

TAOIST RESOURCES



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Editor: Livia Kohn

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2.1 (June 1990)

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Dear Colleague:

We are proud to announce, with this issue, the revival of Taoist Resources as a journal dedicated to the scholarly study of Taoism.

This first issue of the "new" Taoist Resources is devoted to research on the pivotal tenth-century Taoist figure, Chen Tuan. Both this issue and the following (2.2) have been edited by Livia Kohn, to whose considerable energies and organizational talents we in fact owe the survival of the journal itself.

Taoist Resources was begun in 1989 by members of "The Plumtree." After only two issues, the journal was declared defunct. Some of us who had been in touch with the managing editors of the journal concluded from the enthusiastic response to even this unaffiliated venture that the time was right for the creation of a scholarly journal of Taoist Studies. Thanks to grants from the East Asian Studies Center of Indiana University and the China and Inner Asia Council of the Association for Asian Studies, as well as the understanding of the original managing editors, who have provided us with some of their files and a limited number of back issues, we are now able to resume publication of the journal under new editorship and with new goals.

We intend for this journal to become in fact a "resource" for those interested in the study of Taoism. To the "Recent Publications" section appearing in this issue, we plan to add notices of work in progress, news of the field, and dissertation abstracts. We are eager to receive your comments, suggestions, and more importantly, your submission of manuscripts for publication.

The journal will appear biannually. The two issues already distributed (1.1 and 1.2) will constitute Volume One of the journal. Volume 2.2 will be reaching you in October of this year.

Stephen R. Bokenkamp
Livia Kohn
Editors

INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE OF CHEN TUAN

after the

HISTORY OF THE SONG

(chap. 457)

Chen Tuan, with the agnomen Tunan, was originally from Zhenyuan in Bozhou.

At the age of four or five he once played on the bank of the River Huo, when an old woman dressed in a green robe appeared and offered him her breast. From that time onward his intelligence and awareness increased daily.

As he grew up, he read the classics and histories as well as the words of the hundred schools. One glance at a text was sufficient for his recitation, and he never forget what he had read, especially poetry.

During the Changxing reign period of the Later Tang dynasty [930-934] he attempted the jinshi examination but did not pass. After this he did not seek official standing, but found his happiness among mountains and rivers.

He said of himself that he once met the two eminent personages Sun Junfang and Recluse Deerskin. They told him: "The Cliff of Nine Caverns on Mount Wudang is a good place to live in seclusion." Tuan thereupon went and settled there.

For more than twenty years he practiced absorption of cosmic energy and abstention from cereals, and only lived on several cups of wine every day.

Later he moved to the Cloud Terrace Monastery on Mount Hua and spent some time in a stone cavern in the Lesser Hua. Every time he went to sleep, he did not get up again for more than a hundred days.

preserving himself, he is not concerned with authority and worldly advantages. Rather he is a true master of the supernatural. He has lived on Mount Hua for over forty years, and his age must be close to a hundred. He says of himself that during the Five Dynasties he left the world due to the prevailing disorder. Now that the empire has attained Great Peace, he comes and joins me in an audience. I have spoken with him and find that his words are well worth hearing."

Thereupon a messenger was sent to take him to the secretariat, and Qi and some others had a relaxed conversation with him. They asked, "Sir, you have attained the Tao of cultivating yourself in mystery and serenity. Can you teach it to others?"

He answered: "I am a man of mountains and fields, without any use to the age. I do not know anything about spirit immortals or the yellow and white, nor do I understand the principles of expelling the old and inhaling the new or any arts of nourishing life. I have no arts to teach. If I ascended to heaven in broad daylight, what good would it do to the world?"

"Our sagely emperor has a dragon countenance and his refinement is truly extraordinary. He has the signs of a heavenly person. He widely comprehends past and present, he deeply understands order and disorder. He truly possesses the Tao and is a benevolent and enlightened ruler.

"He has rectified the meeting of the minds and joining of the virtue of ruler and ministers, he has brought us a time of great prosperity and perfect government. To diligently practice all sorts of techniques and refine oneself does not contribute to this."

Qi and the others praised these words and reported them to the emperor. The emperor thereupon esteemed him even higher. He issued an imperial edict to honor him with the title Master of the Invisible and Inaudible and bestowed a purple robe upon him. With Chen as a guest in the palace, he furthermore ordered the restoration of his home residence, the Cloud Terrace Monastery. The emperor frequently joined him for a poetry session, and only after several month was he allowed to return to the mountain.

In the beginning of the reign period Duangong [988] all of a sudden he told his disciple Jia Desheng, "Please, have a chiseled cave prepared for me in the Zhangzhao Valley. I will go to rest there." In the seventh month of the following year, when the cave was finished, Tuan wrote a declaration in several hundred words. In summary he said, "Your servant Tuan, though old, is approaching the end of his years. It is hard to serve the sagely court. Already during this year, on the 22nd of this month, I shall transform my physical shape in the Zhangzhao Valley at the foot of the Lotus Peak."

When the appointed time arrived he died. For seven days his limbs and body stayed warm, and there was a five-colored cloud closing up the entrance to the cave. It did not dissolve for a whole month.

Tuan loved to study the Book of Changes and was able to explain its every chapter without hesitation. Frequently he spoke of himself as the Master Who Beats the Whirlwind. He wrote a Treatise on Pointing to the Mystery in eighty-one sections, which dealt with matters of gymnastics, self-cultivation, and reverting the cinnabar. Wang Bo, the prime minister of an earlier period, also wrote eighty-one sections in order to clarify their meaning. Beyond that, Tuan wrote Imputed Words of the Three Peaks, Collection of Highest Yang, Plumbing the Depths, and composed over 600 poems.

He was also able to tell other people's intentions in advance. Once, in his hermitage, he had a huge gourd suspended from the wall, when the Taoist Jia Xiufu came for a visit because he desired it in his heart. Tuan knew his secret intentions and told him, "You have only come to me today because you desire my gourd." He called his attendant and had the gourd handed over to him. Xiufu was very much surprised and thought Tuan was in fact a spirit.

At another time, there was a certain Guo Chen who lived in Huayin as a boy. He once stayed overnight in the Cloud Terrace Monastery when, in the middle of the night, Tuan called him and ordered him to hurry back

home. Chen could not quite make up his mind. After a while, Tuan told him, "Now you might as well not go back." The next day Chen returned to his home and found that indeed in the middle of the night his mother had had a heart attack and come close to dying. However, she had felt better after a little while.

The recluse of Huayin, Li Qi, said of himself that he was an official of the Kaiyuan era [713-742]. He was already several hundred years old, and people rarely got to see him. The hermit of Guanxi, Lü Dongbin, was skilled with the sword. Although over a hundred, he looked like a young man, stepped easily and was never sick. He could cover several hundred miles in one moment and was generally thought of as a spirit immortal. All these and more came to the hermitage of Chen Tuan, to the great wonder and astonishment of the people.

In the fourth year of the reign period Dazhong xiangfu [1011], Emperor Zhenzong graced Huanyin with his presence and also visited the Cloud Terrace Monastery. Having looked at the pictures and statues made of Chen Tuan, he graciously exempted the monastery from the land tax.

CHEN TUAN IN HISTORY AND LEGEND

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Chen Tuan in History

Our historical knowledge of Chen Tuan 陳搏, alias Tunan 圖南 is rather scarce.¹ He was born in the latter half of the ninth century in Henan -- allegedly in the very place where Laozi, the later god of religious Taoism, Taishang Laojun 太上老君, came from.² According to more recent interpretations, Chen Tuan came originally from Sichuan, where he left an inscription behind and where various traces of his stay can still be found (see Li 1988a). Between the years 900 and 930 he spent much time wandering around famous mountains, presumably seeking instructions in various Taoist and other arts from withdrawn and learned

1. For a list of scholarly studies on Chen Tuan see the bibliography below.
2. For a study of the early sources on Laozi and his deification during the Han dynasty see Seidel 1969.

masters. During this period he stayed for a longer while on Mount Wudang 武當山 in Hunan, where he practiced Taoist techniques of meditation and gymnastics, as well as dietetics and breathing exercises. He may or may not have been instructed in practices that were later to become famous as the Wudang school of martial arts.

In 937 we find him in Sichuan where he leaves behind an inscription praising the Taoist meditation and breathing methods he learned from a master there. It may be assumed that he then resumed his migrations to settle eventually, probably in the early 940es, on Mount Hua 華山 in Shensi. Here he took care to restore an ancient Taoist settlement which had fallen into disrepair during the restless and destructive last years of the Tang dynasty. The Yuntai guan 雲台觀 (Cloud Terrace Monastery) due to his efforts became a flourishing center again. It was here that he spent the rest of his life -- a considerable span, since he died only in 989, at the alleged age of 118 sui.

Between the 940s and his death in 989 he visited the imperial court twice, although, according to the legends, he met with various emperors quite a number of times: once in 956 under Zhou Shizong 周世宗, and another time in 984 under Song Taizong 宋太宗. At the former occasion, he was asked about the practice of alchemy, presumably to help increase the funds available in the imperial treasury. He replied that he

knew nothing of such matters. At the latter occasion he was awarded the official honorary title Xiyi xiansheng 希夷先生, "Master of the Invisible and the Inaudible," a reference to chapter 14 of the Daode jing. Besides these two incidents which are solidly recorded in the official dynastic records, a few other meetings with high officials can be considered strictly historical.

For example, he once gave a prophesy for Qian Ruoshui 錢若水, stating that this high-ranking official would end his career prematurely and a long time before he expected to do so. More than that, he recognized that Zhang Yong 張詠, although he had failed the imperial examination several times and was ready to give it all up, would have several splendid opportunities to serve the state as a military leader and subduer of rebellions.

His methods of prognostication and worldview were naturally based on his oneness with the Tao, but when he formulated them, he took frequent recourse to the philosophy of the Yijing 易經 (Book of Changes). In this connection he is supposed to have formulated the famous Taiji tu 太極圖 (Diagram of the Great Ultimate) for the first time. He passed his philosophy down to Chong Fang 种放, from whom it was transmitted to Shao

Yong 邵雍 and later to Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 , entering right into the heart of Neo-Confucianism.³

More on the legendary side is his position within the Taoist tradition: He was allegedly taught by the notoriously elusive Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 and a similarly shady character only known as the Hemp-clad Taoist or Mayi dao zhe 麻衣道者 . The former is a popular figure in the Song, but little is known to him any earlier, he is more a hero of merchants and inn-keepers and gained popularity with the aristocracy mainly on the basis of poems with -- more or less -- blatant sexual allusions.⁴ The Hemp-clad Taoist, on the other hand, occurs in a role quite similar to that of Chen Tuan: he predicts (usually correctly) various private or public occurrences and he writes on prognostication and cosmology through the medium of Yijing philosophy. A work entitled Xinfa 心法 (Mind Methods) has been transmitted under his name. It is available in a Jindai bishu 津逮秘書 edition and consists of altogether twenty-four poems which combine Yijing philosophy, physiognomy, and Taoist thought.

3. For a discussion of this part of Neo-Confucian philosophy and Chen Tuan's role see Fung and Bodde 1953: II/440.
4. For a detailed study of his renown under the Northern Song see Baldrian-Hussein 1986. For a discussion of his historicity see Ono 1968.

Early Sources of Chen Tuan Legends

The legends surrounding Chen Tuan consist, at least in the early stages, of a large number of single anecdotes which probably began to circulate already during his lifetime in the tenth century. They were written down in the course of the eleventh century, partly isolated in biji 筆記 sort of reports, partly as coherent biographies purporting to tell all about the master. One may thus assume that, to start with, legends concerning Chen Tuan were heterogeneous and were known to different groups of people in different places.

These various stories are then increasingly integrated into larger chronicles in the course of the following centuries. By the year 1300 a point of satiation is reached: there we have the lengthy account in Zhao Daoyi's 趙道一 Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian 歷世真仙體道通鑑 (A Comprehensive Mirror on Successive Generations of Spirit Immortals and Those Who Embody the Tao; DZ 296, fasc. 138-148; see Boltz 1987: 56-59)⁵ and Zhang Lu's 張輅 Taihua xi yi zhi 太華

5. Texts in the Taoist Canon (Daozang, hereafter abbreviated DZ) are given according to the number of the reduced sixty-volume edition published in Taipei and Kyoto. These numbers coincide with those found in K.M. Schipper, Concordance du Tao Tsang: Titres des ouvrages (Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1975). "Fasc." stands

希夷志 (Record of Master Xiyi of the Great Hua; DZ 306, fasc. 160), dated to the year 1314. After this date, little new is added to the basic corpus of legends. On the other hand, after 1300 one finds a tendency for the stories to fan out again, a tendency of various traditions to put the fame of Master Chen Tuan to good use for their own ends. Among the latter, we find a number of popular Yuan dramas, folk tales, meditation instructions of certain inner alchemical practices, and also the Zen monks who find Chen Tuan's spiritual perspective and knowledge of the future most helpful.

Biji and Early Biographies

Let us go back to the tenth century. The earliest account of Chen Tuan's life is the Lequan ji 樂全集 (Collected Works of the Recluse Lequan) by Zhang Fangping 張方平 (1007-1091) of the year 1078 (see Hervouet 1978: 385-386). This work integrates historical notes on Chen Tuan's visits to the Song court contained in the Taizong huangdi shilu 太宗皇帝實錄 (Chronological Record of Emperor Taizong; Hervouet 1978: 84.), dated to about 1000, as well as a number of local anecdotes told about him in the Huashan area. The life of Chen Tuan as it is recorded here is

for "fascicle" and refers to the volume number of the 1925 Shanghai reprint of the original canon of 1445 (Zhengtong Daozang).

to a large extent identical with what can be said historically about him. However, even in this early work the story of his life is embellished and elaborated by supernatural occurrences.⁶

The text of the Lequan ji is later taken over almost literally by the authors of the official History of the Song Dynasty (Songshi 宋史) which was published in 1345. The account here (457.13420) is then copied in later works such as the Shizhi 史質 (Historical Materials) of the sixteenth, the Songshi xinbian 宋史新編 (New Edition of the Song History) of the seventeenth, and the Yunyang fuzhi 鄖陽府志 (Prefectural Gazetteer of Yunyang) of the nineteenth centuries.

Another early source for the Songshi is the Dongdu shilue 東都事略 (Summary of Events in the Eastern Capital) by Wang Cheng 王稱, dated to the year 1186 (Hervouet 1978: 89-90). The account here follows the same basic pattern as that of the Lequan ji, but the stories quoted to illustrate Chen Tuan's special powers are different. For the first time, this source integrates his prognostications concerning the founding of the Song dynasty and his role in the nomination of Zhenzong as heir-apparent. Both stories are already

6. For a tabulated comparison between the historically known facts of Chen Tuan's life and his biography in the Lequan ji and the Songshi see the enclosed chart.

The Biography of Chen Tuan

<u>Date</u>	<u>Historical</u>	<u>Lequan ji, Songshi</u>
late 9th c.	born in Henan	same meets goddess
900-930	wanderings Mount Wudang	same various teachers
930-934		fails examination
937	inscription in Sichuan	
thereafter	residence on Huashan; master of meditation and physiognomy	same special "sleep" techniques
956	meets Zhou Shizong	same
before 984	tells fortune for Qian Ruoshui	
979-989	teaches <i>Yijing</i> to Chong Fang	
984	meets Song Taizong awarded title Xiyi	same
thereafter	tells fortune for Zhang Yong	
988		prepares his "transformation"
989	death on Mt. Hua	same
1011	Zhenzong on Mt. Hua, honors Chen	same
1051	Taoist report	same

present in earlier biji literature, notably in the Dongxuan bilu 東軒筆錄 (Notes from the Eastern Pavilion) by Wei Tai 魏泰 of about the year 1091 (Hervouet 1978: 102-103).

The same stories are also recorded in Shao Bowen's 邵伯文 (1057-1134) biography of Chen Tuan which he included in two of his works: the Wenjian qianlu 聞見前錄 (Former Record of Things Heard and Seen; Hervouet 1978: 103) and the Yixue bianhuo 易學辨惑 (Examining Doubts Concerning the Study of the Book of Changes). Since his father, Shao Yong, the author of the famous Huangji jingshi shu 皇極經世書 (Supreme Principles Governing the World; Hervouet 1978: 262) stood in direct philosophical lineage of Chen Tuan, he was able to transmit stories and anecdotes otherwise unknown. There are especially his philosophical discussions and prognosticatory talks with other hermits and high officials, reports on incidents that have not made their way into his standard biography, but which seem historically plausible. Examples are his meetings with Chong Fang and Qian Ruoshui.

Chong Fang is already mentioned as a disciple of Chen Tuan in the Yuhu qinghua 玉壺清華 (Elegant Sayings in Yuhu), a text written by the Buddhist Wen Ying 文瑩 and published in 1078 (Hervouet 1978: 101). The same author reports on Chen Tuan's meeting with the military official Zhang Yong in another work: the Xiangshan yelu 湘山野錄 (Record of the Wilderness of

Mount Xiang), dated to the year 1057. The latter anecdote can also be considered historical. Here, in addition, we have yet another story on the founding of the Song dynasty.

The Shengshui yantan lu 澗水燕談錄 (Compilation of Banquet Conversations on the River Sheng) by Wang Pizhi 王闢之 of approximately the year 1090 tells about Chen's meeting with the official Wang Shize 王世則 and his prognostication of the latter's future for the first time (see Hervouet 1978: 102). The same source already embellishes Chen Tuan's audience with Emperor Taizong.

Other Song Sources

While the authors of the biji merely retell attractive stories that they heard at one time or another, Taoist chroniclers tend to emphasize the supernatural aspects of Chen's life. The oldest source of this type, already integrated in the Leguan ji is the report of a Taoist monk from Chen Tuan's monastery, submitted to the throne in 1051. The amazing powers of meditation and the intensity of his withdrawal from the world are described and embellished in this source.

The Shihua zonggui 詩話總龜 (Collection of Magic Phrases from Critics on Poetry) by Ruan Yue 阮閱 of the year 1123 is the earliest organized record of Chen Tuan's poems (Hervouet 1978: 449). Whereas in most

biographical accounts poems are recorded as the standard way in which prognostications and polite exchanges were formulated, here for the first time Chen Tuan is credited specifically with literary fame. To the already known wealth of his literary achievement the text adds the poems on the immortal lady Maonu 毛女 and on the beauty of Mount Hua.

So far the various isolated parts of the Chen Tuan legend. Before the integrated and standardized biographies around the year 1300 mentioned above, there are five additional sources:

First, a text attributed to a person called Pangjue 龐覺, probably a Buddhist. This document is recorded in the great Chinese encyclopedia Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成. Otherwise the author and provenance of this text are not known, but it can be dated to before 1300, because Zhao Daoyi makes use of it. It summarizes a number of historical data, anecdotes, and supernatural occurrences.

Next there are two Taoist hagiographies contained in collections of Lives of the Immortals: first the Sandong gunxian lu 三洞群仙錄 (Records Regarding the Host of the Immortals of the Three Caves; DZ 1248, fasc. 992-995) by Chen Baoguang 陳葆光 of the year 1154; and again the Xuanpin lu 玄品錄 (Record of the Ranks of the Sublime; DZ 781, fasc. 558-559) by Zhang

Tianyu 張天雨 , which is dated to the late thirteenth century.⁷

More than that, there are two general biographies of Chen Tuan which both assemble various stories and occurrences connected with his name without, however, attempting to organize them into a systematized whole. Here we have first of all the venerable Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130-1200) Zhuzi wuchao mingchen yanxing lu 朱子五朝名臣言行錄 (Master Zhu's Collected Anecdotes of Eminent Statesmen of the Five Dynasties) as well as the Gui'erji 貴耳集 (Collection of Matters Elevating the Ears) by Zhang Duanyi 張端義 , dated to 1241-1248 (see Hervouet 1978: 126 and 313).

Later Developments

After the heyday of integration is reached with Zhao Daoyi and Zhang Lu, one can pursue different, and again more isolated strands of the legend. There is, to begin with, a strong Taoist line of texts which take up and reorganize the assembled information on Master Chen. Among these, the Xiaoyao xu jing 逍遙墟經 (Scripture of Rambling Through the Barrens; DZ 1465, fasc. 1081) by Hong Zicheng 洪自誠 of the early Ming and the Liexian quanzhuan 列仙全傳 (Complete

7. On this latter text see Boltz 1987: 60.

Immortals' Biographies) by Wang Shizhen 王世貞 of the year 1652 are of special interest. This lineage culminates in the Huayue zhi 華嶽志 (Gazetteer of Mount Hua) by Li Rong 李榕 of the year 1831. This text combines the traditional Taoist account with literary quotations from the official sources in the lineage of the Songshi.

A completely different lineage is associated especially with the area of southwest China, with Sichuan.⁸ Not mentioned in any of the comprehensive biographies, there is a tradition that Chen Tuan left behind an inscription in a Taoist establishment near Chengdu in the year 937. His presence in this part of China is first recorded by Wen Tong 文同 in his Danyuan ji 丹淵記 (Collection from Danyuan) of the year 1051 (Hervouet 1978: 390). The story is taken up in the Laoxue an biji 老學庵筆記 (Notes of Laoxue an; Hervouet 1978: 308-309) by the famous Song poet Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210) who was among the foremost authorities on Sichuan of his time. He quotes the inscription in full, but it is only with the Songshi jishi 宋詩紀事 (Chronicle of Song Dynasty Poetry) by Li E 李昉 of the sixteen century that the southwestern strand is integrated into the overall picture. Still, since the inscription is recorded as early as it is and since Lu

8. The Sichuan connection has been discussed especially in Li 1988 and 1988a.

You seems to have seen it personally, there is no reason to doubt his actual presence in Sichuan in the 930es.

Chen Tuan in the Popular Mind

Another independent, and yet somewhat interconnected and probably historical tradition is the lineage of physiognomy, xiangshu 相術, i.e., the prognostication method which uses the shape and appearance of a person's body and face to foretell his or her future. Chen Tuan is the grand master of this method, at least in modern times. He has been credited with the ultimate authorship of the Shenxiang guanbian 神相全編 (Complete Guide to Spirit Physiognomy), a book still in use in Taiwan and Japan which was edited in the early Ming dynasty by Yuan Gong 袁拱 (1335-1410) and his son Yuan Zhongche 袁忠徹 (1367-1458).⁹

Within this larger collection, Chen Tuan is quoted frequently and especially connected with a text called Fengjian 風鑑 (Mirror of Auras) of which an earlier and less revised edition is found in a text that can be dated to the early Song: the Yuquan zhaoshen ju 玉官照神局 (Jade Office Instructions on How to Clarify

9. Biographical details on these two famous physiognomists are found in Goodrich and Feng 1976: 1638 and 1629. For further discussion of the Shenxian guanbian see Kohn 1986.

Spirit), allegedly by Song Qiqiu 宋齊邱 of the Southern Tang. Besides this early reference, Chen Tuan and his Fengjian are also mentioned in the Taiping shenjian 太清神鑑 (Great Clarity Mirror of Spirit) of the late Song and in the Renlun datong fu 人倫統賦 (Comprehensive Rhapsody on Human Relations) of the Jin.

Chen Tuan is also credited with a few other works on physiognomy in the earliest collection, the Yuguan zhaoshen ju. His Fengjian is a direct forerunner of the modern physiognomic tradition in the system and methods it proposes. It is systematic in its structure, but not complete in its examples, so that the reader glimpses the oral tradition, if not actual lectures, that lie behind its compilation.¹⁰ Chen Tuan's role in modern physiognomy is so central, the earliest quotations of his physiognomic works are so early, and he is so famous as a prognosticator in the various legends associated with him that his link with this method of form-analysis can be considered based on historical fact. It is interesting, however, to note that his more formal technical role in this tradition was never linked up with his other legends: He was famous as a Taoist who intuitively knew from the forms and the energies what was to come, but as a

10. An extensive discussion and translation of this text is found in Kohn 1988.

master and teacher of physiognomy he was known only within the tradition.

In addition, popular stories about Chen Tuan are found in certain Yuan dynasty dramas such as Sanxing zhao 三星照 (Three Stars Are Shining), Bieyou tian 別有天 (There Is As Yet Another World), and Pantao hui 蟠桃會 (Peach Gathering of Immortals). In the first of these he occurs as a soothsayer who knows everything about the "Three Stars," i.e., wealth, official position, and happiness. In the second, Chen Tuan helps the protagonist who has fled into the mountains and teaches him the secrets of Taoism. In the third, finally, he is already in heaven, a position from where he can take good care of his son and grandson -- imaginary characters, since he never had any offspring in his real life.

The most detailed drama featuring Chen Tuan is Chen Tuan gao wo 陳搏高臥 (The Lofty Sleep of Chen Tuan) by the famous dramatist Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠. Here he is first a common soothsayer who, however, has the good fortune to correctly predict the rise of the Song dynasty. In the second act, he is seen in a Taoist monastery on Mount Hua, from where he is invited to be the guest of the emperor. The latter presents him with an official honorary title. Later, when Chen Tuan retires to his room, a young lady wishes to keep him company. Both persisting, she in her hospitality, he in his desire to "sleep," i.e., enter a meditative

trance (another feat for which his is famous), they spend the night in animated discussion which is later joined by a general who happens to pass by. Only after a long exposition on the Tao and its qualities does he finally get his rest. He hastens to return to the solitude of his mountain in the following morning.

Integrating the Strands

What is amazing about this drama of the Yuan dynasty is not only that it shows the extent to which Chen Tuan was known and popular during that period. Rather, it presents us with a surprisingly accurate view of how he came to be so famous and popular. He was first and foremost a fortune teller, a successful and accurate prognosticator of people's characters and destinies, but also of the fortunes of the state. His recognition of the success of the Song dynasty first caused him to be known outside of his immediate surroundings. Thereby his name was entered in the official court records, and in due course he became the object of a number of eulogies and poems of praise by famous high officials of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

It is safe to say that he was only known locally in the area around Mount Hua in the beginning. Due to his accurate predictions and deep insights into the workings of nature he came to be increasingly popular

not only among the local people but also among higher officials from the capital. He correctly predicted the future of Qian Ruoshui, Zhang Yong, and a number of others who were obviously deeply impressed by his knowledge.

More than that, he also reacted very positively to the founding of the Song dynasty and, upon hearing that the first Song emperor had ascended the throne, proclaimed his assurance that there would be peace in the empire from now on. This position toward the newly founded dynasty was very helpful in legitimizing its take-over of the Heavenly Mandate. He was duly invited to court and given an honorary title. Since, as a Taoist saint, his actions were considered the direct outcome of his oneness with the Tao, since he therefore represented the course of the universe, his acceptance of the imperial invitation meant the cosmic sanction of the Song rule.

While actually at court, he did the emperor honor by expressing his approval of the way he handled the empire. The Taoist, traditionally associated with the role of the imperial adviser who stands above the regular affairs of government and yet holds all the strands, in this situation declined the emperor's request for advice. He thereby showed that this emperor was truly like Yao or Shun, i.e., in his person combined worldly rule and cosmic harmony.

The emperor, as may be expected, deeply appreciated this attitude and encouraged his officials to meet Chen Tuan with all possible honors. His fame spread, courtiers and bureaucrats came to ask his advice and composed eulogies for him. The foundation for his entry into the "Anecdotes of Eminent Statesmen" and, in due course, into the official History of the Song Dynasty was laid.

At the same time, in his more immediate surroundings he came to be known for mainly three different things:

First, again, his prognosticatory abilities which he expressed in the language and systems of physiognomy. At this point in Chinese history, physiognomy was primarily the "art to read the mind's construction in the face" and in the body, but not only this. More generally, it included the systematization of cosmic processes and agents into a universal whole, the recognition of patterns underlying actual, concrete situations and events. Chen Tuan recognized the qi 氣, the cosmic energy, of the future Song emperor, he felt that the seating was not quite right when he met the two future emperors together with an official of lower rank, he was greatly disturbed by the general atmosphere of strife and distrust during the Five Dynasties, and so on. But he did not merely sense these things in a vague manner, he also expressed them in words and gestures and taught their basic rules to

others. The modern tradition of physiognomy claims its beginnings with his teaching.

Second he formulated his insights in the workings of the universe in a more philosophical and cosmological manner. Here he used mainly the concepts of the Yijing as they were transmitted and developed over the centuries. He integrated the principles and terminology of alchemy, employed a great deal of numerical speculation, and drew up diagrams to facilitate understanding. His thought model is typical for the conceptualizations of inner alchemy, which had just begun its development in the tenth century.¹¹ The same model was later continued in the speculation of Shao Yong, one of the early thinkers of Neo-Confucianism.

A third area of renown is his meditation technique. Generally described as "sleep" in the Taoist texts, he practiced a form of inner alchemy which is undertaken while reclining on the back or on one side. Among the earliest stories we find reports that he was lying like dead in his hermitage in the mountains and, upon being brought back to life by a badly frightened fuel gatherer, complained that his "marvelous sleep" was being unnecessarily interrupted. In later accounts he supposedly composed songs of

11. On inner alchemy see Baldrian-Hussein 1984, Needham 1986, and Robinet 1989.

praise for the numinosity and high quality of the "sleep" state, even answering the emperor that no palace in the world could compare with his heavenly visions. The excursions of his soul during "sleep" are detailed by Zhao Daoyi, a lengthy series of meditational exercises is named after him, and -- last not least -- the melody of a popular lullaby is traced back to the snoring of Chen Tuan.

These three special abilities of Chen Tuan were therefore transmitted side by side the official version of his life: among physiognomists, among philosophers, and among the Taoists. Before soon, the strands were integrated. To his fame as fortune teller and legitimizer of the dynasty, the Taoist strand was merged first when the monks of the Yuntai guan submitted an official memorandum in 1051. The earliest biography of Chen Tuan in the Lequan ji of 1078, then, could already draw on both traditions. Next, philosophy entered the picture and Shao Bowen's reports on Chen's life and Yijing speculations published around the middle of the twelfth century added to his fame. Lastly, it was his renown as a master of physiognomy that helped to maintain his popularity to the present day.

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Chen Tuan's Concepts of the Great Ultimate

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The cosmogony of Chen Tuan can be understood most of all from his various diagrams: the Diagram of the Great Ultimate (Taiji tu 太極圖), the River Chart (Hetu 河圖), and the Writ of the Luo River (Luoshu 洛書), both also described as Diagrams of Before Heaven (Xiantian tu 先天圖).

In connection with the Diagram of the Great Ultimate, Chen Tuan answers the question of what and how exactly are the origins of the world. When discussing the other diagrams, he gives an outline of how the universe came into being, describing the process of origination and development. The River Chart and the Writ of the Luo, moreover, show "the numbers of the origin and development of heaven and earth." These two charts represent an integrated system of the various forces of the known world, of yin and yang and the five agents which either produce or overcome each other in continuous cycles. The

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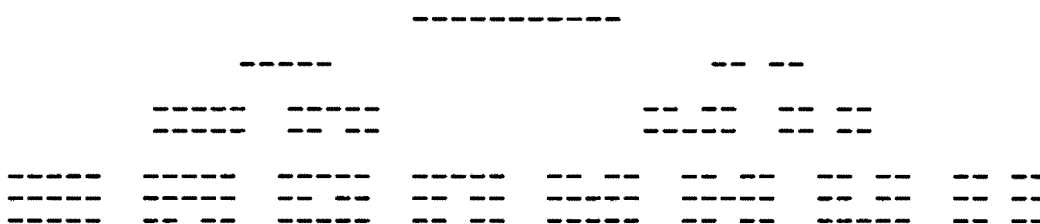
particular power of this systematization is that it arranges and organizes the universe according to numbers, establishing thus a theoretical numerology of creation.

Among all these various charts and diagrams, the Diagram of the Great Ultimate can be described as the head of Chen Tuan's concepts, while all the others form the body. Taken together, the head and the body reveal a materialistic understanding of universal creation that is both philosophically complex and fascinating in its inherent simplicity.

How does the universe come into being? The Xici 繫辭 (Great Appendix) of the Yijing 易經 (Book of Changes), says:

Therefore the changes have a Great Ultimate. This produces the two forces [liangyi, yin and yang], which in turn bring forth the four emblems [sixiang]. These then produce the eight trigrams [bagua].

In a diagram, this system can be depicted as follows:
Fig. 1. The Development of the Eight Trigrams



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Here the Great Ultimate appears as the highest possible form of reality, from which all concrete entities spring through a process of division and separation. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, Han dynasty commentator to the Yijing, explains the Great Ultimate accordingly.

The Tao in a state of Great Ultimate is energy [qi] that is still utterly pure and has not yet been divided. (chap. 7)

Yu Fan 虞翻 of the third century in his commentary to the Yijing equates the Great Ultimate with the Great One.

The Great Ultimate is the Great One. As it divides, heaven and earth are formed, and the two forces and the four emblems are born. The four emblems represent the four seasons. The two forces are Qian and Kun [the trigrams of heaven and earth. (chap. 14)

When these two commentators speak of the state of utter purity, of undivided unity, of the Great One, they refer to a unified oneness of the cosmos at the time before creation and therefore division took place. It is a state when the qi 氣, the cosmic energy from which all arises, is still pure and mingled in chaos (hundun 混沌). The concept of the Great Ultimate in the Xici can therefore be described as a materialistic way of understanding cosmic evolution.

Chen Tuan inherited this concept of Great Ultimate from the tradition of the Yijing and proceeded to link

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it with the cosmology of Taoism. Thus he could develop his own version of how the universe came into being, beginning with the assertion that the Great Ultimate stands at the root of all. For him, the Great Ultimate consists of the combination of yin and yang, the two forces of the Yijing, which in the human body correspond to the inward and outward movement of the breath. It exists before heaven and earth, before the created world, but it exists as a form of qi, of energy, and is thus ultimately a material entity.

At the time when the two forces were not yet divided and remained in a state of undifferentiation, the sun and the moon did not yet shine above and mountains and rivers were not yet created below. The one energy mingled and merged, the myriad energies were in a state of completion. Thus it is called the Great Ultimate.

In other words, Chen Tuan sees the Great Ultimate as an undifferentiated and primordial accumulation of energy. Despite the fact that it existed before the creation of heaven and earth, this undifferentiated clod yet contained the myriad individual kinds of energy in their original form.

This primordial combination of energy is thus called the Great Ultimate, but it is also called the "Changes." In his commentary to the Mayi dao zhe Zhengyi xinf fa 麻衣道者正岬心法 (The Hempclad Taoist's

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Method of the Mind Following His Proper Interpretation of the Changes), Chen Tuan says,

Changes means the Great Change. The Great Change is a cosmic state of energy when it is as yet invisible. You look at it and do not see it, you listen to it and do not hear it, you follow it and do not reach it. Thus we speak of the Great Change. The word "change" therefore is an expression for the invisible and subtle, for the mysterious and empty, for the vague and serene.

In due course the Great Change is transformed into the One, the One is transformed into the seven, the seven into the nine, and the nine in its transformation reverts back to the One. The One is the beginning of all physical transformations.

The pure and light rises up and becomes heaven, the turbid and heavy sinks down and becomes earth, and a mixture of both energies becomes human. This is what we call the Change. Thus we now that the foundations of yin and yang rest with it. (chap. 40)

In a further paragraph Chen Tuan again emphasizes the material nature of this primordial state when he compares the Great Ultimate with the embryo in its mother's womb. It is "the true face that I had before I was born," a expression popular with the Chan masters of the time, but also found in Taoist literature of earlier ages.

To further clarify the exact implications of his concept of the Great Ultimate, Chen Tuan also uses the

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notion of the Non-Ultimate as first found in Laozi's
Daode jing 道德經 .

He who knows the male and keeps to the
female,
Becomes the ravine of the world.
Being the ravine of the world,
He will never depart from eternal virtue,
But returns to a state of infancy.

He who knows the white and yet keeps to the
dark,
Becomes the model for the world.
He will never deviate from eternal virtue,
But returns to the state of the Non-Ultimate.

He who knows glory but keeps to humility,
Becomes the valley of the world.
Being the valley of the world,
He will be proficient in eternal virtue
And returns to the state of simplicity.
(chap. 28)

In these three stanzas the various states of infancy, of the Non-Ultimate, and of simplicity all stand for the sagely realization of the Tao but express it in different ways. Infancy is a state of unknowing and freedom from desires. Simplicity is the way the uncarved block of wood stands in its original state, not yet made into a vessel or object but latently containing all of them. Both the infant and the uncarved wood have physical form and are material in nature. The Non-Ultimate, finally, is explained by Wang Bi 王弼 in his commentary as "what cannot be exhausted." He goes on to say that the Non-Ultimate indicates two major characteristics of the Tao. First,

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it stands for the limitless power of the Tao. Although used every day without end, it will never be exhausted, "it is continuous, seems to be always existing; use it and it will never wear out" (Daode jing 6). Then again the Non-Ultimate stands for the shapelessness of the Tao. It cannot be grasped, "we look at it and do not see it, we listen to it and cannot hear it, we touch it and do not find it, we meet it and do not see its head, we follow it and do not see its back" (Daode jing 14).

The Non-Ultimate in the Daode jing therefore represents the infinity of the Tao, the underlying ground of all creation. However, it does nothing to clarify its inherent structure. Chen Tuan takes over this concept and begins by asserting the material nature of the ground of being. He says:

The Non-Ultimate is a spark of numinous energy of Great Emptiness that arises before the Great Ultimate is broken open. Thus it is described as "look at it and cannot see it, listen to it and cannot hear it."

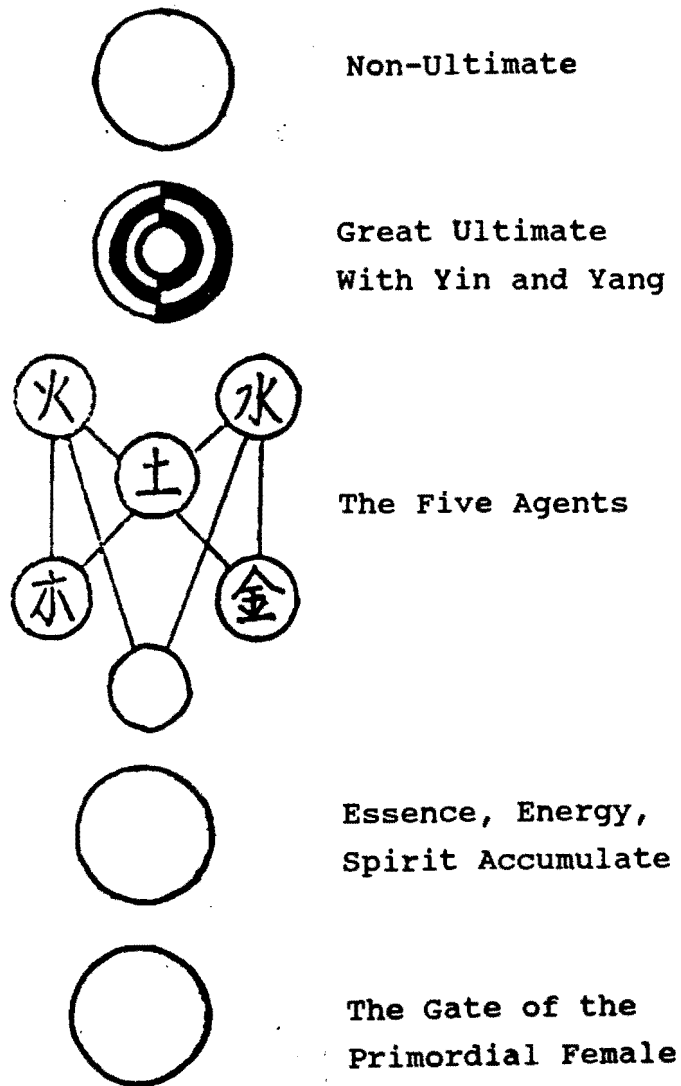
For Chen Tuan, the Non-Ultimate is the deepest source of all existence, and the step from the Non-Ultimate to the Great Ultimate is the first stage of creation of the universe. This stage in human beings corresponds to the development from the embryo to the infant.

Chen's concepts are made clear in his Diagram of the Non-Ultimate (see Fig. 2). Read from top to

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Fig. 2. Chen Tuan's Diagram of the Great Ultimate



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bottom, this diagram shows the development of the universe. Read from bottom to top, it reveals the process of attaining the Tao through refining the elixir in inner alchemy. On the very bottom it shows the "gate of the primordial female," the place where all energy is born. This is the ancestral energy of universal creation. Above this, another empty circle shows the transformation of refined essence into energy, and of refined energy into spirit. Huang Zongyan 黃宗炎 quotes Chen Tuan in his Taiji tu bian 太極圖辯 (Discussion of the Diagram of the Great Ultimate).

First one refines the essence of physical form, then one transforms this into the subtle, vast energy of the universe. Further refining the almost imperceptible energy of inhalation and exhalation, one transforms this into the spirit which can enter and leave being and non-being without obstruction.

As this penetrates the five orbs and six intestines, it merges the various agents into one: fire and wood on the left, metal and water on the right, and earth in the middle are joined into one group. This is called "the five energies court the primordial." When this has been attained in practice, fire and water will couple and bring forth the birth spark of a child.

Then again the light and dark aspects of these two will be merged into one. This is called "taking from Water [the trigram Kan] to fill in Fire [the trigram Li]." Thus the

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immortal embryo is brought forth. This is then further reverted to the primordial beginning and merged into the highest possible unity. This is called "refining the spirit to return to emptiness."

From here one fully returns to the Non-Ultimate and one's efforts have achieved their aim. (Song Yuan xue an, chap. 12)

In this passage Chen Tuan identifies the Non-Ultimate with the highest state of inner alchemical attainment, a feature that is essential to understanding his cosmology and worldview.

With Chen Tuan the two different visions of cosmic origination of the Daode jing and the Yijing, the Non-Ultimate and the Great Ultimate, are joined in one systematic worldview. His synthesis at the same time represents the ongoing tendency of his time to increasingly integrate Taoist thought and Confucian conceptions of the world. However, in achieving his specific combination of ideas, Chen Tuan did not simply add up concepts of old, but created a new vision of Yijing philosophy. In many ways, he is the true founder of Song thought and has rightfully been venerated as one of the ancestors of Neo-Confucianism. As Hao Jing 郝經 of the Yuan dynasty pointed out in the preface to his Zhou Yi waizhuan 周易外傳 (Transmissions of the Book of Changes):

During the Song dynasty a great new development of Confucianism took place. All

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its representatives found it among their first responsibilities to elucidate the Yijing.

Among them, Chen Tuan of Mount Hua first began the tradition. He was followed by Zhou Dunyi of Lianqi Creek and Shao Yong of the Western Capital. They followed in the footsteps of Fu Xi, King Wen of Zhou, and Confucius himself in that they explored the foundations of the Yijing's emblems and numbers.

Later Zhou Dunyi used Chen Tuan's conceptions of the Non-Ultimate and, combining it with the Diagram of the Non-Ultimate developed in the tradition of Taoist longevity ideas, created his own Diagram of the Great Ultimate, which shows the origin of heaven, earth, and the myriad beings. This was transmitted down to Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), who integrated both the Non-Ultimate and the Great Ultimate into one, thereby returning to the original intention of Chen Tuan. However, Zhu Xi interpreted the Non-Ultimate in reference to the formless and signless qualities of principle (li 理), and with this idealistic concept transformed Chen's materialistic philosophy of energy. Though in some ways recovering the ideas of Chen Tuan, he ended by distorting them.

To go back to Chen Tuan's philosophy itself. The Great Ultimate can be seen as representing a materialistic outlook on the world, nevertheless Chen Tuan is in many ways also a representative of a

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spiritual and highly idealistic religious tradition.
He says,

Grand Initiation is the beginning of energy.
It is Qian [the heavenly]. Grand Beginning
is the beginning of form. It is Kun [the
earthly].

In their original natural constitution, they
are not yet mixed, thus the lines of the
hexagrams representing them are all of one
kind. Forever changeless, they are called
the true substance. (Zhengyi xinfu, comm.
20)

Here he reinforces his earlier statements that the two
basic trigrams of heaven and earth are originally
formed through the energy of yin and yang and therefore
constitute a pure and undiluted but truly existing
substance of the world.

On the other hand, Chen Tuan also claims that the
myriad beings, brought forth on the basis of this pure
substance, are polluted and ultimately illusory
phenomena. He says,

The six combination trigrams borrow from Qian
and Kun to attain their substance, while the
hexagrams borrow from the eight trigrams. If
one divides and dissects them, the
combination trigrams as well as all the
hexagrams have no solid structure whatsoever.

If today, with heaven and earth clear and
bright, yin and yang were not mixed, where
would we find any of the combination
trigrams? And if those six combination

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trigrams did no interact, where would there be any things or beings?

Thus we know that all things on earth are merely borrowed from the unified energy of yin and yang. They are empty illusion and have no solid reality whatsoever. (Zhengyi xinfu, comm. 21)

The notion that all existing things are ultimately empty phenomena goes back to the Buddhist concept of dependent origination. Everything that is has a cause that brought it forth, the cause itself is caused by something else, and so on. There is no solidity at all among created beings, all people, all identity is based on a borrowed existence. Zong Mi 宗密 of the late Tang dynasty describes it fittingly in his Yuanren lun 原人論 (On the Origin of Humanity).

This body is a phenomenon that arises on the basis of the combination of a multiplicity of causes. Originally there is no such thing as "I".

Chen Tuan therefore uses a Buddhist outlook in his understanding of the world and thereby in many ways negates his own claim to the originally material nature of all existence. This synthesis, though apparently contradictory, is in many ways significant for his worldview as a practicing Taoist and immediately depends on the society and time in which he lived.

The late Tang and Five Dynasties' periods were a time of great unrest and strife, during which a large

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number of feudal rulers and local warlords engaged in severe fighting to establish their various claims to power and superiority. To speak with Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, author of the Wudai shi 五代史 (History of the Five Dynasties), it was a time when "the whole world was in grave disorder, and when rebellion and regicide were commonplace all over the middle kingdom." In the fifty-three years of discord, "thirteen rulers of five different clans were in power, eight lost their kingdoms and were slain; the oldest among them was ten years old, but many died already at age three or four." It was a time when "kings were established like appointing attendants, when people changed kingdoms like moving house." Great disorder prevailed everywhere. Society underwent rapid changes and no individual's fate was safe.

All this made a deep impression on Chen Tuan. Analyzing the situation he came to the conclusion that all in the world was change and transformation, that "life after life there is no rest, all continues to transform in myriad different ways." Within this universe of uninterrupted and never ending change, beings come to life, flourish, decay, and die, and there is none that would ever be able to escape this course.

The sun and the moon keep moving for a long time, but eventually they grow dark and cold, mountains and rivers exist for a long time, but eventually they tumble down or dry.

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People and all living beings live through many ages, but eventually they decline and face destruction, the transformations of energy continue for numerous cycles, but eventually they falter and disperse.

The only real universe was to be found in the ever renewing and replacing process of transformation. Forced to accept and acknowledge this, Chen Tuan faced the continuous change with his rational mind. But how, then, should one deal with the change? Concluding that the change is ultimately an illusion, that all people and beings of the world are the mere phenomenal outcome of everlasting transformation, he established an idealistic position. This in turn led to his concept of "maintaining tranquility." He states categorically that, however much the Yijing goes beyond phenomena, it always remains a book of change. Its inherent qualities can never reach to the true permanence of the meditative state of "guarding the One" or the underlying reality of qi, the Great Ultimate. Reasserting the fundamentally stable nature of the cosmos, Chen Tuan thus resumes his position of a materialistic understanding of the world.

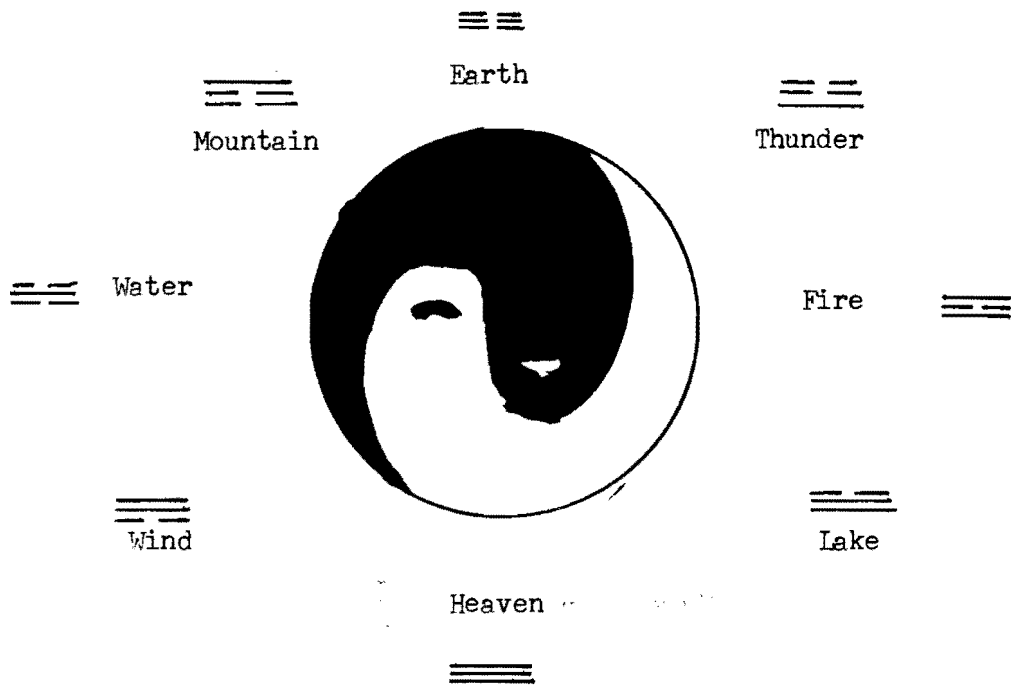
Within his conception of the Great Ultimate, Chen Tuan furthermore analyzes the universe in terms of the dialectic forces yin and yang. Also describing his Diagram of the Great Ultimate as the "Diagram of the Natural So-being of Heaven and Earth" (Tiandi ziran tu 天地自然圖), he depicts it as a circle half white and

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half black, which however contains a speck of black in the white area and a speck of white in the overall black part.

Figure 3. Chen Tuan's
Diagram of the Natural So-being of Heaven and Earth



The white and black parts of this diagram represent the two forces yin and yang. In other words, within the Great Ultimate there are the two opposing powers yin and yang which face and encircle and, to a

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limited degree, even contain each other. The mutual interdependence of all opposites is illustrated here. You contain a little bit of me, and I contain a little bit of you. Without you there would be no me, without me there would be no you. All opposites ultimately belong to each other, complete each other, nourish each other. They form one body, just as head and tail are part of one whole. As the Huangji jingshi xinyi fawei 皇極經世心易發微 (Bringing Forth the Essentials and Subtleties of the "Supreme Principles Governing the World") has it,

Yin and yang interact mutually, movement and rest depend on each other, in every single thing they sprout forth, wondrously emerging from spontaneous so-being. (chap. 1)

Yin and yang, mutually opposite and confronting each other, also interpenetrate.

Within the structure of the eight trigrams as they are attached to this system, yang first arises on the left, from the position of Thunder in the northeast. It then passes through the Fire in the east and Lake in the southeast to the position of perfect yang, of Heaven in the south. From here, yang, having achieved its highest perfection through movement, returns to tranquility and rests. It is transformed into yin, which first arises in the position of Wind in the southwest. It then passes through Water in the west and Mountain in the northwest to reach its perfection

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in the position of Earth in the north. Having thus reached its highest attainment through movement, yin turns to tranquility and rests while yang arises anew (see Fig. 3).

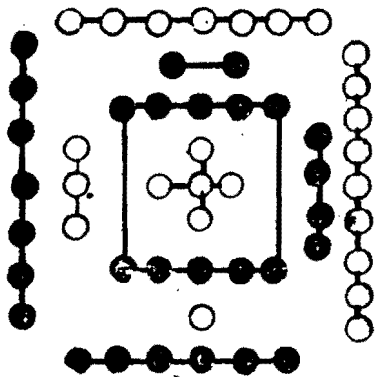
Whenever the movement has reached its peak, tranquility follows, when yang has attained its proper position, it turns into yin, and vice versa. All existence is structured like this, yin and yang follow each other, movement and rest complete each other, rise and decline alternate throughout life and history. Everything and everybody in nucleus is like the Great Ultimate in that it contains both the yin and yang within, yet at the same time life beyond the level of the underlying ground is nothing but contradiction and transformation of two opposite and yet complementary forces.

The complexity of the universe is further illustrated in Chen Tuan's River Chart and Writ of the Luo (see Fig. 4). Using a number system based on the Yijing concept of that emblems, numbers, and principle form one integrated cosmic structure, these diagrams choose numbers to document the workings of the world. They both use the five agents (wuxing 五行) for this purpose, but where the River Chart shows the five agents as they produce each other, the Writ of the Luo illustrates their overcoming cycle. Both taken together represent the integrated interaction of yin

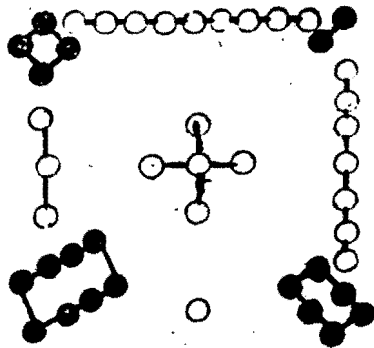
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Fig. 4. The River Chart and the Writ of the Luo



		7			
		2			
8	3	5	10	4	9
		1			
		6			



4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

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and yang on the more complex level of worldly existence.

In the River Chart, the odd numbers stand for yang, the even numbers for yin. Chen Tuan explains,

The one of heaven together with the six of earth form water, the trigrams Qian and Kan are joined and water is produced from metal. This is the winter solstice.

The two of earth together with the seven of heaven form fire, the trigrams Sun and Li are joined and fire is produced from wood. This is the summer solstice.

The three of heaven together with the eight of earth form wood, the trigrams Gen and Zhen are joined and wood is produced from water. This is the spring equinox.

The four of earth together with the nine of heaven form metal, the trigrams Kun and Dui are joined and metal is produced from earth. This is the autumn equinox.

The five of heaven together with the ten of earth form earth, resting with this combination earth is produced from fire. All this describes the formation of beings. (Zhenqiyi xinfa, comm. 37)

The River Chart focuses on the numbers of life, thus one to five are on the inside and six to ten are on the outside.

One and six form water and are located in the north.

Two and seven form fire and are located in the south.

Three and eight form wood and are located in the east.

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Four and nine form metal and are located in the west. Five and ten form earth and are located in the center. All numbers, odd and even, complement and support each other, thus the five agents can be produced.

In the Writ of the Luo, the relationship among the numbers is reversed, since it shows the overcoming and destructive cycle of the five agents. Where the subtraction of the first number from the second in the River Chart always produced five, a yang number and symbol of life and of earth, the addition of the two numbers in the Writ of the Luo always results in ten, a yin number of finality and overcoming. Within the Writ, the numbers coupled in the River Chart are still placed side by side, but now their joint products overcome each other in a circular movement from left to right. Water (one and six) overcomes fire (two and seven), fire overcomes metal (four and nine), metal overcomes wood (three and eight), and wood overcomes earth (five).

The cycles of the world, consisting of eternal transformations follow the rhythms of the five agents established in these two diagrams. Taken together with the Diagram of the Great Ultimate and its correlative, the Non-Ultimate, the complex and comprehensive worldview of Chen Tuan begins to emerge. The universe in its root is material, all is qi, cosmic energy, and the world as we know it evolves from its transformation and change.

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While the Non-Ultimate is still void of structure and division, the cosmic energy in the state of the Great Ultimate already contains the twofold division into yin and yang. First latent then ever more apparent, yin and yang appear. They divided further into the four emblems and the eight trigrams which in turn are associated not only with the rhythmical rise and fall yin and yang but also with the cyclical interaction of the five agents. All and everything results from the transformation of the one cosmic energy, the only thing that is truly real, and all returns to it. Events and things of this world are only transitory and therefore illusory as far as the underlying ground of being is concerned. Chen Tuan thus integrates the idealistic position of Buddhism into his basically materialistic understanding of the universe. He furthermore expresses his religious commitment in his vision of the return to primal energy through inner-alchemical transformation. The Diagram of the Great Ultimate shows the origination of the universe. It also reveals the Taoist way to spiritual attainment.

**CHEN TUAN'S VENERATION OF THE DHARMA:
A STUDY IN HAGIOGRAPHIC MODIFICATION**

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Introduction:

Virtually from the time of its introduction into China, Buddhism has developed along side of the indigenous Daoist religion in a state of interaction and mutual influence. The doctrinal and institutional boundaries of the two religions were at all times exceedingly fluid. There has often been a tendency to take a cynical view of the extensive inter-borrowing which took place between the two religions. Many have considered that it compromised the credibility and original "purity" of both. Now that religious historians have exposed the fallacy of doctrinal purity, both in the context of East Asia and elsewhere, we are able take a more positive view of religious inter-borrowing. We might characterize it as a process of cross-fertilization, a creative process which allows for innovation and enrichment. Indeed, there seems no question that throughout the course of Chinese history both Buddhism and Daoism grew and adapted to new situations with greater facility precisely because they were able and willing to borrow from each other.

A little known text compiled largely by Chinese and Japanese Buddhist monks residing in Japan during the early eighteenth century provides us with an interesting case in the history of borrowing and accommodation between Buddhism and Daoism. The text contains descriptions and records of communication between the monks of a major Buddhist temple

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in the Fuzhou region in northern Fujian and the Daoist immortal, Chen Tuan 陳搏, through the medium of spirit-writing.¹ Although there are a number of intriguing areas into which this material potentially leads us, my intention here is to observe how members of one group of élite Buddhist monks welcomed a Daoist saint into their company. We will explore the manner in which the character of Chen Tuan was interpreted by these monks and their Japanese patrons and associates. Such a study allows us a glimpse one form of inter-religious accommodation, that of hagiographic modification.

The Obaku Monks and the Tōzuihen:

The text from which most of the raw material for this study originates is entitled the *Tozuihen* 桃蕊編,² or the *Peach Blossom Collection*. The Chinese monks who were primarily responsible for the contents of this text were all members of the Sino-Japanese Obaku Zen sect 黃檗禪.³ They had formerly lived at the Wanfu Temple 萬福寺 on Mount Huangbo 黃檗山 near Fuzhou. It was from this temple that they had emigrated to Japan as missionaries. The *Tōzuihen* was compiled in 1705 under the auspices of the Japanese Imperial family and in particular, the retired emperor Reigen. It is comprised of 35 articles, mostly composed by the monks of the Obaku sect, but also by Japanese scholar-officials and members of the imperial family. The Emperor Reigen himself provided a preface and an eminent monk of the Tendai sect⁴ added a postface. The text is intended to introduce the practice of spirit-writing and to describe how the Immortal Chen Tuan communicated with the monks through this medium. There are also a number of articles which relate the manner in which certain members of

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the Japanese imperial family came to be acquainted with Chen Tuan or his work.

The initial reason for the commissioning of the *Tōzuihen* was related to an oracle that Chen Tuan had given to the founder of the Obaku sect in Japan, Yinyuan longqi 隱元 隆琦 (J. Ingen Ryūki) before he embarked on his journey to Japan. This oracle was interpreted to contain a prediction of the birth of the Emperor Reigen two years previous to its occurrence. A great deal of space in the *Tōzuihen* is thus naturally devoted to this oracle. The monks also tell of various occasions upon which they had dealings with Chen Tuan or other Daoist spirits. Their accounts reveal a vision of Chen Tuan which varies from traditional hagiographic accounts in a number of significant ways.

Chen Tuan at Mount Huangbo:

While residing in their native Fujian, Yinyuan and his followers had, like many literate Chinese of their day, taken an active part in spirit-writing seances. Their most respected contact in the realm of the spirits was Chen Tuan. This was despite the fact that there had for many centuries been a strong local cult of the He Brothers who also communicated with mortals through spirit-writing.⁵ Chen Tuan was a relative newcomer to the area, having arrived in the mid-17th century. His popularity among the Huangbo monks was probably due in part to his personal prestige and in part to the skill of a particular medium who specialized in communicating with him.⁶

From the tone of many of the articles in the *Tōzuihen* we are given the impression that if the prediction of Reigen's birth had not been made by a pre-eminent figure such as Chen

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Tuan it would not have held so much fascination for the Japanese imperial family. Although Chen Tuan had lived during the tenth century and was most closely associated with Mount Hua and with Mount Wudang, where the physical remnants of a major cult devoted to him may still be found, his reputation had continued to grow and spread during Ming Dynasty. His popularity as a familiar in spirit-writing cults was both cause and effect of his growing reputation.

It is evident that those who communicated with the spirit believed that they were dealing with the real Chen Tuan. As Dazhong daogui explains, "He (Chen Tuan) made his appearance at the end of the Tang and, although he no longer manifests his face or form, right up until the end of the Ming and the beginning of Qing (*i.e.* the present) whenever there are those who wish to invite him he will write compositions for them. If he is awaited amid the mountain forests he will ride the cloudy vapours, descend to that place and take to the *ji*."⁷ The monks at the Wanfu Temple maintained, moreover, that Chen Tuan had actually moved from Mount Wudang to take up residence at Mount Shizhu 石竹山, very close to their monastery on Mount Huangbo. This move was thought to have taken place some fifty years previous to Yinyuan's trip to Japan.⁸

Chen Tuan's Religious Identity:

The question of Chen Tuan's religious identity in the minds of the authors of the *Tōzuihen* is a complex one. When Chen Tuan moved to Mount Shizhu, he naturally brought with him all of the outstanding qualities which he had demonstrated during his lifetime among men and during his subsequent career as a transcendent spirit. These qualities were, of course, related to Daoist practice. The Obaku monks found no difficulty in

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placing Chen Tuan among the ranks of Daoist adepts rather than among former Buddhist saints. They were well aware of his credentials and expressed their admiration for his Daoist accomplishments. He is referred to as "a scholar who embraced the Dao," as "an immortal who possessed the Dao"⁹ and as a "True Immortal."¹⁰

The Japanese patrons of the monks also recognized that Chen Tuan was a Daoist immortal who possessed very refined and lofty talents. Imperial Counsellor Kadenokoji Akimitsu in reference to Chen Tuan's prediction of Reigen's birth carefully notes that while it is not surprising that the the birth of such an extraordinary ruler as Reigen would have been known to spirits in China, only a spirit with the finely tuned prescience of Chen Tuan could have had foreknowledge of the birth.¹¹ An anecdote provided by the illustrious Prince Shinkei 真敬親王, master of the Ichijō Palace, demonstrates, moreover, that Japanese literati were familiar with the particular traits which distinguished Daoist immortals from other divine creatures. In the spring of 1699, the Prince was visited in a dream by an unidentified spirit. He tells us that despite the fact that the spirit did not show its face or body he was able to determine that this was probably Chen Tuan. The spirit had given him a piece of paper on which was written; "The pneumae of three thousand realms, a body of seven hundred years." The Prince had heard that "to consume the pneumae and extend one's years was one of the important techniques of the immortal spirits," thus this was most likely a communication from "the immortal Chen Bo."¹²

The extensive compilation of historical and hagiographic material concerning Chen Tuan made by Kadenokoji Akimitsu¹³ shows most clearly that Japanese scholars were hardly, if at

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all, less familiar with the sources of the saint's legend than were their Chinese counterparts. These men knew that Chen Tuan was a Daoist, rather than a Confucian or a Buddhist, and despite being Buddhists themselves, they were generous in their expressions of admiration for his achievements and virtues. Considering the adversarial relationship which existed between Daoism and Buddhism during many eras of Chinese history this may strike us as perplexing. We are led to ask how these men viewed the relationship of Buddhism and Daoism

Daoist Immortals and Buddhism:

It is apparent that if any of the Obaku monks harboured a strong bias against Daoism, they were not about to tarnish the image of Chen Tuan by openly expressing such a bias to their imperial patrons. On the contrary, the authors of the *Tōzuihen* took considerable pains to provide examples of the mutual compatibility of Buddhism and Daoism. A large part of Gatsutan's "Questions About Immortals"¹⁴ in particular, is devoted to demonstrating this idea. Gatsutan first argues that immortals (*xian* 仙) are part of the Buddhist pantheon. He justifies this by maintaining that the *ṛṣi* referred to in Sanskrit texts are the equivalent of Chinese *xian* immortals. *Ṛṣi* like *xian*, he notes, can make themselves invisible and often lodge in the mountain forests. They take immortality drugs and may ascend to the heavens where they serve their master Asita. In all of these respects but the last they resemble *xian* immortals. But the analogy of *ṛṣi* to *xian* breaks down in other important ways. *Ṛṣi* occupy a position above men but below the *devas* in the Buddhist order of being. They are thus not considered perfectly enlightened and must

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practice meditation in order to avoid relegation to the realm of men.¹⁵ Although the Daoist texts are far from unified in their typology of *xian*, there is no question that *xian* constituted a much broader category of beings than *r̄ṣi*. There were many different types of *xian*. Some were only slightly less earthbound than ordinary men, others had attained impressive levels of physical and spiritual perfection and occupied lofty positions in the heavens.¹⁶ In the minds of most lay Chinese, *xian*-hood was the ultimate goal of Daoist practitioners. It would appear then, that by equating *xian* to *r̄ṣi*, Gatsutan, and doubtless other Buddhists too, meant to belittle the spiritual goals of Daoism. Gatsutan reinforces this impression by including in his article a story of how, 250 years after the Buddha entered nirvāṇa, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī converted 500 *xian* whom he encountered in the Himalayas.¹⁷ This might be seen as none-too-subtle evidence that however compatible Buddhism and Daoism were, it was the former religion which potentially led to a higher level of spiritual attainment.

The inherent superiority of Buddhism is also implicit in a series of stories recounted by Gatsutan. The theme of these accounts is the belief in Buddhism on the part of a number of eminent Daoists. Gatsutan mentions Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (452-536), Lǚ Dongbin 呂洞賓 (late 8th cent.?) and Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (d.1038?). The first, who was the founder of the Maoshan sect of Daoism, is described as a Daoist who was a Buddhist at heart. Gatsutan notes that Tao once took the first five of the ten Buddhist vows and built a pagoda at his residence.¹⁸ The latter two figures were both semi-legendary figures in the reformation of Daoism during the late Tang and Song Dynasties. This movement indeed felt a strong influence

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from Buddhism, and particularly Chan practice. According to the evidence quoted by Gatsutan, both of these men not only were influenced by Buddhism, but actually converted to the faith after finding it superior to Daoism.¹⁹ Their conversion was considered to be an indication of their exceptional wisdom and spiritual strength. In Gatsutan's words; "There have been many past and present who have taken drugs and refined their bodies, but only these two gentlemen were not satisfied with the ends attained thereby. They turned their minds toward the original Way (Buddhism) and thus transcended the Three Realms. Wasn't this [because of] their great powers?!"²⁰

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Chen Tuan apparently had never demonstrated any inclination to give up Daoism in favour of Buddhism during his mortal existence. By the time he arrived at Mount Shizhu, however, he had come to venerate the latter faith profoundly. As with the Daoist figures mentioned above, this added to his reputation. It also qualified him as a "truly divine immortal" (*zhen shenxian* 真神仙)²¹ We find evidence of Chen Tuan's new-found faith in many aspects of his life at Mount Shizhu and Mount Huangbo. Something immediately noted by the Emperor Reigen were the new names which he had adopted. Aside from changing his personal name from Tuan to Bo 博, he altered his cognomen, or *zi*, from Tu'nán 圖南 (Thinking of the South) to Wuyan 無煙 (No-smoke).²² Aware that such changes were probably significant, the Emperor asked the monks for an explanation. Both Dazhong daogui and Gatsutan attempted answers, but only the latter monk provides us with a credible response. He reminds us that the referents of Chen's original names were classically Daoist. The character *Tuan* and the

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binome *Tu'nan* are both found in the first chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. The expressions are employed in the description of the Peng bird which uses the forces of the earth and sky to undertake its ecstatic journey to the southern oceans. The Peng bird is one of *Zhuangzi's* images of an immortal or transcendent. Gatsutan does not give us an explanation of the title Master Xiyi (*Xiyi xiansheng* 希夷先生) given to Chen late in life by the Song emperor Taizong. We know, nonetheless, that the term *xiyi*, or "invisible and inaudible," is found in Chapter 14 of the *Daode jing* and is a combination of two epithets attached to the Dao itself. This reinforces the image of Chen Tuan as a Daoist practitioner and transcendent who had so perfected the various physical and psychological techniques that he had reached the point of return to the Nameless and undefinable source of all life, the Dao.

Gatsutan tells us that the names which Chen Tuan assumed when he appeared among the Buddhist monks of Mount Huangbo, Chen Bo, and Master No-smoke, are both related to a single image, that of the ashes in a particular kind of incense-burner. The character *Bo* is interpreted to refer to the mountain-shaped incense-burners, or *Boshan lu* 博山爐, used in Chinese religious rituals. "No smoke" alludes to the heaped the ashes of the burnt incense inside the bronze bowl of the incense-burner. To Gatsutan these ashes were symbolic of the divine immortal's attainment of the Dao. This achievement meant that the immortal had reached "the state of Great Repose and No-mind." This, he feels is far more appropriate than Chen's original name, *Tu'nan*, which implies no more than "studying the earth and planning to go south."²³

Gatsutan's evaluations must carry considerable weight, but we cannot help but feel that this last idea seems strained. Is

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it perhaps not unreasonable to assume that Chen Tuan's new names had a Buddhist, rather than Daoist, significance. Following this line of reasoning we could easily maintain that the ashes in the incense burner symbolized the accumulation of the lifeless remnants of former lives. Into the ashes are thrust the burning incense sticks. In Buddhist terms 'burning' or 'thirsting' are the standard expressions for being alive in this world of grime and dust, for continuing to suffer from passions and desires, and from an attachment to life and a fear of death. The term *wuyan*, or "no smoke," then would allude to the extinction of 'burning.' This is the condition of being beyond life and death and existing in nirvana. In the context of Buddhism 'No smoke' is also seen to represent the state of "no-mind" (*wuxin* 無心), but this is equated with "True Mind" or "True Knowledge," qualities essential to the attainment of ultimate release from the cycle of birth and death. If our assumptions are correct then we may see the significance of these new names in the assumption that they cast Chen Tuan in a distinctly Buddhist light. It meant that he was ready to serve as a companion and a guide to the monks of Huangbo on their path to salvation.²⁴

Before coming to Mount Huangbo Chen Tuan had established a reputation as a prophet and diviner.²⁵ For this reason the monks often asked him about the future and the advisability of undertaking certain actions. The oracle which Yinyuan requested in regard to his proposed trip to Japan is an excellent example of this. The accounts in the *Tōzuihen* show that some time in the six and a half centuries since his mundane existence Chen had acquired new skills and knowledge. We find an example of this in the story of a young monk named Nanyuan who accompanied Yinyuan to a spirit-

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writing session with the Immortal. After responding to several of Nanyuan's questions, Chen voluntarily told Nanyuan that his parents from a previous incarnation still lived in a certain neighbourhood in Fuzhou. He also told the young monk what his former parents' names were now. Nanyuan was curious to verify this information and visited the place described by Chen. To his amazement the old couple were indeed to be found there.²⁶ The ability to see into other people's previous incarnations was one of the Five Supernatural Powers (*Wushentong* 五神通) which might be attained through Buddhist meditation as well as through non-Buddhist means such as drugs and incantations. We are not given any indication as to how Chen Tuan gained this power, but its mere possession lends him a Buddhist coloration.

In another case, we find Chen Tuan functioning as a doctor who recognizes the power of the recitation of Buddhist sutras. It seems that an astrologer had told Dugong xingshi, also a young disciple of Yinyuan's, that he would only live to be thirty unless he undertook some kind of physical and spiritual cultivation. Dugong consulted Chen Tuan who confirmed the astrologer's diagnosis. To help the monk counteract this unfortunate fate, Chen wrote out an apotropaic talisman and advised Dugong to recite the Diamond Sutra everyday. Dugong followed the advice and as a result eventually lived to be sixty-five.²⁷

Chen Tuan was also a great teacher and he used spirit-writing to convey moral and spiritual truth. Through his teachings he displayed a deep veneration of the Buddhist *Dharma*. Chen Tuan was especially known for his compassion and for his exhortations against the taking of life. Gaoquan

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xingdun 高泉性敦 provides us with a story which serves as a graphic example of how Chen promoted such principles:

"Once a butcher approached the spirit to ask for advice and help. Chen urged him to change his occupation but the butcher protested: "I am already skilled in my trade, how can I change it? In fact, even today there is an ox which I must slaughter." The spirit said: "If you cannot change, I have an *upāya* (contingency method) for you." Thereupon he wrote out two talismans and gave them to the butcher saying: "You must wear one in your top-knot and the other you must paste to the ox's horn. You can leave the slaughter until tomorrow." The butcher received the orders and left. That night he dreamt that he was himself an ox pulling a plough in the field. The sun was hot and his body was so tired that it was impossible to move the plough . But someone came and whipped him until the pain was unbearable. What was worse, he could see that his body was that of an ox, but his mind was still clearly a man's. He was trying to hold back his indignation when a butcher arrived and was about to slaughter him. Now his bitter resentment took on a myriad forms and tears flowed from his eyes like rain. He didn't know how he had brought this upon himself. Even though he wanted to beg mercy his mouth could not speak. Then he saw the butcher take up a great mallet to strike his head. With the first blow he gave a great bellow and awoke in a state of tremendous agitation. It was then that he first experienced a great enlightenment. The next

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day he hurriedly went to the spirit's temple. When the spirit saw him coming he wrote words which asked him; "Why aren't you slaughtering that ox today?" The butcher replied; "From this day hence I swear that I shall never slaughter another ox. If I have no means of livelihood I would rather beg from my food!" All those that saw or heard of this incident abstained from killing henceforth."²⁸

Although there is nothing in this story which runs contrary to Daoist principles, the Chen Tuan whom we find here is motivated by a distinctly Buddhist concern for the preservation of sentient life. This concern obviously met with the approval of the Obaku monks. Several of the articles in the *Tōzuihen* mention that Chen Tuan often admonished people to be compassionate and not to kill living creatures. In the poems which he wrote for Yinyuan and his disciples Chen Tuan showed that he understood and respected many other aspects of Buddhist doctrine. On occasion he even imitated the poetry of the Tang Dynasty founder of the Huangbo lineage, Huangbo xiyun 黄檗希運,²⁹ thus demonstrating that he was also familiar with local Buddhist history. Such accomplishments brought him many commendations from the monks and earned him a reputation as, "an immortal who truly possesses the Way."³⁰

The Influence of the *Sanjiao heyi* Movement:

The idea that veneration of the *Dharma* qualified Chen Tuan as a true possessor of the Way is an indication of doctrinal accommodation on the part of the Obaku monks. Throughout the *Tōzuihen* we find more direct evidence that, far from merely accepting Daoism as compatible with Buddhism, these monks believed that Buddhism, Daoism and also Confucianism were

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essentially parts of a single spiritual system. One monk, after comparing the prescience of Chen Tuan to the superhuman powers of Buddhist divinities states that "the Way of the Buddha and the principles of the immortals are mutually interpretable and of one and the same intent."³¹ Perhaps more significant are the sentiments expressed in the final encomium for the *Tōzuihen* by the monk Hyakusetsu. Hyakusetsu maintains that the teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism are complimentary and parallel. He characterizes the three doctrines as being like the legs on a tripod--they are separate, but they all emanate from the homogeneous primordial pneuma of the heavens (*qianyuan yiqi* 乾元一氣).³² This betrays an attitude of catholicity which we may assume owes something to the "Three Teachings in One" (*sanjiao heyi* 三教合一) movement of the Ming Dynasty.³³

It has long been accepted that the "Three Teachings in One" movement was highly influential among the Confucian élite of the Ming period. For some of these scholars it almost constituted a new and separate system of belief wherein all three teachings were seen as parallel and equal representatives of a single spiritual "Way." The manner in which the ideas of the movement (if we may call it a "movement") were received and dealt with by members of the Buddhist and Daoist communities has been less well documented. The material found in the *Tōzuihen* is thus significant in that it shows us first-hand how a particular group of Buddhist monks and their Japanese patrons were able to accept the concept of the unity of Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism while still holding fast to their belief in the ultimate superiority of Buddhism.

The *Tōzuihen* was not, however, an exercise primarily intended to substantiate the theories of *Sanjiao heyi*. On the

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contrary, references to *Sanjiao heyi* appear to have been made in order to justify the accommodation of a Daoist saint, Chen Tuan, within the pantheon of divinities recognized and venerated by the Obaku monks. These monks, having largely come from literati families in the Fuzhou region where the practice of spirit-writing was wide-spread, would have found it almost second nature to continue this practice despite their initiation into monastic Buddhist. The many spirits who descended to the planchette were a part of the cosmology which they brought with them to the monastery. This cosmology was not consistent with orthodox Buddhist doctrine, but rather than give it up entirely, the monks turned to the theories of *Sanjiao heyi* for help in saving them from feelings of heterodoxy.

Conclusion:

The manner in which the spiritual persona of the immortal Chen Tuan was modified and "Buddhisized" may be seen as an example of the creative interaction between two religions. In particular it shows us how hagiographic adaptation allowed the followers of one religion to adopt an important figure from another religion without completely revising the ideas and values which he traditionally represented. Chen Tuan was never denied his Daoist virtues or skills. He remained primarily a Daoist figure. When he appeared among the Obaku monks, however, he had been cast in a new light, a light which made him more acceptable to followers of Buddhism. Through subtle changes in his name, through the attribution of new supernatural skills and teachings, all of which were of plainly Buddhist origin, Chen Tuan became a new kind of saint--a Daoist saint who had progressed to an implicit belief in the superiority of Buddhism.

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And in the eyes of the Obaku monks the key word was progress--spiritual progress--for Chen Tuan was to them still a living being who was capable of change. Despite the fact that he had passed from mundane existence into the realm of immortal spirits he had never ceased to pursue a course of spiritual development. This course led ultimately to the Buddhist *Dharma* in the same way as it had for Daoist figures in the past. On the one hand, this represented a strong affirmation of the validity and power of the *Dharma*. On the other hand, because Chen Tuan preserved his originally Daoist qualities, the monks were in a sense free to indulge their native interest in the traditions and goals of a religion which had become so much a part of the heritage of every Chinese.

Notes:

¹My forthcoming article "Chen Tuan at Mount Huangbo: A Spirit-writing Cult in Late Ming China" *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* Summer, 1990, contains a more in depth evaluation of the nature and significance of these spirit-writing activities.

²The edition of the *Tōzuihen* to which all references pertain is manuscript copy in three fascicles held in the Japanese National Diet Library in Tokyo. I have referred to the authors, the title of the article, its number in the sequence of articles, its fascicle (A,B,C) and the page number in the fascicle. The page numbering is my own as the original is not numbered. In the footnotes, the *Tōzuihen* will be abbreviated as *TZH*. Although I have given the names of the Japanese authors in

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Japanese pronunciation and the Chinese authors in Chinese pronunciation, the titles of the articles are all given in Chinese pronunciation.

³Obaku Zen is the Japanese pronunciation of Huangbo chan.

⁴The monk's name was Gyōken 堯憲.

⁵The He Brothers had reputedly attained immortality in the Fuzhou region during the Han Dynasty. The major Daoist temple in Fuqing county, where Mount Huangbo was located, was devoted to them. It was only natural that when spirit-writing was introduced into Fuqing (in the Song Dynasty according to one monk)the He Brothers would figure prominently among the various spirit familiars. See Tetsugyu doki 鉄牛道機 *Chenxian shishi*, (Facts about Immortal Chen)TZH #5, A.13. T

⁶This medium was named Zheng and had received his training in spirit-writing in Nanjing. See my forthcoming article.

⁷The *ji* 乚 or 箕 was the writing implement used in spirit-writing seances. The spirit was believed to take hold of or to ride upon this implement during the seance. See *Chen Bo ming bian* 陳博名辨 (Analysis of Chen Bo's name) TZH#9, A.30.

⁸This is reported by the monk Fayun mingdong 法雲明洞. See *Chenxian shishi* (Facts about Transcendent Chen), TZH #6, A.15.

⁹*ibid.*, A.16-18.

¹⁰Gatsutan dōchō 月潭道澄. *Xianshi huowen* 仙事或問 (Some questions about Immortals)TZH #22, B.69, also Gaoquan xingdun 高泉性敦 *Jixian shiji* 乚仙事蹟 (Evidence of planchette-immortals) *ibid.*, #15, B.44

¹¹Kadenokoji Akimitsu 勘解由小路韶光 *Chenxian yiji* 陳仙異記 (A miraculous recored of Immortal Chen)TZH #13, A.52.

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¹²Prince Shinkei *Meng Chenxian ji* 夢陳仙記 (Record of a dream of Immortal Chen) TZH #11, A.38-39

¹³*Chenxian guangji* 陳仙廣記 (A comprehensive record of Immortal Chen) TZH #14, B.1-41.

¹⁴*Xianshi huowen* TZH #22, B.63-69.

¹⁵*ibid.*, B.65.

¹⁶I have avoided the question of whether *xian* and *zhen ren* 真人 (Perfected) may be considered different types of beings. My feeling is that differing sects at different times used the terms in different ways and that there is no consistent evidence in the Daoist texts to justify an absolute distinction of the two. The common use of the term *zhenxian* 真仙 to describe highly refined immortals seems to indicate that *zhenren* were really just one type of *xian*.

¹⁷*Xianshi huowen*, TZH #22, B.65.

¹⁸*ibid.*, B.65. The five vows (*pañca veramani*) might be taken by both laity and monks and supposedly guaranteed rebirth as a human.

¹⁹*ibid.*, B.65-67.

²⁰*ibid.*, B.67.

²¹*ibid.*, B.69.

²²He also began to use the pen name of Muyan sou 木巖叟, Old Man of the Wooded Ridge, although this has a literary, rather than Buddhist ring to it.

²³Gatsutan, *Xianming ziyi* 仙名字義 (The meaning of the characters in the Immortal's name) TZH #10, A.35

²⁴I am here indebted to Livia Kohn for her suggestions concerning a more Buddhist interpretation of Chen Tuan's new names.

Chen Tuan's Veneration of the *Dharma*

²⁵See Livia Knaul (Kohn), *Leben und Legende des Ch'en T'uan* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1981) for an in depth study of the life and legend of Chen Tuan.

²⁶See Gatsutan's *Jianda qiansheng* 鑑達前生 (Knowledge of former lives), *TZH* #18, B.48. How Nanyuan was able to determine that these were his parents from his former life is not explained.

²⁷See Gatsutan, *Chisong yanling* 持誦延齡 (Steadfast recitation extends years), *TZH* #19, B.49.

²⁸Gaoquan, *Jiangxian jitan* 降仙紀談 (Objective discussion of descending immortals) *TZH* #20, B.50.

²⁹Fayun mingdong, *Chenxian shishi* *TZH* #6, A.17.

³⁰Gatsutan, *Xianshi huowen* *TZH* #22, B.69.

³¹Gatsutan, *Chenxian shishi*, *TZH* #7, A.24.

³²Hyakusetsu genyō 百拙元養, *Baopian zanwen* 寶編贊文 (Encomium for the precious text) *TZH* #35, C.51. In an obvious appeal to imperial favour, Hyakusetsu argues that adherence to these three teachings brings immeasurable benefit to the kingdom.

³³Perhaps the most easily accessible and extensive work on this movement is Judith Berling's study of Lin Jiao-en, *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chiao-en*, (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1980).

TRANSLATION

The Twelve Sleep-Exercises of Mount Hua

華山十二睡功總訣圖

From the Chifengsui 赤鳳髓 by Zhou Lüjing 周履靖

Teri Takehiro

Introductory Note

The text translated below is a Ming dynasty document that purports to represent the sleep exercises of Chen Tuan. It is found in Zhou Lujing's Chifeng sui (The Marrow of the Red Phoenix), which in turn is contained in his collection Yimen quangdu (Broad Archives of the Formless Gate). First published in the late sixteenth century, the Chifeng sui contains a variety of texts on Taoist physical and meditational exercises, many of which are found in earlier literature and date from the Song dynasty. The section on sleep exercises, however, does not appear in any earlier documents and thus can be dated only to the Ming. Its detailed description of what Chen Tuan supposedly did when he "slept" for a hundred days and more at a time can thus be considered a late embellishment of the legends surrounding the ancient master.

My translation of this text was first begun in a graduate seminar on Taoism at the University of Michigan in 1988. Its completion owes many thanks to Livia Kohn, who also consulted Isabelle Robinet and Ute Engelhardt for corrections and suggestions. Moreover, I am deeply indebted to the French translation by Catherine Despeux, published in her La Moelle du Phenix Rouge (Paris: Guy Tredaniel, 1988) .

Comprehensive Formula:

The Twelve Sleep Exercises of Mount Hua

Now, students of the Tao and cultivators of perfection, if you wish to practice according to the mysterious formula of sleep exercises, first of all choose a time of complete leisure, either day or night. When you feel the rise of a yang energy approach, sit up straight in the lotus posture and clap your teeth thirty-six times. Then, in one call, summon the assembled spirits residing in your body. Thereafter loosen your robe and belt and enter the position of sleeping on one side, according to the following formula: firmly close the mouth and keep the eyelids lowered halfway; press the tip of the red dragon [tongue] against the upper palate, bend the knees and pull in one foot with the toes bent. Thus yin and yang return to the opening and the outer sun and moon combine their radiance.

Thereafter one hand forms the mudra of the unsheathed sword and is placed over the Gate of Life [in the abdomen]. Then, with the other hand in the same mudra, bend the arm and use it as a pillow. Make sure both eyes and the nose are directly in line with the Gate of Life. Close the teeth firmly, then open the Gate of Heaven [in the abdomen] and shut the Passageway of Earth [on the forehead]. With the eye of the mind observe yourself within. See how the trigrams Kan and Li [the forces of the heart and

kidney] merge and combine. This is how the inner sun and moon combine their essence.

The way this should be practiced is to circulate energy through the central conduit like a deer, to nourish the inner embryo like a crane, and to develop imperceptible inner breathing like a turtle. A human being breathes 13,500 times in twenty-four hours, thereby revolving the energy for 84,000 miles. Thus the respiration of the body corresponds to the number of universal evolution. It all depends on the mysterious pass and the workings of the bellows. Make your thinking, planning, and all mental activity return to primordial spirit. This then is the inner elixir.

Within is substance, without is function. The substance is the assemblance of essence within. The function is the working of radiance without. Make within and without coincide and from one big clod, then you have reached the point of entering the Tao.

When your effort has brought you this far, the six robbers [senses] will naturally disperse, the five agents, on the other hand, will naturally crowd together. The regulation of the fire will rise and descend in a natural rhythm. The freshly brewed juice of perfection [saliva] will cleanse and nourish the numinous root [tongue]. Thus it is said,

When the mysterious female pervades the entire mouth,
One drinks the wine of spring [saliva] in sleep.
Practice this diligently from morning to night,
And the true yang will never leave.

After finishing these sleep exercises, get up and massage your heart area a couple of times. Then rub your eyes so that body and mind feel comfortable and glowing. Whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, it is always essential to accumulate the energy and keep the spirit well together. When the spirit is firmly established, the energy is stable. When the energy is stable, essence is firm. When essence is firm, the physical body is strong.

When the spirit is firmly established, there is no more inhaling and exhaling. When the essence is firm, there is no more debauching and desiring. Then only can the three primordials [energy, essence, and spirit] return to the One, can the eight conduits [meridians of acupuncture] revert to their source. The seven treasures [sense door] will be free from all outflow, and the blood will transform into a rich grease [like the embryonic mixture of blood and semen]--with this long life and eternal vision are attained.

The essential principle of the cultivation of perfection is that when inner nature is utterly tranquil, the emotions vanish. On the other hand, when the mind is agitated, the spirit will be exhausted. When the spirit leaves, the energy will be scattered. When the energy is scattered, the essence will become feeble. When the essence becomes feeble, the physical body withers. When the physical body withers, there is death.

Therefore life and death of ordinary people are just like a big dream or illusion. In the case of the perfect human being, this is not so. The perfect human is without false [unnecessary] thoughts. Free from false thoughts, he is free from dreams. And even if there is a dream, it is always a dream of perfection, never a dream of passions and desires. Therefore the mind of a perfect human being is always vacant and radiant, the spirit is always pure and profound. There is no more coming and going, no more arising and passing away--how could there be a wheel of transmigration?

In ordinary people, false thoughts never cease, passions and desires inflame each other, and thus their minds are defiled by a myriad karmic causes. Their spirit does not have peace and tranquility for even an instant! Vague and finicky, they dream during the day, they dream during the night. They dream while they are awake, they dream while they are asleep. When finally their lives come to an end, their incessant passions and desires haul them on without interruption. How could they not be rushed into another path, not be thrown into a different life form? Once deeply involved in this endless cycle of transmigration, they will never have a chance to break out of it. From the beginningless beginning onward, their natures come and go on and on, forever and ever like this. Therefore the Buddhist sutras say: "When care and love are cut off, life and death are also cut off!"

People nowadays only consider themselves happy when they feel love, desire, greed, anger, or infatuation. How could they realize that their presumed happiness is in fact suffering? They are like moths who are addicted to the light of the candle, like flies who keep buzzing around objects made of pewter. Moths and flies do not realize that they are about to seriously harm themselves. In the same way, whenever people harm any of the myriad beings or when one of the myriad beings harms a person, the cause is always produced in their minds. Thus we say: "The mind is the habitation of the spirit, the spirit is the ruler of the personal body."

Anyone who practices this cultivation therefore has no business to be concerned with anything beyond the triple gem of essence, energy and spirit. Spirit is the lord, energy the minister, and essence the people. Whenever, the five kinds of brigands [sensual involvements] invades the country, essence and spirit are destroyed and thrown into chaos. When the five kinds of brigands are obliterated, the country is stabilized and the people are at peace. When the people are at peace and when the ruler then refrains from governing actively, then the country will last forever.

To ensure the state, first of all subdue evil specters on the outside and strengthen true inner nature on the inside. Then refine essence to energy, energy to spirit, and finally make spirit return to emptiness. This corresponds to the myriad beings returning to the three, the three returning to the two, and

the two returning to the One. The One ultimately returns to emptiness. Thus the Tao of immortality is the reversal of the process of creation--it means permanent numinosity, permanent presence.

On the other hand, the way living beings in the world of dust use these forces every day is exactly the opposite. Spirit is transformed into energy, energy is transformed into essence, essence is transformed into physical shape, and physical shape is transformed into life. Beings thus live because the One produces the two, the two produce the three, and the three produce the myriad beings. This is the pattern of the way of humanity. There duly is life and death.

All life and death are ultimately there because people desire them in their minds. Only the mind of the person who cultivates immortality can just remain as it is and never get agitated. It is like a dragon nurturing a pearl, like a hen hatching an egg, like a dung beetle rolling around in excrement, like a ground bee rejecting its children, like an oyster cherishing its pearl, like a rabbit nourishing its young, like a turtle spitting out its shadow, or like a rhinoceros gazing at the stars. Once the exercise is practiced like this, it is like grain collecting dew or like pumpkins shedding their stems: it is merely part of the continuous functioning of the spirit.

Spirit is the mother of energy, while essence in turn is its child. When spirit and energy embrace each other, essence will naturally return to the source, collect and combine and never

disperse. This is how the child is born from its father and mother. Its marvel lies in the preservation of the spirit in one's center. When the two energies of yin and yang first couple and join in the Yellow Court [in the abdomen] and the three florescences of energy, essence, and spirit merge and become one in the Primal Orifice [between the eyebrows], the immortal embryo is conceived. Then the true spirit is liberated. Going beyond the realm of birth and earth, it transcends all and becomes one with the Tao.

After practicing this for one hundred days, one's breathing will be imperceptible like a turtle's. After two years, the body will levitate and the mind will possess magical powers. The eight gateways and seven openings of the head will all be opened until even the major entrance way between the eyebrows is free to pass through. After three years, one will fly up to the otherworld and attain the Invisible and Inaudible.

In all of this it is essential to have a secure and firm will and to maintain a sense of reverence in one's cultivation. Never allow yourself to be lazy, then quite naturally you will have the most wonderful experiences. Therefore we say: "Unless the right efforts are undertaken, there can be no perfect enlightenment."

Among those who wish to cultivate perfection, there may be those who, even though they subject themselves to strenuous efforts, have not yet received the proper teaching. Such people are likely to forget the origin and pursue the far ends, to

cultivate blindly and practice refinement without heed. In some cases they may adhere to ideas of meaningless emptiness, in other cases they may be muddled by illusion and mere outer forms. How are such people any different from silly fools? Like a cat, they are, sitting in front of an empty hole--they will never catch their mouse.

All I have said above about the esoteric practice of sleep exercises is ultimately due to the wondrous workings of Heaven. Yet its attainment also depends greatly on the right teacher and on a proper transmission of the mind. It cannot be attained upon individual efforts and through ordinary judging and measuring.

Should you, however, indeed encounter a true teacher, practice diligently according to his instructions. But never reveal the practice to the wrong people! You will antagonize the grace of heaven! Heed it and be very careful!



Mao Xuanhan Conquers the Dragon and Tiger

The elemental *qi* [breath] within the heart is called the dragon.
The elemental essence within the body is called the tiger.

With one's temper controlled, the dragon returns to the water.
With one's emotions yielding, the tiger hides in the mountains.
When the two [i.e. dragon and tiger] come together peacefully,
One's name will be entered in the Registers of immortals.



Qu Shangfu Refines [by Heat]
the Hun and Po Souls

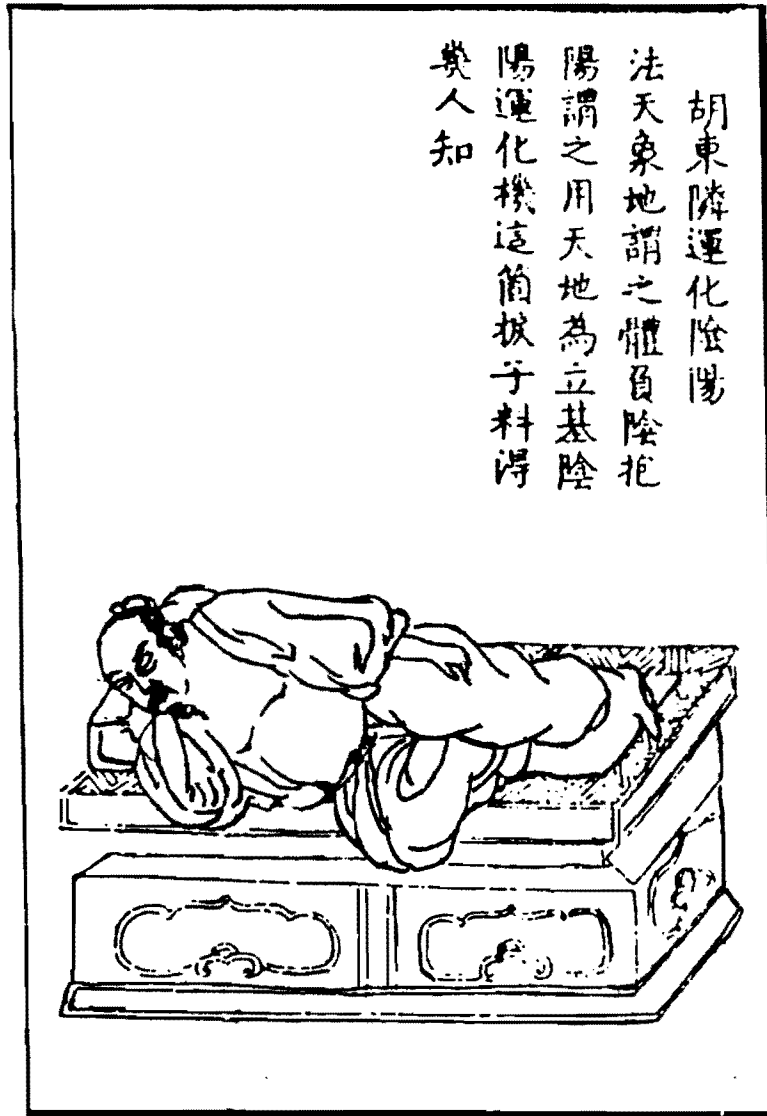
Extracting mercury from cinnabar is the activity of the hun soul.
Extracting gold from water is the activity of the po soul.

Heaven takes the sun as its hun soul.
Earth takes the moon as its po soul.
In the sun, search for rabbit marrow.
In the moon, collect raven blood.



**The Hempclad Adept Harmonizes
and Adjusts [his] True Qi**

To adjust and harmonize the true qi at the fifth hour of the early morning,
Make the mind and breath rely on each other,
Concentrating for a long time on the center,
A huge, round ball of cinnabar congeals in the tiger-dragon dish.



Hu Donglin Circulates and Transforms Yinyang

What imitates [the ordering of] Heaven and is patterned after Earth is called the body. Carrying yin on one's back and embracing yang is called action.

Heaven and Earth establish the foundation.
Yin and yang circulate and transform in accordance with a set rhythm.
 This [relationship] Ge Lizi knows,
 [But only] a few people are able to understand [its] mystery.



The Ebb and Flow of Du Suzhen's Yinyang

When yin reaches its fullest, yang arises and there is Return.
When yang reaches its fullest, yin arises and there is Meeting.

Yin at its fullest, yang arrives, this is Return.
Yang at its end, Meeting again encroaches [becomes strong].
When the student understands the firing strength and timing,
He may break through Earth and see the truth of Heaven.



**Dragonchart Wang Serenely Cultivates
the Timing of His Alchemical Fire**

Yang moving in the midst of serenity is fire.
Thunder booming below the ground is timing.

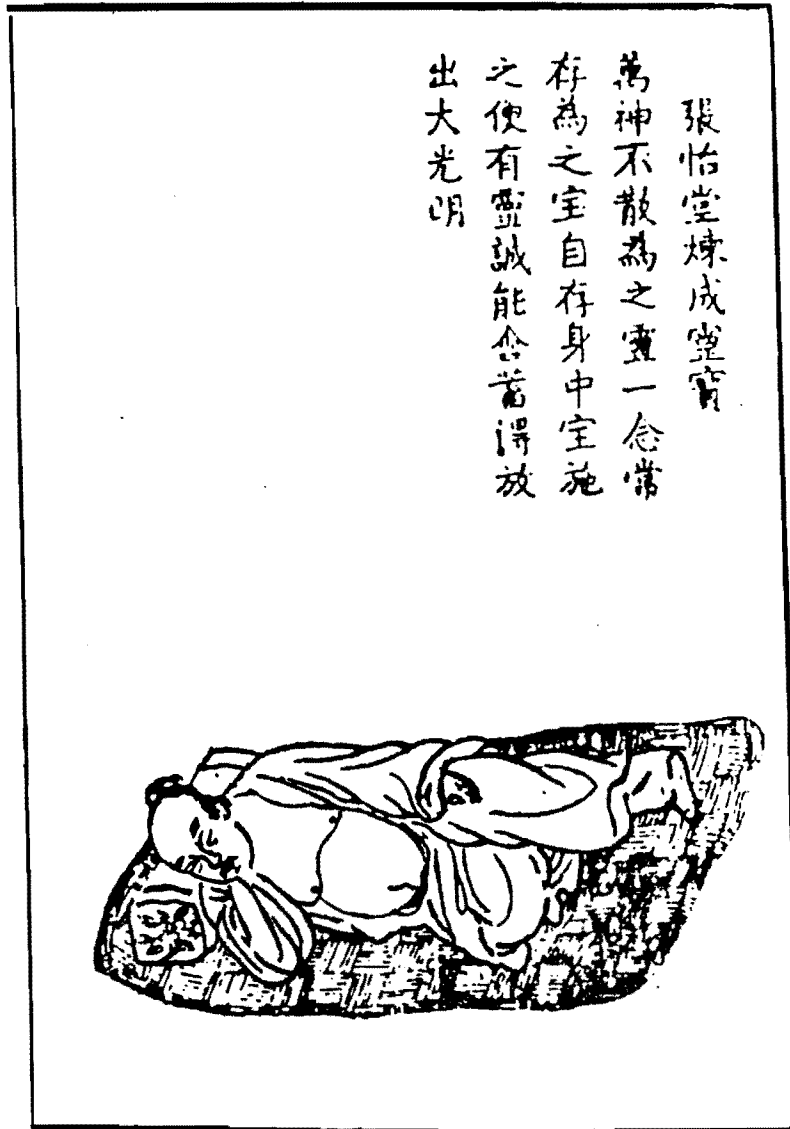
Fire originally arises from water.
Timing begins when yang arrives at Return.
Thunderclaps hold up the Heavenly Root.
The southeasterly wind observes the moon's new birth.



Kang Nanyan Guards the Furnace and Cauldron

The Qian 乾 [Heavenly] Palace of True Yang is called the Cauldron.
The Kun 坤 [Earthy] Palace of the True Yin is called the Furnace.

The Cauldron is cast in the Qian Palace.
The Furnace is embraced by the Kun Earth.
After the self and mind are rectified,
The Furnace and Cauldron are naturally very stable.



**Zhang Yitang Refines [Himself] Into
the Numinous Treasure**

Numinous means the ten-thousand spirits do not disperse.
Treasure means one thought lasts forever.

Once one stores the Treasure in the body,
[One] acts upon it, and then has numinescence.
[One] truly able to embrace the concealed and meaningful,
Sends out great light and brightness.

張玄玄牢栓猿馬
揩摩心地為之沐浴
將為之浴要得狂猿伏先
將為馬擒懸遠塵不染神
氣合乎心

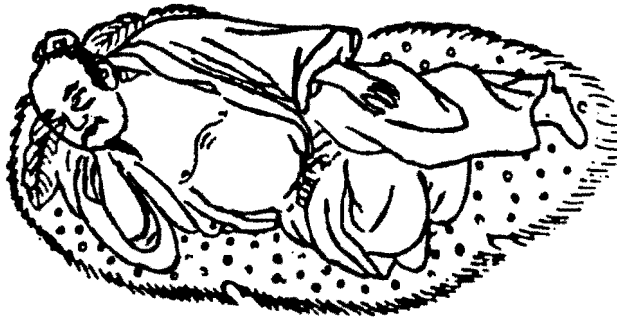


**Zhang Xuanxuan Pens up the Horse
and Ties up the Monkey**

Scrubbing and rubbing the mind is cleansing.
Washing out dust and dirt is bathing.

If one wants to subdue the crazy monkey,
One must first capture the wild horse.
The smallest speck of dust will not pollute.
The spirit and qi will collect in the mind.

彭耆翁收放丹樞
入希夷門為之放出離迷
境為之放亘古靈童子神
功妙莫量放之弥法界收
則黍珠藏



**Peng Lanweng Tames and Releases
the Cinnabar Hub**

Taming means to enter the Soundless and Formless Gate.
Releasing means to go out of the Realm of Distance and Delusion.

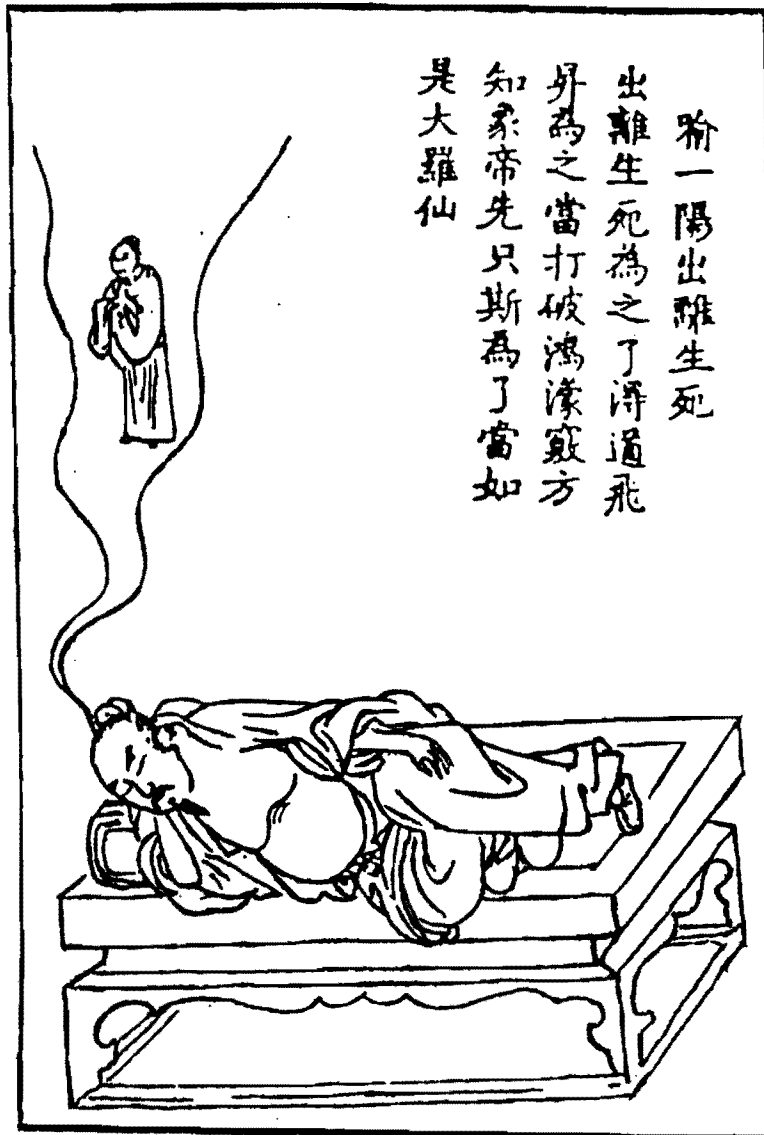
The Eternally Numinous Child
[Has] spiritual merits whose wonder is unfathomable.
Release it [i.e. the mind] and end the dharma-realm.
Control it and increase your store of pearls.



**Zhang Ziran Lets Loose the
Numinous Persuasion**

Numinous is awareness of the source and understanding the beginning.
Persuasion means freely dropping all obstacles.

See through the face one is born with.
There aren't any Buddhas or Immortals.
Utterly empty, [one] reaches the source without obstruction.
Thus one turns the ocean into fields.



Yu Yiyang Transcends Life and Death

Transcending life and death is realization.
Realizing the Dao and ascending [to Heaven] is attainment.

Only by destroying the Great Mist of the Sense-orifices,
Can one know what preceded images and emperors.
Only this is realization and attainment.
This is the Galaxy of Grand Network.

Some Recent Asian Publications on Taoism

Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸, Chūgoku kodai yōsei shisō no sōqōteki kenkyū 中國古代養生思想の総合的研究
(Nourishing vitality in ancient China: Comprehensive studies on theory and practice).
Tokyo: Hirakawa, 1988.

This truly comprehensive volume contains thirty articles by leading scholars in the field. It deals with ancient Chinese longevity techniques and their impact on, and position in, Chinese culture in general. Divided into five major parts, the work relates longevity techniques first to medicine and pharmacology of ancient China, then discusses the impact of Chinese philosophy and literati culture on the nourishment of health. The third section is entitled "Taoism and Nourishing Vitality," section four deals with Buddhism. The book concludes with a wider review of longevity techniques in Japan, the Islamic countries, India, and Europe.

The editor introduces the volume in his "General Survey: The Present Situation and Problems of Research Concerning Nourishing Vitality in Ancient China" (pp. 3-20). He points out that, for a thorough study of traditional Chinese longevity techniques, scholars have to tackle many diverse subjects. This is only

effectively possible in the concerted effort of a group of scholars. In this case the Japanese Ministry of Education supported a two-year series of conferences to study traditional Chinese longevity techniques.

The present volume is its first result. It represents a unique new development in this important field of Taoist Studies and Chinese culture.

Articles include (some summaries see below):

Akahori Akira, "Cold Food Powder (Hanshisan) and Nourishing Vitality."

Ishida Hidemi, "A Study of Zhongxi: Breathing Deeply to the Heel."

Jiao Guorui, "Nourishing Vitality Through Qigong and the Theory of Yin/Yang or Darkness/Brightness

Masui Shinichirō, "Techniques of 'Long Life and Eternal Vision' and Their Lineage in Ancient Japan."

Nakajima Ryūzō, "Diseases and Nourishing Vitality in Apocryphal Scriptures: The Tiwei jing and Its Environment."

Ōgata Tōru, "Drugs and Medical Treatments in the Shanjing Section of the Shanhai jing."

Sakade Yoshinobu, "Elixir Ingestion, Insight Meditation, and Inner Alchemy in the Sui and Tang Dynasties."

Sawada Takio, "Some Aspects of Nourishing Vitality in the Pre-Qin and Early Han."

Shibata Kiyotsugu, "Cultivating the Mind and Nourishing Vitality: Practical Correspondences in Ancient Chinese Thought."

Usami Kazuhiro, "A Study of Dong Zhongshu from the Perspective of Qi and Nourishing Vitality."

Yamada Toshiaki, "Longevity in the Early Lingbao Scriptures."

Yano Michio, "Nourishing Vitality in Indian Medicine."

Yoritomi Motohiro, "The Body-Mandala in Tantric Buddhism: A Theory."

Azuma Jūji 吾妻重二, "Goshinhen no naitan shisō" 悟真精
の内丹思想 (Inner Alchemy in the Wuzhen pian), in
Sakade 1988: 600-627.

The Wuzhen pian by Zhang Boduan (987-1082) is one of the most important texts of Taoism since the Song. It is contained in the Taoist Canon in altogether eight different editions. Most of these differ in arrangement of the sixteen poems of part one, the sixty-four poems of part three, and the twelve poems of part four (part two consists of one poem only, so no divergencies arise).

It is all but impossible to say how the poems were originally structured. Various commentators over the years have made amazingly different sense of the book.

From the preface of the earliest edition by Weng Baoguang, a second-generation disciple of the author, the fundamental message of the text is evident: inner alchemy is far superior in every respect to beyond all other physical and meditational techniques practiced in Taoism.

Inner alchemy is then explained. It requires first of all the isolation of pure yin and pure yang in the body. Then these pure energies are mutated and refined to increasingly higher and subtler levels. Only when the green dragon and the white tiger have been successfully spotted, when their combined energies have been circulated throughout the body, can the immortal elixir be produced.

Beyond this standard picture of Taoist inner alchemy, the Wuzhen pian is unusual in that it interprets the higher levels of attainment in a Buddhist framework. Speaking of the refinement of both inner nature and fate of life-span, the text claims that one has to go beyond one's body of form to eventually realize full enlightenment.

Maeda Shigeki 前田繁樹, "Rōshi chūkyō kakusho" 老子中經
覺書 (Some Problems Regarding the Laozi zhongjing),
in Sakade 1988: 474-502.

The Laozi zhongjing is an early meditational text of religious Taoism. It contains a detailed description of the divinities residing in the human body and the ways of visualizing them.

Based on the apocrypha, the text was first mentioned in the sixth century. Scholars have dated it to anywhere between the third and the fifth centuries. The author analyzes the structure of the text as we have it today and compares the names and characteristics of some of its major deities (Queen Mother of the West, Lord King

of the East, the Red Child, etc.) with their hagiography as it developed over the centuries.

He concludes that the Laozi zhongjing was compiled after the Lingbao wufuxu, which in turn came after the Baopuzi (ab. 320 A.D.). The text therefore goes back to the late fourth century.

Takahashi Yōichirō 高橋庸一郎, "Chūgoku kodai ni okeru yōseijutsu teki 'nioi' no hattan" 中國古代に於ける養生術的'匂'の發端 (Smell as a means of nourishing vitality in ancient China), in Sakade: 1988 144-172.

The article traces the role of burnt offerings and fragrances, both as incense and as a means of physical purification, from the Shang dynasty to the Tang and Song.

In ancient China, offerings to the gods were made in order to nourish them with the smell of the burnt flesh of various animals. At the same time, fragrances were used on human beings or sacred objects to entice the gods to descend.

With the rise of humanistic philosophy, virtue was associated with good smell. The king anointed himself to be worthy of the gods. No longer were burnt offerings believed most pleasing to the above. Much better to present the fragrance of fresh grain or flowers.

In the southern culture of Chu, all beings and powers of nature were believed to have their own numinousness. This manifested, among other things, in the way they smelt. Here again, the idea of burning things to send them to heaven was redundant. Rather, heaven was pleased and the gods descended when people lived in peace and realized their nature in purity. Good smell, as it were, had become part of everyday life.

During the Han dynasty, fragrance as a sign of divinity was further appropriated by human beings. People began to nourish vitality on plants with special powers and most enticing fragrances. Such plants were thought to transform a human into a long-lived if not immortal being.

In the more organized religious context of the Six Dynasties, smell in the form of incense appeared again as a predominant means of communication with the gods. Yet the purifying powers of fragrances continued to be applied both within and without the human body. Plants were analyzed and classified more extensively. Pharmacology flourished greatly, a tendency that continued in later dynasties.

Kobayashi Masayoshi 小林正美 , "Tōshinki no dōkyō no shūmatsuron" 東晉期・道教の終末論 (Taoist eschatology in the Eastern Jin), in Kamata Shigeo hakase kanri kinen ronshū Chūgoku no bukyō to bunka 鎌田茂雄博士還暦記念論集 中國の佛教と文化 (Tokyo: Daizo Publishers, 1988), 631-655.

Taoist eschatology developed from Han-dynasty calculations of cosmic cycles and Indian kalpa-theory imported through Buddhism. It is characterized by several beliefs: the present world is declining into ever more severe states of chaos; eventually heaven and earth will fail to maintain the smooth functioning of the world; in the end, everything will collapse in a series of ever bigger natural and social disasters.

In response to this situation of decline, soon to culminate in the destruction of the world and the death of all evil people, it is possible to prepare for the new age that inevitably looms behind the horizon of catastrophe. The only way out is to be virtuous and become one of the "chosen people" (zhongming). Practice of the Taoist religion is the best and most proper way to ensure survival of impending doom.

Within this general framework, Taoists disagreed about the exact nature of the disaster, how and when the new age would arise, and what was the best and most efficient way of getting there. Each of the major Taoist groups of the Eastern Jin had their own ideas: there were the Celestial Masters (including the

Numinous Treasure group), the Ge Family sect, and the school of Highest Clarity.

Although their interpretation of the world's calamitous development differed in many respects, throughout it came to be increasingly influenced by Buddhism, especially Pure Land.

Kobayashi Masayoshi 小林正美, "Kyūten shōshin shōkyō no keisei to sandōsetsu no seiritsu" 九天生神章經の形成と三洞説の成立 (The compilation of the Jiutian shengshen zhangjing and the development of the theory of the Three Caverns), in Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō 東洋の思想と宗教 5 (1988), 1-19.

The Jiutian shengshen zhangjing was compiled in two stages. Its first part, i.e., the latter half of the preface and the nine heavenly sections, was written by a member of Ge Family Taoism in about 420. This constituted the original scripture. The text as we have it today developed around 430, when a member of the Lingbao group within the Celestial Masters added the first half of the preface, the three treasure sections, and the two poems in praise of the Realized One of the Great Bourne.

Organization and contents of the text illuminate the structure of Taoism in the early fifth century. The major groups at the time were the Ge Family sect and the Lingbao group that arose from within the Celestial Masters. They interacted in a fruitful and

complementary way to eventually combine the various scriptures under the Three Caverns.

Kobayashi Masayoshi 小林正美 , "Taijō reihō gofūjo no seishō katei no bunseki" 太上靈寶五符序の成書過程の分析 (On the origin and development of the Taishang lingbao wufuxu, parts 1 and 2), in Tōhōshūkyō 東方宗教71 (1988), 20-44 and 72 (1988), 20-45.

The Lingbao Wufuxu or "Explanation of the Five Talismans of Numinous Treasure," in three juan is contained in the Taoist Canon (no. 388, fasc. 183). It is one of the most important texts of early religious Taoism. Its compilation and date of origin have puzzled scholars for a long time.

In this study, the author finds that the original Wufuxu is identical with the first ten pages of the text we have now. This original, the Wufu jing or "Five Talismans Scripture," was compiled in the first half of the fourth century by someone related to the family of Ge Hong, author of the Baopuzi.

In a second stage, biographical materials on certain magic specialists, especially Huaziqi, and information on their methods of immortality were added to the textual nucleus. This phase resulted in a longer Wufuxu (2 juan), dated to the second half of the fourth century.

The final form of the text was reached when certain ritual instructions as well as the ingestion techniques

of Lezichang were added in a third juan in the early fifth century.

Li Yuanguo 李遠國 , Qigong jinghua ji 氣功精華集
(Chinese Qi-Exercises: A Collection of
Essentials). Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1987. 293
pp.

This work is an almost encyclopedic account of practices and theories, history and sources of Qigong, the ancient and increasingly popular "Qi-exercises" of China, by one of the foremost Qigong specialists of contemporary China who is currently working on a full-scale dictionary on the subject.

The book divides the material under six headings:

1. "Methods of Self-Cultivation," describes breathing techniques and meditations;
2. "Methods of Healing," arranges therapies according to the various organs;
3. "Qi Theory," includes cosmology of the three forces and five agents, as well as inner alchemical concepts such as the regulation of the fire, the understanding of body, mind, qi, essence, etc.;
4. "Qigong in Chinese Literature," lists poems by Cao Cao, Guo Pu, Li Bai, Bo Juyi, Bai Yuchan, Wang Chang, down to Zhang Sanfeng;
5. "Major Traditional Works," contains a collection of 102 texts, ranging from the fourth century to the late Qing dynasty;
6. "Glossary of Main Terms," explains altogether 172 important expressions and concepts.

An appendix describes the fourteen major conduits of qi in the body. The work is full of footnotes and quotes its sources meticulously (by chapter, if not usually by page). It does not have an index.

Li Yuanguo 李遠國, Daojiao qigong yangsheng xue 道教氣功養生學 (Taoist Ways of Exercising Qi and Nourishing Life). Chengdu: Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences, 1988. 582 pp.

This latest and so far longest work of one of China's leading Qigong specialists is a history of these health and spiritual exercises. Their history is closely related to the development of Taoism but not always identical with it.

The book begins by describing what Qigong is. It classifies the various techniques in six groups:

1. restful practice: meditative practices for nourishing inner nature;
2. active practice: physical exercises for strengthening the body;
3. Qigong proper: purification of body and mind through breathing exercises;
4. sexual techniques: Qi interaction among partners of opposite sex;
5. operative alchemy: nourishing on special drugs;
6. inner alchemy: the crowning combination of all practices within the Taoist religion.

The remainder of the work discusses Qigong throughout Chinese history. Chapter two treats it from the beginnings (traces in the Daode jing and the Zhuangzi) to the late Six Dynasties; chapter three moves from the Sui and Tang into the early Northern Song; chapter four discusses the Song; chapter five, the Jin and Yuan; and chapter six the Ming and Qing dynasties.

The discussion is thorough and well documented throughout, a coherence of theory and practice emerges that spans the ages and opens new vistas of an integrated and dynamic history of Taoism and qi practices.

Murakami Yoshimi 村上嘉實 , "Kōteinaikyō daiso to dōkashisō" 黃帝內經太素と道家思想 (The Huangdi neijing taisu and the Philosophy of Taoism), in Tōhō shūkyō 71 (1988), 1-19.

The medical classic Huangdi neijing taisu goes back to the Han dynasty. Written under a strong influence of Han and pre-Han thought, it has especially close ties to the philosophy of Laozi and Zhuangzi.

Some common points are easily spotted. There are, for example, the strong emphasis on the preservation of life and the high value placed on yin and yang and the continual rhythm of nature with which human beings should be in harmony. Moreover, there is the concept of qi or cosmic energy as the agent which causes beings to be alive. The texts also share the vision of the human body as a microcosm and the understanding that

softness and weakness are the characteristics of life, while hardness and stiffness are manifestations of anything withered and dead.

Beyond these basic similarities, the Huangdi neijing taisu also shows a close proximity in its medical thinking to the art of warfare, as expressed especially in the book of the Taoist strategist Sunzi. The healing of diseases was thought of as a battle against sickness, and similar strategies were applied in both areas.

Another point of closeness is the concept of mental purity and concentration. The same meditative state that the Zhuangzi describes as ideal not only for the attainment of "free and easy wandering" but also for the perfection of crafts, such as the butchering of an ox or the making of a chisel, is lauded in the medical texts as necessary for successful healing.

This is a state of empathy not only with the patient as a person but with the subtle flow of energy within the patient's body. The healer has to make his mind no-mind in order to be able to pinpoint exactly how and where the flow of qi is disturbed. Then his cure will accord with the nature of the disease in the subtlest and most efficient way possible.

Sakauchi Shigeo 坂内榮夫, "Ō Kika to sono jidai--godai dōkyō shotan" 王懷慶と其の時代: 五代道教初探 (Wang Qixia and his time: A first study of Taoism in the Five Dynasties), in Tōhō shūkyō 72 (1988), 1-19.

Wang Qixia (891-952) was the nineteenth patriarch of Shangqing Taoism. His training and the lineage of his teachers show that there was a division of the Shangqing patriarchy into two branches after the twelfth master Sima Chengzhen (647-735). These branches were parallel, not rivalling lines.

Sima Chengzhen did not live on Maoshan near modern Nanjing, the original center of Shangqing Taoism. Rather, he had established his center on Mount Tiantai and later, following an imperial invitation, moved to Mount Wangwu close to the capital. In his succession, the thirteenth patriarch, Li Hanguang (683-769), returned the residence to Maoshan. But at the same time, Sima's successor on Mount Tiantai, Xue Jichang, continued to train disciples in a lineage branch of his own.

Three generations later the establishment on Maoshan was severely harmed in the downfall of the Tang dynasty. The eighteenth patriarch Liu Dechang died without leaving a suitable successor behind. Wang Qixia became nineteenth patriarch with the help of his two teachers, Deng Qixia (848-932) and Nie Shidao (844-911). Both these masters descended from Xue Jichang of Mount Tiantai through a line of teacher-disciple succession.

In 917 Wang and Deng first arrived on Maoshan, assessed the damage, and began the repair work. They resurrected old buildings and planted fresh pine trees. Much was lost. The Monastery of Great Peace, for example, had originally boasted more than 300 Buildings. All of these needed repairs or had to be rebuilt altogether.

Although Maoshan suffered severe losses in the tenth century, the continuity of Shangqing patriarchs was thus saved by its Tiantain branch.

Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫 , "Seishitsu kō" 靜室考
(Jingshi: A Taoist ritual site, its structure and origins), in Tōhōgakuhō 東方學報 59 (1987), 125-162.

The "Chamber of Silence," also known as the "Chamber of Purity" or the "Chamber of Concentration," is an institution of Taoism that began in the organization of the Celestial Masters.

It was either a private place attached to a family's residence or a public institution, a communal place of assembly open to all members of the sect. The room was used for prayers and the recitation of sacred scriptures, it housed processes of elixir concoction and self-purification. Here individuals repented their sins and violators of social rules suffered periods of detention.

Historically speaking, the Taoist jingshi developed from the solitary hut of the Confucian hermit in

conjunction with the Han institution of the qingshi, the "Chamber of Begging for Forgiveness," an institution of punishment and repentance.

The jingshi had to be constructed along certain specifications very similar to those still in use in the establishment of a sacred Taoist space today. The building was to be about five meters in diameter and had a thatched roof. If possible, it was to be located in a garden or otherwise natural environment.

Within only four things were allowed: an incense burner (opposite the entrance, below the eastern wall of the building), an incense lamp, a prayer bench, and a writing knife, i.e., a small sharp instrument traditionally used to cut characters on bamboo slips.

Despite all these rule, the exact construction and interior furnishing of the chamber of silence changed much over the years. There was never a precise standard everyone would adhere to.

Entering and leaving a jingshi, one had to follow a precise ritual routine: wash the hands, comb the hair, put on a clean robe and cap. Hold the ritual tablet with both hands and proceed to the door. Rinse the mouth three times with saliva and retain the breath. Enter with the right foot first. Stands immovable with both feet parallel. Close the eyes and visualize the gods of the directions coming down to help. Opens the eyes, burn incense and recite a prayer. Do whatever you have come for. Leave the chamber with the left

foot first after sending off the gods and reciting appropriate incantations.

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