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The Different Versions of the *Secret of the Golden Flower* and Their Relationship with the Longmen School

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I. Introduction

The *Secret of the Golden Flower* is a famous alchemical text which the Western world came to know through Richard Wilhelm's 1929 translation. It was published, together with Carl Jung's commentary, under the title *Das Geheimnis der Goldenen Blüte: ein chinesisches Lebensbuch*.¹⁾ The Chinese text used by Wilhelm is Dan Ranhui's 湛澹然 edition, published in 1921 and found, as the editor himself explains, in Beijing's Liuli chang 琉璃廠, the old street of books and antiques dealers.²⁾ In fact, there are many extant versions of the text of the *Golden Flower*, all of which are traditionally attributed to the immortal Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓. The "original editions" date back to the Qing dynasty (1644–1912) and belong to different inner alchemical traditions. Since many Daoist schools took part in the reconstitution of this text, which in its main lines was a product of spirit-writing practice,³⁾ they each left their mark

1) For the different translations of this text, see J. Needham & Lu Gwei-djen, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. V: 5, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983: 244, note a.

2) See R. Wilhelm, *The Secret of the Golden Flower. A Chinese Book of Life*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984: 5.

3) The practice of spirit-writing or planchette writing (*fujū* 扶乩) was a form of divination used during the Ming and Qing dynasties such as consultation of *Yijing* 易經, geomancy, astrology, fate extrapolation, numerology, physiognomy, etc. Although its practice started during the Tang dynasty, its structural lines were organized during the Song dynasty (960–1279). It is focused on the reception of auto-

on it. By comparing the prefaces, notes, as well as the contents of the thirteen chapters of the *Golden Flower* in its different editions, relevant variants as well as omissions clearly indicate reconstitutions of the original text and the schools responsible for them. The Longmen 龍門, an important Daoist school of the Ming-Qing dynasties, used this text as the basis for its alchemical doctrine. In order to establish themselves as the holders of the original version, the Longmen masters compiled the text of the *Golden Flower* according to their own criteria. Although the textual inconsistencies in the Longmen's claim to legitimacy are obvious, it is nevertheless interesting to analyze this version in order to gain a better understanding of the heterodox and eclectic nature of the original text.

II. List of the different versions of the *Secret of the Golden Flower*

I shall concentrate here on giving a brief account of the origin of the text as well as of its versions which appeared before the Longmen's version, leaving aside its alchemical contents.⁴⁾ In fact, even though many translations and studies of this text are available in Western languages, they neither give any account of the origin of the text nor of the most ancient collections in which it was originally included. In this paper, I chose to present the different ver-

matically written messages supposed to have been transmitted by the spirit of immortals and deified culture heroes. This form was then embraced by many literati as a means of foreknowing not only personal life span and fortune, topics on civil service examinations, but also for curing illness, bringing rain, etc. (David K. Jordan and Daniel L. Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan*, Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

4) Some informations on the alchemical theories of the *Golden Flower* are found in Wilhelm 1984 and T. Cleary, *The Secret of the Golden Flower. The Classic Chinese Book of Life*, San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991. See also Miyuki Mokusen, *The Secret of the Golden Flower. Studies and Translation*, Diploma Thesis, Zürich: Jung Institute, 1967.

sions of the *Golden Flower* which I was able to gather so far.⁵⁾ Recently, I had the opportunity to find at Otani University 大谷大学 in Kyoto an edition of the *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書 restored by Chen Mou 陳謀 and published in 1852. This version that was hitherto unknown has been collected with the other editions of the *Lüzu quanshu*.

The six known editions of the *Secret of the Golden Flower* are:

1. *Xiantian xuwu taiyi jinhua zongzhi* 先天虛無太乙金華宗旨 (The Quintessential Doctrine of the Golden Flower of the Supreme One of the Vacuity before Heaven) in 13 chapters in the 49th scroll of *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書 (The Complete Works of Patriarch Lü [Dongbin], 1775, 64 scrolls) by Shao Zhilin 邵志琳 (1748–1810).

This edition of the *Lüzu quanshu* edited by Wang Lǚjie 王履階 (*alias*: Yunxuan 雲軒) was printed in Wulin 武林 (Hangzhou) in 1775; its blocks were preserved in Manao jiangsi 瑪瑙講寺 at Xihu 西湖 (Western lake) in Hangzhou.

This version of the *Golden Flower* is based on a manuscript of a certain Wu 吳 of Sumen 蘇門 (Suzhou) and was originally divided into 20 chapters by Tu Yu'an 屠宇菴.⁶⁾ Shao Zhilin changed its structure and reduced it to 13 chapters preceded by the following 14 prefaces:

5) I have written a first article on the versions of the *Golden Flower* focusing in particular on the differences between the Longmen and the *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 versions (M. Esposito, "Il Segreto del fiore d'oro e la tradizione Longmen del Monte Jin'gai," in P. Corradini (ed.), *Conoscenza e interpretazione della civiltà cinese*, Venezia, 1996: 151–169). At the time, I did not present the previous version of the *Lüzu quanshu* by Shao Zhilin and ignored the existence of the version by Chen Mou. For another study of the different versions of the *Golden Flower* see Mori Yuria 森由利亞 "Taiyi jinhua zongzhi no seiritsu to henshen" 太乙金華宗旨の成立と變遷, *Tōyō no Shisō to Shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教, 15, 1998a: 43–64. See also M. Esposito, "Longmen pai yu jinhua zongzhi banben lai yuan" 龍門派與「金華宗旨」版本來源, paper presented for the research meeting on Daoism Culture at Waseda University, on March 28 of 1998.

6) "Lüzu quanshu xiantian xuwu Taiyi jinhua zongzhi xiaoxu" 呂祖全書先天虛無太乙金華宗旨小序 (1775) by Shao Zhilin, *Lüzu quanshu*, 49. 2a-b.

1. Xiaoti wang⁷⁾ zongzhi yuanxu 孝悌王宗旨原序 (1692)
2. Xu Jingyang⁸⁾ zhenjun Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu 許旌陽真君太乙金華宗旨原序 (1692)
3. Fuyou dijun⁹⁾ Taiyi jinhua zongzhi zixu 孚佑帝君太乙金華宗旨自序 (1692)
4. Zhang Sanfeng¹⁰⁾ zushi Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu 張三丰祖師太乙金華宗旨原序 (1692)
5. Qiu Changchun zhenren¹¹⁾ Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu 邱長春真人太乙金華宗旨原序 (1692)
6. Tan Chanzhen zhenren¹²⁾ Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu 譚長真人太乙金華宗旨原序 (1692)
7. Wang Tianjun¹³⁾ Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu 王天君太乙金華宗旨原序 (1692)

7) Xiaoti wang is a divinity of the Big Dipper who descended from heaven to reveal Xu Xun 許遜 (239–292/374?) to the world as the founder of the Xiaodao 孝道 (Way of Filiality); see K. Schipper, "Taoist Ritual and Local Cults of the T'ang Dynasty" in M. Strickmann (ed.), *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*, vol. 3, Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1985: 812–834 and J.M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature*, Institute of East Asian Studies, Berkeley: University of California, 1987: 70–78.

8) Xu Jingyang 許旌陽 refers to Xu Xun 許遜 (239–292/374?), a legendary saint who during the Jin dynasty was prefect of Jingyang 旌陽 (Sichuan). Belonging to the same aristocratic family of Xu Mai 許邁 and Xu Mu 許穆, the two Daoists linked to the Maoshan 茅山 revelation, he was considered as the founder of the Xiaodao. See K. Schipper, 1985 and J.M. Boltz, 1987.

9) Title of the immortal Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓; see note 19.

10) On Zhang Sanfeng, see A. Seidel, "Chang San-feng: a Taoist Immortal of the Ming Dynasty" in Wm. T. de Bary (ed.), *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1970: 483–531.

11) Qiu Chuji 邱處機 (1148–1227), one of the Seven Perfects 七真人 of the Quanzhen school 全真教 founded by Wang Chongyang 王重陽 (1112–1170). Qiu Chuji is regarded as the founder of the Longmen 龍門 school, even if this school was later established by Wang Changyue 王常月 (?–1680) at the end of the Ming Dynasty, see M. Esposito, *La Porte du Dragon — l'école Longmen du Mont Jin'gai et ses pratiques alchimiques d'après le Daozang xubian (Suite au canon taoïste)*, Ph. D. Thesis, Université Paris VII, 1993.

12) Tan Chuduan 譚處端 (1123–1185), one of the Seven Perfects of the Quanzhen school.

13) Wang Lingguan 王靈官, protector divinity of Daoism whose cult flourished at the beginning of the Ming period.

8. Pan Yi'an¹⁴) Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu 潘易菴太乙金華宗旨原序 (1692)
9. Liu Du'an Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu 劉度菴太乙金華宗旨原序 (1692)
10. Xu Shen'an Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu 許深菴太乙金華宗旨原序 (1692)
11. Gu Danchu Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu 顧旦初太乙金華宗旨原序 (1692)
12. Zhuang Xing'an Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu 莊惺菴太乙金華宗旨原序 (1693)
13. Tu Yu'an¹⁵) Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu 屠宇菴太乙金華宗旨原序 (1692)
14. Zhang Shuang'an shu Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanqi hou 張爽菴書太乙金華宗旨緣起後 (1692)

The 13 chapters are followed by two appendixes and one postface:

1. Shenzhao daichen Tan Changzhen zhenren zongzhi chuishi 神霄待宸譚長真人宗旨垂示 (a. Kaizong chanjiao 開宗闡教; b. Jingming yuanliu 淨明源流; c. Taiyi fapai 太乙法派; d. Jielü 戒律);
2. Quanzhen zongzhu Qiu Changchun zhenren zongzhi chuishi 全真宗主邱長春真人宗旨垂示 (a. Xingchi 行持; b. Shouji 授記)
3. Zhang Shuang'an zongzhi yuanba 張爽菴宗旨原跋 (1692)

2. *Fuyou shangdi tianxian jinhua zongzhi* 孚佑上帝天仙金華宗旨 (The Quintessential Doctrine of the Golden Flower by the Celestial Immortal Supreme Emperor and Sincere Protector; abbrev. *Tianxian jinhua zongzhi* 天仙金華宗旨) in 13 chapters in the second scroll of the *Quanshu zhengzong* 全書正宗 (The Orthodox Doctrine of the Complete Works, 1803, 16 scrolls) by Jiang Yuanting 蔣元庭 (*alias*: Yupu 予蒲, 1755–1819).¹⁶

14) Pan Yi'an 潘易菴 (Qiande 乾德) is one of the seven Jingming 淨明 disciples who received in 1668 the transmission of the *Golden Flower* from the immortal Lü Dongbin at the Bailong jingshe 白龍精舍 in Piling 毘陵 (Jiangsu), see Mori Yuria, 1998a: 45–46. There Pan Yi'an and his friends gathered around a private altar belonging to Zhou Yehe 周莖鶴 for the purpose of spirit-writing ("Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu" by Zhuang Xing'an, *Lüzu quanshu*, 49. 14a).

15) Tu Yu'an 屠宇菴 (Qianyuan 乾元) was one of the key compiler of a version of the *Golden Flower*. The compilation took place in 1692 when this text was transmitted to another group of seven Jingming disciples ("Lüzu quanshu xiantian xuwu Taiyi jinhua zongzhi xiaoxu" by Shao Zhilin, *Lüzu quanshu*, 49. 1a).

16) A biography of Jiang Yuanting is found in *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian* 國朝耆獻類徵初編 compiled by Li Huan 李桓 (1827–1891), reprint of 1890 ed., Taipei, 1966: 94. 35b–37a; see also Mori Yuria, "Dōzō shūyō to Loso karuto" 道藏輯要と呂祖カルト, paper presented at Komazawa University in Tokyo on February 21 of 1998.

The collection is also known under the title of *Lüzu quanshu* in 16 scrolls. It has been compiled from the previous editions of the Liu Tishu's *Lüzu quanshu* (32 scrolls) and Shao Zhilin's *Lüzu quanshu* (64 scrolls); see "Fanli 凡例" 1a. According to the different prefaces, the revision of this collection was ordered via spirit writing by the immortal Lü Dongbin to a group of persons connected to a spirit-writing altar named Juetan 覺壇 presided by Liu Shouyuan 柳守元 and Jiang Yuanting and connected with the Tianxian 天仙 school.

This text of the *Golden Flower* is preceded by the following 7 prefaces:

1. Tianxian jinhua zongzhi zixu 天仙金華宗旨自序 by Tu Yu'an
2. by Liu Shouyuan

The remaining five prefaces are linked together and presented under the title *Liesheng baoxun tici* 列聖寶訓題辭

3. Xiaoti wang
4. Xu Jingyang
5. Zhang Sanfeng
6. Tan Changzhen
7. Wang Tianjun

This version contains at the end of the 13th chapter a closing note by Huijue 惠覺 (*alias*: Jiang Yuanting) in his function as holder of the Tianxian lineage (22a-b). It is followed by an appended treatise entitled *Jinhua chanyou wenda* 金華闡幽問答 (Questions and Answers to Clarify Unclear Points concerning the Golden Flower) and a short note by Huijue (*alias*: Jiang Yuanting).

At the end there are 4 postfaces (Tianxian Taiyi jinhua zongzhi houba 天仙太乙金華宗旨後跋) authored by: 1. Tongxiao 通霄;¹⁷ 2. Tu Yu'an; 3. En'hong 恩洪;¹⁸ 4. Zhiqiu 志秋.

3. *Xiantian xuwu taiyi jinhua zongzhi* 先天虛無太乙金華宗旨 (The Quintessential Doctrine of the Golden Flower of the Supreme One of the Vacuity before Heaven) in 13 chapters, in the 10th scroll of

17) A certain Qiu Tongxiao 邱通霄 is quoted in Chen Mou's *Lüzu quanshu zongzheng* as one who around 1757 wanted to print the *Lüzu quanshu* based on the ancient version of Peng Qifeng 彭啓豐 ("Xiubu Quanshu ji" 修補全書記, 1857 by Chen Mou, *Lüzu quanshu zongzheng*, 1. 1a). In the "Tianxian Taiyi jinhua zongzhi houba" (*Quanshu zhengzong*, 2. 64b), Tongxiao said he took part in the compilation of the *jinhua chanyou* for the edition of the [*Lüzu*] *quanshu zongzheng*. The latter was a previous compilation of the *Lüzu quanshu* (*Quanshu zhengzong*, 2. 21b, 66b).

18) Under the full title of "Zhenghua zi fasi En'hong" 正化子法嗣恩洪 is also quoted in the prefaces as one who was charged with carving this collection (*Quanshu zhengzong*, 1. 39a-b).

the *Lüzü quanshu zongzheng* 呂祖全書宗正 (The orthodoxy of the doctrine of the complete works by Patriarch Lü, 1852) restored by Chen Mou 陳謀.

This collection in 18 scrolls was restored by Chen Mou and is based on the edition of *Gu Qingya* 顧晴崖 from Jiangning 江寧.

It has been compiled from the previous versions of the *Lüzü quanshu* by Liu Tushu and Shao Zhilin. Chen Mou revised these editions relying on a *Lüzü quanshu* version in 18 scrolls found in Jiangsu ("Fanli" 1. 1a-b).

The text of the *Golden Flower* is presented as the extraordinary transmission of Xiaoti wang. It is preceded by the following 9 prefaces:

1. Xiaoti wang Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu
2. Xu Jingyang zhenjun Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu
3. Fuyou dijun Taiyi jinhua zongzhi zixu
4. Zhang Sanfeng zushi Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu
5. Qiu Changchun zhenren Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu
6. Tan Changzhen zhenren Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu
7. Wang Tianjun Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanxu
8. Tu Yu'an ti Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanqi
9. Tongxiao zi Taiyi jinhua zongzhi shi 通宵子太乙金華宗旨識

The last chapter of the text of the *Golden Flower* is followed by a kind of appended treatise under the title *Tan Changzhen zhenren zongzhi chuishi* 譚長真人宗旨垂示. It consists of two short sections: (a) *Kaizong chanjiao* 開宗闡教; (b) *Taiyi jinhua yuanliu* 太乙金華源流. After that, one finds in the 11th scroll the *jinhua chanyou* 金華闡幽 (Clarifying the Unclear Points concerning the Golden Flower).

4. *Jinhua zongzhi* 金華宗旨 in 13 chapters in the *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 (*shiji* 室集, 2) by Jiang Yuanting 蔣元庭 (1755–1819).

This version of the *Golden Flower* was probably included in the first edition of the *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 by Jiang Yuanting, between 1796 and 1819. In the index entitled *Daozang jiyao zongmu* 道藏輯要總目 included in *Shouyi zi* 守一子 (*alias*: Ding Fubao 丁福保), *Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 (Hangzhou, Zhejiang Guji chubanshe, 1989, 2 vols., 1. 1a-8a), it is said that the printing-blocks of the *Daozang jiyao* were carved in Beijing and were later sent to the South. However, since Jiang Yuanting died in Beijing, his edition was difficult to find. For that reason, the edition nowadays is the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要, edited by the Chengdu Erxian an 二仙菴 monastery in 1906, reprints: Taipei: Kaozheng 考正, 1971; Xinwenfeng 新文豐, 1977; Chengdu: Erxian an, 1986. It was compiled by He Longxiang 賀龍驤 and Peng Hanran 彭瀚然 under the supervision of Abbot Yan Yonghe 閻永和.

The text of the *Golden Flower* is here simply entitled *Jinhua zongzhi* 金華宗旨, written by Fuyou Shangdi Chunyang Lüzü Tianshi 孚佑上帝純陽呂祖天師 (Celestial Master Patriarch Lü Pure Yang, Supreme Emperor and Sincere Protector).¹⁹⁾

This version is completely identical to that of the *Quanshu zhengzong*, and consists of thirteen chapters preceded by seven prefaces and followed by some final notes composed by Huijue (18a-b). One can also find the final notes of Huijue after the appendix treatise and the last four postfaces.

5. *Lü zushi xiantian xuwu taiyi jinhua zongzhi* 呂祖師先天虛無太一金華宗旨 (The Quintessential Doctrine of the Golden Flower of the Supreme One of the Vacuity before Heaven by the Patriarch Lü) in 13 chapters in the first volume of the *Daozang xubian* 道藏續編 (Continuation to the Daoist Canon, 1834) by Min Yide 閔一得 (1758–1836).

This version of the *Golden Flower* was in reality included for the first time in the *Gu Shuyinlou cangshu* 古書隱樓藏書 (Library of the Ancient Pavilion of Hidden Books), compiled by Min Yide. It is a collection in 14 volumes stored for the most part in the Chunyang 純陽 Temple of Mt. Jin'gai 金蓋 (Zhejiang). In 1834 twenty-three texts were extracted from this collection and published under the title of *Daozang xubian* 道藏續編, reprinted in Beijing: Haiyang 海洋, 1989, 4 vols. A large part of these texts is devoted to inner alchemical practices. The text of the *Golden Flower* opens the *Daozang xubian* and is presented as the main Longmen doctrinal text preceded by a Min Yide's preface (1831) and his introductory note. The numerous prefaces of the other versions of the *Golden Flower* are here omitted and the text is presented as the transmission given in 1688 by the Immortal Lü Dongbin to seven Longmen disciples who were connected with the Longqiao 龍嶠 hermitage at Mt. Jin'gai. The names of the seven Jingming disciples who received for the first time the transmission of the text in 1668 are never mentioned. The texts used by Min Yide are based on Tao Shi'an's 陶石菴 (?-1692) version, on Jiang Yuanting's version inserted in the *Daozang jiyao*, and on a manuscript of Jinling 金陵 (Nanjing).²⁰⁾

19) In 1310, the emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 1308–1311) conferred on the immortal Lü Dongbin the title Chunyang Yanzheng Jinghua Fuyou Dijun 純陽演政警化孚佑帝君. In the index of the *Daozang jinghua lu* (Shouyi zi, 1989: 1.5a) the text of the *Golden Flower* is attributed to Lü who is called Fuyou Shangdi Tianshi 孚佑上帝天師.

20) In the introductory note (*Daozang xubian* 1.1a), Min Yide said that Tao Shi'an (?-1692), a patriarch of the 9th generation of the Longmen school (see his

6. *Changsheng shu* 長生術 (The Art of Prolonging Life; original title: *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi*) in 13 chapters in *Changsheng shu Xuming fang hekan* 長生術續命方合刊 (Joint Publication of the 'Art of Prolonging Life' and the 'Method for increasing the Vitality,' 1921) by Dan Ranhui

This book published by Dan Ranhui in 1921 contains the *Golden Flower* under the title *Changsheng shu* along with the *Huiming jing* 慧命經 (Book of Wisdom and Vitality) by Liu Huayang 柳華陽 under the title *Xuming fang*.

The text of the *Golden Flower* attributed to Fuyou dijun (Lü Dongbin) is preceded by 12 prefaces: 1. Xiaoti wang yuanxu; 2. Xu Jingyang zhenjun yuanxu; 3. Fuyou dijun Taiyi jinhua zongzhi zixu; 4. Zhang Sanfeng zushi yuanxu; 5. Qiu Changchun zhenren yuanxu; 6. Tan Changzhen zhenren yuanxu; 7. Wang Tianjun yuanxu; 8. Tu Yu'an ti Taiyi jinhua zongzhi yuanqi; 9. Tongxiao zi Taiyi jinhua zongzhi shi; 10. Kaizong chanjiao (a) Taiyi jinhua yuanliu;²¹⁾ 11. Yiliao shanren xu 一了山人序 (1894); 12. Fuyou dijun chongxu 孚佑帝君重序 (1917).²²⁾

The text of the *Golden Flower* is followed by 3 appendixes: 1. Fu Hedao zi deshu qiuxu shimo ji 附合道子得書求序始末記 (1917) by Yao Jicang 姚濟蒼 (alias: Hedao zi); 2. Xude yuanxu ji 續得原續記 (1917) by Yao Jicang; 3. Fu Tong Chenghe jun zishu 附佟成和君自述.

Apart from the fifth version of this text which represents the canonical Longmen school's text included in the *Daozang xubian* (1834) by Min Yide, the content of the *Golden Flower* is approximately the same in all the remaining versions. The text consists of 13 chapters containing no annotation, except for the Longmen and

biography in *Jin'gai xinding* 金蓋心燈, 3. 7a-11a), has preserved the text of the *Golden Flower* as printing-blocks at Mt. Jin'gai. Min Yide then used Tao Shi'an's version in order to revise Jiang Yuanting's version which was full of mistakes, relying also on a manuscript he found in Jinling (Nanjing). Unfortunately, we do not know anything about this last manuscript except that it was more complete than Jiang Yuanting's version and closer to Tao Shi'an's version; it is important to underline that it came from the birth-place of the Longmen master Cai Laihe who decided to reprint the *Lüzu quanshu* in 64 scrolls; see p. 99 and note 25.

21) The preface by Zhiqiu is not included in this version and the postface by En'hong corresponds in some parts to the section named "Taiyi jinhua yuanliu" in *Kaizong chanjiao*. It has some important variants; see M. Esposito 1996: 157.

22) These two last prefaces are only found in Dan Ranhui's edition.

Dan Ranhui's versions which have, on the contrary, their own commentary. However, number and content of the prefaces are substantially different.

III. Additional Information on the Six Versions

1. The *Secret of the Golden Flower* in the *Lüzu quanshu* (1775) by Shao Zhilin

The oldest version of the *Secret of the Golden Flower* is found in the augmented edition of the *Lüzu quanshu* by Shao Zhilin. That collection is based on the first edition of the *Lüzu quanshu* in 32 scrolls originally compiled by Liu Tishu 劉體恕 (alias: Wuwo zi 無我子) in 1744.²³⁾ However, this first edition of the *Lüzu quanshu* does not contain the text of the *Golden Flower*. The text was later added by Shao Zhilin when he decided with the help of Wang Lüjie to reprint and augment Liu Tishu's *Lüzu quanshu* by adding many hitherto unpublished manuscripts.²⁴⁾ According to the preface of Wu Shuxu 吳樹虛 (*Lüzu quanshu*, 1.9a-b), the collection was reprinted with the financial support of Wang Lüjie by a certain Cai Laihe 蔡來鶴, a Longmen master, who charged Shao Zhilin to revise it.

a) The reprinting of the *Lüzu quanshu* by Shao Zhilin and his relationship with the Longmen school

It is then important to underline that the Shao Zhilin's collection consists of many texts which were probably collected by the

23) Mori Yuria 1998a: 45.

24) According to the preface by Peng Qifeng (*Lüzu quanshu*, 1. 13a-b), as the printing-blocks of the previous *Lüzu quanshu* by Liu Tishu were already damaged during the Kangxi 康熙 era (1662-1722), Wang Lüjie supported the cost for the reprinting and with his friend Shao Zhilin augmented the previous *Lüzu quanshu* to more than 60 scrolls; see also the preface of Shao Zhilin (*Lüzu quanshu*, 1. 5b-6a).

Longmen master Cai Laihe²⁵⁾ and were not published yet in the first edition of Liu Tishu's *Lüzu quanshu*. In the list of texts included in the new edition of *Lüzu quanshu* by Shao Zhilin,²⁶⁾ one can see that some texts originate from Mt. Jin'gai, a noted religious center belonging to the Longmen school and located in Zhejiang (near the actual town of Huzhou 湖州). Mt. Jin'gai was important since, according to Longmen masters, it was not only the place where the most ancient and original version of the *Golden Flower* appeared (see below p. 106) but also the holy city of Lü Dongbin. We know that Qing scholars, Daoists masters, etc. lived in temples and hermitages located on this mountain and practiced spirit-writing so as to connect themselves to the immortal Lü Dongbin, who was thought to visit this place quite frequently.²⁷⁾ Even the compiler of the *Lüzu quanshu*, Shao Zhaolin, often came to Mt. Jin'gai and took part in spirit-writing sessions in honour of Lü Dongbin. He venerated this immortal and received from him help for his scholar-career, as well as benedictions for obtaining a child.²⁸⁾

25) According to the preface by Shen Wukun 沈吳坤 (*Lüzu quanshu*, 1. 3a-b), Cai Laihe was a man of high aspirations who, having already transcended the ordinary world, lived in an hermitage in the south of the lake of Hangzhou where Shao Zhilin met him. Cai Laihe told him of his aspiration to engrave again the *Wendi quanshu* 文帝全書 and the *Lüzu quanshu*. In the glosses to the biography of Shao Zhilin ("Shao Qiuyi xianshen zhuan" 邵秋漪先生傳), included in the *Jin'gai xindeng* 金蓋心燈 (The Transmission of the Heart-lamp of Mount Jin'gai, by Min Yide 閔一得, Yunchao 雲巢, Gu Shuyinlou 古書隱樓, rpt. 1876, 10 vols., [7.50a]), it is in fact said that Cai Laihe compiled the *Wendi quanshu* and the *Lüzu quanshu* while Shao Zhilin was in charge of comparing and verifying the previous edition of the *Lüzu quanshu*. Here, it is also mentioned that Cai Laihe, a native of Jinling (Nanjing), was a Vinaya-master of the 13th generation of the Longmen school.

26) "Fanli" 凡例, *Lüzu quanshu*, 1. 1a-7a.

27) Preface by Shen Bingcheng 沈秉成 (1873) in *Jin'gai xindeng* (1. 1b), and Preface by Xiao Lun 蕭倫 (1817), *Jin'gai xindeng* (1.1a, 2a).

28) "Shao Qiuyi xianshen zhuan," *Jin'gai xindeng* (7. 50a-b).

b) The transmission of the *Golden Flower* in the Jingming lineage. Contrary to our expectations, the version of the *Golden Flower* added in Shao Zhilin's *Lüzu quanshu* does not come from Mt. Jin'gai and is not linked to the Longmen lineage. It is based on a manuscript of a certain Wu of Suzhou and was a product of a spirit-writing group belonging to the Jingming lineage.²⁹⁾ It was revealed for the first time at a private spirit-writing altar located at Piling (Jiangsu).

However, the contents of its teachings are here presented as an esoteric transmission of the Jingming patriarch Xu Xun and later, under the Yuan dynasty, of the founder of Jingming zhongxiao 淨明忠孝 school Liu Yu 劉玉 (1257-1308).³⁰⁾ After that, as the transmission was lost, the immortal Lü decided in 1668 to convey the teachings of the *Golden Flower* to seven disciples linked, as in the initial transmission, to the Jingming school. The disciples involved in this later transmission are said to have belonged to the Taiyi 太乙 lineage, a Jingming branch expressly created for the transmission of the text of the *Golden Flower*. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the Taiyi lineage, except that the ordination names of its members were fixed according to the "after Heaven" sequence of eight trigrams.³¹⁾

29) "Fanli," *Lüzu quanshu*, 1. 4a; "Lüzu quanshu xiantian xuwu taiyi jinhua zongzhi xiaoxu" (1755) by Shao Zhilin, *Lüzu quanshu*, 49. 1a.

30) Liu Yu was considered as the founder of a new school called Jingming zhongxiao, see Akizuki Kan'ei 秋月觀暎, *Chūgoku kinsei Dōkyō no keisei: Jōmeidō no kisoteki kenkyū* 中國近世道教の形成——淨明道の基礎的研究, Tokyo: Sōbunsha 創文社, 1978: 141-155.

31) The "after Heaven" (*houtian* 後天) sequence of eight trigrams is normally used in the alchemical work in order to represent the manifestation of the world from the original chaos, the instant of the "opening of Heaven" which represents the spontaneous generation of the cosmos and the separation between the timelessness and formless stage known as "before Heaven" (*xiantian* 先天) and the time and form stage known as "after Heaven." In this process, pure *yang* 陽 divides into two

So even if the collection in which the *Golden Flower* appears for the first time was in some way linked to the Longmen tradition through the figure of Cai Laihe and the connection of the compiler Shao Zhilin with Mt. Jin'gai, the text itself is here presented as the result of the transmission of Lü Dongbin to seven Jingming disciples. Pan Yi'an (Qiande) first received the transmission of the *Golden Flower* at the Piling's Bailong altar³²⁾ in 1668 from the immortal Lü Dongbin along with six other people: Zhuang Xing'an 莊惺菴, Zhou Ye'an 周楚菴, Liu Du'an 劉度菴, Xu Shen'an 許深菴, Zhuang Cheng'an 莊誠菴 and Tu Yu'an 屠宇菴. However, it was only more than 20 years later that Tu Yu'an compiled and revised what was previously written down by the first generation of disciples.³³⁾

In the prefaces of the other versions of the *Golden Flower* there is no reference to the location of the spirit-writing altar where the seven Jingming disciples received the first transmission of this text. This could be a proof that the text circulated among various spirit-writing groups located in different regions who claimed to have played their own role in its transmission. However, even though there were certainly different groups and schools who worshipped

complementary principles of *yin* 陰 and *yang*, and from their interaction the world of manifestation and change appears, the world "after Heaven." To represent this shift from *xiantian* to *houtian*, the alchemical texts use two different position sets of trigrams of the *Yijing*. Here, the sequence "after Heaven" (*Qian, Kan, Gen, Zhen, Xun, Li, Kun, Dui*) is used for indicating the lineage of transmission of masters who received the text of the *Golden Flower*. The character *Qian* 乾 thus stands for the first generation, the character *Kan* 坎 for the second generation and so on.

32) This altar is probably the private altar of Zhou Ye'an.

33) In fact, in 1692, it is said that Xiaoti wang transmitted again the text of the *Golden Flower* to Tu Yu'an 屠宇菴 (Qianyuan 乾元) who then confided the printing-blocks to Zhang Shuang'an 張爽菴 (Kanzhen 坎真). Zhang is the first member of the second generation of seven disciples who received the text: Li Shi'an 李時菴, Feng Fan'an 馮返菴, Feng Jin'an 馮近菴, Xu Ning'an 許凝菴, Pan Zhen'an 潘真菴 and Pan Zhuo'an 潘卓菴.

the immortal Lü Dongbin and who took part in the transmission of this text, we can affirm that the first appearance of this scripture was linked to members connected with the Jingming school.

2. The version of the *Golden Flower* in the *Quanshu zhengzong* (1803) and its relationship with the Tianxian school

The second version is found in the second scroll of the *Quanshu zhengzong* (The Orthodox Doctrine of the Complete Works, 1803). It is also called *Lüzü quanshu* and was compiled by the Qing scholar Jiang Yuanting (1755–1819). This collection comes from a circle of disciples associated to another spirit-writing altar presided over by Jiang Yuanting himself. The members of this altar claimed to be disciples of Lü Dongbin and to belong to the Tianxian school supposedly founded by Lü Dongbin himself. This school was officially recognized in Qing times by the government since its members received ordinations in the Baiyun guan 白雲觀 of Beijing. Since the Yuan dynasty, the Baiyun guan was considered the most important Quanzhen temple; during the Qing dynasty, it became an official center of religious training under the direction of the Longmen school. In fact, the abbots of Baiyun guan were chosen among the masters of this school who were in charge of the ordinations of the Daoist adepts officially recognized throughout the empire.

It is important to point out that the Longmen school is in one way or another involved in this second collection since it was under the guidance of Longmen abbots that the members of the Tianxian school received the recognition of their lineage and practice.³⁴⁾

34) Koyanagi Shigeta 小柳司氣太 (*Hakuun-kan shi* 白雲觀志, Tokyo: Tōhō Bunka Gakuin Tōkyō Kenkyūjo 東方文化學院東京研究所, 1934) when he was at the Baiyun Temple in Beijing transcribed an important document called "Zhu zhenzong pai congbu" 諸真宗派總簿 where one finds a list of 84 schools represented

However, the text of the *Golden Flower* included in this collection has again no direct relationship with Longmen. It is presented as belonging not only to the Jingming tradition but also to the Tianxian school. Since it worshipped Lü Dongbin as its founder it is obvious that this last school claims to have played an important role in the transmission of Lü's teachings which includes the *Secret of the Golden Flower*. Consequently, the prefaces of the Jingming disciples who received the earlier transmission of the text in 1668 are omitted in this version (with the exception of the prefaces by Tu Yu'an). So is any reference to the location of their spirit-writing altar.

The remaining prefaces clearly indicate that Jiang Yuanting's compilation was based on a third *Lüzu quanshu* collection which circulated among high ranking officials such as Jiang Yuanting himself. This third collection was later published by Chen Mou in 1852 under the title of *Lüzu quanshu zongzheng* 呂祖全書宗正 (The Orthodoxy of the Doctrine in the Complete Works of Patriarch Lü) in 18 scrolls.³⁵⁾

3. Version of the *Golden Flower* in the *Lüzu quanshu zongzheng* (1852)

The text of the *Golden Flower* is also found in the tenth scroll of this collection. Even though the *Lüzu quanshu zongzheng* was already well-known in 1747 when a member of Hanlin 翰林 academy was charged by two high-ranking officials to engrave it, it was only printed more than a century later. As its printing blocks were damaged, Chen Mou restored them with the help of members linked to

in this temple and their genealogical poems. The verses of a poem attributed to the Tianxian school ("Tianxian jinhua zongzhi houba" by Zhiqiu, *Quanshu zhengzong*, 2. 67b) are in this document presented as belonging to the Chunyang 純陽 school, the school of the immortal Lü Dongbin (Koyanagi Shigeta, 1934: 3. 96).

35) This title is very close to Jiang Yuanting's *Quanshu zhengzong*.

associations and temples devoted to Lü Dongbin.³⁶⁾

Chen Mou's version was based on a *Lüzu quanshu* collection which circulated in Jiangsu and belonged to a scholar named Peng Qifeng 彭啓豐 (from Changzhou 長洲) who took part in the Shao Zhilin's compilation of 1775.³⁷⁾ According to Chen Mou, this collection did not contain any mistake. He emphasized that the *Golden Flower* was the result of the Taiyi branch belonging to the Jingming transmission.³⁸⁾ The text of the *Golden Flower* and its prefaces correspond to Jiang Yuanting's collection except for some slight variants.

Based on the above informations, we can thus conclude that the first three *Golden Flower* versions all belong to different editions of *Lüzu quanshu*; they feature different numbers of scrolls, are compiled by different authors, and printed at different dates.

Let us now take a look at the last three versions of the *Golden Flower* which were not included in any *Lüzu quanshu* collection.

4. The version of the *Golden Flower* from the *Daozang jiyao* (1796–1820)

The fourth version of the *Golden Flower* is found in the *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要. This text corresponds entirely to the text and prefaces included by the Qing scholar Jiang Yuanting in his *Quanshu zhengzong* (which is the second version of *Lüzu quanshu* mentioned above). In fact, it was probably Jiang Yuanting himself who in-

36) "Xiubu Quanshu ji" by Chen Mou, *Lüzu quanshu zongzheng*, 1. 1b.

37) In the augmented edition of the *Lüzu quanshu* by Shao Zhilin there is a preface by Peng Qifeng ("Chongkan Lüzu quanshu shu" 重刊呂祖全書疏 by Peng Qifeng, *Lüzu quanshu*, 1775: 1. 1a-4b) who is said to have taken part in this compilation ("Chongkan Lüzu quanshu shu" by Wang Lüjie, *Lüzu quanshu*, 1775: 1. 7b); see also note 17.

38) "Fanli," *Quanshu zongzheng*, 1857: 1. 1b, 4a. The Jingming teachings were in fact appreciated by official scholars for stressing Confucian ethical values.

cluded it in the *Daozang jiyao* since one of the different editions of this Ming-Qing Daoist Canon was published by him between 1796 and 1820.

Although the text of the Golden Flower is identical to the second version of *Lüzü quanshu*, it is nevertheless important to underline that it was this version compiled by Jiang Yuanting and linked to the Tianxian school that was included in the *Daozang jiyao*. This was probably why Min Yide the compiler of the Longmen version of the *Golden Flower* criticized harshly this canonical version of the Tianxian school which was chosen instead of that approved by the Longmen school, the dominant Daoist tradition during the Qing dynasty.³⁹⁾

5. The Longmen version of the *Golden Flower*

In order to distinguish the Longmen version from that of the *Daozang jiyao*, Min Yide dedicated himself to the reconstitution of the *Golden Flower*. He claimed that this text (included in his *Daozang xubian*, 1834 under a longer title *Lü zushi xiantian xuwu taiyi jinhua songzhi* 呂祖師先天虛無太一金華宗旨) was based on a manuscript of a Longmen master called Tao Shi'an (?-1692) preserved in Mt. Jin'gai.⁴⁰⁾ From 1688 onwards, it was transmitted by Lü Dongbin only to disciples belonging to the Longmen school by means of spirit-writing sessions which took place at the altar of Mt. Jin'gai. According to the Longmen compiler, three chapters of the original text were already written by the immortal himself during the Tang dynasty; this demonstrates the antiquity and the ortho-

39) The reconstitution of the text by Min Yide as an original Longmen product (even though it was supposed to be based on the original version of Tao Shi'an preserved at Mt. Jin'gai) was in reality focused on criticizing the version of Jiang Yuanting included in his *Daozang jiyao*; see M. Esposito 1996: 155-156, 163-167 and Mori Yuria 1998a: 58.

40) See note 20.

doxy of the Longmen version since it was the only one said to have been written by the hand of Lü Dongbin as a historical figure of Tang times, while the other versions stem from the later appearances of the immortal in the human world. The *Golden Flower* was then adopted by the Longmen school as its main doctrinal text.⁴¹⁾

Min Yide did not include any preface from previous versions in his *Daozang xubian* and squarely ignored them. The text features only one preface dated 1831 and an introductory note by Min Yide. The first chapter entitled "Tianxin" 天心 (Celestial Heart) is quite different from the first chapter contained in the other versions. Its content is focused on the transmission of alchemical formulae aimed at realizing the true nature of mind and understanding the direct mind transmission according to the Longmen teachings. Each chapter is followed by short notes or commentaries which stem from the oral transmission of Longmen lineage holders.

6. The *Golden Flower* in Dan Ranhui's book

The most recent version of the *Golden Flower* published by Dan Ranhui in 1921 was translated in 1929 by Richard Wilhelm. This book, as we have already noted at the beginning, was bought by Dan Ranhui in Beijing but came from a master of Sichuan who brought it to Canton for printing. It originally contained only one preface. Many other prefaces were later added by Dan Ranhui based on a Jiangsu manuscript. The resulting version of Dan Ranhui is actually identical to the third version edited by Chen Mou that circulated in Jiangsu. However, Dan Ranhui added to this his own hitherto unpublished commentaries.

41) In the commentary to its 8th chapter (*Daozang xubian*, 1. 10b), it is said that the text of the *Golden Flower* was recognized as the heart-transmission of the Highest (*Taishang xinchuan* 太上心傳) by Wang Changyue 王常月 (?-1680), the main restorer of the Longmen 龍門 school in the early Qing.

In one of the appendixes of Dan Ranhui's book it is clearly stated that he was involved in spirit-writing activities at a private altar of one of his friends in Beijing⁴²⁾ where the immortal Lü Dongbin is supposed to have appeared in 1907. On that occasion, the immortal told him that the text of the *Golden Flower* started to be formed in 1403 but was completed only in 1663. This predates the revelation of the *Golden Flower* to the seven Jingming disciples at Piling which, according to the most ancient version by Shao Zhilin, took place in 1668. Although we can clearly see that Dan Ranhui's text is based on former versions of the *Golden Flower* and that his claim to have access to an even more ancient version of the *Golden Flower* is unfounded, the early dates of 1403 and 1663 that he gave in his appendix might remind one of transmissions of the *Golden Flower* text among local spirit-writing groups. Dan Ranhui's version is probably the result of one of the latest transmission of the *Golden Flower* which spread in the North after spirit-writing sessions at an altar located in Beijing. If we compare the style of Dan Ranhui's prefaces with prefaces of the previous collections, we can see that his style is simpler and less literary. This would indicate that the text of the *Golden Flower* was gradually diffused among local spirit-writing groups apart from official Daoist schools or circles of high-ranking scholars.

IV. Conclusive Remarks

In conclusion, one can say that in all the versions of the *Golden Flower* briefly described above, the spirit-writing cult in honour of Lü Dongbin forms the center which connects people worshipping this immortal to authorized or unauthorized lineages. Although Lü

42) The name of his friend is Ying Longxiang 應龍翔 (*faming*: Zanyuan 贊元), cf. "Fu Hedao zi de shu qiu xu shiwei ji" 附合道子得書求序始末記 Dan Ranhui, 1921: 44.

Dongbin is known as the patriarch of Quanzhen⁴³⁾ and from the Qing dynasty on as the patron of literati, one should not overlook his links with popular religion. Lü Dongbin's cult and teachings, and in particular his teachings on the *Golden Flower*, were indeed shared by well-known Daoist schools, smaller movements and spirit-writing groups belonging to different social classes in South and North China. The different locations where the text was found indeed suggest the existence of a worshipping background centered around Lü Dongbin. The dynamism of his cult contributed to revitalize people's faith in such authorized lineages as Quanzhen and Jingming as well as in the new Ming-Qing branches such as Longmen, Taiyi, and Tianxian.⁴⁴⁾

We can thus conclude by saying that — contrary to the Longmen school's statements — the *Secret of the Golden Flower* is certainly not the product of a single tradition but rather that of various local traditions, schools and sects, all of which apparently worshipped the immortal Lü Dongbin. The origin of the text still remains a mystery in certain respects, and can only be clarified through a careful study of Ming-Qing Daoism. The "Secret" of the *Golden Flower* lies not only in the concealed meaning of its doctrine but above all in the mystery of its textual history.

43) I. Ang, "Le culte de Lü Dongbin sous les Song du Sud," *Journal Asiatique* 285. 2, 1997: 475.

44) See Mori Yuria 1998a.