

On Hidden Immortals and Other Anomalies

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As counter-intuitive and surprising as it may be, there is an actual Daoist “Hidden Immortal lineage” (*yǐnxiān pài* 隱仙派), with *yǐn* suggesting eremitic withdrawal and seclusion, as in the terms *yǐnjū* 隱居 (“dwell as a recluse/live in seclusion”) and *yǐnshì* 隱士 (“hermit/recluse”). The Hidden Immortal lineage apparently has been unhidden. The hermits have descended from the mountains.

As far as current historical reconstruction goes, this is a late imperial *nèidān* 內丹 lineage that was formalized by Lǐ Xīyuè 李西月 (Hánxū 涵虛 [Immersed-in-Emptiness]; 1806-1856), possibly a lay and unaffiliated Daoist. Lǐ was a native of Lèshān 樂山 (formerly Jiāding 嘉定), Sìchuān. He claimed to have received (apparently) mystical instructions on internal alchemy from Zhāng Sānfēng 張三丰 (d. 1457?) and to have later met the immortal Lǚ Dòngbīn 呂洞賓 (Chúnyáng 純陽 [Pure Yang]; b. 796?) on Mount Éméi 峨眉山 (Sìchuān) (Baldrian-Hussein 2008, 645; Esposito 2014, 18-19). Lǐ is perhaps best known as the editor of the *Zhāng Sānfēng quánjí* 張三丰全集 (Complete Collection of Zhāng Sānfēng; JY 245; ZW 125; dat. 1844?) (see Wong 1982).¹ In a section titled “Dàopài 道派” (Daoist Lineage), the standard, mythological list of six “patriarchs” (*zǔshī* 祖師) is as follows:

(1) Lǎozǐ 老子 (“Master Lao”; trad. dat. 6 th c. BCE; legendary)
(2) Yǐn Xǐ 尹喜 (legendary), a.k.a. Wénshǐ xiānshēng 文始先生 (Master Beginning-of-Literature; trad. dat. 6 th c. BCE; legendary)
(3) Lǐ Hé 李和 (356-457), a.k.a. Mányīzǐ 麻衣子 (Hempclad Master)
(4) Chén Tuán 陳搏 (d. 989), a.k.a. Xīyí xiānshēng 希夷先生 (Master Infinitesimal Subtlety)
(5) Jiǎ Déshēng 賈得昇 (fl. 980s), a.k.a. Huǒlóng xiānshéng 火龍先生 (Master Fire Dragon) ²

¹ For guidance on Lǐ’s own writings see Baldrian-Hussein 2008, 645; Esposito 2014, 18-19. His commentary on the sixth-century *Yīnfú jīng* 陰符經 (Scripture on the Hidden Talisman; DZ 31; trl. Komjathy 2008a, 2013a) has been translated by James Legge in his *Texts of Taoism* (1891).

² The *Zhāng Sānfēng quánjí* contains the following, admittedly late entry on Jiǎ Déshēng: “Master Fire Dragon was an eminent disciple of Chén Xīyí. He went into seclusion and kept his surname and given personal name hidden. His birthplace could not be identified, so perhaps he regarded the heavens and earth as his residence. His deeds remain unknown, so perhaps he regarded hidden virtue (*qiándé* 潛德) as his achievement. The *Shénxiān jiàn* 神仙鑑 (Mirror of Divine Immortals) only records his appellations and describes him as having a flowing appearance beyond ordinary matters. In this way, he resembled Chìsōng 赤松 (Redpine) and Huángshí 黃石 (Yellowstone), whom the world only knows as ancient immortals. Master Fire Dragon lived in seclusion in the Zhōngnán 終南 mountains. Thus, he was called “Zhōngnán yǐnxiān 終南隱仙” (Hidden Immortal of Zhōngnán). Some say that he was Master Jiǎ Déshēng. This awaits investigation and confirmation by the knowledgeable” (ZW 125, 1.15a/5.416). Elder Yellowstone (semi-legendary; ca. 200 BCE?) is mentioned in Chén Tuán’s hagiography contained in the *Lìshì tōngjiàn* translated in ch. 2 herein. A hagiographical entry on this immortal appears in the *Gāoshì zhuàn* 高士傳 (Biographies of Eminent Masters) by Huángfǔ Mì 皇甫謐 (215-282). For some brief information on Elder Yellowstone see Campany 2002, 219, 313. There is an attributed text contained in the *Dàoàng*, namely, *Huángshí gōng sùshū* 黃石公素書 (Book of Simplicity by Elder Yellowstone; DZ 1178; ZH 976).

(6) Zhāng Sānfēng 張三丰 (d. 1457?)
(ZW 125, 1.13a/5.415)³

Six Patriarchs of the “Official” Hidden Immortal Lineage

#1 and #2 are obviously mythological, honorific, and perhaps obligatory. They represent the legendary beginning of Daoism with the transmission of the *Dàodé jīng* 道德經 (Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power) from Lǎozǐ to Yīn Xǐ, the Guardian of the Pass (see, e.g., Seidel 1969; Graham 1998 [1986]; Kohn 1998a, 1998b; Komjathy 2023c). Thus, the latter’s Daoist sobriquet is Wénshǐ, that is, the person who received the first Daoist scripture.⁴ #3-5 relate to Chén Tuán’s own hagiographical details (see general introduction, chs. 1 and 2 herein). Outside of Lǐ’s own experience, the Zhāng-connection is unclear. Perhaps it is due to Chén’s loose affiliation with Mount Wūdāng 武當 (near Shíyàn, Húběi) and/or an attempt to draw upon Chén’s fame at the time.⁵ In any case, this requires more research. The “official” Hidden Immortal lineage is, in turn, also referred to as Wénshǐ pài 文始 (Beginning-of-Literature lineage), Xīpài 西派 (Western lineage), and Yóulóng pài 猶龍派 (Resembling-the-Dragon lineage), with the first and third referring to Yīn Xǐ and Lǎozǐ, respectively.⁶

However, the notion of “hidden immortals” and an associated esoteric lineage perhaps directs us to consider the immortals hidden inside the known Hidden Immortal lineage. In fact, the notion of “hidden immortals,” in its multiple layers, is one of the primary inspirations behind the present book. It is a lens through which I have consistently attempted to engage and explore Chén Tuán. Recalling the classical and foundational Daoist principle, value and quality of namelessness (*wúmíng* 無名; anonymity), this is a lineage-beyond-lineage. As associated with Chén Tuán and

³ Compare the “Hùnyuán xiānpài zhī tú 混元仙派之圖” (Chart of the Immortal Lineages of Chaos Prime) in the *Yùxīzǐ dānjīng zhǐyào* 玉谿子丹經指要 (Master Yuxi’s Essentials of the Alchemical Classics; DZ 245; ZH 862; dat. 1264) by the Quánzhēn 全真 (Complete Perfection) Daoist monk Lǐ Jiǎnyì 李簡易 (Yùxī 玉谿 [Jade Rivulet]; fl. 1260s). There Chén Tuán is located in the line of the Hemptad Daoist. See general introduction herein.

⁴ Yīn Xǐ, also known as Guān Yīn 關尹 (Gatekeeper/Pass Guardian Yin), plays an important role in the formation and transmission of Daoism in *Zhuāngzǐ* 莊子 (Book of Master Zhuang). See chs. 19 and 33. There also is a text attributed to him, namely, *Guān Yīnzǐ* 關尹子 (Book of Gatekeeper Yin), which is also known by its honorific title *Wénshǐ zhēnjīng* 文始真經 (Perfect Scripture of Master Beginning-of-Literature; DZ 667; ZH 480). Yin was eventually identified as the ancestor of a Daoist family line that led to the founding of Lóuguān tái 樓觀臺 (Lookout Tower Monastery; near Zhōuzhì, Shǎnxī) around the late fifth century, including an associated textual corpus. See Kohn 1991.

⁵ For some insights into the history of Zhāng Sānfēng and Mount Wūdāng see Seidel 1970; Wong 1979, 1982; Lagerwey 1992; De Bruyn 2004; 2010; Jülch 2022. In a contemporary context, Zhāng is identified as the originator of so-called “Wudang martial arts,” (mythologically) said to be the origin of Chinese internal martial arts (*nèijiā* 內家). The opposite is actually the case. Somewhat paralleling the construction of “Shàolín Gōngfū 少林功夫” and its association with the legendary Bodhidharma (Dámó 達摩; 6th c.?) (see Shahar 2008), this layer of the “legend of Zhāng Sānfēng” seems to have occurred in the late imperial period (late 19th century?) (see Wile 2007). There is a deep connection to popular Western culture (*Kung Fu*, Gaming, Wu Tang Clan, etc.), including the “logic of the Oriental Monk” (see Iwamura 2000). In any case, just as Zhāng Sānfēng is the associated immortal and patron saint of Mount Wūdāng, Chén Tuán is the equivalent for Huàshān. See introduction herein.

⁶ The description of Lǎozǐ (Lǎo Dān 老聃), via Kōngzǐ 孔子 (Master Kong; “Confucius”), as resembling a dragon appears in ch. 14 of the *Zhuāngzǐ* and his standard “biography” in ch. 63 of the *Shǐjì* 史記 (Records of the Historian). Among other things, the phrase became the inspiration for the title of the eleventh-century *Yóulóng zhuàn* 猶龍傳 (Record of Resembling a Dragon; DZ 774), which sometimes is translated as *Like Unto a Dragon*.

as documented in his associated hagiographies (biographies of saints), the earlier hidden immortal lineage includes at least the following nine immortals (listed alphabetically):

(1) Chīsōngzǐ 赤松子 (Master Redpine; legendary/ancient)
(2) Húgōng 壺公 (Gourd Elder; ca. 2 nd c. CE?)
(3) Lǚ Yán 呂巖/Lǚ Dòngbīn 呂洞賓 (Chúnyáng 純陽 [Pure Yang]; b. 796?) ⁷
(4) Lùpí gōng 鹿皮公 (Deerskin Elder; legendary/ancient)
(5) Mányīzǐ 麻衣子 (Hempclad Master; 356-457)
(6) Máonǚ 毛女 (Hairy Lady; ca. 3 rd c. BCE?)
(7) Sūn Jūnfāng 孫君仿 (d.u.)
(8) Yīn Chángshēng 陰長生 (ca. 100 CE?)
(9) Zhōnglí Quán 鍾離權 (Zhèngyáng 正陽 [Aligned Yang]; 168?-256? CE)

Members of the Unofficial Hidden Immortal Lineage

My own investigations and the present appendix were inspired by Chén’s mystical encounter with Gourd Elder, Master Redpine, and Lǚ and their poetry-exchange on Mount Huà mentioned in the *Lìshì tōngjiàn* 歷世通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror of Successive Generations; DZ 296, 47.11b-12a) (see ch. 2 herein). As these Daoists could not have met in historical and linear time, their mountain gathering suggests “trans-temporality.” This is Daoist immortality as trans-personal and Daoist immortals as representing an (a)historical and energetic continuum transcending the limitations of ordinary time. Such Daoist-inspired/infused views suggest that immortal communications and transmissions may occur at any (non)moment and in any (non)direction. On a Daoist contemplative level and in a Daoist contemplative approach, the presence/absence of these figures also points towards additional traces and tracks. They represent ideals, including associated spiritual qualities, for aspiring Daoists. We may (should?) study their stories. Under my reading, one connective strand involves mountain dwelling and wildness, living outside mainstream society. Second, they are associated with various methods and texts, especially beyond their conventional biographical and historical confines. That is, in addition to being associated with specific texts, they inspired others. Thus, we may (should?) seek out their written records and teachings. Perhaps they provide additional guidance concerning the Way of Immortality. Again, another connective strand is disengagement, leisure, ruggedness, seclusion, self-reliance, and the like. It is no coincidence that they are associated with deer, gourds, hemp, and pines. In addition to invoking natural simplicity, longevity, and immortality, they point toward a trans-human quality and state.⁸

⁷ In other contexts and literature, Lǚ also is referred to as Mányī dào zhě 麻衣道者 (Hempclad Daoist).

⁸ In addition to being coarse and simple garments, “hemp robes” also are associated with traditional Chinese mourning rites. Under this reading, the Hempclad Daoist might thus be understood as in mourning, perhaps mourning for the state of the ordinary world and/or a walking memorial to his former self. Along these lines, some comments also are in order about the Daoist use of “death and mourning” as an allegory and framework for deeper contemplative practice and contemplative experience. There are already examples of meditation-as-death, at least of the social self (*míng* 名), in the classical Daoist *Zhuāngzǐ*. For example, after learning that his practice-realization is fundamentally deficient, Lièzǐ 列子 (Master Lie) goes into a three-year retreat, the traditional Chinese mourning period. After this, we are told that he “disappeared” (ch. 7). In addition to various other death connections, the realized Daoist adept is described as having a “heart-mind like dead ashes” and “body like withered wood” (chs. 2, 22, 23, 24) as well as “dwelling corpse-like” (chs. 11, 14, 23). An example from the later Daoist tradition appears in early Quánzhēn Daoism, including the

They are unbound by social conventions and ordinary belonging. They belong to a secret community, a hidden lineage of immortals and immortality.

One question without a clear answer relates to the rationale and inspiration behind this particular grouping. With the exception of Lǚ, and the Hairy Lady and Master Redpine to a lesser extent, the company is not the best choice or most logical configuration for creating legitimacy or establishing tradition. It is not the most convincing “legitimation narrative.” There was a much broader contemporaneous repertoire comprised of more famous figures.⁹ While there may be an as-yet-undiscovered contemporaneous context of immortality lore, the above list seems to point, rather, to obscurity. They represent a periphery, an underground, a relatively unknown and unexpected network. One possible connection, at least among the Hairy Lady, Hempclad Master, and Chén Tuán, is their residence in the mountains of Shǎnxī, specifically the Zhōngnán 終南 (Southern Terminus) mountains. Like Huàshān, in Chinese history these mountains are associated with hermits and eremitic culture.¹⁰ The latter, relating to hiddenness, recalls various passages in the classical Daoist textual corpus, including the view that Daoists are largely unrecognizable (*bùkě shí* 不可識), manifest a “form beyond formlessness” (*wúxíng zhī xíng* 無形之形), and transmit a “teaching beyond/without words” (*bùyán zhī jiào* 不言之教). “Because they could not be recognized, we feel compelled to describe them” (*Dàodé jīng*, ch. 15). This statement is then followed by a list of what may be referred to as the Seven Qualities (*qirong* 七容), attributes and traits of advanced and realized Daoists. Some passages even point toward immunity and invincibility, perhaps invisibility. So, perhaps this grouping suggests that an individual’s attainment of immortality is directly proportional to their degree of hiddenness, obscurity, unknowability, and the like.¹¹ They are those who have disappeared in the mountains.

In a contemporary context, the Hidden Immortal lineage is specifically associated with Chén Tuán and Huàshan, the Western Marchmount (*xīyuè* 西嶽). This is somewhat complex, as the mountain also is home to its namesake Huàshān pài 華山派 (Mount Hua lineage), a Quánzhēn 全真 (Complete Perfection) Daoist lineage traditionally associated with Hǎo Dàtōng 郝大通 (Tàigǔ 太古 [Great Antiquity]/Guǎngníng 廣寧 [Expansive Serenity]; 1140-1213), one of the so-called Seven Perfected (*qīzhēn* 七真). These are sometimes discussed in local oral Daoist history

founder Wáng Zhé’s 王嘉 (1113-1170) residence in his first hermitage called Huò sǐrén mù 活死人墓 (Tomb for Reviving the Dead), which is also translated as “Tomb of the Living Dead.” See Komjathy 2007, 2013a.

⁹ Interested readers may consult Daoist hagiographies that predate Chén Tuán, with the possibly second-century CE *Lièxiān zhuàn* 列仙傳 (Biographies of Arrayed Immortals; DZ 294; ZH 1429; trl. Kaltenmark 1953 [French]) and fourth-century *Shénxiān zhuàn* 神仙傳 (Biographies of Spirit Immortals; JHL 89; ZH 1430; trl. Campany 2002) being especially influential. This is not to mention Daoist folklore and oral storytelling traditions, such as those derived from the *Zhuāngzǐ*. Some potential immortal candidates from the latter include Gēngsāng Chǔ 庚桑楚 (Western Mulberry Cane), Guǎngchéngzǐ 廣成子 (Master Expansive Completion), and Liè Yùkòu 列御寇 (Lièzi 列子).

¹⁰ In the next period, this was the geographical source-point of Quánzhēn Daoism. See Komjathy 2007, 2013a. For some insights into the contemporary situation see Eberhard and Morrison 1973; Anderson 1989-1990; Vervoorn 1990-1991; Porter 1993; Chén 2003; Goossaert 2008; Palmer and Siegler 2017; Jülch 2022. Interestingly, Huàshan contains the Máo nǚ dòng 毛女洞 (Hairy Lady Cave/Grotto) on a lower northwestern slope below the Western Peak. See general introduction herein.

¹¹ As *míng* 名 (“name”)-states and experiences, ordinary social identity and recognition are sources of dissipation, confusion, and disorientation. This is because, in addition to designating one’s given personal name, *míng* refers to reputation and fame. That is, *míng* encompasses social, familial, and egoic identity. To seek and display fame is a mortal undertaking, in every sense. Perhaps the “hidden immortal approach” is an antidote to contemporary spiritual athleticism and spiritual exhibitionism, not to mention various academic deviations and distortions, including sycophancy (sickophancy) and fame whoredom.

as the “old Huàshan lineage” and “new Huàshān lineage,” respectively (see general introduction herein). Under my engagement, reflections, and application, they provide models and paths of Daoist practice and attainment (see Komjathy 2013b, 2014a). Specifically, as the present book suggests, the “old lineage” emphasizes eremitic seclusion and mountain being, including being carefree (*xiāoyáo* 逍遙). The “new lineage” emphasizes asceticism, eremiticism, and even monasticism with particular attention to contemplative practice, including quietistic and alchemical training and transmutation, and mystical abiding and experiencing (cf. Palmer and Siegler 2017). The contemporary Huàshān situation is further complicated because most of the resident monastics are affiliates of the Lóngmén 龍門 (Dragon Gate) lineage (author’s field observations), traditionally associated with Qiū Chǔjī 丘處機 (Chángchūn 長春 [Perpetual Spring]; 1148-1227), but officially institutionalized by Wáng Chángyuè 王常月 (Kūnyáng 崑陽 [Paradisiacal Yang]; 1622-1680) (see, e.g., Komjathy 2013a; Esposito 2014). Among contemporary Huàshān-based Daoists, the charisma (spiritual qualities) of the Hidden Immortal lineage includes mountain seclusion, sleep practice, as well as cosmological reflection. In addition to the bronze sleeping statue contained in Chén’s shrine, the monastic compound of Yùquán yuàn 玉泉院 (Temple of the Jade Spring), the base-monastery, includes an inscription of the *Wújí tú* 無極圖 (Diagram of Nondifferentiation) and *Guānkōng piān* 觀空篇 (Treatise on Observing Emptiness) (see general introduction, chs. 6 and 7 herein). So, in some sense, “hidden immortal culture” infuses resident monastic life, at least for those with such affinities, commitments, and aspirations.

During my many visits to Huàshān and conversations with the resident monastics, beginning in 1998, Chén Tuán was most often associated with “being carefree” (*xiāoyáo* 逍遙). Among multiple tea conversations and “discourses on the Dao” (*lùndào* 論道), no one mentioned mystical encounters with Chén, although I have not returned since beginning this project (2018). The same is true with my respect to my travels through modern mainland Chinese Daoism and global Daoism. I have not met anyone who claimed to be connected to or to have received secret transmissions from Chén (enter, stage left), while there were such claims about Lǎozǐ and Lǚzǔ 呂祖 (Ancestor Lǚ; Lǚ Dòngbīn). In fact, some individuals suggested that they converted to Daoism because of such experiences prior to knowing anything about the given immortal. (There are parallel stories about deceased teachers and saints in other traditions as well.) So, the Hidden Immortal lineage is not only a story told by and for Daoists, but also a story beyond Daoism. It is a “super-story” about human potential and actualization, a trans-temporal mythos about something else and something more (see general introduction herein).

Drawing upon Chén Tuán’s hagiographies and the associated immortal encounters, here I translate the various immortals’ earliest and influential hagiographies, with the exception of Lǚ Dòngbīn.¹² These are organized alphabetically based on English translation: Deerskin Elder,

¹² Lǚ Dòngbīn is probably the most famous Daoist immortal in all of Chinese history (alas), and there are endless hagiographical versions and accretions as well as attributed writings. He also appears as a member of the later, standardized Eight Immortals (*bāxiān* 八仙), especially popular from the late imperial period to today. See, e.g., Yetts 1916, 1922; Ling 1918; Yang 1958; Jing 1996; Yoshikawa 2008a. This is equally true in China, East Asia, and even the modern West. The authoritative Western academic study on Lǚ is Katz 1999. See also Ang 1993. A more general and accessible account appears in Kohn 1993, 126-32. Popular accounts and references are too numerous to document. See bibliography herein. For present purposes, the Yellow Millet Dream (*huángliáng mèng* 黃粱夢) is perhaps most relevant. Here Lǚ dreams of a “successful” official career, which eventually results in court exile and social “disgrace.” Upon awakening, he abandons such dreams and commits himself to intensive alchemical training, eventually becoming an immortal. Renunciation of ordinary dreams leads to immortal dreams; renunciation of ordinary sleep

Gourd Elder, Hairy Lady, Hempclad Master, Master Redpine, Sūn Jūnfǎng, Yīn Chángshēng, and Zhōnglí Quán. I also have included illustrations when extant, which, as documented in the notes, come from much later sources. While some may object to the apparent anachronistic nature of such representations, the alternative methodology is akin to searching for the “original visage” of Jesus of Nazareth or Superman. Is there such a thing as anachronism (synchronicity) in immortality as the “simultaneity of time”? Based on my proposed obscurity/immortality scale, with the associated score or quotient being directly proportional, they may be (un)ranked as follows: Sūn Jūnfǎng (highest [lowest]), Hempclad Master, Deerskin Elder, Gourd Elder, Yīn Chángshēng, Hairy Lady, Master Redpine, Zhōnglí Quán, and Lǚ Dòngbīn (lowest [highest]). In the Daoist “inverse scale,” Sūn is the “most accomplished” because he is the least known. His name has only survived as a minor reference in Chén’s own story. However, he too was not fully (un)successful because he failed to hide his name. On this scale, the most (un)accomplished are those whose (non)names could not be included herein.



TRANSLATIONS VARIOUS SOURCES

leads to immortal awakening. In terms of extant writings, Lǚ is associated with a variety of dialogic exchanges, presented as “discourse records” (*yǔlù* 語錄), with Zhōnglí Quán. These are referred to as the “Zhōng-Lǚ textual tradition,” and sometimes the “Zhōng-Lǚ lineage” of internal alchemy. For guidance see Boltz 1987; Kohn 2000; Schipper and Verellen 2004; Pregadio 2008.

DEERSKIN ELDER¹³

Lùpí gōng 鹿皮公 (Deerskin Elder) was a native of Zīchuān (Zi River).¹⁴ When he was younger, he was employed as a junior prefectural scribe.¹⁵ A skilled woodworker,¹⁶ he could make vessels and instruments with a simple turn of the hand.

On a [nearby] steep mountain there was a miraculous spring, which no one had ever reached. The scribe mentioned this to the head of the prefecture and asked for the assistance of thirty axe-wielding carpenters to build a hanging pavilion with a pulley system. [During the course of this work,] various unexpected ideas and thoughts arose [in his mind]. [5a] After around thirty days, a laddered route with four sections had been completed. [The scribe] climbed to the mountain summit. He built a sanctuary there, with an adjacent residence. He then removed two sections of the ladders so that he could remain in isolation.¹⁷ He ate excrescences and herbs,¹⁸ and he drank the miraculous spring water.

¹³ Also known as Lùpí wēng 鹿皮翁 (Deerskin Elder) or Zhāngpí chùshì 麋皮處士 (Deerskin Recluse). His dates are unknown, but he may have lived in the Early Han (pre-1st c. BCE). The present translation is based on the hagiographical entry in the *Lièxiān zhuàn* 列仙傳 (Biographies of Arrayed Immortals; DZ 294; ZH 1429; trl. Kaltenmark 1953, 150-52), 2.4b-5a, which is a probably second-century CE collection of Daoist hagiographies traditionally attributed to Liú Xiàng 劉向 (77-6 BCE). See also the early eleventh-century *Yúnjī qīqiān* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Slips from a Cloudy Satchel; DZ 1018, 108.11a) and early fourteenth-century *Lìshì zhēnxiān tǎdào tōngjiàn* 歷世真仙體道通鑿 (Comprehensive Mirror of Successive Generations of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embody the Dao; DZ 296, 3.23ab; abbrev. *Lìshì tōngjiàn*). My translation has benefitted from Kaltenmark's French rendering. Note that Kaltenmark does not translate the accompanying poem. Unfortunately, Giles (1948) does not include this entry in his selected English translations from various sources, including the *Lièxiān zhuàn*. The *Lìshì tōngjiàn* includes the following additional information: "The old man in deerskin robes was Lǐ Ruǎn 李阮 (Lǐ Yuán), also known as Báilù xiānshēng 白鹿先生 (Master White Deer), who attained the Dao through Tàiqīng 太清 (Great Clarity)" (47.12b). See ch. 2 herein. I have been unable to locate any additional hagiographical details. There are no known extant works attributed to the Deerskin Elder.

¹⁴ Present-day Zībó, Shāndōng.

¹⁵ *Fǔ xiǎoli* 府小吏. A low-level clerical position. See Hucker 1985, 237 (2430).

¹⁶ "Woodworker" translates *mùgōng* 木工, which also may be rendered as "carpenter." The Deerskin Elder's connection to this skillset and profession recalls the famous "Old Oak Story" in ch. 2 of the anonymous fourth-second century BCE *Zhuāngzǐ*, which features Jiàng Shí 匠石 (Carpenter Stone) (see also ch. 19). Ch. 74 of the anonymous fourth-second century BCE *Dàodé jīng* and ch. 13 of the *Zhuāngzǐ* also speak of the Dao as the "Great Carpenter" (*dàjiàng* 大匠). This may be compared to the veneration of woodcutters (*qiáofū* 樵夫; *qiáozhě* 樵者), a.k.a. firewood-gathers, in the *Zhuāngzǐ* and the emphasis on returning to "unhewn simplicity" (*pǔ* 樸/朴) in the *Dàodé jīng*. Firewood-gathers as a "profession of seclusion" also features prominently in Chinese hermit and recluse literature. See, e.g., Vervoorn 1990; Berkowitz 2000.

¹⁷ *Zìgù* 自固. Interestingly, the character *gù* 固 ("firm/solid"), sometimes rendered as "seal," appears in various chapters of the *Dàodé jīng*, with chs. 55 and 67 being especially relevant in the present context. See also chs. 2 and 24, which are related to classical Daoist contemplative practice.

¹⁸ *Zhīcǎo* 芝草. *Zhī*-excrescence, which is conventionally translated as "mushroom" and also appears in the famous *língzhī* 靈芝 ("miraculous fungus/mushroom"), may refer to any anomalous, strange, and/or rare forest and mountain outgrowth or fungus, especially edible ones. Related to wild and foraged edibles, and thus more primordial sources of nourishment, they are especially associated with eremitic lifeways and "immortality diets." For an overview see Komjathy 2013b.

After seventy years, the waters of the Zī River reached the foot of the mountain.¹⁹ [The scribe] summoned members of his immediate family and clan relatives, eventually gathering over sixty people. He directed them to climb halfway up the mountain. The flood covered the entire commandery, and the drowned amounted to ten thousand people. Afterwards, he dismissed his relatives, directing them to descend from the mountain. He then donned a deerskin robe and departed, again ascending to the pavilion.

After more than a hundred years, he descended to sell medicinals in the marketplace.²⁰

The Skin Elder's interesting reflections
Were wondrously clever and melodiously moving.
In suspended delight of the flying pavilion,
He ascended to revere the miraculous spring.
A pure shrine majestic and reverential—
Its two sections were peaceful and solemn.
There he was able to reside in leisure;
There he was able to live forever.



¹⁹ Replacing *sān* 三 (“three”) with *shān* 山 (“mountain”) in accordance with the textual emendation of Kaltenmark 1953, 151, n. i.

²⁰ Most likely Chinese herbal medicines, with many of the traditional ingredients being mountain substances.

GOURD ELDER²¹



²¹ Also known as Húwēng 壺翁 (Gourd Elder) and more popularly as Xuánhúzi 玄壺子 (Master Mysterious Gourd). He is a legendary immortal said to have lived during the Eastern/Later Han dynasty (25-220 CE). Our present Húgōng is apparently different from Húzi 壺子 (Gourd Master) in ch. 7 of the *Zhuāngzǐ*. *Hú* also may mean “canteen/jar/kettle/pot.” The character originally referred to an ancient type of vessel and might thus be connected to the larger Daoist “vessel theory.” The more common characters for “calabash/gourd” are *húlu* 葫蘆 and *húzi* 瓠子, with gourd being a Daoist symbol of immortality. For some insights on gourds in Daoism see Girardot 1983, who is the closest person we have to a “Gourd Master” in Western Daoist Studies. The present translation is based on the hagiographical entry in the *Shénxiān zhuàn* 神仙傳 (Biographies of Spirit Immortals; JHL 89; ZH 1430; trl. Kohn 1993, 121-26; Campany 2002, 161-68), 5.3b-4a. (5.20-21/180-81), which is a fourth-century CE collection of Daoist hagiographies traditionally attributed to Gé Hóng 葛洪 (Bàopǔ 抱朴 [Embracing Simplicity]; 283-343). Some parallel information appears in *juǎn* 82 of the fifth-century *Hòu Hànmùshū* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han Dynasty). See also the “Shénxiān 神仙” (Spirit Immortals) section of the late tenth-century *Tàipíng guǎngjì* 太平廣記 (Extensive Record of the Great Peace Reign Period) as well as *juǎn* 6 and 28 of the eleventh-century *Yúnjí qīqiān* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Slips from a Cloudy Satchel; DZ 1032; ZH 1087). My translation has benefited from Campany’s rendering (161-63). Cf. Giles 1948, 79-81; Kohn 1993, 121-26. Note that Campany’s title includes Fèi Chángfáng 費長房, which is an emendation (407). The received *Shénxiān zhuàn* entry is simply titled “Húgōng.” Other early sources mention that Gourd Elder’s original name was Xiè Yuán 謝元 or Xiè Yuányī 謝元一 and that his family resided in Lìyáng 歷陽 (in present-day Ānhuī) (Campany 2002, 161, n. 94; 410). Gourd Elder also is mentioned in the *Bàopǔzi nèipiān* 抱朴子內篇 (Inner Chapters of Master Embracing Simplicity; DZ 1185; ZH 980; trl. Ware 1966) and in the *Zhēn’gào* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected; DZ 1016; ZH 91). According to the former (2.9a), Gourd Elder and Fèi Chángfáng are identified as “corpse-liberated immortals,” specifically associated with a bamboo staff effigy. See Ware 1966, 47. For the *Zhēn’gào* passage, which locates Gourd Elder in a low position in the Shàngqīng 上清 (Highest Clarity) theological hierarchy, see Campany 2002, 110. The image is a detail of the associated illustration in the *Xiānfó qízōng* 仙佛奇蹤 (Wondrous Traces of Immortals and Buddhas; JH 47; dat. 1602) by Hóng Yīngmíng 洪應明 (Zìchéng 自誠 [Personal Sincerity]; 1572-1620), whose Daoist name was Huánchū dàorén 還初道人 (Daoist Returning-to-the-Beginning). The full image includes Fèi Chángfáng, presumably about to follow Gourd Elder into his magic calabash. Cf. The similar representation in the above-mentioned fourteenth-century *Zēngxiàng lièxiān zhuàn* 繒像列仙傳 (Illustrated Biographies of Arrayed Immortals) (Kohn 1993, 123) and in the *Yǒuxiàng lièxiān quánzhuàn* 有像列仙全傳 (Complete Biographies of Arrayed Immortals, with Illustrations; ZW 957; dat. 1600; abbrev. *Lièxiān quánzhuàn*), 31.652, which is traditionally attributed to the Míng-dynasty literatus-official Wáng Shìzhēn 王世貞 (1526-1590). There are no known extant works associated with Gourd Elder. In terms of the Chén Tuán-Huàshān connection, it is noteworthy that there is a Húgōng shíshì 壺公石室 (Gourd Elder’s Stone Chamber) on the summit of the mountain. See, e.g., Chén 2003, 84.

Húgōng's 壺公 (Gourd Elder) original names are unknown.

In the modern world, there are over twenty scrolls of the *Zhàojūn fú* 召軍符 (Talismans for Summoning [Spirit] Troops) and *Zhào guǐshén zhìbìng yùfǔ fú* 召鬼神治病玉府符 (Talismans from the Jade Repository for Summoning Ghosts and Spirits to Cure Illness),²² all of which come from Gourd Elder.²³ This is why they are collectively called *Húgōng fú* 壺公符 (Gourd Elder's Talismans).

When Fèi Chángfáng 費長房 became the market manager (*shiyuàn* 市掾) in Rǔ'nán 汝南,²⁴ he unexpectedly saw the Elder arrive from faraway. Gourd Elder entered the market to sell medicinals without anyone recognizing him. No matter the prescription, the price did not change. He cured all of the various illnesses. He would address customers, saying, “After you take this medicine, you will definitely vomit such-and-such a thing and you will get well on such-and-such a day.” Everything occurred as predicted. Each day he earned several tens of thousands in cash-coins, which he would immediately distribute to the poor, hungry, and cold who filled the market roads. He kept very little for himself.

He always hung an empty gourd above his stall.²⁵ In the evening, after the sun had set, he would turn around and jump into the gourd. No one knew where he went. Only Chángfáng, perched on an upper floor, could see this. He realized that the Elder was no ordinary human being.

Thereupon, Chángfáng began visiting Gourd Elder each day, sweeping the ground before his seat and making offerings of steamed buns. The Elder accepted these without thanks. It was like this for a long time, but Chángfáng never faltered or dared to seek anything else. Gourd Elder understood that he was steadfast and sincere (*dǔxìn* 篤信). He addressed Chángfáng, saying, “Come back at dusk when no one else is around.” Chángfáng did as instructed. Then Gourd Elder addressed him again: “When you see me jump into the gourd, jump in after me. You'll be able to enter.” Chángfáng followed the Elder's directions, and before he even realized it, he was already inside.²⁶ From the inside, it no longer resembled a gourd. Instead, he saw multi-colored towers and observatories as well as multi-tiered gates and covered corridors. He also noticed several tens of attendants along the way.

Gourd Elder then spoke to Chángfáng, saying, “I'm an immortal (*xiānrén* 仙人). Formerly, I was in charge of a celestial office, but because of my carelessness in an official matter, I was found guilty and banished to the human realm. Because you are teachable, you are able to see me.” Chángfáng descended from his seat, bowed his head, and said, “I'm only an en fleshed person

²² Reading *yùfǔ* 玉府 (“jade repository”) for the received *wángfǔ* 王府 (“royal repository”).

²³ Here talismans refer to sacred symbols and magical emblems with a variety of purposes, including invocation and protection. Ch. 19 of the *Bàopǔzi nèipiān* also mentions the “Gourd Elder's Talismans in twenty scrolls” (DZ 1185, 19.7a). However, unlike other sections of the text, there are no accompanying illustrations.

²⁴ On Fèi, see the previously mentioned translation of his hagiography in Campany 2002, 163-64. Rǔ'nán is in present-day Hénán province.

²⁵ Gourds, also referred to as “calabash” and often invoking macrocosmic/microcosmic correspondences (world within the world), are a traditional Daoist symbol of immortality. See the general introduction herein. For some discussions of Daoist material and visual culture see Rawson and Legeza 1973; Little 2000; Huang 2012; Komjathy 2013.

²⁶ The present story is anticipated in ch. 1 of the *Zhuāngzi*, which discusses a use(less)ful gourd. There the aspiring Daoist adept is advised to recognize that an enormous gourd may become a boat for touring rivers and lakes. This might be further connected to the statement: “Fish thrive in rivers and lakes; humans thrive in the Dao” (ch. 6).

without knowledge.²⁷ [4a] My accumulated mistakes are numerous, but now I'm fortunate to be looked upon [by you] with compassion. It's as though you have split open my coffin to release the qi. You would give life to the withered and raise up the decayed, but I appear as putrid and decrepit. I'm not even worthy to be a messenger. To be viewed with mercy would be the great good fortune of a hundred lifetimes." The Elder said, "Remain attentive to your great opportunity and don't talk to others."

Later, the Elder visited Chángfáng in his upstairs room. He said, "I have a small amount of alcohol. Let's drink together." The alcohol was downstairs. Chángfáng sent someone to fetch it, but he could not lift the container. Even several tens of people were unable to carry it upstairs. When Chángfáng told the Elder, he went downstairs himself. With one finger, he lifted and carried the vessel upstairs, where he drank with Chángfáng. The vessel was not even as large as a pearl,²⁸ but they drank until sunset and still had not emptied it.

Gourd Elder then told Chángfáng, "I will depart on such-and-such a day. Can you go with me?" Chángfáng responded, "I want to go, and I will not go back on my word. I just wish it was possible to make sure that my relatives and associates don't know. Is there a way to ensure this?" The Elder said, "That's easy." He then selected a green bamboo staff and gave it to Chángfáng. He then counseled him, saying, "Take this bamboo home with you. Say that you are sick. Two days later, place this bamboo staff on your sleeping place. Then sneak back here."²⁹ Chángfáng followed these directions. After this, his family [miraculously] identified the bamboo as the dead Chángfáng.³⁰ They mourned and buried it.

When Chángfáng again attended Gourd Elder, everything became vague and indistinct, and he did not know where he was.³¹ The Elder left him alone among a group of tigers. The tigers gnashed their teeth and stretched open their mouths as though they wanted to devour him. Chángfáng showed no sign of fear. On the next day, Gourd Elder placed him inside a stone chamber

²⁷ "Enfleshed person" translates *ròurén* 肉人, with *ròu* often referring to slaughtered pork meat. Thus, more literally, we might say "meat-sack." From an alchemical perspective, *ròu*-flesh is one of the most yin or mortal dimensions of ordinary human being. For some late medieval Daoist perspectives on the latter see Komjathy 2007; 2013a.

²⁸ "Pearl," usually *zhū* 珠, translates *bàng* 蚌, which refers to oysters, and pearls by extension. The character contains the *chóng* 虫 ("insect") radical, perhaps again suggesting transformation. Company has "fist," which may be based on a different textual edition.

²⁹ Another version of the story has Gourd Elder directing Fèi Chángfáng to hang the bamboo, which had been cut the length of Fei's body, from the ceiling rafters. Finding it, his family thinks that he hung himself. Company 2002, 162, n. 99.

³⁰ Traditionally speaking, this corresponds to "corpse-liberation" (*shījiě* 尸解), which is sometimes referred to more technically (and inelegantly) as "liberation by means of a corpse-simulacrum." See general introduction herein. Cf. the experience of Cài Jīng 蔡經 in Company 2002, 260-64.

³¹ *Huǎnghū* 恍惚, here translated as "vague and indistinct," is a classical Daoist description of the Dao, and the advanced Daoist practitioner by extension. The phrase first appears in chs. 14 and 21 of the *Dàodé jīng*.

(*shìshì* 石室).³² Overhead, there was a large boulder, measuring several *zhàng* wide.³³ It was hanging from the ceiling by a grass-twined rope. Various snakes gnawed on the rope as though they wanted to sever it. Still Chángfáng remained composed. The Elder returned and commended him, saying, “You are teachable.” Then he ordered Chángfáng to eat some feces that were unusually foul-smelling and full of inch-long maggots. Chángfáng balked at this. Gourd Elder sighed and prepared to expel him, saying, “You won’t attain immortality! Now I will bestow [the rank] of Agent Above the Earth (*dìshàng zhǔzhě* 地上主者).³⁴ This will enable you to live several hundred years.” Gourd Elder then transmitted one scroll of talismans for deputizing [spirit agents]. He commented, “Wear this on your belt, and you can be the master of numerous ghosts and spirits. They will forever announce themselves as your emissaries. You will thus be able to cure illnesses and dispel calamities.”

Chángfáng was worried that he would not be able to get home, so the Elder bestowed a bamboo staff, saying, “Just ride this and you will arrive home.” Chángfáng said farewell and mounted the staff. Then it suddenly seemed as though he had been asleep. He had already arrived home. His family initially took him for a ghost, but he recounted everything that had happened. They then opened the coffin and looked inside, only to discover the single bamboo staff. Thereupon, they believed him.

Chángfáng subsequently threw the staff that he had ridden home into Gé 葛 Lake.³⁵ When he looked back, it had become an azure dragon. At first, Chángfáng thought he had only been away for a day, but when he asked his family, he learned that he had been gone for an entire year.

Fèi Chángfáng then activated the talismans, apprehending ghosts and curing the sick. No one whom he treated failed to recover.³⁶

³² The southern peak of Huàshān has a cave called Húgōng shíshì 壺公石室 (Gourd Elder’s Stone Chamber). In addition to another example of “Daoist inscribed mythology,” there is an accompanying orally-transmitted poem (author’s field observations). It reads as follows: “Within this gourd, I made my terraced and towering abode;/Throughout the four seasons, assorted flowers bloom in unison./Residing at leisure, I relax and drink the jade fluids;/Becoming intoxicated, I recline among azure moss./In carefree ease, I pay no attention to fame or gain;/Completely unconcerned, I am untainted by worldly dust./When meeting others, I never speak about mundane human affairs;/I simply laugh and point towards the white clouds coming and going.” See Chén 2003, 84. As we have seen, the poem in fact derives from the *Lìshì tōngjiàn*. See general introduction and chs. 2 and 3 herein.

³³ *Zhàng* 丈 is a traditional Chinese unit of length equaling ten *chǐ* 尺 (“feet”). For simplicity’s sake, we may think of one *zhàng* as about three meters, or ten British/American feet.

³⁴ According to Robert Campany, this is a lower rank immediately below the lowest level of actual immortality: “It would seem that ‘Agent Above the Earth’ was a title awarded by transcendents [immortals] to persons deemed incapable of attaining transcendence [immortality], in recognition of their merit and piety, and that the responsibility of this spiritual office consisted of remaining on earth to heal the sick and exorcise demons, using talismans to summon subordinate spirits to carry out these tasks, a sort of rear-guard action in the war for transcendence” (2002, 79). (One may, of course, take issue with the latter characterization, perhaps amending “war” to “aspiration” and /or “work.”) The title also is mentioned in the hagiography of Wáng Yuǎn 王遠 in the *Shénxiān zhuàn*. See Campany 2002, 263.

³⁵ Located in the northern part of Xīncài district in present-day Hénán.

³⁶ Here ends the formal connection with Gourd Elder, with the remainder of the hagiography focusing solely on Fèi Chángfáng. Again, interested readers may consult Campany 2002, 163-64.

HAIRY LADY³⁷



Máonǚ 毛女 (Hairy Lady) originally had the given name Yù Jiāng 玉姜 (Jade Jiang).³⁸ She resided on a mountain in the shadows of Huàshān,³⁹ where she had been spotted by generations of hunters.⁴⁰ Her body was covered in hair. She claimed to have been a lady in the court of the first

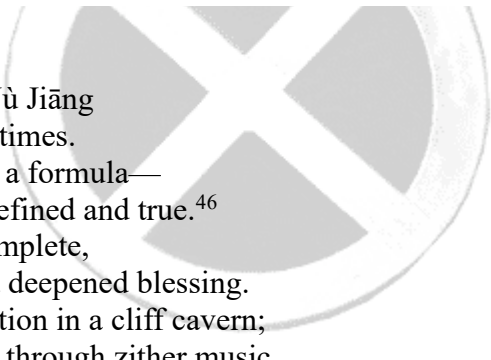
³⁷ Dates unknown, but circa 3rd c. BCE based on internal “historical” details. Although hairy ladies are perhaps not as uncommon today, given the Hippie movement, women’s liberation, and often accompanying “unshaven tradition,” one might prefer a more liberal translation of “Wild Woman.” The present translation is based on the hagiographical entry in the above-mentioned possibly second-century CE *Lièxiān zhuàn*, DZ 294, 2.7b-8a. My translation has benefitted from Kaltenmark’s French rendering (1953, 159-61). Note that Kaltenmark does not translate the accompanying poem. An English version also appears in Giles 1948, 34. See also Despeux and Kohn 2003, 88-90. The image is a detail from the associated illustration in the above-mentioned seventeenth-century *Lièxiān quánzhuàn*, ZW 957, 31.614. Viewers will note her more standard iconography of herb basket, pine-tree branches, leaf robes, and black body hair. Interestingly (strangely?), the *Yōngchéng jìxiān lù* 壟城集仙錄 (Records of Assembled Immortals of the Walled City; DZ 783; ZH 1435; trl. Cahill 2006), a tenth-century hagiography focusing solely on female Daoists, does not include an entry on the Hairy Lady. Cf. the hagiography of Mágū 麻姑 (Hemp Maiden) in the above-mentioned *Shénxiān zhuàn* 神仙傳 (Campany 2002, 259-70). See also Despeux and Kohn 2003, 94-96. There are no known extant works associated with Maonü. In terms of the Chén Tuán-Huàshān connection, it is noteworthy that there is a Máonǚ dòng 毛女洞 (Hairy Lady Cave/Grotto), which is located on a lower northwestern slope below Western Peak (author’s field observations). See general introduction herein.

³⁸ Jiāng is one of the oldest Chinese surnames. It is often invoked as the surname of the Shénnóng 神農 (Divine Husbandman), the mythical sage-ruler and founder of agriculture. Due to the latter, he was often worshipped as Wǔgǔ shén 五穀神 (God of the Five Grains). This may be a significant “lineage-connection” to Master Redpine, who also is associated with Shénnóng. In addition to the earth and grain correlation, here the etymology of Jiāng also may be relevant: The character consists of yáng 羊 (“sheep”) above nǚ 女 (“woman”).

³⁹ Huàyīn shān 華陰山. The phrase sometimes refers to the lower mountain range (“lesser Huàshān”) in close proximity to the primary mountain (“greater Huàshān”). One of its peaks eventually became referred to as Máonǚ fēng 毛女峰 (Hairy Lady Peak), with the accompanying, above-mentioned Máonǚ dòng.

⁴⁰ Encounters with hunters also feature in later accounts of the Hairy Lady’s further escapades, including the cause of her death. For example, ch. 11, which is titled “Xiānyào 仙藥” (Immortal Medicines), of the above-mentioned fourth-century *Bàopǔzi nèipiān* contains the following: “Under Emperor Chéng 成 [r. 33-7 BCE] of the Hàn, hunters in the Zhōngnán 終南 (Southern Terminus) mountains saw a naked person whose body was covered with black hair. They wanted to capture this creature, but it passed over pits and valleys like a thoroughbred and could not be overtaken.

emperor of the Qín dynasty [221-206 BCE].⁴¹ After the downfall of the Qín, she went into exile and took refuge in the mountains.⁴² There she encountered the Daoist adept (*dàoshi* 道士) Gūchūn 谷春 (Valley Spring).⁴³ He taught her to eat pine needles (*sōngyè* 松葉).⁴⁴ She accordingly became immune from hunger and cold, [8a] and her body became so light that she seemed to be flying. For over 170 years, the sound of drums and zithers could be heard among the cliffs where she resided.⁴⁵



Graceful and lovely Yù Jiāng
Took refuge from the times.
A Perfected bestowed a formula—
Eat pines to become refined and true.⁴⁶
With gain and loss complete,
She extended fate and deepened blessing.
She fulfilled her intention in a cliff cavern;
She expressed her joy through zither music.

Then they did some spying in the region, surrounded the place, and captured it. When they had established that it was a woman, she was questioned and replied, ‘I was originally a Qín court lady. Learning that the King of Qín would surrender to marauders arriving from the east and that the palace would be burned, I became frightened and fled to the mountains. There I became famished for lack of food. I was on the verge of dying when an old man taught me to eat pine needles (*sōngyè* 松葉) and pine nuts (*sōngshí* 松實). At first, they were bitter and unpleasant, but I gradually adapted until they produced a lack of hunger and thirst. In winter, I suffered no cold; in summer, I felt no heat.’ Calculation showed that this woman, having been a lady in the court of Prince Yīng 嬰 [d. 206 BCE] of Qín, was more than 300 years old in the time of Emperor Chéng. When she was returned to court and fed grains, the smell was initially repulsive and induced nausea. However, after several days, she grew used to them. After about two years, her body hair fell out, and she turned old and died. If she had not been captured, she would have become an immortal (*xiānrén* 仙人)” (DZ 1185, 11.16ab). Adapted from Ware 1966, 194. The Hairy Lady’s “immortality diet” and subsequent “death-by-grain” invokes the Daoist practice of “abstention from grains/grain avoidance” (*bìgǔ* 辟穀). While often involving the elimination of actual grain from one’s diet, it also may refer to the ascetical fasting practice. See, e.g., Lévi 1983; Eskildsen 1998; Campany 2002; Komjathy 2013b. As a Daoist super-story, it perhaps should go without saying to avoid being caught by hunters.

⁴¹ Qín Shǐ Huáng 秦始皇 (259-210 BCE; r. 221-210 BCE), the founder of the Qín dynasty and the first emperor of a unified China.

⁴² *Bìnàn* 避難, more literally meaning “avoiding difficulty,” has the connotation of “finding shelter” and “taking refuge,” and “hideout” by extension.

⁴³ A hagiographical entry on Gūchūn also appears in the above-mentioned probably second-century CE *Lièxiān zhuàn*, DZ 294, 2.6b-7a. See Kaltenmark 1953, 157-58; Giles 1948, 29-30. One interesting detail is that Gūchūn became a recluse on Tàibái shān 太白山 (Mount Taibai [Great White]), which is located in the southwest of present-day Shǎnxī province. In organized Daoism, which developed after the period of the story’s characters, *dàoshi* 道士 refers to ordained Daoist priests. See Komjathy 2013b. Here I have rendered the phrase as “Daoist adept” in order to align the translation with the time in question. The full version of the illustration used in this chapter includes Gūchūn, wherein it apparently reverses the “pine needle transmission” (now from Hairy Lady to Gūchūn). Given this connection, one might also see Hairy Lady as Gūshén 谷神 (Valley Spirit), also known as Xuánpīn 玄牝 (Mysterious Female).

⁴⁴ Pine nuts (*sōngzǐ* 松子) and pine-needle tea (*sōngzhēn chá* 松針茶) are common constituents of Daoist “cuisines of immortality,” especially associated with mountain hermits and “foraged” or “wild food” diets. See above.

⁴⁵ “Zither” translates *qín* 琴, which is also referred to as *gǔqín* 古琴. This is a seven-stringed horizontal musical instrument. It has been favored by Chinese literati and Daoists as having a highly refined quality and an elevated capacity to express one’s spiritual condition. As such, it is often associated with immortality. One of the most famous associated Daoist stories is “Bó Yá 伯牙 Plays the Zither.” See, e.g., Komjathy 2013b.

⁴⁶ “Refined and true” translates *xiùshí* 秀實, which may also relate to fruits and nuts. For example, there is the phrase *xiù ér bùshí zhě* 秀而不實: “To put forth flowers but bear no fruit.”

HEMPCLAD MASTER⁴⁷

Máyīzǐ 麻衣子 (Hempclad Master) had the surname Lǐ 李 and given name Hé 和. When born, he had purple-hued hair and a beautiful disposition.⁴⁸ As he grew up, he became tired of the grime and rot of the mundane world. He accordingly entered the Zhōngnán 終南 (Southern Terminus) mountains.⁴⁹ There he unexpectedly encountered a Daoist who bestowed secrets of the Dao (*dào* 道秘). The Daoist counseled him, saying, “In Nányáng 南陽,⁵⁰ on the sunny side of the rushing river,⁵¹ there is a mountain with a granite cave resembling a numinous hall.⁵² Nearby, there is a

⁴⁷ Also known as Mǎyī dào zhě 麻衣道者 (Hempclad Daoist) and Mǎyī xiānshēng 麻衣先生 (Hempclad Master). His traditional dates are 356-457. The present translation is based on the hagiographical entry in the *Xiāoyáo xū jīng* 消搖墟經 (Scripture from the Land of Ecstatic Wanderings; DZ 1465; ZH 1442), 1.28b-29a, which was compiled by Hóng Yīngmíng 洪應明 (Zichéng 自誠 [Personal Sincerity]; 1572-1620), whose Daoist name was Huánchū dào rén 還初道人 (Daoist Returning-to-the-Beginning). Additional information on the Hempclad Master appears in the *juǎn* 65 of the *Shǎnxī tōngzhì* 陝西通志 (Gazetteer of Shaanxi; dat. 1541), 3.4b of the *Chúnyáng dìjūn shénhuà miàotōng jì* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀 (Annals of the Wondrous Communications and Divine Transformations of the Lord Chunyang [Pure Yang]; DZ 305; ZH 1476), and 6.20b-21a of the *Sāndòng qúnxiān lù* 三洞羣仙錄 (Record of Various Immortals from the Three Caverns; DZ 1248; ZH 1438). See, e.g., Kohn 2001, 9, 41. The mid-nineteenth-century *Zhāng Sānfēng xiānshēng quánjī* 張三丰先生全集 (Complete Collection of Zhāng Sānfēng; JY 245; ZW 125; abbrev. *Zhāng Sānfēng quánjī*), 1.14b, has additional information on the Hempclad Daoist. See Wong 1982. This includes that his Daoist name was Chūyáng 初陽 (Initial Yang) and that he was born in Nèixiāng 內鄉 (in present-day Nányáng, Hénán). There are only two known extant works associated with the Hempclad Master: (1) *Máyī dào zhě zhèngyì xīnfǎ* 麻衣道者正易心法 (The Hempclad Daoist’s Mind-Method for Correctly Understanding the Changes; abbrev. *Máyī xīnfǎ* and *Zhèngyì xīnfǎ*; ZW 107), which is translated in ch. 5 herein; and (2) *Shényì fù* 神異賦 (Rhapsody on the Marvels of Spirit), a physiognomy manual of the late Sòng or early Jurchen-Jin dynasty that is now contained in the *Máyī xiāngfǎ* 麻衣相法 (Physiognomic Methods of the Hempclad Daoist). See Liáng 2016; also Liang 1980; Kohn 1986; Kohn 2001, especially ch. 2. However, the *Tàihuà Xīyí zhì* 太華希夷志 (Record of Master Xiyi of Mount Hua; DZ 306; ZH 1507; abbrev. *Xīyí zhì*) contains the following attributed poem, which the Hempclad Daoist offered as a gift upon Chén Tuán’s departure from Huàshān: “I meditate alone (*dú* 獨) in a thatched hut, turning away from the dust;/Without even a robe or bowl, each day I accord with myself./Meeting others, I refrain from speaking about human affairs;/This is exactly remaining uninvolved (*wúshì* 無事) among ordinary people” (1.7b). Kohn 2001 includes a translation of the first scroll of the *Xīyí zhì*. Note also that the third of the Twelve Sleeping Exercises is associated with the Hempclad Master. See translation herein. Chén Tuán’s lineal connection to the Hempclad Daoist is further documented in the “Hùnyuán xiānpài zhī tú 混元仙派之圖” (Chart of the Immortal Lineages of Chaos Prime) in the *Yùxīzǐ dānjīng zhīyào* 玉谿子丹經指要 (Master Yuxi’s Essentials of the Alchemical Classics; DZ 245; ZH 862; dat. 1264) by the Quánzhēn 全真 (Complete Perfection) Daoist monk Lǐ Jiǎnyì 李簡易 (Yùxī 玉谿 [Jade Rivulet]; fl. 1260s).

⁴⁸ In Daoism, purple (*gǎn* 紺), more commonly appearing as *zǐ* 紫, is a color associated with the Dao-as-Mystery and with spiritual abilities. *Zī* 姿, here rendered as “disposition,” may also mean “manner,” “appearance,” and even “posture.”

⁴⁹ As mentioned above, the Zhōngnán mountains, located in Shǎnxī province, are known for caves and as the home of hermits and associated eremitic culture. For some contemporary glimpses, see Porter 1993.

⁵⁰ A prefecture-level city in the southwest of Hénán province.

⁵¹ This may refer to an actual river, namely the Tuān/Zhuān 湍 River. The Tuān River is a major branch of the Hàn 漢 River, with the latter being a tributary of the Chángjiāng 長江 (Yangtze) River in central China. However, as the next sentence may refer to an area associated with a different river, still in Hénán, I have translated *tuān* as a description (“rushing”).

⁵² Or, “Hall of the Mountain Numen” (Shānlíng táng 山靈堂). Other texts have Língtáng shān 靈堂山 (Numinous Hall Mountain). Located in present-day Hénán, the mountain is called Shítáng shān 石堂山 (Stone Hall Mountain).

divine opening through Rǔ township.⁵³ If you go through Rǔ, you will be able to unite your spirit with the Boundless (*cāngmáng* 蒼茫).”⁵⁴ The Hempclad Daoist then departed to search for the place. He met a woodcutter who guided him there.⁵⁵ He lived in the cave for nineteen years.⁵⁶

During the great drought of the Yìxī 義熙 (Righteous Splendor) reign period [405-419] of the Jìn dynasty,⁵⁷ a local resident named Zhāng Shì 張爽 led a crowd to petition [the recluse] for rain. The Hempclad Master explained that he did not have such techniques. However, the petitions did not cease. One evening twelve young people visited and addressed the Hempclad Master, saying, “We once again beseech you to simply grant our request.” The Hempclad Master felt something strange and promised to help.⁵⁸ [29a] The next day resulted in heavy rain. The twelve young people returned to offer obeisance, saying, “We are dragons. Because the master has completed this calling of the Dao (*dàoyè* 道業),⁵⁹ Shàngdì 上帝 (High Thearch) has commanded us to assist you in practicing transformation.”⁶⁰

In the first year of the Dàmíng 大明 (Great Illumination) reign period [457-464] of the Liú-Sòng 劉宋 [420-479] dynasty,⁶¹ the Hempclad Master sat in a dignified manner and attained corpse-liberation (*shìjiě* 尸解).⁶²

⁵³ Here Rǔ 汝 may refer Rǔ River, which is a tributary of the Hóng 洪 River. Located in Hénán province, the latter is a tributary the Huái 淮 River.

⁵⁴ Translation tentative. As *rǔ* 汝 may mean “you,” and as Daoists often use “village/town” phrases to refer to contemplative and mystical states, this may have the allegorical sense of the “township of yourself.” That is, there may be an additional layer suggesting an inner journey of spiritual discovery.

⁵⁵ Woodcutters (*qiáofū* 樵夫; *qiáozhě* 樵者), a.k.a. firewood-gatherers, are associated with Chinese and thus Daoist seclusion. See also the above translation of the Deerskin Elder’s hagiography.

⁵⁶ Here the *Zhāng Sānfēng quánjī* adds the following: “Throughout winter and summer, he constantly wore hemp clothing, which is the reason for his name ‘Hempclad Master.’” Hemp, in comparison to silk, represents simplicity and even hermit attire. It recalls the classical and foundational Daoist principles and practice of “appearing plain and embracing simplicity” (*xiànsù bào pǔ* 見素抱樸) and “wearing coarse clothes” (*pīhè* 被褐) (*Dàodé jīng*, chs. 19 and 70, respectively), with *hè* 褐 also potentially referring to “woolen” or even “animal cloth.” This may be further connected to “abandoning the ornamental” (*chúhuá* 除華). It might be further compared to the use of wool clothing among Islamic contemplatives and mystics (“Sufis”).

⁵⁷ The third reign period of Emperor Ān 安 (382-419; r. 397-419) of the Eastern Jin dynasty. Fèi Chángfáng, a disciple of Gourd Elder, also had the ability to activate rain in response to drought. See Campano 2002, 164.

⁵⁸ *Guài* 怪, here translated as “strange,” is usually understood as a variant of *guài* 怪. However, as the former consists of *xīn* 心/心 (“heart”) and *zài* 在 (“at/be/exist/in”), it might be taken as a sense of divine presence and miraculousness.

⁵⁹ *Yè* 業 also may mean “work,” “occupation,” “instruction,” “study,” “training,” and so forth. Note that Chén Tuán also supposedly received transmissions from dragons appearing as old men. See chs. 2 and 9 herein.

⁶⁰ Shàngdì, sometimes mistranslated as “God,” is the high god of the ancient Chinese (Shāng) pantheon. *Xíng huà* 行化, which also may designate religious activity, specifically “dissemination and conversion.”

⁶¹ The second reign period of Emperor Xiàowǔ 孝武 (430-464; r. 453-464), also known as Shìzǔ 世祖.

⁶² As documented in the above hagiography of Gourd Elder (4a), this usually involves using an inanimate object (e.g., a staff) as a substitute body and to feign death. See general introduction herein. Rumor has it that a renowned scholar of Daoism managed to accomplish the feat in 2019.

MASTER REDPINE⁶³



During the time of Shénnóng 神農 (Divine Husbandman), Chìsōngzǐ 赤松子 (Master Redpine) was Yǔshī 雨師 (Master of Rain).⁶⁴ He taught Shénnóng how to consume liquified jade (*shuǐyù*

⁶³ Dates unknown. Traditionally considered pre-historic, circa 2,600 BCE, and thus among the most ancient immortals. Early references appear in the *Zhànguó cè* 戰國策 (Record of the Warring States) and *Chǔcí* 楚辭 (Lyrics of Chu), including the “Yuǎnyóu 遠遊” (Faroff Roaming). For an accessible translation of the latter see Kohn 1993, 251-57, especially 252. The present translation is based the hagiographical entry in the above-mentioned, possibly second-century CE *Lièxiān zhuàn*, DZ 294, 1.1a. My translation has benefitted from Kaltenmark’s (1953, 35-42) French rendering. Note that Kaltenmark does not translate the accompanying poem. Unfortunately, Giles (1948) does not include this entry in his selected English translations from various sources, including the *Lièxiān zhuàn*. The image comes from the above-mentioned seventeenth-century *Xiānfó qízōng*. Here he is depicted with his more standard iconography of pine-needle robe and pine-tree branches; in addition to his leaning on (perhaps merged with) a pine tree, note his feet, which appear almost reptilian. Compare the representations in the above-mentioned fourteenth-century *Zēngxiàng lièxiān zhuàn* (Kohn 1993, 143) and above-mentioned seventeenth-century *Lièxiān quánzhuàn*, ZW 957, 31.592. A different account appears in the above-mentioned fourth-century CE *Shénxiān zhuàn*, JHL 89, 2.6 (151-52). See Campany 2002, 309-11. There we are told that Master Redpine’s original name was Huáng Chūpíng 皇初平. He also is invoked in various places in the above-mentioned fourth-century *Bàopǔzǐ nèipīān* as an exemplary adept and symbol of immortality. That text also associates him with a *Chìsōngzǐ jīng* 赤松子經 (Scripture of Master Redpine; possibly lost) (6.5a) and an alchemical formula consisting of liquified jade (11.12a). See Ware 1966, 115 and 189, respectively. Master Redpine gradually accrues various additional hagiographical details and associations. See, e.g., Raz 2008; Thomas 2014. Note that Raz does not discuss Redpine’s “later career” as an accomplished Yǎngshēng 養生 (Nourishing Life) and Dǎoyǐn 導引 (Guided Stretching) practitioner, internal alchemist, and perhaps even a pseudonymous American translator of Chinese poetry and “cloud-wanderer.” Various works are, in turn, attributed to him, with his name appearing in the titles of DZ 185 and DZ 615. For some relevant English translations and discussions see Kohn 1993, 142-44; 2004, 154-67; 2008b, 98-100, 111-12, 214, 227; 2012, 55, 95-96, 99-100, 142.

⁶⁴ Shénnóng, variously translated as the “Divine Farmer” and “Divine Husbandman,” is a mythical sage-ruler and deity of ancient China. With traditional dates around 2,737-2,697 BCE, and often identified as one of the Sānhuáng 三皇 (Three Sovereigns), Shénnóng is associated with the discovery and dissemination of agriculture in general and grain cultivation in particular as well as with herbal medicine. He is thus referred to as the “God of Agriculture” and often worshipped as Wǔgǔ shén 五穀神 (“God of the Five Grains”). Yǔshī is the God of Rain. He is often paired with Fēngshī 風師 (Master of Rain), also known as Fēngbó 風伯, which anticipates the concluding poem herein. On these various mythical figures and ancient deities see, e.g., Werner 1922; Birrell 1993; Yang et al. 2008.

水玉).⁶⁵ Master Redpine was able to enter fire and become completely consumed.⁶⁶ He often wandered around until eventually reaching the summit of Mount Kūnlún 崑崙.⁶⁷ There he would visit the stone chamber of Xīwángmǔ 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West).⁶⁸ He would ascend and descend in accordance with wind and rain.⁶⁹ The youngest daughter of Yándì 炎帝 (Flame Thearch) chased after him.⁷⁰ She also became an immortal, and they departed together. During the time of Gāoxīn 高辛,⁷¹ Redpine again became the Master of Rain. This is the origin of the current deity.

Subtle and distant Redpine;
Floating and graceful younger daughter.
As companions, they soared to and fro;
They joined aloft in the cool suchness.
At ease, their bodies rode the expanding wind
Among crane feathers and mysterious orchards.⁷²
Wondrously connecting Xùn-wind and Kǎn-water,⁷³
They create the patterns and divisions of rain.⁷⁴

⁶⁵ With respect to “liquified jade,” the relevant *Bàopǔzǐ nèipiān* passage has the following: “Master Redpine consumed jade by dissolving it in cicada blood. This enabled him to ride up and down on mist. Whether taken in small fragments or liquified and sipped, jade renders one undying” (DZ 1185, 11.12a). Adapted from Ware 1966, 189. “Cicada,” usually *chán* 蟬, renders *xuánchóng* 玄蟲, which more literally means “dark/mysterious insect/worm.” In another place in the text (11.10a), *shuǐyù* 水玉 appears to correspond to the Crow-dipper plant (*Pinellia ternata*), which may be used to liquefy mica. As an ingredient of external alchemy (*wàidān* 外丹), *shuǐyù* is often identified as the equivalent of “crystal” (*shuǐjīng* 水精/水晶). The latter phrase appears in the *Bàopǔzǐ nèipiān*, DZ 1185, 2.11a (52), 11.3b (180), and 17.11a (294).

⁶⁶ The supernatural power of self-immolation, perhaps invoking a phoenix.

⁶⁷ Mount Kūnlún is a mythical mountain and Daoist paradise located in the far west of China and overseen by Xīwángmǔ.

⁶⁸ Note that this “stone chamber” (*shíshì* 石室) reference intersects with the previous hagiography of the Hempclad Master. Xīwángmǔ is an ancient Chinese goddess who was eventually incorporated into the Daoist pantheon. According to the standard myth, she resides on Mount Kūnlún, which contains the Orchards of Immortality. There, every thousand years or so, the “peaches of immortality” (*xiāntáo* 仙桃) come to fruition, and the Queen Mother of the West holds an invitation-only banquet. Anyone who is granted and consumes said peaches becomes immortal. Xīwángmǔ’s standard iconography in turn consists of a peach headdress, and peaches represent immortality in the Daoist tradition. For the definitive Western study of the goddess see Cahill 1993.

⁶⁹ This sentence appears to describe Master Redpine, but it may refer to the magical qualities of the stone chamber.

⁷⁰ Yándì, also known as the Yan Emperor and/or Fiery/Flame Emperor, is technically a mythical Chinese emperor associated with fire. He is often conflated with Shénnóng. As such, there may be a connection to slash-and-burn farming.

⁷¹ Gāoxīn is one of the names of Thearch Kù 嚳/佶. He is yet another mythical Chinese emperor. With traditional reign dates around 2,436 to 2,366 BCE, he is conventionally identified as a descendent of Huángdì 黃帝 (Yellow Thearch) and one of the Five Thearchs (*wǔdì* 五帝). Among other things, Kù was said to be an inventor of musical instruments and composer of songs.

⁷² “Mysterious orchards” translates *xuánpǔ* 玄圃, which often is a technical designation for celestial residence on the summit of Mount Kūnlún.

⁷³ Xùn-wind ☵ and Kǎn-water ☵ are two of the eight trigrams of the *Yìjīng* 易經 (Classic of Change). The former consists of two solid (yang)-lines above one broken (yin)-line, while the latter consists of one solid-line inside two broken-lines.

⁷⁴ The “water-connection,” specifically the ability to summon rain, is another shared power among some of the hidden immortals. See also the hagiographies of the Deerskin Elder and Gourd Elder.

SŪN JŪNFĀNG 孫君仿

No one knows anything about Sūn Jūnfǎng.⁷⁵

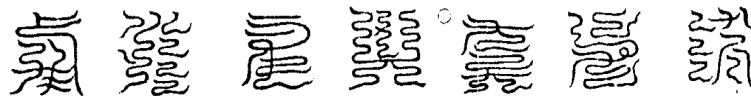


⁷⁵ The only (non)information that I have been able to locate on Sūn is the simple appearance of his name in the Chén Tuán hagiographies. See the translations in ch. 1 and 2 herein. There are no known extant sources on Sūn. In this sense, he is a true “hidden immortal,” having disappeared in namelessness without any traces in the human historical record, even Daoist ones. So, perhaps his is a super-story yet to be written.

YĪN CHÁNGSHÈNG 陰長生⁷⁶

Yīn Chángshēng 陰長生 was a native of Xīnyě 新野.⁷⁷ A relative of a Later Hàn [25-220 CE] empress, he was born into a wealthy and esteemed family. However, he did not delight in glory and honor, but rather focused solely on practicing techniques of the Dao (*dàoshù*).⁷⁸ Having heard

⁷⁶ Also known as Yīn zhēnjūn 陰真君 (Perfected Lord Yīn), and not to be confused with Yīn Shēng 陰生, whose hagiography appears in the above-mentioned, probably second-century *Lièxiān zhuàn*. The former's Daoist name means “long-lived,” or more literally “perpetual life.” Based on internal details, he would have lived around 100 CE. The present translation is based on the hagiographical entry in the above-mentioned, fourth-century *Shénxiān zhuàn*, JHL 89, 4.2ab (5.15/169-70). My translation has benefitted from Campany 2002, 274-75. Campany includes a robust discussion with additional details (275-77). For present purposes, the following information is most relevant. Yīn was associated with three other practitioners who ingested half-doses of potable gold (*jīnyè* 金液), namely, Ānqī Shēng 安期生, Lóngméi Nínggōng 龍眉甯公 (Elder Ning of Dragon Eyebrows), and Xiūyáng gōng 修羊公 (Elder Tending-Sheep) (*Bàopǔ zì nèipiān*, DZ 1185, 3.7b; Ware 1966, 65). (After a long search, they still remain textually elusive.) Recall that Ānqī Shēng also is associated with Elder Yellowstone, and note yet another animal connection. There also is a recumbent exercise associated with Xiūyáng gōng. See appendix 4 herein. Additionally, Yīn Chángshēng is said to have transmitted techniques to Bào Jīng 鮑靚 (fl. 310s CE), the father-in-law of Gé Hóng 葛洪 (*Bàopǔ* 抱朴 [Embracing Simplicity]; 283-343), and Yīn is even associated with the centrally-important Tàiqīng 太清 (Great Clarity) elixir itself as well as the transcription (Hàn-character translation [via cosmic script/ethers]) of the *Tàiqīng jīnyè shéndān jīng* 太清金液神丹經 (Scripture on the Divine Elixir and Gold Liquor of Great Clarity; DZ 880; ZH 692; abbrev. *Shéndān jīng*; cf. DZ 885; ZH 702). As the title of the latter does not exactly match the associated Tàiqīng corpus, the connection is somewhat unclear. In addition, although it appears that the original primordial ethers have been lost, the Daoist Canon contains a variety of texts that attempt to transcribe similar manifestations. For example, the *Dùrén shàngpǐn miào jīng fútú* 度人上品妙經符圖 (Talismanic Diagrams of the Upper Chapters of Wondrous Scripture on Salvation; DZ 147; ZH 203) has various diagrams and related scripts. Here is one row from 2.7ab.



Cf. DZ 1; DZ 441. Another key detail is the fact that the above-mentioned, eleventh-century *Yúnjī qīqiān* (DZ 1018, 106.21b-24a) cites a text titled the *Yīn zhēnjūn zhuàn* 陰真君傳 (Biography of Perfected Lord Yīn), possibly of Shàngqīng 上清 (Highest Clarity) provenance, and references an attributed work titled *Yīn zhēnjūn zìxù* 陰真君自敘 (Autobiography of Perfected Lord Yīn). Note that Campany does not mention the *Yīn zhēnjūn huándān gē zhù* 陰真君還丹歌註 (Commentary on the Song of the Reverted Elixir by Perfected Lord Yīn; abbrev. *Huandan ge zhu*; DZ 134; ZH 812). See ch. 4 herein. Another hagiographical entry on Yīn Chángshēng appears in 13.8b-13a of the *Lìshì tōngjiàn*, which also includes a separate, preceding entry on Mǎmíng shēng (13.3a-8b). This text tells us that Yīn lived during the Yǒngyuán 永元 (Eternal Source) reign period (89-105) of Hàn Emperor Hé 和 (79-106; r. 88-106). Other known extant works attributed to Yīn Chángshēng include the following: (1) *Jīnbì wǔ xiānglèi cāntóng qì* 金碧五相類參同契 (Five Categories of the Metals and Jade According to the Token for the Kinship of the Three; DZ 904; ZH 666); (2) *Yīn zhēnjūn jīnshí wǔ xiānglèi* 陰真君金石五相類 (Perfected Lord Yīn's Five Categories of Metals and Minerals; DZ 906; ZH 721); (3) *Zhōuyì cāntóng qì* 周易參同契 (Token for the Kinship of the Three According to the Zhou Changes; DZ 999; ZH 665), which is a commentary of this seminal *wàndān* text; and (4) *Zǐ yuánjūn shòudào chuánxīn fǎ* 紫元君授道傳心法 (Primordial Goddess Zi's Methods of Bestowing the Dao and Transmitting the Heart-Mind; DZ 226; ZH 805). On these works see Schipper and Verellen 2004.

⁷⁷ Xīnyě is in present-day Hénán.

⁷⁸ Also translated as “arts of the Way,” *dàoshù* refers to methods that assist one in becoming attuned with and realizing the Dao. See also the translation of the *Lìshì tōngjiàn* in ch. 2 herein. The phrase first appears in *Zhuāngzǐ* 6 and 33, wherein it is presented as a core commitment of the classical Daoist community and emerging Daoist tradition. See also *Huáinánzǐ* 2, 11, 12, 13, and 14. In chapter two of the latter, the phrase appears in concert with “inner cultivation” (*nèixiū* 內修). For a systematic discussion see Komjathy 2023c.

that Mǎmíng shēng 馬鳴生 (Master Horseneigh) had attained the Way of Transcending the World (*dùshì zhī dào* 度世之道),⁷⁹ [2b] Yīn searched for him and eventually gained a meeting. He behaved as though he was Horseneigh's servant, personally performing menial tasks for him. Master Horseneigh still did not teach the Way of Transcending the World to him; day and night he only engaged him in lofty conversations about current affairs and the agricultural work.⁸⁰ It was like this for over ten years. Still Yīn Chángshēng did not become discouraged or remiss.

During this time, there were twelve other individuals working with Master Horseneigh, but each and every one gave up and returned home. Only Chángshēng did not quit. Instead, he maintained a reverential and ceremonial approach, constantly expressing his respect through conduct. Finally, Horseneigh made a declaration, saying, “You truly are someone who can realize the Dao.”

He then took Chángshēng to Qīngchéng shān 青城山 (Azure Wall Mountain).⁸¹ There Horseneigh decocted yellow earth (*huángtǔ* 黃土) to make gold as a sign to him.⁸² Then he established an altar facing west and bestowed the *Tàiqīng shéndān jīng* 太清神丹經 (Scripture on the Divine Elixir of Great Clarity).⁸³ After this, he departed.

Yīn Chángshēng went back and combined the elixir. However, he only ingested half of it so as not to ascend to the heavens [immediately]. Then he made several hundred thousand *jīn* of gold,⁸⁴ which he later distributed to the poor and needy of society. He did this regardless of whether or not he recognized them.⁸⁵

Chángshēng travelled around the realm with his wife and children in tow.⁸⁶ The entire family remained unaged (*bùlǎo* 不老).⁸⁷ He lived among humans for over three hundred years. Later, he ascended to the heavens in broad daylight at Píngdū shān 平都山 (Level Metropolis Mountain).⁸⁸

Before departing he wrote a treatise in nine sections, which reads as follows: “In high antiquity, those who attained immortality were many, so many that they cannot be documented.

⁷⁹ Immortality through alchemical transmutation, external alchemy (*wàidān* 外丹) in particular. Master Horseneigh was originally named Hé Jūnxián 和君賢 (fl. 260s BCE?). He eventually became a student of Ānqī Shēng. After preparing an elixir, he only took half a dose because he wished to remain on earth as a terrestrial immortal (*dìxiān* 地仙). A hagiographical entry on him also appears in the *Shénxiān zhuàn*. See Campany 2002, 325; Penny 2008. These various animal-trainer/trained immortals find classical Daoist precedents in the *Zhuāngzǐ*, specifically the unnamed monkey-trainer (ch. 2) and the rooster-trainer Jìshǔzǐ 紀渚子 (Master Regulated Birdcry; ch. 19). Recall also the previously-mentioned Elder Tending-Sheep.

⁸⁰ Based on context, and perhaps not surprisingly, it appears that Master Horseneigh may have had a working farm, on which he was training or at least employing horses. On the reappearance of horses in our story see Komjathy 2017.

⁸¹ Qīngchéng shān is a forested mountain in present-day Dūjiāngyàn, Sìchuān. In Daoist history, it is most often associated with the Tiānshī 天師 (Celestial Masters) movement, but today it is inhabited by Quánzhēn 全真 (Complete Perfection) Daoists.

⁸² In the present context, *huángtǔ* refers to loess containing gold.

⁸³ The *Tàiqīng shéndān jīng* appears to refer to one of the three founding and core scriptures of the later Tàiqīng movement. It was said to have originated with Yuánjūn 元君 (Primordial Lord), Lǎozǐ's supposed teacher, and been transmitted to our Yīn Chángshēng. Campany 2002, 33, 37-38, 275. This may be the previously-mentioned *Tàiqīng jīnyè shéndān jīng*, although the titles do not match exactly.

⁸⁴ *Jīn* 斤, sometimes translated as “catty,” is a traditional Chinese weight measurement, which varied by historical period. For present purposes, we may consider it as approximately one pound or .5 kilograms.

⁸⁵ That is, his charity was universal, without discrimination based on familiarity and recognizability.

⁸⁶ Based on the syntax, the gender and number of children, whether one or more, are unclear.

⁸⁷ A lower form of attainment involving terrestrial longevity.

⁸⁸ Located between Chéngdū, Sìchuān and Qīngchéng shān.

However, since the rise of the Hàn, only forty-five people have become immortals,⁸⁹ forty-six if you count me. Twenty of these were corpse-liberated (*shījiě* 屍解), while the rest ascended to the heavens in broad daylight.”⁹⁰



⁸⁹ One wonders who kept the ledger with exactly forty-five names.

⁹⁰ On corpse-liberation, generally considered a lower form of immortality, see the general introduction herein. Compare the present account to the above entries on Gourd Elder (4a) and the Hempclad Master (29a). The present hagiographical entry in the received *Shénxiān zhuàn* concludes with a lengthy comment by the attributed author, Gé Hóng, which I have chosen not to translate because it lacks details about Yīn Chángshēng.

ZHŌONGLÍ QUÁN 鍾離權⁹¹



As recorded in the *Lúshān Jīnquán guàn jì* 廬山金泉觀記 (Record of Golden Spring Monastery on Mount Lu),⁹² his great-grandfather's taboo name was Pǔ 朴 (Unhewn Simplicity); his

⁹¹ Also known as Hàn Zhōnglí 漢鍾離 (167?-256? CE), in reference to the Hàn dynasty. He is most well known as the teacher of Lǚ Dòngbīn 呂洞賓 (Chúnyáng 純陽 [Pure Yang]; b. 796?), the namesake of the so-called Zhōng-Lǚ textual tradition of internal alchemy, and the source of a mystical transmission to Wáng Zhé 王嘉 (Chóngyáng 重陽 [Redoubled Yang]; 1113-1170), the founder of Quánzhēn 全真 (Complete Perfection) Daoism. See, e.g., Boltz 1987; Schipper and Verellen 2004; Komjathy 2007, 2013a. In the later imperial period, the two immortals became part of the troupe known as the Eight Immortals (*bāxiān* 八仙). See, e.g., Yetts 1916, 1922; Ling 1918; Yang 1958; Yoshikawa 2008a. In that context, Zhōnglí should not be confused with Lǐ Tiěguāi 李鐵拐 (Ironcrutch Li). Tellingly, there are no entries on Zhōnglí Quán in the early Daoist hagiographies and “non-Daoist” biographical collections (*zhuàn* 傳). Although he apparently lived during the early period of Daoist history, it seems that he did not become known (appear?) until the late medieval period, the late Táng dynasty (618-907) in particular. The present translation is based on the earliest known hagiographical entry (1.2b-5b), which appears in the *Jīnlián zhèngzōng jì* 金蓮正宗記 (Record of the Orthodox Lineage of the Golden Lotus; DZ 173; ZH 1486; dat. 1241; abbrev. *Jīnlián jì*) by Qín Zhīān 秦志安 (Shūli 樗櫟 [Useless Timber]; 1188-1244). This is an early Quánzhēn hagiography, with Jīnlián (Golden Lotus) being another name for that late medieval Daoist movement. In the present work, Zhōnglí is identified as the second of the so-called Five Patriarchs (*wǔzǔ* 五組) of the Quánzhēn sub-tradition. See Komjathy 2007, 2013a. A substantial portion of this text is translated in the latter publication. The illustration comes from the above-mentioned, early seventeenth-century *Xiānfó qízōng*. Cf. *Jīnlián xiàngzhuàn* 金蓮像傳 (Illustrated Biographies of the Golden Lotus; DZ 174; ZH 1487). Note his standard iconography of open robe, potbelly, and extra-long beard. In the later Daoist tradition, Zhōnglí Quán is associated with various Dǎoyīn and Yǎngshēng practices, including the famous Seated Eight Brocades, which actually includes alchemical and even exorcistic dimensions. See, e.g., Kohn 2004b; Komjathy 2013b; ch. 8 herein.

⁹² Text unidentified. As far as my reading goes, parallel materials are not extant in the received epigraphy collections. Lúshān 廬山 (Mount Lu) is a famous mountain located near Jiǔjiāng, Jiāngxī. It is probably most well known as the location of Dōnglín sì 東林寺 (Temple of the Eastern Forest), which was originally established in 386 CE as the center of the Jingtǔ 淨土 (Pure Land) school of Chinese Buddhism by Huìyuǎn 慧遠 (334-416). For present purposes, it is interesting that it is the former home of the Báilù dòng shūyuàn 白鹿洞書院 (White Deer Grotto Academy), which was established by the Tang-dynasty poet Lǐ Bó 李渤 (d. 831) and located under the Wǔlǎo fēng 五老峰 (Five Elders

grandfather's was Shǒudào 守道 (Guarding the Dao); and his father's was Yuán 源 (Source).⁹³ By the end of the Later Hàn dynasty [25-220 CE], they all had secured official posts. Each contributed to the country, and the world supported their splendor.

The master had the taboo name Quán 權 (Powerful), style-name Yúnfáng 雲房 (Cloudchamber), and Daoist name Zhèngyángzǐ 正陽子 (Master Aligned Yang).⁹⁴ He was originally from Xiányáng 咸陽 in Jīngzhào 京兆.⁹⁵ When young, he was diligent in his literary studies, and he especially enjoyed the sages of grass-style calligraphy.⁹⁶ He was 8'7" tall,⁹⁷ [3a] and his beard hung down to his belly. His eyes were filled with spirit radiance (*shénguāng* 神光).

As an official, he reached the rank of assistant imperial adviser.⁹⁸ In response to an announcement concerning the reprehensible matter of Lǐ Jiān 李堅,⁹⁹ Zhōnglí rebuked the military commander of Nánkāng 南康.¹⁰⁰ After the Hàn was destroyed, the master again became an official under the Jīn 晉 dynasty [266-420]. During the reign of Emperor Wǔ [r. 266-290], he served as co-counsel to the Lieutenant General Zhōu Chù 周處 [236-297] on military affairs. General Zhōu later embarked on a military campaign, but failed in the end.¹⁰¹

Zhōnglí then fled from the chaos towards the mountains, but he did not know where to go. Wandering around, he happened to meet an old man. When addressed, the old man did not respond; he simply raised his hand and pointed southeast. The master quickly headed in that direction.

After travelling for six or seven miles, he arrived at an elevated mountain range with rugged cliffs. Pine and parasol trees were sparsely arrayed there. Among the trees, there was a storied pavilion with a dazzling golden and cerulean color. Two azure-robos [Daoists] were standing in front of the gates. After greeting them, Zhōnglí inquired, "What is this place?" They responded, "This is the residence of Shǎoyáng jūn 少陽君 (Lord Lesser Yang) of Zǐfǔ 紫府 (Purple Palace), otherwise known as Dōnghuá dìjūn 東華帝君 (Sovereign Lord of Eastern Florescence).¹⁰² He has

Peak). Here Lǐ raised white deer. These details recall the reference to Báilù xiānshēng 白鹿先生 (Master White Deer) in section 47.12b of the *Lìshì tōngjiàn* (see ch. 2 herein).

⁹³ That is, his family's connection to Daoism was able to be traced back at least three generations, specifically to his great-grandfather. *A la Zhuāngzǐ* 6, this might also be read allegorically.

⁹⁴ Note the lineage connection via Daoist name (Zhèngyáng) with Zhōnglí's 鍾離 later disciple Lǚ Dòngbīn 呂洞賓 (Chúnyáng 純陽 [Pure Yang]; b. 796?). These in turn fed into Wáng Zhé 王嘉 (1113-1170), the founder of Quánzhēn, whose Daoist name was Chóngyáng 重陽 (Redoubled Yang).

⁹⁵ Present-day Xiányáng, Shǎnxī. Technically speaking, Jīngzhào was a historical region centering around the ancient Chinese capital of Cháng'ān, with Xiányáng being a Táng-dynasty, not Hàn-dynasty division.

⁹⁶ *Cǎoshèng* 草聖. Given the context, I take *cǎo* to refer to *cǎoshū* 草書, which is also translated as "cursive" or "running-style calligraphy."

⁹⁷ In traditional Chinese measurements and by traditional Chinese standards. About 6'6" or 200 centimeters (2 meters). Stated simply, he was tall.

⁹⁸ *Zuǒ jiànyì dàfū* 左諫議大夫. More technically Chancellery Grand Master of Remonstrance. See Hucker 1985, 148 (831).

⁹⁹ Lǐ Jiān was one of several rebels who proclaimed themselves emperor during the reign of Hàn Emperor Huán 桓 (r. 132-68 CE)

¹⁰⁰ Present-day Gànzhōu, Jiāngxī.

¹⁰¹ Possibly an allusion to Zhōu's engagement with the Di tribal invasion of the northwestern Jīn territory, during which he led 5,000 under-supplied troops against an army of 20,000 and died in the battle.

¹⁰² According to his standard hagiography, Dōnghuá dìjūn, whose original name was Wáng Chéng 王誠 (Xuánfǔ 玄甫 [Mysterious Beginning]), was an obscure Shāndōng recluse during the Later Hàn dynasty. In the *Jīnlián jì*, he is identified as the first or founding-ancestor of Quánzhēn. This may have occurred because of his association with the Kūnyú 崑崙/崑崙 mountains, where Wáng Zhé trained his early disciples. See Komjathy 2007, 2013a. One of his

been our master and lord marquis for a long time.” They then moved forward and entered the palace, bowing respectfully towards Dōnghuá dìjūn.

After some conversing and laughter, an azure lad announced,¹⁰³ “Guest-immortals have arrived.” Dōnghuá dìjūn stepped out from the inner gates and welcomed the three immortal guests. [3b] First gazing upon Zhōnglí, he saw that he was 8' tall. Dressed in an azure robe with a silk sash, he wore straw sandals and a cloud cap. His divine eyes were like lightning, so majestic and magnificent, dignified and powerful. The first of the other two guests wore a plain robe with large sleeves. There was a knot behind his neck, from which an iron flute hung across his body. The second of them was burly and stout in appearance, draped in a vermilion robe. He wore a Huáyáng 華陽 cap crisscrossed with woven tiger-hair.¹⁰⁴ He supported himself with a notched bamboo staff.

Dōnghuá dìjūn accordingly invited the three immortals to come into his villa, where they partook in a feast of alcohol and fruit.¹⁰⁵ As they talked and laughed in friendly banter, they heard something outside the villa. The Azureclad Immortal [Zhōnglí] commented,

“So numerous are the guests of red dust—
Why have they ventured to come here?¹⁰⁶
Cavern entrances are free of lock and key;
Who will open them in the here and now?”

The assembled immortals all laughed, saying, “In the past there was Tiěyīzǐ 鐵衣子 (Ironrobe Master);¹⁰⁷ today we have met this Daoist face-to-face.” They also commented, “How could warriors be considered superior to Zhuāngzǐ [zǐ]?”¹⁰⁸

The Ironflute Immortal composed,

“In the home of Lesser Yang of Purple Palace,¹⁰⁹
The haze of the dragon tower is a blessed vapor.
We fill a thousand days by imbibing wine,

honorific titles is Zǐfǔ shǎoyáng dìjūn 紫府少陽帝君 (Sovereign Lord Lesser Yang of Purple Palace), with “lesser/minor yang” referring to the east.

¹⁰³ Like jade maidens (*yùnyǚ* 玉女), azure lads (*qīngtóng* 青童) are divine attendants.

¹⁰⁴ These are contemporaneous styles of Daoist (immortal) dress. Cloud-sleeves and the like are common and self-explanatory. The “cloud cap” may have been a simple kerchief or simple folding cap. The Huáyáng cap probably refers to the more standard and formal headwear with a flat front.

¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, though probably coincidental (synchronous?), the present meeting of four parallels the account (11b-12a) in the *Lìshì tōngjiàn*, where Chén Tuán meets Gourd Elder, Master Redpine, and Lǚ Dòngbīn. This too results in a four poem-cycle exchange.

¹⁰⁶ Red dust (*hóngchén* 紅塵) refers to ordinary human society and mundane concerns, comparable to a dry dusty road that covers one’s body.

¹⁰⁷ One of Zhōnglí Quán’s nicknames. Alternatively, based on the concluding elegy, it may refer to armored soldiers.

¹⁰⁸ This line seems to have multiple layers. First, wordplay is involved: Those who are *zhuàng* 壯 (“strong”) cannot compare to those who follow Zhuāngzǐ 莊子. Second, this recalls *Dàodé jīng* ch. 42 (“The strong and violent will not die well”) and ch. 68 (“Those who excel as adepts are not warlike”). Finally, one thinks of various “non-violent victory” passages in the *Zhuāngzǐ* itself, including the “sword of no-sword” and the “fighting rooster” who learns to “win without contending.”

¹⁰⁹ “Home” translates *jiā* 家, which also more literally means “family” and is used in a technical sense of “lineage” or “school.” The latter appears in the well-known indigenous Chinese name for “Daoism” as Dàojiā 道家 (Family of the Dao), which is often inaccurately referred to as so-called “philosophical Daoism.” See Komjathy 2013b, 2014a. Here the text suggests that the immortals have joined Dōnghuá dìjūn’s spiritual family and Daoist lineage.

Constantly playing among flowers through four seasons.

The Mountedtiger Immortal rejoined, [4a]

Our kinsmen point towards the road to Pénglái;¹¹⁰
What need is there to inquire more about ferry-crossings?
Spirit immortals know they have their allotment;¹¹¹
So favored, we bow down to the elevated Perfected.

Dōnghuá dijūn then responded,

So amazing, this vessel of azure clouds—
They gather together in a single, joined hue.
The source of the Cinnabar Terrace has a register—¹¹²
It lists those who have been banished among humans.

The assembled immortals all were drunk now. They called for their mounts and spoke about returning. The sovereign lord escorted them out. Then each mounted a phoenix with careful ease and entered into the clouds.

Dōnghuá dijūn returned [to his palace] and conversed about the mysterious (*tánxuán* 談玄) with Zhōnglí for the entire day.¹¹³ The sovereign lord's affection deepened beyond simple association. He accordingly bestowed the following items on Zhōnglí: a crimson talisman and jade seal; golden statutes and numinous writings; secret instructions on the great elixir; the firing times of the Celestial Cycle; and the sword method of the azure dragon.¹¹⁴ The elder was completely convinced when receiving the instructions—with a single sentence, a thousand awakenings.

After he thoroughly understood their wondrousness,¹¹⁵ Zhōnglí took leave and descended the mountain. He bound his hair in a mallet-topknot and donned cotton robes.¹¹⁶ He engaged in

¹¹⁰ Pénglái 蓬萊 Island is the eastern terrestrial paradise. In the early Quánzhēn imagination, it is often associated with the Shāndōng peninsula, which contains a town by the same name.

¹¹¹ Allotment translates *fēn* 分 (“portion”), which appears in the Daoist technical term of *yuánfēn* 緣分 (“predestined affinities”). Often associated with “fate” (*mìng* 命), this usually refers to an inherent affinity, connection, and facility with Daoism. It is considered endowed from a source beyond ordinary personhood.

¹¹² Here the Cinnabar Terrace (*dāntái* 丹臺) appears to refer to a Daoist sacred realm/divine office. The language invokes a laboratory for external alchemy. In more esoteric and allegorical terms, it usually refers to the heart.

¹¹³ Also referred to as *Lùndào* 論道 (“discussing the Dao”), *Tánxuán* is a conversation about the Dao, with Mystery (*xuán* 玄) being another (non)name for the Dao. It also recalls the early medieval *Qīngtán* 清談 (Pure Conversation)/*Xuánxué* 玄學 (Profound Learning) Daoist quasi-salon and hermeneutical movement.

¹¹⁴ The Celestial Cycle (*zhōutiān* 周天), also referred to as the Waterwheel (*héché* 河車) and also referred to as the Microcosmic Orbit, is a *nèidān* technique that usually involves circulating *qì* up the Governing Vessel (center of the spine) and down the Conception Vessel (front centerline of the torso). Ch. 2 of the *Chuándào jí* is so titled. See below. The “sword legend” component is especially associated with Lǚ Dòngbīn, for whom a sword, usually associated with exorcistic power, is part of his standard hagiography and iconography. For an accessible account see Kohn 1993, 126-32.

¹¹⁵ “Wondrousness” translates *miào* 妙, which also may be rendered as “subtle.” It is another Daoist (non)name for the Dao. Like *xuán* 玄 (“mysteriousness”), the *locus classicus* is *Dàodé jīng* 1.

¹¹⁶ That is, took on the appearance of a commoner. In classical Daoist terms, Zhōnglí “merges with the dust.”

good deeds and liberated people. Harmonizing spirit and refining qi, he embraced the transformative process among inconstancy.¹¹⁷

During the Kāichéng 開成 reign period [836-840] of Táng Emperor Wénzōng 文宗 [r. 827-840], Zhōnglí travelled to Lúshān, where he encountered Elder Lǚ Dòngbīn 呂洞賓.¹¹⁸ Zhōnglí transmitted the Sword Method of Celestial Flight (*tiāndùn jiànfǎ* 天遁劍法),¹¹⁹ which he claimed had been lost in the world during the Hàn dynasty.

Later he went into seclusion at Yángjiǎo shān 羊角山 (Ram Horn Mountain) in Jin [Shānxī].¹²⁰ [4b] The celestial Perfected bestowed the name “Tàijí zuǒgōng bǎoshēng zhēnrén 太極左宮保生真人” (Perfected Protecting Life, Assistant Palace Attendant of the Great Ultimate).

At some point, he wrote two quatrains at the Guānyīn diàn 觀音殿 (Shrine of Guanyin) of Kāiyuán sì 開元寺 in Xíngzhōu.¹²¹ Taking up a brush with vigorous and elegant strokes, his calligraphy had the shape of dragons flying. The first poem read,

Attaining the Dao from perfected immortals is no easy feat;
When they leave to go home, we wish to follow along.
I myself speak about living commingled with the vast ocean;
There's no need to mention Pénglái being the number one peak.

He also wrote the following:

No one tires of tracking joy and conversations filled with laughter;
Ruminating about separating from chaos can be injurious to spirit.
In leisure, I count the time from when it all first began;
How many people are able to reach such clear evenness?

¹¹⁷ *Wúcháng* 無常, which is usually understood negatively as referring to psychospiritual instability. However, read contextually, the line is open to interpretation. It may refer to impermanence, in the Buddhist sense, and/or disappearance and formlessness, in the Daoist sense. The latter would suggest cosmological attunement, transpersonal participation, and mystical absorption.

¹¹⁸ Lǚ Dòngbīn is one of the most famous Daoist immortals (alas). See above.

¹¹⁹ As mentioned, Lǚ Dòngbīn is often associated with master swordsmanship. *Dùn* 遁, here rendered as “flight,” may mean “conceal,” “escape,” “evade,” “flee,” and so forth. Based on context, the method in question appears to refer to magical travel and/or “corpse-liberation. See general introduction herein and above.

¹²⁰ Mountain location unknown.

¹²¹ Located in present-day Xíngtái, Héběi, this is a Buddhist temple (*sì* 寺) originally built in 738. Guānyīn 觀音 (lit., “Observing the Sounds [Cries/Suffering]”) is the Chinese Bodhisattva of Compassion, a female version of the earlier Indian Buddhist Avalokiteśvara.

On the ninth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of the Huángyòu 皇祐 (Sovereign Protection) reign period [1049-1053],¹²² Liú Cóngguǎng 劉從廣 of the Sòng dynasty had a stele erected with a commemorative engraving.¹²³ It also contained the following ode:

Perceiving wealth like peril, such is the perfected immortal;
Meeting attraction like mourning, such is the real, intact person.¹²⁴
When nourishing qi, breathing becomes like a turtle's respiration;¹²⁵
When refining form, body becomes like a crane's appearance.¹²⁶
The gates that birthed me are the doors through which I will die; [5a]
With so much discernment, much awakening may occur.
As nightfall arrives, Iron Hàn ponders the finer points—
Perpetual life without dying results from human action.¹²⁷

Zhōnglí wrote the *Zhēnxiān chuándào jí* 真仙傳道集 (Anthology of Transmitting the Dao between Perfected Immortals) and the *Língbǎo bífǎ* 靈寶畢法 (Final Methods of Numinous Treasure), which he transmitted to Elder Lǚ.¹²⁸ These speak about the way of nourishing life-destiny through internal alchemy (*nèidān* 內丹), including the transformative process of the heavens and earth as well as the interaction and extension of yin-yang. They were kept secret in the *Xuándū bǎozàng* 玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis),¹²⁹ which may be considered a turtle-mirror for ten thousand generations.¹³⁰

Later on, Zhōnglí returned to Lúshān, There he gradually climbed the three tiers of the red tower and ascended into the Void. This occurred on the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month.

¹²² The seventh reign period of Sòng Emperor Rénzōng 仁宗 (1010-1063; r. 1022-1063). “Double-nine day,” ninth day of the ninth month, is considered particularly auspicious, especially in terms of Daoist numerology.

¹²³ Liú Cóngguǎng (d.u.) was the second son of Liú Měi 劉美 (ca. 962-ca. 1021), a Sòng-dynasty official and general.

¹²⁴ This has a slight echo of *Dàodé jīng* 31: “When victorious in battle, observe the mourning rites.”

¹²⁵ As an animal associated with longevity and immortality, “turtle breathing” is a common Yǎngshēng comparison, indicating deep and slow breathing. Here I translate *qì* 氣 in both senses of “energy” (subtle breath) and “respiration” (physical breath).

¹²⁶ Another animal associated with longevity and immortality, “crane appearance” is common Yǎngshēng comparison, indicating relaxation, flexibility, and extension. Here I take *xíng* 形 in both senses of “form” and “body.” Technically speaking, *xíng* refers to “appearance” or “shape,” the three-dimensional disposition or configuration of the human process. *Xíng*-form has a morphological rather than genetic or schematic nuance.

¹²⁷ “Perpetual life without dying” (*chángshēng bùsǐ* 長生不死) is a common immortal expression and formula, indicating extended vitality and longevity. Here the poem suggests that psychosomatic transformation involves inner work. This is immortality as actualized, rather than given or endowed.

¹²⁸ These are two of the key texts in the previously-mentioned Zhōng-Lǚ textual corpus. They are still extant as DZ 263, j. 14-16 and DZ 1191, respectively. For a general-audience and somewhat deficient English translation of the *Chuándào jí* see Wong 2000. For a French translation of the *Língbǎo bífǎ* see Baldrian-Hussein 1984.

¹²⁹ The *Xuándū bǎozàng* 玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis; lost), perhaps more accurately referred to as the *Dà Yuán xuándū bǎozàng* 大元玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis of the Great Yuán Dynasty; lost), was the Daoist Canon, the primary Daoist textual collection, compiled during the Mongol-Yuán dynasty. See Komjathy 2002; Schipper and Verellen 2004.

¹³⁰ That is, extremely precious and of enduring value.

I offer this elegy for him:

The Dao cannot be realized through contrivance;
Immortality cannot be completed through deception.
Simply honor perfect accomplishment and true practice;¹³¹
Contemplating having yet to encounter Master Zhèngyáng,
But only warriors in ironclad garments,
Dōnghuá dìjūn, after receiving his obeisance,
Bestowed a jade seal to connect with the heavens
And offered golden statutes to move the earth.
Zhèngyáng cast swords so that azure dragons entered a casket;¹³²
He decocted elixirs so that crimson phoenixes visited the Source.
He nourished qì so that respiration resembled a turtle; **[5b]**
He refined form so that appearance became like a crane.
From the Hàn to the Táng, after over 500 years,
He paused to rescue the venerable immortal Chúnnyáng and that's all.
How amazing!
It's so difficult to change others!
Then he travelled to Lúshān,
Where he climbed a three-tiered red tower.
Gradually, he took flight and ascended to the great Void.
And so moving forward,
He eventually became a thread of the teachings of Quánzhēn.
Thus, he was able to be the second ancestor of the Orthodox Lineage of Jinlián 金蓮.

I also composed a poem:

Ironflute previously listened to the Mountedtiger Immortal;
The affiliates of the Golden Elixir received the sovereign's transmissions.
When about to depart, he entrusted it to Master Chúnnyáng;
From a three-tiered red tower, he ascended into the cerulean sky.

¹³¹ *Zhēngōng shíxíng* 真功實行. This may refer to ethical practice (merit and good deeds) and/or alchemical training (accomplishment and practice).

¹³² This line supports the above-mentioned “corpse-liberation” interpretation.