上遊上清
下鎮人心泥丸
絳官中理五炁混合百神十轉回靈萬炁膏
仙仙道貴生元量度人上開八門飛天法輪
罪福禁戒宿命因緣普受開度死魂生身
得受生上聞諸天諸天上各有生門
這似乎是大段文字，内容难以识别。
仙要 大升金子汤

第 五

皆通不知者以火传其知者是云性慧使

聞室萌心而知懼返照迥光信天堂有路而

可登超凡入聖再拜上進壽。

法事

夫香者言從太古之初一枝挺出鼻待三皇

之後幾劫流芳下愚有鼻而無聞上士聞香

而分臭如聖師之揵土處處必芬以道德而

強名從用再拜上進齋香

夫茶者先春雀舌穎雨銭何自畔懸眼湯白花

漢魏明朞疊仙再拜進茶

夫酒者天垂甘露地湧醴泉上味醄醺飲者

常醒而不醉聖人糟粕得之以有而歸無一

口吸西江容顏不老三巋通大道法體長存

浮於挾面酌龍泉水仙風引於蓬萊盧金六

道弟子某今月十五日恭禀
此山多大叶盒子藤

草书体
华正赫

华正赫

华正赫

华正赫
三教得道先聖仙師
文始天尊尹先生
向來情侶冒瀟聰明仰臥於原黃開接引屈
歸於蓬萊擊拳僧勤當拜送之期負此虛
手速修猶未遂世間誰是能行者此身已出
三千界昔高僧於張僧許我同遊五帝鄉今
顧怜於凡骨莫道凡流空命薄乞與貧儒換
骨丹真人已在玉清遊仞横雙水岸先生去
後應難老身在大羅天未無影去無蹤紛司