

道藏通考



THE TAOIST CANON

A Historical Companion to the *Daozang*

Edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

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VOLUME I

Antiquity through  
the Middle Ages

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Kristofer Schipper and  
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VOLUME 3

Biographies, Bibliography,  
Indexes

Edited by

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Franciscus Verellen

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alchemical manual 880 *Taiqing jinyi shendan jing*, have sections on ritual. Throughout this section the role played by GE HONG in the elaboration of alchemical lore is apparent. As can be seen from many titles in this section and in part 2.A.5, the compilers of the Xuandu guan 玄都觀 catalogue and subsequent bibliographers classified these alchemical texts in the Taiqing division.

For the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 and related texts, the reader is invited to consult the introduction to part 2.A.5. Although the notion of Inner Alchemy was in a way already present in later Han times (see 1168 *Taishang laojun zhongjing* 38), to all evidence the work that is now called *Zhouyi cantong qi* belongs to a later development in Taoist thought and practice.

*Shenxian fuer danshi xingyao fa* 神仙服餌丹石行藥法

26 fols.

Attributed to Jingli xiansheng 京里先生; Six Dynasties (220–589)

420 (fasc. 192)

“Methods of the Divine Immortals for Ingesting Cinnabar and Other Minerals, and for Making Medicines Edible.” This text includes a collection of alchemical recipes and a section dealing with the general principles of the treatment of mineral and vegetal substances. Apart from two references to cinnabar as coming from Yue 越 (in modern Zhejiang; 7a) and Ba 巴 (in modern Sichuan; 9a), which suggest that the text dates at least partially from before the Tang (618–907), there is no definite evidence on the date of this compilation. The name of its legendary author, who is also credited with 836 *Shenxian Shiqi jingui miaolu*, appears as Jingli 景里 xiansheng in *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* 2.36b, where the title of the work is given as *Shenxian fushi ershi bing xingyao fa* 神仙服食餌石并行藥法 (Methods of the Divine Immortals for Ingesting Minerals in Pills, and for Making Medicines Edible; cf. VDL 130).

The contents of the work may be divided into three parts. The first part (11a–11a) includes twenty-one methods for making cinnabar edible. There follow similar recipes for realgar (11a–17b) and other substances (25a–26a). A third section (17b–25a, entitled *Shenxian fushi ershi* 神仙服食餌石, a name close to the variant title mentioned above) discusses the value and use of common minerals and plants for obtaining immortality, as well as the general principles underlying their treatment and ingestion. The methods described in this work seem to be related to traditions reflected in the early hagiographical sources, where the ingestion of minerals and plants is often mentioned as part of dietary regimes. Several recipes here are in fact associated with names of legendary immortals of antiquity.



The procedures themselves are short; nitre (*xiaoshi* 硝石) is generally used as solvent to obtain various solutions (alum, gold, realgar, cinnabar, lacquer, etc.). Instruction on the ritual used for the transmission of the text, attributed to a certain Gao Qi 高起, along with an incomplete list of days forbidden for the making of drugs is found at the end of the text (11b–12b; compare this list with that of 885 *Huangdi jiuding shendan jing* 1.2a; 880 *Taiqing jinyi shendan jingjue* 1.7a; and 908 *Shangqing jiuzhen zhongjing neijue* 2b).

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*Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein*

*Shangqing jiuzhen zhongjing neijue* 上清九真中經內訣

6 fols.

Attributed to Chisong zi 赤松子; early Six Dynasties (220–589)

908 (fasc. 589)

“Secret Instructions on the Central Book of the Nine Authentic [Lords] of High Purity.” This text is attributed to Chisong zi, who appears here under the appellation Taiji zhenren 太極真人 (Zhenren of the Great Ultimate). No exact details are available about the origin and date of this short text, but its title and attribution suggest that it may have been transmitted as part of the Shangqing corpus. Taiji zhenren is also associated with 889 *Taiji zhenren jiuzhuan huandan jing yaojue* and 1376 *Shangqing taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing*, two other works related to this corpus and entirely or partially devoted to alchemical methods.

The text includes three methods for the ingestion of cinnabar (1a–2b), followed by the description of an Offering (*jiao Taiyi fa* 醮太一法; 2b–5b) to be performed before the preparation of the elixir.

*Fabrizio Pregadio*

*Taiji zhenren jiuzhuan huandan jing yaojue* 太極真人九轉還丹經要訣

8 fols.

Early Six Dynasties (220–589)

889 (fasc. 586)

“Essential Instructions on the Book of the Nine-Times-Transmuted Elixir of the Zhenren of the Great Ultimate.” This work includes the recipe for an elixir (1a–5b), two methods for compounding minor drugs (5b–6b), and an account of five *zhi* 芝 (substances of a transcendental nature that only divinities can confer upon adepts) said to have been planted by Mao Ying 茅盈 and his brothers on Maoshan 茅山 (6b–8a).

The text, which is listed for the first time as *Taiji zhenren jiuzhuan huandan jing* in *Sui shu* 34.1049, is presented here as revealed by Xicheng Wangjun 西城王君, one of the Shangqing immortals.

Several quotations in TPYL from the biography of Mao Ying confirm that the materials found in the present text were once part of the Shangqing scriptural corpus. These quotations are derived from both the first recipe (e.g., passages in 1a and 3b are quoted in TPYL 942.4b, 811.7a, and 812.7a; cf. also TPYL 671.1a and 1016 *Zhen'gao* 5.4a) and the account of the *zhi* (passages in 6b and 7a–b are quoted in TPYL 718.7b and 986.3b). It is likely that these recipes were already transmitted before YANG XI's revelations of 364–370, and that they entered Mao Ying's biography from different sources, being later separated from it to form the present text. The earlier origin of the section on the *zhi*, said to have been appended (*fu* 附) to the elixir recipe, is attested by 1185 *Baopu zi neipian* 11.6b and 11.7b.

Part of the first recipe (summarized in Strickmann, “On the alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching,” 146–150) is quoted as *jiuzhuan fa* 九轉法 (Method of the Nine Cycles) in 885 *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* (passages in 3b and 5a are found there in 20.16b–17a and 20.1b; the latter is also in 930 *Sanshiliu shuifa* 11b). The recipes of the two corollary drugs are reproduced in YJQQ 77.10b–11b. The account of the *zhi* was later incorporated in 304 *Maoshan zhi* 19.11a–b, and in 1353 *Shangqing daobao jing* 4.9b. It is quoted in WSBY 78.3a–4a as coming from the now lost *Daoji jing* 道跡經.

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Fabrizio Pregadio

*Taiqing jing tianshi koujue* 太清經天師口訣

15 fols.

Six Dynasties (220–589)

883 (fasc. 583)

“Oral Instructions of the Heavenly Master on the Books of the Great Purity.” This work includes a short introduction (1a–b) and two different texts: the *Taiqing shendan jingjue* 太清神丹經訣 (Instructions on the Book of the Divine Elixir of the Great Purity; 1b–4b) and the *Chisong zi zhouhou yaojue* 赤松子肘後藥訣 (Instructions on the Medicines by Chisong zi to Keep at Hand; 4b–15b). The first text comments on some passages of the *Taiqing jing*, a lost early alchemical scripture repeatedly quoted here as *benjing* 本經 (original canon). The second text gives the recipes of the Three Powders (*sansan* 三散) and the Five Salves (*wugao* 五膏), revealed by Chisong zi after a dialogue with Yunyang zi 雲陽子.

The introduction, on the pledges necessary to receive the first text and the conse-

quences of its illicit transmission, is also found in 885 *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 3.4a–b. The passages in the first text on the acetic bath (*huachi* 華池; 1b) and the crucible (*tufu* 土釜; 3a–b) are also found in 885 *Shendan jingjue* 17.5a and 7.6a–b, respectively. In the second text, the method for making pellets for driving away demons (*zuo quegui wanyao fa* 作卻鬼丸藥法; 14a) is almost identical to a recipe given in 885 *Shendan jingjue* 5.10b, which also includes an identically named talisman, and in SUN SIMO's *Taiqing danjing yaojue* 太清丹經要訣 (YJQQ 71.27a). The first recipe of the Five Salves also includes the so-called methods of the eight refinements (*balian* 八鍊; 7a–8b), said to belong to a corpus of early alchemical texts and methods in 954 *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* 7b. All the passages quoted in 885 *Shendan jingjue* mention (with some variants) the title of the present text, showing that the introduction and the two other sections were part of a single work already by the middle of the seventh century.

Fabrizio Pregadio

*Taiqing jinyi shendan jing* 太清金液神丹經

3 juan

Juan 1 attributed to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (second century A.D.); juan 2

attributed to Yin Changsheng 陰長生 (first century A.D.); juan 3 by GE HONG 葛洪 (283–343)

880 (fasc. 582)

“Book of the Divine Elixir [Made from] Liquid Gold, from [the Canon of] Greatest Purity.” This is a collection of diverse texts, some alchemical, others indirectly or not at all related to alchemy. The title is mentioned, without the prefix *Taiqing*, in the *Chongwen congmu* (VDL 118). The composite nature of the work is already manifest from the different attributions given at the headings of each juan. The structure of the text itself does not in fact correspond to this tripartite division. The compilation, possibly undertaken by GE HONG, seems to draw on various sources related to the alchemy of Yin Changsheng and his followers.

Juan 65 of the YJQQ, in the section on alchemy (“Jindan jue” 金丹訣) of that encyclopedia, is entirely devoted to excerpts of the present text and provides some clues as to its structure.

The book begins with a preface by Zhang Daoling, who speaks of himself as Daoling (3a7) and refers to his disciples Zhao Sheng 趙昇 and Wang Chang 王長. This preface, written in a philosophical vein and an obvious forgery, may explain the attribution of the whole juan to the first Heavenly Master. The YJQQ version has a commentary to this preface, which, in the present version, is added at the end (3b–7a).

Following this commentary, our text 7b–13a has a ritual of fasting and sacrifice in preparation for the alchemical work, to be performed before producing the *liuyi ni* 六一泥 sealing paste necessary for the hermetical closing of the alchemical vessel. The

***Baopu zi shenxian jinzhuo jing*** 抱朴子神仙金匱經

3 juan

Attributed to GE HONG 葛洪 (283–343); includes texts dating from the Han to the Six Dynasties (206 B.C.–A.D. 589)

917 (fasc. 593)

“Book of the Golden Liquor of the Divine Immortals.” This work includes texts of different date, all related to GE HONG and his *1185 Baopu zi neipian*. The title is mentioned for the first time as *Shenxian jinzhuo jing* in *Chongwen zongmu* (VDL 130).

The first juan describes a method for the preparation of the Golden Liquor, called *jinzhuo* in the title and *jinshui* 金水 (Golden Water) throughout the text. This description corresponds in several details to the short and often unclear summary given by GE HONG in *1185 Baopu zi neipian* 4.16a–17b (cf. Pregadio, “The Book of the Nine Elixirs,” 574–78). The recipe is divided into thirty short passages, each followed by a commentary. Two references to the change in the weight system between the Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) and the Jin (265–420) dynasties (commentary, 1.1b and 1.8a; cf. *1185 Baopu zi neipian* 4.18a) suggest a Han date for the text. On the evidence of the place names mentioned, the commentary dates from the sixth century.

The second and third juan reproduce *1185 Baopu zi neipian* 4.1a–7a and 4.7a–22a, respectively. Among the most significant variants are the reference to the method of the divine elixir of the Great Purity (*taiqing shendan* 太清神丹) as coming from the *Taiqing shangjing* 太清上經 (3.2b), and a method attributed to Bo xiansheng 白先生 (3.7b), not found in GE HONG’s work.

As described in this text, the main ingredients of the Golden Liquor are gold and mercury. The final product can be ingested, or it can be used to cast eating and drinking utensils, or to obtain a cyclically transformed elixir (*huandan* 還丹). The commentary refers to the *Jiudan jing* 九丹經 (1.4b) for a “test preparation of gold and silver” (*shizuo jinyin fa* 試作金銀法); the corresponding method is found in *885 Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 1.5a.

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*Fabrizio Pregadio*

***Lingbao zhongzhen danjue* 靈寶衆真丹訣**

16 fols.

Compiled before 1020; probably Tang (618–907)

419 (fasc. 192)

“Instructions on the Elixirs of the Zhenren of Lingbao.” This text is a collection of eleven recipes, introduced by a preface concerned with their efficacy for curing illnesses caused by “winds” (*feng* 風). The original title of the compilation was *Lingbao huanhun danfang* 靈寶還魂丹方 (Lingbao Recipes of the Elixirs for Returning the Hun Soul). Under this title, which in the *Daozang* edition is the name of the first recipe (1a–5b), the text is partially included in YJQQ 76.1a–13b (corresponding here to 1a–5b, 7a–10a, and 13a–16b) and is listed in *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesbu mu* 2.36a (cf. VDL 171–72). The inclusion in the YJQQ shows that the work was compiled before 1020. The mention of the *daliang* 大兩 and *dafen* 大分 weight measures suggests that it is not earlier than the Tang (618–907).

The three recipes on 7a–8a and 15a–16b are also found in 918 *Zhuji shenpin danfa* 3.10a–11b, 6.7a–8a, and 6.8b–9a, respectively. The last recipe in the YJQQ version, 76.14a–b, does not appear in the *Daozang* text.

*Fabrizio Pregadio****Shenxian liandan dianzhu sanyuan baozhao fa* 神仙鍊丹點鑄三元寶照法**

7 fols.

Preface dated 902

863 (fasc. 578)

“Method of the Divine Immortals for Refining the Elixir and Casting by Projection the Precious Mirrors of the Three Originals.” This is a short text giving instructions on the preparation of three mirrors through an alchemical process. According to the preface, the method was revealed to the anonymous author by Guigeng zi 歸耕子.

The Three Originals (*sanyuan* 三元) here are Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. To each of them is devoted a mirror, to be cast with the Elixir of the Fiery Dragon (*huolong zhi dan* 火龍之丹) and inscribed with emblems (1a–2b and 7a). The properties of the elixir, obtained from the Five Metals (*wujin* 五金; 1a), are described in 2b–3a. The process includes a procedure of fire-phasing (*huohou* 火候, 4a–7a) that extends over a period of one year. The names of the procedure’s seventy-two stages are derived from sentences found in the “Yüe ling 月令” (Monthly Ordinances) chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites).

*Fabrizio Pregadio*

*Taiqing shibi ji* 太清石壁記

3 juan

By Chuze xiansheng 楚澤先生; compiled in 758 or 759 on the basis of an earlier version

881 (fasc. 582–583)

“Record from the Stone Wall of the Great Purity.” This text attributed to a master of Chuze, is a collection of alchemical recipes, followed by sections dealing with rules for the ingestion of the elixirs. According to *Xin Tang shu* 59.1521, the text was edited in three juan during the Qianyuan 乾元 period (758–759) of the Tang by an anonymous officer of Jianzhou 劍州 (in modern Sichuan), on the basis of an earlier version attributed to Su Yuanming 蘇元明, who appears as Su Yuanlang 蘇元朗 in *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 18:240.9b–10a, quoting from a version on the *Luofu shan zhi* 羅浮山志 (Monograph of Mount Luofu). He is ascribed there a *Shibi ji* 石壁記 and is said to have retired on Mount Luofu at the end of the sixth century (cf. CGF 435, n. 16; Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 314–15; and Soymié, “Le Lo-feou chan,” 122).

More than sixty recipes are given altogether in this important collection. Their sources are not mentioned, but the *Shibi ji* appears to be closely related to the corpus of writings developed around the *Taiqing jing* 太清經 during the Six Dynasties (220–589). The recipes are often followed by details of the medical properties, and the third juan is mainly concerned with rules for the ingestion of the elixirs and descriptions of their effects.

Many alternative names of the elixirs, usually listed together with their recipes, are the same as those given in SUN SIMO’s *Taiqing danjing yaojue* 太清丹經要訣 (YJQQ 71.2a–3b) and in 901 *Shiyao erya* (cf. Sivin, *Chinese alchemy*, 76–79, 258–59). Both a *Shibi ji* and a *Chuze jing* 楚澤經 are mentioned in *Shiyao erya* 2.3b and 2.7a, respectively. No relationship, on the other hand, is found between the synonyms of the substances given in juan 1 of *Shiyao erya* and those in the two lists of the present text (2.9a–10a). The short accounts of minerals in 3.12b–14a form the basis of those in 907 *Jinshi bu wujiu shu jue*.

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*Fabrizio Pregadio*

**Zhang zhenren jinshi lingsha lun 張真人金石靈砂論**

10 fols.

By Zhang yinju 張隱居; between 742 and 770

887 (fasc. 586)

“Treatise on Metals, Minerals, and the Numinous Powder [i.e., Cinnabar] of the Zhenren Zhang.” The author of this text, the zhenren or recluse (*yinju*) Zhang, can be identified as Zhang Jiugai 張九垓, *hao* Hunlun zi 渾淪子. In the bibliographies of the *Jiu Tang shu*, 59.1518, and the *Song shi*, 205.5191, he is attributed commentaries, now lost, to the *Zhuangzi* and the *Longhu jing* 龍虎經. According to the former catalogue, he was active during the reigns of Daizong (763–779) and Dezong (780–805). A sentence in the present text (4b) shows that he was born in 720 or slightly earlier, and that his work dates from between 742 and 770.

Together with the *Qian tong jue* 潛通訣, the *Longhu jing* is the main textual authority of this treatise. The passages excerpted from these texts are not found in their present versions: some sentences quoted as deriving from the *Longhu jing* are now in the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 (e.g., those on 2b, 3a, and 9a correspond to 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fen zhang tongzhen yi* 1.23a, 2.1b, and 2.21a, respectively), while the passage quoted on 5a–b as coming from the *Qian tong jue* is found in 996 *Guwen longhu jing zhushu* 3.8b.

The text is divided into twelve *pian* 篇 (chapters) and is devoted to as many substances or alchemical preparations (cf. Kaltenmark, “Summary,” 64–65). Each *pian* generally describes the cosmological associations, the function in drug prescriptions (*jun* 君, *chen* 臣, etc.), and the action on the human body of a substance; the latter aspect is emphasized in the final section. The passages on the cosmological associations of cinnabar and mercury (5a) and the yin and yang substances (6a–b) are summarized in 938 *Dadan pian* 2b.

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*Fabrizio Pregadio*

*Dadong lian zhenbao jing xiufu lingsha miaojue*

大洞鍊真寶經修伏靈砂妙訣

21 fols.

890 (fasc. 586)

*Dadong lian zhenbao jing jiuhuan jindan miaojue*

大洞鍊真寶經九還金丹妙訣

17 fols.

By CHEN SHAOWEI 陳少衛, *zi* Ziming 子明, *hao* Hengyue zhenren 衡嶽真人;  
between 712–734

891 (fasc. 586)

“Wonderful Instructions for the Subduing of Cinnabar” (890) and “Wonderful Instructions on the Golden Elixir of the Nine Cycles” (891), both “Supplementary to the Dadong Scripture on the Refining of the Authentic Treasure.” These works describe two complementary methods for the refining of cinnabar and its transmutation into an elixir. Several statements (e.g., preface of 890 *Lingsha miaojue* 1a and 4b; 891 *Jindan miaojue* 1b) show that the two works originally had different titles and formed a single treatise, said to contain instructions on the *Dadong lian zhenbao jing*. The latter is also attributed to CHEN SHAOWEI in *Chongwen zongmu* 9.19b and *Song shi* 205.5194 (cf. VDL 78).

The place names mentioned in both texts were in simultaneous official use only during the first four decades of the eighth century. The dating suggested by this evidence is confirmed by the expression *tianyuan* 天元 (preface of 890 *Lingsha miaojue* 1a), which probably refers to the Xiantian 先天 and Kaiyuan 開元 reign periods, that is, 712–741 (cf. Zhang Zigao, *Zhongguo gudai huaxue shi*, 209–10). The original treatise was not written later than 734, when a reduced version of the two parts was submitted to the throne by ZHANG GUO (cf. article on 896 *Yudong dashen dansha zhenyao jue*).

CHEN SHAOWEI refers to the first section of the present work as “Lingsha qifan lun” 靈砂七返論 or *pian* 篇 (Treatise on the Seven Cycles of Cinnabar) and to the second as “Jindan erzhang” 金丹二章 (Two Essays on the Golden Elixir). The two sections retain titles close to these in YJQQ 69 (*Qifan lingsha jue* 七返靈砂訣) and 68.9a–25a (*Jiuzhuan jindan erzhang* 九轉金丹二章). The inclusion of these texts in reverse order in the YJQQ shows that the separation into two distinct works had already taken place by the early eleventh century; this separation is also suggested by the *Chongwen zongmu* entry cited above, which lists only the title of the first text in a form similar to the present one. The original title of the first section appears in the present work as its subtitle.

CHEN SHAOWEI’s work is one of the main sources of Tang alchemy (cf. Sivin,



“Theoretical background,” *passim*). In the first text, centered on cinnabar, the main process of each cycle consists of the treatment of the product of the previous cycle, yielding each time a “gold” (*jin* 金) that can be ingested or used as the main ingredient in the next cycle. In the second text, the final product of the previous seven cycles, now defined as “mercury” (*gong* 汞), is used as the main ingredient for the preparation of a “cyclically transformed elixir” (*huandan* 還丹). The treatment by fire-phasing (*huohou* 火候) includes here six cycles rather than nine, as would seem to be implied in both the original and the current title of this section (*jiuhuan* or *jiuzhuan*, “nine reversions” or “nine-times cycled”).

The descriptions of cinnabar in the first text (preface and 1a–3b) and of mercury in the second (9a–b) form the basis of those given in 909 *Longhu huandan jue* 1.1a–10b and 913 *Tongyou jue* 3b–4b. A summary of the preface of the first text, as well as part of its instructions on fire-phasing (5a–b), are found in 1017 *Daoshu* 31.1a–2a. The beginning of the preface is reproduced in *Quan Tang wen* 901.7a–b.

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*Fabrizio Pregadio*

*Taishang weiling shenhua jiuzhuan dansha fa* 太上衛靈神化九轉丹砂法

7 fols.

Seventh or eighth century?

892 (fasc. 587)

“Method of the Highest Nine-Cycled Cinnabar, Protecting the Spirit and Divinely Transmuting.” This text describes the preparation of an elixir through the treatment of cinnabar in nine stages. In a different and often more reliable version of the same method, found in 895 *Yinyang jiuzhuan cheng zijin dianhua huandan jue*, the final product is said to transmute (*hua* 化 or *dianhua* 點化, “transmute by projection”) other metals into gold. The expression *shenhua* 神化 (divine transmutation) in the title of the present text refers, strictly speaking, to this property.

The title of this work is not listed in any bibliography, with the possible exception of 901 *Shiyao erya* 2.3b, which mentions a *Weiling jue* 衛靈訣. On the basis of this evidence, and of references to place names officially adopted during the Tang period (618–907), the dating would be restricted to between the seventh and the eighth century.

The various steps of the process are related to passages of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, usually quoted and briefly commented upon at the end of each section (cf. article on 895 *Huandan jue*). The quotations are missing in the last two sections. The

text of the final section seems in fact to be either incomplete or altered, as it does not include the description of the ninth stage of treatment.

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Spooner and Wang, “The Divine Nine Turn Tan Sha Method.”

*Fabrizio Pregadio*

*Yudong dashen dansha zhenyao jue* 玉洞大神丹砂真要訣

21 fols.

By ZHANG GUO 張果, *hao* Gushen shan ren 姑射山人; submitted to the throne in 734

896 (fasc. 587)

“Veritable Essential Instructions on the Great Divine Cinnabar.” This is an abridged version of CHEN SHAOWEI’s treatise, now found in the *Daozang* as 890 *Dadong lian zhenbao jing xiufu lingsha miaojue* and 891 *Dadong lian zhenbao jing jiujuan jindan miaojue*. ZHANG GUO’s summary is identifiable as the text listed in *Chongwen zongmu* 9.21a as *Fu dansha jue* 服丹砂訣 (Instructions on the Ingestion of Cinnabar), and in the bibliography of the *Xin Tang shu* 59.1521 as *Dansha jue* 丹砂訣 (Instructions on Cinnabar; cf. VDL 114). The entry in *Xin Tang shu* adds that the text was submitted by ZHANG GUO to the emperor (i.e., Xuanzong) in 734.

The elaborate construction of CHEN SHAOWEI’s treatise is lost in ZHANG GUO’s abridgment, which omits important sections, such as the whole preface, and gives short summaries of others. Most passages concerned with doctrinal rather than practical instructions (e.g., 891 *Jindan miaojue* 9b–10a and 10a–b, on the cosmological associations of mercury extracted from cinnabar) are excluded. At the end of this version (17a–21a) are four methods not found in CHEN SHAOWEI’s work and unrelated to the main text.

*Fabrizio Pregadio*

*Shiyao erya* 石藥爾雅

2 juan

By Mei Biao 梅彪; preface dated 806

901 (fasc. 588)

“Synonymic Dictionary of the Mineral *Materia Medica*.” This is an alchemical lexicon followed by lists of names of elixirs and methods and by a bibliography of alchemical and other texts. The preface is by Mei Biao (b. ca. 750), who was a native of Jiangyuan 江源 in modern Sichuan. He states there that his work was compiled to supply the lack of entries concerning minerals in the *Erya* 爾雅, but he also alludes to the widespread use of “secret names” (*yinming* 隱名) in the alchemical literature.

The first juan gives a list of more than 500 synonyms for 164 (or 167, also counting subentries) names of mineral, vegetal, animal, and human substances, as well as laboratory instruments (cf. Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*, 383–442). The sources of the various synonyms are not mentioned. The second juan includes three lists of names and synonyms of elixirs, a list of names of alchemical methods, and a list of about 100 texts mostly concerning alchemy.

Thirteen names in the second list of elixirs (2.1b–3a) appear together with their synonyms, with occasional variants but in the same order, in juan 1 of 881 *Taiqing shibi ji*, where the corresponding methods are given. Several of these names and synonyms are also found in SUN SIMO's *Taiqing danjing yaojue* 太清丹經要訣 in YJQQ 71.2a–b. The latter also includes twenty-four names of elixirs found here in the third list (2.6b–7a; cf. YJQQ 71.3a–b), which shows the close relationship among *Shiyao erya*, *Danjing yaojue*, and juan 1 of *Shibi ji* (cf. Sivin, *Chinese alchemy*, 76–79, 258–59). There is, on the contrary, no direct relationship between the synonyms of substances given by Mei Biao and the “secret names” listed in *Shibi ji* 2.9a–10a, nor between these synonyms and the collection of glosses found in other alchemical sources (cf. Pregadio, “Un lessico alchemico,” 16–21).

According to the preface, the work was originally in one juan, and as such it is listed in *Chongwen zongmu* 10.4a and in *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” 67.28a (cf. VDL 100). Against Zhu Yizun's 朱彝尊 (1629–1709) opinion that the second juan is a later addition (see the colophon reproduced at the end of the *Biexia zhai congshu* 別下齋叢書 edition) stand Mei Biao's own words asserting that his work is divided into six *pian* 篇 (chapters), as we have it today. All the later editions, both Chinese and Japanese, are derived from the *Daozang* edition.

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Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu xukao*; Liao and Ding, “Daojiao waidan shu”; Pregadio, “Un lessico alchemico”; Sivin, *Chinese alchemy*; Wong Shiu-hon, *Daozang danyao yiming*.

*Fabrizio Pregadio*

#### *Jinshi bu wujiu shu jue* 金石簿五九數訣

10 fols.

Tang, after 686

907 (fasc. 589)

“Instructions on an Inventory of Forty-five Metals and Minerals.” This is a short treatise on the *materia medica* dealing with substances used in the preparation of elixirs. Both *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku qieshu mu* 2.38b and *Tongzhi*, “Yiwen lue,” 67.28a (cf. VDL 100) include its title, omitting the word *jue* 訣 (instructions). The reference to Jinzhou 錦州 as a source of cinnabar (*dansha* 丹砂; 1a) shows that the

work dates from after 686. The entry on talc (*huashi* 滑石; 8a) mentions Caizhou 蔡州, the name given to Yuzhou 豫州 in 762 because of a taboo on the personal name of Emperor Daizong, but this name probably reflects the date of the copy on which the *Daozang* edition is based. Other details suggest that this edition descends in fact from a Song copy: the largest administrative unit of the empire is called *lu* 路 (6b), and the Tang dynasty is referred to as *jin Tang* 近唐 (“recently, under the Tang”; 5b). Apart from the inclusion in the two Song bibliographies there is no definite evidence on the latest possible date of compilation, but the references to substances coming from foreign countries and to the pilgrimage on Mount Wutai 五臺山 of the Indian Buddhist monk Zhi Falin 支法林, said to have taken place in 664 (5b–6a), suggest that the work dates from the Tang.

The main source of the treatise is a text now lost, known only through a quotation in 881 *Taiqing shibi ji* 3.12b–14a, which does not mention either its title or its author. About a dozen descriptions of the present text, as well as its short introductory passage, essentially correspond to those found there. One third of the hundred or so indications of sites of occurrence are derived either from TAO HONGJING’s *Bencao jing jizhu* 本草經集註 or, through the latter, from the *Mingyi biehu*. Three entries—those on *shi guiying* 石桂英 (splendor of the stone cassia; 5a), *shi liudan* 石榴丹 (vermilion of the stone pomegranate; 8b), and *shi zhong huangzi* 石中黃子 (yellow seeds of the stone; 10a)—are similar to passages found in BPZ II.199.

The descriptions, usually short, are concerned with the places of origin, shape, and properties of the various substances. All of the descriptions refer to minerals, with the single exception of *hutong lu* 胡同律 (resin of balsam poplar; 8a–b), which was used as flux in mineral preparations. The earliest descriptions of selenite, halite, and asbestos in an extant pharmacological source are found here. Reference to sites of occurrence include Persia, Uddyāna, the Western Regions (*xiyu* 西域), modern Vietnam and Cambodia, and the modern provinces of Gansu, Qinghai, and Xinjiang.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

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*Fabrizio Pregadio*

#### *Longhu huandan jue* 龍虎還丹訣

2 juan

By Jinling zi 金陵子; Tang or Song (compiled before 1042)

909 (fasc. 590)

“Instructions on the Cyclically Transformed Elixir of the Dragon and the Tiger.” This text, attributed to a master of Jinling (a place in modern Jiangsu), includes sections dealing with the *huandan* 還丹, followed by a collection of other methods. A

reference to the *dajin* 大斤 and *daliang* 大兩 weight measures (1.15a) suggests that the text is not earlier than the Tang (618–907). It was compiled before 1042, as shown by the mention in *Chongwen zongmu* 9.22b of a *Longhu huandan jue* in two juan, attributed to Jinling zi.

The contents of the text may be divided into two parts. The first part (1.1a–13b), concerned with mercury and lead, is almost entirely based on quotations from CHEN SHAOWEI's 890 *Dadong lian zhenbao jing xiufu lingsha miaojue* (preface and 1a–3b), dating from the beginning of the eighth century. While CHEN SHAOWEI's work deals with the extraction of mercury from cinnabar and the preparation of a *huandan* using that mercury as the main ingredient, the passages quoted in the present text are employed to refer to a mercury-lead process, described in 1.13a–b.

The second part, which comprises more than eighty methods including variant recipes (cf. Guo Zhengyi, “Cong *Longhu huandan jue*”), opens with two methods for the preparation of the *danyang* 丹陽 (a copper and arsenic compound, 1.14a–20a; cf. other methods in 953 *Gengdao ji*, juan 6) and continues into the second juan, which deals mainly with the production of *hongyin* 紅銀 (red silver, i.e., copper) and with methods for removing the halo (*yun* 暈). CHEN SHAOWEI's work is explicitly mentioned here (2.40a) as *Qipian dansha jue* 七篇丹砂訣. Several characters, substituted by blank spaces, are missing in the final pages (2.33b to end).

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*Fabrizio Pregadio*

#### *Tongyou jue* 通幽訣

28 fols.

Tang 618–907)?

913 (fasc. 591)

“Instructions for Penetrating [Alchemical] Secrets.” This short treatise on alchemical theory is first mentioned in the *Chongwen zongmu* 9.22b. However, some details in the text could indicate a Tang date: the use of the place name Langzhou 朗州 (3b), which was changed to Huzhou 湖州 in the early Song 907–1279), and the title Hunyuan huangdi zhenjun 混元皇帝真君 for Laozi. This title could also be an abbreviated form of Taishang laojun hunyuan shangde huangdi 太上老君混元上德皇帝, conferred on Laozi in 1014. Our text also mentions a lost work (11a), the *Yinyang tonglüe* 陰陽統略 (cf. VDL 142), the exact date of which, however, remains uncertain. The long passage on the provenance of cinnabar (4a–b) seems to be an abbreviated version of 890 *Dadong lian zhenbao jing xiufu lingsha miaojue* 2a by CHEN SHAOWEI (fl. eighth century).

***Tongxuan bishu* 通玄祕術**

21 fols.

Edited by Shen Zhiyan 沈知言, *hao* Buyi 布衣; late ninth century, based on an earlier version

942 (fasc. 598)

“The Secret Arts for Penetrating the Mystery.” This is a collection of alchemical recipes edited by Shen Zhiyan, a native of Mount Jin’e 金鵝山 in modern Sichuan. According to the preface, in 864 the author received the Secret Essentials of Various Masters on the Divine Elixirs (*Shendan zhujia biyao* 神丹諸家祕要) in three juan from a Master Zheng 鄭公 from Huainan 淮南. The latter is probably Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, to whom *Chongwen zongmu* 7.19a and other Song catalogues (VDL 126) ascribe a *Putian tongxuan bishu fang* 圃田通玄祕術方 in three juan. As stated in the preface, Shen Zhiyan’s compilation also was originally in three juan. The bibliography of *Song shi* 207.5314 assigns the *Tongxuan bishu* the same number of juan. The same catalogue ascribes a *Tongxuan biyao shu* 通玄祕要術 in three juan to an anonymous author of the Xiantong period (860–874), while *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku quesu mu* 2.37b attributes a *Tongxuan miaojue* 通玄妙訣 in one juan to Bo Zhiyan 波知言, likely to be a mistake for Shen Zhiyan 沈知言 (cf. VDL 126 and 139).

The text includes recipes for more than two dozen elixirs, occasionally giving details of their medical properties. There is a gradual shift from mineral to vegetal substances in the lists of ingredients. One of the compounds (*pishu dan* 辟暑丹, or Elixir to Escape the Summer Heat; 14b–15a) is said to have been offered to and ingested by Emperor Yizong (r. 860–874). The last recipe is followed by the description of a rite (18b–19a) in which the officiant is instructed to wear the robes of a daoshi 道士, visualize divinities, and utter an invocation before the ingestion may take place.

*Fabrizio Pregadio*

***Lingfei san chuanxin lu* 靈飛散傳信錄**

6 fols.

By Qi Tui 齊推; 812

943 (fasc. 599)

“Record of the Truthful Transmission of the Divine Flying Powder.” This short treatise begins with a testimony, dated 812, in which the author demonstrates the efficacy of the *lingfei san* 靈飛散—a powder based on mica—and relates how he succeeded in obtaining the best recipe for it. The text is reproduced in YJQQ 74.20b–26a and quoted in Song catalogues (see VDL 169).

According to his testimony, Qi Tui, from Gaoyang 高陽 (Hebei), was befriended by his uncle Huishu 晦叔, a member of the Censorate (*Xiantai chashi* 憲臺察史). Huishu told Qi that juan 28 of SUN SIMO’s *Qianjin fang* indeed contained this recipe

*Jinhua yuyi dadan* 金華玉液大丹

19 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

910 (fasc. 590)

“Great Elixirs of the Golden Flower and the Jade Liquor.” The title of this collection of alchemical recipes is taken from the text of the first recipe (1a–2b), where *jinhua* 金華 (golden flower) and *yuyi* 玉液 (jade liquor) are the names of two intermediate stages in the preparation of the *zixia dan* 紫霞丹 (Elixir of the Purple Mist). The use of *qian* 錢 as the unit of weight below the *liang* 兩 shows that the compilation dates from after 992.

About a dozen recipes are given altogether. Several methods include regimes of fire-phasing control (*huohou* 火候); the method described in 12a–b has the name “method for Embryonic Breathing” (*taixi fa* 胎息法).

*Fabrizio Pregadio*

*Dadan qiangong lun* 大丹鉛汞論

9 fols.

Attributed to Jin Zhupo 金竹坡; eleventh century or later

923 (fasc. 596)

“Discourse on Lead and Mercury of the Great Elixir.” The author of this short alchemical treatise is indicated in the heading as Jin Zhupo of the Tang dynasty (618–907). However, since the text quotes a poem by ZHANG BODUAN (cf. 142 *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 2.19a), the eleventh century is the earliest possible date.

A Jin Quanzi 金全子, *hao* Zhupo 竹坡, appears in another text of uncertain date, as the disciple of SHI JIANWU (fl. 806–820; see 149 *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* 1a).

The treatise is both theoretical and practical. It discusses correspondences between lead, gold, mercury, cinnabar, the elements, trigrams, directions and the origin of lead, quicksilver, calomel, and other substances. There are also practical recipes on the extraction of true lead and mercury from common lead, cinnabar, and silver (2a), another on extracting *boxue* 白雪 (arsenious oxide?) and *huangya* 黃芽 (litharge, lead monoxide) from minium and mercury (2a–3a). There are some instructions on powders based on calomel (3b, 6b) and for making a great elixir (*dadan* 大丹) with lead, mercury, and silver as the main ingredients. The recipes do not give detailed instructions for luting, fire-phasing, or casing, as is common in older *waidan* 外丹 texts.

*Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein*

*Huandan gejue* 還丹歌訣

2 juan

Compiled by Yuanyang zi 元陽子; Song (960–1279) or later

265 (fasc. 132)

“Oral Formulas and Songs on the Cyclically Transformed Elixir.” This is a collection of alchemical poems attributed to Yuanyang zi (cf. 239 *Huandan jinyi ge zhu*). Since the first poem, however, mentions LÜ DONGBIN (1.2a), Northern Song (960–1127) would be the earliest date for this collection.

Many of the poems can be found in earlier works of the Five Dynasties or the early Song. For the poems in 1.12b–17b, for example, see 926 *Da huandan zhaojian* 10a, 16b, 17a, and 22b. Part of the second poem, by Dou zhenren 竇真人 (1.9b), is quoted in 266 *Jinyi huandan baiwen jue* 10b.

For the poem in juan 2, see also 238 *Yuanyang zi jinyi ji* 1a–15b, where it is found with a different commentary.

Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein

*Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan* 九轉靈砂大丹

12 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

893 (fasc. 587)

“Nine-Times-Transmitted Elixir.” This text describes a method based on mercury and sulfur. The use of the *qian* 錢 weight measure as the unit immediately inferior to the *liang* 兩 shows that the work dates from after 992. A post-Tang (618–907) dating is also suggested by several linguistic features.

The first five sections (1a–3a) are concerned with the construction of the apparatus and the preparation and sublimation of *qingjin tou* 青金頭 (head [i.e., matrix] of cerulean gold), a mercury-sulphur compound. These sections correspond to the opening portions of 894 *Jiuzhuan qingjin lingsha dan* 1a–2a, where they appear in a slightly different order. Other passages shared with the latter work are found in the following sections, which describe a complex method of treating *qingjing tou* in nine cycles.

Fabrizio Pregadio

*Jiuzhuan qingjin lingsha dan* 九轉青金靈砂丹

5 fols.

Song (960–1279)?

894 (fasc. 587)

“Nine-Times-Transmitted Elixir [Obtained] from Cerulean Gold.” This work describes an alchemical method similar to that outlined in 893 *Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan*.



The same evidence cited for the latter shows that the present text dates from after 992.

The expression *qingjin* 青金 (cerulean gold) in the title refers to a compound of mercury and sulfur that is prepared in the first stage and is further refined in nine cycles. The process described here is more straightforward than that of 893 *Jiuzhuan lingsha dadan*; it consists simply in the addition of sulfur to the product of the preceding stage.

*Fabrizio Pregadio*

*Yinyang jiuzhuan cheng zijin dianhua huandan jue*

陰陽九轉成紫金點化還丹訣

5 fols.

Tenth century?

895 (fasc. 587)

“Instructions on the Preparation of the Purple Gold, a Cyclically Transformed Elixir That Transmutes by Projection, [Obtained] in Nine Cycles [through the Action] of Yin and Yang.” This text includes a different version of the method described in 892 *Taishang weiling shenhua jiuzhuan dansha jue*, a Tang work dating possibly from the seventh or the eighth century. The references to the *fen* 分 as the weight unit below the *liang* 兩 (2b and 3a) suggest that the present version dates from before the end of the tenth century.

The descriptions given here are more concise and generally more reliable than those of the other version. The first four stages of treatment consist of two cycles of recompounding cinnabar after the extraction of mercury. The product is treated in the next three stages to prepare a *huandan* 還丹 (cyclically transformed elixir) and in the final two stages to prepare a purple gold (*zijin* 紫金) and a “projection powder” able to transmute mercury and lead into gold. The quotations from the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, found at the end of each of the nine sections, correspond to passages appearing in 2.25a, 2.27b, 2.21a, 1.26a, 2.25a, 1.30b, 1.31b, 1.25a, and 1.30b, respectively, in the edition of 1002 *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tongzhen yi*.

*Fabrizio Pregadio*

*Taiqing yubei zi* 太清玉碑子

12 fols.

927 (fasc. 597)

“Jade Stele of the Taiqing [Heaven].” This is a short work comprising prose and poetry. It is mentioned in the *Bishu sheng xubian dao siku qieshu mu* 2.38a as *Yubei zi* in one juan (VDL 99). The present title figures in the *Song shi*, “Yiwen zhi,” 4.5189, which