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CHAPTER NINETEEN

QUANZHEN—COMPLETE PERFECTION

TAO-CHUNG YAO

DESCRIPTION

The Quanzhen or Complete Perfection School (Quanzhen jiao 全真教) emerged at the end of the Northern Song (960-1127) and the Jurchen Jin (1115-1234) during a war-torn era in Chinese history. It was the most popular and influential religious movement in Northern China during the Mongol Yuan (1271-1368), not only occupying the center stage of Daoism but also overshadowing Buddhism. The Complete Perfection school is one of only two major Daoist divisions that still exist today, the other being the Celestial Masters, which was founded during the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220).

Both external sociopolitical and internal religious factors contributed to the rise of Complete Perfection. Externally, north China in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had entered a period of political unrest and social turmoil as a result of the contention among the Song, Jin and Yuan for control of the central plateau. This sociopolitical disorder paved the way for the emergence of three new Daoist movements, of which the Complete Perfection school was the most popular and the most influential. The other two, the Great Way (Dadao 大道) and the Great One (Taiyi 太一), have long since faded into obscurity (Yao 1995; Tsui 1991, 9; see also Zheng 1987; Zhan 1989; Chen 1962; Qing 1993).

Internally, the emergence of the Complete Perfection school signifies both continuity and change in the Daoist tradition: it perpetuated the practice of inner alchemy, which started in the Tang and matured in the Northern Song, but has also been regarded as a reform movement which sought to revitalize the Daoism that, in a rather corrupted form, had won the favor of Huizong (r. 1110-1125), the last emperor of the Northern Song. Emperor Huizong favored several Daoists who advised him to build temples, ceremonial tripods and even a mountain to bring fortune and prosperity to his reign (see Sun 1965; Miyakawa, 1975; 1976). Ironi-

cally, those expensive projects drained the national treasury and ultimately contributed to the dynasty's downfall. The Daoists who enjoyed Huizong's trust received all the trappings of official positions and titles (Mou et al. 1991, 520), and so Daoism came to be widely detested as an evil force that was corrupting the emperor and destroying the empire. Some scholars regard Wang Zhe's 王喆 founding of the new sect as a deliberate effort on his part to revitalize Daoism (see Kubo 1966; see also Nogami 1939). But, there are also scholars who consider Wang a Song loyalist (Chen 1974, 30-31; see also Yao 1958).

History

THE FOUNDER. The Complete Perfection school was founded by **Wang Zhe** (1113-1170) who was born to a rich family in Xianyang, Shaanxi. When he was eighteen, the invading Jurchen forces defeated the Song army and seized control of Shaanxi. Taking advantage of the disorder, a group of bandits plundered all his family's possessions. When the leader of the bandits was later captured, Wang was kind enough to have him released. This act of benevolence generated a deep respect among his fellow villagers.

Being the scion of well-to-do land-owners, Wang Zhe apparently received a standard classical education and was known for his proficiency in martial arts. Records moreover indicate that he tried to excel in civil as well as military services, but did not have much success. Legend has it that in the summer of 1159, at the age of 48, he encountered two supernatural beings who instructed him in secret rituals. After this encounter, Wang Zhe changed his original name Zhongfu 中孚 to Zhe and also adopted the Daoist style Chongyang 重陽. In 1160 Wang had another encounter with one of the two supernatural beings, and received five written instructions (*Ganshui xianyuan lu* [hereafter, *Ganshui*], CT 973, 1.4a; see below). Soon afterward he became delirious and dug himself a grave that he named "the Tomb of the Living Dead." He lived in it for three years before filling it in and building a hut in which he lived for the next four years. In the summer of 1167, Wang Zhe suddenly decided to burn his hut, dancing and chanting while his neighbors tried to put out the fire (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* [hereafter, *Xianyuan*], CT 174, 20a; see also Tsui 1991, 19-20).

Wang Zhe then headed east to Shandong where he attracted many followers, including Ma Yu 馬鈺 and Tan Chuduan 譚處端 whose names were supposed to have appeared in a secret instruction given to Wang by a supernatural being. In Shandong, Wang also established five congregations (*hui* 會), named Congregation of the Seven Treasures, the

Golden Lotus, the Three Lights, the Jade Flower, and the Equality of the Three Teachings (Tsui 1991, 28). The expression "three teachings" used in each congregation's name indicates that Wang Zhe embraced the notion of combining the three major doctrines of China—Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism. This fact, as well as the numerous Buddhist and Confucian elements found in Quanzhen writings placed the school at a prominent place in the long trend of "harmonizing the three teachings" (*sanjiao heyi* 三教合一) in the history of China (*Ganshui* 1.6b-7b).

It is interesting to note that none of the five congregations established during his early years of proselytizing contain the term "Complete Perfection" in their titles. However, the term does appear many times in Wang Zhe's writings, and when Wang sojourned at Ma Yu's residence in Ninghai (Shandong), he called his hut the "Complete Perfection Hut." Later, people began referring to Wang's teachings as "Teachings of the Complete Perfection," and his sect became known as the "Complete Perfection school."

THE SEVEN DISCIPLES. Complete Perfection did not become widespread during Wang Zhe's lifetime, but thanks to the efforts of his seven disciples, his religion attracted a large following and also gained the attention of the ruling class after his death. The seven disciples are:

1. Ma Yu 馬鈺, *zi* Danyang 丹陽 (1123-1183). Like Wang Zhe, Ma Yu was also from a rich family and had a good education in the Chinese classics. Ma Yu was the first among the seven to become Wang's disciple and was the one who apparently learned the most from Wang (*Jinlian zhengzong ji* [hereafter as *Zhengzong ji*], CT 173, 3.1a-13b; *Xiangyuan* 23a-26b; *Ganshui* 1.14a-27b; see also Hawkes 1981, 158).

2. Tan Chuduan 譚處端, *zi* Changzhen 長真 (1123-1185). Tan became Wang's disciple after Wang cured his illness one day when Wang was living in the "Complete Perfection Hut" at Ma Yu's residence. Tan, together with Ma Yu and Qiu Chuji 邱處機, accompanied Wang to various towns and villages where they founded the five congregations (*Zhengzong ji* 4.1a-3a; *Xiangyuan* 26b-29a; *Ganshui* 1.27b-31b; see also De Rachewiltz and Russell 1984).

3. Qiu Chuji 邱處機, *zi* Changchun 長春 (1148-1227). Qiu was the best known among the seven. His meeting with the Mongol ruler Chinggis Khan in Central Asian was a much celebrated event in Chinese history (*Zhengzong ji* 4.7a-14a; *Xiangyuan* 31b-36a; *Ganshui* 2.5a-11b; see also Kubo 1963; Sanaka 1943). Qiu Chuji was the last among Wang Zhe's seven disciples to die. After Qiu's death, the followers of the Complete Perfection sect split into seven branches. The seven disciples of Wang Zhe served as their leaders. Qiu's Longmen 龍門 branch had the largest following and still continues today (Wang 1978, 58; Chen 1988; Zhou 1982).

4. Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄, *zi* Changsheng 長生(1147-1203). Liu was well known for his filial piety toward his mother. Legend has it that Liu became a sincere follower of Wang Zhe after seeing a poem written by Wang on a wall (*Zhengzong ji* 4.3a-7a; *Xiangyuan* 29a-31b; *Ganshui* 2.1a-5a).

5. Wang Chuyi 王處一, *zi* Yuyang 玉陽(1142-1217). Wang Chuyi was a Daoist even before he became Wang Zhe's disciple. His mother also became Wang Zhe's disciple, and was the first known female follower (Zhang 1995, 14; see *Zhengzong ji* 5.1a-6a; *Xiangyuan* 36a-39a; *Ganshui* 2.11b-18a).

6. Hao Datong 郝大通, *zi* Taigu太古(1140-1212). Unlike the others who actively sought their discipleship, Wang Zhe strove to convert Hao because Hao had a "supernatural quality" (*Ganshui* 2.19b; *Zhengzong ji* 5.6a-9a; *Xiangyuan* 39a-41a; *Ganshui* 2.18a-24b; see Reiter 1981).

7. Sun Bu'er 孫不二, *zi* Qingjing sanren 清淨散人(1119-1182). Sun, the only woman among Wang's seven distinguished disciples, was Ma Yu's wife. Wang Zhe obviously treated both sexes equally when accepting disciples, and a large number of poems in Wang Zhe's works are addressed to women (*Zhengzong ji* 5.9a-11a; *Xiangyuan* 41a-43a; see also Hawkes 1981; Cleary 1989).

EXPANSION. In 1170, Wang traveled west from Shandong with four of his disciples, Ma, Liu, Qiu and Tan, and that same year he died in Bianliang (Kaifeng). He was buried in Liujiang 劉蔣 village where he once lived. In 1174, after observing the three-year mourning period for their teacher, the four disciples gathered in a town near Wang's resting place to discuss their aspirations. The next day they departed and went their various ways (*Ganshui* 1.22a).

Ma Yu returned to Liujiang where he stayed for seven years. It is said that after Ma joined the Complete Perfection school, he did not wear fine clothes, nor touch money for thirteen years. At night he slept simply in an open field (*Zhengzong ji* 3.6a). After Wang's death, Ma Yu became the patriarch of the Complete Perfection school. In 1181 the Jurchen Jin government issued an announcement ordering all Daoists to return to their places of birth (*Zhengzong ji* 3.6b). Consequently, Ma Yu turned over the sect's affairs to Qiu Chuji and left for Shandong (*Ganshui* 1.23b; Zhang 1995, 23).

After the meeting of 1174, **Qiu Chuji** went to Panqi 磻溪 (southeast of Baoji in Shaanxi) where he lived a secluded life in a cave for six years. It is said that during that time Qiu begged for one meal a day and wore only a thin coat. In 1180 he moved to the Longmen mountains (in western Shaanxi) where he continued the ascetic life (*Xianyuan* 32b). When Ma Yu asked him to take over the sect's affairs, he was still in the Longmen mountains. Qiu, a native of Shandong, was also supposed to leave

Shaanxi, but he was afraid that if he also departed the sect would fall apart. Qiu was permitted to remain in Shaanxi because local officials and citizens signed a document assuming responsibility for his actions (*Zhengzong ji* 3.6b).

The Complete Perfection school did not seem to have any relation with the Jurchen court during the years of its first three patriarchs, i.e., Wang Zhe, Ma Yu and Tan Chuduan. However, with the increase in its popularity, it became known to the ruling house. Emperor Shizong of the Jin (r. 1161-1189) summoned Wang Chuyi to the capital in 1187 to receive instructions on "methods of preserving life." This was the first in a series of summons of Quanzhen masters to the courts by the rulers. Altogether, Wang Chuyi was summoned to court four times by two of the Jurchen Jin emperors. Although Wang Chuyi was the first among the masters to receive attention from the ruling class, the master who gained a significant place in Chinese history because of his relationship with rulers was Qiu Chuji. In 1188, Qiu was summoned by Emperor Shizong to the capital to take charge of the *jiao* 醮 sacrifice for the "ten thousand spring festivals" (*Panqi ji*, CT 1159, 3.6a-7a).

In 1216, Qiu was summoned by Emperor Xuanzong of the Jin, and in 1219, by Emperor Ningzong of the Southern Song, but he declined to go both times. However, at the age of 72, Qiu accepted a summon from the Mongol ruler Chinggis Khan in the winter of 1219 to visit him in Central Asia. **Chinggis Khan** summoned Qiu to his court because he wanted learn the "method for preserving and prolonging life" from the well-known Daoist sage Qiu. Qiu did accept Chinggis Khan's summons, though not because he wanted to instruct the Khan in various secret methods, but rather because he realized that to refuse would be out of the question.

The Mongols, like other nomadic North Asian peoples, believed in pantheistic shamanism. They were not hostile to other religions and treated the masters and leaders of various religions just as they did their own shamans, Teb-Tenqqeri (Heavenly Reporter). However, they would not tolerate a religion which showed an unwillingness to serve them. As Sechin Jagchid has pointed out: "The Mongols made it clear to the leaders of every foreign religion that unless they could win support from the Mongolian rulers, they would meet a terrible destruction which might be the end of their religion" (Jagchid 1969, 109-111).

Qiu Chuji selected eighteen of his disciples to accompany him to Central Asia. They departed in early 1220 for a trip which took three years to complete. This celebrated journey was recorded in detail by Li Zhichang 李志常 in his *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* 長春真人西遊記 (see Waley 1931). In Central Asia, Qiu had several opportunities to explain his teaching to the Khan, and the Mongol ruler seemed happy to learn

about various spiritual methods for cultivating longevity. Just before Qiu's departure from Chinggis Khan's camp in Central Asia, the Khan issued an edict as a gesture of appreciation for Qiu's visit exempting Qiu's followers from taxes and labor. Qiu himself was made the head of all religions and his followers were supposed to pray for the long life of the Khan. This edict turned the Complete Perfection school into the most popular religion in north China. Thousands of people joined the sect not because they wanted to help Qiu pray for the Khan, but because the sect was able to offer protection from heavy taxes and levies. The privileges granted by the Khan not only increased the popularity of the Complete Perfection school, but also made the sect a sanctuary for a distressed multitude (Yao 1986).

Following Qiu's meeting with the Khan, the Complete Perfection school entered its golden age. Chinggis Khan's edict granting Qiu the authority to take charge of all "those who leave their families" made him virtually the leader of all native religions in North China. The Complete Perfection school outshone all other religions, and its followers outnumbered all others.

THE TROUBLED YEARS. In 1225 the Buddhist monk Fuyu 福裕 (1203-1275) went to the Mongol court and charged the Complete Perfection school with seizing **Buddhist temples** and spreading forgeries about Laozi's conversion of the Buddha (*Bianwei lu* 751a). Complete Perfection followers were charged with criminal acts, such as occupying Buddhist temples, and destroying Buddhist images and replacing them with Daoist ones. They were also accused of circulating the *Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡經 (Scripture of Laozi's Conversion of the Barbarians) and compilating of the text *Laojun bashiyi hua tushuo* 老君八十一化圖說 (Picture Book of Lord Lao's Eighty-one Transformations; see Reiter 1990a; Ch'en 1957; Kubo 1968).

One explanation for the Daoist occupation of Buddhist temples is that many of them were deserted during the war, and that since Qiu's sect was in charge of all religions, Complete Perfection had legitimate cause to restore them. The problem is that they did not restore them as Buddhist temples but as Daoist ones. Buddhists also bitterly complained that only Qiu's followers were exempt from taxes and corvee labor, and that Buddhists were unfairly excluded.

Emperor Xianzong, who had nothing against the Complete Perfection Daoists, tried to avoid taking sides and summoned the parties involved to a **debate at court** to settle the matter. This incident formally inaugurated a sequence of Buddhist-Daoist debates at the Mongol court and resulted in a proscription of the Complete Perfection school. This series of incidents came to be known as the Buddhist-Daoist "struggles" of the Yuan Dynasty (Yao 1980, 151-169; Jan 1982, 391-96; Liu and

Berling 1982, 488-90). The Complete Perfection school lost each and every one of the debates, and the "forged" Daoist scriptures were ordered burned. The last debate took place in 1281, after the Mongol Yuan conquered south China. The Cerlestial Masters, flourishing in the south, joined Complete Perfection in the debate. Still, the Daoists lost again. An edict was issued that all Daoist books except the *Daode jing* should be collected and burned, and that all Daoist priests should follow Buddhist rules. It appears, however, that the imperial orders were never strictly enforced because many pre-Yuan Daoist scriptures are still extant.

In spite of the setbacks during the Yuan, Complete Perfection is one of the two major Daoist schools surviving today. Advocating a celibate life and stressing self cultivation, it represents the alchemical school (*danding pai* 丹鼎派) in the Daoist tradition. The Celestial Masters sect, which practices various Daoist rituals for communities and families, is the modern representative of the liturgical school.

TEXTS

Complete Perfection Daoism left behind a large body of writings covering a wide range of subjects in various literary forms. To give a representative sample, I will discuss the writings of Wang Zhe and his seven disciples as well as a few works that are important for understanding early Quanzhen history. With the exception of two books from the *Daozang jiyao*, all Quanzhen writings can be found in the Daoist canon. For notes on many of these texts see also Boltz 1987.

ANTHOLOGIES. There are only thirty anthologies in the Daoist canon, and twenty-three of them are either written by Quanzhen masters or people related to the sect. This body of literature, mostly poetry, demonstrates that Quanzhen masters were well-educated literati who took pride in expressing themselves in a variety of verse forms. Because Quanzhen anthologies were mainly written for apologetic purposes, the language employed is generally simple and unpretentious, though it includes a great deal of Daoist terminology. They have thus not been considered works of literary value, and have attracted scant attention from scholars of Chinese literature. Though the Quanzhen anthologies might not contain poems worth mentioning in studies of Chinese poetry, they do contain a great number of poetic forms: regulated poems of different length, song lyrics, and more than three thousand *ci* lyrics to some 250 tunes (Yao, 1980; see also Wong 1988b). They deserve to be studied for a better understanding of the development of Chinese poetic forms.

Wang Zhe himself set a remarkable example by producing a huge body of poems that was later collected and edited in three anthologies (Wong 1981). First there is the ***Chongyang quanzhen ji*** 重陽全真集 [hereafter *Quanzhen ji*] (An Anthology on Complete Perfection by Chongyang, CT 1153, in 13 j.;. see Boltz 1987, 144-45; Tsui 1991, 21). With over one thousand poems it is the most voluminous. This anthology (pref. 1188) not only presents the essentials of Quanzhen beliefs, but also allows us to share some private moments of Wang's life and feelings.

Each of the poems comes with a title that supplies the theme of the poem, the name of the addressee and the occasion of its composition. Judging from the titles, Wang Zhe associated with people of all walks of life, from female devotees of the Way to old Buddhist monks, from Confucian scholars to military officials. The anthology is filled with lines exhorting people to sever family ties and pursue the Way. To reach immortality, one must do away with the four evils of wine, sex, money and anger. One may be saved only if one has left the cycle of transmigration. Wang's teachings in this respect are close to those of Chan Buddhism. He taught people the two Confucian cardinal virtues of loyalty and filial piety, revealing his efforts to bring together the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. This is made explicit in this anthology in lines such as: "The three teachings have always shared the same ancestral wind" (1.8b). Nevertheless the anthology is unmistakably Daoist in character, given that alchemical terminology appears throughout.

Wang's ***Chongyang jiaohua ji*** [*Jiaohua ji*] 重陽教化集 (Chongyang's Anthology on Teaching Transformation , CT 1154, in 3 j.; see Boltz 1987, 145; Hawkes 1981, 159) is a collection of some 200 poems on self-cultivation that he wrote for his disciple Ma Yu. This collection provides a vivid description of Wang's methods of prosetylization. Some of the poems in this anthology can also be found in other works of Wang Zhe and Ma Yu. The six prefaces (dat. 1183) and one postscript written by scholars from Ma Yu's hometown are particularly useful for the study of early Quanzhen history.

Like the *Chongyang jiaohua ji*, the ***Chongyang fenli shihua ji*** 重陽分梨十化集 (Chongyang's Anthology of the Ten Transformations by Dividing Pears, CT 1155, in 2 j.; see Boltz 1987, 145-46; Tsui 1991, 21; Hawkes 1981, 158-59) is also a collection of poems written for Ma Yu, many of which are addressed jointly to him and his wife Sun Bu'er in order to convince the couple that separating from one's spouse is necessary for cultivating the Way. According to the preface (dat. 1183) written by Ma Dabian of Ninghai, Shandong, while Wang Zhe was staying in the Complete Perfection hut at Ma Yu's home, he would divide a pear into two halves and offer them to Ma Yu and his wife every ten days. Wang used the term "to divide a pear" (*fenli* 分梨) as a pun for "to separate"

(*fenli* 分離) and as a device to urge the couple to part. Eventually Wang succeeded: Ma Yu and his wife Sun Bu'er separated and both became Wang's disciples.

Ma Yu also produced an impressive body of poetry whose quantity even surpasses that of his teacher. More than 1300 poems are extant in three separate anthologies. The ***Dongxuan jinyu ji*** 洞玄金玉集 (An Anthology of the Gold and Jade on Comprehending the Mystery, CT 1149, in 10 j.; Boltz 1987, 149-51; Tsui 1991, 22), with more than 900 poems in ten fascicles, is the largest collection and consists mainly of poems on Daoist cultivation written for Ma's acquaintances. Judging from the titles of those poems, Ma associated with people of both sexes and adherents of all three doctrines. The themes are nevertheless in line with basic Quanzhen teachings and exhort abstinence from wine, sex, money and anger, and control of one's ape-like mind and horse-like will. Fame and wealth are deterrents for those seeking the Way, and being "pure and clean" is a key to immortality. The anthology is a wonderful source for studying Ma Yu's life.

The ***Jianwu ji*** 漸悟集 (An Anthology on Gradual Realization, CT 1142, in 2 j.; Boltz 1987, 151-52) is a collection of more than 300 *ci* lyrics written by Ma Yu. Most are addressed to Ma Yu's friends as aids to understanding Daoist cultivation, but some poems are written for self-encouragement and self-discipline. Ma admonished himself not to be stingy, greedy, flattering or swindling, and urged himself to purify his mind by not thinking about his family, talking about his village, minding current affairs, and even by not composing poems or spreading teachings (2.18b). Again we see Ma's striving for a completely "pure and clean" mind and for complete detachment from the world.

The ***Danyang shenguang can*** 丹陽神光燦 (The Brightness of the Spiritual Light of Danyang, CT 1150, 36 pp.; pref. 1175; Boltz 1987, 152; Tsui 1991, 22) is a collection of some 100 of Ma Yu's *ci* lyrics and continues his previous theme of the "pure and clean" mind that is totally detached from the world.

Qiu Chuji's ***Changchunzi panqi ji*** 長春子磻溪集 (The Pan Brook Anthology of Changchunzi, CT 1159, in 6 *j.*; Boltz 1987, 157-58; Wong 1988a) contains more than 450 poems and lyrics of various length and styles. It has four prefaces dated 1186, 1187, 1206, and 1208, written by four men of high social status. While the poems in the anthologies of Wang Zhe and Ma Yu were mostly written to instruct people on the principles and methods of cultivation, Qiu's poems expand that narrow scope to cover a wide subject matter, including descriptions of scenery, seasons, plants and birds, etc. Some lyrics are considered to be of high literary quality (see Nakada 1955). Many are addressed to high officials,

including Emperor Shizong of the Jin, and reveal Qiu's close ties to the aristocracy.

The next Quanzhen master who left a sizable collection behind is Wang Chuyi. His ***Yunguang ji*** 雲光集 (The Yunguang Anthology, CT 1152, in 4 j.; Boltz 1987, 163-65; Tsui 1991, 22), in four fascicles is a collection of some 600 poems and lyrics. This collection is called Yunguang "Cloud and Light" because Wang Chuyi once practiced cultivation in a cave of that name (2.26b). Like Wang Zhe and Ma Yu, much of Wang Chuyi's poetry aims to spread Quanzhen teachings. The titles reveal that Wang associated with people of varied social strata and occupation, from female devotees of Daoism to male Buddhist adherents, from civil officials to generals, and from shop owners to ship owners. They also show that Wang conducted many Daoist offerings (*jiao*), and thus demonstrate that the Complete Perfection school served the public by carrying out rituals usually considered to be a feature of the Celestial Masters. According to one account, Beijing suffered from draught in 1209 and people there asked Wang to pray for rain. Wang told them that it would rain the following day, and it turned out to be true (2.34b). We also learn that Wang once refused to meet a foreign envoy, and that he wrote quite a few poems describing his visits to the Jin court. Thus the *Yunguang ji* not only elucidates his teachings but also sheds light on his life.

Tan Chuduan's ***Tan xiansheng shuiyun ji*** 譚先生水雲集 (Mr. Tan's Anthology on Water and Clouds, CT 1160, in 3 j.; Boltz 1987, 160-62; Tsui 1991, 22) contains more than 200 poems and lyrics. This anthology has a preface dated 1187 by Fan Yi 范怿, a local scholar, and two postscripts dated 1289. In addition to poems of various length and style, the collection also includes Tan's *yulu* 語錄 "recorded sayings" to his followers in which he emphasizes the importance of keeping one's mind "pure and clean" when in search of the Way. A person will not be able to escape the cycle of transmigration unless the mind is free and clear, and salvation only comes when he has completely wiped out all thoughts and revealed his true nature.

Liu Chuxuan's ***Xianyue ji*** 仙樂集 (Anthology of Immortal Tunes, CT 1141, in 5 j.; Boltz 1987, 162-63; Tsui 1991, 30) is a collection of more than 500 poems and lyrics, some of which are quite short. One song instructs people to conform with their true nature and not to go against the Way. If they follow their true nature, they will have fortune and peace and will be able to cultivate the elixir of immortality. If they go against the Way, they will suffer disasters, illness and eventually death. The anthology also contains a list of ten admonishments exhorting people not to be arrogant and haughty, not to blame others for their own mistakes and not to be critical of others. They should not point out others' shortcomings, or talk about their own good points. They should be

fair to everybody, and not just love those who might benefit them, or dislike those who might not benefit them. Whatever they undertake, they should make sure that they finish it. When they try to explain the principles of cultivation, they should make sure the explanation is in accordance with doctrine. Those who pursue self-cultivation must always be "pure and clean" in mind and free from attachments. Although Liu's is a collection of poems and lyrics very much in the same vein as the anthologies of other Quanzhen masters, his work is not included in the *Daozang tiyao* (Ren and Zhung 1991), list of anthologies.

Hao Datong's ***Taigu ji*** 太古集 (Anthology of Taigu, CT 1161, 4 j.; Boltz 1987, 165-66.) has four prefaces: one dated 1178 by Hao Datong himself, one dated 1236 by his disciple Fan Yuanxi 范圓曦 (1178-1249), and the other two written at Fan Yuanxi's request by the well-known Yuan literati Feng Bi 馮璧 (1162-1240) and Liu Qi 劉祁 (1203-1250; see Yao 1995, 167-68). The book itself is divided into three parts. The first part in one scroll consists of Hao Datong's annotations to the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, a classic on inner alchemy. The second part in two scrolls consists of his explanations of thirty-three diagrams, including diagrams of the twenty-eight constellations, the five phases, the eight trigrams and the twenty-four divisions of the solar year. The third part, 1 j.,. contains thirty poems on the golden elixir. The contents and format of *Taigu ji* are quite different from other Quanzhen anthologies, which is probably why it too is not included in the *Daozang tiyao* list of anthologies.

CULTIVATION TEXTS. In addition to these anthologies, Wang Zhe and his seven disciples also authored a number of books on Quanzhen cultivation. Wang Zhe's ***Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun*** 重陽立教十五論 [hereafter *Shiwu lun*] (Fifteen Discourses on Establishing the Doctrines by Chongyang, CT 1233, trl. Yao 1980, 73-85; Kohn 1993, 86-92; Reiter 1984-1984; Ebrey 1993; see also Tsui 1991, 36-37) is a small handbook prepared as a guide for his followers. It includes six discourses on daily cultivation, five on inner cultivation and four on the meaning of "realizing the Dao." Wang's other work, the ***Chongyang zhenren shou danyang ershisi jue*** 重陽真人授丹陽二十四訣 [hereafter *Ershisi jue*] (Twenty-four Instructions the Perfected Chongyang bestowed on Danyang, CT 1158; Tsui 1991, 10, 40; Hawkes 1981, 162) is a collection of Wang's responses to twenty-four questions posed by Ma Yu. It was edited by one of Ma's disciples.

Ma Yu's ***Danyang zhenren yulu*** 丹陽真人語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Perfected Danyang, CT 1057; Tsui 1991, 22), edited by his disciple Wang Yizhong 王頤中, advocates being "pure and clean" and the dual cultivation of inner nature and life. His ***Danyang zhenren zhiyan*** 丹陽真人直言 (Straight Words from the Perfected Danyang, CT 1234; Tsui 1991, 41) moreover is a voluminous collection of further teachings

on cultivation. It emphasizes the importance of self-cultivation, because no one can do this for another. It also stresses that one can become an immortal by nourishing one's *qi* and making one's spirit complete.

Liu Chuxuan's ***Wuwei qingjing changsheng zhenren zhizhen yulu*** 無為清淨長生真人至真語錄(Recorded Sayings, Straight and Perfect, of the Perfected of Nonaction, Purity, and Long Life, CT 1058) with a preface by Han Shiqian 韓士倩 in 1202, consists of over 80 discourses on various aspects of life and cultivation, including life and death, bitterness and happiness, good and evil, misfortune and fortune and transmigration and retribution.

Sun Bu'er, the only female member of Wang Zhe's seven well-known disciples, left two works behind. They were not included in the Daoist canon, but appear in the *Daozang jiyao*: the ***Sun Bu'er yuanjun chuanshu dandao mishu*** 孫不二元君傳述丹道秘書(Secret Book on the Inner Elixir as Transmitted by the Primordial Immortal Sun Bu'er, in 3 j. *Daozang jiyao, wei*, 111a-17a) and the ***Sun Bu'er yuanjun fayu*** 孫不二元君法語(Model Sayings of the Primordial Immortal Sun Bu'er, in 1 j., *Daozang jiyao, weiδ*, 108a-10b). Both are collections of her sayings on methods of cultivation for women.

In addition to the works by Wang Zhe and his seven disciples, there is also *yulu* by Jin Zhenren 晉真人, the "Recorded Sayings of the Perfected Jin" (CT 1056; see Tsui 1991, 40-41), which contains writings by Wang Zhe and Ma Yu that are not included in the collections of their works.

INNER ALCHEMY. Quanzhen Daoism was the chief exponent of inner alchemy after 1100 and numerous poems on the practices of inner alchemy can be found in their anthologies. There are three works by the early masters which deal specifically with this subject. Wang Zhe's ***Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue*** 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣(Oral Instructions on the Golden Pass and Jade Lock by the Perfected Chongyang, CT 1156; trl. Kohn 1993, 175-180; Tsui 1991, 10, 30, 41-42; see also Hawkes 1981, 158-59) employs a question and answer format to explain concepts and terminology concerning cultivation. Qiu Chuji's ***Dadan zhizhi*** 大丹直指(Straightforward Directions for the Great Elixir, CT 244), published between 1269 and 1310, discusses the theory and practice of inner alchemy in nine sections, each with diagram and explanation. Wang Daoyuan's 王道淵(fl.1310) ***Qingtian ge zhushi*** 青天歌注釋(Annotation to the Song of Blue Heaven, CT 137) is, as its title suggests, an annotation of Qiu Chuji's "Song of Blue Heaven" and discusses the dual cultivation of nature and life, stressing the cultivation of nature before life.

ANNOTATIONS OF EARLIER DAOIST CLASSICS. Some twenty commentaries on early Daoist classics are attributed to Quanzhen

followers, of which two were written by Liu Chuxuan, one of the seven disciples: the ***Huangting neijing yujing zhu*** 黃庭內景玉經注 (Annotation to the Jade Scripture of the Yellow Court's Inner View, CT 401) and the ***Huangdi yinfu jing zhu*** 黃帝陰符經注(Annotation to the Scripture of Yellow Emperor's Secret, CT 122) with a preface by Fan Yi dated 1191. The commentaries in both books apply Quanzhen beliefs to interpret the texts.

HAGIOGRAPHIES. Daoist hagiographies serve as an important source for the early history of the Complete Perfection school. They describe both the seven perfected mentioned above and the five patriarchs or "ancestors." The five patriarchs were:

1. Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (*Zhengzong ji* 1.1a-2b; *Xianyuan* 13a-14a; Tsui 1991, 24);
2. Zhongli Quan 鍾離權, a legendary general of the Han dynasty (...), *Zhengzong ji* 1.2b-5b; *Xianyuan* 14a-15a; Tsui 1991, 25.
3. Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 a.k.a. Lü Yan 呂岩, *zi* Chunyang 純陽, a legendary figure of the Tang dynasty (b. 796?; see *Zhengzong ji* 1.5b-9a; *Xianyuan* 15a-16b; Tsui 1991, 25-26; see also Baldrian-Hussein 1986);
4. Liu Cao劉操, *zi* Haichan 海蟾 of the Liao dynasty (907-1125; see *Zhengzong ji* 1.9a-11b; *Xianyuan* 16b-18a; Tsui 1991, 26);
5. Wang Zhe.

It is not clear who organized the Quanzhen lineage, nor when it was formed. However, by the time that Qin Zhi'an 秦志安 (1188-1244) compiled the ***Jinlian zhengzong ji*** 金蓮正宗記 (Records of the True School of the Golden Lotus; CT 173, pref. Mao Shouda 毛收逵, dat. 1241; see Tsui 1991, 9; Hawkes 1981, 162), the Quanzhen lineage was firmly established. Wang Zhe himself was partially responsible for the formation of the lineage because more than once he mentioned the names of Zhongli, Lü and Liu in his writings. He even claimed that Zhongli was his "ancestral master." Lu his "paternal master." and Liu his "avuncular master." (*Quanzhen ji* 3.8a, 9.1a) Since some of these figures lived several hundred years apart, Wang's claim cannot be taken literally, but must be understood as an effort to establish a line of transmission for his beliefs.

When that Liu Tiansu 劉天素 and Xie Xichan 謝西蟾 published their ***Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*** 金蓮正宗仙源像傳 (Illustrated Biographies of the Orthodox Immortal Stream of the Golden Lotus, CT 174, pref. Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成, dat. 1327; Liu Zhixuan 劉志玄, dat. 1326; see Tsui 1991, 56-57), the Quanzhen lineage was not only well established but also widely known. The first chapter of this book contains a copy of Chinggis Khan's summons of Qiu Chuji, and Kubilai Khan's edict of 1269 which bestowed special honors

on the Five Ancestors and the Seven Disciples. It is worth noting that Kubilai Khan showed his favor for Complete Perfection even after it lost several debates to the Buddhists and before the last debate in 1281. The publication of this book could be an effort by Quanzhen followers to restore their school's former glory.

Li Daoqian 李道謙 (1219-1296) produced three important collections of biographies for early Quanzhen followers. His ***Qizhen nianpu*** 七真年譜 (A Chronological Biography of the Seven Perfected, CT 175, postscript 1271; see Tsui 1991, 27) concentrates on the lives of Wang Zhe and his seven disciples, covering the period between 1112 and 1227. His ***Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan*** 終南山祖庭仙真內傳 (Esoteric Biographies of the Immortals and Perfected at the Ancestral Court in the Zhongnan Mountains, CT 955) provides thirty-seven biographies of lesser known early figures of the Complete Perfection school. Perhaps the most important contribution made by Li Daoqian in preserving Quanzhen history was the compilation of ***Ganshui xianyuan lu*** 甘水仙源錄 (Records of the Immortal Stream of the Gan River, CT 973, in 10 j.; Tsui 1991, 22), published in 1289. This is a collection of biographies, stele inscriptions and eulogies concerning some fifty Quanzhen masters written by contemporaries who were not themselves Quanzhen followers. The authors include the well-known Yuan dynasty literati Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190-1257), Yao Sui 姚燧 (1238-1313) and Wang E 王鶚 (1190-1273; see Chan, 1975; Reiter 1990b).

Another important work for early Quanzhen history is the ***Gongguan beizhi*** 宮觀碑誌 (Records of Steles from Daoist Temples, CT 972) compiled by an anonymous editor during the Yuan. It is a collection of nine stone inscriptions written by scholars of Song, Jin and Yuan dynasties. The *Gongguan beizhi* is included in Chen Yuan's 陳垣 *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 (A Collection of Epigraphy for Daoist Schools) which contains 374 stone inscriptions concerning the Quanzhen sect. The *Daojia jinshi lue* is an important source book for the study of Daoism, especially the Complete Perfection sect.

RECORDS OF QIU'S MEETING WITH CHINGGIS KHAN. Two works in the Daoist canon provide eye-witness accounts of Qiu Chuji's meeting with Chinggis Khan. The first one is ***Changchun zhenren xiyou ji*** 長春真人西遊記 (Record of the Perfected Changchun's Travel to the West, CT 1429, pref. Sun Xi 孫錫, dat. 1228; see Waley 1931). This text is compiled by Qiu's disciple Li Zhichang (1193-1256) who accompanied Qiu on his westward trek. The second is Yelü Chucai's 耶律楚材 (1190-1244; see D.E. Rachewiltz 1962b) ***Xuanfeng qinghui lu*** 玄風慶會錄 (Record of the Celebrated Meetings on the Mysterious Winds, CT 176; Iwamura 1954), which is a historical record of the meetings between Qiu Chuji and Chinggis Khan from 1219 to

1223. Yelü Chucai was then serving as an interpreter for the Khan. He also wrote a book entitled ***Xiyou lu*** 西遊錄 (Record of Travel to the West; trl. De Rachewiltz 1962a), a record of his travels with Chinggis Khan that includes a text defaming Qiu Chuji.

Both texts are not only precious primary sources for Quanzhen history, but also for the study of the Yuan dynasty. The *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* is also an important document for the history of communications and transportation between China and the West, and for the geography of Central Asia (see Chen 1968; Ding 1974).

WORLDVIEW

Quanzhen Daoism advocated the methods of inner alchemy to achieve the ultimate goal of immortality. Unlike operative alchemy that advocated ingesting elixirs composed of metals, minerals, chemicals, etc., the inner alchemy regimen called for spiritual self-cultivation, contending that all necessary ingredients were present within the self.

THE DUAL CULTIVATION OF INNER NATURE (*XING* 性) AND LIFE (*MING* 命). Quanzhen is known for its dual cultivation of inner nature and life as a means of achieving immortality (see Chen 1984, 153-57). To understand the essence of its teachings, one needs to know how these two were understood by Quanzhen masters. Wang Zhe, the founding father of the sect, considered inner nature and life to be the root of cultivation (*Shiwu lun* 4b). According to him, inner nature is one's "spirit" and life is one's "vital force." Since inner nature is a key concept in Chan Buddhism and "spirit" and *qi* are two essential concepts found in early Daoist scriptures, Wang Zhe's teachings appear to have been influenced by both (Zhang 1995, 87.).

Wang Zhe compares inner nature to "root " or "host." and life to "bud" and "guest" (*Ershisi jue* 1ab). "Semen" (*jing* 精) is inner nature, and "blood" (*xue* 血) is life. The true method of self-cultivation is to understand thoroughly inner nature and life. Semen and blood are the fundamentals of the body, and the "real vital force" (*zhenqi* 真氣) is the root of life (*Jinguan yusuo jue* 2a). Most people fail to realize that life is the result of the interaction of "female force" (yin) and "male force" (yang). Since the root of the body is the father's semen and mother's blood, one must therefore conserve them (*Jinguan yusuo jue* 3b).

The best way to preserve one's semen or blood is to be "pure and tranquil" (*qingjing* 清靜). In explaining the meaning of the term "a person of no death" Wang said that a person who wished not to die must possess a "pure and clean" body. If true *qi* dwells in one's "cinnabar field" (*dantian* 丹田), and if semen or blood is not depleted, one will not

die. The reason why many men who are separated from their wives never attain the Way was because they fail to be truly pure and tranquil. To be truly pure and tranquil, one needs to nourish one's *qi* with semen or blood. In other words, one not only needs to keep one's body pure and tranquil, one must also keep one's mind pure and tranquil (*Jinguan yusuo jue* 2b).

PURE AND TRANQUIL. The term "pure and tranquil" frequently appears in the Quanzhen writings. The *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 (Scripture of Purity and Tranquility; trl. Wong 1992; Kohn 1993) is one of its four classics, the other three being the *Daode jing*, the Buddhist *Xinjing* 心經 (Heart Sûtra) and the Confucian *Xiaojing* 孝經 (Classic of Filial Piety). When Ma Yu asked about the meaning of pure and tranquil. Wang Zhe told him that there was both an inner and an outer pure and tranquil. He called a mind free of impure thoughts "inwardly pure and tranquil." and a body untouched by impurities "outwardly pure and tranquil" (*Ershisi jue* 2b).

Like Wang Zhe, Ma Yu also considered pure and tranquil to be the key to self-cultivation (Zhang 1995, 90). He said one must keep one's mind pure and one's vital force tranquil. When one's mind is pure, nothing will disturb it. When one's vital force is tranquil, evil desires will not bother him (*Danyang zhenren yulu* 8a). If one desires to nourish one's vital force and keep one's spirit intact, one must do away with all kinds of attachments, and be pure and tranquil both within and without. If a man can be pure and tranquil for a long time, his semen will concentrate, his spirit condense and his vital force stabilize. If he does not leak [semen] for three years, an elixir will form in the lower cinnabar field. If he does not leak for nine years, an elixir will form in the upper cinnabar field (*Danyang zhenren yulu* 15b-16a). Emission of semen was to him the most serious sin that would prevent one from achieving the Way: "Wine is a liquid that confuses one's nature. Meat is a thing that stops one's life. The best thing to do is not to consume them. While a person could be forgiven for having wine and meat, he or she could not be forgiven for having sex." Why? Because sex, as he asserts, is worse than wolves and tigers. It will destroy one's good behavior and harm one's good deeds; it will deplete one's semen and destroy one's spirit; it will cause death (*Danyang zhenren yulu* 2b).

Based on Wang Zhe's idea of inner and outer "purity and tranquility," Ma Yu instructed his followers to engage in both outer and inner daily practices. Through daily inner cultivation a person would acquire a quiet mind. One should not worry or be suspicious, nor should one be attached to anything. He urged all to keep their thoughts pure and rid themselves of desires. If one could spot one's own mistakes and quickly correct them, one would become an immortal (*Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 2b).

Wang and Ma's ideas of inner cultivation resemble the Buddhist idea of purifying one's mind and having no attachments.

Outer cultivation in Quanzhen was a discipline that sought to shape the adept's behavior toward others. One should not find fault with other people's shortcomings or brag about his own virtues. One should not be jealous of worthy and capable people, nor try to prove that one is better than others. One should not tell tales or argue with others about what one loves or hates (*Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 2ab). Ma Yu's teachings on outer cultivation reflect what he learned from Wang Zhe, and are closely related to Confucian moral values such as benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and trustworthiness (*Ershisi jue* 4a; Tsui 1991, 144). Wang once taught Ma that a benevolent person would not abandon others, a righteous person would not be corrupted, a courteous person would not be arrogant, a wise person would not try to compete with others, and a trustworthy person would not lie (*Ershisi jue* 4a).

Ma Yu believed that if a person is always able to be "pure and tranquil" and realizes that all worldly attachments are unreal, his mind will naturally become pure and his desires will vanish. His nature will be fixed and life will be settled. The elixir will naturally form and the adept will attain immortality. However, a person must do this by himself because no one else can do the cultivation for him (*Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 1ab).

MIND AND INNER NATURE. In Quanzhen belief, the process of cultivating one's nature is called "seeing inner nature" (*jianxing* 見性) and the process of cultivating life is called "nourishing life" (*yangming* 養命). Seeing inner nature means to understand the principle or to know the underlying "structure" (*ti* 體); nourishing life means to put it into practice or to know its "application" (*yong* 用; *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 1.21a). Both were necessary for cultivation. This section will concentrate on the concepts of mind and inner nature as presented by early Quanzhen masters.

The key to success in self-cultivation is to reveal one's true mind. When one's true mind is illuminated (*mingxin* 明心), one will be able to see one's inner nature. Ma Yu considered mind to be the key to the cultivation of inner nature and life. Wishing to return to the root of life, one must not let one's mind chase after anything nor be attached to anything. Wishing to see one's nature, one only needs rid one's mind of all thoughts and leave nothing on the mind. With the mind completely pure and clean and free from inner and outer feelings, this is seeing inner nature (*Jin zhenren yulu* 6b-7a).

Quanzhen masters frequently compared the mind to a monkey and the will to a wild horse. The adept must learn how to subdue his monkey-mind and control his horse-will, and not let them run wild. According to Ma Yu, he must cut off feelings and eliminate desires in order to

subdue the mind. He should not even see his relatives, nor allow his mind to wander, but keep it calm and put a stop to thoughts at all times, even when moving firewood, carrying water or going to the bathroom. When the mind is calm and without movement, it is called the true mind (*Qunxian yaoyu cuanji* 3.15a). If the adept can purify his mind and rid it of desires, he will become an immortal (*Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 1a).

Hao Datong said that to become a Quanzhen follower one must first cultivate the mind. When the mind is not wandering outside, the spirit will naturally be calm and vital force peaceful (*Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 1.22a). Qiu Chuji contended that when one's spirit is calm and one's vital force peaceful, one will see one's inner nature (*Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 1.5a). Tan Chuduan explained that a person is trapped in an endless cycle of transmigration because he has a mind. Using the Buddhist concepts of greed (*tan* 貪), anger (*chen* 嗔) and infatuation (*chi* 痴), he explained how the mind brings harm to the self, and how one must rid oneself of all feelings and love to subdue the mind. To perceive one's true nature one must return to the state before birth (*Shuiyun ji* 1.20b; *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 9b-10a). Only when one annihilates anger and greed from the mind, will one's original nature emerge (*Shuiyun ji* 3.11b).

The late Quanzhen master Li Daochun's (1219-1296) *Xingming lun* 性命論 in his *Zhonghe ji* 中和集 (Collection of Central Harmony, CT 249, 4.1a-2a; Li 1989) is a representative work of the Quanzhen belief in the dual cultivation of nature and life. Semen and spirit are the roots of nature and life: nature will not be established without life and life cannot exist without nature. The two terms are aspects of the same principle: the two should not be separated and adepts should cultivate both. To do so they would first observes rules, remain steadfast and use wisdom to empty the mind. Then, they refine semen, vital force, and spirit to preserve the body. With the body safe and sound, the foundation of life would be forever firm. With the mind empty and pure, their nature will be complete and illumined. With inner nature complete and illumined, then there will be no comings or goings. Life is forever firm, and there is no birth or death. Thus, they become both empty and complete, and will proceed directly to nonbeing. Both nature and life will be complete, and both form and spirit will be perfected (*Zhonghe ji* 4.1b-2a; Tsui 1991, 30-32, 39-40).

We can therefore see that to cultivate the mind simply means to empty it of all thoughts. This concept of subduing the mind is highly similar to Chan Buddhism's illuminating the mind; however, to Quanzhen followers this is the path to immortality, and to Chan Buddhists, the path to enlightenment. The concepts of mind and inner nature should also be distinguished from their use in Song dynasty Neo-Confucianism,

in which a true understanding of mind and inner nature is essential to being morally perfect and reaching sagehood.

THE HARMONIZING OF THE THREE TEACHINGS. In Chinese history, the trend toward integrating the three religions of Daoism, Buddhism and Confucianism started no later than the Tang Dynasty (618-907) but became very clear by the Song-Yuan era (Zhang 1995, 65). Quanzhen strove to bring the three religions together, and from the beginning Wang Zhe instructed his followers to study the classics from all traditions, believing that the teachings they expounded were all useful for self-cultivation. Wang saw the three teachings as three branches of a tree or three legs of a tripod (*Yusuo jue*, 12b-13a), and his disciples made similar remarks about bringing the three together.

Nonetheless Quanzhen was fundamentally a Daoist school pursuing the Daoist goal of immortality, but its understanding of immortality was somewhat different from other Daoist movements. To Quanzhen followers, immortality was reached when one was totally free from all kinds of stress and attachments. However, in order to attain that state one had to go through a process of self-cultivation that involved perfecting oneself inwardly and outwardly—inwardly by purifying one's mind through meditation and conserving one's vital energy such as semen and blood, and outwardly by severing all worldly attachments and perfecting oneself morally. All these methods of self-cultivation were geared to revealing one's nature and to nourishing life.

Practices

GENERAL GUIDELINES. Wang Zhe's handbook of fifteen discourses (*Shiwu lun*, CT 1233) may serve as a guide and explanation to self-cultivation. The fifteen tenets can be divided into two categories, outer cultivation and inner cultivation. To those who decide to "leave home" (*chujia* 出家) in search of immortality, Wang advises them to first surrender themselves to a monastic hut where their mind will find peace. They also must find the central point between movement and quiescence so that they will not move excessively and damage their vital force. On the other hand, they should not remain inactive too long or their blood will congeal and stagnate (1a). Wang warns his followers not to live in luxurious buildings because grass-thatched cottages are to him more appropriate for people in search of the Way. They should be concerned with what is being constructed within the self, and not with fancy outer things (2b-3a).

Wang cautions all who travel far in search of the Way not to amuse themselves with scenery or the splendor and bustle of large cities. They

should remember the purpose of the trip is not to enjoy the beauty of the temples or to have a good time with their friend, but to climb high mountains and seek enlightened masters. Wang warns those who try to find the Way in books not to confuse elegant writings with profound meaning. They must extract the meaning from the book, and apply it to their self-cultivation. If they read widely in order to brag about one's knowledge to others, their self-cultivation will be undermined.

Wang also instructs all his followers to acquire a good knowledge of medicinal herbs to improve health and to cure illnesses. Being knowledgeable about herbs, practitioners can use them to save people's lives. Such knowledge will help in reaching the Way (*Shiuu lun* 2ab). In addition all Quanzhen followers should have a Daoist companion so that the two can help each other in time of sickness. However, there must not be too much attachment to a companion because then the mind will not be set free. Complete indifference to others is also not beneficial. The best is to find a middle way so that people may care for each other without being overly attached (3a).

So far the text describes Wang's "outer" or daily cultivation, which he believed would contribute to reaching immortality. In Wang's opinion, there is no shortcut to immortality. To become an immortal, one must test one's will for many years and try to accumulate good deeds (*Shiuu lun* 5a).

As for the cultivation of the inner self, Wang advocates mixing inner nature and life, subjugating the mind and refining nature. Wang describes two states of mind—a "fixed mind" and a "confused mind." A fixed mind is always tranquil and unmovable. It does not see myriad beings nor think or ponder in the slightest. When the mind is in that state, one need not worry about subjugating it. However, if one's mind moves as the circumstance changes, it is a confused mind and must be extirpated immediately (3b-4a). One way to subjugate the mind is through meditation, a practice that is more than sitting in meditation with one's body straight and eyes closed. True meditation, according to Wang, requires the mind to be unmoved and unshaken throughout all activity and repose, whether walking, standing, sitting or lying down. In this state, even if the body remains in the mundane world, one's name will be listed among the ranks of the immortals, and there is no need to go far and consult others (3b).

To explain the different stages of mental cultivation, Wang Zhe uses the Buddhist concept of the "three worlds" (*sanjie* 三界), the worlds of sensual desire (*yujie* 欲界), form (*sejie* 色界) and formlessness (*wuse jie* 無色界). As the mind forgets consideration and reflection, it transcends the first world; as it forgets the various states of things, then it transcends

the second; as it becomes free from vain views (*kongjian* 空見), it then goes beyond even the formless.

To explain the desired goal of cultivation of the body, Wang Zhe uses the Buddhist concept of the "dharma body" (*fashen* 法身) which is the embodiment of truth and law. The dharma body has neither shape nor form; it is not empty, nor does it contain anything, and it is without physical dimension. When in use, it penetrates everywhere. Hide it, and it will be dark and obscure without a trace. Nourishing the dharma body successfully, one is attached neither to this world nor return to another place. Then one's goings and stayings are truly natural.

At the end of the text, Wang Zhe makes it clear to his followers that the goal of self-cultivation is not physical immortality. It would be very stupid to hope for that. When one becomes an immortal, one leaves the mundane world. However, what leaves the world is not one's physical body, but one's enlightened mind. For those who have attained the Way, their minds are already in the holy land even though their bodies are still in the physical world (*Shiwu lun* 5a-6b).

These fifteen brief essays do not encompass all aspects of Wang's teachings in great detail; in order to gain a more complete view of Wang Zhe's teachings, it is necessary to consult other works.

RECURRENT TERMINOLOGY. According to Wang Zhe, the first step towards immortality is to get rid of all unnecessary worries. The second step is to guard against wine, sex, wealth and anger (*Jinguan yusuo jue* 1a). In fact, two of the most frequently used phrases in the works of Wang Zhe and his disciples works are *jiu se cai qi* 酒色財氣 (wine, sex, wealth and anger) and *xinyuan yima* 心猿意馬 (monkey mind and wild-horse will), which together epitomize the cultivation of one's nature and life (se Hawkes 1981, 162-63). Severing all worries is the first step towards purifying one's mind. One's mind and will, like horse and monkey, are not easy to control. It takes effort to calm one's mind and to realize one's true nature. Guarding against wine, sex, wealth and anger is essential in taking care of life.

Those who want to enter the Way must also "sever their worldly ties;" that is, they must not be trapped by their families and should leave their wives and children. Wang Zhe stressed the importance of achieving the Way through quiescence and admonished against unnecessary words for he considered the tongue as one major root of disaster (*Quanzhen ji* 3.17b, 13.9a; *Jiaohua ji* 2.6b). In order to achieve the Way, one should not hanker after fame or profit for these will constrain people from reaching the Way (*Quanzhen ji* 10.16b, 11.13ab, 12.4b). The Buddhist concept of *lunhui* 輪迴 or transmigration is seen throughout, as the purpose of cultivation is to free oneself from the endless cycle of transmigration. Another common term is *kulou* 骷髏 (human skeleton), used as a warning to those not

interested in entering the Way that they would become mere skeletons as a result (*Quanzhen ji* 10.20a; *Jiaohua ji* 1.20b).

PURE RULES. Wang Zhe also issued a set of ten prohibitions or rules for his followers. They can be found in the *Quanzhen qinggui* 全真清規 (Pure Rules of Complete Perfection, CT 1235, ed. Lu Daohe 陸道和 Tsui 1991, 59-60; Akizuki, 1958; Kanayama 1943).

1. Those who offend national laws will be punished by explusion from the order.
2. Those who steal money or goods and give them to superiors and elders will be punished by having their clothes and bowls burned, in addition to being expelled.
3. Those who like to tell tales and to cause disturbances will be punished by being whipped with bamboo rods, in addition to being expelled.
4. Those who offend by drinking wine, [indulging in] sex, [seeking] wealth, [losing] their temper, or eating strong-smelling vegetables (i.e., leeks, garlic, onions, etc.) will be punished by expulsion.
5. Those who are villainous, treacherous, indolent, crafty, jealous or deceitful will be punished by expulsion.
6. Those who are insubordinate, arrogant and do not act jointly with others will be punished by [compulsory] fasting.
7. Those who make lofty talk and brag, and those who are impatient in their work will be punished by [being made to] burn incense.
8. Those who talk about strange things and joke, and those who leave the temple without [good] reason will be punished by [being made to add] oil [to the lamp].
9. Those who do not concentrate on their work, and those who are villainous, treacherous, indolent or lazy will be punished by [being made to serve] tea.
10. Those who commit minor offenses will be punished with compulsory worship.

The first commandment seems to have nothing to do with "entering the Way" or spiritual cultivation but was probably included to avoid any conflict with the state. Wang made it clear that he had no intention of protecting anyone who violated national interests. In doing so he notified the government that his sect was merely a religious organization made up of law-abiding citizens. Considering the fact that China was under foreign rule at the time, the first commandment may have been nothing more than a device for gaining the trust of the Jurchen rulers (see Kubo 1951, 36).

MEDITATION AND MONASTIC LIFE. The Complete Perfection practice of "quiet sitting" (*jingzuo* 靜坐) or meditation was very likely influenced by Chan Buddhism, since meditation has always been a major concern of Chan. For Quanzhen followers, meditation was a sacred routine to be carried out solemnly. A set of rules was compiled for "sitters" to obey. According to the *Quanzhen qinggui*, followers gathered together on the first day of the tenth month each year to perform the *zuobo* 坐缽

"sitting with the bowl" which usually lasted one-hundred days. During this period, followers meditated twenty-four hours a day. Two signs, one saying *dong* 動 (movement), the other saying *jing* 靜 (stillness), were placed in the room in turn. When the "movement" sign was up, the meditators were allowed to slowly move their bodies. When the "still" sign was up, no one was allowed to move at all. A *zhubo* 主缽 "master of the bowl" would patrol to see if anyone was moving. When he spotted someone twitching, he would hang a sign on the offender and hit him three times. The offender would slowly get up wearing the sign and take over the duty of patrolling. The next offender would in turn take over his job. Those who dared to leave the room or to talk during the "stillness" period were punished (*Quanzhen qinggui*, 5ab; also *Quanzhen zuobo jiefa*, CT 1229).

A typical daily schedule for Quanzhen adepts was as follows (*Quanzhen qinggui*, 5b-6a):

3-5 a.m.:	The sound of the plank indicates the "non-movement" period is over. Everyone washes his face and rinses his mouth. Then they worship the perfected and the sages.
5-7 a.m.	Morning meal.
7-9 a.m.	Group meditation.
9-11 a.m.	"Non-movement" meditation. Each person meditates quietly by himself.
11 a.m.-1 p.m.	Noon meal.
1-3 p.m.	Group meditation.
3-5 p.m.	"Non-movement" meditation.
5-7 p.m.	Late gathering.
7-9 p.m.	Group meditation and offering of tea and soup.
9-11 p.m.	"Non-movement" meditation.
11 p.m.-1 a.m.	"Chanting time." Adepts chant poems meant to enable them to resist the "sleeping devils" (i.e., to overcome the tendency to fall asleep). Each verse is sung three times and no more.
1-3 a.m.	The gathering is dismissed. One can do whatever one wants.

Scholars believe that Quanzhen established a set of regulations influenced by Chan (e.g., Kohn 1993, 86, 97-98. See also Yoshioka 1979; Kamata 1960). Kubo in particular argues that rules were not regarded as important by earlier schools (1951, 35). For example the Celestial Masters were allowed to marry, eat strong-smelling vegetables, and drink wine, all of which were forbidden in Quanzhen and Chan alike. Furthermore, punishments such as burning incense and adding oil to the lamp prescribed in Quanzhen rules were also practiced by Chan Buddhists. Above all, the term *qinggui* "pure rules" is clearly borrowed from the *Baizhang qinggui* 百丈清規, a collection of Chan Buddhist rules put together in the Song and ascribed to the Tang dynasty Chan master

Huaihai 懷海 (see Cleary 1978; Foulk 1987). Judging from the practices mentioned above, as well as from the sometimes cruel tests Quanzhen masters administered to prospective disciples (see Hawkes 1981), the Complete Perfection school was widely influenced by Chan Buddhism. Many masters were familiar with the teachings of Chan Buddhism, and as they promoted the unification of the three teachings, it is natural to find Buddhist elements in Quanzhen scriptures. However, the fundamental goal of the Complete Perfection school was distinctly Daoist: the attainment of immortality.

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