

# Printing and Religion in the Life of Fu Jinquan: Alchemical Writer, Religious Leader, and Publisher in Sichuan

Elena Valussi

## Abstract

This article explores the life and work of a 19<sup>th</sup> century author of Daoist alchemical works, religious leader and publisher: Fu Jinquan 傅金銓 (fl. 1800). Fu, a native of Jiangxi and a very active Daoist intellectual, moved to Sichuan in 1817, attracted by the fertile religious milieu, the possibility of establishing an altar for the reception of writing from Lü Dongbin and the creation of vibrant community around this altar, as well as the flourishing printing culture, of which he took full advantage when he published his *opera omnia* at the

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**Elena Valussi** teaches Chinese and East Asian History at Loyola University. She obtained her Ph.D. from the School of Asian and African Studies, University of London, in 2003, with a dissertation about Daoist meditation techniques for women (Beheading the Red Dragon: A History of Female Inner Alchemy in China). She has published several articles on female alchemy in peer reviewed journals, among them: "Female alchemy and paratext: how to read *nüdan* in a historical context," *Asia Major*, 21.2 (2008): 153-193; "Blood, tigers, dragons. The physiology of transcendence for women," *IASTAM Journal of Asian Medicine*, 4.1 (2009): 46–85; "Men and women in He Longxiang's *Nüdan hebian* (Collection of female alchemy)," *Nannü, Men, Women and Gender in Early and Imperial China* (Leiden: Brill), 10.2 (2008): 242–278. She is interested in the intersection between gender medicine and religion. More recently, she has been interested in the transmission of Daoist knowledge and texts among intellectuals in Qing China. She is one of the editors of the "Daozang Jiyao Project."

printing press previously established by his relative Fu Jinduo 傅金鐸. Fu's case speaks to elements that are typical of the development of Daoist intellectual communities in the Qing (1644–1911) period: greater geographical mobility; the unprecedented spreading of alchemical literature through a wide network of writers and practitioners; widespread use of spirit writing séances as a means to receive and produce new writings; the growing influence of Daoist immortal Lü Dongbin in these séances; the use of Confucian as well as Buddhist ideas deeply interwoven with Daoist ideas and practices; the use of printing as a means to spread alchemical knowledge, the localization of production of religious knowledge through small printing houses, and the growth of lay organizations and politics. Despite the fact that Fu is only one example of the strengthening of local religious arenas, studying him highlights previously less known Daoist networks in Sichuan, as well as powerfully connecting the diffusion of religious knowledge to the rising of local commercial printing in Sichuan.

Keywords: Fu Jinquan, Daoism, Qing dynasty, printing, Sichuan

In this article I wish to explore the life and work of nineteenth-century author of Daoist alchemical works, religious leader and publisher Fu Jinquan 傅金銓 (active 1800–1842), *zi* 字: Dingyun 鼎雲; *hao* 號: Jiyi zi 濟一子 (Master Who Saves the One), Zuihua daoren 醉花道人 (The Daoist who gets drunk [and loves] flowers).<sup>1</sup> His case speaks to elements that are typical of the development of the Daoist intellectual community in the Qing (1644–1911) period: greater geographical mobility; the unprecedented spreading of alchemical literature through a wide network of writers and practitioners; widespread use of spirit writing séances as a means to receive and produce new writings; the growing influence of Daoist immortal Lü Dongbin in these séances; the use of Confucian as well as Buddhist ideas deeply interwoven with Daoist ideas and practices; the use of printing as a means to spread alchemical knowledge; the localization of production of religious knowledge through small printing houses. I will discuss these issues in detail below.

First I will describe briefly Fu's life and works. I will then discuss the state of the printing business in Eastern Sichuan, where Fu, originally from Jiangxi 江西, settled for the last 30 years of his life, and where the printing press he used was based. I will finally talk about religious life

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<sup>1</sup> Research on Fu Jinquan is scarce. There is a short note about Fu by the late Qing early Republican alchemical practitioner and scholar Fangnei sanren 方內散人 (Wan Ligeng 萬立賡, 1848–?), “Lun Jiyizi Fu Jinquan xiansheng pizhu geshu 論濟一子傅金銓先生批注各書,” in *Daoshu yangsheng miku* 道書養生秘庫, ed. Hong Jianlin (Dalian: Dalian chubanshe, 1991). More recent studies are: Zeng Zhaonan 曾昭南: *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 中國道教史4, ed. Qing Xitai 卿希泰 (Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe, 1995), 195–211; “Daoshi Fu Jinquan sixiang shulue” 道士傅金銓思想述略, in *Daojia wenhuan yanjiu* 道家文化研究9, ed. Chen Guying 陳鼓應 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1996), 177–189. A book devoted to Fu Jinquan was also recently published: Xie Zhengqiang 謝正強, *Fu Jinquan neidan sixiang yanjiu* 傅金銓內丹思想研究 (Chengdu: Bashu Shushe, 2005).

of that area and the community of religious practitioners that Fu was part of.

## Life

Fu was born in Jiangxi, in the village of Shancheng 珊城, north of the small town of Jinxi 金谿, south east of Nanchang 南常, some time after the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to his own writing and those of his friends and acolytes, he spent most of his youth in his native area, where he read extensively in alchemical classics and Buddhist treatises. In his middle years he travelled throughout China in search of teachers and scriptures, finally settling in Sichuan later in life. There, he spent the last 30 years of his life printing his collected writings at a printing house, the Shanchengtang 善成堂 (Hall of Achieving Goodness), established earlier by a relative, Fu Jinduo 傅金鐸. There he formed a religious community around several altars for the transmission of writings from Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 and other divinities. He died in Sichuan in his eighties.<sup>2</sup>

According to his own accounts, in his early years in Jiangxi Fu spent some time on Beishan 杯山, a mountain in Central Jiangxi, south

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<sup>2</sup> The main resources for Fu Jinquan's life are the following: *Hechuan xianzhi* 合川縣志 (Gazetteer for Hechuan county), *juan* 58:20a–23b, ed. Zhang Senkai 張森楷 et al. (yingyin chuban 景印初版, 1920), reprint (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, *Minguo* 57 [1968]). A shortened version of this account appears in *Minguo Baxianzhi* 民國巴縣志 (Republican Period Gazetteer of Ba county), *Sichuan fu xianzhi ji* 四川府縣志輯, volume 6, *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng* 中國地方志集成, compiled by Meng Guo 夢國, 1939, *juan* 5:62b. Another biography is the *Zuihua daoren zhuan* 醉花道人傳 (Biography of the Daoist Who Gets Drunk [and Loves] Flowers), in *Ziti suohua* 自題所畫 (Self-signatures to What I Have Drawn), in *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 (Daoist Texts Outside the Canon) in 36 volumes, compiled by Hu Daojing 胡道靜 et al. (Chengdu: Bashu Shushe, 1992–1994) 11: 618–619. The first two accounts discuss mostly Fu's activities after he moved to Sichuan in 1817. The *Hechuan xianzhi* puts Fu's age at 80 when he died. *Hechuan xianzhi*, *juan* 6:23b.

of Nanchang and west of Jinxi where he was born. There, he wrote a collection of poems called *Beixilü* 杯溪錄 (Records from the Bei stream). A Yinglin 阿應麟, a *jinshi* graduate from Gansu 甘肅, appointed to Guangfeng 廣豐 county (in Eastern Jiangxi, on the border with Zhejiang 浙江), wrote a preface for this work in 1815.<sup>3</sup> The poems Fu wrote while there show a deep interest and passion for his natural surroundings. This is how he describes his time there in the preface to this work:

I lived to the East of Bei mountain and drank water from the Bei river. Daily I would travel with people from the Bei area. The water of the Bei river is clear and shallow, the Bei mountains are low and beautiful, the customs in Bei are simple and pure, the dwellings in Bei are secluded and elegant; green bamboo parts willingly. Purity flows, revolving around, the people explore at length and search deeply for the unusual. [They] investigate the constancy. They examine changes in flying, diving, moving, and growing. The flying of the birds, the jumping of the fish, the transformation of insects, the call of the cicadas; who makes them fly, jump, transform, call? What we call Dao resides in Heaven and Earth, but Heaven and Earth don't know it.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A Yinglin, *zi* Jing Tan 鏡潭, from Zhangye 張掖 county in Gansu. A was the only *jinshi* 進士 graduate from Gansu in the Qing dynasty. He passed the *jinshi* examination in 1802, served as a prefect in Guangfeng county, eastern Jiangxi, on the border with Zhejiang. Since he served well there, he was quickly moved to the capital Nanchang, where he subsequently died on the post. The *Qingshigao yiwenzhi sheyi* 清史稿藝文志拾遺 indicates that he compiled a gazetteer of Nanchang, the *Nanchang xianzhi* 南昌縣志, in 40 *juan* (1826). More information about his life can be found in the *Xinxiu Zhangye xianzhi* 新修張掖縣志 (1949), (reprint: *Zhangyeshi zhi bangongshi jiaodian zhengli* 張掖市志辦公室校點整理, 1998), *renwuzhi* 人物志, where there is a short biography of him. A Yinglin must have come into contact with Fu Jinquan while serving in Nanchang; he was the only supporter of Fu in Jiangxi about whom we have extensive information.

<sup>4</sup> *Beixilü*, preface, in *Zangwai daoshu* 11:2.

This preface betrays not only an intense interest in nature but also provides an attempt to explain natural processes in terms of the Dao.

In prefaces and letters, there are mentions of Fu as an ordained Daoist priest. For example, in one of the prefaces to the *Beixilü* mentioned above, one of his admirers laments that Fu decided to join the “Yellow Caps” (*huangguan* 黃冠) instead of using his worldly talents.<sup>5</sup> The woodblock illustration that portrays Fu’s face at the beginning of the *Beixilü* also clearly depicts him wearing a Daoist headdress (see illustration 1). However, there is little evidence of Fu’s official affiliation with any Daoist school. Although Fu’s birth-place, Jinxi, is very close to Longhu shan 龍虎山, a famous mountain within the Zhengyi Daoist tradition, he does not mention Longhu shan in his writings and his name does not appear in the gazetteer that holds the list of Longhu shan Daoist officials between the mid-eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Thus there is no way to confirm whether Fu was ordained in the Zhengyi lineage there.

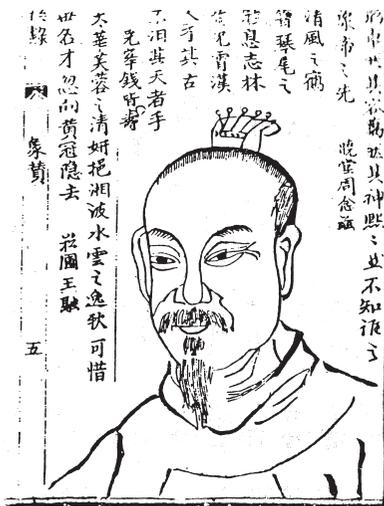


Illustration 1: Fu Jinquan’s image in *Beixilü* 杯溪錄, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:3

<sup>5</sup> *Beixilü* preface, 5a, in *Zangwai daoshu* 11:3.

<sup>6</sup> *Tongzhi Guangxin fuzhi* 同治廣信府志 (Tongzhi period Gazetteer for Guangxin),

Whether or not he was a properly ordained Daoist priest, Fu had already become an accomplished religious practitioner and alchemical writer while still in Jiangxi. He had a teacher, Qingxu 清虛, and an immortal master, Lü Dongbin, as well as an altar, the Xingzhai tang 星齊堂 in Xinjiang 信江 (a few miles north of Jinxi), where he received the direct transmission of Lü Dongbin's words.<sup>7</sup> Lü was the pre-eminent immortal presence in Fu's life and work.<sup>8</sup>

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ed. Jiang Jizhu 蔣繼洙 et al. (1873; reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), 10:27a–31b. Quoted in Vincent Goossaert, “Bureaucratic Charisma: The Zhang Heavenly Master Institution and Court Taoists in Late-Qing China,” *Asia Major* 17.2 (2004): 121–159. The *Longhu shan zhi* 龍虎山志 (Gazetteer for Longhu Mountain), ed. Lou Jinyuan 婁近垣 (1689–1776), (1740) *juan* 7, lists several Ming high priests who came from Jinxi, and some of them had the surname Fu.

<sup>7</sup> In the preface to the *Beixilü*, dated 1815, A Yinglin mentions Fu's close connection to Lü Dongbin and the fact that he had received writings from him, before Fu's move to Sichuan. *Beixilü*, preface, 2a, in *Zangwai daoshu* 11:1. In a letter to Zhou Luan 周鸞, Fu mentions receiving a transmission from Lü Dongbin at the Xinzhai altar. *Chishuiyin* 赤水吟 (Chants from Chishui), 1823, in *Zangwai daoshu* 11:53. In the same letter, he talks about his master Qingxu. Also, in the preface to the *Lüzu wupianzhu* 呂祖五篇註 (Commentary on Five Works by Lüzu), written by Fu himself, he mentions the Xinzhai altar as well as the fact that the “phoenix flew” to Xinjiang, a common metaphor to indicate the arrival of spirit written texts, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:720.

<sup>8</sup> This connection with Lü Dongbin was not unusual at this time. Lü was one of the main divinities associated with spirit writing in the Qing. Many alchemical authors of this period received texts from him. See Paul Katz, “Enlightened Alchemist or Immortal Immortal? The Growth of Lü Dongbin's Cult in Late Imperial China,” in *Unruly Gods: Divinity and Society in China*, ed. Meir Shahar and Robert P. Weller (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 70–104. By the same author, see also *Images of the Immortal: the Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999). See also Mori Yuria 森由利亞, “Identity and Lineage: the Taiyi Jinhua Zongzhi and the Spirit Writing Cult to Patriarch Lü in Qing China,” in *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual*, ed. Livia Kohn and Harold Roth (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 150–165.

There is no evidence that Fu gained any official degrees throughout his life, and despite having home-town relatives who held posts at different levels in the government,<sup>9</sup> Fu himself did not hold any official posts.<sup>10</sup> Only a few of his friends and followers, mentioned in his writings, had received *jinshi* or *juren* 舉人 degrees and gained a mention in the gazetteers. Most of them, along with Fu himself, are ignored in these official records. Thus, despite being a prolific writer, as is attested by his *opera omnia*, the *Jiyizi zhengdao mishu shiqi zhong* 濟一子證道秘書十七種 (Jiyizi's Seventeen Secret Books on the Verification of the Dao), only three works attributed to Fu are catalogued at the very end of the *Yiwenzhi* section of the gazetteer for his county, Jinxi,<sup>11</sup> and this number goes down to one if we look in the gazetteer for the whole province of Jiangxi.<sup>12</sup> One work by Fu is recorded in the gazetteer of

<sup>9</sup> Fu Xiangong 傅顯功, *juren* 1793 (*Jiangxi tongzhi*, *juan* 154, 22a, *liezhuan* section), and his son Fu Xun 傅馴, *jinshi* 1856, *Jinxi xianzhi* 金谿縣志 (Gazetteer for Jinxi county), 1870, *juan* 36.

<sup>10</sup> It is indicative that his biography in the *Hechuan xianzhi* is recorded in the section entitled “wanderers” (*liuyu* 流寓). This may be because he was not born in Sichuan. However, many of the people included in the *mingchen* 名臣 (famous officials) section of the gazetteer were also not from Sichuan. One of them was a good friend of Fu's, Ji Dakui, an official from Jiangxi who will be discussed in detail below.

<sup>11</sup> *Jinxi xianzhi*, *juan* 32, *Yiwenzhi*, 11a.

<sup>12</sup> This text is the *Pizhu Cantongqi* 批註參同契 (Annotations and Comments on the Cantongqi). *Jiangxi tongzhi*, *juan* 106, *Yiwenzhi*, 33b. This work is reproduced in the *Jiyizi zhengdao mishu shiqizhong* as the *Dingpi Shanyangzi yuanzhu Cantongqi* 頂批上陽子原注參同契, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:744. Furthermore, the catalog of the National library of China lists only two stand-alone titles by Fu: *A Commentary on the Wuzhenpian* 悟真篇 and the *Shijinshi* 試金石 (The touchstone). Both of these books are also part of the *Jiyizi zhengdao mishu shiqizhong*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:790–859, and 877–888.

Hechuan 合川, the county in Sichuan where he moved.<sup>13</sup>

In a long letter to his friend Ji Sima 紀司馬 (1746–1825) (Ji Dakui 紀大奎), collected in the *Chishuiyin* 赤水吟 (Chants from Chishui), (1823), Fu describes his life and his interests.<sup>14</sup> He reveals the telltale signs of a serious alchemist in, for example, his accounts of reading works of inner and external alchemy and, though unsatisfactorily, Buddhist treatises. He also comments on his desire to practice double cultivation techniques (*shuangxiu* 雙修) but not being able to find the logistical and monetary means to do it. This comment will become more relevant as we discuss the nature of his alchemical practice below. In his middle years, Fu left Jiangxi and travelled throughout China—to Hunan, Hubei, Guangdong and Fujian—in search of teachers and scriptures:

In the past I read books, discussed the Dao, and in my inner nature I loved mountains; recently, I hurried around [soliciting help]for 20 years, [I went] East and West of the river [Jiangxi and Jiangdong], Hunan, Hubei, Guangdong, Fujian; my footprints passed through [all of them] and the sound of my voice was received [everywhere], eminent men and outstanding people, yellow hats [Daoists] and Buddhist monks, there were not few of them.<sup>15</sup>

## In Sichuan

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Sichuan's population saw an enormous increase, and according to Skinner's calculations it went from 3

<sup>13</sup> The only work by Fu recorded in the Hechuan gazetteer is the *Ziti suohua*. The short note mentions that “Fu was not born in Hechuan, nor did he die in Hechuan, but he left this work behind.” See *Hechuan Xianzhi*, *Yiwenzhi* section, *juan* 34: 21b.

<sup>14</sup> *Zangwai daoshu* 11:54.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 11:55; *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 4, 196–197.

million people in 1673 to 22 million people in 1813.<sup>16</sup> Chinese official data then show another significant increase, from the 22 million mentioned above, to 85 million by 1898.<sup>17</sup> This relatively young population included a large number of migrants from other regions of China who moved from coastal areas and repopulated the region after centuries of war and population decline.<sup>18</sup> This increase in migration happened specifically in the area of Chongqing 重慶, the seat of which was Baxian 巴縣, where Fu had moved in 1817. Judith Wyman says, “As Sichuan’s primary commercial port on the Yangzi River, Chongqing prefecture, an administrative unit of fourteen counties in the southeastern region of the province, also experienced a population increase by migrants from different provinces. Over the course of the nineteenth century the population of Chongqing prefecture tripled, reaching seven million in 1910.”<sup>19</sup> The wave of immigration and the unstable political and social situation left a lot of space for private enterprises; the area was also an extremely fertile ground

<sup>16</sup> William Skinner, “Sichuan’s Population in the Nineteenth Century: Lessons from Disaggregated Data,” *Late Imperial China*, 8.1 (1987): 1–79.

<sup>17</sup> *Qingdai Sichuan caizheng shiliao* 清代四川財政史, 1984: 737–738.

<sup>18</sup> Robert E. Entenmann, *Migration and Settlement in Sichuan, 1644–1796* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1982). On migration into the regions, see also Suzuki Chusei, *Shincho Chukishi Kenkyu* (A Study of mid-Qing History), (Toyohashi: Aichi University Research Institute on International Problems, 1952), 69–71; Susan Mann Jones and Philip A. Kuhn, “Dynastic Decline and the Roots of Rebellion,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10: Late Ch’ing, 1800–1911, part 1, ed. J. K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 109; Susan Naquin and Evelyn Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 130, 158. Liu Yu specifically discusses the fact that most of the intellectual elite in Sichuan had been wiped out during the Ming-Qing transition, and that this had left a void not easily filled in the subsequent centuries. “Social Change During the Ming-Qing Transition and the Decline of Sichuan Classical Learning in the Early Qing,” *Late Imperial China* 19.1 (1998): 26–55.

<sup>19</sup> Judith Wyman, “The Ambiguities of Chinese Antiforeignism: Chongqing, 1870–

for religious activities, and, as will be discussed below, for the diffusion of printing houses.<sup>20</sup> Fu was probably attracted by the possibilities in both fields when he moved to Sichuan. After many years of wandering around the country to meet teachers and gather scriptures, according to the 1920 gazetteer for Hechuan, in 1817 Fu settled in Baxian county, Eastern Sichuan. From various sources we can gather that he was already in his fifties when he moved to Eastern Sichuan and that, specifically, he settled in Chishui 赤水, where the above-mentioned *Chishuiyin* was written. There, he set up a *daotan* 道壇, defined by Shiga as a “religious organization centered on spirit writing and the worship of Daoist deities.”<sup>21</sup> This *daotan* was connected to an altar, the Liuyun danshi 流雲丹室 (Alchemical chamber of the floating clouds), also called the Liuyun shangguan 流雲山館 (The mountain abode of the floating clouds), where Fu wrote or received many of the writings collected in his *opera omnia*.<sup>22</sup> However, the Liuyun danshi is not the only altar at which Fu received the immortal’s writings; in fact, there are other altars connected to his spirit-writing activity. One of them, of course is the above mentioned Xingzhai tang in Xinjiang (Jinxi, Jiangxi), used by Fu at the beginning of his career.

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1900,” *Late Imperial China*, 18.2 (1998): 89.

<sup>20</sup> Wyman discusses the various activities of heterodox religious groups in the area, and the distinction local officials made between them and local Daoist and Buddhist priests. Wyman, “The Ambiguities of Chinese Antiforeignism,” 95.

<sup>21</sup> Ichiko Shiga 志賀市子, “Manifestations of Lüzü in Modern Guangdong and Hong Kong: the Rise and Growth of Spirit Writing Cults,” in *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual*, ed. Livia Kohn and Harold Roth (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002), 185.

<sup>22</sup> At least three of his writings, the *Chishuiyin*, the *Lüzü wupian zhu*, 1823, attributed to Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, collected by Fu Jinquan, and the *Xinxue* 心學 (The study of the Heart), 1844, were written or received there; *Zangwai daoshu* 11:720–743 and 674–719 respectively. The *Hechuan xianzhi* discusses a place, deep in the mountains, called Liuyun 流雲, where Fu retreated for his meditations, *juan* 6:22b.

Another one is the Jishantang 積善堂 (Hall of Accumulating Goodness), located in Qianzhong 黔中, on the southeast border of Sichuan, not far from Chongqing and very close to Chishui; this altar is mostly noted for the reception of female alchemy texts.<sup>23</sup> Another altar, the Heyang danshi 合陽丹室, where the *Tianxian zhengli dufa dianjing* 天仙正理讀法點睛 (Last Minute Notations on the Interpretation of the Correct Principles of Celestial Immortality)<sup>24</sup> (1821) and the *Daohai jinliang* 道海津梁 (Bridge over the Sea of the Dao)<sup>25</sup> (1822) were received, unfortunately has no specific location, but was most probably also located in the same area of Sichuan.

<sup>23</sup> Qianzhong is an area variously located somewhere at the convergence between Guizhou, Sichuan and Hunan, southeast of Chongqing; some texts locate it in either Guizhou or Sichuan. Many of the female alchemy texts in the *Nüjindan fayao* 女金丹法要 (Essential Methods for the Female Golden Elixir), compiled by Fu Jinqian in 1813, were received there, therefore a few years prior to Fu's final settling to the Chongqing area of Sichuan in 1817. The *Nüjindan fayao* is found in the *Daoshu yiguan zhenji yijianlu* 道書一貫真機易簡錄 (Daoist Books that Record the Single Thread and the Ease and Simplicity of the True Mechanism), 1814, a compilation of various texts Fu and others received by spirit writing; reprint *Zangwai daoshu* 11:512–541. The *Kunning miaojing* 坤寧妙經 (Wondrous Scripture on Kun's Peace) also collected in the *Nüjindan fayao*, but not received by Fu, was received in 1743 at an altar close to a place called Qingshui 清水. Both prefaces to this text indicate this place as being called Qiandi 黔地 or Qianjiang 黔疆. Qianzhong features as a spirit writing altar in other texts as well, for example the *Xianfo zhenzhuàn* 仙佛真傳 (True Transmission of Immortals and Buddhas), listed in the *Guochao fangke daoshu mulu* 國朝坊刻道書目錄 section of the *Daomen yiqiejing zongmu*, included in the 1906 edition of the *Daozang Jiyao*, 3b; the province given is Guizhou. The *Pangmenlu* 旁門錄, later collected in the *Nüdan hebian*, was also received there. For a description of culture and religion in Qianzhong in the Qing, see Yan Jianhua 顏建華, “Qingdai de Qianzhong jingsheng wenhua” 清代的黔中精神文化, *Guiyang shiwei dangxiao xuebao* 貴陽市委黨校學報, vol. 4 (2010): 113.

<sup>24</sup> *Zangwai daoshu* 11:353–365.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 11:366–394.

Fu would live in the Eastern area of Sichuan, between Chishui and Hechuan, for the remaining 30 years of his life, or at least until 1844, when his last work, the *Xinxue* 心學 (The Study of the Heart), is dated.<sup>26</sup> His long stay there was probably also influenced by the fact that Chishui is not far from Guang'an 廣安, the headquarters for the Shanchengtang, a private printing business set up by Fu's older relative Fu Jinduo. It was in fact at the Shanchengtang that Fu printed his collected writings.

As mentioned above, it is not completely clear at what specific age Fu finally settled in Sichuan, and what the precise reasons for his move were. While details about his life are very scarce, we can uncover some more information in the *Duren tijing* 度人梯經 (The Path of Universal Salvation), a text received by Fu Jinquan from Lü Dongbin, the immortal that Fu considers as his primary teacher, and by far the immortal that has transmitted the most writings to Fu.<sup>27</sup> In the text, Lü Dongbin talks about Fu in this manner:

My disciple is benevolent and hard working, but if we think about his age, he is over 50; how fast time flies! You turn your eyes and there is no constancy. This deeply increases my anxieties. Because his clothes and food are scarce, his ascent to the skies will be hard.<sup>28</sup>

My disciple for many years has made a living through writing, he has no means on which to subsist, and he is like a hanging flag wavering gently

<sup>26</sup> Fu's biography in the *Hechuan xianzhi* mentions that Fu remained in the area of Hechuan for 30 years, but that he did not die there. *Hechuan xianzhi*, juan 58: 21b.

<sup>27</sup> Fu refers to himself at the beginning of this text in this manner: "the lay disciple (*guiyi* 皈依) Jiyizi Fu Jinquan, with a clean heart respectfully explains (the following text)," *Zangwai daoshu* 11:542.

<sup>28</sup> *Duren tijing*, juan 6, 16a, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:591.

which does not know where to point. His intention and desire is to travel westwards, to Shu [Sichuan]; . . . Fu, you have read all the books by the sages [which say that] if father and mother are still alive, [you should] not travel far. Your mother is old, how can you travel far? The possession of riches and wealth does not make the person strong.<sup>29</sup>

The passages above mention several revealing elements: Fu's acknowledged desire to travel to Sichuan, the fact that Fu was in his fifties before moving there in 1817, that he was in dire economic trouble, and that he was held back for a while by the need to care for an aging mother. There is no information about the location of the reception and printing of this text, but the fact that one of the its editors came from Linchuan 臨川 in Jiangxi, as well as the discussion of Fu's desire to move to Sichuan, strongly indicates that it was received by Fu before he moved permanently to Sichuan, possibly while still in Jiangxi.

Sichuan responded to Fu's needs at several different levels: a place where a family member had a printing business, the *Shangchengtang*, where he could print his works, and a place to finally settle down and start forming a community of like-minded people around one or more altars for the transmission of texts from Lü Dongbin. These topics will be taken up below.

## Personality, Beliefs and Practices

What kind of person was Fu? In his own preface to the *Beixilü*, he describes himself in this way:

I search for what is unconventional; I seek the abysses and search for the grottos."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Duren tijing*, juan 6, 20a, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:593.

<sup>30</sup> *Beixilü*, 3a, *Zixu*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:3.

Friends and collaborators who wrote prefaces for his works describe him as unconventional, even revolutionary in his style and in the content of his works. The constant trait of his work and of his person seems to be an innate ability to startle and amaze. In a preface to the *Beixilü*, A Yinglin describes him and his work in this way:

The purple skies sent this book [the *Beixilü*] down, transformed from their mist; it possesses an extremely unique spirit and a distinct understanding, as well as the ability to originate new ideas, breaking open fresh ground. He [Fu] has surpassed the people of old, and of the newcomers no-one can match him. This book approaches such [amazing feats].<sup>31</sup>

Gracefully and effortlessly, he [Fu] shakes the Great Void from the foundations; forcefully, like a rhino or an elephant, he battles the tiger and the leopard. Brilliant like a star shining in the high skies, beautiful like a butterfly dancing among the flowers, like thunder and lightning in the clear skies, the seas all around transmit this sound [of the revelation within the book].<sup>32</sup>

He speaks the words that conventional intellectuals do not speak of, [thus] his tongue is two feet long. He leaks out the secrets that Heaven and Earth have not yet released, [thus] his understanding completely comprises the treasures [of the Dao].<sup>33</sup>

A Yinglin also hints at his unique personality — “his energy is bright and scintillating, transparent and deep like autumn water” — and describes his uncommon vision, so unlike that of common people like himself, who see things from a very narrow perspective, like that of frogs in a well.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Beixilü*, 5b, *Xiangzan*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:3.

<sup>32</sup> *Beixilü*, 6a, *Zan*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:3.

<sup>33</sup> *Beixilü*, 4a, *Zan*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:2.

<sup>34</sup> *Beixilü*, *Xu*, 1a, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:1.

A also describes him as a very talented and accomplished poet, a painter and a musician,

Nothing pleases him more than his *qin*. He likes books, poems and drawings and he enjoys writing.<sup>35</sup>

According to the same preface by A, Fu also believed deeply in the Confucian values of filiality, reciprocity, humaneness, respectfulness, and love. In fact, A places Fu's work within an unobstructed line of transmission of Confucian teachings, starting from Yao and Shun, carried through Yu, the Duke of Zhou, and Confucius:

The Daoist master [Fu Jinquan] said that he received the example from Master Lü Chunyang, and responded with 800 instructions: first and foremost honesty and filiality, like Yao, Shun, Yu, the Duke of Zhou, and Kongzi; the Confucian orthodoxy (*daotong* 道統) is [thereby] carried on. As a *junzi*, you need to be humane to the utmost; as a minister, you need to be respectful to the utmost, as a father, you need to be loving to the utmost, as a son you need to be filial to the utmost.<sup>36</sup>

### ***Jingmingdao*** 淨明道

The above passage, and the reference to the 800 instructions, suggests that Fu might have had close connections with the teachings of *Jingmingdao*, a school of Daoism that had a strong base in the Confucian notions of *zhong* (忠 loyalty) and *xiao* (孝 filiality).<sup>37</sup> Other indications of this affiliation are the fact that Fu collected, in his *opera omnia*, both the *Qiaoyang zi yulu* 樵陽子語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Master Qiaoyang), which contains

<sup>35</sup> *Zuihua daoren zhuan* 醉花道人傳 in *Ziti suohua*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:618–19.

<sup>36</sup> *Beixilü*, Xu, 2a, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:1.

<sup>37</sup> The *Jingmingdao* is a Daoist school initiated by Xu Xun 許遜 (239–272 or 274); its teachings, still practiced today, integrated Confucian ethical values with Daoist

an abridged version of the sayings of the Yuan dynasty Jingming master Liu Yu 劉玉 (1257–1308), and the *Qiaoyang zi jing* 樵陽子經 (Scriptures of Master Qiaoyang), a collection of Ming and Qing writings related to Liu Yu but received through spirit writing. Zeng Zhaonan, the first contemporary Chinese scholar to discuss Fu Jinquan in detail, claims that Fu in fact was an affiliate of Jingmingdao,<sup>38</sup> although Xu Xun, the founding patriarch of Jingmindao or writings related to him do not appear in Fu's collected works. Fu's affiliation with Jingmingdao cannot be definitively proven, but Confucian notions in general, and those of *zhong* and *xiao* in particular, are pervasive in Fu's writings, and he indicates that practicing them is the first and necessary step to becoming immortal:

Therefore, as for people who are not loyal and filial, their hearts will lack extreme sincerity, they will not have principles.<sup>39</sup>

I lived in Chishui for a long time; I guided [there] the coming worthies, putting sincerity and filiality first.<sup>40</sup>

Loyalty and filiality are the steps to immortality.<sup>41</sup>

Many of the texts Fu wrote, received, or collected also strongly reinforce more general ideas of Confucian moral duties and virtuous behavior. One example is the *Nüjindan fayao*, a guide to alchemical practice for women,

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ideas, making them the central precepts necessary to attain immortality. On the Jingmingdao, see Richard Shek, "Daoism and Orthodoxy—the Loyal and Filial Sect," in *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China*, ed. Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 139–171.

<sup>38</sup> "Daoshi Fu Jinquan sixiang shulue" 177–189. A similar argument is made in Qing, ed. *Zhongguo dao jiao shi* 4, 195–211, especially 201–202. Esposito repeats this argument in "Daoism in the Qing," in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 635.

<sup>39</sup> *Lüzu wupian zhu*, preface:1a, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:720.

<sup>40</sup> *Chishuiyin*, preface: 2b, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:43.

<sup>41</sup> *Beixilü, juan shang*.

more than two third of which discusses women's proper demeanor and societal duties.<sup>42</sup> Another example, from the end of his career, is the *Xinxue*, published in 1844, which discusses the fundamental notion that the Dao is to be found in one's heart. However, his collected writings also present a different side of his interests. His insistence on moral behavior might at first seem at odds with what emerges from other parts of his work, discussed below.

### Sexuality and Paired Practices

Despite Zeng Zhaonan's claim, historians of Daoism in China and in Taiwan have traditionally categorized Fu as belonging to the "Eastern School," or Dongpai 東派, whose founder was allegedly Lü Xixing 陸西星 (1520–1606).<sup>43</sup> One of the main proponents of this interpretation of Fu's work was Xiao Tianshi 蕭天石 (1909–1986), a Daoist intellectual and practitioner who had a great influence on the categorization of Daoist schools in the post World War II period, through his publications, in Taiwan, of the *Daozang Jinghua*, a large collection of mostly late imperial Daoist texts together with his own reflections on Daoist practice. This affiliation with Lü Xixing and the Eastern School would make Fu

<sup>42</sup> Collected in the *Daoshu yiguan zhenji yijianlü*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:512–541.

<sup>43</sup> The categorization of Daoist teachers and intellectuals into different "schools" distinguished by geographical location is quite forced. In the case of the Dongpai, we know that this term was never used by Lü Xixing himself, but was later coined by Li Xiyue 李西月 (1806–1856) who wanted to distinguish his school, based in Sichuan and called Xipai, from the one developed by Lü Xixing. Therefore, most probably, Li Xiyue was the first one to create the terms Dongpai and Xipai, later adopted by the Daoist intellectual Xiao Tianshi and others to bring some order into the complex reality of Daoist intellectual lineages. See Li Xiyue, *Lüzü nianpu*, *Haishan qiyu* 祖年譜, 海山奇遇 (Biography of Master Lü—A Strange Encounter on the Mountain by the Sea) *juan* 6. See also Xiao Tianshi, ed. *Daozang Jinghua* 道藏精華 (The Essence of the Daoist Canon) (Taipei: Ziyou Chubanshe 1956–1983), vol. 9.5: 452.

a proponent of paired sexual practices, plainly advocated by Lü Xixing. While there are in fact very few references to the work of Lü Xixing in Fu Jinquan's *Shiqizhong*, many of the writings he collected and wrote in fact do mention paired and/or sexual practices. We already find some clues of his interest in sexual practices in his style name, Zuihua daoren. In the *Ziti suohua* 自題所畫 (Self-signature to What I Have Drawn) there is a short passage called *Zuihua daoren zhuan*:

The Daoist master has a beautiful name, some say he is the famous Wu Hui;<sup>44</sup> he has forgotten his dwelling, but his inner nature is leisurely, he wanders serenely. He likes “flowers” and wine. Every time he sees a “flower” he drinks; every time he drinks he must get drunk. At times slow, at times quick, he can even drink through his nose. He can make the waters of a river flow in reverse. During the game of little coming and a lot going [a drinking game], of course he ends up getting drunk. This is why he is called the Daoist drunken on “flowers.” He achieved his perfection through “flowers” and alcohol.<sup>45</sup>

The term “flower” is often associated with women, and especially prostitutes. Specifically, its pairing with the term “alcohol” in an alchemical context is directly reminiscent of a passage in the *Wugenshu* 無根樹 (The Rootless Tree) by Zhang Sanfeng 張三丰, which says:

<sup>44</sup> Wu Hui 吳會 (?–1388) *zi* Qingbo 慶伯, *hao* Shushan 書山, was a famous recluse poet of the early Ming who came from the same home-town as Fu Jinquan, Jinxi in Jiangxi.

<sup>45</sup> In *Ziti suohua*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:618–619. This description of Fu as a person who enjoyed the company of women and the drinking of alcohol is also found in his biography in the *Hechuan xianxuzhi*, *juan* 6:22b–23a. The account is clearly taken from the *Ziti suohua* by the compiler of the biography, but it is commented on in more detail and accompanied by quotes from Lü Dongbin and Zhang Sanfeng supporting the use of alcohol and women in the path to immortality.

The rootless tree, its flowers are truly blue (*qing* 青);<sup>46</sup> flowers and alcohol, the immortals [have used them] from antiquity until today. Redolent flowers everywhere, vast quantities of meat and alcohol; this does not violate rules about proper diet and licentiousness. . . . Speak to the master; without alcohol and “flowers” the Dao cannot be achieved.<sup>47</sup>

In this context, it is clear that “flowers” is a sexual metaphor for women. Zhang Sanfeng is famous for having openly advocated the use of women as “cauldrons” in alchemical practices. These practices saw men engaging in sexual union with women in order to “capture” their essence, thereby extending their own life-span. Fu Jinqian knew works by Zhang Sanfeng, including the *Wugenshu*, very well; in fact one of the 17 works in Fu’s *opera omnia* is the *Sanfeng danjue* 三丰丹诀 (Alchemical instructions of [Zhang] Sanfeng),<sup>48</sup> in part related to the *Zhang Sanfeng xiansheng quanji* 張三丰先生全集 (Collected works of Master Zhang Sanfeng), previously published in Sichuan by Li Xiyue, but much shorter.<sup>49</sup> Fu also quotes Zhang Sanfeng widely in his works, and more specifically, the passage about “flowers and wine” mentioned above is to be found in the *Daoshu yiguan zhenji yijianlu*,<sup>50</sup> among a series of quotes on paired sexual techniques. It would then seem that Fu Jinqian’s sobriquet is a homage to Zhang Sanfeng and to his ideas about achieving the Dao through drinking and spending time with women.

This view is supported by Xie Zhengqiang, who recently wrote a scholarly work on Fu Jinqian. According to Xie, Fu’s desire to move to

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<sup>46</sup> Qing can also have sexual connotations; *qinglou* 青樓 is the brothel. This interpretation is especially fitting since in the next few lines flowers are equated with beautiful women.

<sup>47</sup> *Wugenshu*, *Xuanyao pian xia*: 42a–b. In *Zhang Sanfeng Quanji*, *Zangwai daoshu*

<sup>48</sup> *Sanfeng danjue* (n.d.), *Zangwai daoshu* 11:322–352

<sup>49</sup> *Zhang Sanfeng xiansheng quanji*, 1844, collected by Li Xiyue 李西月 (1806–1856), *Daozang jiyao*: 17–18:7641–7905. Also in *Zangwai daoshu* 5:378–637.

<sup>50</sup> *Dingliu*, *juan* 3:5b, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:437.

Sichuan was mainly due to his need to find partners to help him in his quest of immortality, to be achieved through paired sexual practices or *shuangxiu*.<sup>51</sup> *Shuangxiu* practices were very popular in the Ming dynasty (Zhang Sanfeng being a great proponent of them) and still had many followers in the Qing. However, there was growing criticism directed at them by proponents of *qingxiu* 清修 (pure cultivation), who rejected the sexual component altogether, and advocated instead a practice that saw the union of yin and yang elements from within the practitioner's own body. *Shuangxiu*, on the other hand, involved the preparation of a secluded space (or alchemical chamber, *danfang* 丹房) for the practice and the location and payment of female sexual partners (called cauldrons, *ding* 鼎) and required loyal followers (*liban* 侶伴) to help set up the ritual space and provide help during the practice. Because of the expenses involved, there was also the need for a wealthy donor or sponsor who could provide funding (*cai* 財) for the whole enterprise.<sup>52</sup> According to Xie, because Sichuan was away from the centre of power and from the attention of the bureaucracy, because it was populated by recent migrants, and because of its many religious communities, it offered optimal conditions for Fu and his interest in *shuangxiu*. Fu indeed talks extensively about the necessities revolving around alchemical practice. For example, the whole second *juan* of the *Daoshu yiguan zhenji yijianlu*<sup>53</sup> is devoted to an in depth discussion of four

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<sup>51</sup> Xie, *Fu Jinqian neidan sixiang yanjiu*, 11.

<sup>52</sup> Xun Liu has discussed in detail this side of the alchemical process in traditional China and up to the Republican period in *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Boston and New York: Harvard University Press, 2009), 138–147.

<sup>53</sup> In the preface to this work, Fu explains that the single thread is a reference to the uninterrupted link between the old sages and contemporary Daoists.

elements: *fa* 法 (methods), *cai* 財 (wealth), *lü* 侶 (companions), and *di* 地 (space).<sup>54</sup> Fu also discusses openly his wish to set up the alchemical chamber in his writings, and his lack of funds to accomplish this goal.<sup>55</sup> Fu's biography in the *Hechuan xianzhi* mentions that, in 1845, friends of Fu managed to build an alchemical chamber (*danshi*), and invited Fu to use it. Fu went and even wrote congratulatory words in honor of the alchemical platform (*dantai* 丹臺). However, unfortunately he never saw its completion as he died shortly after at age 80.<sup>56</sup>

In other of his works, Fu also talks freely about using women as cauldrons in alchemical sexual unions. For example, the third *juan* of the above mentioned *Daoshu yiguan zhenji yijianlu*<sup>57</sup> is devoted to discussion of the “crucible” (*dinglu* 鼎爐), of the tally (*fu* 符) and of fire (*huo* 火) all elements for the refinement of the adept.<sup>58</sup> In the section on the crucible, Fu quotes various texts that unmistakably talk about using women, especially virgins, as crucibles, and that claim that the Dao can

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Their wisdom is still apparent and their message comes through clearly. The ease and simplicity refers to the Dao itself, the simplest and most easy mechanism. In *Daoshu yiguan zhenji yijianlu*, preface: 1a–b, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:395. The term *guan* 貫 goes back to the Analects of Confucius, where Confucius says: “*Wu dao, yi yi guan zhi*” 吾道一以貫之 (As for my way, there is only one thread binding it together), *Lunyu*, chapter 4. The locus classicus of the term *yijian* 易簡 is the *Xicizhuan* 繫辭傳 of the *Yijing* 易經. There, *yi* refers to the male and *jian* to the female, *Xici*, *shang juan*.

<sup>54</sup> *Zangwai daoshu* 11:416–433.

<sup>55</sup> In a letter to Zhou Luan, he clearly describes what the necessities are if one wants to construct an alchemical chamber, including sexual partners. *Chishuiyin*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:53. Fu also talks about the alchemical chamber and the needs for assistants and a wealthy donor in the *Huanghefu* 黃鶴賦 (Fu on the Yellow crane), 6b, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:722.

<sup>56</sup> *Hechuan xianzhi*, *juan* 6:23b–24a.

<sup>57</sup> *Zangwai daoshu* 11:435–455.

<sup>58</sup> These elements are borrowed from the language of external alchemy, in which

be achieved only if men and women join together sexually.<sup>59</sup> Another work that discusses paired sexual techniques openly is the *Huanghefu* 黃鶴賦 (Fu on the Yellow crane) chapter of the *Lüzü wupian zhu*.<sup>60</sup>

Fu also openly accepts the physical “use” of women by men in alchemical practice, but does not accept the opposite. In the *Shijinshi* 試金石 (The Touchstone), he writes:

From old, perfected women have been many, like Magu, Miaogu, He Xiang, Xu Feihuan, etc. You cannot fully cite them all! Men using women, it is not harmful at all, but women using men: this is the Dao of great chaos. It cannot be trusted; it does not have any principle.<sup>61</sup>

As in other works, Fu Jinquan here speaks clearly against solitary refinement (*qingxiu*):

The Yijing says: “One Yin and one Yang, this is called the Dao.” The Wugenshu says: “If you divide Yin and Yang, the Dao will not be

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mineral substances were smelted in a crucible to obtain the elixir. In internal alchemy, all these elements are internalized. The crucible becomes the body of the practitioner, the elements to be smelted are his/her internal fluids, the fire is the internal heat produced by meditation and, the elixir is a metaphor for the final attainment.

<sup>59</sup> *Daoshu yiguan zhenji yijianlu*, juan 3, *Dinglü*: 4a–b. *Zangwai daoshu* 11:435. In the *Nüdan yaoyan* 女丹要言 (Fundamental Sayings on Female Alchemy), a text collected in the *Nüdan hebian* 女丹合編 (Collection of Female Alchemy), edited by He Longxiang 賀龍驤 (Chengdu: Erxian’an 二仙庵, 1906), and annotated by Fu Jinquan but not found in the *Nüjindan fayao*, the importance of paired cultivation of men and women is emphasized. Maybe Fu did not include this text in the collection for fear that it would be interpreted wrongly.

<sup>60</sup> *Huanghefu*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:721–729. The *Lüzü Wupianzhu* consists of 5 long poems attributed to Lü Dongbin and commented upon by Fu Jinquan, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:720–743.

<sup>61</sup> *Zangwai daoshu* 11:877.

complete: this Dao necessarily needs to match Yin and Yang, unite water and fire.” Today’s people enter the mountain to meditate, they do not marry and do not enter public life, and say that this is “to practise the Dao.” They do not know that the Dao resides amongst people, not inside a mountain. . . . The Dao of people produces men and women; practising alchemy imitates that.<sup>62</sup>

In the same work, Fu also explains this union of male and female principles from a cosmological point of view:

[The trigram] Li is empty, [the trigram] Kan is full. Li is Yang on the outside and Yin on the inside, Kan is yin on the outside and yang on the inside. Thus it is necessary to grasp the fullness of Kan’s center, and transform Li’s inner Yin in the central palace<sup>63</sup>

The capturing of the inner Yang line of Kan (the trigram symbolizing the female) by the trigram Li (symbolizing the male) parallels the capturing of female essence on the part of the male practitioner during alchemical sexual intercourse. This eventually produces a purely Yang trigram, Qian, and, similarly, the Yang energy of the male practitioners will be replenished by the sexual intercourse.

The question of *shuangxiu* in the Qing deserves a discussion of its own, but it is clear that in this period there is a re-orienting from practices of a clearly sexual and exploitative nature towards practices that range from the sexual to the solitary, with a variety of grades in between.<sup>64</sup> For example, the sexual practices advocated by Lu Xixing in the Ming dynasty were re-interpreted in a non-sexual way by Li Xiyue,

<sup>62</sup> *Huanghefu*, 5a, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:722.

<sup>63</sup> *Huanghefu*, 9b, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:724.

<sup>64</sup> Xun Liu has discussed in detail the presence, especially in the late Ming but also before, of sexual practices of a non-exploitative nature, alongside more

active in Sichuan at the same time as Fu Jinquan.<sup>65</sup> Fu himself, despite the statements quoted above, also proposes chaste practices. In the same *Huanghefu*, Fu describes a paired but chaste practice, where a male and a female partner meditate in front of each other. In the commentary, Fu says that, despite the use of the terms *bi* 彼 (you) and *wo* 我 (I), specific terms always used to describe the woman and the man in alchemical sexual practices, his notion of paired practice does not really involve sexual intercourse.<sup>66</sup> In his *Duren tijing*, he says “to be pure and calm and to cut desires is the first requirement in alchemical practice.”<sup>67</sup> The same message is conveyed in the *Xingtian zhenghu* 性天正鹄 (The Heaven of Inner Nature is Proper and Stands Erect), where he discusses the importance of *xing* (性 inner nature), and how in order to purify it one needs to conquer desires and feelings.<sup>68</sup>

Thus, Xie Zhenqiang’s view of Fu as solely a proponent of paired sexual practices is complicated by the wealth of writings he left behind, a testament to his wide interests and multiple practices, as well as a changing environment.

## Works

Fu’s biography mentions that he leaves behind thirty three works, in 140 chapters, for a total of more than 10,000 words: “all of them words of the

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exploitative practices. Liu claims that the late Ming proponents of dual practices, many of whom Fu Jinquan was reprinting in his opera omnia, actively criticized the sexual exploitation of women, but advocated a dual union in which men and women were on the same plane, as both would eventually attain immortality. Liu, *Daoist Modern*, 151–161.

<sup>65</sup> Qing, *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 4, 357.

<sup>66</sup> *Huanghefu*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:726.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 11:569.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 11:639–651.

immortals.”<sup>69</sup> Fu did leave many writings, and they have been published together as a collection called *Jiyizi zhengdao mishu shiqi zhong* 濟一子證道秘書十七種 (Jiyizi’s Seventeen Secret Books on the Verification of the Dao) at the Shanchengtang in Eastern Sichuan. Eventually containing seventeen works, this collection went through several incarnations, the *Jiyizi daoshu qizhong* 濟一子道書七種 (Jiyizi’s seven books on the Dao), the *Jiyizi zhengdao mishu shizhong* 濟一子證道秘書十種 (Jiyizi’s Ten Secret Books on the Verification of the Dao), the *Jiyizi daoshu shier zhong* 濟一子道書十二種 (Jiyizi’s Ten Books on the Dao), the *Jiyizi dingpi daoshu sizhong* 濟一子頂批道書四種 (Jiyizi’s Four Books of Commentaries on Daoist Works). All the above were published at the Shanchengtang, with dates ranging from 1825 to 1842, the last bearing several prefaces dating to 1842.<sup>70</sup>

In the final collection, his writings can be divided into 3 categories: (a) those written by Fu himself, which include collections of poetry, captions to art, personal letters as well as prose on alchemy; (b) the collected writings of earlier authors, especially alchemical texts popular during the Ming and Qing; and (c) works received by spirit writing.

To the first category belong works such as the above mentioned *Beixilü*, written in 1815 while Fu was still living in Jiangxi and composed of 222 short prose paragraphs, divided into 3 categories: human matters (*renshi* 人事), principles of nature (*wuli* 物理), and human nature and destiny (*xingming* 性命); the *Chishuiyin*, a poetry

<sup>69</sup> *Hechuan xianzhi*, juan 6:23a.

<sup>70</sup> Harvard University Library has a complete original copy of the *Jiyizi zhengdao mishu shiqizhong* 濟一子證道秘書十七種 (1920.3 3110). The frontispiece specifies that it was published at the Shudong Shanchengtang 蜀東善成堂. This is the version reprinted in the *Zangwai daoshu* (vol. 11), except for the missing frontispiece and editorial information. The *Zhongguo congshu conglu* 中國叢書綜錄 (Bibliography of Chinese Collectanea) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1959–62), lists 2 works by Fu, both printed at the Shangchengtang: the



Illustration 2: Fu Jinquan's image in *Beixilü* 杯溪錄 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1978), 166.

*Jiyizi daoshu* (containing 7 works) and the *Zhengdao mishu* (containing 10 works). These two lists correspond to the 17 book titles in the *Shiqizhong*. The *Guochao fangke daoshu mulu* (Index to privately published Daoist books of the Qing dynasty) section of the *Daomen yiqiejing zongmu* 道門一切經總目 (General index of all Daoist Scriptures), in the 1906 edition of the *Daozang Jiyao*, lists a *Daoshu qizhong* (25a–b). Fu Jinquan is listed as the collator, but no indication is given as to the place of publication. The list corresponds almost completely to the above mentioned *Jiyizi daoshu* with 7 titles, except that one of the texts is the *Xiuzhen biannan* 修真辯難 (Discriminating Difficult Points in the Cultivation of Perfection), by Liu Yiming 劉一明 (1734–1821), which does not appear in any other configuration of Fu's collection. Wang Shaozeng, ed., *The Qingshigao Yiwenzhi heyi* 清史稿藝文志拾遺 (Draft Standard History of the Qing-Yiwen Section) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), 1484, lists a *Jiyizi daoshu shier zhong* in 37 *juan*, and a *Zhengdao mishu shi zhong* in 16 *juan*, both printed at the Shanchengtang. It does not give details of the contents. A more recent publication is the *Jiyizi zhengdao mishu shiqizhong* 濟一子證道祕書十七種 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1978), a reprint of the 1923 edition published by Shanghai jiangdao shulin. This edition has a slightly different list of texts from the one found in the Harvard and *Zangwai daoshu* version.

collection dated to 1823 and written in Chishui, Sichuan; the *Ziti suohua* 自題所話, a collection of captions to Fu's own works of art and other writings. To the second category belong works like the *Waijindan* 外金丹 (External Alchemy), which is composed of texts on external alchemical texts popular during the Ming and Qing; the *Neijindan* 內金丹 (Inner Alchemy), mainly a reprint of Wu Shouyang's 伍守陽 *Tianxian Zhengli* 天仙正理 (Correct Principles of Celestial Immortality), which Fu Jinquan deemed essential reading for anyone interested in inner alchemy; the *Jiyizi dingpi daoshu sizhong* 濟一子頂批道書四種 (Four Books on Jiyizi's Annotations of Daoist Scriptures), published in 1842 and comprising Fu's own annotations to four alchemical books: the *Cantongqi* 參同契 (Token of the Agreement of the Three) by Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (fl. 121 A.D.), the *Wuzhenpian sanzhu* 悟真篇三註 (Three Commentaries to the Book of Awakening to Reality) by Xue Shi 薛式 (d. 1191), the *Jindan zhenchuan* 金丹真傳 (True Transmission of the Golden Elixir), by Sun Ruzhong 孫汝忠 (1574-?) and the *Shijinshi* by Fu himself. The choice of these four alchemical books reveals Fu's interest in inner alchemy and in *shuangxiu*, particularly prominent in the last three works. To the third category belong works received by spirit writing, like the above-mentioned *Duren tijing*, but also the *Lüzhu wupian zhu* and the *Nüjindanfayao* 女金丹法要 (Essential Instructions on Female Alchemy), a collection on alchemy for women; this last category makes up about one third of Fu's collected writings. Some of these works were received in Jiangxi, before his move to Sichuan; most of them, however, were received at altars in Sichuan.

On looking at the titles and contents of Fu's writings one thing becomes immediately clear: he was committed to assembling and clarifying late imperial works on alchemy, including his own, as well as disseminating them as widely as possible. One important means of dissemination was, of course, by printing them.

## Printing in Sichuan and the Shangchengtang

Fu's older relative Fu Jinduo had established the Shanchengtang in the Guyu 古渝 area, near Hechuan in Baxian county, in 1751, several decades before Fu's arrival in Sichuan. This printing house would provide an outlet for Fu to print the numerous works he had been writing and compiling throughout his life. Thus, one of the reasons for Fu's move to Sichuan was the fact that he had easy access to printing for his growing *corpus* of scriptures.

Sichuan had a long history of printing, but this trade had deteriorated during the turbulent transition between the Ming and the Qing. In the mid to late Qing, there was a new influx of skilled printers from other provinces where commercial printing was already flourishing, such as Jiangnan and Jiangxi.<sup>71</sup> During the early Qianlong years, at least three printers from Jiangxi moved to Sichuan and established what would later be important printing businesses there. The first was Yang Hongdao 楊宏道, who established the Hongdaotang 宏道堂 (Hall of the Expansive Way) in Luzhou 瀘州 (southwest of Chongqing, on the Yangzi river) in 1716. By 1850 this publishing house had branches on Leshan 樂山 (south of Chengdu) and in Yibin 宜賓 (south of Chengdu, southwest of Chongqing), and later it would expand down the Yangzi river all the way to Nanjing and Shanghai. After becoming one of the major printing houses in Sichuan and eventually in the whole country, by the beginning

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<sup>71</sup> On the printing business in general in late imperial China, and in Sichuan in particular, see Cynthia J. Brokaw, "Commercial Woodblock Publishing in the Qing (1644–1911) and the transition to Modern Print Technology," in *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition circa 1800 to 2008*, ed. Cynthia Brokaw and Christopher A. Reed (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010); *Commerce in Culture, the Sibao Book Trade in the Qing and Republican Periods*, Harvard East Asian Monographs (Cambridge and

of the Republican era the Hongdaotang was going bankrupt, and started selling off all of its branches; the Chongqing branch, interestingly, was sold to the Fu family's Shanchengtang in 1925 for 1500 yuan. The second and perhaps best known of these Jiangxi *emigré* publishers, famous for his excellent and flawless editions, was Zhou Dasan 周達三. He was the son of Zhou Chengyuan 周承元, who had come from Jiangxi and established the Shanyoutang 善友堂 (Hall of goodness and friendship) in Chengdu. Zhou Chengyuan's apprentice Wang Shuzhai 王述齋 established the Zhigutang 志古堂 (Hall of Recording Antiquity) in Chengdu in 1848; this publishing house was soon taken over by Zhou Dasan.<sup>72</sup> The third publisher was Fu Jinduo himself, the older relative of Fu Jinquan who established the Shanchengtang in Chongqing in 1750–

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London: Harvard University Press, 2007); and “Commercial Publishing in Late Imperial China: the Zou and Ma Family Businesses,” *Late Imperial China*, 17.1 (1996): 49-92. Brokaw often draws examples from the Sichuan printing business. See also Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit, the Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> Centuries)* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2002). For more information about publishing in the lower Yangzi delta, see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), esp. 151–159. On the printing business in Jiangxi, see Ye Shusheng 葉樹聲, Yu Minhui 余敏輝, *Ming Qing Jiangnan siren keshu shilue* 明清江南私人刻書史略 (Anhui: Daxue Chubanshe, 2000).

<sup>72</sup> For a complete description of the printing business in Sichuan in the Qing, see Wang Xiaoyuan 王孝源, “Qingdai Sichuan muke shufang shulue” 清代四川木刻書坊述略, in *Zhongguo jindai xiandai chuban shi xueshu taolunhui wenji* 中國近代現代出版史學術討論會文集 (Beijing: Zhongguo shuji chubanshe, 1990), 185–191. See also an expanded version of this article: “Qingdai Sichuan muke shufang shulue” 清代四川木刻書坊述略, in *Sichuan Xinwen chuban shiliao* 四川新聞出版史料 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1992), 43–65. See also Liu Dongfu 劉東父, “Qingdai Chengdu muke shuye he waisheng shushang de fazhan” 清代成都木刻書尚的發展, in *Sichuan wenshi ziliao jicui, di si juan* 四川文史資料集粹, 第4卷, *wenhua jiaoyu kexuebian* 文化教育科學版 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1996), 361–365.

51.<sup>73</sup> These three printing houses would become among the more prominent in the area. However, there were many other smaller publishing houses active in the area at this time;<sup>74</sup> many of them were located at the same site, Xuedaojie 學道街 in Chengdu, and published similar materials, specifically booklets and primers for students going through the examination system, but also ballad librettos, calendars, and New Year pictures. Fu Jinduo had been a book peddler in his early years in Sichuan, selling ballad librettos in markets, before establishing the Shanchengtang. The Shanchengtang, like many other local commercial presses, also produced a wide variety of publications, according to public demand: treatises on medicine, divination, astrology, physiognomy, the classics, history, and geography, and also fiction.<sup>75</sup> Mainly thanks to entrepreneurs from other provinces, who brought in people with the skills necessary for wood-carving and block-printing, and because of the growing demand, private printing started developing in Sichuan,<sup>76</sup> and

<sup>73</sup> Wang Xiaoyuan, “Qingdai Sichuan” (1990), 190.

<sup>74</sup> Wang Xiaoyuan, “Qingdai Sichuan” (1992), 53–64, gives a comprehensive list of names of 115 printing houses in Chengdu, 20 in Chongqing, and several dozen others in other areas of Sichuan.

<sup>75</sup> *The Xiaoshuo shufang lu* 小說書坊錄 (Record of Fiction Publishing Houses), compiled by Wang Qingyuan 王清原, Mou Renlong 牟仁隆, and Han Xiduo 韓錫鐸 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan Chubanshe, 2002), 18, 78–79, lists extant Shanchengtang editions in Chinese collections. This list does not include Fu Jinquan’s works. There is more information about what the Shanchengtang published in Wang Xiaoyuan, “Qingdai Sichuan” (1992), 45. General information about the kinds of publications produced in these commercial publishers in Chengdu and Chongqing is found in Wang Gang 王綱, “Qingdai Sichuan de yinshu ye” 清代四川的印書業, in *Zhongguo shihui jingji shi yanjiu* 中國社會經濟史研究 (1991) 4: 62–70.

<sup>76</sup> The Qianlong (1736–1796) and Jiaqing (1796–1821) reign periods saw a boom in the privately owned printing business in Sichuan. Before then, printing was mainly done within monasteries for religious publications or for the publication of government sponsored materials. See Wang Gang, *Qingdai Sichuan shi* 清代四川史 (Chengdu: Chengdu keji daxue Chubanshe, 1991), 698–702.

the Shanchengtang quickly grew to become the largest of the Sichuan commercial publishers. In a normal year, it would employ 20 to 30 skilled carvers and about 120 to 130 printers. Every year, it printed 180,000 to 240,000 sheets from printing blocks.<sup>77</sup> By the time Fu Jinquan settled in Sichuan in 1817, the publishing house had five branches in several parts of town and another eighteen in other cities in China, including Shanghai, Beijing, Jinan 濟南, Hankou 漢口, Shashi 沙市, Dongchang 東昌, Chengdu, Guang'an. The company had its headquarters in Guang'an, a city north of Chongqing, since that is where the paper was produced; a few miles west was Yuechi 岳池, called the "hometown of character carving" (*kezi zhi xiang* 刻字之鄉), which provided the publishing house with skilled carvers (see map for these locations). Yuechi had been known for skilled carvers since the Ming; this town of farmers contracted with publishing companies in Chengdu and Chongqing to carve wood-blocks in their spare time—especially for lengthy publications, those beyond the capacity of a small sized publishing house. Since the whole family would contribute to the design and carving of the wood-blocks in periods when they were not farming, their prices were considerably lower than the going rate in a big town where the different stages of the preparation of a woodblock were completed by different workers. The wood used for woodblocks, pearwood, was also considerably cheaper in Yuechi, where it could be gathered in quantity from adjacent mountains, than it was in bigger cities like Chengdu or Chongqing. One of the main reasons behind the Shanchengtang's rapid growth and success during the Qianlong and Jiaqing periods was its successful use of the Yuechi carvers. Thus, in Yuechi the business of carving grew alongside the booming of Sichuan

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<sup>77</sup> Wang Xiaoyuan, "Qingdai Sichuan" (1990), 189.

commercial presses.<sup>78</sup> The Shanchengtang publishing house functioned until the second Sino-Japanese war (1937–1945) and was run by four successive generations of the Fu family.<sup>79</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know very much about Fu Jinduo, but like other intellectuals running similar family-owned printing houses in other parts of China, he probably had close connections to the bureaucratic elite and was fairly well-educated.<sup>80</sup> There is also very little information about the Shanchengtang's publication on religious matters, but there was at least one precedent to Fu's collection: the *Tianxian zhengli* by Wu Shouyang (1565–1644), a famous author in the alchemical tradition, was published there in 1802, before Fu ever got to Sichuan.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> For more information on the history of Yuechi as the site of woodcarving, see Wang Gang “Qingdai Sichuan de yinshu ye,” 63. Cynthia Brokaw devotes a few pages on the printing business in Yuechi, based on personal interviews and previous research by Wang Gang, see Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture*, 540–544. It is indicative of the importance of this village as a provider of skilled carvers, and of its longevity in the business, that the woodblocks for the *Chongkan Daozang Jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 (Re-publication of the Collected Essentials of the Daoist Canon), ed. He Longxiang, Peng Hanran 彭翰然, Yan Yonghe 閻永和 (Chengdu, 1906), a large multi-volume Daoist collection, were carved by the Yuechi artisans. Incidentally, many of Fu Jinquan's works were reprinted in this Daoist collection. For more information, please see Elena Valussi, “The *Nüdan hebian*,” *Daozang Jiyao* Project, forthcoming.

<sup>79</sup> Wang Xiaoyuan, “Qingdai Sichuan” (1990), 189.

<sup>80</sup> For information on private publishers and owners of private libraries in the same period but in a different area, see also Swann, Nancy Lee, “Seven intimate Library Owners,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1:3–4 (Nov. 1936): 363–390. This study details the activities of seven owners of private libraries and publishing houses in the Hangzhou area in the period between 1740 and 1790. Like Fu Jinquan and his brother, none of them was a member of the bureaucrat-literati group, and only one of them ever entered public life. They were, nonetheless, well-educated people of some means, as we can infer of Fu and his brother. See also Brokaw, “Commercial Woodblock Publishing.”

<sup>81</sup> Shanghai library woodblock printed book 37887–88.

Before the advent of private commercial publishing, as already noted, the main motor behind printing was state sponsored projects, such as the issuing of imperial ordinances or the publication of local gazetteers; at the same time, there was a small amount of temple publication, works created mostly for internal use. Small presses connected to Buddhist or Daoist temples and academies of learning did survive alongside the fast growing group of private enterprises. The growth of these privately owned, for-profit printing and publishing houses all over China, the dissemination of knowledge about wood-block printing, the experimenting with moveable-type printing, and, not least, the surplus of well-educated people in the Qing who did not make it into the bureaucratic machine,<sup>82</sup> led to an increase in the numbers of publications in all areas of knowledge and fostered the establishment of new fields of inquiry; new materials were published, from technical manuals, primers for examinations, personal biographies and collected writings, to local histories and also a wider variety of religious writings, with inner alchemy appearing more prominently on the market also. There is an ongoing debate about the price and quality of the books printed at this time; while some scholars believe that this increase in the availability of printed works did not mean that they were sold at lower prices, other scholars believe that there was a democratization of the access to printed works, and therefore a wider diffusion of texts and of the information in them.<sup>83</sup> This development boosted the diffusion of the language, ideas and practices of inner alchemy deeply into various layers of society and was a fundamental impetus behind the development of

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<sup>82</sup> Benjamin Elman, 1984, *From Philosophy to philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 130–137.

<sup>83</sup> Brokaw sums up these arguments succinctly, and weighs in on the side of broader accessibility and lower prices; Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture*, 548–553.

numerous rich, diverse intellectual communities practising Daoism and alchemy during the period.<sup>84</sup>

## Religion, Spirit Writing and Community

As briefly described above, Qing dynasty Sichuan saw a wave of immigration which, coupled with an unstable political and social situation, left a lot of space for private enterprises; the business of printing was certainly one of them, as described above. It also was an extremely fertile ground for religious activities. The Qing government, and especially the Qianlong emperor, was worried about the high influx of migrant undocumented people entering Sichuan from adjoining provinces such as Hubei, Hunan, Guangxi, Jiangxi, Shaanxi, and Guangdong, some of whom participated in popular unrests of a religious nature.<sup>85</sup> Common descriptions of the Daoist tradition in the Qing see it as declining; in fact it was flourishing, especially the extremely popular new school, the Longmen, a branch of the Quanzhen (Complete Perfection). In the years 1736–1739, the emperor held a new census of Daoist and Buddhists throughout the whole country, to detail the exact number of active monks and nuns, to curb their growth, and to issue new ordination certificates or *dupai* 度牌, without which one could not travel or claim to be part of

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<sup>84</sup> Liu Ts'un Yan has discussed at length the interaction between Confucianism and Daoism as well as the dissemination of Daoist ideas in popular novels in the late Ming, testifying to the wide-ranging adoption of inner alchemical language and knowledge by all layers of society. See the following works by Liu Ts'un Yan: *Buddhist and Taoist Influences on Chinese Novels* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962), "Mingru yu daojiao" 明儒與道教, *The New Asia Journal*, 8.1(1967): 259–296; "Taoist self-cultivation in Ming thought," in Wm. Theodore de Bary, *Self and Society in Ming Thought* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970), 291–330.

<sup>85</sup> *Gaozong chunhuangdi shilu* 高宗純皇帝實錄 (True Records of the Pure and August Emperor Gaozong), *juan* 203. Quoted in Wang Gang, *Qingdai Sichuan shi*, 915.

a religious school. The census mainly took into consideration Daoists of the Quanzhen school because they were celibate and lived in temples.<sup>86</sup> It did not, with rare exceptions, take into account those of the Zhengyi school whose monks were married and lived at home, donning robes and going to the temples only for ceremonies. This of course left out a large percentage of the Daoists, since the Zhengyi school was very well established, especially in South China, whereas the Quanzhen school was only just then spreading to southern provinces and establishing temples there. In eastern Sichuan, the area where Fu Jinquan was active, the Zhengyi school had been predominant, and it was still a stronghold of the Celestial Masters; the Longmen school was slower to enter this area. The 10<sup>th</sup> generation Longmen patriarch Chen Qingjue 陳清覺 (1606–1705), entered Western Sichuan in 1669 to settle on Qingcheng shan; he then moved to the Qingyang gong in 1687, and in 1695, together with Zhao Liangbi 趙良璧, officially consecrated the Erxian'an an Daoist temple in Chengdu.<sup>87</sup> This was where he became the abbot. In 1702, the Kangxi Emperor gave Chen the appellation *Bidong zhenren* 碧洞真人. Thus the *Dantai bidong* 丹台碧洞 branch of the Longmen School was born. However, the Longmen did not really take root until 1739, when Zhu Yipin 朱一品 (11<sup>th</sup> generation Longmen patriarch), from the Baiyunguan temple in Beijing, traveled to the Chongqing area to open an ordination platform at the Nanyan Laojun dong 南岩老君洞, where he transmitted

<sup>86</sup> See Vincent Goossaert, “Counting the Monks. The 1736–1739 Census of the Chinese Clergy,” *Late Imperial China*, 21.2 (2000): 21–22.

<sup>87</sup> *Longmen zhengzong bidongtang shang zhipu* 龍門正宗碧洞堂上支譜 (Register of the Bidong branch of the Longmen True Tradition), manuscript kept at the Tianshidong temple on Qingchengshan. Quoted in Qing, *Zhongguo daojiao shi*, 4, 136. See also Li Hechun 李合春, Ding Changyun 丁常雲, eds., *Qingyang gong Erxian'an zhi* 青常宮二仙庵誌 (Chengdu: Chengdu minsu zongjiao wenhua congshu bianweihui, 2006), 16–18.

the ordination of the 12<sup>th</sup> generation.<sup>88</sup> Thereafter, several Longmen temples were erected and older temples (possibly Zhengyi) were restored and converted to Longmen. However, Fu does not mention dealing with any of the local Zhengyi or Longmen priests of whom we have records.

Sichuan was thus an incredibly fertile ground for religious activities at the time Fu arrived, and he must have been well aware of it. Only a few miles north of Hechuan was Dingyuan 定遠, the location of a very vibrant community around the cult of Longnü 龍女<sup>89</sup> and the birthplace of many of Fu's collaborators in the editing of his opera omnia. Leshan, a mountain west of Baxian county, also housed a very lively and well known Daoist community headed by Li Xiyue, later named the Western School of Daoism (Xipai 西派).<sup>90</sup> This community revered the immortal Zhang Sanfeng, and writings by him, as well as by Lü Dongbin, were received at their altar. (Li Xiyue is mostly remembered for his *Zhang Sanfeng Quanji*). Mount Emei 峨眉山, a few miles west of Leshan, was at that time a flourishing religious location with both Buddhist and Daoist temples and communities, and this is where, at age twenty-four, Li Xiyue claimed to have met the immortal Lü Dongbin who gave him the names Xiyue and Hanxu 涵虛 and inspired him to found a religious

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<sup>88</sup> *Chongqing zongjiao* 重慶宗教 (Chongqing's religions) (Chongqing: Chongqing Chubanshe, 2000), 168.

<sup>89</sup> Takeuchi Fusashi 武內房司, "Qingmo Sichuan de zongjiao yundong" 清末四川的宗教運動, in *Mingqing yilai minjian zongjiao de tansuo* 明清以來民間宗教的探索, ed. Wang Jianchuan 王見川 and Jiang Zhushan 蔣竹山 (Taipei shi: Shangding wenhua chubanshe, 1996), 240–265.

<sup>90</sup> For more information on Li Xiyue and the Xipai, see Wong Shiu hon: *Investigations into the Authenticity of the Chang San feng Ch'uan-chi; the Complete Works of Chang San-feng*, Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs, (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 1982), and *Daojiao yanjiu lunwen ji* 道教研究論文集 (Hong Kong: *Zhongwen wenxue*, 1988); see also Qing, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi* 4, 344–360.

community on Leshan.<sup>91</sup> Between Leshan and the areas north of Chongqing where Fu Jinquan was active, we find Fushun 富順, where the Leyutang 樂育堂 was located. This is the name of the altar around which another Daoist community was gathering, active in the same period of time and headed by Huang Shang 黃裳 (Huang Yuanji 黃元吉). Huang Shang was a native of Fengcheng 豐城 in Jiangxi, located just a few miles west of Jinxi, Fu Jinquan's native place, and, though the exact dates of his life are unknown, we do know that he moved from Jiangxi to Sichuan between the Daoguang (1823–1850) and the Xianfeng (1850–1861) era, a few years after Fu.<sup>92</sup> Huang Shang's disciples put together the recorded sayings of their master, the *Leyutang yulu* 樂育堂語錄, which includes commentaries on several Daoist and alchemical treatises.<sup>93</sup> (See map of Sichuan on page 51.)

There is as yet no research detailing any interaction between Fu Jinquan, Li Xiyue, and Huang Shang in the Sichuan area, but they shared many characteristics. First, they were all interested in inner alchemy, as attested by their published works. Fu and Li both had a

<sup>91</sup> *Li Hanxu zhenren xiaozhuan* 李涵虛真人小傳 (Biography of the Perfected Li Hanxu), in *Sanche bizhi* 三車祕旨 (Secret Principles of the Three Carts), 1a, *Zangwai daoshu* 26:627.

<sup>92</sup> Huang Shang is often confused with a Yuan dynasty Daoist, Huang Yuanji (1271–1325), because they share the same surname and sobriquet (Yuanji 元吉). One of the few sources on Huang Shang's life is the *Huang Yuanji xiansheng yulu xu* 黃元吉先生語錄序 (Preface to the sayings of Mr. Huang Yuanji), in *Leyutang Yulu*. The contemporary scholar Ge Guolong also discusses briefly Huang's biography in his book on the *Leyutang yulu*: Ge Guolong 戈國龍, *Dandao jinquan: Leyutang yulu zhujie* 丹道今詮：樂育堂語錄註解 (Beijing: Huaxia Chubanshe, 2007), 1.

<sup>93</sup> Because the preface to one of the works included in the *Leyutang*, the *Daodejing jiangyi* 道德經講義 by Huang Shang, dates the printing of this work to 1884, historian Ge Guolong dates the compilation of the whole collection by Huang's disciples to the second part of the nineteenth century. See Ge, *Leyutang Yulu*, 1.

close connection with Lü Dongbin<sup>94</sup> and Zhang Sanfeng,<sup>95</sup> from whom they both received texts through spirit writing. As mentioned above, like many other alchemists of the time, they all were also grappling with the question of *shuangxiu*, or dual cultivation, and how to interpret and practice it.<sup>96</sup> Finally, they were all also interested in

<sup>94</sup> Li Xiyue claims to have met Lü on Emeishan; Fu Jinquan claims a close relationship with Lü, who directly discusses Fu Jinquan's circumstances. Li Xiyue wrote a preface to the *Lüzu nianpu*, *Haishan qiyu*, a chronology of Lü Dongbin's life and miracles divulged to Lü Xixing by the immortal himself in his retreat in Jiangsu. See Xiao Tianshi, ed., *Daozang jinghua* 9. Fu Jinquan received many texts from Lü Dongbin and/or commented on texts received by him: the *Duren tijing*, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:542, the *Qiaoyangjing* 樵陽經 (Qiaoyang's Scripture), with a preface by Lü Dongbin, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:652–673, the *Lüzu wupian zhu*, commentaries on texts received by Fu from Lü, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:720–743, and the *Lüzu qinyuanchun zhu* 呂祖沁園春註 (A Commentary on Lü Dongbin's *Qinyuanchun*), a commentary on a text attributed to Lü, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:894–895.

<sup>95</sup> In 1844, Li Xiyue published the *Zhang Sanfeng xiansheng quanji*. He also published the *Erzhu Wugenshu* 二註無根樹 (Two Commentaries on the *Wugenshu*), on the *Wugenshu* by Zhang Sanfeng; *Zangwai daoshu* 5:576–603. Fu Jinquan collected the *Sanfeng danjue*, mentioned above.

<sup>96</sup> Farzeen Baldrian Hussein described Li Xiyue's practice as solitary at the first stage and dual at the second stage. Baldrian-Hussein, "Li Xiyue," *Encyclopedia of Daoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio (Routledge, 2008), 646. Qing, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi* 4, 344–360, acknowledges the influence on Li Xiyue by advocates of sexual paired techniques like the Ming Daoist author Sun Jiaoluan 孫教鸞 (1504–1612), as well as Zhang Sanfeng, and remains vague as to the actual nature of some of the dual practices discussed in his works. Xu Zhaoren 徐兆仁, *Hanxu mizhi* 涵虛祕旨 (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue Chubanshe, 1990), 2–3, acknowledges that Li Xiyue's alchemical language could be interpreted both as indicating sexual practices as well as solitary ones; both Fu and Li use similar language when discussing dual practices. Huang Shang's disciple Deng Dunshou 等頓首 mentions dual practices (*xingming shuangxiu* 性命雙修) as one of Huang's main concerns in his preface to the *Leyutang yulu*. *Leyutang yulu*, preface: 1a. Huang Shang himself discusses *shuangxiu* and *qingxiu* in the first *juan* of the *Leyutang yulu*: 3b–4b.

women's practices.<sup>97</sup> These traits are definitely not shared only by these three alchemical writers in Sichuan—they are commonly found in writings by other alchemical authors of the time, like Min Yide 閔一得 (1758–1836) in Jiangsu and Liu Yiming 劉一明 (1734–1821) in Shanxi, and to a certain extent they would continue to interest alchemical writers and intellectuals into the Republican era.<sup>98</sup>

How did Fu interact with the local religious milieu once he settled in Sichuan? We can gather some more specific information about his activities from his biography and from prefaces to his works. According to the *Hechuan xianzhi*, the specific place where Fu moved to in the area of Chishui, and more specifically the Xiyuezhao xiang 西月照巷, was a well known community of Jiangxi emigrés.<sup>99</sup> And where Fu decided to settle as well as open one of his altars, the Liyun danshi. The *Chishuiyin*, dated 1823, was written at the Liyun danshi in Chishui.

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<sup>97</sup> Fu Jinquan received a whole compilation on women's practice by spirit writing, the *Nüjindan fayao*; Huang Shang discussed female practice, in a similar way to Fu, in his *Leyutang yulu*, *juan* 3:18b–19b, and Li Xiyue is thought to have written the *Kunwei mizhi* 坤維秘旨 (Secret Principles of the Female-kind), which was, much later, included in the *Nüzi daojiao congshu* 女子道教叢書 (Encyclopedia on Women's Daoism) compiled by Yi Xinying 易心瑩 (1896–1976). There is also evidence that one of Li Xiyue's disciples, Wang Qihuo 汪啟濩 (1838–1917) included, in his *Daotong dacheng* 道統大成 (Great Collection on the Transmission of the Dao), the *Kundao danjue* 坤道丹訣 (Alchemical Formulae for Female Daoists), a work on female alchemy that is almost the same as the *Qunzhen shijue* 群真詩訣 (Poetic Formulae by all the Perfected) received in Sichuan by Fu Jinquan, and compiled in the *Nüjindan fayao*.

<sup>98</sup> Both Min Yide and Liu Yiming produced extensive collections on alchemy, and included female alchemy texts in their collections. See also Liu, *Daoist Modern*, a book on Chen Yingning 陳櫻寧 (1880–1969) who, in his writings and in his discussions with readers, often touched upon the meaning of *shuangxiu*, women's practices, and the revealed nature of Daoist texts.

<sup>99</sup> *Hechuan xianzhi*, *juan* 6:20a.

The preface describes the way Fu attracted followers and friends to this area:

I lived in Chishui for a long time; I guided [there] the coming worthies, putting sincerity and filiality first, and [obtained] companions with great strength and energy; death could not be reached [by us]—we all lived a long time.<sup>100</sup>

Indeed, in Sichuan Fu did find many like-minded friends and collaborators in his religious and literary endeavors; they edited, annotated and proofread the texts to be printed.<sup>101</sup> Many of them also wrote prefaces and post-faces. Some of Fu's collaborators in the printing and editing of his own works came from his native Jiangxi; others he met upon his arrival in Sichuan. Some came from Dingyuan, a town extremely close to both Yuechi and Guang'an.<sup>102</sup> My contention is that these collaborators in Fu's printing endeavors were also part of a religious community that Fu was actively organizing.

The most prominent of his friends, who wrote prefaces to several of Fu's works, was Ji Dakui 紀大奎 (1746–1825), *zi* Xiang Chen 向辰, *hao* Shen Zhai 慎齋, originally from Linchuan, a town in Jiangxi a few miles east of Jinxi, where Fu was born. He was a *ju ren* who had been appointed in 1780 as the district magistrate of Hechuan, after having served in Shandong.<sup>103</sup> When Fu arrived in Sichuan, *Ji* had been there for

<sup>100</sup> *Chishuiyin*, preface, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:43–44.

<sup>101</sup> The *Hechuan xianzhi* mentions, in the first few paragraphs of Fu's biography, that Fu opened an altar for the transmission of alchemical works as soon as he arrived in Sichuan, and that he disseminated these works among the wider population, thus drawing a lot of people to him and to the altar. *Hechuan xianzhi*, *juan* 6:20a.

<sup>102</sup> Takeuchi, "Qingmo Sichuan," 247–249.

<sup>103</sup> An extensive biography of Ji is to be found in the mingchen 名臣 (notable ministers) chapter of the *Hechuan Xianzhi*, *juan* 38:20a–26b. A much shorter mention of Ji is to be found in *Minguo Baxian zhi*, *juan* 5:62b.

nearly 40 years.<sup>104</sup> He was a prolific scholar whose works far outnumber those of Fu Jinqun in the records of the *Jiangxi tongzhi* 江西通志 (Jiangxi gazetteer).<sup>105</sup> A committed intellectual, in his later years, maybe after returning to Jiangxi, he compiled, together with Jiang Quan 姜銓 (?-?), a gazetteer of Linchuan (in Jiangxi), the *Linchuan xianzhi* 臨川縣志 (Gazetteer of Linchuan), published in 1823, two years before his death.<sup>106</sup> Ji Dakui had been interested in alchemy, Daoism, and the *Yijing* long before he met Fu. While in Sichuan, Ji also operated a private printing press, the *Shuangguitang* 雙桂堂 (Hall of the Double Laurel), in Shifang 什邡 (northeast of Chengdu — part of his district).<sup>107</sup> There, in the first years of the nineteenth century, he published several works on alchemy and on the *Yijing*, commentaries on famous Daoist scriptures like the *Zhouyi Cantongqi* 周易參同契 and the *Wuzhenpian* 悟真篇, collected in the *Shuangguitang gao*.<sup>108</sup> Because he was involved in

<sup>104</sup> Takeuchi infers that Ji must have met Fu through the community of Jiangxi emigrés that was gathering around Fu in Hechuan. See Takeuchi, “Qingmo Sichuan,” 250.

<sup>105</sup> *Chongxu Jiangxi tongzhi* 重修江西通志 (Revised Edition of the Jiangxi Gazetteer), compiled by Liu Kun 劉坤 and Liu Yi 劉繹, 1880. This gazetteer, in the *Yiwenzhi* section, lists fourteen works by Ji Dakui, with topics spanning from the *Yijing*, the Diamond Sutra, and the Cantongi, to geography, mathematics, local customs, and an autobiography (the *Shenzhai waiji* 慎齋外集 — Ji Dakui’s *hao* is Shen Zhai 慎齋). *Jiangxi tongzhi*, *juan* 105:14–34, and *juan* 106:6–33. Ji’s *opera omnia* is the large collection *Ji Shenzhai xian sheng quan ji*, 紀慎齋先生全集, in 48 volumes, published in the period between 1808 and 1852. Ji’s own preface to the collection dates to 1805, the first publication dates to 1808, but it also includes, in the last *juan*, eulogies written after Ji’s death in 1825, and some works dated as late as 1841, 1842, and 1843. The copy of the collection in the Shanghai library was published in 1852.

<sup>106</sup> In the Shanghai Tushuguan 571970–73, not complete.

<sup>107</sup> On this printing house, see Wang Gang “Qingdai Sichuan de yinshu ye,” 64; and Wang Xiaoyuan, “Qingdai Sichuan” (1992), 64.

<sup>108</sup> The *Zhouyi Cantongqi Jiyun erjuan* 周易參同契集韻二卷 (with a preface dated 1797), which includes poems on the *Cantongqi*, and a reprint of the *Wuzhenpian*

the private printing business, and because he was part of the Jiangxi emigré group, Ji Dakui might very well have already known Fu's relative Fu Jinduo.

In his career as a magistrate, Ji had encountered and tried to disperse various religious groups, one of which was in Shifang itself.<sup>109</sup> However, Ji was very interested in Daoism, *Yijing* cosmology, and other religious practices; he frequented Buddhist temples and had Daoist friends. His religious eclecticism is evident in his most prominent accomplishment: he remains famous as a magistrate for his invention and diffusion of a "rainmaking method" that was based on *Yijing* cosmology, and involved Buddhist and Daoist practitioners.<sup>110</sup> From his collection of writings, it is clear that Ji was particularly drawn to *Yijing* studies and Daoist alchemy, and his relationship with Fu must have been close. Reading a letter that Fu sent to Ji after one encounter, we may perceive how much Fu admired Ji:

Honorable [Ji Sima], your spiritual demeanor and your posture, resembling bright moonlight, are still with me after you received me. Your virtuous semblance is still in my bosom. Today the horse you were riding was going east [you were leaving] and we will [sadly] not have the opportunity to meet again . . . . Now I have received a letter from you [together with a book]. . . . The *Shuangguitang* commentary to the *Yijing* with images. I respectfully bow to you and at night sit up properly, burn incense and read the book out loud.<sup>111</sup>

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悟真篇 (Awakening to Reality). These writings are printed in the *Shuangguitang gao* 雙桂堂稿 (A Manuscript from the Hall of the Double Laurel), in 4 volumes, part of the *Ji Shenzhai xian sheng quan ji*, *juan* 1–11.

<sup>109</sup> Takeuchi, "Qingmo Sichuan," 250.

<sup>110</sup> On Ji Dakui's rainmaking method, see Jeffrey Snyder-Reinke, "Dry Spells: State Rainmaking and Local Governance," in *Late Imperial China*, (2009): 119–148.

<sup>111</sup> Letter to Ji Sima, Chishuiyin 20a–24a, *Zangwai daoshu* 11:54–56.

In the 1939 Baxian gazetteer, Ji Dakui is said to be only the most famous of a large group of followers of Fu.<sup>112</sup> Others were, for example, Zhou Luan, to whom Fu wrote a letter, contained in the *Chishuiyin*, discussing in detail the issue of paired practices; Yao Yizhi 姚一智, who must have known Fu fairly well, since he is the author of a preface to the *Chishuiyin*<sup>113</sup> and, with Liu Jingdu 劉經讀, of Fu's biography *Zuihua daoren zhuan* mentioned above. Zhou Zhengru 周正儒, who wrote a preface to Fu's *Ziti Suohua*, a collection of poems to accompany Fu's paintings, was a follower who admired mostly Fu's artistic skills. Unfortunately, there is no officially recorded information on any of these people.<sup>114</sup>

We also have the names of several people who helped to edit Fu's many works, but again very little information about them apart from their place of origin. Some came from Dingyuan, just to the north of Hechuan. Some came from Jingxi, Fu's province of origin. Others came from different parts of China (Hunan, Hubei). All of them have a religious name, and most of them share the second (generation name) and third character of such names (*yangzi* 陽子).<sup>115</sup> This might indicate that they all belonged to a single lineage of pupils of Fu, but this is a speculation that I do not have enough facts to corroborate at this point.

<sup>112</sup> *Minguo Baxian zhi*, juan 6:62b.

<sup>113</sup> *Zangwai daoshu* 11:53, 59.

<sup>114</sup> Liu is mentioned in Fu's biography in the Hechuan xianzhi as one of Fu's disciples. See *Hechuan xianzhi*, juan 6:23a.

<sup>115</sup> Here are their names as mentioned in Fu's opera omnia: Qianyangzi Macheng Yu Muchun 乾陽子麻城俞慕純 (Yu Muchun from Macheng, [Hubei]), Qianyangzi Macheng Zhu Zhongtang 潛陽子麻城朱仲棠 (Zhu Zhongtang from Macheng), Dingyangzi Yiling Xiong Huaishan 定陽子彝陵熊懷善 (Xiong Huaishan from Yiling), Jiyangzi Xiao Kangli 集陽子肅康理, Laiyangzi Ling Guangyi 來陽子凌光彝, Zongyangzi Tang Shoulin 宗陽子唐壽林, Zhenyangzi Li Gongchen 貞陽子李拱辰, Xinyangzi Yang Chunpu 心陽子楊春圃.

This group of editors/followers must have been connected to the altar of transmission that Fu opened as soon as he entered Eastern Sichuan.

Setting up an altar to receive writings from the gods has multiple meanings. It means setting up a place where there is contact with the gods and where the gods transmit texts to humans. In addition to facilitating communication with the spirits, and in Fu's case especially with Lü Dongbin, an altar creates and fosters a religious and social community around it. In the Qing, many Daoist texts come from spirit writing séances, and this procedure may be related to the need for legitimacy and authority conferred by a supernatural being in the increasingly competitive and fractured spectrum of Daoist schools and Daoist groups. Spirit writing was one of the new forces behind the deep-rooted change in the Daoist intellectual community and its intellectual output. But spirit writing was not the domain of Daoist schools alone; as has been described by many scholars, it was a practice enjoyed at all levels of society, regardless of faith or social role and had multiple meanings.<sup>116</sup> Examples of other spirit writing altars or tan are numerous in Sichuan, Jiangnan, and especially in Guangdong, Hong Kong and Taiwan in this period.<sup>117</sup> The religious organizations behind them, associated with different popular cults, not always Daoist, were

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<sup>116</sup> Some representative examples are Xu Dishan 許地山, *Fuji mixiu di yanjiu* 扶箕迷信底研究 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1941); David K., Jordan, and Daniel Overmeyer, *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Xun Liu, *Daoist Modern*; Philip Clart, "The Ritual Context of Morality Books: A Case-Study of a Taiwanese Spirit-Writing Cult" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1996); Yuria, "Identity and Lineage."

<sup>117</sup> Shiga, "Manifestations of Lüzu," 187 and *passim*. Also: Graeme Lang and Lars Ragvald, "Spirit-Writing and the Development of Chinese Cults," *Sociology of Religion*, 59.4 (Winter, 1998): 309–328.

interested not only in communications from the Gods, but also in being part of a network of social welfare.<sup>118</sup> There is evidence that similar societies founded in Taiwan during this period were interested in the “reformation of a decadent age by means of instructions and exhortations handed down by the Gods.”<sup>119</sup> We can find parallels of this attitude in Fu’s own writings, and in the writings he received at the altar. But this message is clear in many other of his writings as well, and in this his sentiments follow closely those displayed in contemporary morality books as well as the “*Sanjiao* 三教” literature of the time. In the preface to the 1823 *Lüzü wupian zhu*,<sup>120</sup> received at the Sichuan altar, Fu clearly sets the texts he has received against the context of contemporary “unorthodox” instructions:

All the sages will have only this ladder [this way up to Heaven]; they will have no other alternative in the unorthodox writings (*pangjing* 旁經). Otherwise, people will not be honest and filial, their hearts will lack extreme sincerity, and they will not have principles.

So what was the nature of Fu’s complex role within the religious community?

We know from his writings that he strongly believed that the Daoist call could and should be followed from within society. In his role as a religious leader, he was an intermediary between the gods and the religious community around the altar/s.<sup>121</sup> Fu also comments on his own role within the religious community. In the preface to the *Lüzü wupian*

<sup>118</sup> Yamada Masaru 山田賢 points out that, in late Qing Sichuan, local elites formed associations around spirit-writing altars that were mainly interested in social welfare. Yamada Masaru, *Ijumin no chitsujo—Shinda shisen chiiki shakaishi kenkyu* (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 1995), 249–251.

<sup>119</sup> Clart, “The Ritual Context of Morality Books,” 16.

<sup>120</sup> *Zangwai daoshu* 11:720–743.

<sup>121</sup> Mori Yuria, “Identity and Lineage,” 165–184.

zhu, Fu describes how he received the texts and then how he edited them for the community.

Think daily of revering the refining of the heart, concentrate on the spirit, nurture inner nature, and hope for a proof of the attainment, which will be the phoenix flying to Xinjiang, receiving instructions and stopping in a restful place.<sup>122</sup>

This humble student [Fu], has reverently explained [the text] with a cleansed heart, words have been selected carefully, phrases have been commented upon, and I did not avoid mistakes. Generally I took as a model my teacher's unbound, extreme determination in saving people.<sup>123</sup>

Fu describes himself as the person in charge of receiving the texts (symbolized by the phoenix flying to its resting place, the altar), as well as a faithful editor of his master's writings; he is the person in charge of understanding and explaining his master's words.

Fu also became an intermediary between the text received and its printing and diffusion; once a text was received and made intelligible to the religious community, Fu printed it and distributed it. In another letter to his friend Ji Dakui, Fu discusses in more detail the importance of writing (for the benefit of the religious community). He praises the work on the *Yijing* that Ji had published at the Shuangguitang as a great service to the religious community, and continues by underlying the difference between oral and written instruction:

. . . [such concepts] can be transmitted through oral instructions, but it is difficult to transmit them through writing.<sup>124</sup>

However, publishing for Fu was not only a religious act for the accretion

<sup>122</sup> *Lüzhu wupian zhu*: preface, 1a. *Zangwai daoshu* 11:720.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, preface, 2b.

<sup>124</sup> *Zangwai daoshu* 11:55.

of merit, and an intellectual act for the preservation of the works of previous alchemists, but probably also led by commercial choices. We do not know how Fu made a living, but, as mentioned above, his decision to move to Sichuan was possibly prompted by economic needs; his involvement in receiving texts at more than one altar, as well his ability to print them must have been a source of revenue. (He may also have received donations from his followers.) Thus, what was chosen for publication must have also been inspired by what the audience was interested in. Texts on meditation for women for example, were geared towards a growing audience of educated and semi-educated women who were already interested in alchemical texts. Reprinting compendia like the *Waijindan* and the *Neijindan* might have responded to a growing demand from intellectuals who dabbled in alchemy. The rearrangement of Fu's collection over the three decades that he spent in Sichuan may tell us more about what he saw as his audience's changing needs. The fact that part of Fu's work was collected and reproduced only decades later (in 1906) in an important collection like the *Chongkan Daozang Jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要<sup>125</sup> might also attest to the continuing value of his work and the continuing interest of the audience in new Daoist knowledge. It is also of note that some of Fu Jinquan writings, including his *Nüjindan fayao*, were reprinted by the Daoist intellectual Xiao Tianshi in his *Daozang Jinghua* in the 1950s.

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<sup>125</sup> Many of Fu Jinquan's texts on female alchemy were reproduced in He Longxiang's *Nüdan hebian*, a part of the *Chongkan daoizang jiyao* publishing project at the Erxian'an in Chengdu in 1906. Fu's opera omnia was well known to the compilers of the *Daozang jiyao*, who listed all of his works in the *Guochao fangke daoshu mulu Daozang jiyao* 國朝坊刻道書目錄輯要. For more information of this, see Valussi's forthcoming "The *Nüdan Hebian*," in the *Daozang Jiyao Project*.

## Conclusion

To see Fu's life and work in a broader light, we need to understand the momentous changes that were underway in the late Qing. As described by Esposito, Qing Daoism is characterized by the growth of lay organizations and practices, by the production of morality books and by the flourishing of spirit writing cults, especially those to Lü Dongbin.<sup>126</sup> At the same time, throughout China, there was a strengthening of local arenas, especially at the religious level. "The decline of state power, intensified commercialization of society, the cumulative effect of long term local militarization, population pressure, and the decline of the large lineages and religious institutions all led by the turn of the nineteenth century to the formation of new arenas for the production of truth at the local level."<sup>127</sup> This statement describes the situation in southern China, but can be easily applied to what happened in Sichuan a few decades later. Fu was already involved in a religious community in Jiangxi; what led him to Sichuan was the possibility of both commercial activity in the printing business, already very active there through a network of Jiangxi emigrés, and the possibility of creating new local religious arenas on the pattern of those that had already been fully established in Jiangnan. In Sichuan, he found a flourishing of local religious activities and like-minded people with whom to correspond and collaborate. Many of them were also part of a close Jiangxi network.

However, his experience was not unique. Other Daoist intellectuals found themselves at the center of religious communities where they interpreted and made sense of the words of the spirits. Local Sichuan examples are Li Xiyue and Huang Shang, but throughout China there was a growing localization of the production of Daoist texts through the

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<sup>126</sup> Esposito, "Daoism in the Qing," 624.

<sup>127</sup> Kenneth Dean, *Lord of the Three in One: The Spread of a Cult in Southeast China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 55.

use of altars and spirit writing techniques; many of these altars were devoted to the cult of Lü Dongbin and produced extensive *neidan* literature.<sup>128</sup> These altars worked at the same time as centers where the religious needs of the community were met, centers for the production of religious texts, and centers for the espousing of moral and ethical values. The altars also gave legitimacy to the texts thereby produced through the connection with supernatural beings. Printing, too, functioned as a religious act, an act of accretion of merit that had transformative powers both on the people who performed it and on the people who benefited from it, thus adding a religious dimension to the role of publishers.<sup>129</sup> These acts strengthened the community as well as the role of the religious leader. Many of the Daoist intellectuals concerned were receiving, collecting, and disseminating works of inner alchemy; within this framework, they were all, in differing degrees, contending with shifting meanings and interpretations of inner alchemy, they were exploring how and where to practice it, and they were all vying for an audience.

Fu's case is emblematic for many reasons: first, because of the wide range of texts he received and published in the *Daoshu shiqizhong*; by looking at this work, it is clear that he was attempting not only to disseminate the texts he received, but also to compile a corpus of

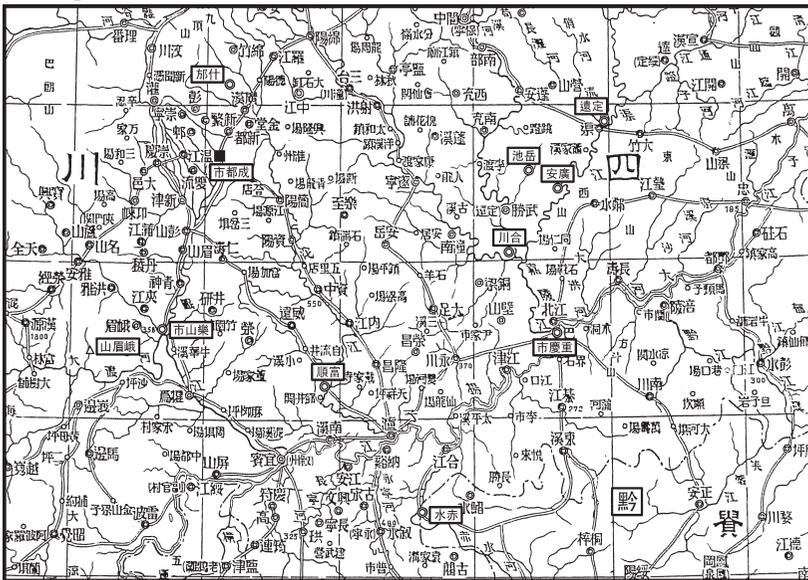
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<sup>128</sup> One important example is the *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書 (Complete Works of Patriarch Lü) received at the Hansangong 涵三宮 temple in Wuchang (Wuhan) and published in 1744. This and many other texts received through spirit-writing, together with texts from the *Daozang*, were later collected in the *Daozang jiyuan*, a large Daoist collection that came together around the Jueyuantan 覺源壇 altar in Beijing, under the direction of Jiang Yupu 蔣予蒲 (1755–1819), and was published in 1806.

<sup>129</sup> This issue is discussed, for a later period and in Taiwan, by Philip Clart, in “Merit Beyond Measure: Notes on the Moral (and Real) Economy of Religious Publishing in Taiwan,” in *The People and the Dao: New Studies in Honour of Daniel L. Overmeyer*, ed. Philip Clart and Paul Crowe, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2009).

influential works of late imperial alchemy that included his own. Second, his direct connection to a large publishing house allows us to see more clearly the multiple interactions between local religious and commercial activities. Third, Fu’s case is an example of how a group of recent migrants collaborated closely in both religious and publishing endeavors. Fu had multiple identities. Alchemist, intellectual, religious leader, publisher, Jiangxi emigrant, he was an intermediary between the gods and the religious community, as well as between the texts and their audience. These multiple identities intersected seamlessly in his work.

Map of Sichuan :



Chengdu 成都	Larger cities in the area
Chongqing 重慶	
Dingyuan 定遠	Site of a fervent cult of Longnü, and place of origin of several editors of the <i>Daoshu shizhong</i>
Emei shan 峨眉山	Several Daoist and Buddhist monasteries, where Li Xiyue first met immortal Lü Dongbin
Fu Shun 富順	Where Huang Shang and his religious group were based
Guang'an 廣安	Headquarters of the Shanchengtang
Hechuan 合川	The area where Fu settled as he arrived in Sichuan
Le Shan 樂山	Base of Li Xiyue’s religious group
Shifang 什邡	Where Ji Dakui was posted as a magistrate
Yuechi 岳池	"The town of character carving"

內丹作家、宗教領袖和四川出版家傅金銓與印刷及宗教

阿琳娜

### 摘要

這一篇文章探討的是十九世紀的道教煉金術家、宗教領袖和出版商作者，傅金銓（活動於1800年）的生活和工作。傅，江西人，同時是一個非常活躍的道教知識分子，於1817年搬到四川。他這樣做，一是為四川肥沃的宗教氛圍所吸引，二是想在四川東部建立接受呂洞賓的真言的道壇，以創造充滿活力的宗教社區，三則希望推動四川的印刷文化蓬勃發展。其中，他充分地利用了四川的印術文化，在他親戚傅金鐸成立的印刷所裏出版了他的全集。在清朝道教知識界的發展中，傅的情況是非常典型的，這表現在：在地域上具有更大的流動性；通過廣泛的作者和實踐者的網絡，前所未有地傳播煉丹文化；廣泛使用扶乩方式接受真言，從而產生新的著作；在扶乩活動中，道教神仙呂洞賓的影響力越來越大；將儒家和佛教思想與道教思想和實踐深深交織在一起；利用印刷手段傳播煉丹知識，以及藉助小型印刷廠在當地傳播宗教知識小冊子等。儘管事實上傳只是發展地方宗教者的其中一位，然而對他的研究，將會凸顯之前未知的四川道教網絡，並將有力地將四川宗教信息的傳播與四川當地的商業印刷的興起連接起來。

關鍵詞：傅金銓、道教、清代、印數、四川